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The Effects of Demographic and Institutional Change on the Image and Reputation of an Urban Community

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THE EFFECTS OF
DEMOGRAPHIC AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE
ON THE IMAGE AND REPUTATION
OF AN URBAN COMMUNITY

by

Gail Danks Welter

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

May

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For the freedom and encouragement provided by my family, which has both suffered and grown during the production of this study, I extend an inadequate but heartfelt thank-you.

VITAE

The author, Gail Danks Welter, is the daughter of William D. Danks, and Ann V. Danks. She was born January 2, 1948, in Oak Park, Illinois.

Her elementary education was obtained in the public school system in Bensenville, Illinois and she graduated from Fenton High School in June of 1966. In September of 1966 she enrolled at Western Illinois University in Macomb, Illinois where she received her Bachelor of Arts in Sociology and Anthropology in June of 1970. In September of 1970 she was granted an Assistantship at Western Illinois University to continue her studies in Sociology and Anthropology. She was awarded her Master of Arts in Sociology and Anthropology there in December 1971.

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the Rogers Park community study conducted by the Sociology Department. In March of 1977 she co-authored and presented a paper entitled, "Problems Using Undergraduates as Research Assistants," to the Illinois Sociological Association. In May of 1977, she co-authored and presented a paper entitled, "A Profile of Rogers Park since the 1970 Census," to a seminar on "Work-in-Progress" at Loyola University. In October of 1981 she presented a paper on "Change in Chicago vs. Change in the Rogers Park Community Area, 1950-1970," at the annual meeting of the Illinois Sociological Association in Chicago.

In addition to her academic and professional work, she is married, has a three year old daughter and is expecting another child in February, 1982.

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CHAPTER I

A SOCIAL CHANGE MODEL

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will discuss the model of community change proposed, and methodological issues in community research involving the case study method.

This study develops a model of change based on Warren's (1978) suggestion that local communities are increasingly enmeshed in larger networks which leave them open to the effects of decisions and changes originating outside the locality. Societal changes are seen to affect cities differentially depending on their current situations, while also directly affecting local urban community populations and institutions. The relationship between the population and institutions of a local community is one of mutual influence, and changes in either may affect the community's image and reputation. The image and reputation of a community may, in turn, influence its population and institutions.

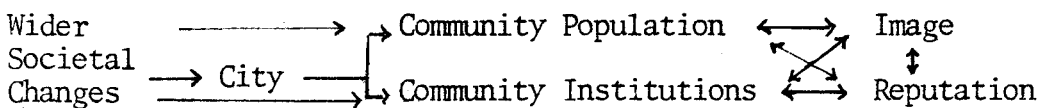
This model of change was developed to aid in the study of the effects of responses to changes made by local communities within the older industrial cities of the American heartland. Problems such as aging, physical structures, population depletion, and decreasing tax bases, characteristic of older urban communities, have been recently aggravated by federal immigration; energy costs and inflation; high mortgage interest rates and housing; and collapses of small businesses.

While these are society wide changes, their effects are more serious in older urban communities of the Midwest and Northeast than in the urban communities of the expanding Sunbelt cities.

One way of viewing the impact of societal changes on particular cities is through the use of a relatively viable local community facing many changes typical of older cities as the unit of analysis. This permits a closer analysis of population and institutional changes, how these changes effect the quality of life in a community, and how these changes influence community image and reputation. Image and reputation are based on perceptions and thus are open to manipulation by community image-makers. Image and reputation have been shown to be important influences on the behavior of community residents, particularly in the responses they make to change (Goodwin, 1979). Thus the roles of image and reputation are ones which need to be further investigated. A schematic drawing of the full proposed model is shown below.

FIGURE 1

SCHEMATIC DRAWING OF FULL SOCIAL CHANGE MODEL



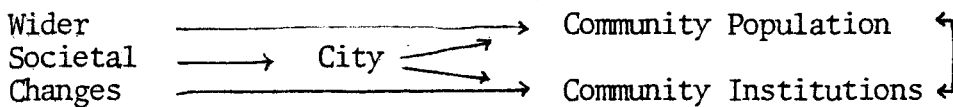
To facilitate discussion, the model is broken down into three parts and discussed in their order of presentation. Part I will begin with a theoretical discussion of social change and proceed to discuss societal changes and their effects on cities as well as community populations and institutions. Part II will concentrate on the

interaction of community population and institutions, and their effects on image and reputation. Part III will look at the effects of image and reputation on a community's population and institutions.

PART I

FIGURE 2

SCHEMATIC DRAWING OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN
WIDER SOCIETY CHANGE, THE CITY AND THE
COMMUNITY'S POPULATION AND INSTITUTIONS



Local community conditions constantly change in response to wider institutional and governmental decisions or, for instance, to market forces (Suttles, 1978). Some of the most critical of these community changes are those relating to a community's population, institutions, and image and reputation. Changes in any one of these areas can and do have consequences for the others. An appropriate model for understanding what has been happening in a particular local urban community must necessarily examine these changes within the general perspective of social change.

Social change is one of the most complex topics in sociology and theorists differ widely in their approaches to the subject. Several attempts have been made to organize and classify these approaches to social change. Applebaum (1970) divided social change theories into four categories based on their assumptions and emphases along the

dimensions of "social" and "change." The four categories he develops are: evolutionary theories, represented by Durkheim (1933); equilibrium theories, the foremost being Parsons' (1966); conflict theories, the most recent being Ralf Dahrendorf's (1959); and rise and fall theories, the best known of these being Weber's (1964).

All of these theories deal with social change on a macro-sociological level and in a wide time frame, both sometimes difficult to relate to communities (e.g., the rise and fall theories). Concepts of change relating to the community are often discussed in terms of dichotomies of relations among groups and individuals. Durkheim (1933) distinguished between mechanical and organic solidarity. Mechanical solidarity is based upon unity and comprehensiveness of values, labor and interests. Divisions in labor tasks brought corresponding diversification in values and interests, producing a situation where interdependence became the basis of cohesion (organic solidarity).

Toennies' theory of community change postulates two opposite ideal types of social relations. His 'Gemeinschaft' type emphasized primary relationships and the values of the group. A community based on these types of relations is often exemplified by a small village where residents know one another well, the family units are important and work together, and in general people are concerned about one another. The apparent decline of such communities is mourned by some (e.g., Stein, 1960), though it is doubtful such idyllic examples ever really existed. However, there has been a movement toward more rationally organized and purposeful groupings emphasizing secondary relations at the expense of primary ones. In Toennies' terms this

form of community relations is term 'Gesellschaft.'

Roland Warren (1978) follows in this tradition, identifying two patterns of community association which exemplify the changing focus of community relations. The horizontal axis constitutes the interrelationship among various institutions and organizations within the local community, while the vertical axis concerns the relationship of the individuals to local interest groups which are a part of progressively larger organizations outside the community.

Until recently community studies have focused largely on the horizontal pattern to the near exclusion of the vertical. Communities were often seen as independent of the larger society, existing "sui generis." While lip service may have been given to the importance of broader societal forces, investigation of their effects on communities was scarce.¹ A partial explanation of this neglect includes at least two factors. First, early community researchers were often influenced by the methods of anthropologists who tended to take a total community as given (not necessarily incorrect given the cultures they worked in). Second, until fairly recently more decisions affecting communities were made at the local level, as communities were more self-sufficient and self-governing than now. Today, even where it is strong, local government still depends on financing from the wider levels of government (Netzer, 1978). Thus decisions affecting local communities, especially those within a large city, are increasingly made by outside institutions. Federal programs on the 1970's, set up to bypass intermediary levels of government by granting funds directly to local community projects, have not reversed this trend.

Warren (1978) has attempted to emphasize this increasing integration of the community and the larger society. His thesis is that there has been a transformation from a primary reliance, by community residents, on the horizontal axis to increasing emphasis on the vertical one at the community level. This transformation is intimately tied to various other societal changes affecting the community. He identifies seven of these, which taken together are termed the "Great Change." These include the increasing specialization and division of labor; the development of differentiated interests and associations of individuals; the increasingly systemic relationships of organizations to the larger society; bureaucratization and impersonalization; urbanization and suburbanization; changing values; and expanding functions of profit enterprise and government. Most of these dimensions have also been identified by other social change theorists. However, Warren relates them specifically to the community level. The overall effect of these widespread changes has been to lessen the autonomy of local communities. Due to the stronger and wider links between the community and the larger society, the community is more immediately affected by decisions made by outside organizational and governmental bodies. A considerable amount of the organizational energy of communities is spent on reacting to such decisions.

An example of the closer links between the local community and the larger society is found in the expanding role of the federal government.² Historically, Americans believed that change was best left to the operation of market forces or individual achievement. Governmental intervention was seen as likely to create more problems

than it solved. Perhaps these attitudes reflected the types of controls from which early settlers fled as much as the development of the "laissez-faire" ideology of the 18th century. Whatever the reasons, planned change originating from broad levels of society was viewed negatively.

In spite of these sentiments, government has expanded and taken over many of the activities and responsibilities (e.g., welfare and job training) formerly performed by the family and other local institutions. State and federal governments and agencies began to expand during the Depression when there was an obvious need for intervention. As the Depression deepened there was increased, although grudging, acceptance of the need for such programs as the Public Works Administration (PWA), social security, and other regulatory, economic, and welfare policies. All of these affected the daily lives of individuals and the focus of local governments and organizations, as aptly described by the Lynds (1929; 1937).

The role of the federal government as an originator and instrument of change has continued to expand in recent years. For instance, in the 1960's and 1970's there were large scale plans to eliminate poverty through the coordination and addition of various specific programs in housing and welfare. These were basically aimed at urban areas which housed a large percentage of the country's poor. The growth of governmental responsibility resulted in increased need for revenue. As the costs of government rose, so did taxes and the interdependence of government levels in terms of finances. While urban areas were asked to contribute more to the state and federal coffers,

they expected more in return as well.

Yet, the lack of really measurable progress by governments in solving the problems of poverty and related concerns took its toll on faith in governmentally planned change. As Warren (1968; 404) has noted:

...there has been a falling back to the idea that the way toward community betterment is through the increased health of the economy and through the operation of the 'market' as opposed to administered change; crecscive change as opposed to purposive.

However, despite the call for less centrally directed change, it is highly unlikely that vertical community relations will give way to horizontal ones, though the latter may take on increased relevance to community residents.

The effects of the "Great Change" have been differentially distributed among metropolitan areas in more recent years. The effects of increasing specialization and division of labor have intersected with advances in such fields as computers, communications, and increases in the service sector industries. The result has been that such industries have a wide choice of locations. In comparison, early manufacturing concerns which were dependent on proximity to transportation, raw materials, and markets often were located in the Northeastern and Midwestern areas of the country near such necessities. The decline in the manufacturing sector of the economy has seriously affected cities in these areas because of their dependence on manufacturing industries (Levin, 1979; Alonso, 1978; Kasarda, 1978; Leven, 1978).

Other trends make this situation particularly difficult for older cities. Specialization and division of labor during earlier

periods of urbanization led to the organization of workers in labor unions and interest groups. These groups have continued to pressure for higher wages and better working conditions, and as a result increased labor costs have been especially noticeable in the older heartland areas where unionization is particularly strong. This situation has stimulated the movement of business and industry out of older, more expensive urban areas into suburban business parks and less established urban regions in other parts of the country, mainly the Sunbelt region, (Kasarda, 1978; Adams, 1976; Geruson and McGrath, 1977). Attractions in these areas include lower taxes, lower labor costs, and better climate.

As population and industry shifted to other areas, the older cities were increasingly housing residents unable to provide sufficient revenues to cover the costs of services (Kasarda, 1978; Adams, 1976). In other words, the tax bases of the older urban areas declined appreciably, while demands for and costs of providing services increased. At the same time that these older cities are facing such problems, there is a general boom in the Sunbelt area. "Of the thirteen SMSAs, growing the fastest in percentage terms, from 1970-1974, seven were in Florida and two each in Colorado, Arizona, and Texas" (Alonso, 1978: 54).

The federal programs of the 1960's and 1970's may have influenced the differential success of regional urban centers. However, some of these programs did contribute to the loss of creditability of large scale planned change. Despite this, these programs had at least one positive outcome, namely the increased interest in the local urban

community on the part of both the government and residents. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 asked "... men and women throughout the country to prepare long-range plans for the attack on poverty in their own local communities" because, "... local citizens best understand their own problems, and know how to deal with these problems" (Johnson, 1964). This emphasis on community participation in planning was further enhanced with the passage of ensuing federal laws such as the Model Cities Act (1966) and especially the Better Communities Act of 1974.

Increasing community organization and concern with local development is also illustrated by the formation of the Community Development Society of America in 1969 which provides a network of "people working on a professional or volunteer basis to improve the quality of life in their local communities" (Folkman, 1978). The network attempts to support strategies for community development such as organizing the community and gaining funding from various sources. It also publishes a journal which acts as a communications device among members. Concern with the usage of various funding sources, the relative success of community organizations in improving conditions, and the prospects for their future have led to the development of a body of literature on the subject of community development (e.g., Benz, 1975; Folkman, 1978; Schoenberg, 1980; O'Shea, 1977; Kapel and Pink, 1978; Janowitz, 1976; Kaiser, 1978).

The involvement of the federal government in prompting citizen participation corresponded to the neighborhood control movement which was a manifestation of racial and socioeconomic unrest in many cities

(Geruson and McGrath, 1977; Warren, 1978). Residents began making demands for more administrative decentralization and control over decisions affecting their community. In some areas local groups attempted to obtain neighborhood control over schools, though only two such attempts succeeded to any extent (O'Shea, 1977; Kapel and Pink, 1978). Other groups were demanding a voice in locally relevant decisions, at times using demonstrations and other techniques to be heard (e.g., Lipsky, 1968; Schoenberg, 1980). These were attempts to intervene in and control change on the community level, not simply reactions to specific decisions. Yet these organized efforts to gain more control over community life were in themselves a response to wider social changes such as those delineated by Warren (1978).

Warren's (1978) seven dimensions of the "Great Change" summarized the broad societal forces affecting community life. Four related, but more specific, macrosociological areas of change affecting local urban communities are particularly important in this study. These include patterns of immigration; energy costs and inflation; mortgage interest rates and urban housing; and small businesses. While changes in these areas have affected all urban centers, their impact on the precarious economic and social structures of the older cities such as Chicago make these areas especially important.

The choice of these four areas of change related to the specific problems being faced by the older cities of the Midwest and Northeast. Cities located there must cope with aging physical structures, changing population bases, and strained economics. Each of these problems is aggravated further by the four recent areas of change cited above. In

addition, the affects of such changes on local community populations and institutions may be seen and assessed through a combination of census data and direct observation and inquiry.

Changes in immigration patterns relate to the divisions of labor and the expanding functions of government as well as changing values. The extent of recent immigration terminating in older urban cities can be gauged by the fact that in Chicago and New York foreign immigrants represented a "significant proportion of net new jobholders in the late 1960's and early 1970's" (Geruson and McGrath, 1977:142).³ Patterns of immigration have changed from those of the earlier part of this century, bringing in many immigrants with high education and skill levels (Geruson and McGrath, 1977). These factors increase the chances that many new immigrants will be assimilated earlier into the occupational structures of urbanized areas. However, at the same time many immigrants become, at least for a time, a drain on various programs supported by governmental revenues (Janowitz and Street, 1978), as well as those supported by private welfare agencies (i.e., Russian Jews and the United Jewish Appeal). In addition, high levels of immigration during a period of recession and high unemployment becomes a heated public issue, though compared to previous periods they are arriving in areas at a time when their education and training are essential.

Although America is known as a melting pot for all nationalities, in the past most immigrants came from European countries. Immigration laws restricting the entrance of non-Europeans were passed in the 1920's and continued in effect with little variation for the next few decades.

The Immigration Act of 1965 abolished the strict quota system and set up an annual numerical limitation of 170,000 immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere with a limit of 20,000 from any one country. The Western Hemisphere limitations were for 120,000 immigrants. Theoretically this change in immigration law gave a more equal chance to potential immigrants from all countries.

Table 1, below, documents the changes in immigration. From a predominance of European immigrants, there have been recent increases in those from South America, Asia and Africa, and a corresponding decrease in those from Europe.

TABLE 1
SOURCES OF IMMIGRATION

	Europe	S. Am.	Asia	Africa
1820-1971	35,630,393	7,641,268	1,782,711	82,317
1951-1960	1,325,640	996,944	153,334	14,092
1961-1970	1,123,363	1,716,374	427,771	28,954
1971-1978	664,000	1,581,200	1,169,100	55,500
1976	72,400	22,700	149,900	7,700
1977	70,000	32,900	157,800	10,200
1978	76,200	266,500	243,600	10,300

(U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980)

Part of the Asian increase reflects the refugee situation in Southeast Asia after the Vietnam war, since the category of "refugee" is exempt from the limitations imposed on immigration discussed above. To deal with the special problems of refugees, the Refugee Act of 1980 allowed 50,000 refugees to immigrate to this country. The quota can

be increased by the president if justified by humanitarian concerns,⁴ as occurred in the case of the Boat People from Southeast Asia, and the Cuban refugees.

The changes in U.S. immigration patterns affect urban communities because a large portion of immigrants take up residence in such areas. Furthermore, some immigrants, especially refugees, arrive with very few financial resources. This, combined with incidents of racial, linguistic and cultural conflicts between immigrants and other residents, has continued to bring very real problems to many urban communities.

Another recent change concerns the energy crisis and concurrent monetary inflation which have affected the continuing suburbanization pattern and influenced our value system and use of resources. Ecology minded persons have long warned against a rapid depletion of natural resources (Kahn and Weiner, 1967; Erlich, 1969), but only recently have shortages been noticeable. These macrosociological events have brought some hope that urban areas with good public transportation systems may increase in popularity among the middle classes by making it more desirable to live closer to one's place of work. Although a few studies (e.g., Bradley, 1977; Thomas, 1978) would seem to confirm this thesis and show a population increase in some cities contrary to the former trends of our migration, the movement is neither strong nor widespread. It is also difficult to attribute such movement to energy costs. The increase in city population has primarily occurred in the Sunbelt regions of the country, not in the older industrial cities of the Midwest or Northeast (Alonso, 1978).

The rate of inflation has risen dramatically in recent years due in part to the increased cost of energy. The effects of double digit inflation are felt on all levels of society. Cities are hindered in their attempts to upgrade urban conditions. On the community level where people live out their daily lives, effects include decreased city services, labor strikes for more pay and increased transportation costs. Attempts to deal with the problem, ranging from voluntary wage and price stabilization to mandatory freezes and credit tightening, have been unsuccessful.

Buying and saving habits have altered in response to the impressive cost of energy, in some cases further affecting the inflation rate. The effects of inflation and the cost of energy have made it difficult for small businesses to compete with larger ones, with consequences for the types and number of stores available to shoppers at the local level. The problems of a stagnant economy are particularly acute in older cities due to their reliance on manufacturing concerns, many of which are relocating in Sunbelt regions.

The economy of Chicago, while faring better than those of New York and many other cities of the Midwest and Northeast, has not been growing as strongly or rapidly as that of the Sunbelt cities. The overall labor market has grown, although the growth has been mainly in the white collar administrative and professional service sectors which require skilled and educated employees. While the labor market structure in the inner city has shifted from blue collar manufacturing to white collar service, the composition of the city population has changed in the opposite direction. White collar workers have migrated

to suburbs or Sunbelt areas, leaving behind those unable either to fill the types of jobs available locally, or to commute to those for which they are qualified (Kasarda, 1978; Richardson, 1978; Geruson and McGrath, 1977; Alexis, 1978).

The reasons for the loss of middle class residents from the city are many and include growing affluence and the ability to realize owning a house and yard, fear of crime, deterioration of the inner city school system, and racial conflicts in the schools and elsewhere. The loss of residents and jobs is very serious because it has resulted in a declining tax base. The decline in tax resources comes at a time when there are increased demands for public expenditures: the physical infra-structures of the city are aging rapidly and require increasingly expensive maintenance; many residents are dependent on some form of welfare provided or administered by the municipal agencies; personnel costs have soared in the public sector. The result of these increasing public expenditures is of course higher taxes, especially real estate taxes, to increase revenues. Unfortunately, higher taxes act as a further impetus for city residents and businesses to move elsewhere if they can afford to do so. Those businesses unable to move face increasing costs and often declining sales on the local retail level.

A comparison between the two major older cities of Chicago and New York and representative cities of the expanding Sunbelt indicates some of the employment differences which have affected conditions in the two areas. Table 2 and Table 3 present the distribution of employment in various industries. As can be seen, most of the variation between the older cities and those in the Sunbelt is found in the

TABLE 2

SECTORAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT IN 5 LARGE CITIES: SEPT. 1976 (%)

City	Mining	Constructions	Manufacturing/Pub.	Transpnt. Utilities/Trade	FIRE*	Ser.**	Gov't
Chicago	0.1	4.5	28.2	6.5	22.7	6.1	13.0
Houston	4.4	9.2	17.0	7.4	24.0	2.4	12.4
Miami	---	5.7	14.5	10.1	25.4	7.6	14.8
New York/ N.E. Jersey	---	2.8	21.1	7.3	21.5	9.5	16.2
San Diego	0.1	4.4	14.7	4.8	23.6	5.6	25.9

*FIRE - financial, insurance, and real estate

**Services

(Source: Richardson, 1978:256-257)

TABLE 3

CHANGES IN MANUFACTURING AND TOTAL EMPLOYMENT IN 5 CITIES 1967-1976 (%)

	<u>Chicago</u>	<u>Houston</u>	<u>Miami</u>	<u>New York/ N.E. New Jersey</u>	<u>San Diego</u>
Manufacturing	-4.2	37.5	34.3	-27.4	22.1
Total	12.6	61.5	47.2	-3.9	51.6

(Source: Richardson, 1978:256-257)

manufacturing section. The older urban areas depend heavily on this sector while those in the Sunbelt do not. At the same time, what growth there has been in manufacturing jobs has occurred in the Sunbelt cities. In addition, "all the cities experiencing an employment increase in excess of 40% were located either in the South...or in the West..." (Richardson, 1978:261). In general, the increase in manufacturing jobs in the Sunbelt and the loss of other jobs to suburban areas have weakened the economies of older big cities (Kasarda, 1978).

The futures of older industrial cities would also seem to have been further endangered by the dramatic increase in mortgage interest rates in the mid-1970's.⁵ Actions of the Federal Reserve Board to control inflation pushed the prime interest rate, and consequently also mortgage rates, to unprecedented levels. The cost of housing or housing improvements is beyond the reach of many people, especially residents of inner cities. The dream of a house in the suburbs with a lawn and quiet streets also became problematic, if not impossible, to most people.

The federal government became specifically involved in housing issues in the 1930's in response to the depressed housing industry and the need for more housing units. Since then several federal housing programs have been passed. Laws enacted in the 1960's contained provisions for housing subsidies for low income families wishing to buy or rent units in special housing projects devoted entirely to such population groups. While the goal of providing quality housing to low income families is widely supported, observers disagree as to whether these federal programs could actually reach these goals. In any event,

the administration of such programs has been severely criticized for its corruption and mismanagement (Fried, 1972).

Legislation since the mid-1970's has provided rental assistance for low and moderate income families in buildings which are not totally occupied by families receiving subsidies. Money and relocation assistance to displaced persons have also been made available. The apparent need for these programs may be better understood in light of the dramatic rise in building costs and rents in recent years. For instance, in October of 1979 rents in Chicago rose an average of 1.3% over the prior month, the largest monthly increase since 1947 (Leepson, 1979).⁶ The current rent subsidy programs are an improvement over former ones in that the stigma attached to participation in them is not as great as that with totally subsidized housing projects, such as the Robert Taylor Homes in Chicago, or the short lived Pruitt-Igoe project in St. Louis.⁷

Increasing costs (and smaller size households) also generated an interest in the relatively new condominium form of ownership, especially in attractive urban communities. Condominium popularity began in the late 1960's after every state legislature had passed laws allowing institutional lenders to make condominium loans.⁸ Condominiums offer a chance for people to gain equity and tax advantages without the often time consuming and costly demands of a single family home. In addition, condos, as they came to be called, are generally less expensive than single family homes.

With rising inflation rates and tightened credit, apartment building owners began to see the great profit potential in converting to

condominiums and selling units separately. Profits to building owners who converted ranged as high as 600 percent (Leepson, 1979). The trend spread, with conversions in Chicago estimated to be 7,000 in 1970, 16,000 in 1977, 24,000 in 1978, and 30,000 in 1979 (Clurman, 1970; Leepson, 1979). According to a recent survey, Chicago leads the nation in condominium conversions (Chicago Tribune, July 3, 1980).

The large number of conversions from rental to condo units brought with it the problems of displacement of previous renters. Non-converting apartment owners increased rents to cover their rising operating costs due to inflation and higher real estate taxes. Conversions and rent increases combined to reduce housing choices for low income populations (e.g., the elderly), and produced considerable pressure for official action to counteract these tendencies. Tenant advocacy groups sprang up, demanding tenant rights and protective legislation against gouging landlords. Some groups called for rent controls and moratoriums on conversions, as in Chicago in 1979 and 1980. However, these attempts were unsuccessful.

While fearful of the spread of "condomania," and its associated problems, many urban community leaders began to see long term positive factors in the trend. Chicago, for instance, basically has always had a rental housing structure with the associated problem of population transiency in many communities. It is usually argued that owners who live in their units are more likely to take care of their property and have a greater interest in the community because of their monetary investment and physical presence. Thus many community leaders saw the increase in condominium ownership as providing more stability and

perhaps renewed interest in the local community.

Increased mortgage interest rates and condominium conversions of rental units in such cities as Chicago thus pose both advantages and disadvantages. While conceivably providing housing attractive to the middle class (most of whom are already city residents), condominium conversions decrease the options for many other city residents who cannot afford such housing (e.g., the elderly and lower income residents). These people are left with what lower priced housing remains, generally located in less attractive neighborhoods, or need some form of housing subsidy to obtain quality housing. This increases the strain on the city's fiscal resources.

Private construction and rehabilitation efforts have been frequently discouraged of late because of the high cost of mortgage money and high taxes. So in order to attempt to keep or encourage a mix of incomes, the construction of some form of federally subsidized housing and the use of federal funds in rehabilitating structures and relocating displaced persons will probably be necessary. However, construction involving public financing generally includes a range of stipulations and makes allowance for public input into the process. The involvement of community residents has led to local controversies over the effects of subsidized housing on the community, the desirability of its construction, the appropriate locations, and procedures for screening potential tenants. These controversies have become heated and are not likely to be readily settled. Increasing discussion among residents and community groups is one result of this which may provide further impetus for some residents to leave the community.

In addition to urban housing problems, midwestern and north-eastern cities are concerned with the vitality of their small businesses. At least one study (Matz, 1981) has found that perceptions of the business climate in an urban area are based largely on the perceptions of the quality of life in the city. Further, small businesses generate a large percentage of all new jobs, and their intentions to expand or leave an area depend heavily on their owners' perceptions of the business climate (not necessarily on its actual condition). Thus policies regarding housing and small business tend to interact to produce improvements in urban economies, improvements which are especially necessary in older urban communities where much of the local economy depends on such small businesses.

Local urban shopping areas have been hard hit in recent years by both the popularity of suburban shopping malls and inflation. In response to these problems the Small Business Administration (SBA) began a direct loan program to small businesses in 1976, known as "Section 502." The aim of the program was to upgrade neighborhood shopping strips by providing long term loans at low interest rates to small businesses that face difficulty in meeting the terms of conventional business loans. Projects costing less than half a million dollars are eligible, with the SBA providing up to 60 percent of the cost of a project directly and the remainder coming from private sources.

In response to this program, local development corporations (LDCs) were formed to put together loan packages for local businesses, and in fiscal 1980, \$45 million was provided nationally through the

program. In Chicago more than 20 LDCs were organized and the umbrella organization for these groups became the Chicago Association of Neighborhood Development Organizations (CAN-DO). According to CAN-DO officials, about \$7 million in SBA loans led to more than \$170 million in neighborhood commercial revitalization affecting about 40 shopping strips and generating 12,000 new jobs (Brodt, 1980).

These programs and others are a result of increased national emphasis on local community revitalization. They are also attempts to counteract the effects of the popularity of shopping centers and malls; the growth of large discount department stores; the increased use of the automobile; limited and expensive urban parking facilities; and the generally high costs of doing business in the city on urban strip shopping areas. Although it is too early to assess the final impact of these community revitalization efforts, the data are not encouraging.

Urban small businesses are having trouble, not only taking care of general cosmetic maintenance, but also surviving. Thus, many shopping areas which formerly flourished are now studded with boarded up or painted storefronts or are housing warehouses and distribution facilities. What is left of retail and service establishments often looks shabby. As suggested by Matz (1981) such situations do not promote the areas in which the businesses are located or stimulate any improvement in business.

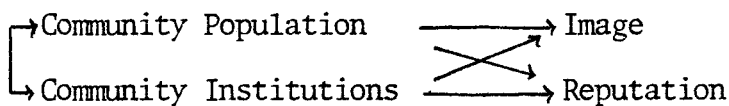
Warren's (1978) seven aspects of the "Great Change" summarized the broad social forces affecting community associational focuses. We have looked at changes in immigration, energy costs and inflation, mortgage interest rates and housing, and small businesses. Our model

assumes that decisions and changes made at broader levels of society are reflected in changes in a community's population composition and institutional conditions. The relationship between these two levels of community is not oneway. For example, the population composition influences the start up and success of businesses through residents' differential demands for goods and services. While the influences of population composition on community institutions is strong, the reverse cannot be precluded. For instance, the existence and nature of religious and other community institutions influence the decision of current or prospective residents to live in the community.

PART II

FIGURE 3

SCHEMATIC DRAWING OF COMMUNITY INFLUENCES ON IMAGE AND REPUTATION



The image and reputation of a community, the causes of changes in reputation and image, and the inevitability and/or irreversibility in such changes are important, but not well understood. The image and reputation of a community, perceived by its residents, are forms of shared understanding and represent the symbolic components of community. The image is the mental picture, conception, or impression of the community held by people. The reputation of the community adds an evaluative dimension to this mental impression. Together they represent

a major basis upon which individuals predicate their responses to community experiences. Paraphrasing W.I. Thomas, "what is perceived as real is real in its consequences." Learning what factors influence image and reputation is important for understanding community change.

Firey was one of the earlier sociologists to write on the importance of this symbolic component of the community (1945; 1947). Disagreeing with the prevailing attitude that spatial organization was dictated by land values and other economic factors he suggested that sentiment and symbolism were also basic forces. Spatial areas and physical structures represent more than monetary value. Analogies to his example of the survival and protection of the Boston Commons despite its location on prime land can be found in nearly every city. Such things point to the importance of identifying symbols and people's perceptions as interventions in market forces.

Interest in images and imagery of large urban areas is typified by the work of Anselm Strauss (1968; 1976). Strauss is concerned with the evolution of urban imagery in America and draws his examples from travel and popular literature as well as scientific studies. His finding, that urban images contain evaluations of dichotomous dimensions (e.g., secure homogeneity versus exciting heterogeneity), is relevant to the current study.

Until recently little analysis of community image and reputation was available. Reputation is usually discussed indirectly as part of the concept of community identity. The only analytical literature relating directly to image and reputation is that of Hunter (1974a) and Suttles (1972). Rather than arguing that a sense of community

develops from within the territorial community on the basis of certain primordial sentiments of the residents, these authors suggest that community identity is developed through an adversarial process. Contrasts between communities play a major role, involving adjacent residential groups and institutions, the mass media, and city and local officials.

Community identification, then, can be conceived of as a broad dialogue that gravitates toward collective representations which have credence to both residents and nonresidents alike (Suttles, 1972:53).

This adversarial process is not simply an unconscious one where parties have no realization of their roles. Residents of a community often attempt to control or manipulate their community's image and reputation. In many cases distinctive physical features of the area are elements of the community's image to be emphasized or played down. For example, in Chicago nearness to Lake Michigan is considered a community asset while in the past nearness to the stockyards was not (for obvious reasons).

Support for the adversarial nature of community identity formation and change is provided by the apparent history of some named communities to have acquired their designations from outsiders (at least in those cases where the names have negative connotations, e.g., Jew Town). It is likely that community residents themselves would not develop humiliating identities. Instead, such negative identities were more likely to originate with nonresidents. There is a similarity between the identity development of persons and of communities in that in each case an "other" is needed to act as a foil (e.g., Cooley's "looking glass self"). It appears, then, that factors other than

those relating solely to specific community conditions are important in development and change of a community's identity.

While Suttles (1972) was applying this process in the smaller neighborhood area, it is also applicable to larger well defined community areas. In the case of Chicago, community boundaries have been well defined and relatively persistent (Hunter, 1974a). This has made distinct surrounding territorial communities available for ready comparison by residents within a particular community as well as by outside persons and agencies.

A recent example of this was found by Goodwin (1979) in her study of Oak Park, Illinois. One of the ways in which Oak Park (in comparison to the Austin community area of Chicago) was able to facilitate integration was through the efforts of political and civic leaders in managing the community image that was projected to residents and non-residents. The community was portrayed as "open" and "integrated" long before it became so. This lessened the panic of white residents as black residents increased in numbers.

