INCLUSIVE ETHNOBURBIA? A PORTRAIT OF INCLUSION IN CHICAGO AREA
ETHNOBURBS

BY
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DISSEYATION

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation studies inclusion in Chicago area ethnoburbs. The beginning point for this study is geographer Wei Li’s conception of ethnoburbs, which are multiracial, multiethnic suburbs that have formed in large metropolitan areas across North America in recent decades. My study asks a straightforward question about how newly arrived racial and ethnic groups in these ethnoburbs are broadly included within the existing political and civic structures in these communities, a question not extensively explored in the literature on ethnoburbs. In order to measure inclusion, I develop a framework that determines the degree to which local governances in these ethnoburbs are inclusive of racial and ethnic groups in terms of three dimensions of local policymaking: Political incorporation, housing equality, and programs and policies.

As I am inherently skeptical that the increased presence of racial and ethnic groups in the suburbs necessarily signals inclusion, a primary aim of this study is to develop a newer understanding about how local governances exclude these groups in the post-Civil Rights era of today. To do this, I draw upon theories and studies from related social science disciplines in order to investigate what new forms of exclusion exist today at the local level in an age when explicit forms of discrimination – like redlining and restrictive covenants – are illegal. I apply these insights when studying my two case study sites of Berwyn and Skokie, two Chicago area ethnoburbs that have transitioned from being overwhelming White communities in the 1980’s and early 1990’s to diverse suburbs today.

My study observes how local governances in Berwyn and Skokie publically embrace their newfound diversity as a strength of their respective communities and proffer an increasing number of inclusion-oriented programs and policies. However, this rhetoric of inclusion belies a more complicated reality where racial and ethnic groups are not fully represented in local policymaking, where racialized conflicts occasionally erupt over local ordinances, and where some longtime residents resist developing more meaningful forms of inclusion. In the end, I assert that a number of factors that include a national shift in racial attitudes towards a post-racial outlook and the increased economic stresses placed on inner-ring suburbs like Berwyn and Skokie all militate against local governances in ethnoburbs actively striving towards more inclusion.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

This study examines inclusion in current ethnoburb governances amid deepening demographic diversity in American suburbs. Suburban governances all over the U.S. today deploy a rhetoric of inclusion amid often major demographic change. For example, Houston’s fast-growing suburb of Pearland has experienced an increase in Black, Latino, and Asian residents. Pearland Mayor Tom Reid compared his community to a “little United Nations” where “"You go to one of our neighborhoods, and there will be a person from Nigeria living next to somebody from India, living next to somebody from Mexico and somebody from Louisiana" (Kever, 2012). The evocation of a “little United Nations” here conveys the ease with which residents of different ethnicities and nationalities co-exist. Political leaders in Cherry Hills, New Jersey, a nearby suburb of Philadelphia, paint the picture of a community where economic prosperity and racial diversity go hand-in-hand. In this way, Cherry Hills Mayor Bernie Platt describes the inner-ring suburb as a "diverse municipality with an educated population and skilled labor that will continue to thrive and grow as we move into the next decade" (Collimore, 2011).

The focus of this study is the Chicago area suburbs of Berwyn and Skokie (Frey, 2001; Hall et al., 2010). Known as a Jewish enclave, Skokie drew national attention in the late 1970’s when village leaders attempted to resist neo-Nazis who intended to march through a local park. Today, that history serves to burnish Skokie village government’s image as tolerant and inclusive. The Skokie of today is truly a multi-racial and multi-ethnic suburb – Almost half of all residents in Skokie are either Black, Latino, or Asian, the last of which composes the largest racial group at 22.5% with a multiethnic mix of Assyrian, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, and
Indians. “When you move to Skokie, you’re aware of moving to a diverse community,” recalled Skokie resident Liliana Fargo. “Once I found out more about the diversity, I liked it.” As around 40% of residents are foreign-born, Skokie has also become a receiving destination for immigrants who settle there first, as opposed to the traditional route of settling first in the inner city.

The nature of ethnic change in Berwyn has been more bi-racial as a dramatic influx of Latinos moved in since the 1990’s. Today, the majority of residents in Berwyn are of Latino origin, many of who migrated to Berwyn from nearby neighborhoods in Chicago. Racial integration in Berwyn has been more difficult here than in Skokie since longtime white residents in Berwyn traditionally resisted integration with Blacks. But Berwyn recently elected two Spanish-speaking aldermen and political leaders there today openly talk about the “diversity” in Berwyn as a good, even marketable trait of the community. Current Alderman Nora Laureto says that her entire neighborhood block in North Berwyn was, at one point, entirely Hispanic, and she described how “Hispanics are good neighbors.” About one in four residents in Berwyn are foreign-born, many of them Mexican immigrants who moved in to the affordably priced Chicago-style bungalow homes that define the suburb’s built landscape.

Recent scholarship and demographic data informs us that diverse suburbs like Berwyn and Skokie are becoming the norm in metropolitan America (Hall et al., 2010; Hanlon et al., 2010; Teaford, 2008). As many such suburbs struggle with aging housing stock, their Latino, Black, and Asian populations have substantially enlarged (Frey, 2006). Indeed, our conceptions of suburbs are shifting. These “melting pot suburbs,” “multicultural suburbs,” or “ethnoburbs” have experienced drastic demographic shifts as immigrants and racial minorities increasingly settle there in search of affordable housing and employment (Frey, 2001; Wise, 2005; Li, 1998;
Li, 2009). Studying these communities is important because most Americans (63%, according to one study) live in suburbs, something that can be seen in the explosive post-war population and economic growth in metropolitan areas of the Sunbelt region in places like Los Angeles, Atlanta, and Dallas (Modarres & Kirby, 2010, p.120; Shermer, 2011). “Living in the suburbs used to mean white family, two kids, a TV, a garage and a dog,” says demographer Kenneth Johnson. “Now suburbia is a microcosm of America. It’s multiethnic and multiracial. It tells you where America is going” (Tavernese, 2011, p.A10).

As the demographic nature of suburbs have shifted, scholarly work has failed to interrogate whether existing political governances in diverse suburban communities have been broadly inclusive of incoming racial and ethnic minorities. To answer this question, my dissertation focuses on geographer Wei Li’s conception of the “ethnoburb,” which she defined as suburbs with emergent concentrations of “multiracial/multiethnic, multicultural, multilingual, and often multinational communities” (Li, 2009). My study investigates whether ethnoburb governances truly represent a new kind of suburban community that is inclusive of racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic diversity. To do this, my study will focus on Chicago metropolitan area ethnoburbs and their local governances – the political leaders, city officials, and various organized interests – that form the power elites who shape policymaking.

In terms of rhetoric and policy-related substance, the issue of inclusion is not a particular concern of the ethnoburb model. However, inclusion is something that that Li briefly draws attention to as a “challenge” (but does not closely explore) towards the end of her 2009 monograph, *Ethnoburb*.
But the manifestation of the ethnoburb generates new challenges. The ethnoburb emerges in particular localities due to shifting large-scale structural circumstances as well as local conditions. [Ethnoburbs] alter the landscape, demographic composition, business practices, and social relations of American suburbia at a rapid pace. Lacking state or national policies regarding such changes, localities where ethnoburbs exist are often left on their own to deal with problems associated with the changes.” (Li, 2009, p.180)

Li earlier identified nativist backlash towards incoming immigrants – which often involved racialized struggles over local policies and programs – as being a challenge for emerging ethnoburbs, something that she describes as ebbing and flowing in relation to economic cycles (Li, 2009. P. 181). Nativist backlash against Asian immigrants was also the subject of historian Leland Saito’s extensive 1998 study of Monterey Park, which Li also identifies as being among the earliest Asian ethnoburbs in the Southern California region (Saito, 1998). These works highlight how the ethnoburb model initial theorizations about how existing political governances, in fact, exhibit a degree of exclusion as demographic change transformed these suburbs.

This rhetoric of inclusion is also something deployed by political governances in Berwyn and Skokie, mostly through local multicultural festivals that act as powerful symbolic displays of inclusion. In Skokie, for instance, the more than two-decades-old Festival of Cultures transforms Oakton Park into a shrine devoted to tolerance and cross-cultural understanding. In 2010, around 25,000 people from around the larger metropolitan area navigated over 30 cultural booths manned by Skokie residents of different ethnic heritages (Isaacs, 2010, May 27). Smaller in scale and less established, the Fiesta de Nuestras Raíces is held in Berwyn every June as a celebration of Latino culture, with requisite folkloric dancers and a mariachi band performing on a large stage emblazoned with suburb’s marketing campaign known locally as the “Bulls-eye.”
Lined with booths representative of local businesses and social service agencies, the fiesta also functions as a way for Berwyn’s business and civic establishment to reach out to the growing Latino majority. In these ways, it is clear that the political and civic establishment of Berwyn and Skokie intend for these inclusion-oriented festivals to be a symbolic of their embrace for their new demographic realities.

This study believes that investigating inclusion in ethnoburbs is important as existing political governances regularly employ “tolerance and new opportunity speak.” This study recognizes multicultural celebrations and the rhetoric of inclusion in suburbs like Berwyn and Skokie as discursive constructs that are complex, for-the-public consumptive entities (Harvey, 1991). Such offerings are important given that governance needs to establish and maintain legitimacy as they relentlessly pursue community growth (Jonas & Wilson, 1999, p.8). This study thus seeks to delve beneath the rhetoric and veneer of inclusion by cataloging and analyzing the degree to which these governances truly are inclusive. I seek to understand this, following geographer Allen Pred’s ideas, recognizing the centrality of “everydayness” (Pred, 1986). Here local, unbroken patterns of mundane politics and social processes are crucial to deciphering governance engagements with inclusion. In the process, I suggest, it is essential to comprehend the dynamics of key actors (e.g., mayors, city representatives), prominent charismatic personalities (e.g., vibrant business people), and taken-for-granted local programs and policies (e.g., housing improvement initiatives, language training programs). Here the local, in all its richness, matters.

**Research Design and Questions**

This study hypothesizes that as an *ethnoburb emerges, its political governance will not become more inclusive towards newly arrived racial and ethnic minorities of lower*
socioeconomic status. Ethnoburbs are suburbs where between 30% to 70% of residents are composed of differing mixtures of the “Big Three” racial and ethnic groups – Black, Latinos, and Asians – that have migrated to these suburbs in significant numbers within the past 30 years. My hypothesis is skeptical of the facile assumption that the mere presence of racial and ethnic minorities and governance proclamations growing inclusion necessarily means burgeoning inclusion, an idea theorized by the spatial assimilation thesis (Massey, 1985). The specific population of study are newly arrived racial and ethnic minorities of lower socioeconomic status that includes recent immigrants as well as other native-born racial and ethnic minorities – normally Black, Latino, and Asian populations – with the common thread that these populations tend to be or working-class or moderate to low-income peoples. In this way, this study conceptualizes inclusion as having a specific race-class dimension (Wilson, 2007; Wilson, 2009).

Measuring inclusion will involve considering how ethnoburb governances deal with three dimensions of local policymaking: Political incorporation, housing equality, and programs and policies. Table 1.1 delineates a framework for inclusion that measures whether ethnoburb governances are “inclusive,” “moderately inclusive,” or “not inclusive” in terms of newly arrived racial and ethnic groups. To begin, a determination of “not inclusive” reveals how local governances essentially ignore or actively resist being inclusive of racial and ethnic groups. On the other hand, local governances that exhibit being “inclusive” of these groups demonstrates not only a symbolic form of representation of racial and ethnic diversity – usually through the presence of minority elected officials or multicultural festivals – but also an active form of representation in which local governance effectively meets the interests and needs of racial and ethnic groups by developing and maintaining relevant programs and policies. The middle category of “moderately inclusive” is representative of possibilities for inclusion between
“inclusive” and “not inclusive” where local governances pursue a degree of inclusion, as seen in the “inclusive” category. However, the effectiveness of such programs and policies are limited since the ways in which local governances are connected to racial and ethnic groups living within their communities – such as relevant citizen advisory boards or elected officials who publically proclaim being inclusive – are ineffective, representing constrained forms of inclusion.

Political incorporation is a heavily studied and wide-ranging term that investigates the ways in which a community’s political establishment responds to newly arrived racial and ethnic populations (Browning et al., 1984). Traditional definitions of political incorporation refer to the process whereby racial and ethnic minorities collectively attempt to enter local politics, typically through the electoral process (running for elected office), organizing into definable political groups, seeking employment within a municipality’s civil workforce, and the struggle to enact minority-oriented programs and policies that benefit ethnic minority populations, such as affirmative action and human relations commissions (Browning et al., 2003). Political incorporation today also includes a range of activities ranging from participation in community-based organizations to local citizens engaging in protests, which together represent how the term “governance” encompasses various community interests – from powerful business interests to community-based organizations – that are stakeholders in a community’s power relations (Burns, 2006).

In the framework for inclusion in Table 1.1, local governances that are inclusive of racial and ethnic groups possess effective representation of said groups via the presence of minority elected officials and a diverse citizen advisory board or city workforce. More importantly, these forms of representation give racial and ethnic groups a voice in local policymaking. The
category of “moderately inclusive” political incorporation illustrates a form of constrained inclusion where the symbolic aspects of inclusion belie an actual situation where racial or groups possess limited influence over local policymaking. For example, a possible scenario may involve a community where a “group may have token representation within a powerful institutions, but its representation has little credibility or power to affect policy” (Hochschild and Mollenkopf, 2009, p.26). The crucial aspect of “moderately inclusive” political incorporation is that it is an unfinished, constrained state where racial and ethnic groups have achieved some form of progress but are, in the final analysis, outsiders to an ethnoburb’s dominant political system.

Housing equality has long been considered key in determining inclusion, a struggle that dates back to the civil rights movement of the 1960’s and 1970’s (Hartman & Squires, 2009). Housing equality revolves around the tri-partite issues of fair housing, affordable housing, and segregation. The spatial segregation of racial and ethnic communities has long been considered an omen for social marginalization and socioeconomic inequality (Massey & Denton, 1993). This study considers segregation through measures of evenness and exposure. Evenness measures the spatial patterns between organization units, in this case, racial and ethnic populations; Exposure captures the “extent to which members of a minority group interact with the majority group or with each other” (Gorard & Taylor, 2002, p.877). Chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation uses mapping techniques to measure evenness and exposure through two commonly used segregation indices, Index of Dissimilarity (ID) and Index of Exposure (IE).¹

Fair housing involved the passage of federal, state, and local laws that forbid discrimination based on race, nationality, and sexual orientation. In considering discrimination

¹ A more extensive discussion of ID and IE is included in the Appendix B of this dissertation.
on the basis of race or ethnicity, this study explores the efforts that suburban governances make in affirming fair housing, which is typically done through local efforts to enforce fair housing ordinances (Wilk et al., 2011). The provision of affordable housing, on the other hand, refers to the ways in which local governances provides an ample supply of affordable housing that enables lower income households, especially the racialized poor, access to a community. The issue of housing affordability has long been important to suburbs, which were traditionally conceived of as “pricing out” poorer populations through exclusionary zoning practices that inflated housing costs and discriminatory issues such as realtor steering and redlining (Lake, 1981; Ihlanfeldt, 2004; Light, 2008). This study will consider whether suburban governances recognize issues of affordable housing among racial and ethnic residents and the degree to which they initiate government-led efforts to make housing more affordable.

In terms of housing equality, the framework for inclusion considers whether local governances, first, enact requisite housing-related programs and policies designed to ensure racial and ethnic groups (especially those of lower socioeconomic status) the ability to live in these communities. Second, it is important to investigate whether these said programs and policies are indeed active in ensuring housing equality or, on the hand, merely exist on paper and are not actively supported by local governance. A local governance that is “moderately inclusive” in terms of housing equality would, for example, boast of local fair housing ordinances but, in fact, possess no elected officials, bureaucrats, or citizen advisory boards tasked with enforcing such a policy.

The expected culmination of successful political incorporation is programs and policies that foster inclusion and do not promote discrimination or intolerance. Provision of translation services, citizenship education, and multicultural festivals all illustrate inclusion-oriented
programs that promote tolerance for newly arrived racial and ethnic minorities (Good, 2005; Rubaii-Barrett, 2011). However, demographic transition in suburbs can be resisted by longtime residents who have seen their community recently transform into a more diverse community. These kinds of policymaking tools have been dubbed the “legal technologies of exclusion,” which range from control over local housing stock, economic development plans, and enforcement of quality-of-life ordinances, all of which are potentially enacted at the expense of racial and socioeconomic diversity (Frug, 2006). Thus, the framework for inclusion considers both positive programs and policies that foster inclusion and those that discriminate or encourage intolerance. Whether local governances are “inclusive,” “moderately inclusive,” or “not inclusive” in this regard depends not just upon enacting inclusion-related programs and policies but the degree to which they actively support (both through actions and funding) these new initiatives and legacy programs that promote diversity and tolerance.

The framework for inclusion culminates in a judgement about whether an ethnoburb exhibits meaningful inclusion: First, local governance must publically recognize racial and ethnic diversity within their community and, at times, be forceful advocates for inclusion through discursive means that include multicultural celebrations and public pronouncements on inclusion. And since we know that racial and ethnic transition can be tension-ridden within the community, inclusive local governances must be broadly proactive to resolve racialized disputes that arise over local programs and policies. Lastly, inclusion-related programs and policies enacted by local governances must possess a broadly recognized level of efficacy, especially as seen through the eyes of community stakeholders outside of political elites. These conditions for meaningful forms of inclusion are mutually inclusive with how local governances excel in terms
of three dimensions of local policymaking (political incorporation, housing equality, and programs and policies).

The unit of analysis for this study is municipal governments in ethnoburbs. Within Cook County, more than 120 separate municipal governments exist and, within the seven of the Chicago metropolitan area, there are more than 300 different municipal governments. Suburban municipal governments are an ideal unit of analysis since, through elections and political representation, they represent the leadership and symbolic face of the community and have at their disposal policymaking tools, e.g., zoning ordinances, anti-discrimination ordinances, and community development block grant funds. In the national debate over immigration, scholars now widely recognize that the greatest contact immigrants have with government is through their experiences with local government (Jones-Correa, 2008). Thus, municipal governments in Chicago area suburbs are ideal units for analysis because they not only discursively represent the local community but also wield significant levers of power in policymaking.

Throughout this dissertation, I use the term “local governance” as a term to describe municipal governments in ethnoburbs as the key actor in governing territory – in this case, two suburbs – in conjunction with non-governmental stakeholders. This conception draws upon a state-centric relational approach where municipal governments sit atop a local power structure (hierarchy) that include organized business interests, social service agencies, and community-based groups (Bell and Hindmoor, 2009). The term “local governance,” thus, reflects how municipal governments attempt to achieve goals and enact policies – that is, govern – by cooperating with non-governmental stakeholders, a necessary arrangement where local resources are limited. Furthermore, I liberally use colloquial expressions from my two sites that describe the locus of governmental power in these communities: “City Hall” in Berwyn and “Village
Hall” in Skokie are intended not just as references to actual buildings but also as metonyms for municipal governments where local policymaking is centered, both literally and figuratively.

The time frame for an intensive study of these local governances are the years 2000 to 2011. The first justification for this time frame is that scholarship widely recognizes enhanced diversity in American suburbs during the 2000’s (Jones-Correa, 2008). Moreover, the 2000’s were a time of increased public attention to how immigration (particularly illegal immigration) has impacted local communities after the galvanizing effects of 9/11. At the local level, this increased scrutiny included suburban communities that chose to become a part of the Department of Homeland Security’s 287(g) program, which provided local law enforcement with the training to deal with illegal immigrants but was also, opponents contend, a way to discriminate against Mexican immigrants. The study also narrates a generalized history of the inclusion of these political governances that extend from the dawn of the Civil Rights era – which I take to be from 1954 (the year Brown v. Board of Education was decided) – up until 2000. When coupled with the more intensive study between 2000 and 2011, this generalized history will allow us to understand how formerly White suburbs like Berwyn and Skokie grappled with the first instance of demographic change, the prospect of Black suburbanization and residential integration that largely became possible after the passage of the Fair Housing Act of 1968. Developing a narrative that spans from the Civil Rights era to the present day allows us to consider where these ethnoburbs have come from in terms of inclusion.

This study interrogates two research questions:

1) Do political governances in ethnoburbs exhibit more social inclusion amid a dramatic increase in racial and class diversity?
Measuring inclusion involves determining whether, on the whole, these governances are responsive to the needs and desires of racial and ethnic groups. Of course, that general strategy is arrived at through what political elites perceive to be preferences of local residents as well as, more importantly, other organized groups, especially prominent businesses, an entrenched city workforce, or residential associations. As local governances have several priorities at any given point, it is important to determine what kind of effort is devoted to promoting inclusion, as opposed to other community goals – such as maintaining housing stocks or attracting economic investment – that might potentially blunt the goal to foster truly inclusive ethnoburbs.

In these three dimensions of local governance, an inclusive suburban governance would encourage participation of racial and ethnic minorities in policymaking (through either recruiting minority political candidates or seeking residential feedback from a citizen advisory boards), make tangible efforts to prevent housing discrimination (through energetically enforcing fair housing laws), and support tolerance of racial and ethnic minorities through taking firm stances against racism and stereotyping (which might be accomplished, for example, through creating and nurturing multicultural festivals). On the other hand, suburban governances might be wholly exclusive, something that could involve passing local ordinances that negatively affect racial and ethnic minorities (such as passing a local English-only law tacitly aimed at ethnic minorities), encouraging types of development that displace low-income ethnic groups, or making only token efforts to encourage minorities to run in local elections.

2) To foster inclusiveness, what programs and policies do these political governances erect and implement and what are their effects?
If local governances enact programs and policies to better accommodate and meet the needs of racial and ethnic minorities, then it is essential to measure their effectiveness and efficacy. Here, this project moves beyond the symbolic importance of multicultural festivals and the election of minority officials to excavate the tangible effects local programs and policies having in creating a sense of community-wide inclusion. It is important to recognize that programs and policies are merely the official veneer of inclusion within an ethnoburb; Delving beneath that veneer requires fieldwork that engages whether said programs and policies are actually working to promote inclusion, not something merely existing on paper. For example, it is typical for municipal government to have inclusion-oriented citizen advisory boards – typically called a “human relations commission” or “community relations committees” – tasked with preventing discrimination and promoting diversity. But the mere presence of these committees does not necessarily further inclusion if those committees rarely meet or does not enact programs to deal with existing racial tensions.

Conceptual Framework

This dissertation uses a multicultural (rather than an assimilationist) lens to understand inclusion of local governance. Rejected, then, is the notion that inclusion requires exclusively a “bringing to the center” (the mainstreaming) of people. Instead, a multicultural framework recognizes the capability of a governance to reach out to newly arrived racial and ethnic minorities and to respect their wishes for certain intensities of assimilation while honoring their desires for achieving community social welfare, planning, and economic benefits. Here “soft power” mechanisms like inclusion-oriented committees and multicultural festivals conjoin with “hard power” mechanisms like enacting local anti-discrimination and anti-racist ordinances (Good, 2009; Rubai-Barrett, 2011).
This study also recognizes and engages governances as structural-inflected and political economy-influenced entities. Structuralism posits that social and economic forces – in this case, ethnoburb programs and policies – are meaningfully shaped by dominant political and economic structures at different scales: global, national, and local. In applying this, then, ethnoburb operations emerge as complex formations that reflect an interplay of multi-scaler social, political, and economic forces. Here, the local, regional, national, and global embed structures that converge on the ground of these ethnoburbs to shape their promulgation of programs and policies.

At the same time, this study recognizes the need to view ethnoburbs as important, distinct objects of study. In this way, Richard Harris identifies three dominant suburban attributes in current America: (1) a peripheral location between the city and the country, (2) a mid-range residential density between those of the city and the country, and (3) relative newness of communities compared to its nearby cities (Harris, 2010, pp. 25-33). Here Harris acknowledges the complexities of suburban formation and functioning. At the same time, such communities are seen as materially distinctive and unique. Harris ultimately draws academic attention for the need to critically appraise suburban form function, and operation. Their distinctive locale, history, and content render them one important component of America’s contemporary metropolitan areas.

Finally, this study critically appraises the dimensions of race and ethnicity in these ethnoburbs as complex human constructions (Jackson, 1998; Wilson, 2009). In particular, race and class – as durable ”sensibilities” and “dispositions” that may enter the programmatic construction and implementation processes – are not seen as essentialist, reified things. Here, race and class are shifting, malleable categories that are always being made and re-made
(Wilson, 2006). At any moment in time, their influence on structuring programs and policies may be profound, but always as ongoing human productions that too often take on a naturalized status. In this sense, class-race and class-ethnicity are discursive terrains whose content is often under contestation. This “racial economy” approach identifies race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic class as all inextricably bound together in ways that “everyday economic practices … [such a] regulating populations via rules and regulations” are exceedingly racialized (Wilson, 2009, p.142).

**Site Selection**

Since studies of ethnoburbs have focused on Asian communities in coastal areas – especially Los Angeles, Vancouver, and Washington D.C. – this dissertation opts to expand the scope of the ethnoburb model by studying communities in the Chicago metropolitan area. Mirroring national trends, Chicago suburbs have experienced sizable demographic change in the past 20 years (Hall & Lee, 2010, p.11).

The Chicago area ethnoburbs chosen for study – Berwyn and Skokie – are ideal sites since both communities have experienced a dramatic demographic shift in the 20 years. In Skokie, Whites decreased by 8% while the percentage change of racial minorities increased by 89%. In Berwyn, the percentage change of Whites declined by 45% while the Latino population increased by 597%. Foreign-born population are now a sizable 40% in Skokie and 25% in Berwyn. The national average, alternatively, is 12%. In Skokie today, whites compose 60% of the population, Asians 25%, and Blacks and Latinos 6% and 7%. In Berwyn, Latinos represent 55% of the community population and the remaining non-Hispanic Whites are 31% of residents.

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2 Population and housing information in this chapter were drawn from U.S. Census numbers, unless otherwise noted.
In Skokie, the current Asian population represents a true multiethnic dynamic (Table 1.3). The two largest ethnic groups, Filipinos and Asian Indians, have had the most enduring presence in the community since the 1980’s, whereas Chinese and Koreans represent the fastest growing ethnic groups in the past decade. Of the 5,728 Latinos in Skokie (about 8% of all residents), around half are of Mexican origins (2,854) with Puerto Ricans (754) and South Americans (822) composing significant chunks of this ethnic group. On the other hand, demographic change in Berwyn has involved primarily Latinos, particularly those of Mexican origin. In 2010, Latinos of all races were 59% of all Berwyn residents, and 28,185 out of 33,676 Latinos (about 84%) were of Mexican origin. The racial and ethnic dynamic in Berwyn is thus more of a bi-racial dynamic between Whites and Latinos. However, the Latino population is more complicated than that since about 16,678 of Whites (who are White alone) in Berwyn also identify as being ethnically Latino, making Whites who are ethnically Latino 29.4% of all residents. There is, thus, a general distinction in Berwyn among Latinos who identify as White and more recent Latino arrivals who are immigrants.

I also study Berwyn and Skokie because of the recent (post 1990) nature of this major change. In 1990, 95% of residents in Berwyn and 81% of residents in Skokie were White. Since 1990, both suburbs have undergone not just growth in total population – over 5,352 new residents in Skokie and 11,231 in Berwyn – but also growth in racialized and ethnicized populations (Table 1.3). Both underwent substantive losses of Whites, more than 9,000 for both Berwyn and Skokie, and sizable increases in ethnic minority groups. In Skokie, 7,296 Asians moved in whereas 30,103 Latinos of any race moved in to Berwyn. Many of these Asians and Latinos are, of course, immigrants, imbuing each suburb with an increasingly transnational dynamic. The dramatic nature of this demographic change in Berwyn and Skokie would
inevitably unsettle the existing social, political, and civic establishments in these communities and bring issues of inclusion to the forefront of the public agenda.

Examining these suburbs also enabled this study to appraise the socioeconomic diversity of ethnoburb types. In this regard, Berwyn and Skokie are defined by their divergent geographies within the Chicago metropolitan area (Figure 1.1). Surrounded by the affluence of the North Shore region, Skokie is a middle-class suburb with a median household income of $66,916 with 8% of households below the poverty line. Its location and amenities have allowed Skokie to attract more affluent, better-educated Asian immigrants drawn to the North Shore region. By contrast, Berwyn’s closer proximity to Chicago’s poorer South Side and its decidedly older housing stock marks it as a lower-middle income suburb with a median household income of $49,112 and a household poverty rate of 11%. Berwyn’s metropolitan location generally lacks the affluent trappings and prestige of the North Shore region and its populations are traditionally working-class.

A closer glance at findings from the 2006 – 2010 American Community Survey reveals how the two suburbs differ in terms of key socioeconomic characteristics. For instance, over 46.4% of all Skokie residents aged 25 or older have at least a bachelor’s degree or higher, a number generally higher than the national average. Only 18.3% of residents in Berwyn, on the other hand, have a Bachelor’s degree or higher. These differences can be seen in the types of employment that residents undertake in the two suburbs: Around 45% of Skokie workers are employed in “management, business, science, and arts” occupations. By contrast, only 25% of Berwyn workers are employed in these same professions. Berwyn had a higher – though not dramatically higher – percentage of residents employed within more traditionally “blue-collar” professions such as “production, transportation, and material moving occupations” than Skokie.
Income differentials across the two suburbs reflect discrepancies in community economies. A study of the “segregation of opportunities” across the Chicago metropolitan region described Berwyn as a “low opportunity” suburb, scoring poorly on the fiscal capacity of Berwyn’s municipal government to generate tax revenues and pay for basic services like police and fire departments, sanitation, and public education (Lukehart et al., 2005). Given Berwyn’s large Latino population, this finding is consistent with how “Black and Hispanic households in the region are located almost entirely in the low-opportunity groups – 94% of black residents and 83% of Hispanic residents compared to 44% of white residents” (Lukehart et al., 2005, p.8). The fiscal capacity of Skokie’s local government, on the other hand, was rated at just slightly above average and was designated as a “high opportunity” municipality, giving Skokie a greater tax base that can fund better services and amenities. Skokie was also rated more highly in employment opportunities and transportation, and just above average in the quality of its schools. Comparing the revenue generating capacity of the two local governments, Skokie in fiscal year 2010 was able to generate around $143 million in revenues from various taxes and fees (Village of Skokie, 2011, p.33). Berwyn in 2008 generated around $43 million in revenues, a stark difference (City of Berwyn, 2010, p.15).

These differences result in different levels and kinds of immigrants that enter these communities. For example, Berwyn’s eminently affordable housing stock (median housing price of $249,000, but houses today can be bought for around $150,000) tends to attract moderate to middle-income Latino households, many of whom are poor and from Mexico. Berwyn is a microcosm for the national debate about immigration that is disproportionately focused on the impact of Latinos on local communities. With a higher median housing price ($375,000), Skokie is a more attractive destination for educated and affluent Asian immigrants, especially recent
Assyrian, Indian, Chinese, and Korean migrants. These stark demographic differences facilitated my selection of these case studies since the two broadly represent the racially and class-diverse suburban communities in metropolitan America today.

Lastly, Figure 1.2 situates both Berwyn and Skokie as inner-ring suburbs. Recent scholarship about the vulnerability of inner-ring suburbs brings to light how these older suburbs must compete for scarce investment dollars and maintain their attractiveness to investors and potential resident, a dilemma that animates local economic development strategies (Hanlon, 2010). With around 62% of housing units built between 1950 and 1969, Skokie’s housing is among the metropolitan region’s oldest. But this contrasts with Berwyn’s even older housing stock in which 57.6% of all units were built before 1939. Situating a suburb either within the inner-ring or outer-ring is important considering the centrality of housing – particularly the single-family detached home – for potential residents.