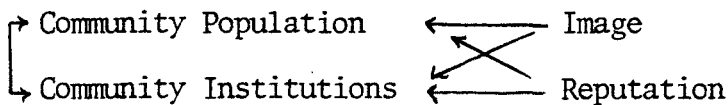
Those communities most consciously attempting to control and manipulate their image are frequently threatened, or at least perceive themselves as such. The threat in such communities often involves one or more of the following: The anticipation or reality of demographic change (e.g., racial, ethnic, or socio-economic); changes in the zoning or locating of buildings; or institutional expansion. While there is unlikely to be complete correspondence between the community's reputation and its actual conditions, the former does change for better or worse, often in consequence of community conditions. Community

leaders do consciously attempt to manipulate their community's image and reputation, emphasizing its virtues and playing down its defects, in efforts to direct or control community conditions and residents' perceptions of them.

PART III

FIGURE 4

SCHEMATIC DRAWING OF THE INFLUENCE OF IMAGE AND REPUTATION ON COMMUNITY



Learning what the effects of image and reputation are on actual community conditions is important for understanding the actions of community residents and organizations in responding to change.

A community's image and reputation do have a considerable effect on its ability to exist as a viable residential community. The image and reputation of a community are powerful opinion swayers in the sense that they are often taken as information that becomes the basis upon which people predicate actions, especially residential and consumer decisions (e.g., Goodwin, 1979).

The image and reputation may effect the reality of a community in at least two major ways. Investment in a community, for instance in business or housing, is undertaken for profit. Investors realize that a community's reputation will either encourage or discourage consumer entry into the area, thus affecting their profits. So investors

generally take into account these qualitative aspects of community image and reputation as well as the community's actual conditions in deciding upon a location (Matz, 1981). While some businesses (e.g., pawn shops) may choose to locate in areas with less desirable reputations; most will not. Investments are important to a community in that they may provide more and/or better housing, new goods and services, and jobs.

A community's image and reputation also influence prospective residents, especially home buyers. Generally speaking, prospective residents are interested in locating in a community of which they will be proud to say they are residents and from which they will be able to retrieve their investments, although not all have that choice. It is impossible for a prospective resident to be aware of the actual conditions in each of the large number of residential areas in a city. Image and reputation become factors by which individuals narrow their selection.

The importance and fragility of a community's image and reputation leave it open to the influence of both demographic and institutional changes at the community level. The outcome of the interaction among these variables is a kind of spiral system where, when one change is begun, the other variables are affected, and then go on to create further change. The following is a scenario depicting these relations.

A community has long maintained a good reputation as a middle-class urban residential community. Its population contains a single dominant ethnic group mixed with several others, and a part of its good reputation is based on its heterogeneity and success in avoiding

group conflict. The institutional structure of the community is healthy⁹ with reasonably successful retail outlets and service providers, strong community organizations, as well as political power within the city.

Then various changes originating outside the community begin to affect it. The population becomes more heterogeneous in terms of race, age, ethnicity and income which in turn affects certain institutions (e.g., businesses and religious institutions). Other societal forces such as inflation, condominium conversions and small business policies affect local institutions by limiting expansion potential and raising costs. Where the reputation of the community was unquestioned, the changes and their expected effects begin to concern community leaders and are reflected in press articles. Concern grows among those who have a great deal invested in the continued success of the community, while some with little investment are physically withdrawing.

Whether a community's reputation declines or is maintained depends to a considerable extent on the residents' commitment to the community. It is understood that there are only a limited number of residents strongly committed to a community's success. But the important thing may not be their numbers as much as the power that they have or can draw upon to solve problems in the community. The ability of residents to influence the press and how it popularizes the image of the community is also important. If the power of this group of committed residents is weak in these areas, the likelihood of its success in gaining some control over community change is very slim. However, if this group has command of various resources (e.g., money,

status, and contacts), its control over the situation is naturally better.

Committed residents generally coordinate their efforts to improve and preserve an area through a community organization. At any point in time it is logical to assume that the longer the organization has been in existence, and the more successful it has been, the more power it has. In addition, the organization is likely to develop and cultivate important external and internal contacts over the course of its existence. The mere fact of its continued functioning also gives the organization a certain legitimacy in the eyes of residents and nonresidents alike. Such legitimacy is a form of power in itself.

A study by Rossi and Dentler (1961) of the urban renewal process of the Hyde Park-Kenwood area of Chicago supports the contention that the attitude of committed residents and their activities may be intervening factors in this spiral system. The findings indicate that success was based on the presence of a strong institution, a tradition of volunteerism, skilled professionals, and a liberal attitude of the population toward demographic change. The reversal of what may be considered a downward trend depends to some extent on this combination of residentially stable and powerful residents, although it does not guarantee it (Molotch, 1972).

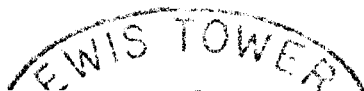
This, then, is the model of community change to be used. External factors affect change in the demographic and institutional makeup of the community. These lead to changes in the image and reputation of the community which, in turn, affect its demographic and institutional condition. Conscious attempts to alter this cycle are likely

to come from community organizations and vested interest groups in the institutional sector. These may manipulate the image and reputation by popularizing the strengths of the community and playing down and/or attempting to solve its problems. The results of these efforts then affect the actual conditions in the community.

ISSUE ON THE STUDY OF COMMUNITY

The term "community" has been used in many ways (Hillery, 1955; Poplin, 1972; Hunter, 1974a). The sociological usage stresses three major aspects: a territorial component, or geographic base wherein people live; an organizational component, or definite pattern of social organization potentially able to meet a common set of human needs, and a symbolic component or a cultural body of shared understandings. For the purposes of this study the local community is defined as a bounded geographic area characterized by definite pattern of social interaction and some sense of shared meaning.

The relevance of the local geographically based community to its residents has been a topic of disagreement for many years. While scholars debate the importance of the local community to residents, a portion of the latter have been busy working toward its betterment. Community civic organizations have a long history in this country, but increased involvement was prompted by federal programs of the 1960's and 1970's. Urban revitalization programs required citizen organization and participation in the planning stages. For example, the passage of the Better Communities Act of 1974 was a major impetus to renewed interest in communities and provided cities with \$8.4 billion for



neighborhood improvement programs. The effect was to emphasize the neighborhood as the critical unit for social order (Schoenberg, 1980:1). There have also been movements by citizens for neighborhood control over local institutions, for instance, schools (e.g., Detroit and New York City). Such attempts represent "...the growth in salience of neighborhoods, the deliberate decision to make the neighborhood important" (Warren, 1978:351). These efforts demonstrate the importance of the local urban community as a reference point for residents.¹⁰

Research on community residents and structures often takes the form of an in-depth analysis of a single case. This case study method has longstanding in the literature and in particular has been used by cultural anthropologists as well as community researchers in sociology. The social changes experienced by the Rogers Park community area of Chicago, and the effects of these changes on the community population, institutions, and reputation constitute our application of the case study method.

While the case study method has been widely used, it does have both advantages and disadvantages which must be addressed. The basic criticism of this method concerns its generalizability. By definition, the case study utilizes a sample of one making it theoretically difficult to generalize the results to other communities. Researchers electing to utilize the case study method have overcome this drawback in various ways. The choice of a particular community may be made on the basis of its representativeness of a certain type of community (e.g., Warner, 1963). This places the study in a larger frame of reference facilitating generalizability of the results, at least to

the other communities of that type.

Another approach to this problem is to choose a community which represents a "critical" case. While not necessarily representing a certain type of community, it exhibits many of the characteristics the researcher is studying. The investigation then concentrates on the community's experiences and responses to the various characteristics under study.

In our case the Rogers Park community is seen as a critical example of a viable urban community in an older industrial city in the American heartland. It is facing many of the problems associated with such cities as well as the more recent societal changes discussed earlier. The effects of these changes on the community's actual conditions as well as the community's image and reputation and response to these constitutes the subject matter of this study.

In addition to the use of a critical case, the researchers do not begin from scratch. Before commencing study the researcher reviews available literature on the particular theoretical focus of the study as well as historical and other information about the specific community. This often means going back to earlier community case studies, making careful note of the particular data collected and techniques used. Thus, a community case study is not isolated, but builds upon previous work in the field.

Despite recent emphasis on comparative studies the case studies' approach remains viable. From the early works of Zorbaugh (1928) and Wirth (1929), through the studies of Gans (1962), Warner (1963), Suttles (1968), and Kornblum (1975), to the more recent works of Goodwin (1979)

and Schoenberg (1980), the case study has been popular tool of community researchers.¹² Although the concern over generalizability is a valid one, the case study method appears to present enough advantages to merit its continued use.

Perhaps the most important asset of the case study is that it facilitates insight into various qualitative community characteristics and processes. While comparative studies may be fruitful they are limited to data which can be readily quantified. Changes in community organizational structure and relations, changing attitudes, and area residents' focuses of concern lose much of their impact when dealt with in a purely quantitative manner.

In a sense the case study method is a response to the quest for "verstehen" - a greater understanding of what goes on in our communities, how they are adapting to and shaping the changes taking place in our society. This need for understanding of urban communities is acute since most are facing changes that may radically alter our mode of urban living. Quantitative data alone can show that changes are taking place, but cannot fully explain the reasons for them or their effects on residents. Such data may reveal perceptions of change, but not how the perceptions relate to reality. Perhaps Janowitz (1968:1) put it best when he said "The community study remains a basic vehicle for holistic and comprehensive understanding of the metropolitan condition."

To understand the changes facing older urban communities and the role of image and reputation in a community, the case study approach is most appropriate. The Rogers Park community investigated in this

study was chosen because it has many of the characteristics common to such older cities of the Midwest. It is a well established community with an increasingly mixed population in terms of race, ethnicity, age and class; these are factors which are likely to affect its image and reputation. This situation provides an opportunity for causal analysis of image and reputation; the major variables in this study. Such communities, as Rogers Park, form the backbone of central cities and their future viability. It is, therefore, imperative that we understand how they adapt to larger urban changes.

Data for this study were collected from 1975 to 1980 during which time the researcher was spending time in the community on a regular basis. A survey of residents was conducted in 1976 to update census figures. Furthermore, over 40 indepth interviews were conducted with community institutional leaders, residents, and businessmen. Various meetings in the community were attended by the researcher over the period of study and several repeat interviews were made. Two phone surveys were conducted near the end of the period in order to assess changes in community reputation. Documents and archives on the community, especially for the 1950 to 1980 period were reviewed, including a number of studies previously conducted in the area.

OVERVIEW OF THE FOLLOWING CHAPTERS

This study investigates community change and the image and reputation of one urban community by addressing the following questions: What factors have enabled the community to sustain positive reputation? What changes are affecting the image and reputation and how? What are

the links between the reality of the community and its image and reputations? What community responses have been made and how successful have they been in defending the community's reputation in the face of change? And finally, what does the Rogers Park experience imply for the future of older industrial cities?

Outside factors affecting communities have been discussed above with reference to Chicago. Chapter II provided a profile of one area of Chicago, the Rogers Park community; reasons for its choice as a critical community, its history, physical setting, and boundaries, and subareas.

Chapter III will discuss the maintenance of a positive reputation in Rogers Park from 1950 to 1970. It deals with both conscious attempts on the part of various groups, as well as unintentional aspects of the community which have tended to maintain its positive reputation. The three major bases of reputational maintenance discussed are: population and housing characteristics compared to Chicago as a whole; comparisons with surrounding communities; and involvement of community organizations.

Chapter IV reviews the changes of the 1970's which have affected Rogers Park's image and reputation. These include changes in the demographic characteristics of the residents, in housing characteristics, and in businesses. Several comparisons are made between change in Rogers Park and corresponding changes in its surrounding communities.

Chapter V examines the reputation of Rogers Park as expressed by its residents at two points in time and compares their evaluations with those of citywide residents in 1980. Data are also presented on

reputational comparisons of Rogers Park, with its surrounding communities. Analysis focuses on the change in reputation over time and the roles of community comparison and residence in the development of image and reputation.

Chapter VI discusses the image-maker role which links the "reality" of the community and its image and reputation. The image-makers are identified as real estate developers and community organizations, which were found to influence the community's image and reputation through both the community and citywide press.

Chapter VII re-examines our model of change as it relates to Rogers Park and suggestions for the direction of further research on community image and reputation are offered. The effects of the wider social changes on the community and its reputation, and the community's responses to them are summarized.

Finally, the implication of this critical type of community study for understanding urban communities are discussed.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. One exception to this was the works of the Lynds (1929; 1937), which tried to show the effects of some basic social changes on the community.
 2. This discussion is based on an example given by Warren (1978).
 3. This was also true in the 1890's and 1920's. However, due to strict immigration quotas, until recently, immigrants have not represented significant portions of new jobholders. Thus, the current situation can be viewed as a recent change affecting the labor force.
 4. In addition to humanitarian concerns, political expediency was also a factor affecting the acceptance of more refugees (e.g., the Cuban refugees).
 5. The prohibitive costs of labor, due in part to the well organized and powerful unions, also endangered the futures of these cities by increasing the costs of doing business in them.
 6. During 1979 rents rose an average of 8.4% (Leepson, 1979).
 7. It should also be noted that not all communities have cooperated with subsidized housing programs. Thus, in the cities and suburbs we find some communities with few or not any subsidized housing while others contain a large number.
 8. A condominium owner owns the interior of a housing unit in a building, while the building and grounds are commonly held. There is usually an association of owners which assesses each unit a certain amount of money for the upkeep of the building and common grounds.
 9. Recently Schoenberg (1980) has developed a way of measuring neighborhood viability based on four propositions operationalized and tested in five working class and lower income neighborhoods of St. Louis.
- Of the nine of our fourteen indicators which were examined during the course of this study, eight out of the nine seem to indicate community viability. However, Schoenberg's (1980) scheme may not be fully applicable to the present study of Rogers Park because of the larger size of the community and its higher class status compared to the areas studied by Schoenberg. Since the current study did not specifically attempt to measure Schoenberg's indicators, conclusions along these lines are particularly tentative.
10. Similar conclusions can be drawn from the results of many urban case studies (e.g., Gans, 1962; Suttles, 1968; Kornblum, 1975; Goodwin, 1979; Schoenberg, 1980; Folkman, 1978).

CHAPTER I (cont.'d)

11. Effects of the cutbacks in social programs being made by the current administration have yet to be assessed (e.g., Clark, 1973; Aiken, 1970; Walton, 1971).

12. Other well-known community researchers utilizing this method include: The Lynds, 1929; 1937; Hollingshead, 1949; Wood, 1957; and Vidich and Bensman, 1968.

CHAPTER II

A CRITICAL COMMUNITY: ROGERS PARK

INTRODUCTION

Some of Chicago's 77 community areas, such as Rogers Park, were at one time distinct corporate entities later annexed to the city. Other areas were not. The community areas were defined by the Social Science Research Council in the 1920's and 1930's. Its decisions were heavily influenced by sociological work on "natural areas" then being done at the University of Chicago. The boundaries between communities were seen to be determined by competition and succession in the economic sphere (Burgess and McKenzie, 1925). The designation of community areas by the Research Council was based on various economic, historical, and geographic factors relating to the differences between localities. Boundaries between communities were generally physical features such as parks or busy shopping thoroughfares.

Not all of these localities had evolved into communities with a sense of their own identity prior to their official definition. In some cases "communities" were simply sections left out of surrounding well identified areas. However, once they were defined some of the areas appeared to achieve genuine "community" status and developed traditions and local institutions which provided a unique identity. Hunter (1974a) argues that the definition of these areas resulted in the development of feelings of community identity as measured by

residents' ability to name and bound their areas.

This ability of residents to bound areas that have relevance to them was also illustrated by Lynch (1960). The focus of his work on images evoked by the physical environment emphasized spatial and structural aspects. His finding that people do indeed cognitively map spatial areas suggests the importance of socially defined boundaries. These will be explored in this study also.

The choice of the Rogers Park community area of Chicago as the site for a community study utilizing the case study approach was influenced by a review of community case studies done in America. This led to the conclusion that there was a void in the types of communities studied. Many studies have been done of urban communities which house lower income residents or are designated as slums (e.g., Wirth, 1928; Zorbaugh, 1929; Suttles, 1968; Gans, 1962). Others have dealt with separate municipalities (e.g., Lynd and Lynd, 1928; 1937; Warner, 1963; Hollingshead, 1949; Wood, 1958; Vidich and Bensman, 1968; Goodwin, 1979). However, aside from Zorbaugh's work which included the wealthy Gold Coast area of Chicago, few have looked at an urban community with a high proportion of middle class residents.

As a rule community case studies have investigated one particular community in-depth while concentrating on some unexplained or interesting process or phenomenon. Under investigation in this study is the role that image and reputation play in the changes that a middle class community has gone through in the last few decades. Rogers Park, like other urban communities, is in competition for many of its necessities, from its share of tax revenues to residents. In part due to this

competition, the image and the reputation of the community are increasingly important to its success; and the success of communities such as Rogers Park is increasingly important to the large cities.

Little empirical work has attempted to assess community image and reputation. Perhaps this is due to the assumption that when one has to talk about a community's reputation, it is generally a bad one. A bad reputation is assumed to be a reflection of the negative activities that may take place in an area (e.g., gang wars and high crime), and these activities have attracted sociologists to study such communities (e.g., Zorbaugh, 1929; White, 1955; Suttles, 1968). One major role of such a negative reputation is fairly well understood; people who do not "belong" in the community are discouraged from entering. The community is generally unable on its own to attract residents who might work to change the negative image. In essence, the community often becomes a series of "defended neighborhoods" (Suttles, 1972) where safety becomes a paramount issue defining territories for various groups. The fact that such areas are widely believed to be unsafe suggests that reputations do play a role in communities, and especially urban communities.

While all these assumptions are made about communities with negative reputations, there are fewer widespread assumptions about communities with good reputations, and apparently less impetus to study them. Little is actually known of the role played by a good reputation: how it is developed and maintained, what effects it, and how it may change. The absence of sociological interest in urban middle class communities, in general, and in positive community image

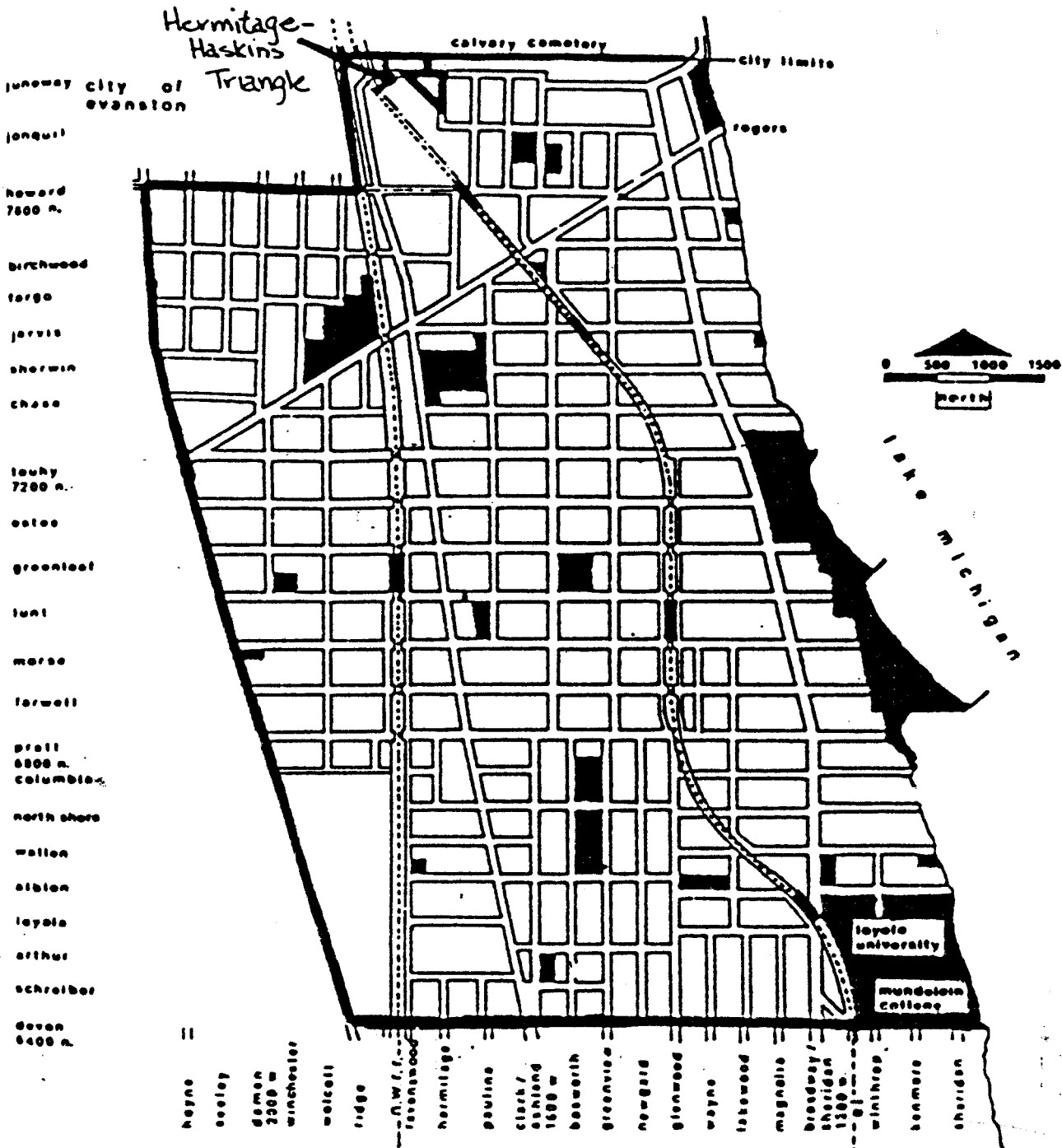
and reputation specifically, suggests a need for such study. In addition, the increased problems facing urban communities make investigation of this type of community and its responses to change of more than theoretical interest. If a well established and relatively viable middle class community is unable to successfully cope with the changes which face all communities, what hope is there for older industrial cities? Thus Rogers Park, a middle class community which has sustained a positive reputation over a long period of time and which is now facing serious changes with respect to its populations and institutional bases, appears to be a good choice to aid in better understanding urban social change.

COMMUNITY HISTORY

The community area of Chicago known as Rogers Park is the northern most community in the city, consisting of 188 blocks, 2.28 square miles, with a population of 55,525 in 1980 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Preliminary Count 1980). The boundaries of this community are: the city limits on the north, with the city of Evanston beyond it; Ridge Avenue on the west with the community area of West Ridge (often known as West Rogers Park) beyond; Devon Avenue on the south with the community areas of Edgewater and Uptown beyond; and Lake Michigan on the east (see map on next page).

Rogers Park grew from a small farming community of a few hundred people in the 19th century to one of the most densely populated communities in Chicago by 1970.¹ The original inhabitants were the Pottowattomie Indians who had established villages in the area. The

MAP OF ROGERS PARK



first mark left by white people was the establishment of a tavern around 1809 along Ridge Avenue just south of Pratt Avenue, which served as a stop along the stagecoach line. Treaties made with the Indians resulted in their ceding the land south of the "Indian Boundary Line" (now Rogers Avenue) by 1821.

The first white settler in the area was Phillip Rogers, an Irishman, who in 1839 built his cabin near what is now Ridge and Lunt avenues. With proceeds from his successful truck farm, he was able to acquire approximately 1600 acres of land by 1856, at which time the Chicago and Northwestern Railway began construction on its Milwaukee division. Other farmers of German, Scottish and English extraction had begun to move into the area. The Chicago fire in 1871 did not reach Rogers Park. This increased the real estate interest in the community but its distance from the city and the economic panic of 1873 retarded its development.

The land owned by Rogers eventually passed to his daughter Catherine and her husband, Captain Patrick L. Touhy, who became the chief developer of Rogers Park. He, and other early settlers, mapped the land into lots which by 1878 constituted a development large enough to incorporate into a town. In April of that year, the Village of Rogers Park, including the area from Howard Street and Rogers Avenue south to Devon Avenue, and Ridge Avenue east to Lake Michigan (48 blocks), became officially incorporated. The population estimates ranged from 400 to 800 with little change taking place from 1878 to 1888. At that time the population was concentrated near what is now the intersection of Greenleaf and Ravenswood Avenues. The area east

of Ashland Avenue was, for all practical purposes, a swamp due to the constant tidal activity of Lake Michigan.

From 1888 to 1893 the population of the community grew as Chicago expanded outward. By 1893, the population was 3,500 and boasted a business section containing more than 30 buildings. It was in that year that the village was annexed to Chicago. The North Shore Electric Railroad expanded its service and the Clark streetcar line began operating through Rogers Park the same year. As with other areas, settlement patterns in Rogers Park followed the opening of transportation routes. From the higher and drier stagecoach path provided by Ridge Avenue in the early days to the opening of the railroad and elevated lines, population settlement advanced.

A fire in 1894 destroyed most of the business district and the recently built Catholic Church, necessitating a great deal of new construction which was accomplished in brick. In 1895 the Rogers Park District was formed, and in general the "Gay Nineties" was a time of real estate expansion (especially in single family frame houses) and continuing improvement of the area.

In 1906 the Catholic Society of Jesus bought land in the southwest corner of Rogers Park, established Loyola Academy, and in 1909 chartered Loyola University. Further community growth was spurred by the extension of the Northwestern Elevated Railway to Howard Street, providing relatively speedy transportation to convenient points in the "loop" area of Chicago. Housing was provided by the construction of two story brick apartments which characterized the area until the late 1930's.

In 1915 Chicago annexed from the city of Evanston the section of land north of Howard Street and just south of the Calvary Cemetery, thus establishing Rogers Park's present boundaries. This northern section was known as "Germania" in the early 20th century due to the large number of Germans in residence.

With the Howard Street stop on the elevated railroad (completed in 1907), the northeast section of the community began to grow rapidly. From 1910 to 1920 the population of Rogers Park jumped from 7,000 to 26,857, and the next decade saw the population more than double. Larger residential buildings, such as hotels and apartment buildings were being constructed in the eastern section while the section west of the railroad tracks was less affected by change.

By 1930 Russian Jews were the second largest ethnic group in Rogers Park surpassed only by Germans. This was a result of heavy immigration into the area, starting around 1910, and of the movement of Jews from the West Side of Chicago to Rogers Park. By 1960 the Russian Jews constituted the single largest nationality in the area, followed by Poles and Germans and this continued to be the case in 1970, though the numbers of Spanish-speaking people were increasing. The population grew in the 1960's resulting in a total population of 60,728 in 1970, but had dropped below its 1930 level by 1980 when the census counted 55,525 residents.²

PHYSICAL STRUCTURE AND LAYOUT

Driving from Lake Shore Drive up Sheridan Road and into southeastern Rogers Park, one first sees Mundelein College and Loyola

University, institutions of higher education located in the community for many years. Further north on Sheridan Road are a number of shops catering to the college population. Bookstores, small restaurants, inexpensive clothing stores, movie and antique shops extend to about Morse Avenue. Further north are residential apartments, several nursing homes, a few scattered single family homes, and a hotel.

There are a number of luxury apartment buildings on the side streets east of Sheridan Road. In the condominium boom of the late 1970's, many of the apartments were converted to condominiums. Many of the structures are old, but in good repair and they have the additional attraction of being less than a block from Lake Michigan and in some cases of having private beaches.

One of the largest beach areas, extending from Columbia Avenue to north of Touhy Avenue, is Loyola Park, operated by the Chicago Park District. It includes a field house, ball fields, parking and bench areas. There are six other public beaches and nine parks, playgrounds and playlots scattered throughout Rogers Park. These Chicago Park District areas provide recreation and planned programs for children and adults.

Turning west on Howard Street, one enters what is both a major commercial strip in Rogers Park and one of its major "problem" areas. The "North of Howard" area, as it is often called, is bounded by Lake Michigan on the east, Evanston on the north, Howard Street on the south, and the railroad tracks on the west. It contains a diversity both of housing types and residents. At one time this area was a fashionable one in Chicago, but due in part to neglect by both building

owners and tenants, the area has become a problematic one in Rogers Park. The apartments are frequently overcrowded; originally intended for individuals or couples they now often house families.

West on Howard Street, the street widens and the buildings are in better repair. This area, from the railroad tracks west to Ridge Avenue, and north of Pratt Avenue to the city limits is basically residential. The population density is fairly low, and there are several park areas. The streets are generally quiet, but crowded due to the restricted amount of parking available. There is no manufacturing in this area and no major shopping strip outside of Howard Street.

Clark Street running south from Howard Street is one of the longest continuous strips of business and commercial activity in Rogers Park. All but one small section is zoned business or commercial. Along this street one may find anything from a taffy apple manufacturing company to the local American Legion post, as well as the local branch of the Chicago Public Library, warehousing and storage areas, and two financial institutions.

Several businesses have been located along Clark Street for many decades. Perhaps the oldest of these is the funeral home which has been at the same location since it opened its doors in 1888. Several other concerns, generally family owned, have been doing business along Clark Street for many years: a shoe repair shop, hardware store, and moving and storage company. These are interspersed with outlets of national corporations such as McDonald's Restaurant and a Honda dealership.

As with the residential housing in Rogers Park, many of the

commercial buildings are rather old, and in need of constant repair. While the street as a whole does not give the impression of a thriving area, there are signs of improvement. One of the saving and loans had recently acquired more land and expanded. The Honda dealership has expanded, and McDonald's built a new and larger restaurant. In addition, after years of community requests, a new Rogers Park Police District (24th) was formed, and a new building erected on Clark Street.

Morse Avenue runs east to west through the middle of the community, and east of Clark Street is another of Rogers Park's shopping strips. This street includes a number of retail shops now owned by Koreans. While two major establishments have moved from this area in the last few years (a locally famous delicatessen and an exclusive men's furnishings store), the strip seems reasonably prosperous with few empty stores and several new businesses planning to open. Along Morse Avenue, as elsewhere in Rogers Park, one sees and hears people with varying backgrounds and nationalities. More shops are found along the "El" tracks on Glenwood Avenue, both North and South of Morse. There are barbers, an art store, an Oriental restaurant, and a butcher, among others.

This section is located within a larger one from the railroad tracks east to Lake Michigan, and from Pratt Avenue to Touhy Avenue, which is the "heart of Rogers Park" according to the Rogers Park Community Council (1971). Within this area are nearly one half of the churches and synagogues, the fire service, the library branch, and many of the organizations of the area including the Jewish Community Center, the Women's Club, Chamber of Commerce and Industry Community

Council and the offices of the 49th Ward Alderman who represents the Rogers Park residents in the Chicago City Council.

The last major area of commercial and business activity in Rogers Park is along Devon Avenue, which is a major east-west artery. It is also the dividing line with businesses on the north side of the street located in Rogers Park, while those businesses on the south side are actually in what until recently was considered by many as Uptown.³ In addition to various retail and commercial establishments along Devon Avenue, there is a Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) sponsored senior citizens building, which is one of the few highrises in Rogers Park.

The far southwestern corner of the community (Ridge Avenue and Devon Avenue) is the site of the major industry of the area. At one time there were several small manufacturing firms. However, since the 1950's the number has gone down significantly, and today the area had only one major company. It is situated on the 36-acre complex of landscaped grounds, and recently invested \$6 million in a new building. It has the local reputation of a very good employer, a company concerned with the betterment of the area.

COMMUNITY IDENTITY, BOUNDARIES AND SUBAREAS

There are several sociological definitions of community, most of which contain reference to locality and organizational structures which meet major needs of residents. These social functions of community include the provision of goods and services necessary to community residents (e.g., food, education and socialization), social control,

social organizations, and mutual support.⁴ In addition, many definitions include a symbolic component referring to some sense of identification with their area on the part of residents.

The conception of the community as a social system, opposed to a social group (e.g., Hiller, 1941), has become more prevalent in community literature. Rather than defining the community on the basis of whether or not it exhibits certain characteristics, these characteristics are seen as variables which may be more or less present depending on the particular community. As Hunter (1977) has said, too dogmatic a concept of community tends to lead to a de-emphasis on empirical investigation of how urban society works.

Warren (1978) suggests there are four dimensions along which American communities differ: local autonomy (the extent of dependence as extra community units), coincidence of service areas. (e.g., schools and Churches), the extent of residents' identification with the locality, and horizontal pattern (strength of structural and functional relations of various local units). Each of these can be looked at with reference to Rogers Park. The community was at one time an autonomous village fulfilling necessary social functions for its residents. Its political autonomy was lost when it was annexed to Chicago, but most of the needs of its residents were still provided within the territorial community. As a result of annexation, service areas such as school and police districts, political wards, and other jurisdictional districts no longer coincided with community boundaries, a situation which Suttles (1972:59) has termed the "mosaic of non-coincident boundaries."⁵ Thus on the autonomy and service boundary dimensions, Rogers Park would

differ from a small rural village, often used as an example of the ideal type of "Gemeinschaft" community.

The horizontal pattern of the community is still relatively strong for an urban community. There are a number of active community organizations, and these, along with their members, have long been a part of an umbrella type organization which attempts to speak for the whole community. The ties among local organizations have thus been institutionalized resulting in a stronger horizontal pattern of organizational structure than might be found in other areas.

The identification of the residents with their community also seems fairly strong, though the historically high incidence of mobility in the community might suggest the reverse. The 1976 Survey⁶ found a large portion of residents (85%, N=200) knew the name of their community area. This was true despite the fact that 90% of the people questioned were renters, and 52% had lived in their homes two years or less. The residents also indicated a regular usage of local facilities such as drug stores (54%), grocery stores (86%), and financial institutions (46%).⁷ These facts suggest that a fairly large portion of the residents identify with the community in the sense that they are aware of its name and utilize some of its facilities regularly.

The 1976 Survey also included a question about the image of the community held by the residents. Responses ranged from general but vague positive feeling toward the community, to specific statements that it was a community with a mixed population or undergoing change, to statements reflecting more negative feelings about its recent perceived deterioration. However, the bulk of the responses exhibited a

generally positive evaluation depending on the length of residency; newer residents expressing more positive views on the community. These newer residents probably chose the community because they appreciated the increasing population heterogeneity and other changes taking place in the community; while older residents perceived these changes as upsetting the status quo.

Some sense of this positive feeling may be gleaned from the fact that 47% of the respondents in the 1976 Survey identified their last place of residence as one in Rogers Park, suggesting the community was important enough to many residents that they elected to stay within it. In addition, in the course of this study many people have mentioned that Rogers Park "has a sense of community," "it is like a separate area of the city," "it is a distinctive community." Some of these opinions were substantiated when the area was compared to Chicago as a whole (see Chapter III). Thus, Rogers Park appears stronger on the dimensions of horizontal pattern and community identification of its residents than on the dimensions of autonomy and coincidence of service areas.

Where divisions between coterminous communities are arbitrarily designated by some agency, there is the possibility of their being disputed. Two of the commercial districts straddle the boundaries of Rogers Park (Devon Avenue and Howard Street) which might create obscure over the exact location of these boundaries. However, the particular location and history of Rogers Park have eliminated most boundary uncertainty. Three of the boundaries are quite distinct: Lake Michigan on the east, the city limits on the north and Devon Avenue on the south;

the latter having been the southern boundary since the incorporation of Rogers Park as a village in 1878.

Confusion could easily arise on the western boundary since there are no similar "natural" boundaries. Many publications define the western boundary of Rogers Park as Ridge Avenue (Cutler, 1973; Kitagawa and Taueber, 1960; 1970; Council for Community Services in Metropolitan Chicago, 1975; Illinois Bell Telephone Company Neighborhood Directory, 1980), and this study utilizes this "official boundary" since most of the demographic data are available on this basis. However, the creation and perception of boundaries are important as they serve to identify the community to its residents and establish contrasting areas for comparative evaluation.

Hunter (1974a) looked at Chicago's 76 community areas⁸ in the late 1960's to see whether or not perceptions of their boundaries had changed since their definition some 30 years earlier. His findings indicated that some of the original boundaries were no longer operational in the minds of residents. However, there were three exceptions where all the community boundaries were perceived to be the same as the original ones. Rogers Park was one of these community areas, further supporting the view of the community as distinct and persistent.

Since the late 1960's, however, the consensus on the western boundary of Rogers Park has broken down despite the continued use of Ridge Avenue by many sources. In the three surveys done in conjunction with this study,⁹ respondents were asked to provide the western street boundary for Rogers Park. Results indicated that most people defined the boundary differently from how this study or "official" records tend

to define it. Responses ranged from Clark Street and Ashland Avenue all the way to the western city limits. The latter boundary would encompass the entire adjacent community area of West Ridge.

Table 4 shows the distribution of responses on the western boundary of Rogers Park, grouped into the categories Western Avenue and east,¹⁰ and west of Western Avenue. Non-residents were about as likely to identify the western boundary of Rogers Park as Western Avenue or east, as they were to see it west of Western Avenue. Rogers

TABLE 4

WESTERN BOUNDARY OF ROGERS PARK

Samples	Location of Boundary				
	Western Avenue & east		West of Western Avenue		
Rogers Park 1976	59%	(61)	41%	(43)	104
Rogers Park 1980	71%	(29)	29%	(12)	41
Citywide Residents	53%	(18)	47%	(16)	34
		108		71	179

Park residents on the other hand were more likely in both 1976 and 1980 to see Rogers Park as ending at Western Avenue or east of there. The 1980 sample of residents was even more likely to see Rogers Park as extending no further west than Western Avenue. The fact that the X^2 was not significant indicated that there was little difference between the response distributions of the three samples.

The popularity of Western Avenue as the boundary (30% of the 1976 sample gave it), may be due to two factors. First, it is a major thoroughfare. As was suggested earlier, one of the ways of distinguishing

between communities is the use of some distinctive feature of the landscape, such as a park or thoroughfare which divides communities. Over time the importance of Ridge Avenue as a boundary seems to have diminished while Western Avenue, with its shops and commercial activity, has increased.

Second, historically the area of West Ridge depended on Rogers Park for public transportation as well as many of its commercial, social and business needs. Much of the movement of residents out of Rogers Park has been to the west where there is more opportunity for home ownership and a new housing stock. Also, in 1962, the Rogers Park Community Council extended its service boundary to include the area between Ridge and Western Avenues. Thus, this area has been considered by many people as part of Rogers Park.

As in other community areas various subdivisions within the community are identified by residents. One such area is "North of Howard," which is distinguished from the rest of Rogers Park by historic circumstances as well as more recent changes. Housing in the area is primarily rental.¹¹ While varying in their actual conditions, over two-thirds of the structures in the area were built before 1920 (67.4%, U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1962). Typical of the housing stock in the "North of Howard" area are buildings constructed flush with the sidewalks, without open space or landscaping, especially north of Jonquil Terrace along Paulina Avenue. Some buildings are in need of obvious repairs (e.g., paint and screens) and entryways are often dark. The atmosphere is one of congestion and disrepair. A number of buildings have been brought to court for code violations. In 1974, to 1975

alone, about 16 buildings were demolished, mainly in the "Haskins Hermitage Triangle" (See Map I, page 46).

The commercial and business activity of the "North of Howard" area is basically conducted along Howard Street and one block north on Paulina Avenue. The establishment of the Howard Street commercial and business trip followed the construction of the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) Terminal, and the interest of a major developer in the 1920's. The commercial and business concerns along Howard Street are concentrated in food and beverage related establishments (e.g., bars, restaurants, liquor stores, and carry-out food shops), various retail outlets and various specialized services. Among the businesses are a violin repair shop, karate school, a theater and three health food stores, in addition to a few well-known branch stores like Woolworth's.

The large number of liquor related establishments may be partially explained by the fact that Evanston has been a dry city for many years and the Howard Street area is the closest commercial strip to that city. According to many of the residents interviewed, the Howard Street area was especially popular around World War II as an entertainment center. The old Howard Theater is closed, despite recent efforts to reopen it and most of the buildings are in various states of disrepair, some with rather shabby displays. However, attempts have been made to improve the area. A legitimate theater was opened on Howard in the 1970's; a small shopping center seems to be doing well; and potted trees have been installed to improve the appearance of the street.

According to figures from a 1977 study of the "North of Howard"

area (Moreno, et.al.), 75% of the households had incomes of less than \$11,000 and 50% had incomes of less than \$7,000. The prevalence of low-income households may be explained by the relatively low rents. Thus, there are a large number of persons and families receiving rent assistance or other forms of welfare. The location of the Howard Area Community Center on Paulina Avenue is also indicative of the poverty and social problems of the area. The Center was started in the early 1970's by a local parish to minister to its poorer members. Its services include free food and clothing as well as referral to various social agencies.

In addition to the "North of Howard" area, Rogers Park is often divided by the designations of East and West Rogers Park, although there is no consensus of the boundary dividing the two areas. Dividing lines often cited by residents are Clark Street or Ashland Avenue. These are supported by at least one published source (Cutler, 1973:50-51), which based this division on differences in the socio-economic status of the residents. Differences in the types of housing are also apparent with the eastern section containing more apartments, and the west more owner occupied units (though this is likely to change with the 1980 figures on condominium ownership). In addition, most of the business and commercial life of Rogers Park is to the east of Clark Street.

What the terms East and West Rogers Park represent to people is more uniform than their exact boundaries. East Rogers Park has an image which emphasizes its housing and population density, and heterogeneous and transient population, while West Rogers Park is perceived as more Jewish and less dense with more home ownership. These images

are to some extent supported by facts about the two areas. The Local Community Council conducted a series of studies of Rogers Park (including the area west of Ridge Avenue to Western Avenue) between 1969 and 1974. Its purpose was to assist in planning for the community by assessing the needs of each area. The Council divided Rogers Park into six sections and discussed each separately. Table 5 was compiled

TABLE 5

DENSITY COMPARISONS EAST AND WEST ROGERS PARK*

	Populations ^a (Thousands)	Land Area ^b (Sq. Mile)	Population Density
East of Railroad tracks	50.3	1.25	40.2
West of Railroad tracks	20.4	1.03	19.8

*Adapted from Rogers Park Community Council Study, 1974.

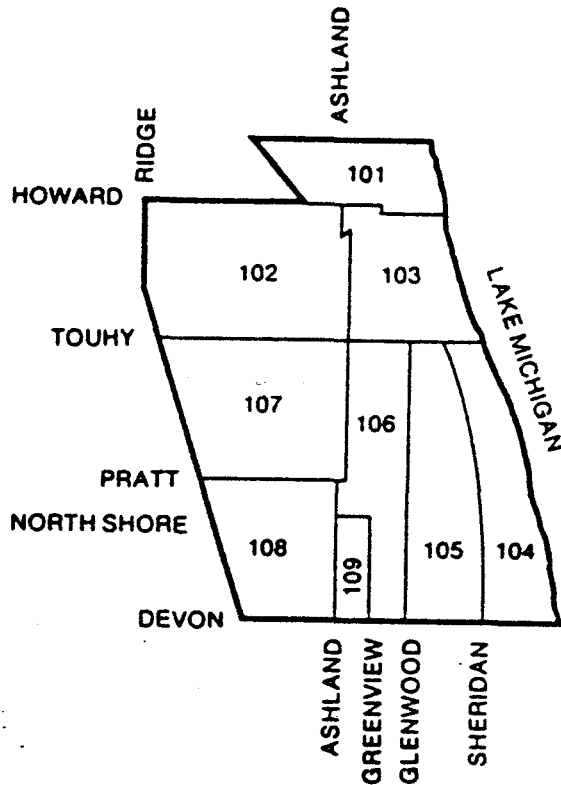
a. Source: 1970 Census of Population and Housing (4th Count).

b. Source: Rogers Park Planning and Development Committee.

from the results of these studies and indicates that the population density of Rogers Park east of the railroad tracks is much higher than that to the west. The sections west of Ridge Avenue included in these studies tend to lower the density of this area as there are more single family homes there. However, the census tract divisions which are based on population size also support this finding as shown by Figure 5 below. Thus, there are a large number of tracts east of Clark Street and Ashland Avenue than west of them because of the larger number of residents.

Higher transiency in the eastern section is probably due to the

FIGURE 5
CENSUS TRACT DIVISIONS: ROGERS PARK



prevalance of rental units. As mentioned above, most of the commercial and business activity of Rogers Park is carried on in this section, giving it a more cosmopolitan character. In addition to these elements of its image, East Rogers Park has the attractions of Lake Michigan and convenient public transportation. West Rogers Park is indeed less dense, and earlier censuses indicate an increase in home ownership as one proceeds west from Lake Michigan.

As discussed earlier, the Jewish population has dominated Rogers Park for decades. However, with the westward movement of residents searching for home ownership, the Jewish population began to decline

in the late 1960's resulting in the closing of synagogues for lack of support. According to estimates made by Loyola's Department of Sociology in 1976, the Jewish population had dropped to about 22%, down from 37% in the early 1970's. This decline was the result not only of the westward movement of Jews, but also of the loss of various "feeder" neighborhoods in Chicago (e.g., the West Side) that had previously supplied Rogers Park with new Jewish residents. However, immigration by Jews from Russia and Eastern Europe into Rogers Park in the late 1970's and early 1980's has swelled the Jewish population greatly. According to the group Friends of Refugees of Eastern Europe, approximately 2,000 such immigrants settled in various hotels and apartments east of Clark Street from 1979 to 1980.

Other ethnic groups have also settled in Rogers Park in recent years, many in the "North of Howard" area. Along Howard Street some stores offer both merchandise and signs in other languages and the names of various businesses reflect the ethnic and racial mix in the neighborhood. The presence of Hispanics, Blacks and Asians is easily observed as these groups frequent the shops along Howard Street. Recent figures (Moreno, et.al., 1977), indicate the total population of the "North of Howard" area to be 5,700, down from the 6,936 of the 1970 census. About 20% are American Blacks; 20% Carribean Blacks; 30% Hispanics, mainly Mexican; 20% White; and 10% Oriental. One magazine article about this area was entitled "Rainbow in Rogers Park" (Sequeira, 1975). Indeed, a local resident voiced a reflection of this by saying, "...I hardly ever hear English spoken anymore."

This then is Rogers Park, once a village suburb of Chicago, now

an identifiable community within that city. Added to the urban advantage of convenient public transportation is the ready access to the recreational facilities of the lakefront. Rogers Park also offers a variety of shops and restaurants, giving it an international flavor in tune with its racially and ethnically mixed population.

Rogers Park is now facing many of the problems associated with older urban communities. Its housing stock is aging as well as its population. New immigration patterns have led to new residents with varying needs. Suburban shopping centers and malls as well as general economic conditions have harmed the business and commercial base of strip shopping. These changes and publicity about them have affected the image and reputation of the community. Its location makes it less likely that people from other sections of the city will travel through it with any frequency. Thus, their knowledge of the community will rely more heavily on its public image and reputation. The unplanned conditions and conscious actions of community groups which have helped to guard Rogers Park's positive reputation over the years will be the focus of the next chapter.

NOTES

CHAPTER II

1. Historical material came from the archives of the Rogers Park's historical society and the map from the community council.
 2. The loss of population may have been partly due to the demolition of deteriorated buildings and the lack of new construction as indicated by the low vacancy rate of approximately 1 percent at the end of the 1980's.
 3. Uptown is no longer, strictly speaking, adjacent to Rogers Park. After a number of years of fighting for separate status, Edgewater has recently (1980) been designated Community Area 77. It is bounded by Devon Avenue on the north, Foster Avenue on the south, Lake Michigan on the east, and Ravenswood Avenue on the west. Thus, it separates Rogers Park from the community area of Uptown to the south of it. However, as this official separate status is very recent, and Uptown has traditionally been considered by many as the area south of Devon Avenue, it has been included as a surrounding community. No matter what its boundaries Uptown appears to have salience to Chicago residents as Chapter V illustrates.
 4. These are taken from Warren (1978).
 5. This will be discussed further in the boundaries section.
 6. In 1976 the Sociology Department of Loyola University undertook a survey of Rogers Park residents intended to update 1970 census statistics as well as provide information on residents' perceptions of their community. A description of the survey can be found in the Appendix.
 7. Some of the figures found in the studies of Rochester, N.Y. (Foley, 1952; Hunter, 1975) are roughly comparable to these. In Foley's study 53.5% (N=448) of the respondents thought the district had a special name and in Hunter's sample, 64.5% (N=154). These percentages are quite a bit lower than the 85% (N=200) of Rogers Park residents who knew the name of their community.
- 77.4% of Foley's sample (N=457) and 34.7% (N=154) of Hunter's indicated they used grocery stores within a five block area of their home. Our question merely asked if the respondent shopped for groceries within the community with 86% saying they did so regularly. Banking within a five block area was carried out by 25.6% of the respondents in Foley's sample, and 47.9% in Hunter's. Our results showed 46% of the respondents in Rogers Park bank within the community.

While the results of these studies are only roughly comparable (because of the size differences of community and neighborhood), our findings

CHAPTER II (cont.'d)

indicate that Rogers Park residents have a sense of community at least equal to that found by Hunter (1975) in his repeat study on Rochester, N.Y.

The 1976 data are also comparable to a survey of Rogers Park residents done in the early 1960's by the local Community Council. The percentages of residents who regularly used the local facilities varied depending on their plans to move within the next three years for the 1960's sample.

Regular use of grocery stores varied from 87% to 93% in the 1960's; while in 1976 86% of our sample indicated regular usage. Between 79 and 84 percent of the 1960's residents used local drug stores regularly while only 54% of the 1976 sample did. In the early 1960's between 48 and 58 percent of the residents banked in Rogers Park while 46% of the sample in 1976 did so.

These comparisons imply a very slight decline in local facilities use since the early 1960's on two measures, and a sharp decline on one. Actually there has been less total change than might be expected given the increased popularity of shopping malls and chain drug stores.

8. The 76th community area was added with the annexation of O'Hare Airport to the west of the city. In 1980, a 77th community area was included, namely Edgewater, formerly considered a part of Uptown.

9. The surveys will be discussed in Chapter V and the Appendix. One was the 1976 Survey conducted by the Sociology Department of Loyola University. The other two were phone surveys done in 1980 of Rogers Park residents and other city residents. (These samples are referred to as Rogers Park 1980 and Citywide Residents, respectively). The phone surveys were designed to study Rogers Park's reputation.

10. Nineteen of the respondents in the 1976 Survey; 11 of the respondents in the 1980 resident survey; and 2 of the respondents in the 1980 citywide survey gave Ridge Avenue as the western boundary of Rogers Park. This translates to 31%, 37% and 11%, respectively, of those in the category "Western Avenue and east."

11. This study found the following composition in each of the four areas. Area 1) East of Sheridan Road are large multi-family apartment buildings which are well maintained and expensive due to their proximity to Lake Michigan. Area 2) The area of most deteriorated housing runs from Ashland Avenue to Haskins Avenue, north of Jonquil Terrace. Area 3) Well kept single family homes are found from Juneway Terrace north, and from Sheridan Road to Ashland Avenue. Area 4) Three to six flat buildings and most of the commercial and business properties are located from Jonquil Terrace to Howard Street, between Paulina Avenue and Sheridan Road.

CHAPTER III

MAINTENANCE OF A POSITIVE COMMUNITY IMAGE

AND REPUTATION: 1950 to 1970

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is primarily concerned with Part II of the social change model discussed in Chapter I. It should be recalled that this section of the model dealt with the effects of community population and institutions on the image and reputation of the community. In this chapter we are applying the model to the 1950's and 1960's by demonstrating how the community's population and institutions helped maintain Rogers Park's positive reputation during this period.

This chapter is organized into three parts. The first deals with unplanned conditions in the community which have contributed to its positive reputation through the 1960's. Within this section three major topics are discussed: the population and housing characteristics of the community, the conditions of Rogers Park with respect to Chicago as a whole and the communities of Evanston, West Ridge and Uptown, and community institutions. The second section deals with the impact of groups making a conscious attempt to improve Rogers Park during this period. Finally, in the third section these topics are summarized and conclusions are discussed.

A community's reputation is not made over night. It is built up over time and based on various factors, some of which may be unique to

the particular community. Conscious attempts to influence the reputation are important, but certain permanent features of the community also play an important role. Rogers Park has several features which have contributed to its continued positive reputation over the years.

There are rather broad distinctions made between large areas of Chicago by local residents. In the local parlance, the North Side connotes an area of communities with better than average socio-economic characteristics, located far enough from the Loop to disqualify most from any "inner city" labels. Thus, Rogers Park's location on the far north side of Chicago contributes to its good reputation. Another positive aspect is its location right on Lake Michigan, where opportunities for recreation are readily available. Public transportation is plentiful and convenient to Rogers Park residents; with the El system, Chicago and Northwestern Railroad, and Chicago Transit Authority bus system all operating in the community. In addition, there are several main arterial routes giving ready access to both downtown and suburban areas by car. The housing stock in Rogers Park, while aging, is basically sound and most of it is well built and maintained. Its attractiveness has been enhanced by comparison with the poor construction of some recently built smaller apartment units to the south of Rogers Park.

All these relatively permanent features are considered advantages of living in Rogers Park. In the 1976 Survey by the Department of Sociology at Loyola, the Lake, transportation, and housing were the three most frequently mentioned advantages that the community had to offer. Yet there are other communities in Chicago with similar features that have

not maintained a good reputation over a long period of time (e.g., Uptown). Factors other than those cited above appear necessary to develop and maintain a reputation as a good urban community in which to live.

The bases of reputational maintenance discussed here were delineated after a number of interviews with residents and several years of observation in Rogers Park. They represent respondents' subjective judgment of Rogers Park along several dimensions. Some of these judgments are the results of groups making conscious attempts to improve the reality of Rogers Park. Others are more a matter of circumstances, such as the permanent features of the area mentioned above.

UNPLANNED COMMUNITY CONDITIONS

Population and Housing Characteristics

Various demographic characteristics of the total population have been fairly constant over time. From 1950 to 1970, Rogers Park did not experience any sudden or widespread changes in ethnic or racial compositions as many other Chicago communities did. Neither did Rogers Park undergo extensive housing demolition and rebuilding under federal programs.

Rogers Park has consistently housed a large percentage of foreign stock populations, 48% and 44% in 1960 and 1970, respectively. This was a higher proportion than in the city as a whole (36% and 30% for the same two periods). Most of this population originated in northern and eastern Europe with a large number coming from Russia. Table 6 shows in percentages the relative contributions of the top five countries of

problems are undoubtedly encountered in the process of acclimation to a new country and perhaps a new language, there is probably less of a culture shock for these immigrants than with immigration in the early part of this century.

In terms of race, Rogers Park has been, and remains, predominantly white. Between 1960 and 1970 the Black population increased from 57 individuals (.1% of the total) to 758 (1.2%) still a very small portion of the population. The Chicago figures were 24.4% in 1960, and 32.7% in 1970. There was also an increase in other nonwhite residents, mostly Asians. This group went from only .6% of the Rogers Park population in 1960, to 3.3% in 1970. In Chicago the percentages were .7% in 1960 and 1.7% in 1970. Thus, Rogers Park housed a much smaller percentage of Blacks than the city as a whole, but a slightly larger percentage of other races. Because of the greater ethnic heterogeneity in Rogers Park, small numbers of different ethnic and racial groups were probably not seen as very threatening by residents.

Rogers Park has traditionally been a community of middle class residents and various census statistics attest to this through the 1960's. The median family income of Rogers Park residents in 1959 was \$7,465, while that for Chicago as a whole was \$6,738, a difference of nearly \$1,000. By 1969 the median family income had risen to \$11,439 for Rogers Park and \$10,280 for the city, increasing the discrepancy. Thus, family income in Rogers Park was above that of Chicago as a whole.

Almost 5 percent (4.6%) of the families in Rogers Park, compared to 10.6% of those in the entire city, had incomes below the poverty

level in 1959. By 1969 the percentage of these families was 5.8% in Rogers Park and 13.6% in Chicago as a whole. This was a 1.2 percentage point increase in Rogers Park, with many of these people residing in the "North of Howard" area. During the same period, the Chicago rate increased three percentage points, more than double the increase in Rogers Park.

The educational levels of residents in Rogers Park have been consistently high. The median years of schooling completed by those 25 years of age and older is over 12 years, increasing slightly from 1960 to 1970 (1960:12.2; 1970:12.4) while Chicago figures rose from 10.0 to 11.2 between 1960 and 1970. The percentage of Rogers Park residents with four or more years of college completed has also been relatively high and increasing. In 1960, 14.3%, and in 1970, 18.4% of the residents had completed four or more years of college. The Chicago figures were 6 percent and 8.2 percent, respectively. These data may be partially explained by Rogers Park's location between two universities granting advanced degrees, as well as increased enrollments at colleges during this period. Overall, however, Rogers Park residents were more educated than the total city population; corresponding to their higher income levels.

The range of occupations of Rogers Park residents is wide, as in any urban community of its size. However, most people are employed in "white collar" occupations as professional and technical workers, managers, officials and proprietors, and clerical and sales workers. In 1960 fully 66.2% of the male workers in Rogers Park were classified as white collar workers, while only 33.5% were so classified citywide.

Statistics for 1970 showed that white collar workers in the city had increased to 36%, while in Rogers Park the percentage dropped slightly to 65.6%, still well above the Chicago figures. Thus, comparisons between Rogers Park and Chicago on socio-economic indicators of income, education, and occupation suggest that Rogers Park residents have been consistently higher than the average for the city.

In Rogers Park, single family frame homes were popular prior to the 1920's. However, the increase in population between 1910 and 1930 brought increased demands for housing. Also, taxes on single family homes had risen to the point where they were economically unfeasible for many homeowners who subsequently sold out to apartment builders (Chicago Historical Society Interviews).

The mobility rate in Rogers Park has been very high. In 1960, 61% of the population over five years of age had moved into their units within the preceding five years. By 1970, the figure for movement within five years had increased to 65%. Chicago figures for these two periods were 53% and 48%, respectively, indicating a drop in mobility. The high rates in Rogers Park are partially explained by the predominance of rental housing in the community (Karan, 1978).

Looked at from a different point of view, the mobility rate is less dramatic. While over 60% of the population had moved into their homes less than five years prior to each of the last two censuses, 35% or more than had been stable for those five years. This is interesting in view of the fact that only 10-11% of the units in Rogers Park were occupied by owners. Thus, at least 20% of the rental population was stable for at least five years prior to each census. In addition,

of those who moved, a large number did so within the community itself; in the 1976 Survey 47% of the 200 respondents gave Rogers Park as their last place of residence.

The small average size of the housing units in Rogers Park may also help explain the mobility rate. The mean number of rooms per housing unit in 1970 was 3.8. Only seven other community areas had averages less than this, while Chicago as a whole had an average of 4.5 rooms per unit. This suggests that the typical housing unit in Rogers Park is a two bedroom apartment, not really large enough to comfortably house a family with more than one child.

In general, Rogers Park has experienced a greater shift in its age structure than has Chicago over the last decades. The source of this change appears to be located in the 20-34 year old group. While both Chicago and Rogers Park had similar proportions of their population in this category in 1950, by 1970 much had changed. Rogers Park had a greater proportion of both males and females in these categories, in part perhaps because of its location near two universities, its largely rental and reasonably priced housing, and the size of the units.

In the 1960's, the proportion of the population over 65 years of age increased for both Chicago and Rogers Park, but the increase in the latter was more marked (.4% increase from 1960 to 1970 for Chicago, and 1.5% increase for Rogers Park). In addition, the over 65 group has consistently made up a larger portion of the population in Rogers Park (14% in 1960; 15.6% in 1970), than in the city as a whole (9.8% in 1960; 10.6% in 1970). There are two factors which may help to account

for this. In the 1950's, before the boom in condominiums and retirement villages, people tended to look for a nice apartment in a good location for their retirement. In addition, in the 1950's and 1960's a number of nursing homes and shelter care facilities were opened in Rogers Park further attracting elderly residents to the area. These factors combined with the steady decrease in persons under 19 years of age in Rogers Park, suggest a major shift in the age structure of the area.

These trends are consistent with the rise in the percentage of the population living in group quarters in Rogers Park. In 1960, 1.7% of the total population of Chicago lived in group quarters while the figure for Rogers Park was 1.8%. By 1970, only 1.5% of the city population lived in group quarters. However, for Rogers Park that figure had risen to 3.4%. By 1970, there were 11 shelter care facilities housing 5% of the population over 65 years of age.¹ Also, the enrollment at the Lake Shore Campus of Loyola University jumped from approximately 1,700 in 1960 to over 4,000 in 1970, with a large percentage of these students living in newly built dormitories located within Rogers Park.

Rogers Park had a lower percentage of families than the city as a whole (72.2% were family households in Chicago, while only 58.4% were in Rogers Park in 1970). This is partially explained by the low proportion of single family homes as well as the size of the apartments. From 1960 to 1970 the percentage of family households dropped 4.7% in Rogers Park, while at the same time the total number of households increased by 16.2%. These figures likely reflect the increase in the

20-34 and over 65 age groups, many of whom live alone or with unrelated individuals, as well as other demographic trends (e.g., people marrying later and high divorce rates).

Over three-quarters of the housing units in the community are in buildings erected before 1950. Of those built before 1950, 70% were actually constructed before 1940. In the 1940's Rogers Park was classified as a "conservation area" based on the age of its housing and the rents being charged.² This classification was by no means a negative one, as 50% of Chicago residents lived in such units, most of which were in highly desirable neighborhoods. It simply meant a recognition of the fact that care would have to be taken in the maintenance of such structures to ensure their continued usefulness.

Housing conditions in 1960 were such that 2.6% of the units in Rogers Park were without full plumbing facilities.³ In Chicago as a whole the figure was 14%. By 1970 both figures had dropped with 1.7% of the units in Rogers Park, and 3.9% citywide without all or some plumbing facilities. These figures reflect increased housing demolition, and new construction and rehabilitation during the 1960's.

Since the 1920's the housing stock in Rogers Park has been predominantly rental. In 1960, 83% of the housing units were renter occupied and by 1970 the figures rose to 86%. Chicago figures for those years were 63% and 61%, respectively. The rental nature of most of the housing provides a partial explanation for the high density of the area with 33,000 persons per square mile. Only four other Chicago communities had higher densities in 1970.

Most of the housing units were in buildings of 1 to 3 stories

(76%); a few in buildings of 4 to 6 stores (18%); and the remainder were in larger buildings. The bulk of these units were in structure with between 5 and 49 units (65%), and 31% in buildings with less than 10 units. These facts are important in that they suggest an urban community made up of relatively lowrise buildings. In fact it was only in 1960 that a building over 13 stories was erected. This was built by the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) as a senior citizen housing facility. The lack of highrise construction saved Rogers Park from the fate of some other lakefront communities (e.g., Edgewater, Uptown) where high-rises were built right on the shoreline, making the lakefront less accessible to most residents.

The vacancy rate in Rogers Park has been consistently lower than Chicago's. In 1960 approximately 4.8% of the housing units were vacant in Chicago, while the figure was 3.7% for Rogers Park. The rates had changed only slightly by 1970, rising for the city (5.0%) and falling for Rogers Park (3.3%).

The average rent for apartments in 1970 was \$115 per month in Chicago, and \$136 per month in Rogers Park with only 12 other communities having higher average rents than Rogers Park. The housing costs in Rogers Park were about midway between the costs in surrounding Chicago communities making its rentals relatively reasonable for the area.

These comparisons of Rogers Park with Chicago as a whole for 1960 and 1970 show that Rogers Park was not really representative of the city. These suggests that one reason for identification of Rogers Park residents with their community is precisely that the area has been

somewhat atypical. In other words, residents may perceive Rogers Park as a unique community within Chicago. This is exemplified by a perhaps apocryphal story told in the community about a letter sent in the 1960's to a community resident. Its address was simply "Rogers Park, U.S.A.," but it was delivered nonetheless.

Comparisons with Surrounding Communities

One factor in the development of a community reputation is comparisons between communities. In order to assess the real differences between Rogers Park and the communities surrounding it, t-tests were done on selected 1970 census figures. This section discusses the comparisons between the communities of Evanston, Uptown, West Ridge, and Rogers Park.

Evanston lies directly north of Rogers Park. It is outside the Chicago city limits and is larger in area and population than the Rogers Park community. In terms of population composition, Rogers Park houses significantly more residents of foreign stock, and has greater proportions of Russian and Spanish-speaking residents. However, while Rogers Park is more ethnically mixed, Evanston is more racially mixed with a higher proportion of black residents. The age structure of the two communities also differs somewhat with Rogers Park having a significantly higher proportion of its population in the 65 to 74 age group.

Comparisons of socio-economic indicators revealed that Evanston residents have a significantly higher median income and median education than Rogers Park residents. In terms of occupation, Evanston has a

greater proportion of its work force employed in white collar jobs. However, there is no significant difference in the proportion of families on public assistance or welfare.

Housing patterns differ between the communities with Rogers Park having significantly more renters than Evanston, although the median rent is lower. The greater proportion of rental housing in Rogers Park is reflected in its significantly greater amount of mobility. Based on the adequacy of plumbing, the housing conditions in the two communities are not significantly different, nor is the age of the structures.

In summary, Evanston has a population with higher socio-economic status than Rogers Park. It is less ethnically mixed, though more racially heterogenous. While the age of housing in the two communities is comparable, a much higher proportion is owner occupied in Evanston than in Rogers Park, accounting for its lower mobility rate.

The community of West Ridge derives its name from its location west of Ridge Avenue. It is larger in area, though with only a slightly larger population than Rogers Park. The population composition of the two communities differs significantly in terms of Blacks and other nonwhite residents, with Rogers Park having significantly higher proportions of both groups. In addition, Rogers Park houses more Spanish-speaking residents than West Ridge. The age structure shows no significant difference, nor do the socio-economic indicators, though there is a significantly higher percentage of families on public assistance and welfare in Rogers Park than West Ridge.

Housing characteristics differ significantly with Rogers Park

having a considerably greater proportion of renter occupied units, and more units with inadequate plumbing facilities. The latter may be partially explained by the much older housing stock in Rogers Park. The average rent is higher in West Ridge, perhaps due to the slightly larger mean number of rooms per unit (5.0 in West Ridge, and 3.8 in Rogers Park). The significantly higher mobility rate in Rogers Park is again tied to its higher proportion of renter occupied units.

The populations of West Ridge and Rogers Park are similar in socio-economic status and age structure. However, they differ in population mobility, and ethnicity and race. The Rogers Park population is more mobile and heterogenous. Housing differs greatly between the two communities in terms of age, occupancy, and rents.

Uptown⁴ is a much larger community than Rogers Park in both area and population. The population composition of Uptown is even more heterogenous than that of Rogers Park with significantly greater proportions of Blacks and other nonwhite residents. Neither the percentage of Spanish-speaking nor the age structure are significantly different between the communities.

Rogers Park has both a significantly higher median number of years of school completed and a higher percentage of residents completing one to three years of college. While the median income for the two communities is comparable, Uptown has a much higher percentage of families on public assistance or welfare, and Rogers Park has a significantly greater percentage of its population in white collar occupations than Uptown.