A Brief History of Berwyn and Skokie

Berwyn originally began as several different communities that eventually became part of Cicero Township in 1857. In 1890, developers bought some of that land within what is today Berwyn’s southern portion and developed it into an amenities-laden housing subdivision named after the affluent Philadelphia suburb “Berwyn.” The subdivision quickly drew middle-class Chicagoans. Residents in Berwyn voted to sever itself from Cicero in 1902, fearing that the City of Chicago would eventually annex their community. Through the World War II, Berwyn boomed as the suburb swelled from just 5,841 residents in 1901 to 47,027 residents in 1940.

What defined Berwyn then and now were the Chicago-style bungalow homes that were built during the boom years of the 1920’s through the 1940’s. Unlike the heavy industries located
within neighboring Cicero, Berwyn’s built environment has remained mostly residential as city government discouraged industrial development. This rapid growth era before and after World War II was marked by an influx of European immigrants from Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Italy, many of who moved from existing ethnic enclaves in Chicago’s Little Village and Pilsen. This migration from Chicago would confirm Berwyn as an immigrant gateway.

Generally lacking a strong commercial base, Berwyn has always been a bedroom community that provides easy access to Chicago and other suburbs. For decades, many Berwynites worked nearby in Cicero, particularly at the large Hawthorne Works plant owned by the now defunct Western Electric Company. In these and many other ways (including the prevalence of Chicago-style bungalows in Cicero), Berwyn has generally been twinned with neighboring Cicero in the public imagination, though Berwyn is more affluent. With similar housing stocks, both Berwyn and Cicero experienced massive demographic change in the 1990’s and 2000’s as Latinos redefined their social landscapes.

Skokie started out as Niles Center in 1888. The area was initially settled by immigrants from Germany and Luxembourg. Local residents initiated a name change in 1940, citing potential confusion with the nearby village of Niles. It was not until the post-war decade of the 1950’s that Skokie experienced a housing boom that coincided with the construction of the Edens Expressway and a CTA elevated rail station (Skokie Swift), which together linked the suburb more firmly to Chicago. Skokie grew rapidly from just over 7,000 residents in 1940 to 23,704 in 1965 and to 59,364 in 1960, something that led to the village government to adopt the official slogan of “The World’s Largest Village” in 1963.
Many new residents in the boom years were Jewish immigrants moving to Skokie from ethnic enclaves in Chicago. As the Jewish community built synagogues, schools, and community-based organizations, Skokie quickly became an “ethnic hub” for Jews in Chicagoland. Between 1945 and 1955, an estimated 3,000 Jewish families moved to Skokie (Whittingham, 1988). Jews became a substantial presence in Skokie, but never a majority: By the late 1970’s, it was estimated that approximately 30,000 of 70,000 Skokie residents were Jewish (Strum, 1999, p.7).

Skokie has traditionally had a strong commercial development base coupled with affordable housing options relative to the North Shore region. Prominent companies like Rand McNally and G.D. Searle & Company, a pharmaceutical company later bought out by Pfizer, were headquartered in Skokie for decades. More recently, the suburb’s commercial development has revolved around light manufacturing, a redeveloped science and technology center where Pfizer’s labs used to be, and a retail cluster near the Edens Expressway. This commercial base bolsters the tax revenues for Skokie’s village government, which generally prides itself on professionalized services and triple-A municipal bond ratings.

**Methodology**

This study uses a multi-tiered methodology. I conducted open-ended interviews, analyzed city budgets and reports, and culled relevant newspaper articles to undertake an intensive exploration of the underlying policies and programs that local governances use to enhance inclusion. Between 2010 and 2011, a total of 30 informants were interviewed, split between 16 subjects in Skokie and 14 in Berwyn, with the bulk of interviews occurring in the late spring and summer of 2011. These open-ended interviews sought to understand (1) local governance’s general approach towards inclusion (2) programs or policies enacted to increase
inclusion and (3) the effects of such programs and policies. Most of these interviews occurred in face-to-face settings, lasted between 30 minutes to an hour, and involved a set of pre-prepared questions (usually tailed to the perspective of their jobs) from which, at times, the interview deviated from, if necessary. My goal in these interviews was to flesh out a sustained narrative about how these political governance dealt the question of inclusion between 2000 and 2011.

Interviews strived to attain the human dimension of the story beyond official pronouncements and policies of local governance. Key actors in Berwyn and Skokie were first identified and then contacted for interviews, usually through websites searches, public directories, or local news stories culled from a newspaper archive. Potential subjects were also identified through snowball sampling in which interview subjects would refer me to other people knowledgeable on these issues. The first population sample of political elites was elected officials, such as mayors and city council members, as well as prominent city employees, like human services directors and top city workers. Political elites were identified, first, through a search of directories on municipal government websites. Another subset within political elites was ordinary residents who serve on local citizen advisory boards tasked with providing a voice for residents in local policymaking. This latter population sample was also identified through public directories that listed important citizen advisory boards or, alternatively, through references from political elites themselves, who identified certain community members as being “important to talk to.” A set of sample questions used in interviews with political elites can be seen in Table 1.4.

A second population sample was community-based workers and social service agency workers, who are stakeholders within local governance. These actors include those advocating

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3 Appendix A lists interview subjects used in this dissertation.
for fair housing or working with immigrant groups who often turn to these workers for counsel and services, especially when municipal governments are inadequate for the task of providing certain services. As their perspectives of the pronouncements and priorities of political elites were often times circumspect and critical, this category of subjects proved invaluable for fact-checking the rhetoric and actions of elected officials and providing an idea of local programmatic effectiveness. Community-based activists were equally important since they mediate between the local governance and ethnic communities, especially in cases where local governance is unresponsive or discriminatory. This population sample was found not only through web searches, but also through culling local news archives to determine which organizations often worked with the municipal government.\textsuperscript{4} Table 1.5 lists a set of sample questions typically used in interviews with those who worked for non-governmental organizations.

It was found that most potential subjects who were contacted – mostly through email or phoning – agreed to interviews, but a smaller number of subjects either did not respond to requests (the most common form of deferral), referred the interviewer to someone else to talk to, or simply refused an interview. Subjects agreeable to interviews were provided an Institutional Review Board (IRB) sheet describing the dissertation research and the potential sensitivity of some issues. Subjects could retain anonymity in the dissertation write-up of the dissertation. Many subjects among the second population sample – community-based and social service workers – agreed to an interview only on the condition of anonymity. It was found that subjects from the first population sample, elected officials, generally did not refuse requests to use their names in the dissertation write-up.

\textsuperscript{4} I also interviewed public servants who served on governmental agencies, like public libraries and park districts, that were, in the strict legal sense, separate from municipal governments. However, these public servants frequently collaborated with municipal governments as a necessary aspect of their day-to-day activities.
The fact that more of the second population sample sought anonymity points to how interview subjects were affected by power structures within their workplaces and communities. Community-based and social service workers were careful not to endanger working relationships they had with municipal governments, something that extended to how their agencies and groups sometimes received funding from Community Development Block Grants program via municipal governments. Moreover, the differing political dynamics within Berwyn and Skokie also shaped the responses of interview subjects since subjects in Berwyn who chose anonymity did so due to the community’s more difficult history with racial integration and the fractious nature of local politics. The number of subjects requesting anonymity in Skokie were less, but those who requested it did so based on not wanting to openly criticize the record of the ruling Caucus Party, which dominates Skokie politics. In all, these interview subjects were very conscious of their position within their community’s existing power structure, balancing the necessity to protect their own interests against what they saw as the need to provide a more critical perspective on inclusion.

On the other hand, political elites in Berwyn and Skokie were less constrained by these sorts of issues since they sit atop a community’s power structure. But as public figures, political elites were well versed in narrating events and providing opinions that steered clear of or minimized controversial issues, lest their on-the-record statements have unintended repercussions. Political elites were conscious of their status as public figures that (in their minds) necessitated presenting themselves and their communities in the best possible light in terms of inclusion, an issue compounded by the sensitivity of discussing race and race relations in America. In this way, the responses of political elites during open-ended interviews were
informed by their status as public figures whose words and actions could be scrutinized by their constituents.

The civic boosterism of political elites leads us to a key limitation of open-ended interviews as a method since the experiences and opinions of interviews represent only a sliver of the story of inclusion within these communities. While every interview subject provided unique and informative data, their experiences were limited to their particular perspectives and subjective interpretations. Moreover, every subject undoubtedly had an amount of self-interest in the responses: Political elites wanted to promote their communities as inclusive, social service workers wanted to provide useful services, and community-based workers desired to see their advocacy as being necessary and effective. The corrective action for this was to conduct interviews from a breadth of perspectives. For example, in interviewing political elites, I sought out members of opposing political parties in Berwyn and Skokie. And as mentioned before, interviews with political elites were balanced against those who are non-governmental stakeholders, a practice that provided an interesting back and forth dynamic between different population samples.

Understanding the unique history and culture of each ethnoburb helped comprehend why and how these communities chose divergent pathways in approaching inclusion. In this case, local news accounts were used, first, to narrate a general history of each community (particularly, their political histories). Local news sources used were Chicago Tribune, the Chicago Sun-Times, the Chicago Reporter, the Chicago Defender, the Skokie Review and the Berwyn-Cicero Life.
The latter two newspapers, the *Skokie Review* and the *Berwyn-Cicero Life*, are local newspapers devoted to their respective communities. These two local papers tended to produce news stories that gravitated towards “soft news” coverage in ways that celebrated local culture and institutions. Moreover, the weekly *Berwyn-Cicero Life* provided less coverage of Berwyn since news articles had a split focus on Cicero (a larger community) as well as nearby Stickney and Riverside (two smaller communities). For more incisive coverage, the main metropolitan dailies, the *Tribune* and *Sun-Times*, provided more extensive coverage of controversial issues in both suburbs. Through not quoted directly and often as other news sources, the *Reader* and *Defender* proved useful as primers to understand inclusion-related issues like home inspections and fair housing that pervade Chicago suburbs.

More detail on specific programs and policies enacted by suburban governance was unearthed through official policy documents published by municipal governments. These documents include (but are not limited to) city budgets, local ordinances, city council minutes, transcripts of public meetings, city comprehensive plans, and Community Development Block Group Reports. These documents outline official policy and direction chosen by the local governance (often arrived at through a process of elections and the influence of organized interests) that represents governance priorities. Transcripts and minutes from public meetings were especially useful in exploring controversies that preceded the time before this study began in 2010. Moreover, an array of documents and publications were collected from numerous community-based organizations, such as residential associations and fair housing groups, that revealed their levels of interaction with municipal government as stakeholders.

Geographic Information Systems (GIS) techniques and descriptive statistics were used to give a sense of the racial and ethnic dynamics both within Berwyn and Skokie and throughout
the Chicago metropolitan area. Demographic data on suburbs was obtained mostly from the decennial U.S. census – particularly results from the new 2010 census – as well as the 2005 – 2009 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates, which differs from the Census in that ACS data are ongoing surveys given every year to supplement census data. The 2005 – 2009 ACS data represents a generalized statistical portrait of population and housing characteristics between the years 2005 – 2009, and was chosen over other one-year or three-year ACS surveys (like the 2010 ACS one-year estimates, for example) because it has the largest sample size of surveys of 60 months, making it a more accurate survey than its counterparts.

The ACS includes not just general characteristics of a community such as race and ethnicity, but also more specific categories such as the number of households who primarily speak a non-English language at home, the number of multi-family housing units, and disaggregated ethnic data that can show the number of Chinese, Koreans, and Indians at various geographic scales. The 5-year ACS product provides this data at all scales (county, city-wide, and census tracts, for example) down to the level of block groups, which will enable a study of the spatial distribution of race and socioeconomically-disadvantaged populations within Berwyn and Skokie. Census and ACS data will also be used to study where racial and ethnic minorities live at the metropolitan-level scale by studying census places within the seven-county Chicago area. Data from the decennial census and ACS will be graphically displayed through choropleth maps that will show the spatial distribution of racial and ethnic populations.

**Dissertation Outline**

Chapter 2 provides an overview of how perceptions of the suburbs have changed in recent decades from one when studies were fixated on the negative effects of suburban sprawl to a growing recognition of suburban diversity. I discuss the beginnings of Wei Li’s original
coining of the term “ethnoburb” as a way to describe an emergent spatial form of ethnic suburbs. This moment spawned work about Asian ethnoburbs not just in the United States, but also in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The chapter concludes with a review of studies of suburban inclusion, especially as related to the chosen three dimensions of local governance mentioned earlier: Political incorporation, housing equality, and programs and policies.

Chapter 3 is a framing chapter that moves the dissertation to the metropolitan level of the Chicago area. This chapter maps out racial and ethnic change throughout the Chicago metropolitan area and, using Public Use Microdata from the U.S. Census, discusses selected population, economic, and housing characteristics of different racial and ethnic groups that populate the suburbs today. The chapter then develops a suburban typology in ways that localize the ethnoburb model within various other suburban types in the Chicago metropolitan area. Moreover, this suburban typology captures how different suburban governances have dealt with inclusion as various racial and ethnic groups have altered community dynamics in ways that are similar to Berwyn and Skokie.

Chapters 4 and 5 are in-depth investigations of the inclusion of local governances in both Berwyn and Skokie. These chapters narrate how local governances in these ethnoburbs reacted to newly arrived racial and ethnic minorities, especially in terms of political incorporation, housing equality, and programs and policies since 2000. Today, political governances in both Berwyn and Skokie publically exhibit inclusion for their racial and ethnic populations, as diversity has become the sweeping suburban norm in the Chicago metropolitan region. But beneath the public proclamations of “diversity as a strength” of their respective communities, there is an underlying lack of inclusion that differs in each ethnoburb.
To begin, Skokie’s political governance has traditionally demonstrated a greater degree of inclusion towards its racial and ethnic populations where local governance has been proactive in promoting inclusion and cross-cultural understanding. However, my research conveys how inclusion in Skokie today resembles more of a celebratory inclusiveness that belies a struggle to politically incorporate its fast growing racial and ethnic minorities as well as to oppose a small but vocal contingent of residents who are uncomfortable with demographic change in the community. Berwyn’s governance has likewise taken to celebrate its growing Latino as assets to the suburb, but the suburb has generally been less of inclusive, especially in terms of a reactionary pattern where political elites took inclusive steps only after they were compelled to do so by external actors (either through litigation or the protests of community-based groups). With two Latino aldermen and a growing number of services that cater to Latinos, Berwyn’s governance still struggles to be inclusive of Latinos in way that is more than just reactionary but is, on the hand, more proactive in allaying the fears of longtime White residents who are fearful of racial and ethnic change. Drawn mostly from interviews with local elites as well as other methodologies, my research seeks to complicate the existing narratives of inclusion by unearthing the limitations of inclusion in Skokie and the surprising but incomplete turn towards inclusion in Berwyn during the 2000’s.

This dissertation concludes, first, by comparing whether local governance in Berwyn and Skokie exhibits meaningful forms of inclusion towards racial and ethnic minorities and then by exploring the theoretical and policy-related dimensions of my findings. Of the latter, I critique the ethnoburb as theory through identifying its over-emphasis on ethnic entrepreneurs who create racialized suburban landscapes, a celebrated aspect of the ethnoburb model. However, this process of ethnic placemaking might, I speculate, actually work against inclusion since other
racial and ethnic groups (particularly longtime White residents) sense that their community is fundamentally changing. I also address Li’s general oversight of including the Fair Housing Act of 1968 as important to ethnoburb formation, since the law effectively codified residential discrimination as being illegal in America. I conclude with two final sections that discuss the policy implications of my findings and another that charts out a direction for future research in relating my findings to the emerging idea of post-racialism.
CHAPTER 1

FIGURES AND TABLES

A Framework For Inclusion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Inclusive</th>
<th>Moderately inclusive</th>
<th>Not inclusive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Political Incorporation</strong></td>
<td>Racial and ethnic groups are well represented by local government, allowing these groups to influence policymaking process.</td>
<td>Racial and ethnic groups are somewhat represented by local government and have limited abilities to influence policymaking process.</td>
<td>Racial and ethnic groups are not represented by local government, effectively excluding them from influencing the policymaking process.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Housing Equality</strong></td>
<td>Local government effectively maintains housing-related programs and policies that broadly ensure racial and ethnic groups access to live in their community.</td>
<td>Local government maintains some housing-related programs and policies that ensure racial access to live in their community. However, those programs and policies might be ineffective or exist only on paper.</td>
<td>Local government maintains no housing-related programs and policies that ensure racial and ethnic groups access to live in their community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Programs and Policies</strong></td>
<td>Local government enacts and maintains programs and policies that effectuates greater inter-racial and ethnic equality. Moreover, local government is proactive in promoting and supporting these said programs and policies.</td>
<td>Local government enacts and maintains some programs and policies that effectuates greater inter-racial and ethnic equality. However, local government is passive in promoting and supporting these said programs and policies.</td>
<td>Local government does not possess programs and policies that effectuates greater inter-racial and ethnic equality. In fact, local government resists such programs and policies.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1: Measuring the degree to which local governances are inclusive of racial and ethnic groups.
Figure 1.1: Map displaying location of Berwyn and Skokie within the Chicago Metropolitan Region.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berwyn</td>
<td>56,657</td>
<td>+11,231</td>
<td>-9,139</td>
<td>+281</td>
<td>+635</td>
<td>+30,103</td>
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<tr>
<td>Skokie</td>
<td>64,784</td>
<td>+5,352</td>
<td>-9,220</td>
<td>-1,191</td>
<td>+7,296</td>
<td>+3,271</td>
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Table 1.2: Population change in Berwyn and Skokie between 1990 and 2010. Source: 1990 and 2010 US Census
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity (Asian)</th>
<th>Percent of Asian population</th>
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<td>Filipino</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asian Indian</td>
<td>4,283</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pakistani</td>
<td>1,990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
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<td>Vietnamese</td>
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<td>Japanese</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thai</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodian</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1.3:** Largest Asian ethnicities in 2010. Source: 2010 US Census

**Figure 1.2:** Map displaying inner-ring versus outer-ring suburbs in the Chicago metropolitan area using census places. Source: 2005-2009 American Community Survey
Sample: local government officials

Prompt: We are interested in how local suburban governments have responded to and accommodated an increasing number of racial minorities moving into the community over the past 30 years. More specifically, we are interested in identifying which particular spheres of local government (ranging from the interaction of developers and local bureaucrats, school board officials, and law enforcement) have had an impact on the lives of racial minorities, some of which are newly arrived immigrants or people of color relocating from elsewhere within the city.

1) Why has your community attracted a dramatic rise of racial minorities in the past 30 years?
2) In general, how has the community responded to the dramatic increase in racial minorities (mostly Latinos or Asians) in the past 30 years?
3) What local policies and programs have changed in the past 30 years as this suburb has become more racially diverse?
4) What kind of programs do the local government run today to accommodate newly arrived immigrants? In general, how effective are these programs?
5) How does the local government accommodate newly arrived immigrants with limited proficiency in English?
6) In your opinion, how effectively does the community as a whole integrate newly arrived immigrants within the civic and social life of the suburb?
7) What kind of racial minorities – in terms of educational and economic background – are attracted to living in this community?
8) How has the local government chosen to promote an image of this suburb as being racially diverse? Is this important to the community’s identity? Why?

Table 1.4: Prompts and set of questions used in interviewing political elites

Sample: local non-governmental organizations

Prompt: We are interested in how local suburban governments have responded to and accommodated an increasing number of racial minorities moving into the community over the past 30 years. More specifically, we are interested in identifying which particular spheres of local government (ranging from the interaction of developers and local officials, school board officials, and law enforcement) have had an impact on the lives of racial minorities, some of which are newly arrived immigrants or people of color relocating from elsewhere within the city.

1) What kind of image or reputation does [specific suburb] have when it comes to accommodating racial minorities? Why?
2) What aspect(s) of local governance (housing market, school board policies, or law enforcement, for example) in [specific suburb] either fosters racial diversity or promotes any sort of intolerance?
3) Does the local housing market in [specific suburb] provide opportunities for affordable housing for prospective residents, some of who might be racial minorities?
4) What kind of relationship does local law enforcement in [specific suburb] have with minority populations?
5) In general, how responsive is the local government of [specific suburb] to the needs of racial minorities within their community?

Table 1.5: Prompts and set of questions used in interviewing non-governmental workers
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

This three-part literature review begins by narrating how suburbs have been treated as an object of study by social scientists. This review demonstrates how scholars increasingly recognize suburbs as important places to study and are effectively abandoning “tendencies to over-generalize or dismiss whole sections of our metropolitan areas as social or environmental errors” (Modarres & Kirby, 2010, p.120). Reviewing the status of suburbs allows a fuller appreciation of the ethnoburb model as altering those prevailing conceptions about suburbs. In this way, the ethnoburb model is path-breaking in that it redefines our conceptions of suburbs as being “populated by white middle-class American families, composed of a working dad, a stay-at-home mom, and their children” to one of suburbs as being populated by “ethnic clusters of residential and business districts within large metropolitan area” (Li, 2009, p.29).

I then discuss the ethnoburb model and how it reinvigorates studies of where ethnic communities are forming in North America. Ethnoburbs represent a sharp break from prevailing notions of immigrants first settling into ethnic enclaves of inner cities (Anderson, 1993; Lin, 1998). But research on ethnoburbs is still at an early stage: The focus tends to be either on ethnic economics or “racialized” suburban landscapes, with particular attention paid to how ethnoburb formation counters spatial assimilation (Aguilar-San Juan, 2005; Wood, 2006; Zhou et al., 2008). There is some attention placed on political governances through a focus on “nativist backlash” that involves longtime White residents expressing their discomfort with ethnic transition through racialized conflict over local programs and policies (Saito, 1998; Edington et al., 2008; Li, 2009). This chapter concludes with a final discussion that attempts to link ethnoburbs with
inclusion, which traces these problems as emanating from the Civil Rights era of the 1960’s and 1970’s (when Black suburbanization first became evident) (Kirp et al., 1995).

**Changing Suburbia: From Anti-Suburbia to a Diverse Suburbia**

In the 2000’s, social scientists identified suburbanization of racial and ethnic minorities as an important moment for re-evaluating the race and class homogeneity of suburbs. Before that, suburbs drew scholarly attention mostly as a subject of ire, of what was called “anti-suburban orthodoxy” (Hawkins & Percy, 1991). Such studies saw suburbs as heightening racial segregation, contributing to the decline of central cities, increasing disengagement from civil society, and eroding public participation in democracy (Putnam, 1998; Oliver, 2001). But recent demographic data has informed our understanding of the suburbs as a constellation of diverse communities that often times belie stereotypes of white middle-class suburbia.

Urban scholarship has typically treated the suburbs as a bogeyman for the decline of central cities that began in the 1970’s (Wiewel & Schaffer, 2000). Perhaps foremost among these ideas was scholarship on suburban sprawl, a collection of works that lamented “sprawl,” not just in terms of its ungainly, inefficient design, but also for its avowed lack of racial and class diversity (Bruegmann, 2006). Most famously, New Urbanist practitioners like Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk saw the sprawling, low-density, and single land-use zoning as inducing racial and class homogeneity that isolates residents (Duany et al., 2001). This segregation purportedly undermines local democratic institutions in the suburbs, since suburbanization tends to aggravate social cleavages and conflicts because governance in suburbs isolates residents solely by class, race, or type of housing tenure (Oliver, 2001). Suburbia is also seen as a socially sterile place devoid of community, something lamented by Kenneth Jackson’s
influential history of suburbia (Jackson, 1985). This scholarly culture of venerating the urban above the suburban has been a hallmark of the social sciences for decades.

Race and diversity have historically been viewed as absent in the suburbs. Suburban growth after World War II has been attributed to conformist tendencies – essentially, the moral failings of suburban movers, typically written as affluent households who “forsake the heterogeneous central city to seek a haven of wealthy homogeneity” (Hawkins & Percy, 1991, p.479). When coupled with studies documenting pervasive discriminatory policies and racism that excluded racial and ethnic minorities from the suburbs, the perceived homogeneity of suburbia animated an “anti-suburban orthodoxy” that influenced a generation of scholars to write off the suburbs as an appendage to the urban core, or caricatured it as bedroom communities that function as merely “dormitories” for the central city (Modarres & Kirby, 2010, p.114).

Historical scholarship of suburbia accepted the tale of suburban uniformity. Yet today, demographic data revealing a diverse suburbia confronts us with the incontrovertible finding that suburbs cannot be thought of as stereotypically White, middle-class enclaves. Between 1990 and 2000, the influx of racial and ethnic minorities was responsible for the bulk of population growth in the nation’s largest metropolitan areas: In so-called “melting pot suburbs,” for example, Whites contributed only 5% of population growth as opposed to Latinos, who are responsible for almost half of the population growth in these communities (Frey, 2001). By 2008, the majority of all major racial and ethnic groups – Whites, Blacks, Asians, and Latinos – and half of all immigrants nationwide in major metropolitan areas live in the suburbs (Berube et al., 2010).

There is still greater racial and income diversity in central cities than suburbs nationwide, but metropolitan areas where suburban populations compose a larger portion of a metropolitan area’s total population tend to have more racial and socioeconomic diversity in the suburbs (Hall &
Lee, 2009). These studies collectively confirm the datedness of the racial urban-suburban divide that had informed previous generations of scholarship.

There is also greater recognition now that suburbs are becoming initial destination points for newly arrived immigrants. This is due to a combination of different factors: First, an increasing number of suburban immigrants reside in multifamily housing units that have become more prevalent in the suburbs (Larco, 2010). Concomitantly, gentrification in the urban core over the past 20 years has made the city less affordable for newly arrived immigrants, driving them to seek cheaper housing alternatives in the suburbs. And whereas suburbs in the early 20th-century developed as bedroom communities, the emergence of viable commercial districts in the suburbs signaled the evolution of “boomburbs” that have proliferated in the American West and South, regions that tend to have decentralized metropolitan areas (Lang & LeFurgy, 2007). For newly arrived immigrants, the central city no longer monopolized housing and employment opportunities. This has led many immigrants to settle in the “twenty-first century gateways” of suburbs in metropolitan regions like Dallas, Atlanta, Charlotte that are not traditionally thought of as attracting large numbers of Asians and Latinos (Singer et al., 2008).

As findings of demographic diversity increase, scholars have begun to classify the panoply of suburban communities beginning to dot the metropolitan landscape. One comprehensive study found that the “variation between suburban places is often more striking than the difference between the central city and its surrounding suburbs” (Hanlon et al., 2006). In classifying 3,567 suburbs into a typology involving ten differing types, Brian Mikelbank, finds that only one-third of metropolitan area residents live within what are thought of as traditional suburbs – These ten suburban types range from “Successful Suburbs,” as characterized by residents with high incomes and education attainment, to “Manufacturing
Suburbs,” where a high proportion possess only a high school education (Mikelbank, 2004). In particular, there has been recognition that not all suburbs are equally resourced, as certain communities – especially older suburbs located in the inner ring – are places undergoing substantial financial and social stresses. These “at-risk communities” have “high social needs but relatively limited, and often declining, local resources” (Orfield, 2003, p.35). These at-risk suburbs are often significantly segregated and suffer from high poverty rates, low or declining population growth, and older housing. Moreover, municipal governments here have a limited ability to deal with these social and economic issues due to their limited tax revenues.

Not surprisingly, race and ethnicity has likewise become a salient characteristic of suburban typologies. Using the 2000 census, demographer William Frey chronicled the rise of “melting pot suburbs” by noting how the increased suburbanization of the “Big Three” minority groups – Blacks, Latinos, and Asians – are mostly concentrated in “melting pot metros,” which are metropolitan where there is large proportion of minority groups (Frey, 2001). These “melting pot suburbs” are most prevalent in high immigration zones including not only well-known locales like New York and Los Angeles but also lesser-known communities like El Paso, Texas and Bakersfield, California. Scholars have recognized uniquely racialized suburbs where there is a significant presence of racial and ethnic minorities, such as Black suburbs, ethnoburbs, and even ‘invisiburbs,’ which are suburbs where a discernible or visible ethnic community fails to materialize even as small numbers of immigrants live there (Orfield, 2003; Li, 1998; Skop & Li, 2005).

Earlier research found distinct socioeconomic differences between the “Big Three” racial and ethnic groups. Suburbs where there is a heavy concentration of Blacks tended to be far poorer than heavily Asian suburbs, which were more affluent. Suburbs with heavily Latino
populations tended to vary in terms of socioeconomic status, as Cubans in Florida were far better off than Hispanics in New York City suburbs (Phelan & Schneider, 1996). A specific example of this compares Alpine and East Garden City, two New York-area suburbs with a high percentage of foreign-born residents. Alpine residents are far wealthier, with an average household income of $130,000, with most immigrants being Asian. On the other hand, average household income in East Garden City was just $62,000, and most immigrants were from the Caribbean and half are non-Hispanic Black (Hanlon et al., 2010). In sum, it is not always affluent racial and ethnic minorities who settle in the suburbs but also those of more modest socioeconomic means.

Origins of the Ethnoburb: Ethnic Enclaves and Spatial Assimilation

Geographer Wei Li coined the term “ethnoburb,” short for “ethnic suburb,” in describing evolving patterns of Chinese settlement in the San Gabriel Valley of the Los Angeles metropolitan region (Li, 1998). Ethnoburbs are defined as “multi-ethnic communities, in which one ethnic minority group has a significant concentration, but does not necessarily comprise a majority” (Li, 1998, p.482). These suburban settlements, to Li, tend to form around large metropolitan areas characterized by “suburban ethnic clusters” of residential and business districts. The formation of ethnoburbs can be traced to political and economic changes at the global, national, and, local levels. Particularly important are geopolitical changes stemming from post-Fordist economic restructuring and the fall of communism that together accelerated globalization and, consequently, the need for developed countries to recruit both high- and low-skilled immigrants. Moreover, policy changes at the national level led to immigration reform in the 1960’s that led to a dramatic influx of Asian populations. The most salient characteristic of ethnoburbs is the “vibrant ethnic economies” that extend beyond traditionally ethnic-owned
businesses like restaurants and retailers and into post-industrial enterprises like global financial, real estate, and wholesale trading. Thus, ethnoburbs are more than just ethnic residential and retail center. They are also “global economic outposts” that play an increasingly pivotal role in the globalized economy.

The ethnoburb model stands in stark contrast to ethnic enclaves and ghettos that historically have been the focus of ethnic geography. These earlier types of ethnic settlements were more a product of discrimination and constraints imposed by the dominant (mainly White) culture. Ghettos are wholly involuntary formations in which ethnic communities were relegated to certain tracts of land usually in the inner cities based on an existing racial hierarchy. Ethnic enclaves, on the other hand, have a more complicated dynamic since they are both products of discrimination but also formed through ethnic communities maintaining a form of self-segregation in an attempt to insulate themselves from the racial hierarchy of a dominant culture (Marcuse, 2005). As related to the ethnoburb model, ethnic enclaves and ghettos house mostly disempowered ethnic communities whose ethnic economies are related to traditional ethnic niches like restaurants and low-end services.

Vancouver’s Chinatown in the late 19th and early 20th century was, for example, a ghetto created by European settlers. They racialized the concept Chinese by spatially relegating Chinese immigrants there and used cultural domination and public policy to construct a space of illicitness and vice (Anderson, 1987). This cultural process served to reify the existing racial hierarchy: “The point is that ‘Chinatown’ was a shared characterization, one constructed and distributed by and for Europeans, who, in arbitrarily conferring outsider status on these pioneers to British Columbia, were affirming their own identity and privilege” (Anderson, 1987, p.594). New York Chinatown lays out a similar history of discrimination revolving around exclusionary
immigration laws and bachelor societies early in the 20th century (Lin, 1998). But as racial attitudes and immigration policy changed in the 20th century, ethnic communities in these ethnic enclaves were more readily able to determine their own paths, particularly through the emergence of political representation and community organizations that can more fully articulate the popular will of Chinatown residents (Lin, 1998).

Although other scholars had studied the racial and ethnic transformation of Los Angeles’ Chinese community, the ethnoburb model was the first to bring out the distinctively suburban nature of these communities as differentiated from traditional ethnic enclaves exemplified by places like Chinatown. “While some academics and the popular media have embraced the notion of ‘suburban Chinatown,’” Li explains, “such a characterization appears to me to be quite inaccurate, for the San Gabriel Valley communities do not exhibit many of the characteristics of traditional Chinatowns” (Li, 2009, p.3). These are not just Chinatowns exported to the suburbs, Li insists, in that ethnoburbs contain important demographic and economic characteristics that differentiate it from ethnic enclaves.