The housing stock of the two communities is similar in age,

although Uptown has more structures built before 1950. However, the condition of the structures is better in Rogers Park with Uptown having a significantly greater percentage of housing units with inadequate plumbing facilities. The occupancy patterns are similar with both having very high percentages of renter occupied units, though the median rent in Rogers Park is significantly higher than Uptown, and the mean number of rooms per unit is higher in Rogers Park (3.3 to 3.8), respectively.

Uptown appears to have a more heterogenous population than Rogers Park. At the same time the socio-economic status of Rogers Park's population was on the whole higher than Uptown's. While the two communities had similar housing in terms of rental occupancy, its condition and the level of rents charged were generally lower in Uptown.

Taken together these comparisons suggest that Rogers Park is more ethnically and racially heterogenous than West Ridge; less so than Uptown; and less racially mixed than Evanston. Its population is generally older than Evanston's but comparable to West Ridge and Uptown in age structure. The socio-economic status of Rogers Park seems to fall somewhere in between that of Evanston and Uptown and is about the same as that of West Ridge. Housing in Rogers Park is most similar to Uptown's in terms of occupancy and age, though it is in better condition. The population mobility in Rogers Park was significantly greater than any of the other communities but Uptown.

Another means of comparing communities in Chicago⁵ has been provided by the Council for Community Services in Metropolitan Chicago (1975). This group devised a series of 31 objective social indicators

to assess the comparative quality of life of Chicago communities. Their purpose was to make more information available to service agencies in order to further improve their operations.

The 31 indicators were assigned to five basic goal areas; income, environment, health, knowledge, and well-being.⁶ For example, the five indicators making up income were: median family income (+), percentage of families receiving public aid (-), percentage of white collar workers 16 years of age or older (+), percentage of laborer and service workers 16 years and older (-), and percentage of workers in civilian labor force who are unemployed (-). The pluses and minuses indicate the direction of scores which are considered "favorable or unfavorable with regard to the overall indices" (Council for Community Services of Metropolitan Chicago, 1975:11).

On the basis of the indicators a score was assigned to each goal area, and each was subsequently ranked in relation to all other community areas. A final composite score for each community was figured on the basis of all five goal areas, and the communities were then ranked on the composite score, with a higher score indicating more favorable overall conditions. Table 7 shows the scores and rankings for the three communities of Rogers Park, West Ridge, and Uptown on each goal area and the composite score, as well as the mean scores for Chicago as a whole.

These results indicate that Rogers Park is well above Uptown but below West Ridge on most measures. It is also generally better than Chicago as a whole in all areas but "Optimal Personal, Family and Social Well-being." In total, Rogers Park ranks in the upper one half of

TABLE 7

GOAL AREA AND COMPOSIT SCORES FOR ROGERS PARK, WEST RIDGE, UPTOWN
AND CHICAGO AS A WHOLE

	Income		Environment		Health		Knowledge		Well-being		Composite Index	
	Score	Rank*	Score	Rank*	Score	Rank*	Score	Rank*	Score	Rank*	Score	Rank*
Rogers Park	77.7	9	78.5	40	89.7	27	52.2	12	62.5	53	76.7	30
West Ridge	85.6	3	92.6	7	94.2	5	55.2	6	86.0	13	91.0	3
Uptown	67.5	30	62.2	58	80.4	54	42.5	28	52.6	62	61.3	52
Chicago	60.2		74.4		81.7		38.2		69.2		65.8	

(Source: Council for Community Services of Metropolitan Chicago, 1975)

*Ranks are based on 1 as highest (positive) to 76, lowest.

Chicago communities. Part of the reason for this overall average rating of Rogers Park appears to be due to the purposes and outlook of the Council for Community Services. Their ideal community seems to be one composed mainly of families with a traditional structure who have all the modern conveniences (e.g., telephone and car) indicating a fairly high standard of living. The ideal community should also have low crime, drug and disease rates, as well as a very low usage of mental health facilities. On a comparison with this "ideal," Rogers Park doesn't come out as favorably as West Ridge or many others, yet much better than Uptown which is beset by problems needing social service agencies.

Another reason for Rogers Park's overall average rating may be the type of housing stock in the community. Rather than being predominantly rental as in Rogers Park, the ideal is basically owner occupied single family homes. This leads then to lower population density and more traditional family units. Thus, it appears that one of the best single indicators of a high score on the profile is actually one which is not even used, type of housing.

The utility of this approach as a means of delineating better living conditions within a community, or even simply rating community areas as to what they have to offer, does not seem realistic. Today, increasing pressures on energy supplies and our need to better utilize land makes the "ideal" type of community mentioned above out of place. Instead, an urban community with excellent public transportation, adequate rental housing, good police protection, and adequate public facilities (e.g., mental health, drug abuse centers) appears better

able to meet the needs of the future.⁷

However, despite these drawbacks, the relative rankings of the three communities and their situations in relation to Chicago as a whole support the conclusion of previous comparisons. Rogers Park is not a continuation of either of the two Chicago communities around it, nor is it fully representative of Chicago. Instead it shares certain conditions with each surrounding community, (e.g., rental housing with Uptown; relatively high socio-economic status with West Ridge). This suggests another reason for the maintenance of Rogers Park's good reputation. It stands in sharp contrast to Uptown in terms of many of its negative conditions, while sharing many of the positive qualities of West Ridge. These are combined with its basic urban amenities affording a distinctive lifestyle attractive to many.

Community Institutions

The Rogers Park community has long been known as a Jewish and Catholic one. Both faiths had established a number of places of worship by the 1920's, most of which are still in existence. In the 1950's and 1960's there were seven Protestant churches in Rogers Park in addition to the two Catholic parishes and nine Jewish congregations.

In the 1950's, the Jewish population was estimated at about 20,000, or approximately one-third of the total population in Rogers Park. An additional 35% of the community's population were Catholic and the balance Protestant or other. There is a history of good relations between the various religious groups. In the early 1960's an ecumenical organization of clergy and rabbis was formed to promote

even better communication. As in many communities the area churches and synagogues have been stabilizing factors, drawing and holding residents.

Religious groups have also been instrumental in the formation of various service groups and organizations. Catholic groups have been oriented toward parish specific concerns as in the establishment of service organizations to aid parish residents in need of help (e.g., The Howard Area Community Center). The People's Community Organization was formed recently by a Protestant denomination in the "North of Howard" area.

Jewish Community Centers began on the West Side of Chicago and new centers opened throughout the city as the Jewish population spread. It was a reflection of the heavily Jewish religious composition of Rogers Park that one of the five Jewish Community Centers in Chicago was located in Rogers Park in the 1950's. It was organized on the basis of a 1946 study by the Young Men's Jewish Council which suggested there were not enough facilities available in the area. It opened in 1953 on Morse Avenue, the center of Jewish concentration in Rogers Park.

The purpose of these centers is to provide recreation and programs for the Jewish residents though membership in the centers is not limited to Jews. The Rogers Park Center is still in operation with a staff and board of directors under the auspices of the Jewish Community Centers of Chicago; and it is heavily influenced by the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago which supplies much of its funding. The Jewish Community Center is run much like a YMCA with memberships and

charges for various programs. Most of the programs are concentrated on family centered activities for children and parents.

There appears historically to have been three related impacts that the Jewish Community Center had on Rogers Park. It provided programs attractive to families, especially Jewish ones. This helped to stabilize the Jewish community as well as draw Jews to the area. It helped to instill a sense of community, both for the Jewish community as well as the larger community of Rogers Park. Over time, leaders in the Jewish organization began to assume leadership roles in the wider community. Many of the board and membership were also on other community organization boards providing an interlocking network among organizations. In addition, the Jewish Community Center was more ecumenical in outlook than many other Jewish groups, and it provided a common ground for the diversity of faiths in the community. Thus, while not actively trying to improve the total community, the mere existence of the Jewish Community Center enhanced the area to residents and nonresidents.

One of the largest institutions in Rogers Park is Loyola University of Chicago which was chartered in the early 1900's and is the largest church related university in the United States. Loyola has four campuses in the Chicagoland area, with the Lake Shore Campus in Rogers Park, containing athletic facilities, student and religious residences as well as classroom buildings. By 1960 it had grown from a relatively small private school to one with an enrollment of 1,700 students. While in the 1960's there were some indications that Loyola might move outside the city, it demonstrated its faith in the community

by expanding its existing operations. New dorms and classroom buildings were opened and by 1970 the enrollment at the Lake Shore Campus had risen to over 5,000.

The university provides both employment and cultural programs for community residents. In addition, students and members of the faculty engage in various community investigations. In the early 1960's, at the request of the Chamber of Commerce, the university was involved in a series of four community research studies on traffic and parking problems. According to one of the reports, "this was done...as a service to the Rogers Park Community and the Rogers Park Chamber of Commerce." In 1962, Loyola was involved with the Rogers Park Community Council's resident survey which was directed by a faculty member, and made use of the University's computer facilities for data analysis. In addition, each year, Loyola contributes money to the Community Council. In all, Loyola's reputation, as well as specific acts for the community, have helped retain Rogers Park's image of a good community. This was also aided by the activities and curriculum of Loyola's neighbor, Mundelein College (established in 1930), an innovative Catholic women's college.

The community population and housing characteristics; comparisons with surrounding areas, and religious institutions, suggest that Rogers Park was indeed a distinct community in the 1950's and 1960's. While some changes were beginning to take place in the community (e.g., housing deterioration), most factors of community life were relatively stable and served to set it off from the surrounding communities. These facts and the permanent attractions of Rogers Park (e.g., lakefront, and transportation) combined to help maintain the positive

reputation of the community through the 1960's.

PLANNED MAINTENANCE

This section concerns groups which have been active in various ways to preserve Rogers Park and its reputation as a good community in which to live. As in most communities there are many community groups concerned with these goals. The three chosen were certainly among the most well known and active during the 1950 and 1970 period. These include the two local Chambers of Commerce and the Community Council.

Rogers Park has always relied on retail and service establishments rather than industry or manufacturing. Morse and Devon Avenues, Sheridan Road, and Clark and Howard Streets were the major "strip" shopping areas. They were convenient and flourishing in the days before reliance on autos. But since World War II, with the development of shopping centers and malls, such business areas, as those in Rogers Park, have been hard put to keep going. The community did have a couple of businesses which, according to some local businessmen, drew people from other parts of the city and helped to boost general sales. A menswear store, located on Morse Avenue, carried expensive, well tailored men's furnishings, and a delicatessen, well known for its Kosher food, drew shoppers from outside the community. There were other small exclusive dress shops, hat shops and, of course, grocery stores, while most of the rest of the businesses and commercial concerns were of the service variety such as dry cleaners, shoe repair shops, small restaurants and bars, many of which were family owned and passed from generation to generation. The only major manufacturing concern,

located in the southwestern corner of the community, provided a number of jobs to Rogers Park residents, and continued to expand throughout the 1960's.

While not exactly thriving, the business community in the 1950's and 1960's generally provided the necessities to residents of the area. Part of the lack of prosperity in the business community was likely due to the community's location. It was close to Evanston, an established city with many specialty stores, as well as some of the larger well-known chain and department stores. The excellent transportation made it convenient for people to do much of their nonessential shopping in the Loop area of Chicago. People were also beginning to rely more on larger suburban shopping centers which were able to offer better selections of merchandise and prices. On the whole, however, little changed in the commercial activity of the community over this period. It was a typical urban community offering commodities and services necessary to the everyday life of its residents.

In the 1920's, two local Chambers of Commerce were formed. The Howard District Chamber of Commerce was organized by the businessmen then developing and promoting the area. They also felt their situation was unique since some of the businesses along Howard Street were actually in the city of Evanston. Their purpose was:

"...binding together business and professional people in the area to integrate deeply into the community they serve, to accept a full share of responsibility, to make the community a better place to work and live (Howard District Chamber of Commerce, 1964)".

In 1927, the Rogers Park-Clark Street Businessman's Association was formed. It became the Rogers Park Chamber of Commerce in 1955

joining the Illinois Chamber of Commerce. Most of its membership is drawn from south of Rogers Avenue. According to its literature, it provides relevant business information, reports such as on changes in the area reflected in the census statistics, and presents programs for specific needs (e.g., building security, improvement in building looks). It also stresses the fact that the "community reflects business leadership and depends on the amount of money spent in it for maintenance of community standards" (Rogers Park Chamber of Commerce). The membership has fluctuated between 75 and 100 for the last several decades.

In the 1950's and 1960's, both groups were active in the community. Their business promotions included such things as stamp saving programs conducted by the Howard Chamber of Commerce whereby purchases led to eventual merchandise credit. There were also the usual sidewalk sales, Christmas decorations, and an annual Halloween Parade for children put on by the Rogers Park Chamber of Commerce.

Concerns with the problems of strip shopping, which constitutes most of Rogers Park's commercial and business activity, led to the unveiling, in 1957, of a renovation plan for the area's businesses. The plan was developed jointly by the Rogers Park Chamber of Commerce and the ad hoc Rogers Park Rejuvenation Committee. The proposed changes centered on Clark Street, and consisted of basically three points: the modernization of major streets and buildings; erection of a 50 acre \$40 million shopping center; rebuilding and beautifying the entire residential area to accommodate a 25% increase in population. The plan was extremely ambitious, and much of it the work of one forward looking bank official. Though the plan was not to be realized, it did bring

about the renovation of some businesses. By 1958, 30 businesses had taken advantage of small loans being offered at 2% interest by an area bank.

One of the major problems with the plan was that store owners on Clark Street resisted sale of their properties.⁸ This made it impossible to assemble enough land parcels for the proposed mall. Also, the proposal to accommodate a 25% increase in population by constructing a number of highrises met with resistance on the part of residents who were already working toward lakefront preservation and did not want the increase in density and congestion that would occur with the proposed highrise construction.

In all likelihood the plan did not have the backing of a broad enough base of the population. However, the fact that such a plan was developed and received citywide attention shows that the Chamber of Commerce was active during this period in attempting to change conditions in the community. In fact, the groups were deemed fairly successful at improving community conditions when in 1958 the Chicago Tribune published an article claiming that the efforts in Rogers Park had nipped blight in the bud (Alter, 1958).

During the 1950's and 1960's there was no other organization which did more to maintain and improve Rogers Park's reputation, as well as its physical makeup, than the Rogers Park Community Council. Prior to its formation in 1952, the only large community groups were the two Chambers of Commerce. The Rogers Park Community Council organized in response to the realization that many of the street-end beaches in the area were not public property. There was a fear that the "highrise

corridor" along the lakefront would eventually extend into Rogers Park. This meant that much of the lakefront could become private beaches and a barrier to the lake for the rest of the community.

Until the early 1960's the Community Council was strictly an umbrella group of member organizations. Founders of the Council included the Chambers of Commerce, Parent Teacher Associations, churches and synagogues. By 1958, there were 32 member organizations. In the 1950's the Community Council was concerned not only with the issue of public beaches, but parking and traffic problems as well as building conservation. The latter has been an enduring and prime concern. Until the mid-1960's the organization was run and staffed by volunteers. Meetings were held in private homes with individuals giving their time and expertise.

In October of 1963, the Rogers Park Community Council's General Assembly adopted the "open door" policy quoted below:

Rogers Park has enjoyed the privilege of a long history as a harmonious community of people representing all races, cultures, and religious traditions.

It is the fundamental aim of the Rogers Park Community Council to create a dynamic and vital community, and to develop its physical, cultural, educational, economic, and religious resources in order to make this a more desirable plan in which to live.

In keeping with these key aims, we believe that welcoming all new residents to the community, whatever their diverse backgrounds, is in keeping with American tradition and is basic to the ultimate good of the community (Rogers Park Community Council, 1967:13).⁹

Since its adoption the organization has pointed proudly to this early stand, though events of the 1970's have cast some doubt on continued adherence to it.

The 1960's brought expansion and routinization to the organization.

A newsletter called Plaintalk was begun in 1962 and sent to member organizations. By this time individuals were allowed to join the Rogers Park Community Council and support it with their dues, but were not accorded a vote. A request for membership by one of the churches located west of Ridge Avenue prompted an extension of the organization's service area out to Western Avenue in 1962. Shortly thereafter the Council became incorporated as a non-profit organization and moved from its first headquarters on Morse to its present office on Lunt. The membership at the time was 66 organizations.

The organization had several committees including membership and finance, community planning, human relations, traffic, conservation, education, publicity, and senior citizens. The concerns of the 1960's were a continuation of those delineated for the 1950's, with some increased effectiveness due to the addition of full time paid staff. This effectiveness was most noticeable in the Council's role as "watch-dog" over building deterioration, which will be discussed later. In 1966, individuals and families were accorded a vote in the Council, and fund raising began in earnest with a door to door drive. By the end of the 1960's the membership had grown to include: 72 organizations, 291 individuals, 244 families, and 37 businesses, or a total of 644 members.¹⁰

Concern with providing open spaces and parks for the area put the Rogers Park Community Council in the forefront of a fight to acquire a former country club for use as a regional park. They did so by organizing another umbrella group, the Association of North Side Community Organizations (ANSCO). The smaller umbrella groups which

comprised this organization were all assisted in their formation by the Rogers Park Community Council which was the first of such groups in the area.

In addition to the various beautification and conservation issues dealt with by the Community Council, it has also acted as a promoter of community identity and spirit. In 1963, the Council organized a Community Day billed as "Hi Neighbor Day" which was considered a success with attendance of some 15,000 residents. The events included a parade, junior olympics, dancing, art fair, music, and a "salute to youth." This annual event continued for several years with varying themes such as that of 1966, "Neighbors of Many Faces."

Part of the success of the Community Council in helping to maintain the reputation of Rogers Park came from its relatively early formation. The fact that there was a group of people highly committed to preserving and improving the community implied that Rogers Park was a community that cared and was worth caring for. Also, the concerns dealt with during this period were not the kind that necessarily make or break a community. Building conservation was a citywide issue due to the generally old housing stock in Chicago. The establishment of public beaches was a positive issue tending to emphasize the attractions of the area. In addition, the issues were rather concrete and small scale ones. People wanted a beach made public and there were certain definable steps one took to achieve that end. If the effort was unsuccessful, it did not necessarily mean that it would not be successful in another case, or that the community would "go downhill" because of it.

The Community Council was apparently aware of the value of publicity. Very early in its history it had a publicity committee which acted as a liaison with the media. Some of the publicity resulting from the efforts to deal with early building deterioration may have produced an impression that Rogers Park was not as prestigious and high class as formerly. However, there was an emphasis on the 'watch-dog' quality of the Community Council and its success, as much as on the problems, it was trying to combat.

Another factor in its success had to do with the types of people leading the Community Council. As was mentioned, Rogers Park was basically composed of middle class residents, many of whom were professionals in various fields. It also contained a University committed to staying in Rogers Park and staffed by competent professionals. As in the renovation efforts of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community (Rossi and Dentler, 1961), a part of the Rogers Park Community Council's success lay in its ability to tap these human resources for leadership and advice.

By the end of the 1960's the Community Council was mainly composed of those who had some investment in the community through ownership of a home, building, or business, long time residents, and those wishing to feel more a part of their new community. Basically, then, it appealed to those who wanted to preserve the Rogers Park community. This, as will be seen in the next chapter, became a problem for it in the 1970's and early 1980's.

Added to the community organizations' concern with the community was that of the political organization. The Chicago city government

is in the form of a strong mayor and a city council, with Aldermen elected from each of the 50 wards every four years. The position of Alderman is ostensibly non-partisan. However, since the 1950's the City Council has been overwhelmingly Democratic. The job of the Alderman is to see that city services are provided to the ward by appropriate city departments. In addition, he or she represents the ward constituents on the City Council and his or her office attempts to act as an intermediary between individuals and city agencies.

The Democratic Committeeman is the ward representative to the Democratic Party. His or her official duties are to get out the vote for elections, a job which occupies about 45 days of the year. In actuality, individual residents often go to the local Democratic Party ward office for help in dealing with the city. This goes back to the early days of Chicago politics when the political machine functioned on the ward level as a sort of benevolent association for new immigrants. Ward leaders and precinct captains assisted local residents with such things as getting jobs and applying for citizenship. In return residents were expected to vote for the party regulars and occasionally provide favors connected with their jobs.

While the strength of the "machine" declined for a time, it became strong again under the long stewardship of Mayor Daley.¹¹ It is not unusual to find the Democratic Party ward office also housing the ward office of the Alderman, as often the two are both Democrats (and frequently the same person). If the two persons get along they help each other, with the Alderman getting out votes at election time and the Committeeman helping with citizen complaints and city services.

During the 1960's and 1970's the 49th ward Alderman were Democrats. The ward was also successful in getting out the vote for Democratic candidates on all levels through governor, senator and president.

On the whole, according to interviews with long time residents, the 49th ward was adequately served by its Alderman and Committeemen. City services were relatively good and kept Rogers Park free from some of the problems apparent in other communities (e.g., overflowing garbage and abandoned cars). Part of the success of elected officials was due to their middle class constituents who had an early awareness of problems before they became crises. As one ward worker put it, "They (residents) are well educated and aware of what's going on. They are interested both politically and in the services" (quality of the city services).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Many community factors contributed to the development of the positive reputation of Rogers Park and its maintenance in the 1950's and 1960's. The population, while not stable in the sense of geographic mobility, remained similar in terms of race, ethnicity, religion, and socioeconomic status. In addition, residents were fairly successful in melding the diverse religious and ethnic composition into a self-acknowledged community. They recognized the need for a community group and formed one to act in their interests and work toward community betterment. The fact that the Rogers Park Community Council was the first community based umbrella group in the area helped to explain its ascendancy to spokesman for area residents.

The religious institutions in Rogers Park were early and constant supporters of the community. In addition to the various churches and synagogues, religious organizations such as the Jewish Community Center contributed to the area's attractiveness to new residents involving them in a network of relationships and activities. Loyola University, an expanding institution committed to Rogers Park, tended both to increase the recognition of the area as well as provide jobs and programs for residents. The Chambers of Commerce attempted through various means to improve the business and commercial life of the community.

While the housing stock in Rogers Park was aging it was being carefully watched and did not deteriorate to the extent of that to the south. Comparisons between Rogers Park and its neighboring communities suggested that the community offered a unique combination of urban amenities, recreational opportunities and cosmopolitan lifestyles.

Another part of the community's success at maintaining its good reputation was due to its location, convenient transportation and its history as a distinct village which provided a basis for community identification within defined boundaries. Despite problems faced in the 1950's and 1960's (e.g., housing deterioration), and some decline from its pre-World War II elegance, Rogers Park was a viable and attractive residential community. It was viable largely because it contained a core of dedicated people who were well educated, aware, and willing to work at preserving and improving the community.

On the whole then Rogers Park maintained its good reputation during the 1950's and 1960's through a combination of unplanned

community conditions and conscious actions which served to present the community to itself, and the rest of the city, as a good place to live. Chapter IV will investigate the changes which took place in the community during the 1970's. These led to problems which were not to be as easily dealt with as those faced in the decades of the 1950's and 1960's.

NOTES

CHAPTER III

1. The total of persons 65 years and older in all types of group quarters in Rogers Park was 5.2%, and for Chicago 3.6%.
 2. The explanation was that the structures could be made to last at least another generation. It was applied to areas where 50% or more of the structures were built between 1895 and 1914, and 50% of the units were renting for \$25 a month and up in 1939.
 3. In order to compare 1960 and 1970 census data on housing conditions it was necessary to adapt a slightly different measure; 1960 data gave three classifications of housing conditions: sound, deteriorating, and dilapidated. These were based on the need for certain repairs and the presence/absence of plumbing facilities (flush toilets, hot and cold running water, shower or tub). Since the 1970 data did not present all these distinctions, the presence or absence of all plumbing facilities was used as a measure of housing conditions.
 4. The community of Uptown as discussed here includes the community of Edgewater which was officially recognized as a separate community in 1980.
 5. Evanston is excluded here because it is not part of the city of Chicago.
 6. Each of these goal areas is composed of four to eight variables. A list of the variables and the direction of scores is below.
- Goal I. Adequate Income and Economic Opportunity
1. Median family income, 1970 (+)
 2. Percent of families receiving public aid, 1969 (-)
 3. Percent of white collar workers 16 years and over, 1970 (+)
 4. Percent of laborers and service workers 16 years and over, 1970 (-)
 5. Percent of unemployed persons age 16 years and over, in civilian labor force, 1970 (-)
- Goal II. Basic Material Needs and Optimal Environmental Conditions
6. Percent of year-round housing units lacking built-in heating facilities, 1970 (-)
 7. Percent of occupied housing units lacking plumbing facilities, 1970 (-)
 8. Percent of occupied housing units having more than one occupant per room, 1970 (-)
 9. Percent of occupied housing units lacking an automobile, 1970 (-)
 10. Percent of occupied housing units lacking an available telephone, 1970 (-)

CHAPTER III (cont.'d)

Goal II. (cont.'d)

11. Number of persons (in thousands) per square mile, 1970 (-)
12. Number of male juvenile delinquents committed to correctional institutions per 100 males ages 12-16, 1972 (-)
13. Age-adjusted death rate from homicide in 1972 (-)

Goal III. Optimal Health

14. Infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births, 1972 (-)
15. Age-adjusted death rate per 1,000 population, 1972 (-)
16. New cases of venereal disease reported to the Chicago Board of Health per 1,000 persons ages 10 years and over, 1971 (-)
17. Rate of newly reported active-probably active cases of tuberculosis reported to Chicago Board of Health per 100,000 population, 1970 (-)
18. Percent of disabled or handicapped persons, 16-64 years of age, 1970 (-)
19. Number of admissions to state-operated in-patient mental health facilities per 1,000 population, 1972 (-)
20. Number of persons entering treatment in Illinois Drug Abuse Program per 1,000 population ages 10 years and over, 1968-1972 (-)

Goal IV. Adequate Knowledge and Skills

21. Median years of school completed for person, 25 years of age, 1970 (-)
22. Percent of males 16-21 years of age, enrolled in school, 1970 (+)
23. Percent of persons, 25 years of age and over, completed high school, 1970 (+)
24. Percent of persons, 25 years of age and over, completed college, 1970 (+)

Goal V. Optimal Personal, Family and Social Well-Being

25. Percent of married persons 14 years of age and over, 1970 (+)
26. Percent of divorced persons 14 years of age and over, 1970 (-)
27. Percent of women, ages 16 years and over in labor force with children under 6 years of age (-)
28. Percent of children under 18 years of age living with both parents in 1970 (+)
29. Percent of out-of-wedlock births in 1971 (-)
30. Percent of households occupied by one person or two or more unrelated persons, 1970 (-)
31. Age-adjusted death rate from suicide, 1972 (-)

General Population Measures

32. Population by Age and Race, City of Chicago, 1970
33. Population Under 18 Years and 65 Years and Over, Chicago Community Areas
34. Child Population Under 18 Years, Chicago Community Areas

CHAPTER III (cont.'d)

35. Aged Population, Chicago Community Areas, 1970
36. Spanish-Speaking Population of Chicago by Community Areas, 1972

(although the 5 General Population Measures listed here were the basis for calculating the above indices they were not directly used in the factor analysis)

7. Although this type of analysis was meant to pinpoint areas needing help within communities, the decision to lower the rating of a community because its residents use out-patient mental health facilities appears insensitive to the realities of urban life.
8. While this kept the mall from being constructed, it did indicate a commitment of the business owners to the area.
9. Not surprisingly interviews with residents and business people in the late 1970's elicited both positive and negative feelings about this statement. Those who were in agreement with it pointed to the community's diversity as a positive factor; while those against it suggested this statement led to deterioration in the community by encouraging the arrival of "undesirable" residents.
10. This does not represent the possible number of votes, as families with both husband wife were accorded two votes, and the number of votes, allotted for organizations changed at least once during this time, from two to three votes.
11. Daley's rise to power and control of the Democratic machine in Chicago is described in the book Boss (Royko, 1971).

CHAPTER IV

COMMUNITY POPULATION AND INSTITUTIONS:

CHANGES AND ISSUES OF THE 1970'S

INTRODUCTION

We have thus far looked at the Rogers Park community of the 1970's in terms of its physical condition and layout, and we have gone back in time to demonstrate the influence of the community's population and institutions on its image and reputation during the 1950 to 1970 period. In this chapter we return to Part I of our social change model, which deals with societal influences of the local community. Here the focus is on the decade of the 1970's during which federal monetary, housing and immigration policies as well as general economic conditions were more immediately felt on the community level.

By the 1970's changes were becoming apparent in Rogers Park. The heterogeneity of the population was increasing. The housing had aged further and maintenance was becoming an increasing problem. These facts, in addition to the larger social forces of escalating energy costs and concurrent inflation, were making an impact on the institutional levels of the community as well as in the lives of private citizens. This chapter will describe the most important of these changes and discuss their effects and implications.

POPULATION

According to 1970 census figures, the Rogers Park community had increased in population but was still predominantly white. A closer examination of the figures showed that most of the population increase was in the nonwhite category; whites represented 99.3% of the population in 1960, and only 95.5% in 1970. Also, from 1970 to 1975, the public schools in Rogers Park experienced a 34.5% loss in the white student population. During the 1970's the nonwhite group continued to increase as can be seen from the public school enrollment figures in Table 8.

The increases in all types of nonwhite students from 1970 to 1979 have been large, for example, the 973% increase in Blacks. The increases from 1970 to 1975 were of comparable magnitudes; the number of black students increased by 421%. This indicates that the growth of nonwhite students occurred throughout the entire decade. The large percentage increase in black students may be partly explained by the relatively small number of such students enrolled in 1970 (90). On the other hand, most of the increase in oriental students occurred in the first half of the 1970's, while the number of hispanic students increased most rapidly in the late 1970's.

Although there were increases in each of the schools, the greatest concentration of minority students was in Gale, an elementary school which serves the "North of Howard" area. This is the area with the greatest concentration of Blacks in Rogers Park; as shown by Moreno, et.al. (1977), the population "North of Howard" was only about 20% white in the mid-1970's. Yet, 1970 census figures for this tract

TABLE 8

ROGERS PARK PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENT BY RACE AND ETHNICITY

	1970		1975		Percent Change 1970-75	1979		Percent Change 1970-79
	N	%	N	%		N	%	
Total	5748		4719		-17.9	4462		-22.4
Whites	5068	88.2	3319	70.3	-34.5	2070	46.4	-59.2
Blacks	90	1.6	469	9.9	+421.1	966	21.6	+973.3
Orientals	238	4.1	401	8.5	+68.5	476	10.7	+100.0
Hispanics	332	5.3	514	10.9	+54.8	940	21.1	+183.1
Am. Indian	12	.2	16	.3	+3.3	10	.2	-16.7

(Source: Chicago Board of Education)

showed only 5.6% of its population classified as Negro, and 9.3% as Spanish-speaking.¹

The concentration and growth of these groups suggest a change in distribution of minorities within the community. In the past, different ethnic groups were not heavily concentrated in any one area. It appears that this has changed with a large proportion of the community's lower income and minority groups in the "North of Howard" area. According to local residents this area of the community houses a number of illegal immigrants in addition to many legal ones; and the low rents and lack of tenant screening by some landlords have contributed to the area's diversity. This diversity of the "North of Howard" section of the community is reflected in residents citing language difficulties and differences in housekeeping practices as common problems.

The school enrollment figures indicated what is further supported by preliminary 1980 census figures for Rogers Park (Table 9). Included in this table, for comparison, are the figures for Uptown and West Ridge. As can be seen, Rogers Park was not alone in losing population during the 1970's. The 9% loss was in between those of Uptown (9.8%) and West Ridge (6.6%). However, Rogers Park experienced the greatest increase in black residents, up 586% over 1970, while Uptown and West Ridge had similar increases of 374% and 386%, respectively. The increase in Asian residents (mainly Koreans and Indians) approximates the 100% rise in public school students in this group for Rogers Park, but was not as great as the increase in West Ridge. Unfortunately, there are no comparable 1970 figures for hispanic residents. However, it is likely that the increases have been quite large as suggested by

TABLE 9

POPULATION COMPOSITION OF ROGERS PARK, UPTOWN, AND WEST RIDGE FOR 1970 AND 1980

		1970		1980		Percent
		N	Percent	N	Percent	Change
Rogers Park	Total	60,781		55,525		- 8.6
	White	58,050	95.5	42,653	76.8	- 26.5
	Black	762	1.3	5,225	9.4	+585.7
	Asian	1,620	2.6	3,297	5.9	+103.5
	Other	349	.6	3,678	6.6	+953.9
	Hispanic	-----	---	6,621	11.9	-----
Uptown	Total	136,434		122,975		- 9.8
	White	123,480	90.5	80,944	65.8	- 34.4
	Black	3,418	2.5	16,219	13.2	- 34.4
	Asian	6,619	4.9	12,274	10.0	+374.5
	Other	2,919	2.1	14,293	11.6	+ 85.4
	Hispanic	-----	----	22,809	18.5	+389.7
West Ridge	Total	65,432		61,129		- 6.6
	White	64,690	98.9	54,593	89.3	- 15.6
	Black	91	.1	442	.7	+385.7
	Asian	560	.9	4,292	7.0	+666.4
	Other	91	.1	1,270	2.1	+129.6
	Hispanic	-----	---	2,266	3.7	-----

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1972; Preliminary figures, 1980)

public school figures. Even if the actual percentage increase in hispanic residents were only half of what is suggested by school enrollment figures, it would be well over 50%.

During the 1970's, the Rogers Park community also received a large influx of immigrants from the U.S.S.R. In the middle of the 1970's the Soviet Union changed its policy restricting the emigration of Russian Jews, and due to the large Jewish concentration on the North Side of Chicago, Rogers Park in particular, many chose to settle in this area. According to the organization FREE, about 5,000 Russian immigrants came to Rogers Park and just south of Devon Avenue, 2,000 of these in 1979 alone. However, further changes in the Soviet Union's policy in 1980 have slowed such immigration.

In addition to these racial and ethnic changes, there was a further change in the age structure of the community. The greatest increases continued to come in the 20 to 34 and over 65 age groups at the expense of the others. Data collected in 1976 by the Department of Sociology at Loyola University indicated that the 20 to 34 age group grew from 29.5% of the population, in 1970, to an estimated 45.6% in 1976. While it is likely that the 1976 estimate is somewhat inflated, the direction of change is probably accurate, continuing the trend of the 1960's toward increasing numbers of young adults.

While Rogers Park had a relatively large percentage of residents 65 and older in 1970 (15.6%), it was not extreme for the North Side of Chicago, and was actually a slightly lower percentage than those found in neighboring communities. The reasons for this concentration include the type of housing available and the location of institutions catering

to the elderly. Rogers Park and Uptown both offer small apartments at reasonable rates, and rent subsidy programs have increased the ability of senior citizens to stay on in the communities of their choice despite rising rents and declining incomes (though waiting lists for such programs are very long).

The concentration of shelter care facilities in the northeastern area of Chicago is also a factor relating to the high proportion of elderly in this area. The Chicago Department of Planning and Development reported in a 1974 publication, Chicago's Over 65 Population: Programs and Goals, that "... Uptown and Rogers Park, for example, are the location of 37.3% of all long term care beds and 35% of all homes (in the entire city)" (City of Chicago, 1974:49). That year new regulations and legislation were adopted governing the operation of such facilities which made it difficult to start any new ones and necessitated costly changes in some already in existence. According to a 1977 update of an earlier survey (Ratcliffe, 1978:18), Rogers Park housed 11 shelter care facilities with capacities ranging from under 50 to over 151 beds.

The increase in both young adults and senior citizens was at the expense of the 35 to 59 year olds and those 19 years of age and under, in other words, families. Such shifts suggest wider changes in the usage of the community. The loss of families has been reflected in the school enrollment figures, and the large percentage of senior citizens and the concentration of shelter care facilities. Some area businessmen see these changes as one reason for the relatively low volume sales of community businesses. The young adults and the old are also thought

to be less committed to the community in terms of joining organizations and working toward community betterment (e.g., Komarovsky, 1946; Bell and Force, 1956; Rosenweig, 1975). Thus some community leaders fear for the future viability of community organizations.

BUSINESS

Changes in the ethnic composition of the community have had effects on area businesses also. Some businessmen place part of the blame for sagging sales on the fact that new immigrants "... aren't spending money the way old Rogers Parkers did" (Rogers Park-Edgewater News, July, 1980). This is not surprising as many immigrants are not allowed to take much money out of their respective countries and it takes time to get established with a job and steady income.

In addition to the limited purchasing power of new immigrants, the cultural differences have also brought problems. According to some Rogers Park businessmen interviewed, many new residents are used to bartering for goods and services rather than accepting prices as given. This, coupled with language barriers, has compounded difficulties for both businessmen and residents by increasing the length of transactions, and at times producing frustration on both sides. Response to this, on the part of local businessmen, has varied. Some with high markups on their goods have gone along with the bartering and lowered their prices while others have simply discouraged shoppers interested in this.

Some immigrants, particularly Koreans, have invested in local stores and restaurants, often catering to other members of their ethnic group in the area. Frequently, these new owners decline

membership in the local Chambers of Commerce. Some don't wish to pay the membership fee (about \$50.00); others see no reason to join such groups having no experience with them; and still others elect to become members of an ethnically based businessmen's group. Thus, the Koreans on the North Side have formed their own businessmen's organization and have only recently (May, 1981) attempted to communicate more directly with the Chambers of Commerce in the area. This tendency to group along ethnic lines, as in the past, provides support systems for new immigrants, while increasing the difficulties of assimilation into the community (Chicago Tribune, April, 1981).

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

Churches, synagogues and related groups have long been known to tie individuals and families into the fabric of local community life. Decline in support of these institutions is due to the religious composition of new resident groups as well as wider changes in American society, which has become increasingly secular in nature.

The Jewish population in Rogers Park was estimated to have dropped 34% from 1964 to about 14,000 in 1976 (Friedman, 1977). Of these people, 72% were over 45 years of age and 42% over 65 in 1976. In 1965, approximately 85% of the student body at Sullivan High was Jewish, but only 10% twelve years later. This dramatic decline in Jewish residents, and especially Jewish families, is reflected in the fact that four synagogues closed in Rogers Park during this time. Of the five left, only two had fairly stable memberships from 1965 to 1977 (Friedman, 1977). The largest of these still had a drop in

membership from 525 in 1965, to 350 in 1977, and many of these members did not reside in the area, although they continued to support the congregation. Despite the decline in religiously active Jewish residents, Rogers Park still contains one of the highest concentrations of Jews in Chicago.

"East Rogers Park, with inexpensive housing, relatively safe streets, and an old established Jewish infrastructure is where the first Soviet Jews settled" (Chicago Tribune, April, 1981). The Jewish service agencies in Chicago spent over \$6.5 million on resettlement of Soviet Jews in 1980, an average of about \$2,500 per person.² These costs included rent subsidies and living expenses for up to six months, the money for which came from grants and contributions to the servicing agencies.

Many of the Russian immigrants who settle in Rogers Park are basically "unchurched," having been unable to learn about or practice their religion. While defined as "Jews" in the Soviet Union, a large portion of them see themselves as Jewish in a cultural, not a religious sense. Many are interested in learning about their Jewish heritage, and one year scholarships are offered in Jewish instruction by area synagogues. However, many elect not to practice the Jewish religion, while depending on the services and support offered by the synagogues and service agencies. This has become a further drain on the resources of synagogues with declining memberships; it has occasionally created friction between the immigrants and the established Jewish population.

In response to this large influx of Jewish immigrants, and the general aging of the Jewish population, two service agencies were

organized in the 1970's. Friends of Refugees of Eastern Europe (FREE) was organized in 1973 specifically to aid Russian immigrants. Members function as interpreters and intermediaries between the immigrants and the organizations and services with which they must deal. FREE receives funds from the city and has been able to hire staff through the CETA program. The organization also publishes a bi-weekly newspaper.

Mental depression is a common problem for these new immigrants and especially so for the elderly. In addition to having left their homes, families and friends, these people are not accustomed to the freedom of choice allowed in America. Such things as choosing an apartment and finding a job were taken care of by the government, and many find it difficult to adjust to the new responsibilities. These are some of the problems to which FREE addresses itself, attempting to deal with them on a personal level.

The Council for Jewish Elderly (CJE), a citywide group, began operating in Rogers Park in 1972 in response to the aging of the Jewish population. Some of its many functions are to assist the elderly with housing, transportation, and meals. Of the five CJE offices in the Chicago area, two are located in Rogers Park and another on its Evanston boundary. The concentration of these centers in and around Rogers Park reflects the large proportion of Jewish elderly in this area. Some community leaders feel the aging and movement of the Jewish population threatens the effectiveness of some local community organizations since many members and directors have in the past been Jewish.

Changes in the Catholic portion of the population parallel some

of those of the Jewish population. In general, participation in and support for local churches has declined. According to figures from the largest parish, membership dropped from nearly 3,000 families in 1970, to about 1,700 by the end of the 1970's. Of the 1,700 families, about 400 were Spanish-speaking; the parish had already instituted a Spanish-speaking mass in 1968. Despite the fact that Spanish-speaking people are often lumped together, differences within this group have brought some problems. For instance, Cubans and Mexicans appear reluctant to workshop together, and in one case this necessitated two Spanish-language masses.

The Catholic schools, like the public schools, have experienced enrollment declines (Table 10). These changes are slightly different than those in the public schools. While both systems lost white students, the loss was greater in the parochial schools (41.4% to 34.5% in the public schools for the period of 1970-1975). However, the

TABLE 10

ROGERS PARK CATHOLIC GRADE SCHOOL ENROLLMENT
BY RACE AND ETHNICITY

	1970		1975		Percentage Change
	N	%	N	%	
Total	1440		902		-41.4
White	1205	83.7	706	78.3	-41.4
Black	23	1.6	20	2.2	-13.0
Oriental	14	1.0	39	4.3	+178.6
Hispanic	198	13.8	137	15.2	-30.8

(Catholic School Board of Chicago)

parochial schools lost both black and hispanic students contrary to the increases in these groups for the public schools. The only increase was in the percentage of oriental students in the parochial schools. However, while the increase was nearly 179%, it represented only 39 oriental students in 1975.

The larger loss in the total number of parochial students is in part attributable to the increased costs of educating a child in a parochial school. One factor which has driven up the cost of such education is the change from the use of nuns as teachers to the employment of lay teachers (e.g., in one parish school there are only four nuns to 25 lay teachers). It has become more difficult for less affluent parishioners to afford to send their children to Catholic schools.

The realization that the socioeconomic status of one Catholic parish was dropping prompted its pastor in 1967 to organize the Howard Area Community Center (HACC) to help service lower income residents. In 1972, it became a part of the Catholic Charities program; and by the end of the 1970's it had become an independent nonprofit organization. The HACC offers free clothing and groceries, home visitation and shopping for shut-ins as well as a summer day camp for children, English classes and job placement. Although affiliated with the Catholic Church and administered by nuns, the HACC has received a great deal of cooperation from all the churches and organizations in the area, and in particular the Protestant churches.

The changes in the ethnic and racial composition of Rogers Park probably hit the Protestant churches the hardest, since a smaller

percentage of new residents are Protestant. Most of these churches have experienced declining memberships since 1970. This is not surprising as figures released by the Institute for American Church Growth (Sunday Star, May, 1980), show church attendance at established denominations is down 24% nationwide since 1970. Membership at one Protestant church in Rogers Park has dropped 55% since 1970. Some churches have adapted by becoming almost community centers, offering their facilities for use by community groups. Others have attempted to interest new ethnic groups in programs such as vacation Bible School, and have opened their doors to non-English speaking congregations, allowing them to worship in the building.

Despite these declines, two new Protestant groups were established in Rogers Park during the 1970's. The First Korean Presbyterian Church was founded in 1971. It is the oldest Korean church in Chicago and is housed in a former synagogue. According to recent figures (Chicago Tribune, April, 1981), approximately 60% of the Korean population in Chicago attends church regularly. By 1980 the membership at the First Korean Presbyterian Church was 650.

The Good News Community Church was established in 1977 and is affiliated with the Unitarian Church. Its role in the "North of Howard" area in which it is located, has been varied. According to one of its founders, the "church is not a normal one or like any readily seen example." Its ministry is based on getting actively involved with the life of the people in the neighborhood, providing such things as a "drop in" time for area youths, personal counseling in drug abuse cases as well as many other programs. The church has

very close ties with the HACC and the Housing Services Center, both located across the street from it. Church leaders have acted as community organizers helping form We Are People Too, a neighborhood group organized to represent the interests of lower income residents in the "North of Howard" area and People's Housing, a nonprofit corporation which has produced a plan for local housing redevelopment.

In general, the decline in membership and consequent monetary support of the traditional churches in Rogers Park has been due to population changes in the community (e.g., younger residents who don't join or attend church). At the same time churches are facing fiscal problems there have been increased demands placed on resources, as in the case of new Jewish immigrants and lower income groups.

REAL ESTATE AND HOUSING

In addition to changes in religious participation, the 1970's also brought the term "redlining" into the vocabulary of Rogers Park residents. Redlining refers to the practice by financial institutions of rejecting loan applications for mortgages or improvements, because of the geographic location or age of the property. This practice has alleged to be common among Rogers Park financial institutions in the early 1970's, and seemed to be centered in the areas "North of Howard," and east of Clark Street. In 1973, the Rogers Park Citizens Action Program (CAP), a local chapter of a larger group, confronted saving and loan institutions in Rogers Park with accusations that they were engaging in redlining, and demanded to see their financial data relating to loans and investments in the community. The "Alinsky-like" tactics

put representatives of the financial institutions on the defensive and they generally refused to cooperate.

Eventually the issue of redlining was investigated by the Illinois General Assembly. At the subsequent public hearings stories of alleged redlining were told by buyers and real estate people from all over the city. Some people claimed that they could not get loans on property in Rogers Park unless they went to "rundown neighborhoods" where savings and loans would not make loans in their own areas...but when somebody comes from Rogers Park, its like greenland." (State of Illinois, 1975: 175). Only one savings and loan association of the four financial institutions located in Rogers Park was present to respond to the charges. The response consisted mainly of a denial the institution had ever engaged in redlining, and a statement that cautious loan policies were due in part to the failing of several lending institutions in Chicago, which made other companies more cautious about their investments.

The result of these hearings on redlining in Rogers Park and other communities was the passage of the "Financial Disclosure Act" by the State of Illinois, and an anti-redlining ordinance by the city of Chicago in 1974. While the financial institutions were cleared of outright redlining charges, according to local real estate people, there was an increase in the availability of money for investment in Rogers Park after 1975. Many of those taking advantage of this were foreign born persons who had not been allowed to own land in their own countries (e.g., Koreans and Indians), as well as a number of young professionals.

While the redlining investigation may have resulted in more money available for purchase and improvement of housing, it also led to a great deal of publicity. The redlining controversy was not only discussed in the citywide press,⁴ but also became a part of a nationally broadcast Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) report on redlining (Bill Moyers Journal, December 5, 1973). According to some community leaders, this was negative publicity which did the community's reputation no good. They felt it falsely depicted Rogers Park as rundown and a bad risk area.

This attitude was exemplified by the results of a special meeting of the Rogers Park Community Council held in 1975. The meeting was held

to consider a proposal that the Council endorse the Citizens Action Program (CAP) greenlining pledge and agree to keep our funds in financial institutions that would sign a contract to invest a determinable dollar amount in mortgages on properties located in the community. Following a thorough and spirited floor discussion, the proposal was rejected. However, the meeting was educational in the best sense of the term, alerting approximately 100 Rogers Park residents to many of the economic issues to be considered to maintain an older residential community.

A by-product of this meeting was the establishment of a Council committee to develop a program to assure the availability of mortgage funds for Rogers Park and to dispel the not uncommon belief that mortgages cannot be obtained for Rogers Park properties(Rogers Park Community Council, 1975). (Emphasis added)

The results of the Community Council meeting were not unexpected since the organization had never fully accepted the existence of redlining in the community as CAP alleged. Indeed members of the groups had strong feelings about the issue and each other. Community Council members tended to see the CAP members as agitators whose actions were detrimental to the overall good of the community. Leaders of CAP depicted the

Community Council as an organization of conservative homeowners who closed their eyes to the plight of less established residents and the need for change in the community.

By the mid-1970's another housing related phenomenon was occurring. According to 1970 census figures, there were only 504 housing units (or 1.9% of the community total) under cooperative or condominium ownership in Rogers Park. Figures released by the 49th ward Alderman's office (Sunday Star, March 5, 1978), showed that 91 buildings with more than 1800 units became condominiums between 1963 and 1976. Nearly all of these were conversions of existing structures and the 91 buildings represented approximately 3% of the apartment structures in the ward. By the end of the 1970's the Community Council estimated that approximately 2,800 units (or about 10.8%) of all housing units were so classified, and the trend toward conversions was continuing.

During this period, Loyola University initiated a local housing program called "Walk-to-Work." It consists of low interest loans, to faculty and staff, for the purchase of homes located within several blocks of the university. Over 50 loans have been made and more than 450 faculty and staff are living within a six block radius of the campus. Not only does this program encourage investment in the area, it also demonstrates Loyola's commitment to the community.

While community leaders were hoping that the increase in owner occupied units brought about by the condominium conversions would help to stabilize the community, the problem of displacement of former renters was becoming increasingly serious. Displacement refers to the situation whereby people who either cannot afford or do not wish to

buy condominium units are forced to move to other living quarters when their apartment building undergoes conversion. With the large number of conversions, the relatively low vacancy rate (1.3% by the end of the 1970's), and rising rents, the options open for such people were severely limited. This group is largely composed of lower income and elderly people.

The problems of displacement and rising rents led to increased tensions between tenants and landlords as reflected in a number of tenant groups in the area, the largest of these being the Rogers Park Tenants Committee. In addition to tenant groups, a program, which also included landlords, evolved out of the activities of the HACC which sponsored the Housing Services Center (HSC). The HSC based its programs on the experience of the Housing Resources Center of the Hull House Association, which has successfully dealt with housing concerns for a number of years. The HSC is concerned with finding solutions to the problems of keeping safe and decent rental housing in Rogers Park. It offers workshops on such topics as weatherization, landlord/tenant relationships and responsibilities, and other specific maintenance and financing problems. It also provides a sort of screening and matching service for prospective residents and landlords. Tenant complaints are investigated and, if warranted, assistance is given to tenants in taking action against irresponsible landlords.

The increasing condominium conversions led to a call in 1978 for a temporary moratorium on future Chicago conversions until some order could be brought to the process. However, a federal judge blocked enforcement of the rule, thus effectively killing it (Chicago Tribune,

1978). The City Council then assigned a subcommittee to draft condominium control legislation. By the end of 1980, however, no legislation had been finalized.

Concern over rent increases and the lack of progress in controlling condominium conversions prompted over 20 Aldermen to propose a Fair Rent Commission for Chicago in September of 1979. The chairman of the special subcommittee to look into this was the Alderman of Rogers Park's 49th Ward. The proposed Commission was to be made up of seven members: three tenants, two landlords, and one representative each; from the Chicago Building Department and Human Relations Committee. The Fair Rent Commission would hear individual complaints on rent gouging to be disposed by a hearing officer. The officer's decision could be appealed to the full Commission, but the decision of the latter group would be legally binding.

The City Council subcommittee held hearings throughout the city to gauge response to the proposed ordinance. Representatives of other cities having such commissions, individual tenants, and landlords, as well as interested organizations, testified at these hearings. There was a great deal of controversy surrounding this issue with heated arguments from both sides.

By June of 1980 the proposal was effectively killed. The Mayor had declined to back it, afraid that such a move would discourage new housing and investment, which were felt necessary. This left tenants with little legal recourse in disputes with landlords and angered many tenant groups.

Perhaps the biggest housing issue facing Rogers Park by the end

of the 1970's was subsidized housing. The concept of lower income housing has progressed from the early urban renewal projects which often began by demolishing large sections of the urban landscape. Frequently, there were more than physical changes as a result of these actions. Community bounds were often broken and residents scattered when demolition was begun (Gans, 1962). Once completed, these projects housed many people who were homogenous in socio-economic status and often race (though rarely the same people who were displaced). The management of these projects, never commendable on the average, was made even more difficult by the almost complete lack of some sense of community or loyalty among the residents (Rainwater, 1970).

By the 1970's authorities recognized the need to find different solutions to housing problems, as well as deal with further problems present in the existing housing projects. One set of popular programs was a housing subsidy which allowed individuals and families to live in apartments or homes of their choice with either federal or local housing authority making up the difference between a portion of the income of qualified participants in the program, and the cost of the unit.

One of the advantages of these subsidy programs was some dissolution of the stigma attached to residence in a public housing project, as few people need be aware of participation in such a program. This was especially important to elderly residents whose incomes were fixed while prices were rising. It gave such people a chance to stay in an apartment or community which they could no longer afford by themselves but to which they were attached.

Another subsidized housing approach was scattered site public

housing consisting of smaller building projects to be located in predominantly white and higher income areas than those built previously. Chicago has been struggling with the interpretation of this approach for years, and has still not resolved a 14 year court battle over the construction of new subsidized housing in communities with low proportions of minorities (Gautraux case).

By 1980, the Rogers Park community had over 900 units of subsidized housing (Rogers Park Community Council, 1980a; 49th Ward Zoning and Planning Board, 1980). This represented over 3% of the total number of housing units in Rogers Park, and about 1% of the city's total of subsidized units. Most of these were for seniors (82%), and one half of the total units (450) were in one building, the senior CHA facility. These figures became well-known and important in their own right during a 1980 controversy surrounding several new proposals for about 450 additional subsidized housing units. This controversy erupted at about the same time the Gautraux case was gaining public attention again.

In October of 1980, the Rogers Park Community Council called a special meeting to vote on a proposal for a moratorium on all new construction of subsidized housing in Rogers Park. They based their proposal on the fact that the community was already a diverse one; more so than the out of date 1970 census figures suggested, that it already had a large number of subsidized housing units whereas other communities did not, and that government agencies had not been sensitive to the impact of further subsidized housing on Rogers Park (Rogers Park Community Council, 1980).

The meeting consisted of comments by proponents and opponents of

the proposed moratorium and brought out the following concerns of the residents: whether or not there would be further overcrowding in the school located "North of Howard," an area to which some of the proposals were directed; whether increases in subsidized housing "North of Howard" would lead to an over-concentration of lower income people in one area producing "ghettoization"; the effects that new construction and rehabilitation might have on rents in the area; the problems of displacement which might occur; and the need for more and better housing at reasonable costs. Proponents of the proposed moratorium were concerned with the effects of subsidized housing on the total community, while opponents tended to concentrate on the need for housing in the "North of Howard" area. The Community Council adopted the moratorium resolution and sent its recommendation to the various government agencies concerned.⁵ However, these agencies did not agree to halt all new construction, and in fact, shortly thereafter, one of the proposed projects broke ground (Chicago Tribune, November, 1980).

The controversy surrounding the subsidized housing issue, and the "North of Howard" redevelopment in particular, tended to polarize residents. A group of residents concerned with increasing and improving housing throughout Rogers Park, and especially in the "North of Howard" area formed a new organization as a result of the Community Council's stance. The group, the ad hoc Committee for Affordable Housing, intended to try to find the means to provide more and better housing for all income levels in Rogers Park.

ROGERS PARK COMMUNITY COUNCIL

One underlying question here was, "who represents Rogers Park residents?" The Community Council has been the traditional voice of the whole community, while not directly representing a large portion of it. As of January, 1980, the membership consisted of some 119 businesses and organizations, and 764 families and individuals, in a community of over 55,000 residents. The Council's role as community spokesman developed because it was the first community-wide group in Rogers Park and was composed of a number of diverse organizations and businesses. In addition, it is active and well-known in the community for its "watch-dog" role in community housing conditions. The issue of the future of the "North of Howard" area found a number of localized groups opposing the position of the Council. These groups were less concerned with the total community image than with gaining a voice in decisions affecting them directly.

In addition to problems of lack of concensus among its members, the Community Council is facing an organizational crisis. The Council has traditionally raised approximately two-thirds of its annual operating budget from a week long carnival, but was denied a site for its 1981 event.⁶ This left the organization without enough funds to continue its established office activities. In response to this, the community newspaper published articles and editorials explaining the situation and the need for immediate donations to maintain operations until forthcoming fund raisers could provide some relief. The residents' response was sufficient to fill the need, though the crisis is not yet over. While it is unlikely the Community Council will be allowed to

dissolve, it must find new means of support. What affects this financial situation will have on the organization's future activities and community influence remain to be seen.

In all, the issues and changes of the 1970's were more divisive than those of earlier years. The latter tended to unite residents in, for instance, battles to acquire more public recreation space which would benefit all residents. The issues of the 1970's were much more basic and complex and did not affect all residents in the same way. As one community leader said, "It was fun battling then, not like today when there are threats and the ends aren't in sight." The ends are not yet in sight, but attempts are being made to define and reach them.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The issues and problems of the 1970's reflect the growing diversity of the Rogers Park community coupled with increasingly complex society-wide problems. These problems are facing community residents everywhere, but especially those in communities of the older industrial cities beset with decreasing tax bases, declining jobs, and increasing service needs.

The increase in ethnic diversity can in part be traced to a combination of changes in federal immigration policies and international events. The change in racial composition is due to the movement of whites out of the city and their replacement by other racial groups. This increased diversity has affected the community in varying degrees and in various ways, from cultural differences reflected in buying

practices to changing support bases for local religious institutions.

The greater involvement of community groups which often disagree among themselves makes the process of redevelopment more difficult and lengthy. For instance, the Hermitage-Haskins Triangle "North of Howard" was designated "blighted" in 1976 at which time buildings were demolished to make way for new structures. However, the disagreement among community groups over what form that redevelopment should take encouraged the city and HUD to back off from committing themselves to any projects till the community could come to some consensus, thus further slowing the process. This has meant that as of 1980, no new construction has been undertaken in this area, while a large number of people have been displaced.

Suttles (1972) has suggested a possible decline in the importance of racial and ethnic differentiation at the national level which may be filtering to the community level. Thus, instead of increased population diversity having a uniformly negative effect on community reputation, it may in some cases become a positive element of the image. For instance, some people choose to live with ethnic diversity and see it as an advantage, a situation which has been documented for Rogers Park (McCourt, et.al., 1979). Since Rogers Park has always housed a number of different ethnic and racial groups (though often in small numbers), the increase in these groups is an intensification of an existing situation rather than a totally new and perhaps threatening reality.

Suttles (1972) suggests that socioeconomic status indicators and age structure of the population will become more important in the

future as differentiators between and within communities. This may be relevant to Rogers Park as the age structure has been one element in its overall change, with residents increasingly concentrated in the young adult and elderly categories. Rogers Park has long had problems attracting families due to its large number of small apartments. The 1980 census figures may well show a further drop in the percentage of families and a further rise in the percentages of young adults and elderly. This might indicate that Rogers Park will be an attractive community on age-specific criteria even beyond the extent which already is the case (Weberle, 1976).

It is impossible to comment fully at this time on the changes in income and occupational status of residents during the 1970's. There are indications that the community's middle class status is being challenged somewhat with the increasing needs and demands for subsidized housing. On the other hand, there are also indications that the increase in condominium units and their popularity has drawn professionals and persons with incomes sufficient to invest in housing during a period of high costs and uncertain mortgage interest rates.

In summary then, the issues and changes of the 1970's were different than those of the preceding decades. They were more basic and potentially divisive, less amenable to short run solutions, and more closely tied to larger social changes. Rogers Park was not alone among American communities in having to adjust and deal with these issues and changes. The location of Rogers Park in an older industrial city already beset with difficulties makes its responses to these changes critical, both to its own future viability and that of the city. In

addition, the fact that these problems are more complicated and less likely to be readily resolved makes it probable that at least some of the changes have affected Rogers Park's reputation, as will be seen in the next chapter.

NOTES

CHAPTER IV

1. There is some speculation that these groups were undercounted in the 1970 census.
2. It is impossible to accurately estimate the amount of money spent in Rogers Park since we have no estimate of the number of immigrants settled here in 1980. While 2,000 were estimated to have been placed in the area in 1979, the stricter Soviet emigration policies in 1980 lowered the number of immigrants for that year.
3. These figures are for the Catholic elementary schools located within Rogers Park.
4. For example, these articles all related to the redlining controversy: Chicago Tribune, May 3, May 10, May 31, June 28, August 28, October 25, November 2, 1973.
5. The Rogers Park Community Council joined with other groups to form the 9th Congressional District Housing Coordinating Committee in seeking the moratorium on new subsidized housing in the district.
6. The denial came as the combined result of the city instituting a policy of not renting public land to organizations; the refusal of some residents to allow the carnival to take place on the only available private land; and the carnival having no more open dates. The neighboring residents argued the week long carnival was too noisy and brought too much congestion to the area.

CHAPTER V

MEASUREMENT OF ROGERS PARK'S IMAGE AND REPUTATION

INTRODUCTION

Our social change model has postulated three major sources of influence on community image and reputation: societal forces, the community's population, and its institutions. This chapter is an exploration of what factors people see as constituting and influencing a community's image and reputation by establishing how residents have perceived the Rogers Park community in the past and in 1980; as well as how nonresidents perceived it in 1980. Thus, this chapter relates to the social change model by measuring image and reputation and assessing what factors influence their change. In a sense, then, the surveys on image and reputation conducted in conjunction with this study attempt to test Part II of the community change model relating to influence on community image and reputation.

It is difficult to determine a community's past reputation. Intimations as to the reputation of a community may be found in comments of longtime residents and newspaper and magazine articles written in earlier times. Arguments that such statements do not necessarily correspond to the reality have little place here. While reality undoubtedly plays a part in the reputation of a community, it is unlikely there is a complete correspondence. In many cases the only things known to nonresidents of a community are its name and what that

represents in general terms. This information may be predominantly positive or negative, often gleaned through the media or in personal interaction with others who know of the area.

The media is important since it becomes a major source on which many people base their prevailing attitudes toward objects, people, and areas. One need only glance at the studies concerning propaganda and advertising to see that the media has a great deal of power (e.g., Hovland, 1959; Sandage and Freyberger, 1960; Lucas and Britt, 1950; Childs, 1965). When one considers the huge number of information sources bombarding individuals every day, the selection among them becomes very important.

As Janowitz (1967) has shown, the community press tends to be a booster type of publication. It presents events and news of the particular community in a generally positive way, acting as a means of promoting identification and pride in the community by its residents. However, in the last decade, the circulation of community newspapers has dropped (Ayer, 1980), and with this, the newspapers' role of fostering and strengthening community identity and local knowledge was diminished. Concern over this diminished role is not limited to a monetary one. As one editor said, "I'm worried about the future community leaders. With fewer and fewer readers, where will knowledgeable ones come from?" Whether this concern is fully justified or not, the fact remains that the print media (local or citywide) are sources of information individuals use to build up their image of an area and upon which they evaluate it. Thus, some influence over what appears in the media and how it is presented is essential in sustaining or

building a community's image and reputation although efforts to improve or maintain the realistic aspects of a community may ultimately be more important.

Publicity about Rogers Park in the city and community papers of the 1950's and 1960's was basically concerned with the fight of the Community Council and the two Chambers of Commerce to save the beaches and generally improve and maintain Rogers Park's physical plant (e.g., "Rogers Park Fights for Its Beaches," Chicago American, July 1962). While there were problems, these seemed overshadowed by the image of a community of concerned and active residents determined to save their area from deterioration, before it became a fact. This is suggested by articles with such titles as "Blight Threat Wanes in Rogers Park" (Alter, 1958), and "Rogers Park: A Community with Few Problems" (Wille, 1967).

Interviews with institutional leaders and long time residents in Rogers Park tended to confirm the past positive reputation of the community.¹ Even when the leaders felt Rogers Park was "still a good community," most mentioned it had a better reputation in the past. For example, one resident said "Rogers Park was a select area (in the 1950's). There used to be mansions on Sheridan Road with well-to-do and young families living there." Another who was a resident in the 1950's discussed the "North of Howard" area at that time. "North of Howard was a showcase area then. It attracted professional people and was always reported in the press as a community where a lot of large and high quality apartment buildings were."

Other interviewees suggested a number of prominent people

associated with the area in the past as proof of its good reputation.

To show you the kind of people that lived here, there were the Isbels who started up the Ramada Inns..., Jim and Mary Gordon who played Fibber McGee and Molly, John P. Harding who owned the Harding Restaurant on Wabash and Madison, and the Berghoff's...

Still others mentioned now prominent people who came from the community.

"You know Senator Percy is a great one on Rogers Park. One thing about him, he never forgot he was a soda jerk at Pratt and Clark, and sold newspapers under the Morse Avenue El."

Although there may be a tendency for people to exaggerate the past, exaggeration plays a part in most people's perceptions of life. It is significant that this researcher found few negative comments about what the community was like from 1950 to 1970. The overwhelming opinion of residents and press reports of the time suggest Rogers Park did indeed have a reputation as a very good community in which to live.

But what about Rogers Park in the late 1970's and early 1980's? Changes in demographic composition and institutional vigor that have taken place since 1970 seem likely to affect the reputation of the area. This chapter discusses the results of three surveys which deal with the reputation of Rogers Park and related concerns. First, a general background discussion introduces the three studies, then the results are described, analyzed and discussed. Finally, a summary of the results and conclusions are presented.

REPUTATION SURVEYS AND DATA ANALYSIS

In 1976 the Department of Sociology at Loyola University conducted a survey of the Rogers Park community.² At the time this study was

done, reputation was not directly included as a variable. However, in attempting to assess the residents' perceptions of their community the respondents were asked, "What is your image of Rogers Park?" Responses were coded using the four part rating developed by Hunter (1974a) which was based on the tone of verbatim responses: positive, all positive comments; noncommittal, no distinct positive or negative comments; ambivalent, both positive and negative comments; and negative, all negative comments. These were taken as one measure of reputation.

In 1980, a more concentrated attempt was made to get at the perceptions of Rogers Park's reputation. Two samples, one from Chicago as a whole, and one from Rogers Park, were randomly chosen and phone interviews were conducted in the summer of 1980.³ At times these samples are combined to provide a unified sample of opinion in 1980, while at other times they are separated for comparative purposes.

The 1980 surveys both asked the same question on image that was asked in the earlier study, and responses were coded in the same manner. In addition to this, the 1980 respondents were asked, "In your opinion what kind of reputation does Rogers Park have? Would you say it is: excellent; good; fair; or bad?" Following this they were asked if, and in what direction, the reputation had changed, and what aspect of the community had changed the most.

The reasoning behind asking two questions pertaining to reputation was two-fold. Granted that reputation depends to some degree on reality, but how long does it take before a change in reality is reflected in the reputation? No available studies have looked at this; the evaluated image question was included in the 1980 survey of

residents to see if there was any change in perception of reputation since 1976. Secondly, the use of two questions on reputation, one indirect and one direct, provided a test of whether it was possible to measure perceptions of a community's reputation by evaluating a person's image of the community. In other words, were both questions really measuring the same thing?