For one, immigrants settling in ethnoburbs tend to be more educated and affluent than the working-class and lower-income immigrants in ethnic enclaves, reflecting how suburban residents, in general, tend to exhibit more upward social mobility than city residents. In fact, an ethnoburb contains a more socioeconomically diverse population such that there is internal stratification with high income and low income ethnics residing side-by-side. This differs from ethnic enclaves where immigrants were more likely to be uniformly of lower income or working-class backgrounds. However, the ethnoburb retains some similarities with ethnic enclaves in that traditional “ethnic economy niches,” such as restaurant and groceries stores, remain an important
feature of the ethnoburb landscape, and to some degree retains a function of insulating ethnic communities from mainstream society.

The most salient difference between ethnoburbs and ethnic enclaves is the dynamic of power. Ethnic enclaves and ghettos have historically been the product of discrimination where racial minorities and immigrants were spatially confined to mostly undesirable city sections. On the other hand, ethnoburbs are a voluntary formation with ethnic businesses and developers imbuing an ethnic community with the ability to “choose potential locations because of their economic strength” (Li, 2009, p.46). A typical ethnoburb possesses a strong concentration of ethnically-themed shopping malls, business centers, and residential developments that remakes the suburban landscape. It is, in a way, a celebration of the agency of ethnic communities, something divergent from the history of ethnic enclaves. “Therefore, the emergence of the Chinese ethnoburb not only changed the area’s population composition,” Li asserts, “but also altered its economic structure and the local landscape of building forms and styles, street scenes, and signage, providing this multiethnic, multicultural, and multilingual San Gabriel Valley with a strong ethnic Chinese signature” (Li, 2006, p.87).

The ethnoburb model is rooted in century-old debates about the spatial concentration and segregation of racial and ethnic minorities. Since ethnoburbs are oftentimes settled by socially mobile immigrants, ethnoburbs are not, as is the case with ethnic enclaves, necessarily a product of racial discrimination and exclusion. (Li, 2009). Thus, scholars have written of ethnoburbs as an implicit signifier of progress since it defies assimilation – particularly the linear, Anglo-centric sort – because ethnic communities are more readily able to create ethnic landscapes and act as agents in their own right: “The engagement of the people forming the community was the more important ingredient. To put it another way, we all become American by shaping
American, and out of our own identities reflect local characteristics, even in a time of globalism” (Wood, 2006).

Thinking about the relationship between race and suburban settlement can be traced to Chicago School theories that emerged in the 1920’s, especially those that emphasized the quandary of spatial assimilation. By tediously mapping the city, urban sociologists Robert Park and Ernest Burgess argued that measuring racial and ethnic segregation across the metropolitan landscape enabled examination of the vital social processes of contact, competition, accommodation, and eventual assimilation of differing groups. In studying Chicago as a social-laboratory in the early 20th century, practitioners of urban ecology argued that the spatial concentration of minority groups into ghettos and ethnic enclaves in the inner city – designed to “preserve its peculiar cultural norms and to maintain its individual and unique conceptions of life” – was not an unchangeable facet of the city (Park, 1952, p.99).

Instead, ghettos and ethnic enclaves would eventually disperse as its members achieved greater social mobility: “The result,” Park asserts, “is that the keener, more energetic, and the more ambitious very soon emerge from their ghettos and immigrant colonies and move into an area of second immigrant settlement, or perhaps into a cosmopolitan area in which the members of several immigrant and racial groups meet and live side by side” (Park, 1952, p.170). Eventually, these socially mobile residents would move out to the suburbs and into single-family, detached homes, long a trope of successful assimilation into the mainstream. Although urban ecology has since been discredited, the paradigm of spatial assimilation maintains a grip on the popular imagination (Hou, 2006; Andersen, 2010).
Today, the spatial assimilation concept is seen as being increasingly antiquated and, most importantly, inadequate to explain metropolitan social change (Glazer, 1993). The emergence of suburbs as immigrant gateways, for one, runs contrary to the spatial assimilation thesis as newly arrived immigrants, rich and poor alike, bypass inner cities and settle in suburbs. Next, the proliferation of racially and socioeconomically diverse suburbs as well as increased recognition of suburban poverty unsettles those assumptions that ethnic communities will necessarily disperse (Jones, 2008; Holiday & Dwyer, 2008). In reifying White suburbia as the “paramount space of American cultural belonging,” spatial assimilation theory remains fixed on “the normative objective of propinquity to whites in suburban locations” (Wright et al., 2006, p.116). In this sense, spatial assimilation theory has moved little beyond the linear, Anglo-centric assimilation reinforced by venerating suburban whiteness as an assimilation endpoint. As will be discussed later, scholars have positioned the ethnoburb model as evidence of the decline of spatial assimilation since ethnic communities remain spatially concentrated in the suburbs even as they attain important characteristics of integration.

**Ethnoburbs Today: A Celebration of Ethnic Community and Suburban Landscapes**

Initial research on this topic has sought to validate the presence of ethnoburbs in diverse metropolitan areas across the world. However, Li defines ethnoburbs simply as suburbs where “one ethnic minority group has a significant concentration, but does not necessarily comprise the majority,” as typically found within large metropolitan areas (Li, 2009). The ethnoburb model has been primarily applied to Asian immigrant communities in Anglophone countries along the Pacific Rim. With the rise of globalization, these Anglophone Pacific Rim countries are economically linked to their Asian counterparts like China, South Korea, and India, creating a flow of investment, trade, and immigration (Ming et al., 2008).
It should not surprise that most ethnoburb studies have focused on Asian immigrant communities populated by well-educated, affluent Chinese (considering the model’s emphasis on the Pacific Rim). Ethnoburbs have tended to center on suburbs in metropolitan areas well-known in their countries for attracting Asian immigrants, such as Los Angeles, Auckland, and Vancouver (Li, 1998; Johnston et al., 2008; Edgington et al., 2008). The concept was extended to two metropolitan areas less known as immigrant destinations – Austin, Texas and Phoenix, Arizona – where Asian Indian and Chinese ethnoburbs were described as being affluent ethnoburbs, as evinced by “higher-quality schools, lower crime rates, and larger and newer houses.” (Skop and Li, 2005). Although Ming et al. describe ethnoburbs as an “Asian-American phenomenon,” there are Black and Hispanic ethnoburbs that are fewer in number though “not negligible” (Ming et al., 2008, p.449). Of course, requiring ethnoburbs to be affluent communities considerably diminishes the potential importance of Black and Hispanic ethnoburbs.

Li generally agrees with this formulation of ethnoburbs as being affluent immigrant communities, but notes these places also display “strong internal stratification” based on differing socioeconomic characteristics that she traces to extant differences based on immigrants of “strikingly different conditions in the origin countries” (Li, 2009, p.13). Unlike ethnic enclaves, affluent, middle-class, and poor immigrants of different nationalities inhabit the same suburban space, as she identified Taiwanese and Hong Kong immigrants as tending to be more affluent than their Vietnamese counterparts who came to the U.S. as refugees in the 1970’s and 1980’s. This topic of internal socioeconomic stratification within ethnoburbs has been little explored, with the exception of Pih et al.’s study of the plight of healthcare among low-wage Chinese workers in the San Gabriel Valley (Pih et al., 2012). Their findings suggest that a
distinct lack of cultural capital, such English language skills, among low-wage Chinese workers inhibited them from accessing public healthcare programs and facilities for the working poor. Thus, it is likely that internal stratifications evident in sending countries (like China) were reproduced in American ethnoburbs.

The ethnoburb model today explains ethnic placemaking in the suburbs as a form of human agency. For example, ethnoburbs in the San Gabriel Valley between 1980 and 2000 resulted from “deliberate efforts of individual Chinese people and key business leaders” (an idea that places ethnic capital as the foundational underpinning of an ethnoburb). Li describes ethnoburb formation (at least in the San Gabriel Valley example) as being divided into three distinct stages: Concentrations of Chinese residents; large-scale arrival of ethnic capital that leads to the establishment of vibrant ethnic economies; and trade going global through construction of an ethnic suburb (Li, 2009, p.79-80). This process of ethnic placemaking has been observed by others in locales like Orange County, Silicon Valley, Toronto, and Vancouver (Aguilar-San Juan, 2005; Li & Park, 2008; Lo, 2008; Edington et al., 2008).

At its core, the story of ethnoburbs is one of what can be called “resurgent ethnicity” that triumphantly defies the conventional norms of spatial assimilation. Aguilar-San Juan’s study of ethnic placemaking at Little Saigon in Orange County reflects the typical ethnoburb narrative (Aguilar-San Juan, 2005): Little Saigon has developed into a collection of residential homes, indoor and outdoor malls, and a Vietnamese Catholic Center, all ornamented by “larger-than-life statues” representing prosperity, longevity, and good health. Place entrepreneurs like Frank Jao, developer of the Asian Garden Mall, played central roles in crafting the suburban landscape, such that there are “visible and distinctive landmarks that contextualize Vietnamese American experiences and provide a platform for community building” (Aguilar-San Juan, 2005, p.53).
Retail and commercial interests serve as private and public functions since many Vietnamese American youth and elders frequent Little Saigon to study English and attend citizenship classes. Ethnic placemaking can also be thought of as a form of ethnic territorialization that gives “physical structure to ‘Vietnamese-ness’ in Orange County” (Aguilar-San Juan, 2005, p.59).

The resurgent ethnicity of ethnoburbs is typified by the visible presence of ethnically-themed retail and business centers that signifies a remade suburban landscape. Ethnoburb research, strongly oriented to the study of these vibrant ethnic hubs, accentuates a strong ethnic presence in a suburb. What distinguishes retail and business districts in ethnoburbs from those in ethnic enclaves is not just the presence of ethnic restaurants and retailers but also proliferating ethnically-owned professional services. These businesses tend to hire more educated immigrants, giving ethnoburbs more diversified economies and demography. Coupled with nearby residences, ethnic churches, temples, and cultural centers, ethnoburbs exhibit a higher level of “institutional completeness” given the diversity of development, which might signal a tendency for ethnic communities there to be inward looking.

But ethnic and social inclusion in ethnoburbs are simultaneously inward and outward focused as ethnics are “more actively involved in mainstream politics and community affairs” than residents in ethnic enclaves but also maintain “ethnic affinity through the very establishment of an ethnoburb” (Li, 2009, p.47). In the case of suburban Toronto, for example, an influx of Chinese immigrants led to development of vibrant Asian shopping malls, allowing them to become “part of the Chinese social and cultural fabric of Toronto” (Lo, 2008, p.151). Chinese ethnoburbs in Toronto are “not ghettos” in that the “Chinese community is internally institutionally complete yet externally relatively integrated within the overall Toronto economy” (Lo, 2008, p.154). Again, the idea of ethnoburbs as being distinct from ethnic enclaves is
reinforced since ethnic communities in ethnoburbs exhibit both a greater deal of independence from and integration within mainstream societies.

No doubt, this “resurgent ethnicity” in ethnoburbs, especially of affluent Asian communities, is facilitated by the material wealth of its entrepreneurial class that makes the ethnoburb a desirable immigrant destination. Unlike ethnic enclaves and ghettos, ethnoburbs are not just initial destination points because their very presence opens “up the possibility that immigrants’ initial place of residence is not simply a staging ground for somewhere better, but is in fact their final desired destination” (Zhou et al., 2008). And while the ethnoburb model signals a paradigm shift of where racial and ethnic minorities live, ethnoburbs retain similarities to ethnic enclaves in they serve to insulate an ethnic community from the racial hierarchy that persists in mainstream society. “Since racialization dynamics still exist and function in society,” Li begins, “it is hard to believe that assimilation can be the answer to all societal problems related to immigration and minority groups” (Li, 2009, p.48).

This is not to say that the rise of ethnoburbs occurs in an uncontested fashion. Every ethnoburb narrative recounts conflict with predominantly White populations sharing suburban space with ethnic newcomers. These tensions, moreover, are often “racialized and evolve into conflicts between groups regarding economic development, social adjustment, cultural settings, and political participation” (Li, 2009, p.45). For example, backlash against Chinese immigrants in the San Gabriel Valley community of Monterey Park in the 1980’s revolved around “slow growth” and “English only” initiatives passed by a predominantly White city council (Saito, 1998). Many of these issues were evinced in city council elections in the 1990’s when Chinese candidates were often characterized as aiming to take over city council. In this case study, it was mostly through successful political mobilization that Chinese immigrants were able to effectively
find representative governance in Monterey Park. According to Li, this potentially fraught task of managing intergroup relations is a hallmark of ethnoburbs since they are multiracial communities, unlike ethnic enclaves and ghettos (Li, 2009, p.96).

The ethnoburb has also become a flashpoint as a space of contested housing development. As evidenced by the case of Richmond, British Columbia, a suburb of Vancouver, built “monster homes” for wealthy Chinese families were seen by longtime residents of Richmond (mostly White then) as a form of displacement. The Chinese’s outsized homes were aesthetically inconsistent with smaller homes in those neighborhoods (Edington et al., 2008). Not surprisingly, the ensuing debate became racialized and strident as longtime residents and Chinese immigrants criticized each other. This dispute was resolved only when local government held public meetings and framed the issue as a community planning debate, not a referendum on Chinese immigration (Edington et al., 2008, p.169-171). Other studies have documented local controversy over physical landscapes in Cabramatta, an Indochinese ethnoburb outside of Sydney, Australia and Cupertino, a Chinese ethnoburb in Silicon Valley (Dunn & Roberts, 2006; Li & Park, 2008). These instances point to how ethnoburb formation unsettles a dominant population’s cultural and social identity, resulting in reinforcing ethnic consciousness and identity.

Tensions in an ethnoburb can also arise from intragroup and interethnic conflict, a result of internal stratification given the demographic diversity of these communities. Such stratification is often driven by the country of origin for each respective ethnic group, creating ethnic groups with differing socioeconomic characteristics. The San Gabriel Valley ethnoburb is an example of this since there is a strong correlation between socioeconomic status and residential location within the ethnoburb (Li, 2009). Places like Arcadia and San Marino tend to
attract wealthy Chinese families, for example, whereas the Chinese who live in places like La Puente and City of Industry house mainly lower to lower-middle-class Chinese families. Conflict can also occur along distinctly inter-ethnic lines as evinced by the aforementioned case study of Little Saigon in Orange County: When prominent developer Frank Jao attempted to build a “Harmony Bridge” across a main thoroughfare in Little Saigon, Vietnamese community leaders objected to design elements of the mini-mall, which they said was excessively “Chinese” and ruptured the ethnic integrity of the community; Even though Little Saigon is heavily populated by Vietnamese, an estimated 90% of businesses there are, in fact, owned by Chinese (Aguilar San-Juan, 2005).

**A Review of Inclusion in Suburbia**

Scholarship exploring suburban inclusion has traditionally revolved around Black suburbanization that accelerated in the 1970s and 1980s (Danielson, 1976). This was an era marked by discrimination dependent on informal means (e.g., realtor steering) and the legacies of formal mechanisms (redlining and restrictive covenants). The experience of Blacks navigating a racially discriminatory housing market involved exploring the underlying structure of racism that governed real estate markets in predominately White suburbs, even in era where explicit forms of discrimination were illegal during the 1980’s and 1990’s (Lake, 1981; Feagin & Sikes, 1994).

Recent scholarship on suburban inclusion extends beyond that initial era of Black suburbanization to a focus on the mechanisms for discrimination in an age when explicit discrimination is illegal as encapsulated within the idea of “legal technologies of exclusion” (Frug, 2006). These technologies of exclusion explains how suburban governances today utilize traditional and entirely legal policymaking tools such as exclusionary zoning, quality-of-life ordinances, and crime policy to impose a form of de facto discrimination that either re-segregates
or socially isolates undesirable populations. For example, Bates and Fasenfest (2005) study how crime policy created a decidedly unresponsive welcoming for Blacks in a Detroit suburb. In this example, Black motorists are disproportionately targeted for traffic stops in relation to White motorists. To Bates and Fasenfest, this technique is animated by a highly segregated city-suburban region with urban Blacks effectively contained within the urban center.

Work reveals that many issues of suburban inclusion revolve around seemingly mundane quality-of-issues ordinances that are central to suburban lifestyle. Harwood documents how racialized conflicts emerged in the diverse Orange County suburb of Garden Grove where a decades-long conflict existed between the Lien Hoa Buddhist Temple and long-time residents. Neighborhood complaints about ethnic events at the temple highlighted “old-timers [using] existing mechanisms to resist difference—that is, the activities and uses of neighborhood space by the newcomers” (Harwood, 2005, p.364). A study of another diverse Orange County suburb, Santa Ana, found that racialized conflicts over quality-of-life ordinances could extend to housing codes that prohibiting overcrowding and beautification. These issues tended to pit Latino immigrants against longtime, native-born residents (Harwood & Myers, 2002). These local conflicts flow out of Latino suburbs and into suburbs with Asians. Saito’s extensive investigation of suburban politics in the Chinese ethnoburb of Monterey Park revealed how “nativist backlash” involved the attempted passage of local English-only laws and “slow growth” ordinances, all intended to hinder the growth of further Chinese in-migration (Saito, 1998).

Studies of suburban political incorporation represent another research focus. Johnson explores this from the vantage point of Black residents in the prosperous Washington D.C. suburb of Prince George’s County in Maryland (Johnson, 2002). Profound obstacles to Black entrance are discovered. Saito’s investigation of suburban politics in the San Gabriel Valley
revealed the need to create what he calls “interracial alliances” of Asian Americans and Latinos to influence policymaking (Saito, 1998). More recently, Lai discusses how Chinese American political candidates in two suburbs, one in Southern California and another in Houston, must engage in what he calls “multiplexing” where they pursue “nuanced campaign strategies that simultaneously address multiple racial and ethnic planes in American suburbs (Lai, 2010, p.85).

In emphasizing the importance of creating cross-racial, cross-ethnic coalitions to win elected office, Chinese American candidates must overcome the perception of being “permanent aliens” and be attentive to changing dynamics of growing ethnic communities.

More recently, studies of suburban inclusion explore how suburban governances can promote a sense of tolerance for immigrants. Good defines her concept of “municipal responsiveness” as determining the degree to which local governances undertake a “proactive public role in facilitating positive ethnocultural relations and interethnic equality” (Good, 2009, p.6; emphasis in original). Canadian suburbs that had proactive political leadership, a well-organized and well-resourced immigrant community, and a sympathetic business community tended to portend the presence of suburban governances that promoted diversity and diversity-oriented programs. Good’s earlier study of Canadian municipalities found that suburban governances with a multiracial demographic are more likely to enact such policies and programs (Good, 2005). In a similar vein, Jones-Correa finds that service-oriented entities like public libraries are more responsive to the needs of immigrant communities by providing language services as opposed to regulatory agencies, such as planning departments, which merely saw their roles as upholding rules (Jones-Correa, 2008).

Since 9/11, researchers have drawn attention to anti-immigrant measures passed by suburban municipalities. In the U.S., research has focused on how failures to pass
comprehensive immigration has reverberations for the ways suburban municipal governments enact ordinances tacitly aimed at growing Latino populations (Brettell & Nibbs, 2005; Carpio et al., 2011). Varsayani describes this growing trend as “immigrant policing through the back door.” Her work draws attention to how two Phoenix area suburbs, Chandler and Mesa, both attempted to pass ordinances aimed at curbing day labor sites as local leaders where highly responsive to longtime, vocal residents (Varsayani, 2008). Both Varsayani and Carpio et al. contemplate the need for adapting Henri Lefebrve’s concept of the “right to the city” to a “right to the suburbs” concept (Lefebrve, 1968; Purcell, 2002). In this way, Carpio et al. describes the need for creating “regional networks of activist” to promote immigrant rights in ways that “builds alliances amongst diverse struggles over displacement, and focuses efforts in the suburb for some forms of activism, as a complement to the current model which focuses largely on cities” (Carpio et al., 2011, p.203).

Conclusion

We now know that there are many types of suburbs that dot the metropolitan landscape as suburbs demographically diversify. To date, research on ethnoburbs has been almost exclusively limited to affluent Asian suburbs that are hardly representative of the diverse types of suburban communities currently emerging today. Linking and expanding the ethnoburb model to different ethnic groups – especially Latino communities, the largest growing minority group in the nation – might tell a different story about this complexity. These socioeconomically diverse ethnic groups might not enjoy the same level of community-wide agency and acceptance that ethnoburbs in the San Gabriel Valley experience.

In this way, there is a facile assumption that the increased presence of racial and ethnic minorities necessarily equates greater tolerance in the suburbs. Demographer W.H. Frey
questions this, saying: “Does the suburban experience for today’s minorities represent the same upward mobility transition as it did for whites in earlier decades? Are minorities re-segregated in separate communities within the suburbs? Is the economic and social status selectivity associated with suburban movers more diluted than in the past?” (Frey, 2001). The only way to investigate these questions is for researchers to do something vitally needed: To conduct fieldwork in suburbs that are representative of the broad shift of racial and ethnic minorities away from central cities.
CHAPTER 3

A METROPOLITAN PORTRAIT OF SUBURBAN INCLUSION

This chapter frames the case study assessments within the Chicago metropolitan area. It also illuminates Chicago’s suburban landscape as a vast expanse of land in northeastern Illinois that covers over seven counties where growth increased considerably in the housing boom of the 1990’s and 2000’s. Although the urban core of Chicago has long been one of the most studied urban areas, the metropolitan area’s outlying suburban communities, by contrast, have received scant attention.

Using U.S. Census data, this chapter initially chronicles how the three largest racial and ethnic groups – Blacks, Latinos, and Asians – have moved in to what were until the 1990’s predominantly White suburbs. This chapter then develops a suburban typology that captures both traditional and emerging issues of suburban inclusion in the Chicago metropolitan region. Ethnoburbs are identified as the latest stage in the evolution of many suburbs as increased ethnic, racial and class diversity have come to mark them. I then discuss how political governances representing each suburban type deal with inclusion-related issues, such as political incorporation, housing equality, and programs and policies. In this way, this chapter demonstrates how the historic struggle for inclusion now extends beyond central cities and into suburbs.

Suburban Growth

For the purposes of analysis, this study limits the spatial extent of the Chicago metropolitan region to the seven counties of Cook, DuPage, Kane, Kendall, Lake, McHenry, and Will counties (Figure 3.1). The justification for this spatial extent lies in a functional definition
of how the region is linked by a regional planning agency – the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning. At the core of this metropolitan region is Chicago, which remains the region’s central cultural, economic, and employment hub that is linked to its suburbs through highways and commuter rail connections. Incorporated municipalities were chosen as the unit for analysis. There are about 300 separate municipalities in the Chicago metropolitan area. These distinct municipalities are an ideal unit for analysis because they wield vast powers over zoning ordinances, law enforcement policy, and taxation, to name just a few of the powers delegated to local government. Moreover, municipal governments are meant to mediate the wishes of their residents through local elections.

Comparing 2000 and 2010 census data shows the expansion of the suburban frontier beyond Cook County into predominantly rural Lake, Kendall, and Will counties. The most robust population growth in the last decade occurred in DuPage and Kane county suburbs like Naperville (an increase of over 13,000 residents), Aurora (over 54,000), Bolingbrook (over 17,000), and Elgin (over 13,000). Here, residents were attracted to new and inexpensive housing, the rapid development of farmland into subdivisions, and ambitious annexation of nearby unincorporated areas that were turned into residential, retail, or commercial development. Less extensive growth occurred in suburban Cook County communities like Glenview (over 2,800), Bartlett (around 4,500), and Wheeling (over 3,000). To local governments, the logic for pursuing a growth agenda is that more heft equals more power, i.e., more populous communities expand tax bases and develop a greater capacity to generate revenues and increase abilities to apply for more state and federal monies. This growth era occurred in the housing boom of the 1990’s and 2000’s in which relaxed lending standards, the rise of subprime mortgage products, and the federal policy of expanding home ownership all accelerated.
When population growth is disaggregated by race and ethnicity, clear patterns emerge regarding the mobility of four largest racial and ethnic groups – Whites, Blacks, Latinos (of any race), and Asians. First, the top 45 suburbs experiencing the most White residents were, for the most part, in outer counties like Lake, McHenry, Kane, and Will (Figure 3.2). This trend was especially strong in western and southwestern counties in outer suburbs like Joliet (an increase of over 25,000 Whites), Bolingbrook (almost 4,000), and Orland Park (almost 3,500). There was also a secondary ring of growth in western and northwestern suburbs like Algonquin (over 6,700), St. Charles (around 3,100), and Carpentersville (around 7,000). In this, the growth of white residents in Chicago suburbs mostly parallels overall population growth, especially considering that those with financial means are more likely to migrate outwards in search of better housing value and education.

The suburban push of White residents coincides with what local observers began to describe as “white flight” not from the city of Chicago (which underwent massive gentrification in the 1990’s and 2000’s) but from the South Suburbs, which has basically been transformed into a Black enclave (something that can clearly be seen in Figure 3.3). South Suburbs like South Holland and Park Forest experienced a substantial influx of Black residents of over 5,000 and almost 4,000 Blacks, respectively, that was matched by an exodus of White residents, of which South Holland lost 5,400 and Park Forest lost 3,800 during the same time span. In fact, of the top 20 suburbs that experienced a growth in Black residents, every South Suburb (generally understood to be southern Cook County) experienced a substantial loss of White residents, ranging from a loss of 8,000 Whites in Calumet City to 1,000 in Lynwood. A second noticeable trend in Black suburbanization is smaller pockets of growth in predominantly White western and
southwestern suburbs like Aurora (around 5,300 Blacks), Joliet (over 4,200), and Naperville (over 2,700).

The growth of Blacks and the hastening of “White Flight” from the South Suburbs points to how class-based discrimination is evident in this process, as the South Suburbs are generally comprised of poorer suburbs. In this way, earlier studies found that Blacks tend to move to less well-off suburbs than the ones where Hispanics and Asians move (Phelan & Schneider, 1996). “White flight” from the South Suburbs reflects a decades-long process of place stratification and discriminatory racial practices as socially mobile (and more affluent) Black residents sought to move into the same communities as Whites. In this vein, the effect of socioeconomic class on Blacks moving to wealthier areas was seen to have only “limited support” considering the “substantial level of segregation that is present for even the most affluent black households” (Spivak et al., 2011, p.561).

The growth of Latinos was both more numerous and evenly distributed across the metropolitan area, as can be seen in Figure 3.4. Including the city of Chicago, 95 places – almost a third of the communities within the metropolitan area – experienced a growth of at least more than 1,000 Latinos within their borders, with the cities of Aurora and Chicago taking in 35,000 and 25,000 Latinos, respectively. In terms of spatial distribution, the growth of Latino populations cannot be easily characterized – It occurred within inner-ring suburbs close to Chicago, like Berwyn (an increase of over 13,000 Latinos) and Oak Lawn (over 5,000), as well as western suburbs like Glendale Heights (over 4,600) and Addison (over 4,600); The southwestern growth corridor of DuPage-Kane-Will counties experienced Latino growth in cities like Bolingbrook (over 10,000), Naperville (about 3,400), and Joliet (around 21,000); Far western and northwestern suburbs like Streamwood (over 5,1000), Carpentersville (around
6,400), and Elgin (over 14,000) also experienced an influx of Latino residents as well. This finding of the pervasive growth of Latinos is reflective of another study that found how Latinos in the Chicago suburbs were spread out among suburban census tracts where they were both a minority and majority (Clark, 2006).

Unlike Latinos, the growth of Asian suburbanization in the Chicago area was mostly centralized within the north, northwestern, and western suburbs, which are regions that tend to have more affluent White communities (Figure 3.5). Substantial growth occurred in southwestern suburbs like Naperville (an increase of over 8,700 Asians) and western suburbs in DuPage county like Lombard, Carol Stream, and Glendale Heights (all over 1,200) and in the northwestern growth hub of Hoffmann Estates and Schaumburg, where Asians increased by over 4,000 in both communities as suburbs further east like Glenview (over 1,300), Skokie (over 3,000), and Buffalo Grove (over 3,000). The tendency of Asians to migrate to predominantly White suburbs in the Chicago area is consistent with both a Chicago area and nationwide trend where Asians tend to live in more “integrated” suburbs, especially in communities where they comprise less than 20% of the population (Clark, 2006).

**Population Characteristics of Suburban Residents**

Studying the characteristics of suburban residents in the Chicago metropolitan area reveals the sharp socioeconomic and cultural distinctions between racial and ethnic groups. Using responses from Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) from the 2005-2009 American Community Survey (ACS), I divided the Chicago metropolitan area into six distinct suburban regions based on groupings of Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMA), each of which contain
roughly 100,000 people (Figure 3.6). Beginning with Chicago, the five other regions – North Suburbs, Northwest Suburbs, West Suburbs, Southwest Suburbs, and South Suburbs – are defined here as distinct suburban regions. PUMS data from the 2005-2009 American Community Survey provides a broad sampling of specific population and housing characteristics between the specified years. This data is especially useful for comparing the social and economic status of different groups and changes in these characteristics over time.

In general, it should not be surprising that suburban residents are more affluent and better educated than their counterparts in Chicago (Table 3.1). For example, the average Black resident in the South Suburbs is more affluent and slightly better educated than their counterparts in Chicago, with a median household income of $48,000 compared to just $30,000 for Blacks in Chicago. Not surprisingly, there is a considerably higher rate of home ownership among Blacks in the South Suburbs at 67% than those in Chicago, which are 44%. Since median household income of the census-determined Chicago metropolitan statistical area is $60,289, many Black residents in the South Suburbs more closely approach middle-class status.

A comprehensive look at housing characteristics reveals sharp distinctions in socioeconomic class among the differing suburban regions. As Table 3.1 demonstrates, the South Suburbs are the poorest suburban region in the area, especially when compared to the affluent North Suburbs, known in the region as an enclave of exclusivity close to the North Shore where expensive and exclusive communities like Winnetka and Evanston border Lake Michigan. In the North Suburbs, Whites and Asians, on average, have median household incomes of around $82,750 and $76,005, respectively. This figure for Whites and Asians’

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5 Grouping PUMA’s into distinct suburb regions was necessary to increase the sample size of the PUMS data, increasing the accuracy of the ACS estimates.
median household income in the suburbs is, of course, significantly higher than their counterparts in Chicago.

However, the data also shows us how class-inflected differences between races and ethnicities are evident within each suburban region. Taking the Northwest Suburbs as an example, Blacks and Latinos in those suburbs have lower median household incomes at $55,000 and $51,000, respectively, than Whites and Asian in the same region at $76,000 and $84,000. And even though Blacks and Latinos in the Southwest Suburbs had higher median household incomes of $64,000 and $70,000, respectively, than those in Chicago, this is still lower than those for Whites and Asians in the Southwest Suburbs, who had household incomes of $96,848 and $118,225. Thus, Blacks and Latinos in these suburban regions are significantly less wealthy than their White and Asian counterparts.

Moreover, Blacks and Latinos in the Northwest Suburbs were also far less likely to have attained at least a bachelor’s degree at only 21% and 7%, something that significantly limits their upward social mobility in comparison to the national average of around 30%. These findings should not be surprising considering how Blacks and Latinos consistently lag behind Whites and Asians in terms of earnings and educational attainment on a nationwide basis. This finding also speaks to how these socioeconomic divisions are being replicated in suburban communities.

Isolating PUMS data based on housing characteristics of different racial and ethnic groups demonstrates that not all suburban residents are the same. The prevalence of single-family detached homes is historically seen as a trope for the “American Dream.” A glance at housing data in suburban regions reveals how Blacks and Latinos are far more likely to be renters than Whites and Asians in the same region. For example, Blacks and Latinos in the
Northwest Suburbs are far more likely to be renters at 52% and 31%, respectively, than Whites and Asians at only 12% and 21%, which speaks to the importance affordable rental housing in the suburbs. Overall, Black residents rented at considerably higher rates in the North, Northwest, and Western Suburbs than other racial and ethnic groups.