In addition to these questions, 1980 respondents were asked to rate Rogers Park's reputation in relation to those of its surrounding communities of Evanston, West Ridge, Edgewater and Uptown. These were included to try to get at the role of comparison in forming people's opinions on reputation as suggested by Suttles (1972). The data collected by the three surveys is basically nominal and ordinal in type for which non-parametric statistics are appropriate.

In terms of familiarity with the Rogers Park community, the results of the screening questions in the 1980 questionnaire are suggestive ("Have you heard of the Rogers Park community in Chicago?"). The citywide resident sample is made up of 60 respondents who indicated they had heard of the community. However, before finally interviewing these 60 people, 90 others, 60% of the citywide residents contacted, said they had never heard of the community. It is difficult to conclude from these numbers whether or not Rogers Park is a well-known community in the city. Not only is there no other data with which to compare it, but there is no way of knowing how many of these 90 people said no, they had not heard of the community simply to end the interview. However, some information is available about those who had not heard of Rogers Park.

TABLE 11

AREA OF CITY RESIDENCE FOR THOSE CONTACTED OUTSIDE ROGERS PARK

"Have you heard of the community area of Rogers Park?"	<u>Area of City Residence</u>			Total
	North & Northwest	West & Central	South & Southwest	
Yes	45% (22)	36% (16)	38% (22)	60
No	55% (27)	64% (28)	61% (35)	90
Total	49	44	57	150

The comparison of residential location between the two samples of city residents shown in Table 11, indicated no significant difference between the two distributions ($X^2 = .79$).

The sex of the respondent was also available for most of the 90 people who said they had not heard of Rogers Park, and its distribution for the three samples is compared below.

TABLE 12
DISTRIBUTION OF SEXES WITH 1980 SAMPLES

Sex	<u>Samples</u>			Total
	Not Heard of	Citywide Residents	Heard of Rogers Park 1980	
Male	27% (14)	30% (18)	42% (22)	54
Female	73% (37)	70% (42)	58% (30)	109
Total	51	60	52	163

The distribution of males and females was not significantly different among the three samples. However, in each of the samples there was a predominance of female respondents. The likely reason is that a portion of the interviewing in all three studies was done during the day when most males may be presumed at work; and females tend to handle phone calls in families more often than males.

Information on age was not available for the city sample who had not heard of Rogers Park, so only the completed 1980 samples were compared (Table 13). The X^2 of 12.68 indicated a significant difference in the two distributions. It is clear that the greatest difference is

TABLE 13

DISTRIBUTION OF AGE CATEGORIES WITHIN 1980 SAMPLES

Age	Samples		Total
	Citywide Residents	Rogers Park 1980	
18-34 years	38% (22)	45% (23)	45
35-59 years	47% (27)	20% (10)	37
60 years or older	16% (9)	35% (18)	27
Total	58	51	109

in the relative numbers of people in the middle age (35 to 59 years), and senior (60 years and above) categories. There are more respondents above 60 in the Rogers Park sample than the city one which is not surprising since Rogers Park is ranked seventh highest of all Chicago communities in terms of percentage of the population over 65 years of age. While the city of Chicago had only 11% of its population in this category in 1970, Rogers Park had 15.6%. The category used here also included those between 60 and 65 years of age which of course raised the percentage considerably. In addition, the changes in age structure in Rogers Park (discussed in Chapter III) indicate that the over 65 age group has expanded at the expense of the 34 to 59 year old group. Thus, the Rogers Park sample is probably representative of the local community which differs from Chicago.

These comparisons suggest that the sample of people who had not heard of Rogers Park is not significantly different than the final

sample of 60 used in the analyses to follow.⁴ Also, while the age distribution of the Rogers Park sample differs from that of the city, this probably reflects the differences between the two areas rather than any uniqueness in the particular respondents chosen.

The question "What is your image of Rogers Park?" elicited a number of different responses, from simple statements such as "I like it, it's a good community," to more complex ones citing community aspects or personal experiences. Before coding these responses into the evaluative categories, they were classified by content. Rather than presenting the total array of responses, the major differences between the samples will be highlighted.

One major difference between the 1976 survey and the 1980 survey may have been due to the investigatory procedure used in each. The 1976 Survey was conducted in person with the image question located in the middle of the interview which averaged a half an hour in length. By the time image question was reached, many respondents were involved in the interview process and tended to give longer answers and utilize more sentences than the responses elicited by the 1980 phone interviews. In addition, the 1980 questionnaire was so organized that one of the first questions was that on image. The result of these differences in length and structure of responses is not unexpected as face-to-face interaction can result in more cues from the interviewer being picked up by the respondent (Goode & Hatt, 1952).

Following are examples of responses to the image question from Rogers Park residents in 1976 and 1980.

It's (Rogers Park) changed in the last few years. Someone stole my car for forty days and then when I got it back they stole my battery and I finally sold it. It's very hard to park around here (1976 Survey).

Deteriorating (Rogers Park, 1980).

It's a community that's changing. It was old World Jewish, but now it's changing in interesting ways. Now it's now longer just Kosher foods, but Japanese and Oriental in the food store (1976 Survey).

Changing community. More stable now (Rogers Park, 1980).

The only major difference in the content of the images held by Rogers Park residents in 1976 and 1980 was in the order of the three most frequently cited community aspects which in both time periods were: community change, mixed character of the population, and Lake Michigan. While both groups of residents most frequently mentioned community change, the 1980 respondents included references to the Lake more often than the population mixture in their images.

When pressed, most residents and community leaders perceive the increase in population diversity to have begun around 1974 or 1975, and it could be that residents in 1976 were experiencing changes in their neighbors or were themselves new residents at the time they were interviewed. By 1980, the mixture of peoples may have settled in with residents taking them more for granted. Whatever the reason, residents were less likely to include this aspect of the community in their image in 1980 than in 1976.

Differences in images of Rogers Park between the two 1980 samples seemed based on the extent of the respondents' knowledge about the community. The major differences in the image content were in the specificity of some comments; the awareness of community changes, and

the salience or knowledge about Lake Michigan, and the relatively large number of Jewish residents. Citywide residents were more likely to make statements such as "a residential community, a large Jewish population," or "stable, middle income class." While local residents made general statements about the community also, some cited more specific things such as the community has "poor housing in need of renovation," and there is "no parking," suggesting a more intimate knowledge of the community and its problems, which is not surprising.

The two samples also tended to select different aspects of the community for their images. More of the 41 Rogers Park residents (9, or 22%), specifically mentioned the community was deteriorating than citywide residents (4, or 10% of the sample of 38). "It used to be a very nice community, but it has deteriorated," "It was nice when we moved here 25 years ago, but it's changed," typified community residents' general images of negative community change. Five, or 12% of the residents mentioned the community was changing in general, while none of the citywide residents did.

Another discrepancy was in the frequency of images involving Lake Michigan. Four times as many Rogers Park residents (8, or 20%) mentioned the Lake as part of their image (e.g., "the Lake and the beaches") than did citywide residents (5%). Even the four citywide residents (10%) who mentioned Rogers Park's location in their image responses neglected to include the Lake as part of it. It could be that residents chose the Rogers Park community to live in because of its nearness to the Lake and value it highly, while citywide residents are

not as aware of it. On the other hand, six citywide residents (16%) included the Jewish character of Rogers Park in their image, while not one resident mentioned this (e.g., "It's a Jewish community," there are "... many Jewish people"). This may be accounted for by factors such as: local residents may recognize the dramatic drop in the Jewish population; Rogers Park respondents may have been Jewish themselves; or the term "ethnic group" may have been assumed to cover the category.

In all then, Rogers Park residents had an image of their community which emphasized: change, its mixture of population, and nearness to Lake Michigan. Citywide residents most frequently saw it simply as a 'nice' community, made up of a large number of Jews, and located on the north side of Chicago. Rogers Park residents were more aware of change in the community no matter how they described or evaluated it than were citywide residents, a fact which is not surprising in view of the likelihood of their greater knowledge of the area.

Once verbatim responses to the image question were evaluatively coded, both measures were collapsed into a threefold ranking of positive, neutral and negative. This was accomplished for the image question by collapsing the categories ambivalent and noncommittal into the neutral category. For the reputation question the first two categories (excellent and good) were combined to produce the positive category and fair became the neutral category. The combinations appeared sensible and made the two questions comparable for analysis.

In order to test the similarity of the responses, the 1980 surveys were collapsed into one and the sign test was run comparing

the numbers of positive and negative differences in rating between the two questions. The results were not significant. Thus, the two questions appear to be measuring the same thing. This is supported by the Spearman's rho test results of the 1980 data. A correlation of .55 ($p < .001$) was found between the evaluated image and direct reputation questions. The 1980 survey results on these two questions were examined using separate Spearman's rho correlations for the two samples, and X^2 . The results of the correlation tests are presented in Table 14 and indicate the two measures are more highly related in the city sample than in the Rogers Park one.

TABLE 14

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN REPUTATIONAL MEASURES FOR 1980 SAMPLES

	N	rho	p
Citywide Residents	37	.84	.001
Rogers Park 1980	41	.30	.054
Combined	78	.55	.001

Table 15 presents the two distributions. A X^2 of 22.9 ($p < .005$) indicated a significant difference in the two distributions when the city frequencies were used as the expected ones.

The most interesting cells in Table 15 are those concerned with a negative evaluation of the community. It is obvious from these numbers that Rogers Park residents were more likely to give their community high marks on reputation when asked directly even if they made negative comments when asked for their image of the area. These results

TABLE 15
 CROSSTABULATION OF RESPONSES TO EVALUATED IMAGE
 AND DIRECT REPUTATION QUESTIONS FOR THE
 TWO 1980 SAMPLES⁵

Evaluated Image	Reputation						Total
	Positive	Neutral		Negative		Total	
Positive	40% (15)	29% (12)	3% (1)	7% (3)	(0)	(0)	16
Neutral	5% (2)	17% (7)	30% (11)	12% (5)	(0)	2% (1)	13
Negative	(0)	15% (6)	8% (3)	17% (7)	14% (5)	(0)	8
Total	17	25	15	15	5	1	37
							41

(Citywide residents above line; Rogers Park (1980) below line)

suggest that residents rate their community differently depending on how they are asked, and furthermore, that the 1976 sample of Rogers Park residents would probably have rated the community's reputation higher had they been asked about it directly. On the other hand, both questions seem to elicit similar responses from citywide residents.

There appears to be at least two explanations for these differences. The image responses may be based on the residents' more intimate knowledge of the community and their ability to make finer distinctions as a consequence; while the residents' perceptions of the community's reputation may be high due to their identification with it (e.g., none of the residents had a totally negative view of the community). Another possible explanation is that the residents' image may refer to their own evaluations of the community, while their rating of the community's reputation may be based on their perceptions of others' evaluations of the community. Nonresidents, less familiar with the community, are probably unable to make finer distinctions and tend to rate the reputation on the basis of their image of the community.

In order to get some sense of change, and whether there is a time lag between change in the reality and the reputation, comparisons between 1976 and 1980 samples were made. Table 16 summarizes the responses to the evaluated image questions for each sample.

These results indicate that Rogers Park has, over the last decade been seen in a basically positive light. Nearly 50% of those answering the image question in the 1976 Survey, and over 35% in each of the other surveys indicate a positive image of Rogers Park. The percentages of those holding a negative image varies between 16 and 31.

TABLE 16
 SAMPLE FREQUENCIES FOR EVALUATIVELY CODED IMAGE QUESTION

Evaluation	1976 Survey	Samples		Combined
		Citywide Residents	1980 Rogers Park 1980	
Positive	47% (89)	41% (16)	36% (15)	44% (120)
Neutral	37% (70)	36% (14)	31% (13)	36% (97)
Negative	16% (31)	23% (9)	31% (41)	20% (54)
Total	(190)	(39)	(42)	(271)

However, the largest percentage of negative images was found in the 1980 Rogers Park sample corresponding to a decline in residents' evaluation of their community.

Utilizing the different surveys as a variable, the X^2 statistic was applied to test whether or not there was a significant difference between the observed frequencies in each category, and those expected under other conditions. First, the total distribution of all three surveys was tested against a hypothetical equal one. The resultant X^2 of 24.98 with two degrees of freedom was well above the value necessary for significance at the .01 level. This indicated the response pattern was significantly different than an even distribution.

Looking more closely at the survey results, it is possible to answer the question of whether there has been a significant change in the perception of Rogers Park's reputation between 1976 and 1980, as measured by the evaluation of image responses. Again, the X^2 statistic

was used to compare the opinion of Rogers Park residents in 1980 to what it had been in 1976, using the 1976 survey as the expected pattern for 1980. The resultant X^2 value of 8.76 with two degrees of freedom was significant at the .05 level, thus indicating a significant difference between the two response patterns.⁵ Based on these results, it is possible to say that Rogers Park's reputation has changed and become more negative. This is supported by the frequency of negative responses to the question on the direction of reputational change as presented in Table 17.

Table 18 presents the correlations between the reputational rating of Rogers Park and the perceived direction of its change. The relationship of these two variables is weaker in the sample of Rogers Park residents. While they admit to a decline in the community's reputation, they are not as likely to equate that with a negative reputation now. It is also important to note that there was no significant relationship between the evaluated image responses and change in reputation, though as shown the two measures of reputation are significantly correlated. For the Rogers Park sample one explanation might be that mentioned before; the greater knowledge about the community may have led respondents to base their answers to each question on different information. However, the only explanation suggesting itself for the citywide sample, is the possibility that many people evaluate any urban change as negative.

In addition to information on the direction of change, data were collected on the community aspects which had changed the most. Responses were collapsed into two categories: people related, including

TABLE 17
 "WOULD YOU SAY THE REPUTATION IS BETTER
 OR WORSE NOW THAN IN THE PAST?"

Direction of Change	<u>Samples</u>	
	Citywide Residents	Rogers Park 1980
Better	6% (2)	18% (7)
No Change	32% (10)	18% (7)
Worse	63% (20)	65% (25)
Total*	101%** (32)	101%** (39)

* Includes only those individuals who answered both this question and that on current reputation

** Percentages that add to more than 100% due to rounding

TABLE 18
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN REPUTATION AND DIRECTION
OF CHANGE FOR 1980 SURVEYS

	N	rho	p
Citywide Residents	26	.402	.04
Rogers Park 1980	36	.332	.05
Combined	62	.362	.01

comments referring to people in general, ethnic or racial change, increase in crime and change in income levels; and all other changes including comments referring to business, physical changes, and multiple responses.⁷ The frequencies of these responses are shown in Table 19. A X^2 of 4.73 was found to be significant ($p < .05$), and Yule's Q indicated a substantial relationship (+.56). In other words, Rogers Park residents were more likely to locate change in the residential population, while other city residents were equally likely to city either category of change.

TABLE 19

"WHAT ASPECT OF THE COMMUNITY WOULD YOU SAY HAS CHANGED THE MOST?"

Type of Change	Citywide Residents	Rogers Park 1980	
People Related	50% (11)	78% (25)	36
Other	50% (11)	22% (7)	18
	22	32	54

It was not too surprising to find Rogers Park residents citing people related changes as they are able to see these first hand; although the same argument may be made for other kinds of change. The response of the citywide residents is probably based, again, on the extent of their knowledge about the community which may vary from published accounts to personal acquaintance with the community or its residents. For those living within the community the day-to-day interaction with people in close proximity is apparently more important to the perception of reputation change than other matters. Nonresidents, on the other hand, see all types of change as important influences on reputation.

Respondents were asked, "Would you say Rogers Park's reputation is better, the same, or worse than (Evanston; Edgewater; Uptown; West Ridge)?" (see Table 22). The Spearman's rank order correlations between these ratings and the two reputational measures are presented in Table 20.

As discussed earlier, while the two measures of reputation were significantly correlated in both samples, the correlation was higher for the citywide residents. This difference between the samples is reflected in the correlation patterns of the reputation measures and community reputational comparison. The patterns of correlation between these two sets of variables were very similar for the citywide sample. However, none of the community reputational comparisons were significantly correlated with the evaluated image measure for the Rogers Park 1980 sample; while three of the four were significantly correlated with the direct measure of reputation.

TABLE 20

RANK ORDER CORRELATIONS BETWEEN REPUTATIONAL MEASURES OF ROGERS PARK
AND COMMUNITY REPUTATION COMPARISONS FOR 1980 SAMPLES

Evaluated image with:	<u>Samples</u>	
	Citywide Residents	Rogers Park 1980
Evanston	.594** (37)	.283 (38)
Edgewater	.313 (29)	.317 (35)
Uptown	-.034 (34)	.210 (39)
West Ridge	.129 (6)	.210 (26)
<hr/>		
Reputation with:		
Evanston	.589** (43)	.338* (48)
Edgewater	.391* (33)	.173 (43)
Uptown	-.064 (41)	.293* (48)
West Ridge	.306 (7)	.386* (33)

*= p < .05
 **= p < .01

The only similar correlation for the two samples was between the direct measure of Rogers Park's reputation and its rating with regard to Evanston. In both samples, it seems that the more positively respondents saw Rogers Park's own reputation, the more positively they saw it in relation to Evanston's. This was more apparent in the cross-tabulation of these variables for the city sample shown below in Table 21. The Q value of +.84 indicated a very strong positive association between the reputation rating of Rogers Park and the reputational comparison with Evanston. In order to compare the two samples on their ratings the frequencies of the reputational comparisons are given in Table 22.

TABLE 21
 CROSS-TABULATION OF ROGERS PARK'S REPUTATION
 AND ITS REPUTATIONAL COMPARISON WITH EVANSTON
 FOR CITYWIDE RESIDENTS

Rogers Park compared to Evanston	<u>Reputation of Rogers Park</u>		
	Excellent/Good	Okay/Bad	
Better/ Same	42% (17)	20% (2)	39% (16)
Worse	5% (8)	34% (14)	62% (25)
	47% (19)	54% (22)	Total = 101% (41)

In general, it appears that when Rogers Park residents compare their community with others to the South, they see it as superior; when they compare it with communities to the North, outside of the city, they do not rate it as highly. Each of the comparisons is interesting in itself. The results for Evanston, Edgewater and Uptown were collapsed into fourfold tables (Tables 23, 24, 25). A majority in both samples saw Rogers Park's reputation as better or equal to Evanston. The low Q (.11) and X^2 (.28) values figured from Table 23 indicate that residence in Rogers Park made little difference in rating the community's reputation relative to Evanston's.

However, as Table 24 illustrates there was a very strong negative association ($Q = -.78$) between the reputational comparison of Rogers Park and Edgewater, and the residence of the respondent. While a

TABLE 22

"WOULD YOU SAY ROGERS PARK'S REPUTATION IS BETTER,
THE SAME, OR WORSE THAN (EVANSTON,
EDGEWATER, UPTOWN, WEST RIDGE)?"

Comparison Communities

Rogers Park Compared to Surrounding Communities	Evanston		Edgewater		Uptown		West Ridge	
	Citywide Residents	Rogers Pk. 1980	Citywide Residents	Rogers Pk. 1980	Citywide Residents	Rogers Pk. 1980	Citywide Residents	Rogers Pk. 1980
Better	22.7 (10)	16.7 (8)	51.4 (18)	79.1 (34)	88.1 (43)	89.6 (43)	28.6 (2)	21.2 (7)
Same	40.9 (18)	41.7 (20)	11.4 (4)	14.0 (6)	11.9 (5)	10.4 (5)	42.9 (3)	60.6 (20)
Worse	36.4 (16)	41.7 (20)	37.1 (13)	7.0 (3)	28.6 (2)	18.2 (6)
Totals	(44)	(48)	(35)	(43)	(42)	(48)	(7)	(33)
Missing Data	10	2	10	3	11	2	10	2
Don't Know	6	2	15	6	7	2	43	17

TABLE 23

REPUTATIONAL COMPARISON OF ROGERS PARK WITH EVANSTON

Rogers Park Compared to Evanston	Citywide Residents	<u>Samples</u>	
		Rogers Park 1980	Total
Better/ Same	64% (28)	58% (28)	56
Worse	36% (16)	42% (20)	36
Total	44	48	92

TABLE 24

REPUTATIONAL COMPARISON OF ROGERS PARK WITH EDGEWATER

Rogers Park Compared to Edgewater	Citywide Residents	<u>Samples</u>	
		Rogers Park 1980	Total
Better/ Same	63% (22)	93% (40)	62
Worse	37% (13)	7% (3)	16
Total	35	43	78

majority in both samples rated the community's reputation as better or the same as Edgewater's, the percentage of Rogers Park residents doing so was overwhelming (93%).

The most obvious thing about the reputational comparisons between Rogers Park and Uptown is the complete agreement between the two sets of respondents (Table 25). No one in either group saw Rogers Park's reputation as lower than that of Uptown. This suggests an especially

TABLE 25

REPUTATIONAL COMPARISON OF ROGERS PARK WITH UPTOWN

Rogers Park Compared to Uptown	Citywide Residents	<u>Samples</u>
		Rogers Park 1980
Better/ Same	100% (42)	100% (48)
Worse	0	0

striking contrast, not only in the minds of residents, but nonresidents as well. This contrast may be playing a large part in the continued positive perceptions of Rogers Park's reputation.

In addition to the real differences between the two areas (discussed in Chapter III), there has been a difference in the press coverage of these communities. This is probably due to both the objective conditions and the problems of the two communities. Uptown has long been facing many problems only recently affecting Rogers Park, such as arson, subsidized housing, low income and new immigrant residents. These problems, especially arson, have been presented and discussed in the news media, even to the extent of exposure on CBS's "20/20," a nationwide news program broadcast in the spring of 1980 (CBS, 1980). Thus, Uptown is a relatively well-known community within Chicago, known basically for its problems, a fact which probably helps explain much of the unified opinion that Rogers Park has a better reputation.

The reputational comparison between Rogers Park and West Ridge is interesting in terms of the numbers of respondents who indicated

they "Don't Know" or who did not respond to the question. In the citywide sample, only seven people made the comparison while 33 of the Rogers Park residents did. The reason for this seemed to be that citywide respondents, as well as some Rogers Park residents, did not know of the existence of West Ridge. Some frequent comments were: "Where's that?," "I've never heard of the place," or "Isn't that West Rogers Park?" This lack of knowledge about West Ridge might be explained with reference to the community's historic economic and transportational dependence on Rogers Park and the confusion over Rogers Park's western boundary.

In order to explore further whether the lack of knowledge of West Ridge is related to the perception of Rogers Park's western boundary, a closer look was taken of those who gave a "Don't Know" response to the reputational comparison with West Ridge. Table 26 gives the response frequencies of these people to the question "Of course Lake Michigan is the east boundary of Rogers Park, but what would you say is the western street boundary?" Responses were collapsed into the categories of Western Avenue and streets east of it, and those streets west of Western Avenue. The city sample is heavily weighted toward "Don't Know" and a more eastern boundary, while the Rogers Park sample was much more likely to give some boundary. These results are not surprising since community residents may be expected to know local street names allowing them to at least hazard a guess at the boundary. The city residents who were unable to provide a street boundary at all probably knew little of this area of the city. Like many people, they rarely hear of the community

TABLE 26

PERCEPTION OF ROGERS PARK'S WESTERN STREET BOUNDARY

Location of Boundary	Citywide Residents	1980 <u>Samples</u>	
		Rogers Park	Total
West of Western	9% (4)	41% (7)	11
Western & East	35% (15)	47% (8)	23
Don't Know	56% (24)	12% (2)	26
Total	43	17	60

of West Ridge which is seemingly overshadowed by its neighbor Rogers Park as it has been in the past.

To summarize the comparisons of Rogers Park with surrounding communities a t-test was done. Each respondent who made all three comparisons of Rogers Park with Evanston, Edgewater and Uptown was assigned to a score produced by adding the weighted responses: 1= better; 2=same; 3=worse; for each community comparison. West Ridge was dropped from the analysis because of the relatively low number of people in each survey who answered. The results are presented in Table 27. There was a significant difference between the means of the two groups. The lower mean for the Rogers Park sample suggested an overall more positive rating of the community relative to the three communities surrounding it which is consistent with the above findings. In addition, the lower standard deviation also indicates a more unified opinion on the part of Rogers Park residents reflecting a shared

TABLE 27

SAMPLE MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR COMBINED COMPARISONS
OF ROGERS PARK TO EVANSTON, EDGEWATER, AND UPTOWN

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{x}</u>	<u>s^2</u>
Citywide Residents	31	6.29	3.09
Rogers Park 1980	41	4.61	1.49

t = 4.83 with 70 degrees of freedom
p < .01

evaluation of the community, at least as compared to others.

Respondents were also asked "Would you say there are different subareas within the Rogers Park community?." and if so, "Where are they?" The frequencies of response to these questions are presented in Tables 28 and 29, below. Both samples overwhelmingly perceived the existence of subareas as illustrated by Table 28. This is not surprising as a community larger than a few blocks and made up of large numbers

TABLE 28

"WOULD YOU SAY THERE ARE DIFFERENT
SUBAREAS WITHIN THE ROGERS PARK COMMUNITY?"

Subareas	Citywide Residents	Samples Rogers Park 1980	Total
Yes	86% (37)	93% (40)	77
No	14% (6)	7% (3)	9
Total	43	43	86

TABLE 29

"WHERE ARE THEY"

Location of Subareas	Citywide Residents	Samples Rogers Park 1980	Total
East/West	42% (5)	58% (18)	23
North	33% (4)	35% (11)	15
Other	25% (3)	7% (2)	5
Total	12	31	43

of people is not generally uniform in character. Just as a city may be broken down into various areas (East Side, South Side), and then into communities (such as Rogers Park in Chicago), these communities may, and very likely are, further broken down into subareas or neighborhoods (see Chapter II). A major reason for these subdivisions is simply conceptual convenience of the residents, often based for instance on resident and building characteristics (Lynch, 1960). Other neighborhood distinctions may be based on perceived safety (Suttles, 1968; 1972). Thus, a community is not conceived of as a simple homogeneous whole, especially by those who reside within it, a situation which has been amply documented (e.g., Zorbaugh, 1929; Suttles, 1968; Gans, 1962), and is recognized by both residents and nonresidents. Some of the respondents reacted to the first question on the existence of subareas, with such comments as "I'm sure there must be subareas," "most places have them."

However, when asked to locate these subareas, fewer were able to

give even the general distinctions as Table 29 illustrates. Rogers Park residents were alot more likely to see their community as divided into east and west sections, or separate a northern section from the rest as shown by the number of respondents giving answers. Citywide residents were about equally likely to divide the area into any of the subareas, though few did so.⁹

The frequencies of citing a northern subarea, or east and west divisions, was not surprising. As discussed in Chapter II, Rogers Park is often thought of as East and West Rogers Park, the latter at times encompassing much of West Ridge. Respondents generally referred to the northern subareas as the "North of Howard" area, a name which has been fairly well publicized as a distinct section of the community. The relatively small number of people in the city sample able to describe subareas is likely due to the lack of any more than general information about Rogers Park. For most of these people, their admitted knowledge of Rogers Park came from reading or hearing about the area (75%), and relatively few (15%) were very familiar with it.¹⁰

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The results of the surveys concerning Rogers Park's image and reputation have shown that the two measures are significantly correlated in both samples, although the correlation is stronger for the citywide sample. The explanation seems to be that Rogers Park residents have slightly more negative images because of their more intimate knowledge of the community and its problems. They are able to make finer distinctions, and this is reflected in their responses to the two

questions. The greater community knowledge of the residents was illustrated by their awareness of subareas within the community. This is not surprising since such conceptual distinctions are more functional to residents than nonresidents. In addition, the residents' sense of pride and identification with the community also tends to prevail in their seeing it as a good community. After all, the community is as much a reflection on them for choosing to live there (if indeed the choice was theirs) as they are a reflection or representative of the community to nonresidents.

A comparison of the 1976 and 1980 surveys indicated a decline in Rogers Park's reputation which was supported by the assertion of a negative change in reputation in the 1980 surveys. Some of this may be due to the tendency to see the past as better than the present, though many people located the decline in actual changes in the community. Most residents suggested population composition as having changed the most while, citywide residents as frequently mentioned other changes.

The slightly higher ranking of Rogers Park's reputation by its residents was generally borne out by the comparisons between the community and surrounding ones. Both residents and nonresidents tended to rate Rogers Park's reputation as equal to or better than Evanston's, while only residents were much more likely to rate it higher than Edgewater's. Both samples agreed that Rogers Park's reputation was better than Uptown's, while few citywide residents made the comparison with West Ridge. On closer inspection the latter appeared related to a lack of knowledge about the western boundary of Rogers Park, or West Ridge as a community.

The role of comparison within and between communities in reputational development seems to differ depending on a person's residence. Comparison of adjacent communities is probably more important to a local resident's perception of a nearby community's reputation. Residents of an area (e.g., the Far North Side) probably know about actual conditions in neighboring communities and are likely to base community evaluations on these. People, from other areas of the city not familiar with a community, probably take some of their cues on a community's reputation from its "master identity" (Suttles, 1972) suggested by its general location in the city. As has been mentioned, in Chicago, the North Side is generally considered a high income area relative to the South and West Sides, suggesting any community located there is "good." However, as Suttles (1972) has pointed out, there are always exceptions, Uptown being a well known relatively lower income community beset by problems yet located in this part of the city. Thus, comparing Uptown with practically any North Side community would probably have elicited the same response. In other words, the results were probably due to a shared view of Uptown rather than one of Rogers Park.

Thus, a person's residence appears important to his evaluation of community reputation. A resident of a particular community is probably influenced to some extent by his identification with the community in perceiving its reputation. Residents of nearby communities are influenced in their perception of a particular community's reputation by their greater knowledge of local conditions and contrasts. Finally, people unfamiliar with a community probably identify it with

the general area within which it is located, as well as relying on any other information they have about the community. Exceptions to this are likely with very well publicized communities which do not conform to the general expectation implied by their location within the city.

In conclusion, results of these surveys indicate that negative change has been perceived in Rogers Park, yet a generally positive attitude toward the community persists. This may be due to a combination of factors including the fact that not all change has been negative, as well as the likelihood that response to change may be at least as important as the changes themselves. Rogers Park shares its problems of aging housing stock and declining commercial vitality with most other parts of the city of Chicago and other older industrial cities. The fact that it is a community which recognized these problems and organized to address them has contributed to its reputation.

The tendency to organize for problem-solving has continued with the development of new organizations related to specific problems in the last 1970's and early 1980's. These groups include: the Rogers Park Tenants Committee, dealing with tenant/landlord problems and condominium conversions; ad hoc Committee for Affordable Housing, a broadly based group growing out of the concern with housing problems, especially subsidized housing and the Rogers Park Community Council's position on it; We Are People Too, a "North of Howard" group attempting to represent the views of lower income residents; Concerned Citizens North of Howard, a reactivated group of local homeowners and longtime residents; Rogers Park Neighborhood Development Corporation, organized

to aid businesses in obtaining government loans for improvement and general renovation of the business community; 49th Ward Building and Zoning Board, established by the Alderman to assist in planning and reviewing plans for community development; and the Beat Representative program, a group of citizens cooperating with the police in crime prevention programs. If organizing to solve problems is important to the strength and maintenance of reputation, Rogers Park is in a good position for the future.

The following chapter deals with the linkages between demographic and institutional change (the reality of the community), and reputation.

NOTES

CHAPTER V

1. The in-depth interviews are discussed in Appendix along with a copy of the interview schedule.
2. See Appendix for a copy of the interview schedule and more detailed information about the survey.
3. See Appendix for a copy of the interview schedule and more detailed information about the surveys.
4. At least on the basis of respondents' sex and location.
5. Comments typical of each category of the image question are given below.

Positive - "I like it. It's a close knit community for Chicago. I feel pretty safe here. I feel that's important." (1976 Survey)

"I believe it's a very good community. People are kind and helpful. I really like it." (Rogers Park 1980)

"It's friendly and clean." (Rogers Park 1980)

Neutral - "Mixed ethnic backgrounds." (Rogers Park 1980)

"The Lake and the beaches, poor housing in need of renovation, racial mixture." (Rogers Park 1980)

"It's okay." (Citywide resident)

Negative - "I better stay home at night - it's not nice here." (Rogers Park 1980)

"The creeping ghetto." (Rogers Park 1980)

"Elderly, rundown, trying to hold on so it won't become like Uptown." (Citywide resident)

6. Nearly the same results occurred when comparing the 1976 Survey of residents with the combined 1980 samples ($X^2 = 8.78$, 2 degrees of freedom, $p < .01$).
7. Typical examples from each category are shown below.

Citywide residents:

People related
changes:

"The mixture of races."
"The people have changed."

CHAPTER V (cont.'d)

7. (cont.'d)

Other changes: "More rundown."
 "Buildings have deteriorated and a depreciation in the kinds of people."

Rogers Park 1980:

People related changes: "More ethnic groups."
 "More people with lower incomes."

Other changes: "The housing situation and the crime rate."
 "Ethnicity, economy, and the housing have deteriorated."

Responses including more than one change totalled to four in both the Rogers Park 1980 sample and the sample of citywide residents.

8. Since the original airing of this program a local Chicago TV newscaster produced a program attacking the investigatory techniques of the original news team, and pointing out that no indictments were forthcoming because of lack of evidence of any actual "arson for profit" schemes. The controversy over this program did not end here. The original news team gave a sort of rebuttal on national television. Thus, the media exposure for Uptown and its arson problems has been even greater than expected.

It is also interesting to note that the burned out building originally investigated is located in what has officially become Community Area 77, Edgewater. Yet, as far as we know, Edgewater has not been mentioned in connection with the matter.