The issue of housing affordability is central in providing access for low- to moderate-income populations to the suburbs. In 2010, the State of Illinois defined low-income households as between 50% to 80% of the median household income in a metropolitan area and affordable rental housing as requiring no more than 30% of a household’s total income. Since the median household income for the Chicago metropolitan area is roughly $60,000, low-income affordability in Table 3.1 was measured by isolating households that made between 50% and 80% of $60,000 in each suburban region, which in this case were households that made between $30,144 and $48,231 a year. After sorting by racial and ethnic groups, it was found that the North and Southwest Suburbs had, on average, more households that experienced an exceedingly high rent burden on their household incomes. Low-income White and Black households in the North Suburbs paid around 37% and 38%, respectively, of their household income for rent. This should not be a surprise considering the exclusive reputation of the North Suburbs, a region long defined by and conceived of as having a paucity of affordable multifamily housing. In the Southwest Suburbs, by contrast, Asian and Black households paid around 33% and 35% of their household income for rent in a region that includes some of the area’s fastest growing suburbs.

Recent scholarship has asserted how suburbs have become destination points for immigrants, something that can be seen in the PUMS data from Chicago metropolitan area (Singer et al., 2008). The percentage of foreign-born residents among Asians and Latinos in various suburban regions are consistent with their counterparts in Chicago. For example, Asians
in the North, Northwest, West, and Southwest Suburbs were on average around 68% to 69% foreign-born, similar to percentages of foreign-born Asians in Chicago. And except for the Southwest and South Suburbs, Latinos in other suburban regions were about as likely to be foreign-born as those in Chicago, which was around 40%. Furthermore, the majority of Asian and Latino residents in suburban regions tended to speak a language other than English at home, indicating that these households have immigrants living with them. About 82% of Latinos in the Northwest and West Suburbs spoke another language other than English at home; Again, this number was similar to Latinos living in the Chicago. The fact that large proportions of racial and ethnic minorities in the suburbs are foreign-born and speak languages other than English points to the challenges suburban governances have in reaching out to these citizens.

Suburban residents who have recently moved from Cook County to outer countries within the metropolitan regions tend to be, by different measures, more socially mobile than those who live in Cook County (Table 3.2). It is not possible to determine who moved from Chicago to other suburban regions since the questions asked by the American Community Survey measures residential migration only from county to county, not from the city of Chicago. But since most of the five suburban regions in this study lie outside of Cook County (which itself is predominantly urban, since 2.8 million of the 5.2 million residents in the Cook County live in Chicago), isolating populations that have recently moved within the past year between 2005-2009 give us some indication of what suburban movers are like – They tend to be slightly wealthier, better educated, and less likely to be foreign-born than their counterparts residing in Cook County. For example, Asians and Latinos who have recently moved outside of Cook County to outer counties have significantly higher median household incomes, at $91,000 and $56,650, than their counterparts in Cook County, who had incomes of $55,740 and $41,000.
More interestingly, Asians and Latinos who recently moved to outer suburban regions were far less likely to be foreign-born (at 62% and 27%, respectively), confirming how racial and ethnic minorities are more likely to relocate to suburbs if they are more acculturated than their foreign-born counterparts. Whites, Asians, and Latinos in this group purchased homes, long a symbol of acclimating to suburban life, at higher rates than those in Cook County. This did not hold true for Blacks, by contrast, who rented at a significantly higher rate (at 73%) than Blacks in Cook County, pointing towards the reliance of Blacks on rental properties to move out to the suburbs. This finding mitigates the idea that all suburban movers are necessarily of the middle-class, since the median household income for Blacks suburban movers ($51,000) is still below that of the median for the metropolitan area, $60,000.

These findings suggest that class-based divisions that differentiate Whites, Blacks, Latinos, and Asians at the national scale are also replicated within the Chicago suburbs. Thus, a large proportion of Blacks and Latinos in the Chicago suburbs are renters who live in multifamily-type housing (apartments), the proliferation of which in the last decades have been responsible for a large portion of population growth among racial and ethnic minorities in the suburbs (Larco, 2010). The trope of American suburbs and the detached single-family home is a bit outdated, as the celebration of race and ethnic diversity in suburbia must also take into account increasing low and moderate-income Blacks and Latinos.

**Suburban Typologies**

The increased suburbanization of racial and ethnic minorities has inevitably altered communities across the Chicago metropolitan area, creating a diverse array of suburban types. Using the ethnoburb model as a starting point, this chapter creates a suburban typology (Figure 3.7) based on racial and ethnic minority growth and socioeconomic class (Orfield, 2002;
Mikelbank, 2004). This typology considers the past 20 years of demographic change (1990 – 2010), a notable time frame given the diversification of the suburbs through immigration, the Chicago “push” factor of gentrification that affected the housing stock of poor Blacks and Latinos, and the housing boom that ended with the Great Recession in 2008. Census and survey data from the 1990, 2000, and 2010 censuses as well as the 2005-2009 American Community Survey were used. This typology here divides suburbs into four types based on population demographics:

White Suburbs – This suburban type evokes the traditional conception of suburbs as 80% or more of its population are White. Of the 302 incorporated places in the Chicago metropolitan area in the 2010 census, White suburbs were the most prevalent type with 179 such communities. However, this number represents a precipitous decline from the 1990 census when there were 296 communities that fit this type. In 2010, the majority of White suburbs (about 121) had borders overlapping with counties in the perimeter of the metropolitan area in Lake, McHenry, Kendall, Kane, and Will counties, whereas there were 64 and 21 places within more urbanized Cook and DuPage counties, respectively. White suburbs vary in being exclusive enclaves with affluent populations to middle-class enclaves, many of which are set in more ruralized areas.

Ethnoburbs – This study defines ethnoburbs as suburbs where between 30% to 70% of residents are composed of differing mixtures of the “Big Three” racial and ethnic groups – Black, Latinos, and Asians. In 2010, there are 56 ethnoburbs in the Chicago metropolitan area, an increase since 2000 when there were 35 and since 1990 when there were only 17 (see Table 3.3). Since 1990, 44 ethnoburbs experienced a net loss of White residents, ranging from around 10,000 in Park Forest to 1,000 in Lincolnwood. Not surprisingly, most ethnoburbs since 1990 experienced net gains of Asians and Latinos, the two fastest growing immigrant populations, as
39 places gained in Asian residents and every ethnoburb gained in Latinos. Ethnoburbs are spread evenly throughout suburban Cook and DuPage counties as well as what were once referred to as “satellite cities” or “secondary cities” like Waukegan, Aurora, Joliet, and Naperville, all of which have populations around 100,000 and are located on the periphery of the metropolitan area.

**Racialized Suburbs** – These suburbs differ from ethnoburbs in that one racial or ethnic group – typically Blacks or Latinos, but not both – compose an overwhelming majority (over 70%) of the population, such that these places are exceedingly racialized. In 2010, there are 22 racialized suburbs, of which 19 are majority Black suburbs and the remaining 3 are majority Latino suburbs. This number has steadily increased since 1990, when there were just 9 of these types of communities. Racialized suburbs are all located in suburban Cook County and are especially concentrated in the South Suburbs. Racialized suburbs are defined as being the poorest among these suburban types as the median household income in racialized suburbs is around $48,000 and those living below the poverty line averages to 17% (both numbers are significantly lower and higher, respectively, than the metropolitan average), marking these suburbs mostly as lower- to moderate-income communities.

**Suburbs-in-Transition** – Having experienced substantive growth in racial and ethnic minorities in the past decades, suburbs-in-transition straddle the divide between White suburbs and ethnoburbs. Typically, these suburbs have White populations between 70% and 80%, with the rest composed of a mixture of Blacks, Latinos, and Asians. In 2010, there were 44 suburbs-in-transition, a doubling since 1990 when there was only 21 of these communities. The vast majority of suburbs-in-transition are located in northwest suburban Cook County in fast-growing DuPage County to the west of Chicago. Their proximity to Chicago and the availability of
greenfield development has led to a general increase in total residents, Whites, Asians, and Latinos for the vast majority of suburbs-in-transition since 1990. However, the only group that lagged in terms of growth was Blacks, with only 13 suburbs experiencing a growth in Black residents and, at that, paltry levels of growth.

Suburban Inclusion Within The Chicago Metropolitan Area

White Suburbs

The median household income for White suburbs is around $80,000, significantly higher than the metropolitan median of $60,000, and most of these suburbs (147 in all) have median household incomes above $60,000. In the top quartile of this type, 46 suburbs have median household incomes higher than $100,000, making them exclusive enclaves, many of which are concentrated along the North Shore. These communities maintain the traditional suburban character of racially and socioeconomically homogeneous suburbs through a housing stock that is predominantly composed of expensive single-family, detached homes and a low supply of rental properties and multifamily housing. An example of this is Deerfield, a suburb with just over 18,000 residents located in Lake County. According to the 2010 Census, Deerfield residents are 94% White with a median household income of $161,585 and a median home value of $571,000.

On the other end of the spectrum are White suburbs that are middle-class. Eighteen of the 32 communities (where the median household income is below $60,000) are inner-ring suburbs located in suburban Cook County. In general, these communities have mostly experienced a decline in their White populations, as evinced by Burbank which lost over 1,600 White residents during the past decade. Suburbs like Bridgeview and Burbank typify what some
have called the growing dilemma of suburban decline that is often centered on inner-ring suburbs characterized by an older housing stock and stagnant or declining populations. Indeed, the median age of the housing stock in inner-ring White suburbs is built in 1962, something that tends to mark these suburbs as less popular destinations. Moreover, these inner-ring suburbs are often caught between “city gentrification and outer sprawl” and are currently “losing the battle for investment resources” (Hanlon et al., 2010, p.159). As the Chicago metropolitan area continues to diversify, it is foreseeable that these inner-ring White suburbs will experience the challenges of disinvestment and a consequent inability to provide good schools and services.

The racial and class homogeneity of exclusive enclaves has recently been the target of statewide efforts aimed at compelling these communities to provide a greater level of affordable housing. In 2003, the State of Illinois amended an existing law to enact the Affordable Housing Planning and Appeal Act, which stipulated that at least 10% of a community’s housing stock must be affordable as measured against a metropolitan area’s median income. Municipalities that did not meet the 10% threshold were compelled to meet this threshold by enacting a strategy for creating more owner-occupied or rental affordable housing. All of the 49 named communities in Illinois – dubbed “non-exempt local governments” – are in the Chicago metropolitan area, with 19 in Lake County, 15 in Cook County, and 7 in DuPage County.6 Unfortunately, the state’s affordable housing act has no way to discipline non-compliant communities and, in reality, serves as little more than a form of “public shaming,” says Interfaith Housing Center of the Northern Suburbs director Gail Schechter in an interview, since suburban governances are not disciplined for failing to meet that 10% threshold.

6 Named as one of the 49 non-exempt communities, north suburban Highland Park demonstrated how these communities could meet affordable housing criteria: They created a community trust fund tasked with rehabilitating and creating more affordable housing in the suburb and, in 2003, adopted inclusionary zoning, which encouraged certain builders to set aside 20% of their units as affordable.
Inclusion within White suburbs tends to revolve around issues of housing equality and the accessibility of moderate to low-income racial and ethnic populations, essential to inclusion given the tendency of these populations to seek affordable rental housing. Winnetka is the ideal “leafy, quiet” American suburb, whose suburban idyllic rests on familiar characteristics of exclusion, as 95% of Winnetka residents are White and the median household income is over $200,000 a year. Moreover, Winnetka’s housing stock is overwhelming composed of single-family homes with a median home value of $1 million. A recent study commissioned by the local government found that most Winnetka residents are increasingly of one type, families in their “peak earning years” with school-aged children (The Winnetka Plan Commission, 2010, p.3). With only around 12,000 residents, its lack of population growth traditionally can be traced to a tradition of community planning that sought to limit residential and commercial development.

It should come as no surprise that Winnetka was found to have ran afoul of the state’s affordable housing act since a scant 4% of all housing in Winnetka was deemed affordable. However, Winnetka’s local government sought to remedy this by creating an affordable housing plan where a community land trust would be tasked with providing affordable rental and owner-occupied housing. But the plan has run into powerful local opposition: The Winnetka Home Owners Association launched a vigorous public information campaign that derided the affordable housing plan as “un-American” and an example of government meddling. In derisively calling the plan a “North Shore low income housing project,” the home owners association contended that it would lower property, increase crime, and force Winnetka residents to subsidize those on “handouts.” (Black, 2011, November 30). In “emotional” town meetings purposed with discussing the plan, local elected officials sparred with homeowner association
representatives. “It gives Winnetka a really bad reputation to be openly saying we’re opposed to affordable housing,” Winnetka resident Jen McQuet lamented. “It just makes me sad that other people do and call it ‘Section 8’ and ‘crack houses.’ It rings vile to me.” In response, McQuet founded a small community group called “Winnetka is Neighborly” to counter efforts of the home owners association that opposes Winnetka’s affordable housing plan.

*Ethnoburbs*

Beyond Li’s original definition of ethnoburbs as “multi-ethnic communities, in which one ethnic minority group has a significant concentration, but does not necessarily comprise a majority” (Li, 1998, p.482), there are differing criteria for the threshold of racial and ethnic minorities necessary for a suburb to be considered an ethnoburb (Wen et al., 2009; Johnston et al., 2008). For example, Wen et al. recognized ethnoburbs as “affluent” suburban neighborhoods (Wen et al., 2010), a criteria emanating from a narrow focus on Asian immigrants that tend to be wealthier and more educated. I have intentionally chosen to depart from that definition in recognizing that many ethnoburbs in the Chicago metropolitan area are, in fact, middle and lower-income communities. Of the 56 identified ethnoburbs in Figure 3.7, the median household income of these communities is $56,817 with a median of 10% of the population living below the poverty line. These numbers are lower than the metropolitan median of $60,000 for household income and 13.6% below the poverty line, respectively. About 20% of residents in these ethnoburbs are, on average, foreign-born, confirming how these communities are serving as immigrant gateways.

Recognizing racial, ethnic, and class diversity of ethnoburbs in the metropolitan region is crucial since this colors issues related to inclusion. Most ethnoburbs have experienced an influx
of racial and ethnic minorities with a concomitant loss or stagnant growth of White residents. Of the bottom quartile of ethnoburbs in terms of median household income (generally below $49,000), 9 out of 16 are inner-ring suburbs located within suburban Cook County. Chicago Heights, for example, is located in the South Suburbs and exemplifies the growing prevalence of suburban poverty, as the community experienced huge losses of Whites (around 3,200) and a large influx of Latinos (over 2,400) in the past decade. In Chicago Heights, around 1 in 4 residents live below the poverty line, a fact that should draw attention to how suburban diversity as theorized by the ethnoburb model must extend beyond the elite (Asian) immigrants in Southern California that are traditionally the focus of such research, which draws us to emerging issues of suburban poverty (Holiday & Dwyer, 2000; Murphy, 2010).

As ethnoburbs emerge, issues related to political incorporation can come to the forefront, but not necessarily in ways that necessarily leads to local elected officials seamlessly recognizing diversity and promoting inclusion without some form of reluctance or outright resistance. For example, Hanover Park is a northwest suburban community that straddles both Cook County and DuPage County. Hanover Park has seen its racial and ethnic populations increase from 15% in the 1990 Census to 27% in 2000 and to 60% today, where Latinos, Blacks, and Asians compose 38%, 7%, and 15%, respectively, of residents.

Yet progress in getting local governance to meet the needs of diverse residents was slow in the 2000’s until the 2007 election of the suburbs’s first Black trustee, Toni Carter. Carter pushed for many diversity-related initiatives from increasing the hiring of minorities on the local government’s workforce to creating a Cultural Inclusion and Diversity Committee tasked with promoting diversity and fighting intolerance. Local government had an inactive human relations committee until that point, which Carter derided as specializing in “casseroles” brought to
unproductive potluck dinners (Pohl, 2008, January 4). But the village board initially resisted initiatives proposed by Carter to fund a diversity-related committee, questioning its utility in times of budget austerity.

Inclusion in the far northwest suburb of Carpentersville centered upon local policies that disproportionately targeted fast growing Latino immigrant populations in ways that drew national attention regarding the debate about illegal immigration. With origins as a rural blue-collar community, Carpentersville experienced an influx of Latinos throughout the 1990’s and 2000’s, to the point that around half of all residents today are Latino. Relations between local government and the Latino community had been tense throughout this time, as few Latinos were part of the political system. These tensions boiled over in 2006 when two village trustees, Judy Sigwalt and Paul Humpfer, proposed an ordinance that would not only make English the official language of the suburb but also penalize local employers and landlords for either employing or renting to illegal immigrants. Acrimonious town hall meetings and protests ensued, many of them attended by crowds of Latino residents who felt unjustifiably scapegoated for local crime and overcrowding issues. But the controversial ordinance never actually came up for a vote as village leaders awaited the legal fate of similar ordinance in Hazelton, Pennsylvania. However, the scars from that controversy remain, as one local business owner described how the controversy created a negative perception of Carpentersville throughout the metropolitan region. “We have a public relations problem here,” the owner opined (Keilman, 2010, May 25).

By contrast, west suburban Oak Park has traditionally been recognized as among the most progressive and inclusive suburbs in the metropolitan region. An inner-ring suburb, Oak Park has become an increasingly diverse community, as Blacks, Latinos, and Asians together compose almost 40% of its residents with Blacks being the largest minority group at 22%. It is
an upper middle-class suburb with a median household income of $72,000 and a median home value of around $388,000, and the unusual combination of a relatively affluent population and progressive local governance can traced to what became known as the “Oak Park Strategy,” which was the title of a 1979 study that investigated Black suburbanization in Oak Park in the 1960’s and 1970’s (Goodwin, 1979).

Pursuing housing equality was a key component of the Oak Park Strategy, as Oak Park leaders in the 1960’s were confronted by the problem of an influx of Blacks from the nearby Chicago neighborhood of Austin that was (and still is) overwhelming Black. Instead of resisting demographic change, what community leaders chose was a form of “managing diversity” that had several levers that involved, in 1963, creating a Community Relations Commission in response to instances of racial discrimination and, in 1968, passing a fair housing law amid “heated debate and stormy public hearings” (Goodwin, 1979, p.149). But perhaps the most radical aspect of the strategy was the 1972 formation of the Oak Park Housing Center (later the Oak Park Regional Housing Center), an organization tasked with preventing housing discrimination, the “affirmative marketing” of vacant properties to racial minorities, and promoting the geographic integration of White and Black residents through “racial steering” – In short, prospective Black residents are encouraged to move to predominantly White areas and prospective White residents are encouraged to live in areas with heavier concentrations of Blacks. Today, the Oak Park Strategy is a deeply embedded part of the suburb’s proactive strategy towards inclusion.

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7 At the time, Oak Park’s housing stock had a high proportion of rental properties, making an influx of Blacks highly likely.
8 The Village of Oak Park also created an Equity Assurance Program that insures homeowners against the value of their homes dropping below market value, essentially a way to discourage White flight in the face of Black suburbanization.
Racialized Suburbs

A defining characteristic of racialized suburbs is both the prevalence of a single racial or ethnic group and a concentration of lower income households. Most racialized suburbs fight the uphill battle of housing and providing services to poorer Black and Latino families without the public resources found in wealthier communities. Of the 24 racialized suburbs, 19 have median household incomes that are below the $60,000 mark that is the median for the Chicago metropolitan area in addition to having an average of 17% of their population living below the poverty line. South suburban Harvey is a racialized suburb where Blacks are today 76% of the population in a community that has lost over 4,700 residents, mostly White, in the last decade. Harvey has the all the hallmarks of an isolated, poor community where the median household income is $32,968 and a whopping 34% of residents – about one in three – live below the poverty line. Most of these predominantly Black racialized suburbs are clustered in the South Suburbs, whereas the few predominantly Latino racialized suburbs like Cicero (83% Latino), Melrose Park (70%), and Stone Park (83%) are situated in the West Suburbs.

Of the 24 racialized suburbs, there was an average loss of over 1,100 Whites, with Calumet City (loss of over 8,000), South Holland (loss of 5,400), and Richton Park (loss of 2,7000) losing the most White residents between 2000 and 2010. The process of white flight from these suburbs was merely the culmination of a three-decades long process that completely remade and, indeed, racialized these suburbs. In the early 2000’s, local leaders in South Holland brought attention to white flight within their community, which in 1990 was 85% White but is today 75% Black. Even though South Holland is generally middle-class and is not as accessible to lower-income populations since village ordinances forbid the construction of multifamily
housing, Black in-migration and White out-migration between 1990 and 2010 completely remade the suburb.

Local mayors in the South Suburbs also expressed concern in the early 2000’s that their communities were taking in a disproportionately high percentage of (mostly Black) housing voucher recipients from Chicago. The well-publicized reforms of the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) in the 1990’s and the demolition of its notorious housing projects galvanized the perception that the South Suburbs would be inundated with poor Blacks. And although there is evidence suggesting that relatively few housing voucher recipients were relocated to the South Suburbs, the perception of racialized poor migrating there certainly influenced White residents to leave for other communities.

The supermajority of racial and ethnic minorities in racialized suburbs does not necessarily lead to an increased recognition or promotion of inclusion by local governances. West suburban Cicero, for example, has been completely remade by a massive influx of Latinos in the past two decades – Traditionally an enclave of Eastern European immigrants, Cicero was 75% White and 36% Latinos of any race (including Whites) in 1990; Today, those numbers have almost reversed as Whites are 52% and Latinos are 83%, as Cicero experienced an influx of Latinos (mostly Mexican) and an exodus of Whites in the last decade. Despite Latinos being an overwhelming majority in the suburb, local government in Cicero has been historically resistant and, at times, outright hostile to new waves of incoming Latino residents.

Resistance to new Latino residents in the 1990’s onward revolved around the all-White, Republican-led Cicero political establishment that enacted ordinances tacitly targeted at Latinos. This era was depicted in a 2001 episode of the popular radio show *This American Life*, where
one longtime resident of Cicero summarized the local government’s treatment of Latinos: “I can put it to you simple – Hitler had the S.S. The Communist had the KGB. Cicero has the code enforcement” (Glass, 2001). The most prominent of these discriminatory ordinances revolved around residential overcrowding and election laws that sought to disqualify Latino political candidates, both of which became subjects of federal lawsuits that the local government lost. There was also an anti-gang measure aimed at towing the cars of suspected gang members (it was later rescinded), law enforcement regularly stopping Latinos for routine violations and demanded green cards, and the capricious enforcement of local ordinances that targeted churches with predominantly Hispanic congregations. Not surprisingly, a 2002 study found that there was an “extraordinary host of abuses visited upon Latino residents of Cicero” and that the Latinos themselves felt, “at best harassment and at worst corruption on the part of town policemen, town housing inspectors, and the Cicero Republican Party” (Institute of Latino Studies, 2002, p.37).

The fact that Latinos continued to move in to Cicero in spite of these discriminatory ordinances speaks largely to the ways in which suburban political establishments will not necessarily be more inclusive as its population diversifies.9

Suburbs-in-Transition

Suburbs-in-transition are communities that have shown steady growth in racial and ethnic populations that have yet to create a critical mass where a community’s social, political, and civic identity needs to be challenged or redefined. Suburbs-in-transition tend to be middle-class

9 A history of corrupt politics in Cicero certainly plays a role in this as its former town president, Betty Loren-Maltese, was convicted and sentenced to prison in 2002 for diverting public funds for her own benefit. Given that the population of Latinos in Cicero steadily increased in the 2000’s, a number of Latinos eventually won elected office, one was elected town president in 2003 (Ramiro Gonzalez), and others were appointed to administrative positions in local government, giving the appearance of political incorporation. But the suburb is still run by the local Republican “machine” on the back of an extensive (some would say, excessively large) workforce of civil servants.
to upper-class communities, like western suburban Woodridge, where today Whites, Latinos, and Asians make up 71%, 13%, and 13%, respectively, of the population. Located in DuPage County, Woodridge’s total population has increased by over 2,000 residents in the last decade, with Latinos and Asians comprising the largest gains at over 1,500 and 600. A younger, outer suburb that was just incorporated in 1959, Woodridge attracts residents based on its relatively affordable suburban amenities – the median home value is $270,800 and median rent is $888 – that includes a higher proportion of multifamily units. Its village government took a proactive stance in 2005 regarding the changing demographics by creating a diversity forum and an annual multicultural festival, “Celebrating the Many Faces of Woodridge,” long before other suburbs with greater demographic diversity did.

Suburbs-in-transition are oftentimes caught between pleasing residents attracted to suburban amenities – large single-family homes, high-performing schools, and low crime – and the realities of a metropolitan area around them that is becoming more diverse. Perhaps no community better fits that idea than Naperville, a fast-growing far western suburb previously identified as a “boomburb” (Lang & LeFurgy, 2007). With a median household income of around $100,000 and median home values of almost $400,000, Naperville has traditionally been seen as a prosperous, predominantly White community. But the proportion of White residents has steadily dropped in the past 30 years, from 96% in 1980 to 76% in 2010. In the last ten years, the city’s population has grown by over 13,000 residents, with an increase of over 8,700 Asians, 3,400 Latinos, and 2,700 Blacks, all undoubtedly attracted to Naperville’s elite public schools and envious downtown river walk. There is increased recognition among governing elites in Naperville that housing equality is an issue: A recent city-commissioned study found that the local real estate market might be engaging in realtor steering since certain census tracts
have a disproportionately high percentage of racial minorities (City of Naperville, 2007, p.36). Indeed, the same study noted that a regional fair housing center counted 408 fair housing complaints, mostly race-related, related to Naperville properties between 2005 and 2007.

With amenities like a redeveloped downtown and commuter rail linked to Chicago, northwest suburban Palatine exemplifies growing, prosperous suburbs-in-transition where Latino and Asian residents in Palatine are now 18% and 10% of the total population respectively. This represents sizable demographic change since 1990 when Palatine conformed to more of the suburban ideal as 95% of residents were White at the time. Today, in Palatine Whites are 77% of the population and their numbers have declined by over 1,600 since 2000. Palatine is a suburb-in-transition whose local governance must grapple with providing their racial and ethnic populations with programs related to what were previously thought of as “urban” issues such as crime and poverty.

Much of Palatine’s Latino population resides in recently annexed areas marked by the intersection of Dundee and Rand roads that were noticeable for a high concentration of apartment complexes.\(^\text{10}\) Those apartment complexes are heavily populated by Latinos, many of them lower-income families with limited English proficiency, and the area was known locally as

\(^{10}\) A large chunk of that demographic growth in Latinos between 1990 and 2000 occurred through the local government’s annexation of land in 1999 (some of it done forcibly) on its northeastern borders, adding up to 8,000 residents to Palatine. The annexation effectively boosted Palatine’s property tax revenues as its population increased from 41,000 in 1990 to over 68,000 in 2000, an important number since the 50,000 threshold allowed local government to qualify for more federal monies. Despite the need to provide services to the area in question, political leadership in Palatine chose to annex the area anyway in order to deal with the problems themselves, given that the previously unincorporated areas were contiguous with the suburb’s existing borders and were, in that sense, essentially synonymous with the suburb. “In a sense, it’s all ‘Palatine’ up there anyway,” village manager Michael Kadlecik remarked in 1997. “When something bad happens, it’s our name that gets thrown around.” (Arado, 1997, September 18, p.10).
a “no go” zone for longtime residents in Palatine because of high crime rates in the annexed area. Local police in Palatine were charged with patrolling newly annexed areas. Moreover, what has been particularly vexing of late for residents in Palatine are well-publicized increases in gang-related activities not only in Palatine but also throughout northwest suburban communities like Arlington Heights and Rolling Meadows. And as many residents living in the annexed apartment complexes along Dundee road are poorer Mexican immigrants in need of social services, the community in Palatine has had to meet servicing their needs through approaches involving the collaboration of several layers of government. For example, the Palatine Opportunity Center, located in a heavily Latino part of Palatine, houses services provided by local law enforcement, the library district, and local healthcare organizations aimed at the needs of immigrants in need of English or citizenship courses and basic healthcare, to name a few. The Palatine example is indicative of how the celebration of suburban diversity should be tempered by an increasing awareness of social and governmental challenges that tend to accompany such diversity.

Conclusion

This chapter initially confirmed the out-migration of racial and ethnic minorities in Chicago’s metropolitan region to the suburbs, something that created the conditions necessary for the early stages ethnoburbs formation. In this sense, Chicago suburbs have paralleled the changes evident in other suburbs nationwide. But U.S. Census data also draws attention to the prevailing class divisions among different racial and ethnic groups in Chicago suburbs. In this way, Black and Latino residents in the suburbs tend to be poorer and less educated than their White and Asian counterparts, effectively contradicting the idea that suburbs are merely the purview of the middle class. This points to how housing equality – a traditional issue of
suburban integration – remains important since poorer racial and ethnic minorities are actively seeking to move to the Chicago suburbs, even as a number of wealthy suburbs actively try to exclude the racialized poor. Within all of these suburban types, inclusion-related issues like political incorporation, housing equality, and programs and policies emerge as increased racial and ethnic diversity strain existing political and social regimes.
Figure 3.1: Map of the seven-county region of the Chicago metropolitan area overlaid on top of 2010 census place boundaries (incorporated municipalities) within the region.
Figure 3.2: Map displaying increase of Whites in suburban regions, where one dot is equal to a gain of 100 White residents between 2000 and 2010. Source: US Census
Figure 3.3: Map displaying increase of Blacks in suburban regions, where one dot is equal to a gain of 100 Black residents between 2000 and 2010. Source: US Census
Figure 3.4: Map displaying increase of Latinos (of any race) in suburban regions, where one dot is equal to a gain of 100 Latino residents between 2000 and 2010. Source: US Census
Figure 3.5: Map displaying increase of Asians in suburban regions, where one dot is equal to a gain of 100 Asian residents between 2000 and 2010. Source: US Census
**Figure 3.6:** Chicago metropolitan area suburban regions grouped by Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMA).
Table 3.1: Population characteristics of suburban residents in the Chicago metropolitan area. Source: PUMS from 2005-2009 American Community Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chicago</th>
<th>Median household income ($)</th>
<th>Foreign-born (%)</th>
<th>Speaks language other than English at home (%)</th>
<th>Bachelor’s degree or higher (%)</th>
<th>Renter (%)</th>
<th>Home owner (%)</th>
<th>Low-income affordability of rent (as % of income)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>$64,800</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
<td>46.4%</td>
<td>35.2%</td>
<td>63.4%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
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<td>2.8%</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
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<th>Speaks language other than English at home (%)</th>
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<th>Renter (%)</th>
<th>Home owner (%)</th>
<th>Low-income affordability of rent (as % of income)</th>
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<td>76.8%</td>
<td>33.7%</td>
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<td>17.6%</td>
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<th>Northwest Suburbs</th>
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<th>Bachelor’s degree or higher (%)</th>
<th>Renter (%)</th>
<th>Home owner (%)</th>
<th>Low-income affordability of rent (as % of income)</th>
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<td>40.4%</td>
<td>30.2%</td>
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<td>81.9%</td>
<td>49.4%</td>
<td>21.5%</td>
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<td>28.8%</td>
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<td>Latinos</td>
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<td>31.0%</td>
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<th>Speaks language other than English at home (%)</th>
<th>Bachelor’s degree or higher (%)</th>
<th>Renter (%)</th>
<th>Home owner (%)</th>
<th>Low-income affordability of rent (as % of income)</th>
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<td>4.6%</td>
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<td>Asians</td>
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<td>80.3%</td>
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<td>82.7%</td>
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<th>Southwest Suburbs</th>
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<th>Bachelor’s degree or higher (%)</th>
<th>Renter (%)</th>
<th>Home owner (%)</th>
<th>Low-income affordability of rent (as % of income)</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Blacks</td>
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<td>8.5%</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
<td>77.2%</td>
<td>35.5%</td>
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<td>Asians</td>
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<td>Latinos</td>
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<th>South Suburbs</th>
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<th>Speaks language other than English at home (%)</th>
<th>Bachelor’s degree or higher (%)</th>
<th>Renter (%)</th>
<th>Home owner (%)</th>
<th>Low-income affordability of rent (as % of income)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>87.5%</td>
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<td>Blacks</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Latinos</td>
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<td>73.8%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
<td>80.1%</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 3.2: Population characteristics of residents who moved from Cook County to outer suburban counties. Source: PUMS from 2005-2009 American Community Survey
Figure 3.7: Suburban types in the Chicago metropolitan area. Source: 2010 U.S. Census

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>9,461,105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>6,183,881</td>
<td>65.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>1,645,993</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>532,801</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latinos (of any race)</td>
<td>1,957,080</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
</tr>
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Table 3.3: Population statistics of the Chicago metropolitan area disaggregated by race and ethnicity of the four largest racial and ethnic groups. Source: 2010 US Census
CHAPTER 4
THE BERWYN EXPERIENCE OF INCLUSION

Recent History in Berwyn Prior to 2000

Berwyn had a reputation prior to 2000 of not being inclusive towards racial and ethnic minorities. The most flagrant incidents revolved around the community’s attitudes towards Black in-movers. In 1990, a mere 54 Black residents lived in Berwyn out of a total population of over 45,000, and when the Campbells, a Black family of Jamaican immigrants, moved in to their Berwyn “dream home” in 1992, they immediately received hate mail and telephone calls (Franchise, 1992, March 11). A few days later, a rock was thrown through one of their windows and their front porch was set ablaze, prompting the family to leave Berwyn. The response of the Berwyn police to investigate and the delayed response of the mayor was inadequate, according to newspaper accounts. The Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, a regional fair housing organization, described local government as being "slow to respond,” adding that Berwyn’s mayor at the time, Joseph Lanzilotti, “characterized the incident as unfortunate, but he ended up criticizing the media” (Knight, 1993, June 13).