However, Rogers Park residents would be likely to associate these problems with Edgewater which may help explain the nearly unanimous evaluation of Rogers Park as better or the same as Edgewater.

9. The Ns for the city cells are very small. But the results of a chi-square test show the distributions to be significantly different ($\chi^2 = 13.2$, with 2 degrees of freedom, $p < .01$)

10. The rest of the sample answered in some other manner (10%).

CHAPTER VI

IMAGE-MAKING

INTRODUCTION

Parts II and III of our social change model referred to the reciprocal influence of a community's population and institutions and its image and reputation. In this chapter, we are concerned with how a community's population composition and institutions become interpreted into images and then evaluated, what actors are involved in this image-making process, and the influence of a community's image and reputation on its population and institutions. In order to explore the linkage role between the community's social reality and its symbolic representation, as well as the process of interpretation, literature on imagery and various media as informers and persuaders will be briefly reviewed. Next, image-makers and their activities in the Rogers Park community will be presented.

While sociological literature relating to image and reputation is sparse, this is not the case in the field of business. The concern with images on the part of businesses and large corporations is long-standing. This concern has been basically concentrated in two areas: pleas for brand name loyalty on the part of the consumers (e.g., Sandage, 1960; Martineau, 1960), and corporate image-making, about which articles can be found in nearly every trade journal.¹

Although there are obviously many differences between companies

and communities, images can be powerful influences on resident's responses to change (Goodwin, 1979; Schoenberg, 1980). Image makers, whether for companies or communities, utilize the media to inform the "public." Business concerns are very conscious of their media usage, much of which is in the form of advertising. For the local urban community there are two major media outlets, the community press and the citywide press. The coverage a community receives from local and metropolitan media may well differ.

The community press generally functions as a community booster, more likely to present and emphasize concensus than controversy in its content; it knowingly serves as a promoter of community identity and identification (Edelstein and Larson, 1960; Edelstein and Schulz, 1964; and Janowitz, 1967). However, its readership is generally limited to residents of a particular community and those interested in learning more about it (e.g., those considering a move to the community, or those who have left but still wishing to keep in touch (Bogart and Orenstein, 1969).

Widespread publicity about a particular community in the citywide press is rarely in the hands of local community leaders. Studies have shown that the content of such newspaper is determined by a few editors, the so-called "gatekeepers" (White, 1950; Breed, 1955; 1958; Carter, 1958), and newsmen (Gieber, 1964). The primary way in which image-makers can attempt to influence the news reporting on their community is through personal contact with editors and reporters or by issuing press releases (Gardner, 1979). However, Honaker (1981) found that due to the lack of newsworthiness and exceedingly poor presentation of

most press releases, few got published. Perhaps in response to this the local Chicago newspapers have begun workshops to assist community groups in writing press releases.² Such workshops represent an attempt to improve the newspapers' relations with local groups, provide the opportunity for such groups to make personal contacts within the mass communications industry, and thus, influence the type of publicity distributed about the community.

The effectiveness of the mass media in changing attitudes and in increasing public awareness of issues has not been consistent. Some studies have found the media effective in disseminating information (Macoby and Alexander, 1979; Morrison and Lubow, 1977); others have found it ineffective (Plant, et.al., 1979; Sutula, 1981). However, a community's reputation is clearly affected by publicity, especially in the citywide press, which reaches a large audience. The effects of such publicity on a community's image and reputation are influenced by both the residence of the reader and the type of information about the community. Readers living in close proximity to the community mentioned will find the information more salient than those who live further away. In addition, the information published about a community will influence readers' evaluations of it.

It should be kept in mind, however, that influential as the mass media may be, media coverage, whether intentionally persuasive or otherwise, is not the sole factor in image and reputational formation and change. Actual conditions within the community are at least as important if not more so in determining community reputation. Yet in the case of local urban communities, the press is one of the few

means by which residents in other areas of the city are exposed to a particular community. Thus, the importance of the citywide press lies in circulating information which in the absence of personal experience, is one source from which reputations are formed. The content of that information is likely to be of considerable concern to community leaders. To the extent that they attempt to manipulate the distribution and content of information about the community they are engaged in community image-making.

COMMUNITY IMAGE-MAKERS

The groups playing the linkage role between community reality and image and reputation might be called "image-makers." This term is used to denote persons who manipulate or create an image of some one, group, company or corporate collectivity. The importance of this role is apparent in cases such as political figures and entertainment stars. However, it has also become important in other contexts, such as the corporate quest for image discussed above, and appears applicable to communities too. This section will discuss the role of community image-makers in general, and in the Rogers Park community in particular. Image-makers on the community level are not always as conscious of their role as the agent for a rock star. Yet, the effect of their activities on the image and reputation of the community may be just as great as are the agents' actions on the musicians' career. Most community image-makers attempt to present the community as an attractive and good residential one; at the same time working toward maintenance and improvement in the reality of the situation. If actual conditions,

as well as the perceptions of them, deteriorate too much, the reputation will follow suit.

The basic means for translating the reality of the community into images and reputation appears to be the media. We have already emphasized that the press, both community and citywide, plays an important role in the presentation of communities to themselves and others. For example, physical deterioration and loss of vitality does not lead automatically to a decline in a community's reputation. Unless a number of residents and nonresidents notice and negatively evaluate these changes, little alteration will result in the community's reputation. Thus, for reputational modification to occur, community changes must be noticed, either through first hand experience or other means (e.g., the press); then the changes must be evaluated.

One of the major means of bringing community information to a wide audience is the citywide press. The citywide press in Chicago has, in recent years, published articles on Rogers Park which focus on general conditions, (e.g., "Rogers Park: A Community with Few Problems," Chicago Daily News, April, 1967), ethnic change (e.g., "East Rogers Park Shops Changing Their Paces, and Face," Chicago Tribune, April, 1968), specific issues (e.g., the series of articles on redlining in 1973 see Chapter IV), the call for a moratorium on new subsidized housing (Chicago Tribune, October, 1980), and legal battles which appeal to a wider audience (e.g., "15 Year Effort to Expand Jonquil Park Blocked by CTA Barns Wins," Chicago Tribune, December, 1980).

The two major groups which play a role in community image making are real estate institutions and community organizations. It is

obvious that not all real estate institutions take a major role in the image-making process. Some are local businesses without the capital for any major investment, whose basic activity is the matching of prospective residents and buyers with appropriate property. However, real estate companies, even if not headquartered within the particular community, do have a stake in the community through financial investments and the expectation of profit. Thus, they are concerned about the community's image and reputation because they are likely to influence prospective investors or residents (Jensen, 1978).³

Real estate developers may begin the image-making process with the naming of a new community and its streets. Names are often chosen for their attractiveness such as those which suggest arcadian settings: Streamwood, Creekside Drive, Shining Waters Road. Others connote exclusivity: Buckingham Court, Queen's Way. Clearly community images are shaped by conscious actions from development inception. Rogers Park is not a new community, but real estate firms and developers still play a strong image-making role in such established communities. This is especially true in urban communities where revitalization and renovation are common activities of real estate developers.

Major real estate concerns have taken a monetary interest in the Rogers Park community. One large developer has bought a number of buildings with the intention of renovating apartments and converting them into condominium units. Another group of financial institutions, which worked together previously to rehabilitate and improve other neighborhoods, has been vying for its chance to get heavily involved with redevelopment in the "North of Howard" area. In addition, a

relatively new coalition of a real estate developer and a community organization has also formulated a plan for the "North of Howard" area.

There are many small investors in Rogers Park housing, aside from individual house or condominium owners. Investment often takes the form of purchasing a multi-flat building and personally rehabbing it before selling or renting the units. Small scale "do-it-yourself" rehabbing has been gaining popularity in the last few years as the cost of new construction has risen. Since the purpose of this activity is to save or make money, it is most popular in areas where housing costs have not increased as rapidly as general inflation. The extent of small scale rehabbing cannot be determined, but it has received some attention (Bradley, 1977; Rogers Park-Edgewater News, 1980).

There are numerous examples of the influence of real estate developers in revitalizing urban neighborhoods throughout the country (e.g., White and Sutherland, 1978; Jensen, 1978; Deloof, 1979). A Chicago example is New Town, a neighborhood in the Lakeview community area. Real estate interests bought up apartment buildings and turned them into luxury dwelling units. Advertisements brought in not only new, more wealthy tenants, but individuals who invested in the area and "rehabbed" buildings on a smaller scale. The result was that a deteriorated neighborhood was turned into a popular and well-known upper middle class one.

Real estate concerns relate to the media primarily in the form of advertising. As the motive and involvement of realtors in a community is generally profit related, they attempt to build a positive

image of the community through advertising to obtain an acceptable return on their investment. In today's expensive housing market, real estate developers are less likely to choose an expensive section of the city, but rather attempt to find areas which have certain potentialities to be exploited. Once such a location has been found, and investment is made, the developer generally begins to advertise his property (residential or commercial) employing the image he wishes to project; quiet, exclusive, convenient, or in the "action."

This advertising technique is not limited to suburban developments, as a perusal of the real estate section of any urban paper will show. Urban ads often emphasize security and convenience as well as mentioning the particular urban community in which the property is located which often connotes a particular lifestyle. Chicago examples include, "Located in Rogers Park, right on Lake Michigan," "situated in the Loop near transportation and the Lake."

With the recent growth in condominium conversions and the increased interest in rehabilitation of older buildings, real estate interests have become especially active in older urban communities. Their advertising and input into articles on various communities serves to interest prospective residents as well as to suggest "hot" real estate investment areas. This serves to inform the public that an area is really on its way up, from wherever it might have been before.

This period since the redlining controversy in Rogers Park has brought a great deal of real estate interest to the area. Some of the reasons for this have already been discussed: energy costs, condominium popularity, and the relatively reasonable cost of housing

in the area itself. All of these things have combined to make Rogers Park into one of the communities with real estate "potential," ready to be discovered. This image of an up and coming community was bolstered by an article in Chicagoland's Real Estate Advisor (August 22, 1980) entitled "Back to the City Movement Benefits Rogers Park Area," (p. 4) which contained an interview with the head of a real estate development corporation. According to the article, "Rogers Park shows some of the most dramatic signs of rebirth of any neighborhood in the city," (p. 4). According to this real estate developer, promising elements include: evidence of previous excellence in physical structures and layout, accessibility to public transportation, colleges, universities, or private schools, recreation facilities, interesting historical past, and areas where residents would like to stroll. For Rogers Park,

symptoms of recovery are already apparent. Indications are that business interest is on the upswing, investment money is going into the area, both from local sources and federal funds administered by the city and there is a concerted effort on the part of a stable population to upgrade their homes (p. 5).

While these are comments of a real estate developer who has a stake in the Rogers Park community, the assessment of the situation is probably correct. According to interviews conducted in 1977 with local real estate people, the market in Rogers Park turned around in 1975, with more money available and much more interest being shown than in the years immediately prior to this time. From 1974 to 1976 these factors, in combination with inflation, increased the average price of homes in some areas of Rogers Park from \$33,000 to \$49,000. By 1980, two bedroom condominium units (not on the Lake) were starting

at \$55,000. Even with high interest rates they were selling rapidly.

Such articles as those on Rogers Park's "rediscovery" reach a large audience. Published in a trade paper, they are read by real estate people throughout the city whose job it is to help clients buy and sell residential and other kinds of property. Positive comments about areas tend to create or build a community's image as a "hot" real estate investment location. This may be all that is necessary to stimulate further investment and improvement.

This is an example of the image and reputation of a community acting upon its reality. The community is portrayed as one which has problems, but is dealing with them and expectations are that things are on the upswing. This positive image influences real estate agents to show the area to their clients, thus producing interest in and recognition of the area by a wider audience. This in itself may beget a self-fulfilling prophecy. Signs of improvement are there (not necessarily accomplished), and it's a good time to "get on the bandwagon." Investments and demands for housing increase, bringing more money and interested new residents providing the means of accomplishing improvement in conditions. This example points up the importance of publicity as well as the influence of a community's image.

The role of image-maker in an urban community is not limited to financial and real estate interests, however important they may be. The interest and backing of such concerns changes over time, generally lasting for no more than 15 years (Jensen, 1978), or the approximate time it takes to recoup an investment. The second source of community image-makers is community organizations. Their roles as image-maker

vary depending on several factors. In a slum area most community organizations are less concerned with the community image projected than with actually accomplishing improvements in the area. One technique for gaining outside help in the form of money or support for proposed changes may be the projection of a very bleak picture of community life. Emphasis on the negative points in the community which need improvement is intended to stimulate concern and action by residents and responsible public agencies. Only after some positive changes in the actual conditions is accomplished can an organization afford to spend energy on improving the community's image. Yet, as mentioned earlier, the very fact that such an organization develops and is active, may be seen as a positive factor in the community's image.

A less deteriorated community, while always having some problems, is one where conditions such as housing and crime are not at a crisis stage. While community organizations are still primarily concerned about improvement of community conditions, they are likely to spend some of their energies on maintaining or improving their community's image and reputation. In a sense they become defenders of the reputation, in some cases attempting to refute negative charges judged to be unfounded.⁴ Those which have a basis in fact are likely to be dealt with as problems to be solved.

Some community groups are small and localized and primarily attempt to foster neighborliness and concern for the neighborhood. Others focus attention on particular problems such as the local Citizen's Action Program chapter which in 1972 attempted to highlight

the practice of redlining in Rogers Park. Other community organizations have stood the test of time and become representative of many area residents, as in the case of the Rogers Park Community Council. This group has generally engaged in relatively noncontroversial ongoing issues. It has a history of acting as a "watchdog" for the community on its housing conditions and has been recognized in this capacity by the city housing court when some of the group's members became the first nonprofessionals to be allowed to testify in court cases.

At election time the general assembly meetings of the Community Council act as non-partisan forums for politicians and give the residents a chance to learn and question the position of candidates on various topics. The Council's stance of not endorsing any candidates has kept them from being identified with any particular party or individual, thus avoiding alienation of any residents by such a move.⁵ The Council has also, at times, acted as a clearinghouse for information on topics ranging from tenant complaints to questions of procedure in dealing with city agencies. Queries are directed to the appropriate departments or groups which deal with them.

The effect on residents of the organization's existence and functioning is to cultivate a sense of community spirit and identification, a result which is both applauded and intended by the Council. Leaders of the group feel that concern and identification with the community, on the part of the residents, is necessary in order to accomplish any improvements. This view is basic to the use of community organizations as a means of community improvement (Benz, 1975). Where there is widespread residential apathy there is unlikely to be improvement, and

more likely deterioration. Thus, on the level of reality, the Rogers Park Community Council works toward the physical and general improvement of the community life. This has been apparent from its original fight to make the Lake Michigan beaches public and accessible, to its ongoing battle against housing deterioration and its rewards of recognition for improvements. For instance, winners of the "Tender Loving Care" awards (TLC) are featured in the community newspaper each year, thus providing residents with further basis for pride in their community (e.g., Rogers Park-Edgewater News, February, 1981).

In addition to these activities, the Rogers Park Community Council conducted a large scale survey of residents in 1962, sampling about 42% of the 30,000 households at that time. The survey included questions on why people lived in the area, if they shopped there, what they felt needed improvement, and whether they planned to stay. Results indicated most people liked the area; shopping was limited to groceries, drugs and children's apparel; and the major reason for planning to move was the need for larger living quarters. The most needed improvements were building maintenance and parking, and more parks and recreation areas. The study cost a grand total of \$86.24 and utilized 350 trained volunteers; facts which drew a great deal of positive comment by various experts at the time. The Community Organization Committee of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations invited the Rogers Park Community Council directors to one of their meetings to discuss how the survey was conducted. In addition, results of the survey were publicized in the citywide press (e.g., "Rogers Park Survey Shows Why Families Plan to Move," Chicago Sun Times, September, 1962).

Based on this study, the Council's Planning and Development Committee drew up a "Basic Policies Statement for Rogers Park" in 1966. The purpose of this document was described in the following statement.

Efforts at community planning can be best directed both toward specific community problems which require solution and toward adaptation to changed conditions. A general plan for the future of our community is needed to provide an overall framework from which specific guidelines may be established for both private and public projects.

This Basic Policies Statement is not an end unto itself. Upon its adoption, the Community Planning and Development Committee will divide the community into small study areas and will systematically and comprehensively examine each area to define and measure its problems and to establish programs for its improvements (p. ii).

The document proceeded to set forth a general framework for the community under such headings as: The Community, Residential, Business, Industrial, Transportation, Conservation and Public Utilities, Recreation, Education, Community and Religious Institutions and Policies and People. Included under these headings were the general aims for the community in each area, which jointly, and once accomplished, would result in "an excellent residential environment" (1).

Based on this policy statement, the Planning and Development Committee of the Rogers Park Community Council divided the community, including the area between Ridge and Western Avenues, into six areas. Over a period of time each area was studied in terms of the above aspects and written reports issued, the first in 1969 and the last in 1974. Each report was presented to community residents in a series of public meetings. In some cases, revisions or further recommendations were made and added to the reports. As the Planning and Development Committee was made up of a number of experts in various fields (e.g.,

architects, traffic consultants, and cartographers), the reports were very professional. Suggestions were often accompanied by detailed drawings illustrating various possible solutions to problems.

The Council not only researches and formulates community improvement recommendations, but presents these to larger bodies such as the Chicago Plan Commission and the Northeastern Illinois Plan Commission. The Council's suggestions carry some weight as indicated by the inclusion of some of its recommendations in the Lakefront Development Plan of the Chicago Department of Development and Planning adopted in 1972.

Since the early 1970's the Council has become well-known for its building conservation efforts and has been vigilant in checking and following up on building code violations. In 1976, and again in 1978, a building by building survey of housing conditions was conducted. Figures for each period are given in Table 30.

TABLE 30

CONDITIONS OF ROGERS PARK BUILDINGS 1976 AND 1980

	<u>Good Conditions</u>	<u>Minor Problems</u>	<u>Bad Conditions</u>	<u>Total</u>
1976	3491	838	295	4624
1978	3684	638	275	4597

(Source: Rogers Park Community Council, 1978)

The decline in the total number of structures is due to loss by fire, demolition, and change in use. Minor problems in 200 buildings were corrected and 20 buildings with major problems were either demolished or brought up to "Good." Over this same period (December of

1976 to February of 1978) 83 violations were brought to compliance. These figures provide a further basis for contending that the Community Council is exerting a positive impact on the community.

The major community improvement activities of the Community Council appear to be those discussed above: its attempts to gain residents' involvement, its role as a planning unit, and its acting as a "watchdog" on building conditions. The effectiveness of the Community Council is, in part, due to its organizational form. Its membership consists of a large number of other community based organizations; this structure has been shown to be an important determinant of community organizational effectiveness (Alicia, 1978). The Council's effectiveness is widely recognized as illustrated by the nearly unanimous feeling among those interviewed during the course of this study that the Community Council was by far the most effective community organization in Rogers Park.

A strong community-wide organization such as the Rogers Park Community Council, appears very important to a community for both its actual well-being as well as that of its image and reputation. Nor is the Rogers Park Community Council the only example in the Chicago area. Previously, Rossi and Dentler (1961) also illustrated the importance of such an organization in improving and stabilizing a community. According to one real estate developer interviewed, a strong and active community group in the Lincoln Park area was instrumental in successfully turning a deteriorating neighborhood into a fashionable one in the city. Yet, while a viable community organization is important to a community's well-being, its existence does not

automatically insure success. Molotch's (1972) study of the South Shore community in Chicago outlined the unsuccessful attempts of a community organization to control rapid racial change. However, without the existence of such organizations, it is unlikely there would be much improvement in a community. These groups represent community concern on the part of residents, and where they are active it is assumed that there is some degree of "community spirit" and identification on the part of residents, and such spirit is a critical ingredient in positive community images.

While real estate interests have been identified as community image-makers, such groups have not been active in all communities. As profit making concerns their choice of potential sites for investment was in the past more limited. Today developers are often assured of an adequate return by actions of the federal government to improve housing through guaranteed loans and subsidy programs. This financial security has brought private developers into some community areas where they previously might not have invested. In a sense it has broadened their potential influence over community development.

While no one group is fully in control of image-making, and less so its means, the community image-makers identified here as real estate developers and leaders of community-wide organizations do provide a linkage between the reality of the community and its image and reputation. While their direct control over news about the community published in the press, especially the citywide press, may not be great they do have less formal means of control. For instance, a reporter from a city paper investigating a story about a particular

community will likely be referred to community leaders for statements. In most cases, these leaders are members of the community groups. Thus, whatever, the topic of such an article there is probably going to be some input from the community organization which will contribute to its overall tone.

Whether direct or indirect, real estate interests and community organizations do influence community image and reputation, and these, in turn, influence residents and community institutions. The next and final chapter will consist of a brief summary of the dissertation and discuss the conclusions and implications of this study.

NOTES

CHAPTER VI

1. For example articles relating to corporate image-making can be found in real estate publications (Kavanaugh, 1979); banking publications (Durand, et.al., 1978); mental health publications (Morrison and Lubow, 1977); as well as in public relations and advertising journals (Putnam, 1980).
2. For example, the community paper in Rogers Park, a member of a large Chicago and suburban chain of community papers, runs announcements for each of its sessions on the front page.
3. Real estate companies have, of course, gained profit through creating a negative image of a community as well and stampeding racial change. Here, however, we will confine our discussion to real estate companies whose interest is in a "good" community.
4. For example, the Community Council in Rogers Park took upon itself the job of discouraging the widespread belief that it was difficult to get money for housing in the community.
5. This neutrality has been criticized by some politicians who suggest the group's lack of cooperation with the political organization sometimes results in duplication of effort.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

INTRODUCTION

The larger purpose of this study has been to provide insight into problems of communities in older industrial cities. While all communities are faced to some extent with inflation, rising energy costs, and uncertain mortgage money markets, the effects of these have not been evenly distributed. Many of the newer Sunbelt cities are able to offset some of their monetary problems through annexation of surrounding land and communities, thus providing greater tax bases (Geruson and McGrath, 1977; Adams, 1976; Levin, 1977).¹ Such options are not open to older cities in the Northeast and Midwest where communities surrounding the central cities rarely see any advantages to annexation, and where there are few, if any, unsettled hinterlands to annex.

In order to see how society-wide changes impact on communities in older industrial cities, Rogers Park was chosen to be the subject of a community case study. To provide a framework for the study, a model of urban community change was developed which focussed on the effects of wider societal changes on the demographic and institutional conditions in such communities. Qualitative aspects of the community, most particularly community image and reputation, were incorporated into the model and were found to be important in preserving community

viability.

This chapter re-examines the major foci of this study. A summary of the findings of the Rogers Park study placed within the framework of the community change model is presented first. We then look more closely at the findings on community image and reputation, examining their implications for community viability, and proposing directions for further research. Next, the responses of the Rogers Park community to the changes it is facing will be discussed and assessed. Finally, the wider implications of this case study will be discussed with reference to the future of older industrial cities in general.

COMMUNITY CHANGE MODEL APPLIED TO ROGERS PARK

The model of community change developed here is based on Warren's (1978) contention that increased ties with the larger society have made the local community more subject to outside influences. We identified four related society-wide areas of change: immigration patterns, energy and inflation costs, mortgage interest rates and urban housing, and small business issues. The effects of these factors on the Rogers Park community and their consequences for many aspects of community life were documented.

These factors directly and indirectly created changes in the population composition of Rogers Park. The rising costs of energy and mortgages were suggested as possible contributors to the attractiveness of urban communities with good public transportation (e.g., Rogers Park). The popularity of condominium housing attracted real estate developers to the community as well as new residents able to

afford the high costs of housing. The combination of these and other factors (e.g., displacement of renters due to condominium conversions) apparently affected the age structure of the population resulting in a decrease in residents 35 to 59 years of age.

These changes had an impact on the community's commercial vitality and organizational activity. The population changes, as well as wider economic conditions of the late 1970's, were cited by many business people as causes of decreasing sales. At the same time, some of the residents (e.g., Koreans) were investing in community businesses and forming new organizations. Cosmetic changes in physical features of the community were producing visible signs of positive attitudes along some of the business strips.

The organizational activity in the community increased in the 1970's with the formation of a number of local issue specific groups. The effects of condominium conversions, rent increases, and displacement of renters were reflected in the growth of tenant organizations. Additional groups arose in response to other neighborhood issues such as the redlining controversy and the proposed moratorium on further subsidized housing in the community. Still other groups were outgrowths of local churches and synagogues which were attempting to minister to the changing population of the community (e.g., the HACC, and We Are People Too).

These changes in community population composition and organizational activity were reflected in changes in Rogers Park's reputation. Comparisons of the opinions of residents in 1976 and 1980 indicated that the community's reputation declined over the four year period.

This finding was supported by data from the 1980 surveys of residents and nonresidents. Both groups perceived a downward trend in reputation for the community. Residents, however, tended to rate the community's reputation higher than nonresidents when asked directly, and were more likely than nonresidents to mention population composition as having been the major change. Despite the increase of negative perceptions, the community was still viewed positively by most respondents.

Further analysis suggested that comparisons and contrasts between communities were important in determining the reputation of a given community. An individual's knowledge about various aspects of the community was found to be a factor in influencing that person's assessment of a particular community's reputation. Thus, when comparing the reputation of Rogers Park to its surrounding communities, residents and nonresidents were in agreement on the ranking of Rogers Park relative to only one of the four comparison communities, that one being a well publicized community with many problems.

Mediation between actual conditions and the community's image and reputation was accomplished by "image makers." In Rogers Park the two groups playing this role were identified as real estate developers and leaders of the major community organization. Their attempts to deal with real conditions in the community ranged from financial investments to conscientious supervision of housing conditions. The primary means of influencing community reputation was through direct and indirect influence over community information published in the local and citywide press. The image and reputation of Rogers Park as a hot investment area led to increased financial interest in the

community by both large and small investors, raising the possibility of even more physical and institutional improvements.

Thus the model is complete. The extra-community decisions and their effects were found to influence community conditions, both directly and indirectly, through changes in population composition and subsequent organizational and institutional activity. The resultant changes within the community affected the qualitative aspects of community image and reputation. These were in turn seen to influence community conditions themselves. This model of community change, taking into account the influence of wider societal forces, community activity and image and reputation, appears applicable to other urban communities as well.

COMMUNITY IMAGE AND REPUTATION

The pivotal role played by the image and reputation of a community in adapting to a changing environment suggests that these variables should be examined and researched further. In particular, the relative persistence of reputations, the extent of their dependence on actual community conditions, and the measurement of image and reputation seem critical.

It should be recalled that in 1976, 47% of the surveyed residents of Rogers Park responded positively when asked about the community's image, only 16% negatively. By 1980, these percentages had changed to 36% and 31%, respectively. Respondents attributed the reputational decline to actual changes in the community, many of which were negatively perceived. Despite this decline, 61% of the residents and 45%

of the nonresidents, in 1980, rated Rogers Park's reputation as excellent or good when asked to do so directly. Thus, the reputation of Rogers Park is still overwhelmingly positive.

The persistence of Rogers Park's good reputation is probably due to the continued existence of many factors that were operative during the 1950's and 1960's. Such things as its location on Lake Michigan, the continued presence and support of Loyola University, its general urban amenities, and the continued activity of organizations attempting to deal with local issues, all function to maintain the positive reputation despite other changes taking place in the community.

In other words, a major finding of this study is that although there are noticeable signs of change in Rogers Park, the overall impression one gets is the persistence of older forms of communal attachment and stability alongside these changes. New residents have come into the area without substantially changing older forms of community attachment and organization. Something new has been added but not much has been lost. This sort of change has been going on for over a decade and despite some fears that the community is going to change dramatically, far less change has taken place than in other Chicago community areas where rapid and dramatic racial and ethnic changes occurred. Population changes in Rogers Park have been sufficiently slow than the older population seems to have been able to continue its organizational and community life with little interruption. Indeed, there is some hope that the community can maintain its cultural diversity rather than go through the classic pattern of invasion and succession.²

Although Rogers Park still maintains a good reputation, our findings suggest that this particular reputation, at least, was sensitive to small changes in population composition and institutional initiatives (e.g., perceptions of a reputational decline). Because of the pivotal role played by a community's reputation in influencing the morale and subsequent behavior of its residents and businesses it is important to consider whether positive or negative reputations are equally sensitive to compositional changes.

Our results suggest that positive reputations may be fragile. This appears to be a widespread belief as exemplified by the care taken by public figures to guard their positive public images. It is impossible to deny that a person's reputation affects the manner in which he is treated and regarded by others, and by extension, a community's reputation affects its viability.

In contrast to the seeming fragility of positive reputations is the apparent tenacity of negative images and reputations. Although it has been 50 years since Al Capone's influence in Chicago, the city is frequently identified with this era as though it were still in existence. A study by the Chicago Tribune on the reputation of one of the city's newspapers which had undergone a change of ownership, format, and stance, found that despite these changes most Chicagoans still rated the paper negatively, on the basis of what it had been before (Martineau, 1960).

A test of the hypothesis that negative community reputations are more persistent than positive ones would necessitate a comparison between communities which have greatly improved their conditions, but

have negative reputations, with those positively evaluated communities where conditions significantly deteriorated. Whether or not the results would be conclusive, they would at least be suggestive of the directions for further research. Such research might help identify and rank the factors which account for reputational change.

Reputational persistence may be due to the attractiveness of a particular reputation, independent of the social reality. Chicago's image as a gangster run city was colorful and "delightfully wicked" despite the fact that the realities of the time period were sometimes bloody and not at all attractive. Goodwin (1979) found that Oak Parkers were strongly attached to their community's image as a cultural haven and elite suburb although there were few community conditions to support this. This independence of community image and reputation from social realities may also be illustrated by the Uptown community. While much of the community is in good physical condition and composed of middle class residents, its reputation as a whole is negative. Publicity about the problems in the community was suggested as one reason for this negative image. In other words, despite differences in reality, reputations may persist when they are not challenged by widespread publicity of conflicting information.

In order to investigate the role of publicity in reputational persistence, the types of publicity surrounding communities with positive and negative reputations need to be compared. Newspapers covering a specified period could be reviewed for the type and frequency of references to each category of reputation. These references could then be compared to actual conditions in the community. A lack

of correspondence between the publicity and reality might help to clarify the relative independence of community reputations and reality, and further, demonstrate the importance of publicity in reputational persistence.

While publicity about communities is important, its effects on a community's reputation are not immediate; it must be absorbed and evaluated. It is, therefore, important to know where individuals get their information about particular communities. A screening question used in the 1980 surveys asked how familiar the respondent was with the Rogers Park community. Most nonresidents indicated they had heard or read about Rogers Park. However, without more specific information on where they had heard about Rogers Park, from whom and where they read about it, and what they remembered reading, it is difficult to assess clearly the relative roles of personal information and media coverage in reputational development and change. For instance, such data would indicate whether publicity about community problems affects a community's reputation negatively, as many leaders appear to fear.

The role of community comparisons in reputational development and maintenance was briefly investigated in this study by asking respondents to compare Rogers Park's reputation to those of its surrounding communities. Further examination of the importance of inter-community comparisons and the dependence of reputation on actual community conditions might include asking the respondent to compare his own community's reputation to that of the community under investigation or asking respondents what communities they see as similar and

dissimilar to the community under study. Comparisons of the actual conditions of the various communities with their reputational ratings may further elucidate the extent of dependence of community reputations on their social realities.

The lack of previous research to guide investigation of community reputations led to the utilization of two measures in this study of reputation: an indirect one which evaluated the respondents' comments with regard to their image of Rogers Park; and a direct one asking the respondents to rate the reputation on a four point scale. Results indicated that while the two measures were significantly correlated in both resident and nonresident samples, the correlation was higher for nonresidents.

For nonresidents, responses to both questions were probably based on one set of knowledge about the community and on their own perceptions of its ranking. On the other hand, residents' responses may have been based on two subsets of knowledge about the community and two sets of reputational rankings (their own and their perception of others). In addition, residents' responses to the direct question on reputation were probably influenced by their identification with and pride in their community.

The latter possibility is supported by Hunter (1974a) who found that residents of middle class white communities tend to evaluate their communities more positively than residents of other areas. Also, recent research on neighborhood perception has found that while suburban residents generally cited fewer negative qualities in their community images, they saw a similar number of positive factors as

residents of an inner city neighborhood (Haney and Knowles, 1978). More refined measures of community reputation would need to take into account: the respondents' residence, the extent of his or her identification with the community, as well as his or her knowledge about the particular community under investigation. Such information would help explain differences in response patterns of residents and nonresidents. Use of this information to compare communities with negative and positive reputations may clear up some of the questions left unanswered in the present study.

The sequence of questions used in the 1980 surveys was such that immediately after respondents rated the direction of Rogers Park's reputational change as negative, they were asked what aspect of the community had changed the most. Based on the responses to this question, we inferred that residents viewed population change negatively while nonresidents identified other changes in the community equally frequently. Further research might ask respondents more directly why they evaluated the reputation as they did; this might provide a direct link between reputations and the basis upon which such community evaluations are made.

The groups performing the community image-making role should also be studied further. Particular attention should be paid to their specific activities and contacts with the media, as well as how cognizant they are of performing this role in the community. Goodwin (1979) suggests that the image-making role of community leaders can be a conscious one, at least in communities which perceive themselves as being threatened with racial change (e.g., Oak Park community leaders

hired a public relations firm to handle their publicity). In addition, the role of real estate developers and community organizations as "image-makers" in communities less organized and with different reputations should be examined. Community organizations may not be as concerned with their image-making functions as with their attempts to improve real conditions in communities which have negative reputations. This possibility needs to be documented although other groups may perform the image-making function in such communities.