Working with the regional fair housing organization, the Campbells pursued a lawsuit against the City of Berwyn claiming fair housing discrimination since the city failed to provide adequate protection for the family after the firebombing. According to the Campbells, this lack of police protection is what eventually prompted them to move (Barrionuevo & Tijerina, 1992, June 13). The subsequent settlement a year later involved the local government admitting no wrongdoing but required paying out $62,500 to the family and stipulated that Berwyn police
adopt a non-discrimination policy in hiring officers.\textsuperscript{11} City officials consistently denied that the incident was illustrative of Berwyn’s lack of inclusion, as evinced by comments from the city attorney: "Our community is a wonderful cultural and ethnic melting pot and has been for some time. There's nothing to indicate that a resident of the city of Berwyn did this" (Barrionuevo & Tijerina, 1992, June 13). The incident eventually led to the City Council passing a human rights ordinance in 1994, compelled not only by the firebombing but also the candidacy of an avowedly vocal white supremacist, Richard Mayers, for an aldermanic position (Presecky, 1994, January 27).\textsuperscript{12} The two highly publicized incidents created an image of Berwyn as intolerant.\textsuperscript{13}

Longtime Berwyn resident and current Alderman Nora Laureto considers the incident a “black mark” on the city, saying that it “was not a way to treat anybody.” She maintains that there was no community-wide hostility to Blacks in Berwyn, and blamed the incident on a small contingent of White supremacist among residents. But another lifelong Berwyn resident remembers it as part of a distinct racial hierarchy in Berwyn then: Latinos moving in to Berwyn were considered undesirable, but Blacks were deemed even more undesirable, and prospects of Black households moving in to Berwyn was a widespread community fear. “The big fear [then] was Blacks, Blacks, Blacks,” he recalled. This Berwyn resident of Mexican descent recalls “personally experiencing racial prejudice and ethnic slurs,” but during the 1990’s remembers never seeing Black people in Berwyn, something he attributed to police intimidation.

\textsuperscript{11} A year after that incident, the \textit{Chicago Tribune} reported that the City of Berwyn agreed to remove a Nazi flag on display at the city’s police headquarters as part of the settlement from the lawsuit. The lawyer for the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, which joined the Campbell family’s lawsuit, remembers that the Black family “were shocked” to see the swastika flag “displayed prominently in a glass case.” The Berwyn Police Department’s former superintendent maintained that the Nazi flag was confiscated property displayed for “educational purposes only” (O’Connor & Presecky, 1993).

\textsuperscript{12} Fortunately, Richard Mayers lost in the primaries to a Democratic-backed candidate and future mayor Michael O’Connor.

\textsuperscript{13} Another racially motivated incident in 1995 involved a soon-to-be-opened Berwyn grocery store owned by two Latino brothers that was destroyed by fire and spray-painted with a racial epithet. No perpetrator was ever found for the spray-painting and the fire was not officially ruled an arson (O’Connor, 1995).
Earlier in 1986, Berwyn’s city government signed a consent decree along with five other Chicago suburbs – Forest Park, South Holland, Forest View, and Niles – that settled a series of civil lawsuits claiming those five suburban governments had erected overly stringent barriers against Black residents seeking employment as city workers. These five suburban governments were in communities that were overwhelming White in the 1980’s and were charged with requiring qualified applicants to live within city limits. This settlement required Berwyn and the other suburban government to promise recruitment efforts to attract minority applicants for city job openings, but the settlement itself did not require the governments to admit any sort of wrongdoing. At the time, it was hoped that the settlement would lead to integration of those predominantly White suburbs (Drell, 1986).

Political Incorporation

*The Dem’s Newfound Sense of Inclusion*

The Democratic Party in Berwyn has traditionally dominated City Hall in the 20th century. The current party head, Mayor Robert Lovero, is a former real estate attorney turned city alderman who was first elected mayor in 2009. In an interview, Lovero embodies the growing numbers of Berwyn’s political and civic elites who talk comfortably about how City Hall is inclusive of its growing Latino population. Lovero described how his administration sought to improve “communication” with the Latino community, important since that relationship between City Hall and Latino residents “was not great” when he took office. He summarized his administration’s efforts as attempting to, in a matter-of-fact statement, “make City Hall more accessible to the Latino community because they are a large part of the community.” Lovero argued a plausible cause for a sense of inclusion in Berwyn: He pointed to the hiring of Spanish-speaking operators for the city’s switchboard, translating more city
documents into Spanish, and the hiring of additional bilingual home inspectors, a necessary move given byzantine housing codes that Latino homeowners (many of who are not proficient in English) are expected to follow. Lovero furthermore described how the Democrats ran a slate of candidates in the 2009 city elections that was well-represented with Latinos since “representatives are supposed to represent [or reflect] the community.” The fact that Latino aldermen Cesar Santoy and Rafael Avila both represent Berwyn’s traditionally more Latino north side illustrates Lovero’s concept of representatives reflecting the demographics of their community.

Perhaps more than other current City Council member today, Alderman Nora Laureto is conscious of framing Berwyn’s current influx of Latinos with the suburb’s role of being an immigrant gateway. Laureto narrates Berwyn as a long-term immigrant gateway since large numbers of Polish and Czechoslovakian immigrants in the early- to mid-20th-century blazed mobility patterns Latinos now purposefully follow. Laureto herself is a third generation Berwyn resident whose ethnic mix of German, Czech, and English bloodlines is illustrative of the European immigrants that migrated to Berwyn. Laureto describes how she is personally “Happy for diversity” that has changed Berwyn, and describes how her grown children benefited from growing up in a place as culturally diverse as Berwyn. She recalls, “[My children] never look at anyone and see color or race. I’m very proud of that.”

In this way, there is ample evidence that today’s City Hall is not the inhospitable place that Latino residents confronted more than a decade ago. For example, the city aggressively pushed to have Census 2010 efforts to accurately count Berwyn’s growing Latino population. A local social service worker who has a long-standing relationship with City Hall retells how city workers and local social service agencies made an effort to communicate to Latino residents that
Census-related efforts would not entail the city government acting as the “immigration police,” a sensitive issue for Latino communities nationwide. City Hall even has a channel on Youtube where the Lovero administration posts informative videos that are sometimes translated into Spanish. For example, one video from 2010 shows Lovero discussing local programs funded by the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) with community development director Robert Dwan, all translated into Spanish by a local social service worker known to have close ties with City Hall (City of Berwyn, IL, 2010, March 18). These are all indications of progress, as the social service worker summarizes: “We’re not seeing as much friction [between City Hall and Latino residents] and having people complain as much about City Hall.”

But other observers of City Hall’s newfound sense of inclusion seem to think it has less to do with an ethical and moral transformation and more do with responding to the political realities of a majority of residents as being Latino. As one resident opined, the Lovero administration reaches out to Latinos because “they have to do it” since Latinos are now the majority of residents. Another social service worker who regularly works with Latinos concluded that Lovero is “more of a politician” compared to the previous mayor, willing to take criticism for taking steps towards being inclusive in realizing the “pragmatics” of providing more translation services (which ignored the sentiment of some longtime residents who tended to disapprove of providing ethnic-specific services). Mayor Lovero seemed to confirm his administration’s pragmatic embrace of inclusion when he matter-of-factly justifies reaching out to the Latinos because “they are a large part of the community.”

The Democratic Machine, Circa 2000

According to residents and numerous community-based workers interviewed, Berwyn’s city hall around the year 2000 was an “inhospitable” place for newly arrived Latinos not
proficient in English since nothing was translated into Spanish and there were no Spanish-speaking city employees for them to interact with. One social service worker that dealt regularly with City Hall described the suburb’s political leadership at the time as being willfully oblivious to who (Latinos) was actually moving in to the community. “It was like they were stuck in the 1950’s,” the social service worker remembered. Another social service worker recounted `that many of the complaints Latinos had about city government revolved around getting information about basic services, such as obtaining necessary permits. “It’s kind of a difficult obstacle for residents. For new residents, it’s almost an overwhelming obstacle,” the worker recalled.

This intransigence of City Hall is reflected by a sentiment among many Berwyn residents that disapproved of inclusion-related programs and policies. A 2002 needs assessment study of Berwyn and Cicero conducted by Notre Dame University’s Institute for Latino Studies interviewed 170 residents and found that, as one interviewee put it, “Berwyn has reluctant acceptance.” Moreover, interviewees reported that there are “very few Berwyn Latino policemen, that no one in the Berwyn City Hall speaks Spanish, and that the school systems lack Latino personnel” (Institute for Latino Studies, 2002, p.38). In an interview, Alderman Marge Paul described Berwyn as a “closed off community that had a reputation for being tough on minorities.” Nevertheless, she says “attitudes have changed” and it has “gotten a lot better.”

The Berwyn Regular Democratic Organization ran Berwyn all but unchallenged for generations, with extensive ties to other Democratic organizations in the area. And like Chicago politics, the Democratic organization in Berwyn stayed in power based on a system of patronage that rewarded those who were loyal to the party with city jobs. A “strong mayor” form of government enabled the mayor and party in power to fill the ranks of city employees (including those in the police and fire departments) with party loyalists. Former Mayor Michael O’Connor
described how the Democratic organization “brought in people who were friends of the administration,” as the city’s workforce was exceedingly insular since city employees “wouldn’t work with people they don’t know.” The tendency, thus, was to hire a lot of friends and relatives, he remembers, and city job openings were rarely posted in public. In the early 2000’s, this system of patronage (according to interviews with local social service workers) supported a city workforce that was almost entirely White and elected officials who were entirely White, despite the surging presence of Latino households (already around 40% of residents) by 2000.

A former Berwyn city clerk and longtime Democratic operative, Thomas Shaughnessy served as mayor from 1993-2005. His most public accomplishment in office was centralizing the city’s libraries into one building, which today bears his name.14 In this suburb where politics is divisive, Shaughnessy is remembered differently by those on different sides of the aisle – current Democratic Alderman Nora Laureto warmly recalled that Shaughnessy “trusted everyone,” “went around town a lot” to visit his constituents, and openly embraced a Latino (Joe Vallez) who would become a prominent civil servant and public figure for Berwyn’s Latino community. But former political ally later turned rival Michael O’Connor remembers Shaughnessy as “very prejudiced” and a “racist,” particularly in reference to housing code inspections that targeted Latino families in the late 1990’s to early 2000’s. By the early 2000’s, Shaughnessy was already in his late 70’s and, according to local informants, it was widespread belief that Berwyn’s Chief of Public Safety, Frank Marzullo, not Shaughnessy was essentially the de facto mayor of Berwyn as he collected a salary of $167,000 a year, far in excess of any other public official in Berwyn (Mann, 2005, April 1).

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14 At age 84, Thomas Shaughnessy passed away in December 2010 due to kidney failure.
In the late 1990’s, the system of patronage and fiscal indiscipline in City Hall began to grate on O’Connor. He recalled how the patronage system induced a lack of discipline among city workers, as there was no job reviews since personal relationships, not performance, governed hiring decisions and promotions. City workers would use connections to get relatives and family members on the city payroll, either for the city government or for the police or fire departments, where some would obtain sinecure positions that, as O’Connor asserts, “They make sure there’s nothing to do.” These decades-old practices resulted in city workers being almost uniformly in support and beholden to the Democratic organization, which became a formidable political machine. These practices, in turn, would result in an overly large city workforce that required more city expenditures and increased taxes.

In 1999, O’Connor officially turned on his former party and, banded together with other reform-minded independents in creating the Independent Voters of Berwyn (IVB) party. The IVB was and is intended as a broad coalition of disaffected Democrats, Republicans, and independents aimed at reforming City Hall. Former IVB alderman Mark Weiner described the party as “reaching out to everybody” with no specific constituency, unlike the Democrats and its reliance on city workers as a political base. Running on a reform-minded platform in the 2001 city elections, O’Connor as the IVB mayoral candidate lost to the Democratic Shaughnessy by a mere 261 votes (4,993 to 4,732). O’Connor’s friend, Nona Chapman won an aldermanic seat in the 1st Ward as the lone IVB representative to win that night. With only Chapman as the lone IVB alderman on the City Council, the Berwyn Democratic organization would retain power for another four years.

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15 All Berwyn city election data and official results were obtained from the Cook County Clerk’s webpage (http://www.cookcountyclerk.com).
O’Connor used the intervening years between the 2001 and 2005 elections to build the IVB’s organization and membership.\(^{16}\) The IVB’s cause during that time was aided by a political scandal that greatly tarnished the Democratic brand in Berwyn: In late 2003, Sam “Sonny” Stillo, the top assistant to Mayor Shaughnessy, was arrested in 2003 on federal racketeering charges that involved accepting bribes for himself in order to fix a bidding and contract process for purchasing city-owned property on a lucrative redevelopment site (Korb, 2003, December 3). The fact that Stillo remained on the city payroll from November 2003 until February 2004 appalled not only other city alderman but also Berwyn residents until Shaughnessy finally fired Stillo in early 2004 (Zeissler, 2004, January 7).\(^{17}\) One letter to the editor of a local newspaper described the scandal as “something out of a mob crime TV series” and summed up local opinion by calling for other Berwyn residents to “‘throw the bums out’ during the next election” (Letters to the Editor, 2004, January 7, p.7).

The very public FBI investigation into corruption at Berwyn City Hall was not a stigma the Democratic organization could shake in the April 2005 city elections.\(^{18}\) Running a full slate of candidates this time, the IVB essentially swept the Democratic organization out of power in Berwyn as O’Connor was elected mayor and his party claimed a solid majority (6 of 8 seats) of aldermanic seats. It was a hard fought victory for the IVB in a tense, ugly campaign between the two parties, evinced by the Democratic organization’s negative campaigning that included a

\(^{16}\) In the 2001 city elections, the IVB did not run a full slate of candidates as Nona Chapman was the lone IVB member to run for one of the eight aldermanic seats on the City Council.

\(^{17}\) Stillo was eventually sentenced to 2½ years in federal prison.

\(^{18}\) Marzullo’s job with the City of Berwyn was effectively terminated once O’Connor won the 2005 city election (Fornek, 2005, April 28). Marzullo was involved in an election day bar brawl in nearby Forest Park, an incident that led to criminal charges being filed against Marzullo and three other men (one of them was Marzullo’s son and another his brother) who were accused of beating up a 54-year-old man. In an interview, O’Connor expressed how he was going to terminate Marzullo’s tenure with the city regardless of the alleged bar brawl, considering Marzullo’s ties to the previous administration.
“dirty tricks” move of releasing the juvenile arrest record of one IVB candidate just before the February primaries (Editorial, 2005, April 3, p.7). The IVB ran two Latino candidates for aldermanic seats – Javier Rojas and Santiago “Jim” Ramos for the 5th and 2nd wards, respectively – and Ramos won to become Berwyn’s first Latino elected to the City Council. In breaking decades of uninterrupted Democratic rule, the mood for the IVB was understandably buoyant. “We’ve brought Berwyn back to the people,” a victorious O’Connor told the local paper (Kelly, 2005, April 8-10, p.12).

Inclusion Under the O’Connor Administration

When the O’Connor administration took power in 2005, it was Berwyn’s first, best opportunity to develop an agenda regarding inclusion of Berwyn’s growing Latino population. In an interview, O’Connor echoed that sentiment and claimed a wide range of successes regarding inclusion during his tenure as mayor. But his actual record appears to be more complicated and mixed, as evinced by interviews with local social service workers and even those within the IVB. Firstly, O’Connor and the IVB did not publically campaign on dealing with the plight of inclusion for Latino residents in Berwyn, something that even his IVB allies attested to in interviews. The election of Ramos as 2nd Ward alderman was a milestone but Ramos, a former schoolteacher, did not speak Spanish, something O’Connor called “unfortunate” since Ramos was unable to reach out to many of the Mexican immigrants in Berwyn. But the O’Connor administration did create a position called community outreach director that was responsible for actively interacting with residents. Manned by Jean Marie Hajer, the community outreach director, more importantly, employed a bilingual Latino assistant, Jynette Ayala, who quickly became a point person in City Hall for Berwyn’s Latino community.
As she started her tenure as community outreach coordinator, Hajer described the relationship between City Hall and Latino residents as basically “non-existent,” as there was no evidence that the Shaughnessy administrations made any effort to outreach. “Before not a lot of people would come to City Hall because no one [there] would speak Spanish,” Hajer recalls. Hajer described her bilingual assistant Ayala as an invaluable aid and someone Latinos in the community could communicate with and relate to in dealing with City Hall. The O’Connor administration made a number of initiatives, O’Connor and Hajer recalled, geared towards inclusion of Latinos: The City Hall switchboard was changed to give callers an option to speak to someone in Spanish, the city’s webpage was made more bilingual, the administration mailed out an information newsletter that was bilingual, and the city’s fire and police departments hired more Latinos. “We tried to be more inclusive,” Hajer asserts.

The O’Connor administration’s most important inclusion-related initiative was participation in an immigrant integration project funded by the Chicago Community Trust, a 96-year-old regional philanthropic foundation. Although Berwyn city government was a key participant in the project, the actual grant recipient was the Berwyn-Cicero Council on Aging, a social service organization aimed at seniors that is today called Solutions for Care. Deborah Sitz, the executive director for Solutions for Care, said that their organization initiated the grant proposal, citing findings from the 2002 Notre Dame study. Sitz recalled that between 2002 when the Notre Dame study was released until 2007, “nothing much seemed to be happening” regarding Berwyn’s political establishment improving their outreach to Latinos, so Solutions for
Care took the first step. The Immigrant Integration Initiative, as it was officially called, was funded for $25,000 in 2007 and for $50,000 in both 2008 and 2009.19

The initiative brought together all of the relevant governmental and non-governmental stakeholders – such as city workers, social service providers, and school district representations – with an interest in, as Sitz described it, “making immigrant residents more comfortable and able to assimilate in Berwyn.” A number of participants in the initiative recalled how there was a kick-off breakfast that brought representatives from City Hall (including Mayor O’Connor) and these social service agencies together followed by days of topical workshops and focus groups with an overarching focus of creating a vision of what Berwyn should be like in dealing with its immigrant Latino populations. An obtained letter from the City Council invites local elites to attend to kick-off breakfast on the 14th of August, 2007 and describes the purpose of the initiative as to “develop a plan with the City of Berwyn and local civic organizations and service providers on how city services for Limited English speaking residents, especially Latinos can be improved” (Sitz and Hajer, 2007, July 23). Most tellingly, the letter is co-signed by Hajer, a sign of City Hall’s cooperation with the initiative.

Berwyn Public Library director Tammy Clausen described sitting in on the meetings as an eye-opening experience. She vividly remembers a session where Latino youth were brought in to narrate their experiences of what it is like for them to grow up in Berwyn, with some feeling racially profiled by the local police. For Clausen, participating in the initiative was crucial for the library since Berwyn’s burgeoning Latino population has brought in larger families with

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19 Information about the CCT grant to Solutions for Care was obtained from the Chicago Community Trust’s website database (http://www.cct.org/)
many school-aged children of limited English proficiency, and these families often turn to the library for assistance.

Among those sympathetic to inclusion, the initiative created a sense of optimism about moving forward from Berwyn’s reactionary history of dealing with racial and ethnic diversity. It was apparent early on that improving communication between City Hall and Latino immigrants would be key: There would need to be more Spanish speaking city workers, the city’s website would need to be more bilingual, and information about city ordinances would be translated into Spanish since many newly arrived Latino immigrants did not know what was required of them to live in Berwyn (Millenia Consulting, 2008, April). The ambitious agenda can be seen in an obtained PowerPoint presentation that proffered steps on how to improve the community’s inclusion of Latino immigrants through a wide range of issues, such as community building, education, fair housing, and police-community relations (Millenia Consulting, 2008, April). The proscribed remedies are quite specific: The police were encouraged to “educate the community about the role of police, behavior in police-related situations and careers in law enforcement”; City Hall needed to create a pool of trained interpreters; and schools should develop a “curriculum around relationship building between immigrant and non-immigrant students” (Millenia Consulting, 2008, April). The initiative called for Berwyn’s city government to develop initiatives that, in its first stage, would target increased “Language Access and Acquisition,” then develop “Communication, Outreach, and Inter-Group Dialogue,” and then move to increased “Civic Engagement” with Latinos, ideas that involved “coffees with Mayor

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20 Millenia Consulting, a Chicago-based consulting firm that was involved in Immigrant Integration grants, prepared the presentation.
and City Council’’ (Berwyn Immigrant Integration Action Plan for 2008-2009). But most of the plan would never come to fruition.

The legacy of Berwyn’s Immigrant Integration Initiative is one of ushering in preliminary steps towards inclusion of Latinos but also of unfulfilled potential. One social service worker who participated in the initiative described a February 2009 meeting of Berwyn’s City Council in which the city would formally adopt a plan for immigrant integration, but formal adoption never happened since Mayor O’Connor and Robert Lovero, one of the two remaining Democratic alderman on the council, engaged in a verbal fight in which Lovero eventually stormed out of the meeting. Tensions in Berwyn’s City Council was high in early 2009 as city elections were just months away and Lovero, a longtime Democratic loyalist, would be O’Connor’s opponent for mayor. In interviews I had with both O’Connor and Lovero, there was clear disdain for each other, something well-known in Berwyn political circles.

One casualty of O’Connor and Lovero’s campaign tit-for-tat was adopting a formal plan regarding immigrant integration. A social service worker summed it up in that “politics got in the way of something good happening.” Another involved social service worker concluded that the initiative, though productive and worthwhile, had “no closure” to it and sensed that Solutions for Care eventually grew frustrated in working with Berwyn’s city government. This was implicitly confirmed by Solutions for Care director Sitz, who said that although the city government adopted some of the initiative’s suggestions, especially issues such as translation and hiring more Spanish-speaking employees, “[we] were hoping to do more.” For example, she cited the need for a person within city government to serve as an official community liaison with

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21 This document that listed the three goals of the Immigrant Integration Initiative was obtained from a social service worker involved in the process.
the Latino community, something she surmises has not happened due to city budgetary constraints. The unresolved nature of Berwyn’s Immigrant Integration Initiative is further evinced by a January 2010 newsletter discussing similar grants awarded to other diverse Chicago-area suburbs: Skokie, Mount Prospect, and Schaumburg. In discussing what these local governments did with their grant monies, the Berwyn example is entirely omitted as a case study (Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees, 2010, January).  

As narrated by informants, the O’Connor administration’s record regarding inclusion was characterized by a “behind-the-scenes” willingness to engage Latinos and work out problems matched by a stubborn unwillingness to publically discuss how Latino migration was drastically altering the social character of Berwyn. This characterization of O’Connor’s record on inclusion was voiced by one social service worker who had worked with him during his time as leader of the IVB and then as mayor, saying that his administration was far more open and communicative than Shaughnessy’s regime. The social service worker recalled that O’Connor would “go meet and talk with anyone,” which included talking to Latino residents.

But when O’Connor was asked to place Latino inclusion on Berwyn’s public agenda, the same social service worker remembered that O’Connor was far more cautious, saying that people within the community and some within his own party “would beat [him] up all the time” for taking steps towards being more inclusive. In this way, O’Connor is probably referencing a strong pro-assimilation sentiment among Berwyn residents resisting the idea that city government should provide specialized services, such as translation, to incoming Latino residents. This sentiment was evident in the 2008 PowerPoint representation that discussed

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22 The newsletter is published by Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees (GCIR) (http://www.gcir.org/), an organization that networks with various foundations nationwide in order to provide information about immigration-related issues.
“strong resistance within Berwyn from long-time residents to fund translation of documents” into Spanish not only because of cost-related concerns but also the idea that translation was not provided to previous generations of immigrants. The social service worker speculates that O’Connor was eager to participate in the Immigrant Integration Initiative but was reticent about being the primary “fiscal agent” for the grant monies (a role assumed by Solutions for Care), since it would have formalized the O’Connor’s administration engagement with the Latino community.  

For every instance where the O’Connor administration can claim to be more inclusive of Latinos, there are counterarguments to his rendition of events. For example, O’Connor discussed his involvement with the 2002 Notre Dame study of Berwyn and Cicero, important since the study is still cited to this day in Berwyn as highlighting how the community had changed. That fact that O’Connor is publically thanked in the “Acknowledgements” section of the section buttresses his case for being accessible to researchers involved in the study (Institute for Latino Studies, 2002, p.xi). But in 2007, O’Connor was criticized for not appointing another Latino alderman when 5th Ward alderman Ben Brocato died of a heart attack earlier that year. Of course, that criticism was political since it was O’Connor’s rival, Lovero, who championed the proposed replacement, Ricky Sanchez, a local school board member and not an IVB loyalist. In interviewing Sanchez for the position, O’Connor found him to be “unqualified” for the position and instead sought to appoint Brocato’s widow to the aldermanic seat (Ruzich, 2007, September 13).  

O’Connor dismissed the need for Latino alderman to represent the 5th Ward, a heavily

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23 By contrast, other immigrant integration grants were directly given to local governments in Skokie, Schaumburg, and Mount Prospect, which acted as lead fiscal agents for the initiatives as opposed to having a local social service agency taking the lead (as was the case in Berwyn).

24 The 5th Ward alderman position would not be filled for 10 months as O’Connor failed to win over the City Council on voting for Brocato’s widow as his replacement. Some aldermen objected to her appointment based on a controversial worker’s compensation claim she filed with the city, as the City Council voted down O’Connor’s
Latino neighborhood in Berwyn’s northeastern side, in comments to the *Chicago Tribune*:

"People didn't vote for me because I'm an Irishman. People in Berwyn are educated voters who vote for the candidate they trust. Does that mean he [Sanchez] will only represent Latinos and not the whites?" (Ruzich, 2007, September 13).

In interviews with two former and current IVB elected officials, it is clear that inclusion of Latinos was not a top priority for the IVB when they took power in 2005. Former IVB alderman Mark Weiner recalled how the party never spoke about the Latino community during campaign seasons in 2005 and 2009, surmising that doing so “didn’t hurt, didn’t help” the IVB’s success and failures during that time span. Current IVB alderman Marge Paul is arguably the most progressive member of today’s City Council as she was active in having the city revise its human rights ordinance to including sexual orientation as a status to be protected (Wooten, 2008, June 4). She describes Berwyn today as being behind many other communities when it comes to integrating racial and ethnic minorities as measured by the diversity of political representation and the city’s workforce, adding that today’s city government does not “do a good job of promoting civic involvement” among its residents. In discussing the IVB’s stance towards inclusion, Paul says the party’s main focus has been on good and responsible governance and that the party perhaps missed a crucial opportunity to “bridge” the Latino community with Berwyn’s political system during the 2000’s.

Interviews with both Democratic and IVB informants paint the picture of O’Connor as an embattled mayor fighting his own city workforce and even those within his own party as the 2009 city elections loomed. For one, 1st Ward alderman Nona Chapman came into office as a motions to fill the vacant spot several times during 2007. Eventually, O’Connor was able to negotiate a suitable replacement (Thomas Day), but the turmoil of having a vacant aldermanic seat for 10 months was emblematic of how O’Connor had lost control of a City Council where his own party had a majority of seats.
close friend of O’Connor, but their relationship was clearly frayed as Chapman essentially switched sides and would run as a Democrat in 2009. Former IVB alderman Weiner described how the new IVB regime in City Hall quickly fell apart within three months of taking power in 2005, something attributable to O’Connor’s management style of “doing things his own way” and ignoring everyone else.

Moreover, Weiner and community outreach coordinator Hajer described the O’Connor administration’s tension with city workers who were mostly loyal to the Democratic organization. For instance, Weiner recalled how O’Connor added a computerized time clock to encourage accountability, a move that upset city workers who he described as being unqualified or unmotivated to do the city jobs they were hired for. Weiner relayed another story of how the city’s tree cutting crews refused to work by taking an entire summer off after O’Connor took power, an example of what Hajer described as some city worker’s efforts to deliberately “sabotage” the new administration through work “slow downs” and degrading basic city services. O’Connor eventually outsourced tree cutting to a private company, an example of how the mayor’s relationship with his own workers was a constant source of trouble.

The Democrats Strike Back

Having suffered a stunning rebuke from Berwyn voters in 2005, the Democratic organization rebuilt and rebranded itself. According to interviews with both Democratic and IVB informants, Robert Lovero was the logical choice to lead that effort as the lone remaining Democratic alderman for much of O’Connor’s administration, and he went about recruiting fresh faces to run for elected office in 2009 and renaming the party the Democratic Citizens of Berwyn. O’Connor described his rival as initially reluctant to lead that effort to rebuild the Democratic brand in Berwyn, but that Lovero was, in a sense, the “last man standing” as the
Democrat’s lone elected official. The campaign season leading up to the April 2009 elections was ugly and an example of how politics in Berwyn is a rough and tumble business.

IVB informants regularly tried to link Lovero and the Democrats as being in league with Cicero’s Republican Party president, Larry Dominck, meant as an explosive charge given the corrupt history of Cicero’s political establishment. In an odd nod to inclusion, a social service worker in the community recalled how the Democrats utilized Spanish-language phone calls to Latino households to spread negative rumors about O’Connor and the IVB. Tensions between O’Connor and Lovero were high as O’Connor filed a formal complaint in early 2009 with the Illinois State Board of Elections claiming that Lovero paid off a third-party candidate to run against O’Connor in the IVB’s February primaries, forcing O’Connor to spend scant campaign monies and resources in the primaries leading up to the April general elections. “(O’Connor) has no proof. He has no facts,” Lovero told the local paper regarding the charges (Hooker, 2009, February 17).

The 2009 city election was the first in which Latinos were a majority of residents (now 65% of residents) and an indication of how political realities had changed in the suburb. Buttressed by a more substantial political organization than the IVB as well as the difficulty O’Connor administration had in governing, the Democrats swept into office winning the mayoral race and every other elected position save for one, the 3rd Ward alderman position won by IVB political newcomer Marge Paul. Lovero essentially became Berwyn’s first Latino mayor (he is half Latino, but not bilingual), and Rafael Avila and Cesar Santoy (both Latino, bilingual, and

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**25** In 2009, it was a source of local infamy that former Cicero Mayor Betty-Loren Maltese was in prison for assisting the embezzlement of $12 million from the town’s insurance fund.

**26** Second Ward alderman Jim Ramos lost in the February primary running in the Democratic contest. For this election, Ramos was actually not endorsed by the IVB, a party he helped to form, and ran as an independent Democratic against the eventual winner, Jeffrey Boyajian of the Democrats.
Democratic) won aldermanic positions in the 7th and 5th wards, two heavily Latino neighborhoods in the north of Berwyn. In fact, both the Democrats and IVB ran Latino candidates against each other in those wards, indicative of the political necessity to reach out to Latino voters.

There are a legion of explanations for the IVB’s stunning reversal of fortune between 2005 and 2009. For one, O’Connor understood how the IVB’s victory in 2005 was mostly attributable to a “protest vote” by Berwyn voters who were disgusted by the Stillo scandal that tarnished the suburb’s reputation. He also understood how internal bickering among IVB politicians was a key factor in imperiling their ability to govern. “We were naïve, inexperienced politicians,” O’Connor remembered. Of course, O’Connor also blamed the Democrat’s negative campaigning, including one circulated false rumor of O’Connor and Weiner’s pet project, the Berwyn Housing Center, as being a conduit for attracting Section 8 residents to Berwyn. In mentioning the Democrat’s traditional base of support from traditional Democrats and city workers (including Berwyn’s police and fire departments), Weiner laments how the IVB essentially has “no base” since the party was a mixture of political independents and Republicans that coalesced in 2005 mostly as a protest vote against the Democratic organization.

Newly elected Democratic Alderman Nora Laureto, however, countered that the IVB “put out a lot of negative stuff” in the 2005 campaign, explicitly linking the Democrats to divisive figures like Stillo and Marzullo. She also drew attention to the unprofessional nature of her 8th Ward IVB opponent Joel Erickson, who would attend City Council meetings in casual

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27 Cesar Santoy actually ran as an independent not affiliated with the IVB in the 5th Ward election’s very close three-way race that pitted the IVB candidate (Guadalupe “Jesse” Barrios) and the Democratic one (Ricky Sanchez) against Santoy. After winning the election by with 36% of the votes (Barrios and Sanchez had 32% and 31%, respectively), Santoy quickly became a member of the Democrats. Santoy’s switch, of course, irked O’Connor and the IVB since they saw Santoy’s presence in the race as taking votes away from the their chosen candidate, Barrios.
dress and was embroiled in an ethics investigation involving the publication of a newsletter addressed to dogs and cats throughout Berwyn (Gregory, 2008, April 10). North Berwyn Park District executive director Joe Vallez, a public figure noted for working well with both the IVB and Democrats, described the O’Connor administration’s poor relationship both among elected officials and with the city’s civil service structure as worsening public services in the suburb, adding that 2009 was difficult time for incumbent politicians nationwide.

The New Democrats?

Upon taking office, the Lovero administration undid many of the funding priorities of the previous regime. Among the first casualties was Hajer’s community outreach position that was eliminated altogether. According to Hajer, Mayor Lovero told her after the election that it “was a campaign promise to get rid of the ‘party planner’,,” referring to Hajer, of course, and telling her that her department “didn’t really do anything.” In an interview, Lovero refused to directly comment about the previous administration, but his elimination of the community outreach position was, in part, an effort to pare down the city’s budget in the wake of anticipated deficits that faced many municipalities nationwide. Of course, Hajer disputed that her position was unproductive, something supported by former IVB alderman Weiner who described Hajer as the O’Connor administration’s “troubleshooter.” When asked whether the Lovero administration today engages in any form of outreach to Latinos, O’Connor is skeptical in saying, “I can’t imagine they do.”

But to say that the Lovero administration completely reversed course on the steps towards inclusion pioneered by the O’Connor administration would be an oversimplification. For one, Lovero retained Hajer’s bilingual assistant, Jynette Ayala, who would be employed as an assistant to the mayor until 2011 when she was moved to the City Clerk’s office. According
to interviews with different informants, Ayala remains a key figure for Latino residents interacting with City Hall, serving as an unofficial liaison with the Latino community. In Berwyn’s fractious political scene, being identified as a partisan with either the IVB or Democratic is akin to taking sides in a family dispute, and the fact that Ayala was employed by both IVB and Democratic administrations points to her decidedly non-political nature that must have been reassuring to Lovero. By contrast, Hajer was well known as an IVB member and, in the 2009 city elections, actually ran for and lost Berwyn’s city clerk position as an IVB candidate. Thus, it should have been no surprise that Lovero would want to “clean house,” so to speak, with IVB loyalists once his administration took power in 2009.

There is also a palpable dispute between Lovero and O’Connor regarding specific changes made at City Hall during the end of O’Connor’s regime and the beginning of Lovero’s: As mentioned earlier, Lovero insisted that “communication” between City Hall and Latinos needed to be improved when he took office, pointing towards the need to implement Spanish-speaking operators at the city switchboard and the translation of more city documents into Spanish. When I informed O’Connor of what Lovero said regarding the new administration’s steps towards inclusion, O’Connor grimaces as if his rival’s response is a visceral punch in the gut. It is O’Connor’s contention that Lovero is taking credit for steps his own administration took towards inclusion of Latino residents.

The truth appears to be a mixture of the two divergent narratives. Solutions for Care director Sitz clearly recollects working with both the O’Connor and Lovero administrations between 2007 to 2009 regarding the Immigrant Integration Initiative – The O’Connor administration was a crucial early player in assessing the needs of Latino residents and beginning to implement inclusive practices, and the Lovero administration was key in more fully
implementing those practices after 2009 when the grant monies faded. Most tellingly, she recalls how the O’Connor administration “didn’t always have the ability to make things happen,” a reference to the well-known friction between O’Connor and the city workforce. More of the inclusion-related initiatives have been implemented under the Lovero administration, she finishes, particularly City Hall’s adoption of the communication issue that encompassed having a bilingual switchboard and hiring more bilingual city workers. Another social service worker surmises that many of the inclusion-related services were probably begun under the O’Connor administration but later perfected under Lovero’s administration. Given the level of political acrimony in Berwyn, it should not surprise that both parties see the politics of inclusion as part of the city’s winner-take-all political culture.

There is, however, a discernable lack of formal or comprehensive strategy in City Hall for dealing with the rapid demographic change in Berwyn. When Mayor Lovero is asked whether the city government has a formal mechanism for reaching out to Latinos or any sort of multicultural or diversity-related committee, he admits, “We don’t have a whole lot of outreach other than the alderman.” The mayor further adds, “The alderman are the city’s advisory board. They’re my eyes and ears.” Though he is half-Latino and half-Italian, Lovero did not offer up his dual ethnic status as him being able to represent the interests of Berwyn’s Latino community, instead pointing towards the responsibilities of bilingual Alderman Santoy and Avila. Of the city’s lack of inclusion-oriented programs, alderman Laureto perhaps summed it up best: “We don’t have a welcome wagon.”

28 Sitz said the grant monies from the Chicago Community Trust were used to fund the focus groups as well as some of the city programs aimed at immigrant integration.
Inclusion within Berwyn’s city government takes the form of maintaining the essential services to communicate with Latino residents without taking steps to formalize a commitment to recognize diversity within the community. A Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request was filed to see city documents related to racial and ethnic diversity among the city’s workforce, known as the Equal Employment Opportunity survey (EEO-4) that every municipality with more than 15 employees must file on a biannual basis, as first stipulated by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The FOIA request was denied by the Berwyn city clerk on the basis that the “City has no such record(s) within its possession or control.” Phones calls to the city clerk office regarding how many Spanish speaking employees were employed by the city were met with the blunt response of “No one keeps track of that kind of information here.”

A Community Legacy of Assimilation

Perhaps the best way to summarize the Democrat’s inclusive turn is that those changes must be balanced against the prevailing wisdom of assimilation that seems to pervade the political class in Berwyn. An example of this can be seen through the young, energetic presence of newly elected Alderman Cesar Santoy. In many ways, Santoy would seem ideal as a fresh face for the Democrats as the party must govern and appeal to increasingly diverse Berwyn residents. In his early thirties, Santoy is fluent in Spanish and highly educated, having graduated from Illinois Institute of Technology with a degree in architecture. In prefacing his view on outreach to Berwyn’s Latino community, Santoy drew upon his formative experience of training with the Metropolitan Leadership Institute (MLI), a Chicago-based organization dedicated to producing civic leaders among the Hispanic community by choosing a select group of young Hispanics for training. Santoy described MLI’s training as being based on Saul Alinsky’s method of organizing that emphasized “pragmatics, power, and self-interest”; Moreover, MLI
analogizes the Hispanic experience today with those of Italians, Irish, and Polish immigrants generations ago in that assimilation of these ethnic groups is possible, as Santoy added that MLI is opposed to the “victimization mentality” among the Hispanic community.

Reflecting his background with the MLI, Santoy sees increased civic involvement by Latinos as key to inclusion in Berwyn. Santoy says Berwyn’s city government needs to do a better job of promoting civic involvement among Latinos, and he describes his role as alderman as being an intermediary for integrating Latinos into the community by encouraging them, for example, to contact Berwyn police if they have problems, to host city-sponsored block parties, and to serve on neighborhood watch. He says the city needs to project a “friendlier image” to the surrounding metropolitan area but also says that Latinos should take more burden upon themselves to be part of Berwyn. “How are Hispanics [in Berwyn] integrating themselves into the community?” he asks rhetorically. For Santoy, this places the burden of outreach onto Latinos themselves. Santoy says that Latinos need to “demonstrate a willingness to assimilate.”

The idea of assimilation and its attendant idea of seeing race and ethnicity through a color-blind lens was a recurrent theme expressed in discussions about the burgeoning Latino population in Berwyn. This pervasive community-wide sentiment was also found in the 2008 study that was part of the Berwyn’s Immigrant Integration Initiative. In this way, Santoy describes his outreach to his constituents in the heavily Latino 5th Ward as inclusive, yet color-blind terms: “After a point, they just stop being Latinos and start becoming residents.” Those sorts of color-blind sentiments were also echoed by Mayor Lovero, who said: “If you live in Berwyn and you’re a Berwyn resident, I don’t look at you as a Black, White, or Hispanic. Only as a Berwyn resident.”
By contrast, current IVB alderman Marge Paul was the only political figure in Berwyn who explicitly decried the idea of assimilation, which she described as “White people saying, ‘Why can’t everyone be like me?’” Before being elected in 2009, Paul has a bona fide progressive identity in being active in efforts at City Hall to be more inclusive of LGBT populations, particularly in amending the city’s community relations ordinance to include protection against discrimination for LGBT residents (Wooten, 2008, June 4). And as a first-term alderman, she describes how discussing diversity and inclusion has never been on the city’s public agenda, with the Lovero administration nor with her involvement with the IVB. In the interview, she expressed the sentiment that more needs to be done in reaching out to Latino immigrants.

Another common refrain among both Democratic and IVB politicians was frustration with how Latinos in Berwyn tend to not involve themselves in the civic life in the community, either through voting or volunteering in public affairs. Mayor Lovero described the Latino’s low voter turnouts as the “million dollar question,” adding that many of the immigrants, no doubt, encounter a language barrier that is at the “core of the problem.” In discussions with other Democratic organizations in the region, Lovero says, “We’ve discussed this [problem] at length.” In running for his alderman position in 2009, Santoy was dismayed by the low voter turnout among Latinos within his ward. “You have to do a lot to get them to vote,” he remembered.

Their IVB counterpart, O’Connor, also expressed frustration: “[Latinos] don’t get involved. For whatever reason, they don’t get involved.” Former IVB alderman Weiner likewise reiterated the difficulty of getting Latinos involved and speculated how low voter turnout among Latinos makes their impact on local politics negligible. He described how a
A personal friend who is Latino ran for an elected position for a local park district position using an explicit strategy of targeting the Latino vote, only to lose the election because, as Weiner concluded, “Latinos don’t vote.” He continued: “It’s hard to get Latinos involved. It takes time.”

Among those not explicitly involved in politics, there was a sense that Berwyn’s political establishment would be vastly different if Latinos voted more and increasingly involved themselves in the civic life. A lifelong Berwyn resident who closely follows local politics describes how there is “a lot of political apathy” among Latino residents. “If [Latinos] got together and elected people [that represented their interests],” he began, “Things would be different.” A social service worker who regularly works with Latino residents describes one reason for Latinos lack of involvement is that most of them are “busy people,” working different jobs, raising their families, and lacking any experience in involving themselves in civic affairs. Berwyn’s political establishment, both IVB and Democratic regimes, have historically never actively and publically encouraged Latinos to be active in civic affairs, the social service worker asserts, and senses that many Latinos in Berwyn have generally felt unwelcomed or not included in the community. For Latinos, this sentiment hinders any inclination for them to be involved in community affairs.

An analysis of voting turnout data from the 2005 and 2009 city elections evinces the sentiment that heavily Latino parts of Berwyn generally have lower voter turnout. In Figure 4.1, red lines outlining Berwyn’s eight aldermanic wards are placed over a map displaying the percentage of Latino residents of any race by census block groups, using data from the 2005-2009 American Community Survey. Wards with lower numbering, such as the 1st and 2nd wards, tend to represent the more heavily non-Latino White residents of South Berwyn and
wards with higher numbering, such as the 8th and 7th, represent the more heavily Latino population of North Berwyn.

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 from the 2009 and 2005 city elections, respectively, shows how aldermanic wards with the highest voter turnouts – the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd wards, were all located in South Berwyn – correspond with block groups with the lowest percentage of Latino residents and, thus, the highest proportion of non-Latino Whites. This held true for both elections even though the overall voter turnout in 2005 (42% of all registered voters) was significantly higher than in 2009 (32%), not surprising considering how the Democratic scandal likely drove a higher voter turnout in 2005. The fact that current IVB alderman Marge Paul was the lone IVB winner in the 3rd ward might not be a surprise considering how Paul described most IVB supporters as emanating from South Berwyn.

By contrast, lower voter turnout was seen in the South Berwyn aldermanic 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th wards, where there is a noticeably higher concentration of Latino families. In 2009, the difference between wards with the highest turnout, like the 3rd ward (39%), and the lowest, like the 8th ward (29%), might not seem like much, but every vote makes a difference in contests where only a few thousand votes are cast – For example, the 2009 8th ward race between incumbent Joel Erickson and Democratic challenger Nora Laureto was decided by only 4 votes as Laureto beat Erickson by a 343 to 339 vote count. In 2009, current 5th ward alderman Cesar Santoy won a three-way contest between himself (an unaffiliated independent at the time), IVB incumbent Guadalupe “Jesse” Barrios, and Democratic challenger Ricky Sanchez, with Santoy narrowly winning with 310 compared to 274 votes for Barrios and 269 for Sanchez. In the 7th

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29 Between 2005 and 2009, Joel Erickson switched from being a member of the IVB to an unaffiliated independent.
ward, Democratic newcomer Rafael Avila handily defeated IVB representative Alexandra Radtke by 650 to 390 votes.

Evaluating Political Incorporation in Berwyn

When considering political incorporation in Berwyn, their story of inclusion is removed from a not inclusive state of political incorporation before 2000 that was characterized by outright resistance to Blacks. Today’s political elites in Berwyn are at ease when discussing the need to be inclusive of Latino residents. My fieldwork concluded that political elites in Berwyn have generally been engaged in inclusion-related efforts (at least in a behind-the-scenes kind of way). For example, both the O’Connor and Lovero administrations were involved in the Immigrant Integration Initiative. Prominent public servants like Joe Vallez and Tammy Clausen openly discuss the imperative for inclusion and develop and champion specific inclusion-oriented programs. However, local governance in Berwyn, on balance, is *moderately inclusive in terms of political incorporation* since the largest ethnic group (Latinos) has limited abilities to influence local policymaking.

Without doubt, the greatest strides made involve the non-controversial election of three Latino aldermen in the past decade. Aldermen Cesar Santoy and Rafael Avila are, as an added bonus, fluent in Spanish, something that current Mayor Robert Lovero proffered as a sign of his administration’s outreach to Latino residents. One social service worker opined how “it matters” that Santoy and Avila can interact with their constituents through Spanish in heavily Latino North Berwyn, but the worker admitted to having scant knowledge of how the two’s presence on the City Council has actually led to supporting more inclusion-oriented programs and policies. In this way, Santoy and Avila are more symbolic representatives of the Latino population than active representatives, something that is partially attributable to Santoy’s avowed affinity for an
assimilation perspective. This reality of symbolic representation aligns with how elected officials proudly discuss the diversity of Berwyn’s population, but did not proffer any specific programs and policies to achieve inclusion. In this sense, City Council lacks a clear vision for incorporating the considerations of Latinos into its policymaking decisions and opposition Alderman Marge Paul asserted that the council never discusses issues related to inclusion.

What prevents Berwyn from being achieving a more inclusive state of political incorporation is the community-wide undercurrent of assimilation, an outlook borne out of Berwyn’s troubled history with integration before 2000. As Berwyn was virtually redefined by an influx of Latino residents during the same time, political elites were generally reluctant to enact relevant programs and policies – particularly anything related to translation services – that acknowledged this change, unless compelled to do so (sometimes through implicit threats of lawsuits). Today, inclusion-related programs like the Immigrant Integration Initiative and the plethora of ESL classes at the Berwyn library generally “fly under the radar,” so to speak, within the community’s public discourse, as most of these programs are not well-publicized as part of the political establishment’s outreach towards Latinos. Previous Mayor Michael O’Connor seemed to work to ease tensions between City Hall and Latino residents (at least through behind-the-scene efforts), but the powerful perception that Berwyn residents purportedly favored an assimilationist approach also explains the skittishness of the O’Connor administration in more publically reaching out to Latinos and starting a community-wide discussion about ethnic change.

Another possibility for the lack of a clear vision for inclusion in Berwyn is the general lack of organization and professionalism within the city government itself. As laid out by IVB informants and social service workers, it is generally known that “getting on the city payroll” has
traditionally involved having personal connections to either senior-level city workers or the local Democratic party. One social service worker described their experience of interacting with Berwyn’s city government as one in which there is a general sense of disorganization and lack of coordination among different departments. In comparing my fieldwork experience between Skokie and Berwyn, I generally found Berwyn city employees to be either less facilitative or wholly unresponsive. For example, a couple of Freedom of Information Act requests filed with the Berwyn city clerk’s office were denied since the office claimed to not possess certain documents, such as an EEO-4 report, that city government is required to have by the federal government. As related to inclusion, the presence of a community outreach coordinator (since axed by the Lovero administration) who is tasked, in part, with integrating Latinos, would be useful in centralizing all of the outreach efforts within the community as well as acting as an official point person for the Latino community.

My fieldwork revealed that local governance in Berwyn tended to place inclusion as a low priority on the public agenda even though ethnic change in the past decade has been striking and far reaching. The low priority of inclusion might be due to several mutually inclusive possibilities: First, city government maintains these inclusion-oriented programs and policies but political leadership does not place a high priority on inclusion. For example, several aldermen did not know what the city’s Community Relations Commission does, when it meets, or even whether the committee meets at all, even though the commission is purportedly tasked with managing diversity issues in the community. Second, the provision of these programs and policies – particularly having a Spanish operator at the city switchboard and translating city policies – appear to merely meet the minimum needs for inclusion of Latino residents, thereby

30 The chairman of the community relations committee, Joe Keatings, is paid $5,000 a year to chair the committee, something gleaned from the City of Berwyn’s annual budget.
avoiding needless friction with Latinos, social service agencies, and community-based organization. Mayor Lovero conveyed how City Hall has recognized the pragmatism of engaging Latino residents by stating, in a rather matter-of-fact way, that “Latinos are the majority of residents.” Other observers opined how City Hall’s newfound sense of inclusion really reflects the reality of “knowing where the votes are” in the community (both now and in the future), given that the presence of Latinos is unlikely to reverse itself in the foreseeable future.

The competitive two-party system in Berwyn has generally seen mixed results in regards to inclusion of Latinos. It is likely that Berwyn’s ward-based system of representation has increased the presence of Latinos on the City Council, something seen in the highly competitive 2009 city elections where Santoy and Avila won aldermanic seats in heavily Latino North Berwyn. But their tenure on the City Council has resulted in little substantive change in programs and policies that support inclusion. The reason for this appear to be the following: First, a strong pro-assimilationist mindset throughout Berwyn and especially among longtime White residents – who exercise outsized political influence since they are more active politically and vote more - strongly mitigates against City Hall taking an openly inclusive platform. Second, the Latino demographic in Berwyn (and elsewhere) is complicated, a mixture of highly acculturated Latinos like alderman Santoy and first-generation Mexican immigrants who speak little to no English. One local social service worker described this fissure as being seen through second- and third-generation Latinos embarrassed by the conduct of recently arrived Mexican immigrants. Thus, Latinos in Berwyn are not a well-organized and coherent social group that would demand specific policy changes from elected officials.
Today, we can see the Immigrant Integration Initiative as the great missed opportunity for moving Berwyn more towards a more inclusive state of political incorporation. The initiative began by bringing together all of the relevant community stakeholders, including then Mayor O’Connor and other community leaders like Joe Vallez, in seeking to develop a larger vision for including Latinos within Berwyn. In that sense, the initiative is exactly what should have been done for inclusion, but the legacy of that three-year effort is mixed. O’Connor actively participated in the initiative, but his administration did not exactly invest great amounts, if any, of political capital in publicizing the effort to the larger community. The Lovero administration seemed to wholly adopt the “communication” suggestions from the initiative but does not manage a larger, more comprehensive vision for including Latino immigrants into the political system. These more comprehensive plans might involve City Hall being in the forefront of promoting tolerance and interethnic relations (something readily seen in the Skokie case study) or even collecting data on the number of ethnic minorities employed within the city workforce (which they seem to not do, according to field research). Unfortunately, both political parties have either not seen the necessity of or had the courage to pursue inclusion.

**Housing Equality**

In interviews with past and present political elites (ex-mayors, the mayor, city council people), housing equality was rarely mentioned as a component within Berwyn’s newfound sense of inclusion. The policies that promote fair housing in Berwyn – particularly the city’s Community Relations Commission – seem to be forgotten or lost within City Hall. In this way, Berwyn’s fair housing realities illustrate not only political elites’ traditional resistance to inclusion but also of the reactionary ways that City Hall and political leadership were prodded into taking inclusion more seriously towards the late 1990’s and early 2000’s.
Moving to Berwyn

Berwyn’s emergence as an ethnoburb can be traced to its proximity to Chicago and the draw of its Chicago-style bungalows. Joe Vallez traces this demographic shift to Chicago as a “city made up of neighborhoods” each with its own distinct character, typically represented by high concentrations of one particular ethnic group. In identifying Little Village and Pilsen as traditional feeder neighborhoods for Berwyn, Vallez describes how gentrification in Chicago compelled many lower income residents to move to the western suburbs. Berwyn and Cicero were natural choices for many of the Mexican-born immigrants in Little Village and Pilsen, as the two suburbs are connected to the city through Roosevelt and Cermak roads (Figure 4.2). And with a Metra station in the increasingly fashionable Depot District and a local CTA station, Berwyn is well-connected to Chicago for those who need to commute to the city. As a third generation Berwyn resident of German, Czech, and English decent, Alderman Nora Laureto described this movement of immigrants from Chicago neighborhoods to the suburbs as a “natural progression,” something merely reflective of the days when Czech and Polish immigrants moved from Little Village to Berwyn in the middle of the 20th century.

In many ways, Berwyn is defined by its housing stock of Chicago-style bungalows that dominate the suburb’s built environment. Alderman Cesar Santoy’s choice to move to Berwyn reflected what drew many Latinos in the past decades: He wanted the “good housing value” that could be found in Berwyn and remain close to Chicago, where he works for a community organization overseeing construction of charter schools. He described his constituents in northeast Berwyn as being 60% Latino and predominantly first-time homebuyers. Today, Berwyn youth are overwhelming Latino. This fact is seen by some as a key reason for the considerable out migration of Whites in the 2000’s. One Berwyn resident described local
schools as “getting worse,” but identifies that Mexican immigrants have better educational opportunities here than either in Chicago or Mexico. Thus, the story of demographic change in Berwyn is one of Latinos attempting to move up in society and attain the “American Dream” of homeownership.

Racial and Ethnic Concentrations

In exploring inclusion, two segregation measures – an Index of Dissimilarity (ID) and an Index of Exposure (or isolation, or IE) – were employed to analyze racial and ethnic concentrations. The results are listed in Tables 4.4 and 4.5 and discussed throughout this section. To avoid double counting Latino and White residents, Latinos were compared against Non-Latinos of all races. The smallest available geographic unit for considering Latinos as being divided among racial groups is the census tract-level, of which there are only 11. However, Latinos were measured against Blacks and Asians, given that there is little overlap between Blacks in Berwyn who identify ethnically as Latino (just 0.4% of residents) and Asians identifying as Latino (just 0.1%).

As described by local informants, the traditional division within Berwyn is the north-south divide that runs along Cermak Road, which bisects the community. It is generally understood that North Berwyn has more Latinos and is generally poorer than its south side counterparts who tend to be composed of wealthier non-Latino Whites. Figure 4.3 shows a noticeable clustering of Latinos in the northern side of Berwyn, marked off by Cermak Road by census block groups. When Figure 4.3 is compared against Figure 4.4, there is a greater concentration of Non-Latino Whites who live in South Berwyn, though there are still significant

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31 Appendix B discusses the use of the two segregation indices as well as census and survey data from the United States Census.
concentrations of non-Latino Whites, ranging from 22% to 36%, on the north end of the suburb. The north-side divide is further buttressed by Figure 4.5, which represents the spatial distribution of Spanish language households who are “linguistically isolated.” The U.S. Census measures linguistic isolation by defining it as a household where no one over the age of 14 speaks English “very well,” and in Berwyn there are higher concentrations of these households north of 26th Street.

The City of Berwyn’s community development department describes the target area of its CDBG-funded programs as being census tracts in North Berwyn where 51% or more of residents are low- to moderate-income persons by census tracts (Figure 4.6). A number of programs seeks to improve what the city calls a “sustainable living environment” in North Berwyn – Funding is provided for a blight program aimed at funding inspectors responsible for monitoring that single-family homes remain compliant with local building codes ($70,000); a demolition program aimed at demolishing and clearing dilapidated properties in North Berwyn ($30,000); and a sidewalk replacement program that in 2010 aims to replace over 900 sidewalk squares ($100,000). There are also specific CDBG funds earmarked for benefiting low-income and Latino residents, like funding for 10 paid low-income youth positions at Youth Crossroads, a local social service agency with a predominantly Latino clientele ($25,000); funding for scholarship to low-income youth to participate in programs at the North Berwyn Park District ($5,000); and funding for a childhood literacy and for the partial salary of a bilingual crisis management counselor at a local agency (Sarah’s Inn) dedicated to battered women ($10,000).

Despite the traditional north/south divide, Berwyn Public Library director Tammy Clausen notes that that traditional division is misguided, as Latinos are more spread throughout Berwyn in ways that belie what many residents believe. In this way, the ID score between
Latinos and non-Latinos in Berwyn (27.5, from Table 4.4; This ID score was the lowest among all social groups in Berwyn) indicates high levels of integration between the two groups despite the much discussed north/side divide. This can be seen in the IE score between Latino to Non-Latinos (0.40), which means that there is a 40% chance that a Latino will encounter a non-Latino within their block group; the IE score between non-Latinos and Latinos of 0.50 was slightly higher, representing an average possibility of contact between the two groups. Moreover, Figure 4.7 displays the widespread distribution of Berwynites with a common heritage of being of Mexican descent.

When the growing Black population of Berwyn is measured in Figure 4.8, there is a noticeable clustering in the northern end of the suburb, a factor influenced by the northern end’s proximity to Oak Park north of Roosevelt Road – which traditionally has had a sizeable Black population – and to Austin, a Chicago neighborhood to the northwest of Berwyn. The ID scores for Blacks in relation to other social groups in Berwyn were the highest – The ID score between Blacks and Latinos was 49.6, indicating higher levels of segregation as seen in ID scores between Blacks and Whites (47.7) and Blacks and Asians (63.5). The low level of integration between Blacks and other groups can be seen in IE scores: Black to Latino exposure levels are 0.50 and Black to White are 0.60, indications that Berwyn’s troubled legacy with Blacks remain, at least to some extent.

**Affordable Housing**

As mentioned earlier, Berwyn’s stock of affordable housing – particularly its Chicago-style bungalows – are key to the community’s growing racial and ethnic diversity. The 2010 Census recorded that detached single-family homes in Berwyn composed 65.6% of the housing stock (a total of 2,211 units), whereas multifamily housing units (those with 2 or more units)
composed 32.3%. The generally higher concentration of single-family homes (either detached or attached) in South Berwyn can be seen in Figure 4.9, something that speaks to a noticeable difference in the built environments between North and South Berwyn. By contrast, Figure 4.9 also displays the higher clustering of multifamily housing north of Cermak Road, particularly in two block groups where there are no single-family housing (as seen through the White coloring).

Another defining characteristic of Berwyn’s housing stock is its age, as around 50% of all homes in Berwyn were built before 1940 and a further 33.6% were built between 1940 and 1959. From 1980 to 2000, just 636 housing units were built (only 3.1% of the total housing stock), which speaks towards how Berwyn is completely built out. The age of Berwyn’s housing stock is a double-edged sword, appealing to nostalgic sentiments and making home buying cheaper. Berwyn’s city government estimates that one can purchase a single-family home in Berwyn for just $160,000, but the age of the housing stock requires that homebuyers make a greater commitment to property upgrades and conforming to local building codes.

Despite the dominant image of Chicago-style bungalows, renting is an important form of housing tenure in Berwyn. In 2010, about 40% of all Berwyn households were renters, though it should be pointed out that it is common practice to rent out single-family homes, according to local informants. Thus, renting is not necessarily tied to multifamily housing in Berwyn. Among racial groups, about 35% of all White households are renters (of course, this number includes Whites ethnically identified as Latino), 84% of Blacks are renters, and 33% of Asians are renters. Among Latinos of all races, about 40% are renters.

The city’s latest CDBG report revealed that the majority of homes in Berwyn sold for $191,000 or less in 2009, with only 20% of homes selling for $200,000 or more (City of Berwyn
Community Development Department, 2010, August, p.25). Of course, these numbers signify a very affordable mortgage market in Berwyn, but it is also representative of the foreclosure crisis that has gripped Berwyn since 2008. In an interview, Mayor Lovero described dealing with the foreclosure crisis as his number one priority, since City Hall’s finances are heavily tied to property values given the predominance of single-family homes on the suburb’s built environment. Given that many homebuyers in Berwyn are Latino, Lovero noted that the community was “particularly hit hard” by the subprime mortgage phenomena, and the spate of foreclosures filings in recent years (659 in 2009 and 791 in 2010) made the community more affordable but damaged the city’s finances. A March 2011 news article revealed that one local real estate broker described 60% of his home sales as involving foreclosed properties (Berwyn Life, 2011, March 9).

Not surprisingly, Berwyn’s rental market is affordable when compared to the rest of the Chicago metropolitan area. The city’s latest CDBG report stated that a household earning 80% of Berwyn’s median household income in 2005 ($40,600) could afford a typical three-bedroom housing that cost $1,015 a month (City of Berwyn Community Development Department, 2010 August, p.30). The distribution of renters in Berwyn can be seen in Figure 4.10, where there are slightly higher concentrations in North Berwyn. However, the same report found that when cost burden is considered, there are significant affordability problems in Berwyn: Almost two-thirds of extremely low-income Berwyn households paid more than half of their income for housing, and 64% of low-income renters experienced housing problems that involved paying more than 30% of their income for housing; More interestingly, it was found that about half of all moderate-income home owners experience cost burden, of which 19% experienced being

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32 The report quoted 2005 survey data from the U.S. stating that Berwyn’s median household income was $49,620.
“severely cost burdened” (City of Berwyn Community Development Department, 2010, August, pp.13-14).