The research on community image and reputation presented in this study has been exploratory and contributes to the sparse empirical work on this topic. Along with Goodwin's (1979) study of community responses to racial change in Oak Park and Austin, this study supports the contention that a community's image and reputation are important to its viability. Furthermore, research on community image and reputation has implications beyond those of purely theoretical interest. Important policy issues are at stake. It is doubtful that problems instigated outside the local community can be solved without some recourse to wider levels of government which have helped produce the changes communities are now facing (e.g., state and federal). But a loss of control over image and reputation may lead to increasingly negative community images held by residents leading to increased numbers of residents "giving up" on their communities by physically leaving or simply investing less of themselves in it (e.g., not supporting local organizations). Thus, even if solutions were to be found at any level, their application to communities would be made more difficult by the lack of commitment of local residents.

ROGERS PARK: CHANGE, RESPONSE, AND FUTURE VIABILITY

One of the major problems of an older city is its aging physical infrastructure (roads, housing, large municipal buildings) and its increasingly expensive maintenance. Despite the constant need for repairs, it is common practice to cut down on such maintenance in order to trim city expenditures (Netzer, 1978). The result of such inaction "... leads to generalized deterioration and disinvestment in the plant and equipment that may be needed even by a much smaller population" (Netzer, 1978:238).

Increasing segregation of racial, ethnic, and income groups presents additional problems. The tremendous suburbanization which began after World War II has not yet abated even in the older cities. This suburbanization of urban residents is based on three selective factors: income, family stage, and race (Kasarda, 1978; Janowitz and Street, 1978; Hunter, 1974a; 1974b). As a result, the poor and disadvantaged have increasingly been segregated in the central city (Alexis, 1978; Geruson and McGrath, 1977; Levin, 1977). The selective out migration of middle class residents from central cities, especially those of the older industrial areas, is a major cause of increasing fiscal problems in such cities. Many of those who have moved to suburban and exurban areas are still employed in the central city and/or take advantage of its cultural and sports offerings. Thus, they pay little of the city's upkeep, but their continued use of city facilities contributes to problems of public order, congestion, and deterioration which further drains the resources of the central cities (Kasarda, 1978).

The segregation of population by income and race within the older

central cities also contributes to the development of pockets of deterioration, high crime, and extreme reliance on municipal welfare services (Janowitz, 1976; Alexis, 1978). Some have argued that the migration of middle and upper income groups out of the city has resulted in the "filtering" of housing so that less affluent groups increasingly are offered better quality housing as former residents vacate such units (e.g., Adams, 1976). However, while this may be true in some cases, inflation and the loss of unskilled or semi-skilled jobs make it unlikely the housing filtering process will result in widespread relief for lower income residents.

Taking the problems of older industrial cities as a backdrop, we have looked at the impact of these and related factors on a middle class community. The problems engendered by increasing population heterogeneity and changing housing patterns, are examined along with the responses by residents to these problems. Only in this way can the community's future viability be assessed.

The aging physical structures of the Rogers Park community have long been of concern to community leaders. The community Council's response to this problem has concentrated on checking building code violations and it has been recognized by the city housing court as having "expert witness" status. In addition, its program of "TLC" awards in various categories provides recognition to those who improve their property. Statistics on housing conditions show that the Council has indeed had an impact in this area.

The Housing Services Center has attempted to deal with deteriorating housing in another manner. It is trying to attack the problems of

aging housing primarily through programs of prevention and aid rather than by enforcement of building codes and use of other legal channels. The Center offers workshops and information to both landlords and tenants. In effect, the programs of the HSC and Community Council seem to compliment each other resulting in attention to both prevention as well as action on severely deteriorated housing conditions intractable to informal amelioration.

The housing market in Rogers Park has been strongly affected by conversions of apartments to condominiums. Estimates at the end of the 1970's indicated there might be a significant change in owner occupancy rates for the community. This suggests that while many middle class residents may have left the community, they may have been replaced by similar, or potentially similar residents willing to make an investment in the community. These new investors may presumably be committed to the community and realize they have a stake in its future.³

However, increasing condominium conversions have led to the problem of displacement of former renters in Rogers Park. The seriousness of this situation is increased by the reduction of options for such people as the number of rental units decreases in other areas of the city as well, and as the costs of those rental units left increase. Furthermore, as the comparison of rental costs in 1970 indicated, Rogers Park had the most reasonably priced units for their condition in the area, and there is no reason to assume any relative changes among the communities by 1980. Thus, for displaced renters who wish to stay in the area, the choice is between lower priced, but less

well maintained housing to the south, or higher priced units to the west, neither choice being very attractive.

Responses to this problem have ranged from tenant groups unsuccessfully calling for rent control to investigations of allegedly gouging landlords. Through its tenant landlord listing and screening process the Housing Services Center has attempted to match potential renters with apartments within their price range. However, this is becoming increasingly difficult as the number of available rental units declines. The Center has also investigated some claims of rent gouging and aided victims to obtain redress. The Alderman's office and the Community Council have operated on a case by case basis for renters who find themselves displaced. For instance, if the tenant is elderly and qualifies for a housing subsidy, he or she may be counseled in making such an application (although the waiting list for such programs is sometimes years long).

In all, it appears that while the community has tried,⁴ it has been unable on its own to come up with a solution to the problem of displacement. Solutions which have been proposed relate to the construction of further subsidized housing units in the community. For example, a local community organization, in cooperation with a major real estate development firm, formulated a redevelopment plan for an area "North of Howard." The plan entails a rather new concept whereby subsidies for tenants would be applied to a mortgage, eventuating in the purchase of a cooperative unit by the tenant. However, as mentioned earlier, none of the proposed plans for this area have reached the approval stage, much less construction.

Other organizations have been giving increased attention to the conditions of commercial and business establishments. In 1979, the Rogers Park Neighborhood Development Corporation was formed to aid in packaging low interest loans for local business and commercial establishments. However, the loss of the popular "502" SBA loan program has made it more difficult to get such money for groups other than those being targeted by newer programs. As of 1981 we know of no loans having been made under the auspices of the NDC, although, the existence of this resource may facilitate such loan packages in the future.

Trees have been planted along Howard Street in a joint program between the local businessmen's groups and the city. The two Chambers of Commerce in the community have increased efforts to enlist the support of the growing number of foreign born business owners in the area, many of whom are not integrated into the wider community. The existence of a Korean businessmen's group covering several of the North Side communities has been an obstacle to this process of incorporation; although recent interaction between this group and Rogers Park groups may result in increased communication and cooperation. The linguistic and cultural problems of business transactions (e.g., bargaining) will probably decline in significance as new residents become acclimated to the customs of this country. However, more serious effects may be felt from the rise in the elderly population and other low income groups with limited buying power.

Although the changes in population composition have had mixed consequences on the churches in Rogers Park, most of their responses

appear to follow a pattern consisting of increasing emphasis on social services to the community. Both of the Catholic churches have formed social service agencies, one of which, the HACC has become a separate nonprofit corporation funded by grants and donations. The Jewish synagogues by necessity have focussed on service to newly arrived Russian immigrants through religious instruction and help in the operation of other social services provided by more inclusive Jewish agencies.

The new Protestant churches have been very conscious of their community service role. Leaders of the Good News Church have been catalysts in community organizing in the "North of Howard" area. They have also organized an alternative school for elementary level children which is expected to expand. The Korean church serves as a local meeting center for the Korean community, and the pastor often acts as a counselor to new immigrants trying to acclimate to American customs.

Unlike Catholicism or Judaism, Protestantism is composed of a large number of different denominations. Apparently relatively few of the new residents identify themselves with those denominations represented by Rogers Park's established Protestant churches. Thus, the response by these churches has been somewhat different than that of other churches with their emphasis on social services. Instead, many of these churches have opened their physical facilities to community groups. The best example of this is one church which has distributed a printed description of its facilities that are open for community use. In addition, many of the Protestant and other social

service groups in the community have helped through contributions of food, clothing, and money.

In general, the response of the Rogers Park community to the changes it is facing has been along organizational lines. While a portion of the population has chosen the option of "exit" as reflected in the loss of residents in the 1970's, it appears that a significant portion has opted for "voice" (Orbell and Uno, 1972). Organizational activity developed in response to two related stimuli: the needs of newer residents in the community (e.g., FREE), or certain issues facing the community (e.g., the ad hoc Committee for Affordable Housing). However, once organized nearly all groups respond to issues affecting their members.

Assessments of Rogers Park's future viability rest on an interpretation of its success in responding to change. These appear to be two major negative aspects involved in the community's responses to change: a lack of internal consensus and an apparent lack of control over the resident's image of the community. The lack of consensus is partially due to the types of issues the community is facing. They are not the kind to unify residents against outside agencies. Instead, they tend to differentially affect individual residents (as in the case of subsidized housing); residents organize themselves on the basis of their positions on such issues. Thus, the increasing heterogeneity of the population combined with potentially divisive issues facing the community have resulted in the formation of a number of groups representing various positions.

The issue of subsidized housing is important to the community's

future as it subsumes other related factors such as income, racial and ethnic heterogeneity, and housing improvement. According to one side, lower cost housing is necessary to ensure the continued heterogeneity of the community; and federal funds are necessary if any major redevelopment is to be accomplished in a tight money market. According to the other side, increases in subsidized housing may lead to ghettoization of certain sections of the community in addition to creating further problems such as overcrowded schools and economic depression.

The seriousness of this lack of consensus is illustrated by the inaction on housing replacement "North of Howard" where demolition and population decline took place in the 1970's. The fact that community groups have not come to a consensus on specific proposals, or even the direction for redevelopment has not encouraged action by outside agencies and developers. This leaves property owners without assurances as to the future of their investments. One real estate development firm has dropped out of competition and others could lose interest if they see the lack of progress as too costly and time consuming.

To these specific community factors must be added the fact that success at the community level is dependent, to some extent, on the larger city situation. Rogers Park has no direct control over the school or public transportation systems; two of Chicago's most seriously troubled metropolitan services. While the schools in Rogers Park and other North Side communities (aside from Gale located North of Howard) have traditionally performed above average as measured by standardized tests, their performance has been less than that of many suburban systems. Public transportation has been one of the major

urban amenities of Rogers Park, and problems besetting the larger system have affected its quality. Unless the city can come up with some improvements in these two important areas, their declining quality is likely to discourage some types of residents who may provide needed solutions to local problems.

The second factor in assessing Rogers Park's response to change is control of its community image and reputation. As Goodwin's (1979) study illustrated, and others have alluded to (e.g., Schoenberg, 1980; Molotch, 1972; Suttles, 1974), the definition of a community's image has a great effect on its success in dealing with various types of community problems and changes. In the case of Rogers Park, there appear to be two major images competing for prominence: a negative perception of a changing community and a positive perception of population heterogeneity. The Community Council, defined here as one of the major community image-makers, attempted to project an image of an "open" and heterogeneous community long before such a situation became fact. Some success in this endeavor may be accorded on the basis of a recent study (McCourt, et.al., 1979) which found many residents citing the community's heterogeneity as one of its prime advantages.

On the other hand, the success at such efforts has not been unqualified. This study has shown that one of the major images of the community held by its residents is that it is changing (true for both 1976 and 1980 resident samples surveyed here). Goodwin's (1979) study has indicated that this type of image is not conducive to residential stability. Apparently the concept of a "changing" community has basically negative connotations, as shown by our results linking change

to a downward trend in reputation.

However, change was not a major element of the community's image in the minds of citywide residents. This suggests the possibility that the image makers have been more successful in projecting the chosen image to a wider audience (or at least defusing the changing image)⁵ while less able to control the images held by residents. This is supported by the attraction to Rogers Park of new residents who evaluate positively the increasing heterogeneity and are committed to the community through their monetary investment and/or joining of various community organizations. Thus, although image-makers may lack control over the community's image for older residents, the image held by newer ones may eventually supplant the negative connotations of the "changing" community.

To continue attracting residents willing to invest in Rogers Park, it will be increasingly important for image-makers to successfully manage the community's image to outsiders. Real estate development concerns have been fairly successful in presenting a positive image of the community through the media (e.g., the article in Chicagoland's Real Estate Advertiser, August, 1980). However, the Community Council has had to deal with both fiscal problems and challenges to its role as community spokesman. The Community Council's ability to project the image of community heterogeneity as positive may also become more difficult given its position on subsidized housing. Superficially the Council's stand against immediate construction of further subsidized units appears to be a negation of its former interest in an "open" community. However, several points cited against

further construction appear to be valid. One difficulty will be in keeping the controversy focussed on the issue and circumstances in the community.

Despite these cautions in assessing the future of Rogers Park, there are reasons for optimism. The Rogers Park community has had a tradition of organizing to respond to community problems and current residents appear to be continuing this tradition. The two pronged attacks on housing deterioration led by the Community Council and the Housing Services Center has at least slowed the spread of decay. The increase in owner occupied units and investment in the business sector suggests confidence in the community's future on the part of new residents. The continued interest and involvement of real estate development concerns, some of which appear (at least for now) willing to wait for community groups to come to some concensus, also suggests confidence in the community. Finally, the form of the major organization in the community (a coalition of a number of community groups) has been found to be one of the most effective in community development (Folkman, 1978; Schoenberg, 1980). While there is conflict over issues currently affecting the community, the existence of a forum for accomodation at least provides hope for eventual resolution.

There is some doubt as to whether urban communities are likely to draw increasing numbers of middle class residents back to the city from the suburbs despite the well publicized incidents of this in such communities as Rittenhouse Square in Philadelphia, and sections of Washington, D.C. (Campbell, 1978). However, those communities which have the greatest likelihood of doing so are middle class communities

which can continue to define themselves as attractive to this class (e.g., Rogers Park), or those less affluent communities with certain advantages such as sound housing and proximity to various amenities (e.g., New Town in Chicago; Adams, 1976). These are the types of communities to which private developers are likely to be drawn, and in which investments will be made. As we have seen, Rogers Park is one such community and is experiencing some of these investment advantages.

In general, then, certain forms of communal attachment and stability have endured within the community. Aside from community structures themselves, there are other factors which suggest Rogers Park may not have lost its viability. The massive wave of Black migration out of the South to the larger Midwestern cities seems to have come to an end. Also, Rogers Park is on Chicago's far North side and not directly in the way of large scale Black movement, which has probably reduced the rate of such population change below some other communities.

Finally, the importance of two local conditions discussed above cannot be overstressed. One is a core of residents who have an investment in the area through home ownership, business practices and/or long established residency. The other is that selective groups with strong inclinations for community participation and positive evaluations of community heterogeneity have been drawn to the area. This attraction has been affected by the image of Rogers Park as a good and vital community in which to live.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In conclusion then, there is a great deal of optimism for Rogers Park's continued viability. As a community it has changed, and is facing serious problems as a result. The success in responding to these problems has thus far been mixed, but the apparent choice of the "voice" option by a number of both old and new residents suggests that individual concern for and confidence in the community's future is growing. While there is conflict among various groups over the issue of subsidized housing, the structures for resolution are there, and based on past experience, are likely to prove sufficient to solve the problem.

The critical nature of this study for the future of communities in older industrial cities has been stressed throughout this study. However, it should be noted that there may also be implications for newer cities. If the process of urbanization proceeds in a similar fashion in these more recent regional growth centers as it did in the old urban heartland, communities within those newer cities will be faced with similar problems.

What are the implications of the Rogers Park experience to such communities in other cities, and their ability to respond successfully to change? Two such implications are evident. First, this research supports other findings on the effectiveness of a community coalition or umbrella group (Folkman, 1978; Schoenberg, 1980). It provides a framework for dissemination of information; discussion, and resolution of dissent as well as encourages community identification on the part of residents. The network of community leadership which arises,

as Goodwin (1979) has shown, is important to the development of a coordinated community response to change. While the geographic basis of this type of group sometimes leads to a fragmentation of portions of its membership on certain issues, it is much more effective in relating to external agencies and resources than individual groups would be.

The second major implication of this study is the importance of a community's image and reputation to its viability. The inability to project a positive image of the community may result in rapid out migration of residents when faced with imminent change such as increasing numbers of Blacks (Goodwin, 1979). It appears that community image and reputation also influence residents' choice of "exit" or "voice" in the face of other types of community change as illustrated here. Not only is reputation important to the morale of established residents and the stability of the community, but its influence in attracting certain types of new residents is indisputable (e.g., Weberle, 1976). It may be that the latter function of community image is at least equal if not more salient to the future of a community as that of stabilizing current residents.

These implications suggest that communities such as Rogers Park must learn to deal effectively with both their organizational structures and their projection of image if successful adaptation to changing conditions is to be achieved. However, this is not to say that these are the only considerations for such communities, but neglect of these two aspects of the community is likely to result in their decline.

While there has been controversy surrounding the continued relevance of the local urban community to residents, this study as well as

other more recent ones (e.g., Kornblum, 1975; Goodwin, 1979; Schoenberg, 1980) support the view that such communities do have relevance to their residents; and further that these communities are or become to a large extent what their residents define them to be. While communities can and do accomplish self-improvement (an ability that increases with the opportunities for direct grants and funding for community projects of local organizations), it cannot be denied that their futures are tied to those of the larger city structure of which they are a part. It has become increasingly obvious that to accomplish much in the way of needed redevelopment in older communities, a combination of public and private resources along with resident participation is necessary (Jensen, 1978). This implies that even more attention should be given to the self-improvement efforts and experiences of local urban communities in the face of wider and potentially more serious changes affecting our cities. It is at the community level that these problems are felt, and it may be from this level that at least locally workable solutions to these problems will arise.

Success of communities such as Rogers Park is critical to the futures of older industrial cities. What can be learned from the experiences of such communities in coping with change may indicate appropriate and constructive choices for those involved in planning for local community futures. The critical nature of Rogers Park leads us to conclude that if this community, with its advantages of location, urban amenities, and core of committed residents, is unable to preserve and improve its viability despite the changes and problems it faces, the future of older heartland cities is indeed grim.

NOTES

CHAPTER VII

1. In addition to this many of the Sunbelt states receive enormous tax revenues as a result of their energy production.
2. This will be discussed further when we assess the community's viability.
3. At least this is the line of reasoning taken by community leaders who see this trend in an overall positive light.
4. A proposed moratorium on condominium conversions was tried, but it was unsuccessful.
5. An additional explanation is the sparse knowledge of Rogers Park held by many citywide residents. However, among those who do know of Rogers Park, "change" is not more important than many other aspects of the community; although as we have seen, it is much more important to community residents.

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APPENDIX

INTRODUCTION

We utilized a combination of methods and data sources in studying Rogers Park. In addition to the surveys and interviews, we conducted over the period of study, we have utilized other sources of data. We have, in the role of an observer, attended various community organization meetings over the period of study. We have been a careful reader of the community press for several years as well as watching the citywide press for references to Rogers Park. Wherever available, previous studies and census materials have been reviewed and included in this study where appropriate. The use of these various methods and data sources are not unusual in a community case study and appeared especially necessary given the foci of this study: social and community change, and community image and reputation.

This appendix discusses sampling techniques used in obtaining the final samples of respondents in each of the three research projects conducted in conjunction with this dissertation. The first section deals with the 1976 Survey, the second section with the in-depth interviews carried out between 1977 and 1980, and the third section concerns the two 1980 phone surveys on Rogers Park's reputation.

1976 SURVEY

In 1976 the Sociology Department of Loyola University undertook a survey of Rogers Park residents. Its purpose was both to update 1970 census figures and to obtain information on residents' perceptions of and identification with their community. The survey instrument consisted of a six page questionnaire; a sample of which can be found in this Appendix.

A two stage random sample of housing units was drawn in the summer of 1976. Twenty-five blocks were randomly drawn from a listing of all blocks in the Rogers Park community. All housing units on these blocks were listed, and from this list an 8% sample of housing units was randomly drawn (266 units). Due to various difficulties in contacting residents of these housing units, the sample size was increased to 300 housing units. Of these 300 housing units in the final sample: nine units were vacant; 22 households were never contacted; nine households had no residents who spoke English; 60 households refused to be interviewed; and 200 completed interviews were obtained. These interviews were conducted with one adult resident (over 18 years of age) from each housing unit. The final completion rate was 69%.

While some questions concerned information about other household members, the questions utilized in this study were based on the responses of the interviewed respondents. For information about results not discussed in this study, see Welter and Brusko (unpublished Working Paper VI).

1976 SURVEY

Schedule # _____

Interviewer Name _____ Time at start of interview _____

Date _____

Tract # _____ Time at end of interview _____

Block # _____

Unit # _____

Hello, my name is _____ and I am a graduate student at Loyola University. The Sociology Department there is initiating a community study of this community, and your household has been chosen to participate. I would like to ask you some general questions about the people in your household and the types of activities you take part in. All answers will be kept strictly confidential. The interview should last only about ten minutes.

1. First, is this apartment/house rented or owned?

1. Rented
2. Owned

2. What do you call this community you live in?

3. What do you think of as the boundaries of Rogers Park?
(GET SPECIFIC STREETS)

4. I would like to know more about the members of your household. First, who is the head of this household? (First name is fine). And what is his/her sex, age, marital status and last year of school completed. (FILL IN ON FIRST LINE OF GRID.)

Would you also please give me the sex, age, marital status, relationship to (NAME OF HEAD) and last year of school completed of all those living in this household. (Again, first names will be fine).

(FILL IN EACH INDIVIDUAL ACROSS THE GRID UNTIL ALL HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS ARE ACCOUNTED FOR, CHECKING THE RESPONDENT IN THE SPACE PROVIDED.)

Name	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Relationship	Education "R"

5. Now, I would like to ask you some questions about employment. First, would you tell me whether or not each household member over 14 years of age is employed, temporarily unemployed or unemployed.

(IF TEMPORARILY UNEMPLOYED ASK: Is he/she looking for work?)

(IF UNEMPLOYED, ASK: Is there any special reason why he/she is unemployed.)

Name	Employed	Temporarily Unemployed	Unemployed

6. I would also like to know more about the specific job of each household member.

Let us begin again with (NAME OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD IF EMPLOYED OR TEMPORARILY UNEMPLOYED. IF NOT, START WITH FIRST PERSON ABOVE WHO IS.)

First, what is his/her main occupation?

What does he/she actually do on the job? (e.g., take orders for goods)

And finally, what business or industry is that in? (e.g., what do they do or make there?) (CONTINUE ASKING QUESTIONS OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS TO WHOM THEY APPLY. IF MORE THAN ONE JOB IS INDICATED, NOTE BOTH AND DETERMINE WHICH IS THE MAIN ONE BY AN ASTERISK.)

Name	Occupation	Actual Work	Business/Industry

Name	Occupation	Actual Work	Business/Industry
------	------------	-------------	-------------------

7. Now I would like to have some information on the religious background of the members of this household.

Let us begin with the head of the household.

What is his/her religious preference? (GET SPECIFIC DENOMINATION FOR PROTESTANT AS WELL AS JEWISH.)

What religion was his/her mother? Father?

What religion was his/her maternal grandmother? Maternal grandfather?

What religion was his/her paternal grandmother? Paternal grandfather?

(AFTER FILLING IN INFORMATION ON HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, ASK SAME QUESTIONS OF SPOUSE, RELATED INDIVIDUALS, OR GRANDPARENTS AND ANY UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS (e.g., UNRELATED COLLEGE STUDENTS OR "ROOMMATES."))

Name	Self	Mother	Father	Maternal Grdmoth.	Maternal Grdfath.	Paternal Grdmoth.	Paternal Grdfath.
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(THE NEXT TWO QUESTIONS REFER TO RESPONDENT ONLY)

8. About how often, if ever, have you attended religious services in the last year?
1. More than once a week _____
 2. Once a week _____
 3. Two or three times a month _____
 4. Once a month _____
 5. A few times a year or less _____
 6. Never _____

(DO NOT ASK IF ABOVE RESPONSE IS "NEVER.")

9. Where do you attend religious services? (GET NAME AND ADDRESS)

10. These next questions refer to the place of birth of members of your household and their parents and grandparents.

Let us begin with the head of the household again:
In what country was he/she born?

In what country was his/her mother born? Father?

In what country was his/her maternal grandmother born? Maternal grandfather?

In what country was his/her paternal grandmother born? Paternal grandfather?

AFTER FILLING IN INFORMATION ON HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, ASK SAME QUESTIONS OF SPOUSE, ALL RELATED INDIVIDUALS IN HOUSEHOLD, AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS (e.g., UNRELATED COLLEGE "STUDENTS" OR "ROOMMATES").

Name	Self	Mother	Father	Maternal Grdmoth.	Maternal Grdfath.	Paternal Grdmoth.	Paternal Grdfath.
------	------	--------	--------	-------------------	-------------------	-------------------	-------------------

11. What language is spoken in your household? (IF MORE THAN ONE LANGUAGE IS INDICATED NOTE ALL, AND DETERMINE MAIN LANGUAGE BY *.)

(THE REST OF THE QUESTIONS ARE ASKED OF RESPONDENT)

12. Prior to the age of 18, what was the size of the place where you lived most of the time?

1. Large city (500,000 or more) _____
2. Medium size city (50,000-499,000) _____
3. Small city (2,500-49,999) _____
4. Farm or rural area _____

13. What is your racial identity?

14. How long have you lived in your present apartment/house?

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Under 1 year _____ | 5. Four Years _____ |
| 2. One Year _____ | 6. Five Years _____ |
| 3. Two Years _____ | 7. Six Years _____ |
| 4. Three Years _____ | 8. More than six years _____ |

15. Before moving into this apartment/house, did you last reside

1. In Rogers Park _____

Outside of Rogers Park
(IF OUTSIDE ROGERS PARK, ASK)

Were you living (CIRCLE MOST APPROPRIATE RESPONSE)

2. In Chicago _____

5. In the U.S.? _____

3. In Cook County _____

6. Outside the U.S. _____

4. In Illinois _____

16. How frequently did you or members of your household shop for, or use the following services in Rogers Park? (e.g., Regularly, Occasionally, or Not at ALL?) (CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX.)

Regularly Occasionally Not at All

Drugs and Cosmetics _____

Clothing, Shoes, etc. _____

Groceries _____

Banking _____

17. And finally, I have some questions about the community in general.
(TAKE DOWN ANSWERS AS CLOSE TO VERBATIM AS POSSIBLE)

What is your image of Rogers Park as a community?

18. What would you say are the three most important advantages, if any, of living in Rogers Park?

19. What would you say are three of the most pressing problems in Rogers Park?

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation. We are planning to come back into the community at a later date to gather more information.

20. Would you be willing to be reinterviewed at that time?

1. Yes _____

2. No _____

21. (IF YES) Could I please have your name, address and phone number for later contact?

Name _____

Address _____

Phone _____

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS: 1977-1980

The purpose of these interviews was to get some sense of the institutional and organizational life within the community. We were also interested in the community perceptions of persons involved in various facets of community life, such as religion or business, as well as their interpretations of issues and events in the community. A sample of the interview schedule follows this discussion.

The selection of community leaders and representatives of various sectors of the community began with a listing of the major community institutions, culled from entries in the neighborhood telephone book. In addition, interviews were conducted with knowledgeable longtime residents who were recommended by faculty members. These residents were asked for suggestions on who should be interviewed. Thus, a sort of "snowball" method was used to choose the final sample.

This final sample consisted of 42 separate interviews with: representatives of religious institutions (7), local politicians and ward workers (7), business people (7), business organization leaders (2), leaders of community organizations (5), real estate people (2), leaders of religious sponsored organizations (4), representatives of local schools (2), representatives of local financial institutions (2), local newspapermen (2), and other local organizational representatives (2). Some of these people who were interviewed were involved with more than one facet of the community, and thus were able to give additional information about the community.

In-depth Interview Schedule for Community
Leaders, Businessmen, Residents

I. ORGANIZATIONS: Specific

How old is the organization (business)? _____

How large? (number of members or employees) _____

Where do most of the above live? _____

How long has the organization (business) been in the community?

Are most of the customers from Rogers Park or where? _____

Do you feel you are more a community organization (business) or a
part of a citywide one? _____

Do you use the banks or savings and loans within Rogers Park? _____

What effects do outside decisions have on your organization
(business)? _____

(For organizations only) Where do you get your funding? _____

Do you have relations with other organizations (businesses) within
Rogers Park? _____

What kind? _____

In what capacity? _____

Have you instituted any programs within or for this community? _____

What kind? _____

Who do they involve? (e.g., youth, aged, businessmen, etc.) _____

How would you evaluate your organization's (business') relationship
to the community? _____

How has it changed since you've been here? _____

II. BACKGROUND QUESTIONS:

Where are you originally from (city) (if Chicago, what part)?

Do you live in Rogers Park? _____

Are you married? With children? (how many) _____

How long have you worked in this community? _____

What do you see as the boundaries of Rogers Park? _____

Street boundaries _____

III. GENERAL: Image

Image of Rogers Park _____

In its own right and as compared to others _____

Differences in Rogers Park?

Define _____

Locate _____

Important changes within Rogers Park since 1950 (ask about 1960 if they haven't been in area since 1950) _____

IV. ADVANTAGES

What are the advantages of Rogers Park to your type of business or organization? _____

V. PROBLEMS: General

What problems does Rogers Park have? _____

Why do you think so? _____

What consequences seen if not faced? _____

What is most effective means to address? _____

VI. PROBLEMS: Issues

Definition: any problem that has a number of people involved in

discussions on or actions to resolve it.

Community specific or city wide? _____

Feelings about and explanation? _____

Are there any problems your particular organization (business) is facing in Rogers Park? _____

VII. ORGANIZATIONS: General

Which do you see as most effective community organizations? _____

What kind of membership base do they have? _____

Only certain group within community? _____

Most of community belongs to them? _____

Do you (organization or individual) belong to any of these groups?

Which ones? _____

Why did you join? _____

Are you active? _____

Why or why not? _____

How long have you been a member? _____

What other organizations work with these to solve problems or organized programs in the community? _____

VIII. ENDING:

What are the future plans of your organization with regard to this community? _____

What is your personal view of the future of Rogers Park? _____

Who would you suggest we see next to tell us more about the community? _____

What other questions do you think we ought to ask? _____

What kind of information would be like to have about Rogers Park
or what kinds of issues do you think need to be studied for the
community and your organization? _____

1980 PHONE SURVEYS ON REPUTATION

In the summer of 1980 two phone surveys dealing specifically with Rogers Park's reputation were conducted. The questionnaire for these surveys was designed to test whether or not perceptions of a community's reputation could be arrived at through an evaluation of respondent's community image. In addition, questions were included to learn more about perceptions of change in the Rogers Park community. A sample of the questionnaire follows this brief discussion.

The two samples used in these surveys consisted of residents of the Rogers Park community, and other citywide residents. The citywide sample was chosen by generating seven digit numbers from a table of random numbers. Those numbers that matched Chicago prefixes were telephoned. Phone numbers were generated until 60 usable questionnaires had been obtained. Due to the constraints of time and money, 50 to 60 completed questionnaires was the range chosen for each sample. Before 60 completed questionnaires were obtained from citywide residents, 90 of those contacted indicated they had never heard of Rogers Park, and were thus not included in the final sample (see Chapter IV).

The Rogers Park sample was chosen from listings in the 1980 neighborhood telephone directory utilizing a table of random numbers. The final samples consisted of 52 Rogers Park residents and 60 citywide residents.

1980 REPUTATION SURVEY

Questionnaire _____

Hello, my name is _____. I am taking a short survey concerning Rogers Park. The survey is being conducted by a graduate student at Loyola University, and you have been selected as one of the respondents.

SCREENING QUESTIONS

To which of the following age groups do you belong?

- 1) under 18 M/F
- 2) 19-34
- 3) 35-59
- 4) 60 or above

How long have you lived in Rogers Park? _____

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1. Based on what you know about Rogers Park, what images come to your mind when you think of the community?

2. In your opinion, what kind of reputation does Rogers Park have? Would you say it is

- 1) Excellent Don't know
- 2) Good
- 3) Okay
- 4) Bad

3. Would you say the reputation of Rogers Park has changed over the years?

Yes....Would you say the reputation is better or worse now than in the past?

- 1) better Don't know
- 2) worse
- 3) other: _____

No

What aspect of the community would you say has changed the most?

1980 Reputation Survey (Cont.'d)

4. Of course Lake Michigan is the east boundary of Rogers Park, but what would you say is the western street boundary?
-

5. Would you say the reputation of Rogers Park is better, the same, or worse than the following communities which surround it?

First of all, Evanston, would you say Rogers Park's reputation is

- 1) better
 2) the same Don't know
 3) or worse than Evanston's

Would you say Rogers Park's reputation is

- 1) better
 2) the same Don't know
 3) or worse than Edgewater's

Would you say Rogers Park's reputation is

- 1) better
 2) the same Don't know
 3) or worse than Uptown's

Would you say Rogers Park's reputation is

- 1) better
 2) the same Don't know
 3) or worse than West Ridge's

6. Would you say there are different sub-areas within the Rogers Park community?

Yes...Where are they?

No

Don't know

What distinguishes them?

7. Please name two communities in Chicago you think of as fairly similar to Rogers Park.
-

1980 Reputation Survey (Cont.'d)

8. Please name two communities in Chicago you think of as different from Rogers Park.

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COMMENTS:

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That's all the questions that I have. Thank you for your cooperation.

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Gail Welter has been read and approved by the following committee:

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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

December 1, 1981
Date

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Director's Signature