Among Hispanic renters, it was found that they experience housing problems (generally households who pay more than 30% of their income for housing) between two to eight percentage points higher than all households within the same income category: For example, 19% of all households within the middle-income and up category experienced housing problems, whereas 34% of Hispanic households in that same income bracket experienced a housing problem as seen in Table 4.6 (City of Berwyn Community Development Department, 2010 August, p.17). However, the small but growing number of Black households in Berwyn generally experienced even greater housing problems, as all Black households with incomes less than 50% of the area median income experienced some form of housing problem. These findings suggest that Berwyn, despite its affordable housing options, tends to attract lower income households who experience cost burden but also that racial and ethnic minority households tend to disproportionately feel the effects of paying too much for housing.

Like many suburbs, Berwyn’s most prevalent form of public housing – the Section 8 housing voucher program – is administered by the Cook County Housing Authority (HACC), not the City of Berwyn. In 2010, it was revealed that the HACC dealt out about $1 million annually to Berwyn landlords on behalf of 137 households in Berwyn who receive housing vouchers: 22 of these households were headed by elderly residents and 35 by disabled residents (City of Berwyn Community Development Department, 2010, August, p.16). This number has remained

33 The City of Berwyn derived housing affordability data here from the HUD’s Comprehensive Housing Affordability Strategy data (“CHAS”) that is not available through the standard U.S. Census. CHAS data is particularly useful for local governments in developing specific housing policies that take into account housing problems experienced by vulnerable populations, particularly ethnic minorities, the elderly, and the disabled. For their 2010 CDBG Consolidated Plan, the City of Berwyn appeared to use CHAS data from the years 1990 and 2000.
relatively stable, as a 2008 CDBG report stated that 114 Berwyn residents received Section 8 housing vouchers in 2007 (City of Berwyn Community Development Department, 2008, p.9).

Perhaps the most emphasized aspect of the City of Berwyn’s CDBG program since its inception in 2000 is its single-family rehabilitation program that provides zero interest, no monthly payment loans to low- and moderate-income families seeking substantial rehabilitation of owner-occupied homes in meeting the city’s goal of providing “decent housing.” In program year 2010, this program alone composed 21% of the total CDBG budget and cost $310,343. In 2007, this program spent $330,706 and composed 24% of the total budget. This program appears to have a great deal of self-evident pragmatism given the centrality of single-family homes to Berwyn’s identity combined with the age of its housing stock. Programs aimed at producing “affordable and decent housing” involved $465,343 (31%) of the CDBG total budget of $1.49 million in program year 2010.

Fair Housing

Berwyn city government’s history with supporting fair housing is not a positive one. It was not until 1982 that Berwyn first applied for CDBG funds, even though such grants were available from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) since 1975. The (un)inclusiveness of Berwyn at the time could be seen in the ways that some residents objected because it would bring “forced integration,” since the CDBG program required that local governments proactively affirm fair housing as a stipulation of receiving grants (Chicago Tribune, 1982, July 21). But in 1983 HUD authorities rejected Berwyn’s $1.4 million application for community development funds because the city had no fair housing ordinance or mechanisms to promote the residential integration of racial and ethnic minorities. However, Mayor Joseph Lanzillotti said the issue involved bureaucratic red tape, lamenting, “They [HUD]
ran us out of time” (Presecky, 1983, February 11). HUD officials pointed to a pending housing discrimination-related lawsuit filed in 1978 by the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities in denying the funding request.

Relations between Berwyn and the Leadership Council had been thorny during the Lanzilotti and Shaughnessy administrations (1981-1993 and 1993-2005). The Leadership Council was also the organization that sued Berwyn on behalf of the harassed Black family in 1993 – known locally as the “firebombing” incident – that drew exceedingly negative regional media coverage. It was a sign of the times that Berwyn’s political leadership sought to address inclusion after the 1993 firebombing incident, when Mayor Shaughnessy approved the formation of an 11-member committee to study the feasibility of starting a Community Relations Committee in 1994. For Shaughnessy’s administration, this move was also motivated by the tens of thousands of dollars in legal fees and settlements based on lawsuits alleging housing and employment discrimination since the 1980’s. Regardless, the startup committee worked to develop and implement a comprehensive local human rights ordinance that would include fair housing protection. One member of the startup committee, Alexandra “Sandi” Radtke (who would run and lose as part of the IVB’s 2009 slate of aldermanic candidates), said the committee was tasked with educating residents on diversity’s benefits, but she noted, “It will take time, and for some people it is going to be hard because they have these old fears” (Presecky, January 27, 1994, p. 5). A Community Relations Commission and human rights ordinance, later renamed the “community relations ordinance,” was in place by the time Berwyn applied and was approved for CDBG funds through the city’s First Consolidated Plan running from 2000 to 2004. The Leadership Council would continue to push inclusion in advocating for Latino families who felt
victimized by post-2000 housing inspections, when threats of lawsuit compelled the Shaughnessy administration to revise home inspection practices.

The commission is officially tasked with enforcing the city’s community relations ordinance that encompasses protection from fair housing discrimination. During the O’Connor years, the City Council voted unanimously to add sexual orientation as a protected category under the 2008 community relations ordinance (Wooten, 2008, April 10). Adding sexual orientation to the ordinance was a crowning accomplishment for BUNGALO (Berwyn United Neighbor Gay and Lesbian Organization) that had worked for over a decade for its passage. This marked a stark departure from 1994, when the City Council actually voted against adding sexual orientation to the city’s new community relations ordinance under pressure from local Republicans and conservative clergy (Wooten, 2008, April 10). In an interview, a member of BUNGALO described the change as being motivated by City Hall and the Berwyn Development Corporation’s “Bulls-eye” marketing campaign to gay residents in Chicago circa 2008, which required the necessity of having an ordinance to affirm the city’s commitment to LGBT rights.

Today, the commission is chaired by Joe Keating, a longtime political operative and former Democratic alderman who works as a prosecutor for the Cook County State’s Attorney Office. Repeated attempts to contact Keating failed, as Mayor Lovero described Keating as a “very busy man.” But an interview with one current member of the commission described its function today as a mediation board dealing with “bad neighbor relations.” Since being appointed by Lovero in 2009, the member describes the commission as mediating disputes in two cases, one involving a neighbor harassing a gay couple and another involving a White resident who verbally harassed Latino neighbors (the member recalls that this complaint was brought forth by one of the two Latino aldermen, either Santoy or Avila). The committee
member described the two cases as being resolved quickly after committee members contacted the alleged harasser.

Evaluating Housing Equality in Berwyn

Berwyn is moderately inclusive in terms of housing equality since local governance has in place a fair housing ordinance, a requisite housing-related committee (CRC), an affordable housing stock, and minimal housing segregation. However, the efficacy of the local fair housing ordinance is questionable given that City Hall historically places a low emphasis on promoting fair housing and enforcing its own ordinance. In this sense, Berwyn has become a diverse suburb more through the eagerness of Latino families attracted to the suburb’s affordable (and aging) housing stock (and persevere in the face of an indifferent City Hall and reluctant longtime residents) than through any actions taken by local governance to make their housing stock more accessible.

Segregation analysis, an important indicator of equality in housing provision, reveals a mixed picture. Latinos are revealed as spread throughout the community, as evinced by ID and IE scores of 27.5 and 0.50, respectively. When comparing these scores to the ID and IE scores for the Chicago metropolitan area (an ID of 0.59 and IE of 0.39), Latinos tend to be significantly less segregated in Berwyn than in the Chicago metropolitan area, not surprising considering how Latinos are Berwyn’s majority. But high concentrations of Latinos exist in North Berwyn living north of Cermak Road, something that can be seen in Figure 4.3. Moreover, those neighborhoods have higher concentrations of linguistically isolated Spanish language households.

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34 Segregation index scores for the Chicago metropolitan area were obtained from the Population Studies Center at the University of Michigan’s Institute for Social Research (http://www.psc.isr.umich.edu/). ID and IE scores used the 2005 – 2009 American Community Survey. In using ID and IE comparisons between Berwyn and the Chicago metropolitan area, ID and IE scores for Blacks and Asians were ignored because both of those populations were exceedingly small.
(Figure 4.5), of renters (Figure 4.10), and lower income households (Figure 4.6). Lower concentrations of Latinos, particularly those of Mexican origin, and higher concentrations of Whites south of W 26th Street and north of Ogden Avenue (something that can be seen in Figures 4.3 and 4.7) indicate that there is still an ethnic dividing line between North and South Berwyn.

When examining the racial concentration of Blacks in Berwyn, there is a noticeable clustering in North Berwyn just north of Cermak road. Furthermore, the ID scores of Blacks relative to Whites and Latinos of 47.7 and 49.6 indicate a moderate amount of segregation. As a small minority in today’s Berwyn (just 6.4% of the population in 2010), Blacks predictably have high chances of encountering Latinos and Whites (IE scores of 0.50 and 0.50, respectively), but Latinos and Whites have low chances of encountering Blacks (just an IE score of 0.10 in both instances), all indicative of the ways in which Blacks remain a segregated minority.

Berwyn can rightly claim to have an ample supply of both affordable single-family homes for purchase and apartments for rent, relative to prices in the metropolitan area. Indeed, affordable housing is central to the political and civic elites’ promotion of the Bulls-eye campaign designed to lure upscale Chicagoans to Berwyn. The city government has traditionally earmarked a substantial portion of its CDBG funds annually – in 2010, this was 21% of the total – to low- and moderate-income households for rehabilitating homes in Berwyn, not an insignificant issue considering the age of the quaint bungalow-style homes. The downturn in the housing market and resulting foreclosures in Berwyn has, ironically, made single-family homes cheaper to purchase, and the city government sees dealing with foreclosures as its top priority: In the middle of 2011, the City of Berwyn received $3.8 million in federal grant monies to purchase
foreclosed single-family homes and condominiums with the purpose of rehabilitating them and eventually selling them to low- and moderate-income families at reduced prices.

However, city government has tended to place less emphasis on the rental end of the housing affordability equation. Findings from HUD’s Comprehensive Housing Affordability Strategy (CHAS) data reveal that Latinos and Blacks in Berwyn must pay a higher percentage of their household incomes for housing at rates higher than Whites in the community. This demonstrates how Berwyn has tended to attract lower to moderate income Latino and Black households. Moreover, foreclosures in Berwyn have had the opposite effect on rental prices in the community, as the local housing market was “flooded by renters who no longer qualify to buy a house” (Berwyn Life, 2011, March 9). Consequently, rental prices in Berwyn have “skyrocketed” since the housing bust, an issue the city government has generally not addressed through specific programs or policies.

Regarding public housing, Berwyn mimics Skokie and most other suburbs in the Chicago metropolitan region by having the HACC administer the Section 8 housing program. Like Skokie, the lack of in-house administration for Section 8 vouchers allows the city government to essentially offload responsibility to county-level officials, with the result being little to no emphasis on providing housing to low-income residents. In fact, recent programs supported by both the IVB and Democrats suggest an orientation to attracting upscale residents to Berwyn: This can be seen through the ill-fated Berwyn Housing Center and current Bulls-eye campaign, both tacitly purposed with recruiting residents of higher socioeconomic status to Berwyn.

However, there is a palpable sense that local governance in Berwyn could do more to champion housing equality within the suburb. For example, the City of Berwyn’s efforts to
promote fair housing are delegated to the Community Relations Commission, but there was no evidence found that the commission is actually active in this endeavor. In the city’s latest “Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing Study” (October 2010), the city government maintains that “no complaints have been filed with the commission in recent years” and that the commission maintains a “database and documentation of complaints, investigations and referrals related to Fair Housing” (City of Berwyn Community Development Department, 2012, October, p.12). After repeated failed attempts to contact commission chair Joe Keatings, I filed a Freedom of Information Act with the City Clerk office asking for documents pertaining to this database related to fair housing complaints. The FOIA request was returned and denied, stating that the “City has no such record(s) within its possession or control.”

These findings suggest that either there is no fair housing issue in Berwyn, or that the city government is not terribly concerned with affirming fair housing. A likely factor in the second possibility is the weakened fair housing movement throughout the Chicago metropolitan area in recent decades. In 2006, the Leadership Council for Open Metropolitan Communities closed due to financial issues just as other fair housing agencies ceased operations throughout the decade (Grossman, 2006, June 2). The Leadership Council has deep roots in the Civil Rights movement – it was born out of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.’s efforts in Chicago in 1966 – and the organization was nationally known for its Gautreax program that relocated 10,000 public housing residents in Chicago to more diverse neighborhoods (Grossman, 2006, June 2). The Leadership Council has mostly acted to check the worst excesses of Berwyn government’s exclusion of racial and ethnic minorities.

My fieldwork indicated that Berwyn’s Community Relations Commission is an entity that is far from being ambitious and proactive towards promoting inclusion. Berwyn’s
commission meets only sporadically, does not manage any active cultural or education programs, and appears to serve more of a mediation function. According to informants, the commission was more active during the O’Connor administration in serving to “welcome” residents and open up sexual orientation to the city’s human rights ordinance. Since the commission is not very active, it might be cynically argued that its existence is necessary for Berwyn to receive CDBG monies.

Moreover, the mere existence of fair housing laws and a Community Relations Commission means little without actual enforcement, especially if residents do not know where to go if discriminated against. Former Leadership Council community relations director Rob Breymaier described how communities in the metropolitan area often do not inform residents where to lodge fair housing complaints. "Too many times these fair-housing ordinances seemed to be passed without any real support or effort by a community to promote itself as an open and inclusive community," Breymaier said (Yednak, 2005, January 17). The fact that activities of Berwyn’s commission is sparsely publicized points to fair housing’s low priority at City Hall.

**Programs and Policies**

What follows are discussions of housing programs and policies in Berwyn related to inclusion of Latino populations. While some of these programs and policies were purposefully developed with an eye towards inclusion, and achieved some degree of success, other programs and policies became flashpoints for ethnic tensions in the community and worked against providing social-cultural support for recently arrived Latinos. These latter cases can be seen through the home inspection controversy of the early 2000’s and the residency check controversy in 2005 – 2006.
As Berwyn’s Latino population surged to almost half of residents (45%) by 2000, City Hall remained resolutely unresponsive to that change. An issue that encapsulates the latter half of the Shaughnessy administration’s approach to Latinos were pervasive home inspections in the late 1990’s going in to the early 2000’s that disproportionately targeted Latinos. The recipe was there for controversy – At the time, Berwyn’s building department employed no bilingual code inspectors and no housing codes were translated into Spanish, leaving new Latino immigrants with little idea about housing standards that were required of them. As mentioned earlier, roughly half of Berwyn’s housing stock was built before 1940, something that requires homeowners to engage in a great deal of either maintenance or renovation of their new homes.

City home inspectors would engage in behavior, many of it culturally insensitive, that created an uproar among Latino residents not just in Berwyn but in nearby suburban communities (Olkon, 2007, January 26). Former Mayor Michael O’Connor described city home inspectors as the “bedroom police,” who would inspect houses at all hours of the day and would ring doorbells late at night. A social service worker in the community colorfully described home inspectors as “coming in and terrorizing people” in reference to the experiences of Latino clients: Building inspectors would conduct unannounced inspections without anyone who could speak Spanish. Inspectors would also enforce housing codes that were non-existent and inconsistent with internationally accepted standards for housing codes, such as one inspector telling a family that a queen-sized bed was too big for a certain-sized bedroom. Another incident involved one Latino family where several generations – mother and father, their daughter, and a grandparent – lived under one roof. As the mother was pregnant, Berwyn city workers (erroneously) informed
the family that once their child was born, the family would exceed the occupancy limit for the house they live in.

Perhaps the most contentious issue was how some Berwyn residents would be the source of complaints when they called City Hall about neighbors whose homes appeared to be overcrowded (those homes in which the number of occupants exceed local housing ordinances). One social service worker described the problem from the perspective of Latino residents: It was regular practice for home inspectors to take anonymous calls from residents complaining about “overcrowding” in homes where Latino families lived, something the social service worker interpreted as being motivated by racism as opposed to a violation of actual housing standards. Another example involved a Latino woman who lived at home with her father who recently had been struck by a heart attack. When extended family members would come over to visit, a neighbor complained to city officials that the home was “overcrowded” since the neighbor witnessed many family members coming to and leaving the home.

Of course, there were legitimate reasons for these home inspections – given the age of Berwyn homes and the need to maintain safety standards, especially those related to fire hazards – but the poor communication between City Hall and Latino residents resulted in the latter turning to local community-based organizations and local churches for help, given the inaccessible nature of City Hall. These organizations and churches pressed the Shaughnessy administration to reform their inspection practices that were, as one obtained document states, “disproportionately targeting Latino residents” (Interfaith Leadership Project, 2003, March 15 – 2003, September 15).
The first step was for the Shaughnessy administration to form a task force on housing issues that met bimonthly beginning in late 2002. In 2003, the City of Berwyn agreed to some crucial steps to reform its housing inspection practices that included hiring a bilingual code enforcement/residential rehabilitation counselor, hiring a Spanish language interpreter to translate for Latino residents when they went to City Hall, stopping the practice of taking anonymous complaints from residents, and translating documents related to code enforcement, zoning, and permitting into Spanish. A social service worker intimately involved in the process described how Mayor Shaughnessy personally reached out by attending a meeting of one of these organizations and pledged to continue reforms, and an obtained document regarding the controversy notes how the mayor has “been meeting bimonthly [with a local Latino-based community organization] since December of 2002” (Interfaith Leadership Project, 2003, March 15 – 2003, September 15).

The City of Berwyn’s newfound sense of inclusion might have been motivated by pragmatics above all else – City government had just won their first share of CDBG monies in 2000, and the commitment to affirm fair housing has always been a stipulation to receive those funds. The 1992 firebombing incident had drawn exceedingly negative publicity for the community and resulted in steep legal fees and a settlement, a factor since there was the threat of another fair housing-related lawsuit from the Leadership Council for Open Metropolitan Communities again (which was also involved in representing Latino residents in the home inspection controversy), according to the social service worker. The same social service worker confirmed that several political figures in Berwyn at the time – future Mayor Michael O’Connor and Alderman Rafael Avila – were sympathetic and constructive in assisting the reform of city home inspections.
Discussions with local social service workers indicated that the city government maintains those reformed inspection practices first unveiled in 2003. A glance at Bettergov.org’s payroll database of Berwyn’s city government reveals that half of the employees in the city’s building department have Latino surnames such as ‘Limas’ and ‘Hinojosa,’ and two of the four compliance inspectors have Latino surnames. Moreover, the city government’s latest CDBG Consolidated Plan discusses how the city provides a “Spanish-speaking housing specialist” that assists with code compliance, which have proved “quite effective in increasing code compliance without impending access to housing opportunities” (City of Berwyn Community Development Department, 2010, August, pp.46-47). Regarding overcrowding, comparing data from the 2000 and 2010 Census reveal that the proportion of Latino families who have live in such conditions has declined drastically: In 2000, 909 out of 5,021 Latino households in Berwyn lived in an owner-occupied home where there was more than one occupant per room; In 2010, just 93 of 9,055 Latino households lived in such conditions.

But discussing the history of home inspections and overcrowding with local elites in Berwyn was understandably sensitive terrain to cover for informants, who were mostly reluctant to engage in substantial discussions about the controversy. Mayor Lovero said the city still receives complaints regarding overcrowding, but that the vast majority are “unfounded” and the number of complaints have declined due to the foreclosure crisis (which he considers a far more important problem). He says he is sympathetic to Latino families with extended relatives living with them since he grew up in a similar setting, but he said it is a “difficult process” to find out what is actually overcrowding. “It’s really a fine line between living with relatives and [determining] what is overcrowding,” he said. The other elected officials – including aldermen

35 Bettergov.org obtains government payroll data through the Freedom of Information Act.
Marge Paul, Cesar Santoy, and Nora Laureto – all maintained that home inspections and overcrowding were important to prevent fire hazards. The politicians might have been tacitly referencing a recent fire in Cicero that engulfed an overcrowded apartment in which seven people died – five of them were found dead in an illegally converted attic bedroom – in early 2010.

_Residency Check and Overcrowding Controversy_

Despite reforming its home inspection practices, Berwyn’s city government remained under scrutiny because of perceived overcrowding issues, this time at local schools. By the time the O’Connor administration came to power in 2005, there was a noticeable swelling of enrollment at local public schools, many of which were administered by school districts that also encompasses Cicero to the east. Of course, the overwhelming majority of these new school children were Latino. In 2006, the president of the Berwyn North Elementary School District, Tony Laureto (the husband of future Alderman Nora Laureto), proposed an intergovernmental agreement between the district and Berwyn’s city government to perform residency checks that would determine whether local school children were actually living within Berwyn (Ruizch, 2006, June 9). “We [the school district] feel that the city is responsible for monitoring housing,” Laureto told the *Chicago Tribune.* ”It is not the school district's responsibility to go out and police housing issues” (Ruizch, 2006, June 9). The inspections were to be performed by city housing inspectors based on what the school district considered to be a list apartments or homes that were illegally rented out to tenants who did not live in Berwyn.

The move did not prove to be popular among some Latinos in the community. This was evinced by how 30 Latino residents spoke out against the proposed intergovernmental agreement at what described as a “tense” Berwyn City Council meeting in 2007 (Ruizch, 2007, June 9).
According to a local social service worker, the Latino residents were brought by a local community-based organization, whose representative pressed Mayor O’Connor to not enter into the intergovernmental because it “targeted Hispanics.” The pressure seemed to persuade Mayor O’Connor as the City of Berwyn never entered into the agreement with the local school district. The City Council also might have been influenced by the city’s own attorney, who thought the residency check was potentially unconstitutional and, thus, opened the city to legal action (Ruizch, 2007, June 9).

According to the same social service worker, the overcrowding at local schools was a result of who was buying and selling homes in Berwyn in the 2000’s: The sellers were oftentimes older longtime residents (many of them empty nesters with no children) selling to Latino families with school-age children, factors that led to longtime residents noticing the swelling presence of larger households in Berwyn. “The school increase is because Latinos have more kids,” the social service worker asserted. North Berwyn Park District director Joe Vallez described home overcrowding as not being a “tremendous problem” in Berwyn today. He sees the issue as emanating from the anxieties of longtime residents about community change. “You do see people who live here for 10 to 20 years and when they see a transition of demographics. There’s an opportunity to blame problems on a particular ethnic group,” Vallez says. When Mayor O’Connor, former Alderman Weiner, and current Alderman Laureto (whose husband was instrumental in bringing about the proposal) were asked about the residency check controversy, all three of them minimized the incident, essentially saying it was an exceedingly minor incident that passed. Given that all three were directly involved in the controversy, their unease in talking about the controversy was understandable.
Berwyn Public Library

The Berwyn Public Library is an example of how other stakeholders within the community – particularly those that are less overtly political and more service-based – are being more inclusive of Berwyn’s growing Latino population. Unlike other public libraries, Berwyn’s public library is not a separate district with its own taxing powers but is, in fact, part of and funded by the City of Berwyn. Library director Tammy Clausen is, like all other library employees, on the city government’s payroll and must ultimately answer to the mayor. Clausen worked under both Mayors O’Connor and Lovero, describing both administrations as “seeing the need” to be more inclusive of Latinos even though there is no political consensus in the community to do so.

Clausen worked for the library for nine years before becoming director in 2009, largely because her predecessor could not get along with then Mayor O’Connor. Her formative moment in recognizing the need for inclusion was taking part in the Immigrant Integration Initiative (2007-2009) that involved the library. She described the meetings with various community stakeholders and local Latino leaders as “fascinating,” and she was determined to bring some of those ideas to the library when she became director in 2009. “I took things away [from the initiative] and I was going to use those things,” she recalled. Although the library is part of the city government, she maintains that the library is wholly “apolitical” in how it is run, as being able to get along with both the Democrats and IVB is of paramount importance.

Clausen estimates that around 70% of people served by the library are Latino youth who have limited English proficiency. Since becoming director, she has made an effort to hire more Spanish-speaking employees, estimating that 8 to 10 out of 52 total library employees can speak Spanish. Making the decision to accommodate Spanish-speaking residents was not a difficult
choice for her. “It’s obvious we needed that. Certain [work] shifts didn’t have enough Spanish-speaking employees,” she remembers. The library provides services of all kinds to Spanish-speaking residents, including adult ESL classes (also publicized on the city government’s website calendar), literacy-based programs such as an early childhood reading program that gives away books in both Spanish and English, citizenship classes, and a family-oriented summer program given in Spanish that promotes English language literacy. Many of these programs are funded through grants that are intended to service ESL programs, such as a $5,000 Dollar General Literacy Foundation grant the library won in 2010. When asked if the political establishment or longtime residents questioned the increased number of programs oriented to Latinos, Clausen replied, “I don’t think there’s been a lot of resistance, ever.”

Clausen imagines the library in the future as having a bilingual welcoming center near the front entrance that would provide information about all of the services the library offers. “We want to make it a more welcoming library,” she explains. The library is active in working with other governmental stakeholders in Berwyn, especially the two local park districts and the two local school districts, in implementing programs oriented towards Latinos (such as its literacy programs targeted at school-aged children). But still, Clausen laments the lack of “common vision” in the community for dealing with the influx of Latino residents.

North Berwyn Park District and Fiesta de Nuestra Raices

The North Berwyn Park District (NBPD) is one of Berwyn’s two park districts, but the NPBD has a larger budget and serves the side of Berwyn that is more heavily Latino (North Berwyn). The NBPD is a separate governmental entity from the City of Berwyn, but director Joe Vallez describes how it is necessary “to work with everyone” in running the park district. That philosophy of being apolitical and “working with everyone” is evident in Vallez’s career as a
public servant in Berwyn, in which rivals on both sides of Berwyn’s political divide speak glowingly of Vallez. Before being appointed as the park district’s director in 2000, Vallez built a career as a top-level administrator with the Chicago Park District throughout the 1980’s and 1990’s.

Vallez estimates that 85% of the park district’s clients are Latinos, mostly of Mexican origin. Unlike the Berwyn Public Library, the park district does not have a slate of programming that is necessarily as ethnic-specific, since most park district programs and services are garden-variety fitness, sports, and recreation programs and activities. But the park district does run an after-school programs that is subsidized by the state for low-income families. The event that signifies the park district’s commitment to inclusion is holding the Fiesta de Nuestras Raíces (roughly translated as “Festival of Our Roots”), a celebration geared towards celebrating the Latino heritage of the community. The Latino Business Committee of the Berwyn Development Corporation (BDC) organizes the event in cooperation with the City of Berwyn (Schweinberg, 2011, June 11). Vallez is also president of the BDC’s Latino Business Committee and describes the Fiesta as the BDC’s outreach to the community as well as the making connections with local businesses that “want to capture the Latino market.”

The Fiesta is held every June for one day on 16th Street and Wesley Avenue next to the park district’s main office, and takes up about one city block set against prototypical Chicago-style bungalows. My visit to the 2011 version of the Fiesta involved seeing about 15 to 20 booths that line both sides of the street that are a mixture of local businesses (some of which are Latino-owned), social service agencies, and local governmental entities. The feeling of the Fiesta is that it is small and quaint, being only a few years old, but there is a noticeable buzz towards the early afternoon as people begin to fill out the city block. Towards one end of the
Fiesta is a sizable stage that will later host Latino-themed musical and dance acts; A BDC banner runs across the bottom of the stage, with a familiar Berwyn “Bulls-eye” logo reading “Buy Berwyn” atop “Compre En Berwyn,” a clear indication of the BDC’s turn towards inclusion.

In talking with representatives from the BDC, there is a palpable sentiment of celebrating Berwyn as diverse and inclusive. At the very first booth is the BDC’s Latino Business Committee, which is represented by the organization’s outreach coordinator who is ethnically Latino. He discussed how the committee is in the preliminary stages of a collecting data, but he estimated that around one-third of all local businesses in Berwyn are Latino-owned. When compared to Cicero, Berwyn’s Latino population tends to have a higher socioeconomic status, he says, something representing a greater buying power that the BDC wants to tap into. Another BDC employee I talked to discuss how Berwyn is a tolerant community, something he has personally experienced as a gay man having lived elsewhere in the Chicago metropolitan area. He describes Berwyn as being the most accepting place he has lived in.

*The Role of the Berwyn Development Corporation in Inclusion*

The Berwyn Development Corporation is a hybrid entity that is both a chamber of commerce and economic planning arm of the community. The BDC traditionally has close ties with City Hall spanning both IVB and Democratic administrations, and it maintains a very public role in promoting the suburb through an advertising campaign that markets Berwyn. Among the BDC’s more recent initiatives is the creation of the Latino Business Committee (LBC), which concentrates on assisting and promoting the interests of Latino entrepreneurs in Berwyn. North Berwyn Park District director Joe Vallez was a force in creating the LBC, which he described to the local paper as “not only addressing Latino business people, but people who want to get into
the Latino economic market” (Schweinberg, 2011, February 9). In an interview, Vallez described the committee as numbering around 20-25 members whose efforts are aimed at providing Latino entrepreneurs with the know-how and financial help with setting up businesses in Berwyn. “[Latinos] are a segment [of the population] we want to reach out to, since the buying power of that community will only increase,” he says.

If there is one person who is regarded as the face of the Latino community in Berwyn, it is Joe Vallez. Both IVB and Democratic politicians spoke glowingly of his decidedly non-partisan, amiable personality who is able to work with people on “both sides of the aisle,” and he was also described as an early advocate for inclusion during the Shaughnessy administration. His role as executive director of the local park district necessitates a willingness to cooperate with City Hall, something that Vallez describes as a “spirit of cooperation.” My discussion with Vallez about Berwyn politics stood apart from those with other informants since he was reluctant to take sides between the frequent Democratic and IVB squabbles. Moreover, his sunny, optimistic narrative described City Hall as more inclusive these days with far more bilingual employees than before. “It’s a lot better than it used to be,” he recalls.

As president of the LBC and director of the local park district, Vallez is emblematic, in a sense, of the kind of inclusion the political establishment has settled upon in Berwyn. By basic measures of inclusion, Berwyn has succeeded in electing ethnic minority political leaders and increasing the numbers of inclusion-related programs. And Vallez is a player in that march towards inclusion as the director of the park district that serves Latinos and a leader in the LBC that links the burgeoning Latino population with the suburb’s economic development goals. In this sense, Berwyn’s variant of inclusion is notably service-oriented and business-centric as
opposed to a socially-driven sort of inclusion that explicitly champions tolerance and diversity as core values of the community.

The Bulls-eye Campaign

The influence of the BDC in shaping Berwyn’s identity can be felt through its administration of the Bulls-eye campaign. Advertised on billboards throughout Chicago since 2007, the Bulls-eye campaign is “purely PR type branding” designed, as one employee for the BDC explains, to market the suburb’s ample supply of affordable homes to Chicagoans as “convenient” and accessible to the big city. Another important function is to distinguish Berwyn from Cicero, as the two are often linked in the metropolitan area’s public imagination. The campaign is particularly aimed at first-time homebuyers who would be potentially attracted to the city’s affordable housing stock.

The Bulls-eye campaign draws broad support from both political parties in Berwyn since both Lovero and O’Connor took credit for being involving in conceiving the campaign at its early stages. The close cooperation between the BDC and the City of Berwyn can be seen in the minutes from a April 2011 City Council meeting, where a BDC representative discussed how the campaign targets “prime real estate areas with the most traffic,” and another representative discussed the aesthetics of the campaign, reporting how the theme of “Berwyn Rising” outpolled other alternatives (City Council minutes, 2011, April 26, p.15). The aldermen and mayor ask questions about the implementation of what is officially called the city’s “Integrated Marketing Campaign,” and later the council agrees to the billboards choices conceived by BDC employees.

The campaign is known for strategically placing advertising in Chicago neighborhoods that could produce future “desirable” Berwyn residents. Their efforts can be seen in Chicago’s
Lakeview neighborhood – a trendy north side neighborhood populated by the young and professionally employed – where a large billboard lettered with “Berwyn Rising” is set next to a bulls-eye looming above North Broadway Street. The campaign makes little to no mention of the majority Latino population in Berwyn, only vaguely mentioning the “diversity” of the community (Berwyn Development Corporation, 2012, July 18). The campaign’s web presence is mostly oriented towards promoting the city’s housing stock (of course) as well as suburban amenities such as trendy restaurants and bars located in the Depot District, the recent opening of a Culver’s restaurant, and local recreational facilities and festivals (Berwyn Development Corporation, n.d.). A BDC employee makes it clear that there is “no racial component” to the campaign, but discussions with elected officials in Berwyn evince how some potential residents are more desirable than others – Lovero describes the campaign as capitalizing on diversity as “a strength of the community.” He continues, “We’re going to market to very demographic.” But he has heard complaints from residents who has seen bulls-eye billboards advertised in areas of Chicago close to “high crime areas,” but he is insistent that there is no marketing in “high crime areas.” Alderman Marge Paul envisions the campaign as a direct attempt to make Berwyn more diverse and “multiracial,” which would be preferable to the current demographics of being roughly half White, half Latino.

However, one social service worker in the community describes how the campaign is an attempt to attract “professional people.” After some initial feelings that the campaign was “anti-Latino” because it minimizes the Latino majority in Berwyn, the worker now opines that the BDC is essentially attempting to market against the process of invasion and succession, where Latino residents would completely overtake the White population in Berwyn as it did in Cicero.

36 The campaign’s website can be found at http://whyberwyn.com/.
which is essentially an all-Latino community today. “The most successful diverse communities are those that have a stable form of diversity,” the worker says, “instead of one that is constantly in transition.” There is an opportunity cost of the Bulls-eye campaign since the political leadership in Berwyn lacks a bigger, more comprehensive vision for including Latinos within Berwyn’s political and civic life. The worker explains how this vision would bring the community together so that everyone “feels included in the planning for the community … [which] would cut down on the stereotyping and fear,” especially those held by longtime White residents in the community. On discussing the possibilities of today’s political establishment seeking a broader vision of integrating Latinos, the worker finishes, “It would take someone with courage [to do that].”

_Evaluating Programs and Policies in Berwyn_

Berwyn has come a long way from a community that openly resisted the fair housing movement and being hostile to Black suburbanization. In this sense, Berwyn’s local governance has firmly transitioned in the last decade from being “not inclusive” to _moderately inclusive in terms of programs and policies_. On the one hand, there are increasing numbers of inclusion-oriented programs and a growing willingness among political elites to discuss inclusion. But this does not fully minimize City Hall’s general passivity in supporting these programs and policies since many of these programs are housed, run, and funded by non-City Hall entities. Here, City Hall does not spearhead or pursue inclusion. Instead, other governmental entities like the North Berwyn Park District and the BDC take the lead. This BDC-driven variant of inclusion, most visibly embodied by Joe Vallez and his leadership with the park district and the BDC – welcomes Latinos as potentially lucrative customer base and new entrepreneurs. In Berwyn,
inclusion is melded together with economic development, something described by Abu-Laban and Gabriel (Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2002, p.153) as …

managing diversity, something originating in the human resources literature, in which the need to accommodate racial and ethnic diversity emanates from the need to (1) promote economic growth and, most importantly, (2) avoid race relations problems that might threaten business investment.

Inclusion in Berwyn takes the form of “managing diversity” designed to promote economic development as opposed to concerns for cross-cultural understanding and social justice.

In lieu of pursuing a meaningful inclusive agenda, Berwyn’s elected officials invest resources in the Bulls-eye campaign to lure upscale Chicagoans to Berwyn. And while the campaign mostly does not market Latinos in Berwyn and speaks vaguely of “diversity,” a striking component of the campaign has been the political and business elites’ forthrightness with attracting gay friendly populations to Berwyn. One Bulls-eye promoter described the centrality of attracting gay friendly populations: “That was the key demographic that we were looking for. Not the only demographic, but the key one” (Huppke, 2010, September 2). Mayor Lovero was reported as handing out Bulls-eye fliers at the annual Northalsted Market Days street festival, a notable gay-friendly celebration in the Lakeview neighborhood. The logic behind this is that it has been “well-established anecdotally and through academic research” that gay lesbian populations “boosts property values” and lead to “improvements in the appearance of a community as well as the amenities it offers” (Huppke, 2010, September 2).

It is clear that elected officials in Berwyn draw upon creative class logic to market their suburb to the wider metropolitan area. But it is strategy that has an opportunity cost for inclusion. Creative class workers span different professions from “high-tech sectors, financial
services, the legal and healthcare professions, and business management,” but all are middle- and upper-middle-class professionals. Creative class guru Richard Florida has been adamant that diversity, particularly a city being gay and lesbian friendly, is strongly linked to attracting creative class workers (Florida, 2004). In this vein, the Bulls-eye campaign represents an opportunity to upscale Berwyn. Berwyn’s creative class strategy is designed to avoid suburban decline and places an abrupt limit on the extent to which the political establishment is inclusive, especially if potential in movers are low or moderate income households. In this way, inclusion in Berwyn has only involved providing adequate basic services (such as translation), avoiding interethnic tensions, and tapping into the growing Latino demographic as a potentially lucrative consumer base. This sort of inclusion is superficial and pales in comparison to a forceful, rigorous, government-led inclusion that promotes diversity and tolerance.
CHAPTER 4

FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 4.1: Map displaying the percentage of Latino of all races by census block groups with the drawing of Berwyn’s aldermanic wards in red outline.

### Berwyn April 5, 2005 Consolidated General Election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aldermanic Wards</th>
<th>Registered Voters</th>
<th>Ballots Cast</th>
<th>Turnout</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ward 1 (Chapman)</td>
<td>3,776</td>
<td>1,824</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 2 (Ramos)</td>
<td>3,547</td>
<td>1,607</td>
<td>45.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 3 (Weiner)</td>
<td>3,698</td>
<td>1,832</td>
<td>49.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 4 (Skyrd)</td>
<td>2,989</td>
<td>1,233</td>
<td>41.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 5 (Brocato)</td>
<td>2,684</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>35.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 6 (Phelan)</td>
<td>2,712</td>
<td>1,023</td>
<td>37.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 7 (Lovero)</td>
<td>2,916</td>
<td>1,146</td>
<td>39.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 8 (Erickson)</td>
<td>2,619</td>
<td>1,070</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turnout Total</td>
<td>34,552</td>
<td>10,681</td>
<td>42.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1: Voter turnout data from 2005 Berwyn city election. Source: Cook County Clerk’s Office
### Table 4.2: Voter turnout data from 2009 Berwyn city election. Source: Cook County Clerk’s Office

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aldermanic Wards</th>
<th>Registered Voters</th>
<th>Ballots Cast</th>
<th>Turnout</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ward 1 (Chapman)</td>
<td>3,812</td>
<td>1,446</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 2 (Boyajian)</td>
<td>3,553</td>
<td>1,236</td>
<td>34.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 3 (Paul)</td>
<td>3,836</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>39.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 4 (Skryd)</td>
<td>3,165</td>
<td>959</td>
<td>30.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 5 (Santoy)</td>
<td>2,872</td>
<td>869</td>
<td>30.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 6 (Polashek)</td>
<td>2,967</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 7 (Avila)</td>
<td>3,393</td>
<td>1,077</td>
<td>31.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 8 (Laureto)</td>
<td>2,705</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Turnout Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>26,303</strong></td>
<td><strong>8,662</strong></td>
<td><strong>32.5%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 4.2:** Map of Berwyn and its proximity to traditional feeder Chicago neighborhoods of Little Village and Pilsen.
### Non-Latino Whites in Berwyn

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White alone</td>
<td>34,270</td>
<td>60.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Latino</td>
<td>16,678</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White alone or in combination with other races</td>
<td>35,893</td>
<td>63.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Latino</td>
<td>17,874</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data: 2010 U.S. Census

**Table 4.3:** Non-Latino Whites in Berwyn.

### Index of Dissimilarity (ID) scores

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Latino to Latino</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black to White</td>
<td>47.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black to Asian</td>
<td>63.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino to Black</td>
<td>49.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino to Asian</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White to Asian</td>
<td>59.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data: 2005-2009 American Community Survey

**Table 4.4:** Table displaying Index of Dissimilarity (ID) scores in Berwyn.

### Index of Exposure (IE) scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Latino</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Non-Latino</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Latino</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data: 2005-2009 American Community Survey

**Table 4.5:** Table displaying Index of Exposure (IE) scores in Berwyn.
Figure 4.3: Map displaying the distribution of Latinos of all races in Berwyn by census block groups.
Figure 4.4: Map displaying the distribution of Non-Latino Whites in Berwyn by census tracts.

Figure 4.5: Map displaying the distribution of isolated Spanish language households in Berwyn by census block groups.
Figure 4.6: Low- to moderate-income census block groups in Berwyn are clustered in what is generally referred to as North Berwyn. Source: Berwyn CDBG Consolidated Report, 2010
Figure 4.7: Map displaying the distribution of Latinos of Mexican origin in Berwyn by census block groups.

Figure 4.8: Map displaying the distribution of Blacks in Berwyn by census block groups.
**Figure 4.9:** Map displaying the distribution of single-family homes (attached or detached) in Berwyn by census block groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percent of Hispanic and All Homeowners with a Housing Problem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Income Category</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low-income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate Income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Income &amp; Up</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4.6:** Source: City of Berwyn 2010-2014 Consolidated Report
Figure 4.10: Map displaying the distribution of households that rent in Berwyn by census tracts.
CHAPTER 5
THE SKOKIE EXPERIENCE OF INCLUSION

Recent History in Skokie Prior to 2000

Within the Chicago metropolitan area, Skokie is still generally thought of as a Jewish enclave, and this is where the story of inclusion begins. Skokie’s Jewish population has sizable numbers of Holocaust survivors as well as Orthodox Jews who are a visible minority presence. On Shabbat (the Jewish day of rest), crowds of Orthodox Jews in conservative, formal dress walk to worship services in synagogues that dot Skokie. After World War II, many American-born and immigrant Jews moved from Chicago to Skokie when many North Shore suburbs actively excluded Jewish homebuyers using discriminatory tactics, such as restrictive covenants and a general reluctance to sell (Cutler, 2009).

But Skokie was different, as home developers – some of them Jewish – advertised vacant, low-cost single-family homes to Jewish neighborhoods in Chicago (Cutler, 2009, p. 260-261). As one Holocaust survivor recounted, “It was in the papers, in the magazines. I had friends … in the construction business. They said, ‘Come to Skokie’” (Reich, 2010). Long-time Skokie resident and current village trustee Don Perille remembers those days when anti-Semitism was more overt. He remembers how the village’s first Human Relations Commission was founded in the early 1960’s to purposefully mediate conflicts between Christian residents and incoming Jews in Skokie.

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37 There is no official count of official count of the number of Jewish residents in Skokie, but it is generally believed that they make up around 15% to 20% of all residents today with a dozen synagogues located in both Skokie and Lincolnwood (Cutler, 2009, p.261). This represents a marked decline from the past – Various estimates around the 1970’s during the Neo-Nazi controversy indicated that Jews represented somewhere between 30% to 40%, a significant critical mass within the community, that includes 5,000 to 6,000 Holocaust survivors (Frum, 1999, p.7).
The suburb is still best remembered for the plans of Neo-Nazi leader Frank Collin to hold a march along downtown Skokie in 1977, a move that Skokie’s political establishment resisted. Collin and his followers from a local chapter of the National Socialist Party of America were thwarted in earlier attempts to attain a protest permit in Chicago. Consequently, they trained their sights on the Jewish population living in North Shore suburbs. Collin’s groups distributed leaflets that disquietingly read “WE ARE COMING!” throughout the North Shore and later submitted an application to demonstrate to Skokie’s park district on October 25, 1976 (Strum, 1999, p.15). Knowing that Collin claimed a right to march based on First Amendment protections, Skokie’s village leaders reluctantly countenanced the demonstration. But local Jewish leaders were abhorred by this possibility. Skokie mayor Albert J. Smith, well read on the Holocaust, was persuaded by Holocaust survivor accounts to resist and seek a legal injunction (Strum, 1999, pp.15-16).

Mayor Smith was Catholic and a Notre Dame graduate, but his advocacy for the cause of Jewish Holocaust survivors was indicative of the sense of inclusion engendered by the stance of village government in what would be an 18-month struggle against Collin. As mayor from 1965 to 1987, Smith’s advocacy drew widespread admiration among Skokie’s Jews both then and now:

The Skokie survivors regarded [Mayor Smith] as something of a miracle: A non-Jew who was totally in sympathy with them and connected to their causes … He had the solid support of the Jewish community and easily beat the occasional prominent Jewish Democrat who ventured to run against him. While Smith knew the First Amendment, he also came as close as possible to understanding the survivor’s pain. (Strum, 1999, p.19)
The initial injunction filed by village government eventually was eventually taken up by the U.S. Supreme Court in an influential 1978 First Amendment case, National Socialist Party of America vs. Village of Skokie. Skokie essentially lost the lawsuit, but Frank Collin and his Neo-Nazis never marched in Skokie after the demonstration was called off following negotiations with the U.S. Department of Justice (Strum, 1999). Those events were dramatized by a made-for-television movie aptly titled *Skokie* that was broadcast in 1979 on CBS, an television event that no doubt burnished the suburb’s image as being tolerant (Wise, 1981).

Since then, Skokie’ village government has demonstrated a very public and active willingness to make a stand against racism and intolerance. In 2000, around 20 members of the Klu Klux Klan held a rally along the steps of the Cook County Courthouse in Skokie in 2000 that was reluctantly countenanced by local leaders given the 1979 Supreme Court ruling (Gezari, 2000, December 18). The KKK rally galvanized village leaders and residents, some of whom directly confronted the Klansmen at the courthouse rally. However, far more village leaders and residents attended a “Peace and Harmony” counter-rally held the day after at the local Niles West High School. In all, nearly 400 people attended the counter-rally to support of tolerance and diversity (Gezari, 2000, December 18). In an interview, longtime Skokie resident George Mitchell spoke of personal pride in how the community responded to the KKK rally, describing how that counter-rally and Neo-Nazi march gave Skokie a “brand” for being inclusive. When Skokie resident and Northwestern basketball coach Ricky Byrdsong was murdered by a white supremacist a year earlier, Skokie’s village government held a town forum shortly thereafter regarding hate groups that was attended by Skokie’s then and current mayor, George Van Dusen and other village leaders. Byrdsong’s widow, Serialyn, was so touched by the community’s
response that she decided to stay in her “community that values racial and ethnic differences” (Gezari, 2000, December 18).

Inclusion in Skokie goes beyond cultural initiatives and public pronouncements. It was among the first communities in Illinois to pass a fair housing law (1968) and created a Human Relations Commission to enforce the ordinance (Isaacs, 2005, January 20). As Black suburbanization began in the 1960’s, dealing with housing issues was central to inclusion. Don Perille remembered “hundreds of ‘for sale’ signs going up after the first black family move to Skokie in 1961” (Frum, 1999, p.8); But in an interview, Perille also recalled how political leaders in Skokie took proactive steps to assuage the fears of White residents seeing Black families move in to their neighborhoods. “We would send village officials and talk to the neighbors to not put up for sale signs,” Perille remembers of efforts to prevent the White flight that was so prevalent in the 1970’s and 1980’s in the region. George Mitchell was a member of the village’s Human Relations Commission for almost two decades in the 1980’s and 1990’s. He remembers a study conducted by the village and commission in the late 1980’s about the concentration of Black residents in the northeastern part of Skokie adjacent to Evanston, finding that those Black residents did not feel segregated and, according to Mitchell, “wanted to live there.”

Today, the attempted Neo-Nazi rally, “Peace and Harmony” rally, and fair housing policies are together narrated as part of Skokie’s progressive heritage of resisting racism and intolerance. Filipino-American Jerry Clarito, an elected official on the Skokie Park District, described these efforts to publically combat racism as informing what he calls an “open door” policy, since the effort in the late 1970’s galvanized the Skokie community to make a stand for tolerance and acceptance of newly arrived ethnic minorities. In turn, Clarito continues, many
ethnic minorities chose to move to Skokie where the “goal was to have a home” and live in an inclusive community. Skokie was particularly attractive to Asian immigrants, as shown by a 1983 *Chicago Tribune* article that declared Skokie “has in recent years become an Asian village” with an Asian population increase from 512 to 4,242 by 1980 (Reardon, 1983). Mayor Van Dusen told the *Chicago Sun-Times* in 1999 that Skokie’s reputation for inclusion played a role in attracting racial and ethnic minorities: "I think we invited diversity by what we did. The image of Skokie we conveyed to (our first minority residents) was that everyone is welcome here, we don't have color lines" (Beaupre, 1999, October 3).

**Political Incorporation**

“Diversity is a fact in Skokie”

Political elites (mayor, city councilors) in Skokie speak with ease and fluidity regarding village government’s history of promoting inclusion through programs and policies. Like Berwyn, the recent influx of Asians, Blacks, and Latinos into Skokie is narrated as part of the suburb’s role as an immigrant gateway. George Mitchell, in our discussions, notes that “diversity is a fact in Skokie.” This phrase is meant to convey how demographic change in Skokie is inevitable, and political leaders and the community must necessarily devise ways to deal with change in a positive, constructive manner.38

Longtime Mayor Van Dusen touts that there are over 70 different ethnic groups in Skokie, something particularly evident in local schools where he says that “young people grow up and learn values like tolerance” through socially mixing with their multiethnic and foreign-

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38 The phrase “diversity is a fact in Skokie” appears to have its origins in late 1980’s and early 1990’s public discussions about increased diversity in Skokie, a time when political and civic elites first developed the annual Skokie Festival of Cultures. In this way, it was longtime political and civic elites who uttered this phrase with far more frequency than newer entrants into the community.
born classmates. Van Dusen discusses how his now adult-aged son grew up in local schools and “naturally learned world geography by learning where [his school] friends were from.” Van Dusen further explained that living in Skokie enables young people who will enter the workforce to understand that the “world is important,” given how different economies today are increasingly interconnected.

Many Skokie residents believe that promoting diversity is important and stands as a beneficial and tangible community asset. Gail Schechter, Skokie resident and director of the Interfaith Housing Center for the Northern Suburbs, describes living in her ethnically mixed neighborhood as being reminiscent of growing up in diverse Queens. “For me, Skokie is Queens,” Schechter tersely says. Corrie Wallace, also a Skokie resident and the director of the local English Learning Language Center, describes Skokie as a “unique community” where “[we] truly celebrate diversity. It’s not just a superficial attitude.” This can be evinced by the close inclusion-oriented initiatives between village government, local schools, and social service agencies. As someone of Black and Jewish descent, Wallace said that finding a tolerant and inclusive community to live in was important for her family. Current village trustee Pramod Shah described the choice to move to Skokie over 30 years ago as based on factors of looking for a single-family home, good schools, and a “welcoming community.” He remembers how this spirit of inclusion dates back to 1975 when the local park district built a simple, makeshift cricket field for the small numbers of Indian immigrants in Skokie. Shah recalls: “[Local officials] were very welcoming and cooperative. They didn’t know what cricket was about, but they built a facility for us.”

39 In 2008, the Skokie Park District finished building a permanent cricket pitch at Hamlin Park.
Local governance’s commitment to inclusion in Skokie occurs in a political establishment that is historically dominated by just one political entity, the Caucus Party. The Caucus Party’s origin is not far removed from the village’s name change from Niles Center to Skokie in 1940. After a dispute over local zoning issues and the corruption of local government at the time, the Caucus Party was formed in 1956, and, in 1959, overwhelming defeated the Democratic and Republican-backed United Party in local elections (Isaacs, 2007, October 18). The most palpable effect of the Caucus Party’s triumph was to install a city-manager form of government that persists to this day. It essentially placed an emphasis on professionalism over politics in running village affairs (Isaacs, 2007, October 18). One village worker I interviewed described Skokie’ City-Manager form of government as effectively separating party politics from the village workforce, ensuring that hiring decisions are made by the village manager based on qualifications as opposed to personal or political connections to powerful village leaders.

The party’s emphasis on professionalism can be seen in the recollections of longtime party chair Harvey Schwartz who remembered one early Caucus Party member who “schooled candidates and scolded them” on a projecting professional appearance. “When you appear in public,” Schwartz recalls, “You will wear a shirt and tie” (Isaacs, 2007, October 18). The village’s first manager, Bernard “Ben” Marsh, fought to professionalize the village workforce and eliminate corruption in ways that resonate with the Caucus Party to this day. “I think everyone would admit that the Ben Marsh imprint continues to this day,” said longtime Caucus Party leader Harvey Schwartz (Whittingham, 1988). Current village trustee Perille describes

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40 One informant described the Caucus Party as the local “political machine,” but refused to have this comment formally attributed to him or her.
how Skokie’s government places a high emphasis on providing good services – i.e. police, fire, and trash pickup services – through hiring trained individuals whose expertise are externally certified. Today, village government regularly touts Skokie’s prestigiously accredited police and fire departments, and the village’s internationally recognized building codes (Isaacs, 2007, April 12; Isaacs, 2012, March 12).

The Caucus Party-led government is generally seen as well run and fiscally responsible: Local property taxes have not risen in 20 years and the village’s bonds are rated as triple A by Fitch Ratings and Moody’s (Isaacs, 2011, December 15; Village of Skokie, 2012, July 19). Current trustee Perille describes Skokie’s village government as traditionally conservative economically (in terms of taxing and spending) but still able to provide good basic services that attract new residents. Village human services director Maureen DiFrancesca described Skokie as being rich in resources, something that can be seen through services offered by the award-winning Skokie Public Library and Skokie Park District.41 The Caucus Party itself is an avowedly non-partisan entity, and this formula of non-partisanship, professionalism, the provision of good village services, and fiscal prudence have led to its uninterrupted rule of village government for over 40 years.

Since the 1960’s, the Caucus Party has been challenged in local elections only on an intermittent basis. Led by mayoral candidate Bernard Nathan, the newly formed Skokie Independent Party challenged the dominant party in 1977, only to see their entire slate of candidates lose to the Caucus Party by a 2-1 margin in local elections (Whittingham, 1988). In 2001, the nascent Community Vision Party (CVP) challenged the Caucus Party machine, and

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41 Both the Skokie Public Library and Skokie Park District are separate governmental entities from Skokie village government, with separate elected officials and taxing authority.
was led by mayoral candidate Thomm Dammrich, then president of the Skokie Park District and current president of the National Marine Manufacturers Association based in Chicago. In an interview, Dammrich described his motivations for running against the vaunted Caucus Party as being driven by a desire to push them to “run a real campaign” in a village where elections were generally uncontested. “No new ideas,” he said, are ever offered up in a one-party political environment. In a newspaper article detailing the contest between Dammrich and Van Dusen, Dammrich’s platform rested on the charge of decades of uninterrupted Caucus Party rule had resulted in a village government that lacks a long-term vision for the suburb, and he was especially critical of overdevelopment that risked Skokie becoming a “welter of parking lots and empty strip malls” (Routliffe, 2001, March 22).

Dammrich’s other talking point was how the village’s all-White political leadership no longer reflected the suburb’s growing ethnic diversity. Dammrich explained:

You can look at the community and the most recent census statistics that show 34 percent of our community is now non-white. We have very active Filipino and South Asian communities, among others. And these communities have no representation in our government. (Routliffe, 2001, March 22)

The CVP ran two minority candidates of Filipino and Pakistani ethnicity – Ferdinand Soco and Mohammed Farooqui – for village board seats. The unrepresentative nature of Skokie’s political leadership was not unnoticed by the local daily, the *Skokie Review*. In endorsing candidates, the newspaper’s editorial staff essentially chose a split endorsement, choosing Van Dusen for mayor but also a mix of Caucus Party and CVP candidates for trustee positions. The paper also
endorsed CVP candidate Mohammed Farooqui, saying, “Skokie is growing younger and more diverse, yet the Caucus board is white, gray-haired and male” (Skokie Review, 2001, March 29).

In the April 2001 village elections, the Caucus Party crushed the CVP. The entire slate of Caucus Party candidates won an estimated 80% of all votes cast (Routliffe, 2001, April 5). For Dammrich and the CVP, the defeat was crushing and the CVP quickly disappeared from local politics. Dammrich attributed his party’s defeat to the community being satisfied with the quality of basic services provided by the village as well as a high level of local voter apathy. Since then, Dammrich receded from public life in Skokie, saying he cancelled his subscription to the local paper and no longer pays attention to local politics. Perille remembered Dammrich in those days as a “force” in the community’s civic and political life, but has rarely seen Dammrich since then even. Perille attributed the CVP’s defeat largely to Dammrich’s fiscal mismanagement of the Skokie Park District, which the Caucus Party turned into a successful campaign issue.

The 2001 village elections ushered in more of the same as the Caucus Party maintained control, but the unrepresentative nature Skokie’s all-White political leadership was not unnoticed. Losing CVP trustee candidate Farooqui sensed that the Caucus Party was able to effectively reach out to Asian American voters, something evinced by how two Caucus Party-backed Indian candidates won in the Niles Township contest.42 “Most people don’t split their votes,” Farooqui told the local paper in explaining how voters tend to vote for a party’s entire slate of candidates (Routliffe & Isaacs, 2001, April 12). Even though it resoundingly defeated two Asian CVP candidates, the Caucus Party claimed to have reached out to Skokie’s ethnic residents during the election: First, Van Dusen pointed to a two-year effort to appoint members

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42 One of the two Caucus Party-backed Indian candidates was future Skokie village trustee Pramod Shah. Niles Township is a separate, coterminous government that encompasses Skokie and nearby Lincolnwood and Golf as well as parts of three other suburbs, and provides social and emergency services.
of the Asian community to fill some of Skokie’s numerous commission posts (Routliffe, 2001, April 12). Another tactic was to directly campaign to ethnic communities, as explained by Caucus Party campaign manager Barbara Meyer – "We went out and talked to a lot of members of the ethnic communities, to people in the ethnic newspapers and publications. They let us know about the language barriers residents have, and what we could do about it" (Routliffe, 2001, April 5). However, low voter turnout among Skokie’s Asian residents was also evident, as described by a Caucus Party member who won a seat on the Niles Township board: "I was one of our poll watchers. At the poll I was watching there were supposed to be 400 voters in one precinct and 700 in another. Most of the people who were coming to vote were non-Asian. I didn't see too many Indians, or Koreans or Filipinos" (Routliffe & Isaacs, 2001, April 12).

When asked about the unrepresentative nature of Skokie’s governing elite, the common refrain among local elected officials (all Caucus Party members) is that true ethnic diversity can be found in the village’s numerous boards and commissions. Skokie’s village government runs 15 different boards and commissions that essentially act as citizen advisory panels, aimed at structurally tethering elected officials to the sentiments of their constituents. Commission members are all volunteers from the community and are appointed by the village board for tenures of around three years, and these commissions deal with a wide range of community issues, such as planning and zoning, public safety, consumer affairs, and human relations. Mayor Van Dusen describes how village leaders encourage citizens to participate through these boards and commission. “We want them to know that ours is an open government,” he says. Village officials and workers (and even CVP leader Dammrich) uniformly describe how these commissions have been historically important in the day-to-day affairs of running Skokie. Most importantly, they describe how serving on village commissions is seen as an important stepping
stone for those wishing to run for elected office in Skokie, since numerous elected officials today made their entrance into village affairs through these commissions.

*Skokie’s Human Relations Commission, Then and Now*

The centerpiece of the community’s history of inclusion is the Human Relations Commission (HRC) officially formed in 1959. The HRC’s self-described purpose is to encourage “understanding and respect between residents of Skokie with various racial, ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds.”

Since enactment of the village’s fair housing ordinance in 1968, the HRC official responsibility was to enforce that ordinance through investigating complaints and holding mediation sessions typically between landlords and potential tenants. The HRC is also tasked with cultural and education programs that promote inclusion, the most well-known being the more than two-decades-old Skokie Festival of Cultures held every May.

Aware that the HRC is the face of inclusion in Skokie, village leaders actively recruit ethnic minorities to serve on the commission, as today’s HRC includes a Black, Vietnamese, Assyrian, Indian, Pakistani, and a Chinese.

Skokie’s HRC has a long history of promoting inclusion that dates back to the 1960’s when it was founded in response to a 1958 racial incident involving a Black family moving in to Skokie. When the Joneses, a youthful, well-educated Black couple, moved into to Skokie home in 1961, a brick was “hurled through a front room” window of their home (Slaughter, 1961).

With the HRC in place, Skokie’s political establishment stood behind the Jones’ right to reside there. The HRC made public declarations supporting the young couple and had local leaders visit nearby White families to assure them that property values would not decline (Slaughter,

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1961, February 18). The HRC later mediated disputes between Christians and Jews involving a local Jewish organization protesting the erection of a nativity scene at the local fire department’s headquarters (Chicago Daily Tribune, 1961, December 3). In 1967, the HRC held a public meeting to determine the effectiveness of voluntary fair housing negotiated with local real estate brokers. The chairman of the HRC at the time, Herman Bloch, expressed dissatisfaction with the progress made by the voluntary program: During the past year, “not a single home on Skokie was sold to a Negro family by a Skokie broker … it was our conclusion that many of the brokers who had agreed to cooperate were not wholehearted in their efforts” (McDonough, 1967, May 7). The next year, Skokie would pass the state’s first fair housing ordinance. Just two years after that in 1970, the HRC led Skokie’s village government to file a complaint in circuit court charging two local women with refusing to rent an apartment to a Black couple and their two children (Chicago Tribune, 1970, May 23).

As the HRC became an anchor in Skokie, housing issues remained a central function as the commission added outreach, education, and cultural functions to promote tolerance. The HRC played a central role in conceiving and organizing the first annual Skokie Festival of Cultures in 1991, a role that the commission maintains to this day in cooperation with other local organizations. A 1989 Chicago Tribune article detailed how the HRC held resident outreach efforts such as block parties and an annual newcomer’s coffee meeting (McKuen, 1989, April 5). As far as enforcing the village’s fair housing ordinance, the 1989 article quotes HRC veteran Evelyn Aronson – who was on the commission for 15 years – as saying that the commission generally holds a hearing about housing discrimination once a year. Many of these hearings

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44 In 1961, the HRC was chaired by a Methodist minister (Rev. Ray Bond) and was composed of concerned citizens and local Christian and Jewish clergy. In 1961, the actions of the HRC in supporting integration won four of those Skokie clergymen an award from the Catholic Interracial Council in Chicago for easing racial tensions within the community (Chicago Daily Tribune, 1961, October 29).
involve mediating disputes between landlords and potential tenants without resorting to further legal escalation – Aronson details one such incident between a Black woman who was denied the opportunity to rent an apartment because of her race. But after hearing the woman’s case, the “landlord was penitent, and the woman received a cash settlement” (McKuen, 1989, April 5).

George Mitchell was appointed to the commission and took over the role of chairman in 1980. In a 1997 *Tribune* article lauding Mitchell’s service on the HRC, Mitchell estimated that he had seen about 20 complaints between 1980 to 1997, but it is important to note that not every complaint was related to fair housing concerns and can relate to “neighbor disputes over issues such as landscaping and parking” (McKuen, 1997, February 12). Typically, complaints originate when an offended party contacts village government and the HRC initiates a three-step process that involves an investigation, a confidential conciliation led by the HRC, and then a formal hearing if the two parties cannot resolve their dispute in private.

James Coney, an African-American who first moved to Skokie over 30 years ago, chairs today’s HRC, a role he has served since 2006. The commission is also composed of between 20 to 23 members as well as liaisons from the Village Board (currently trustee Perille) and one from the village workforce, typically the director of Human Services. The HRC meets once a month on the last Thursday of every month and has numerous sub-committees involving areas like education, diversity, and housing that are chaired by commission members. At a January 2012 meeting I attended, commission members spent a significant amount of time discussing the status of various outreach and educational programs the commission is involved with that includes Coming Together in Skokie, the D.A.Y. (Diversity Action by Youth) program that promotes diversity among youth in Skokie, and the annual Skokie Festival of Cultures.
What has happened in the past decade is that the function of the HRC has changed as the commission today primarily focuses on education and outreach efforts designed to promote inclusion, focusing less on housing issues. The prime reason for this is twofold: Housing-related complaints brought before the HRC has basically disappeared during the 2000’s, as the last reported complaint was filed in 2001 and resolved the next year. Moreover, more diversity and immigrant-related programs were added to the village’s slate as a result of an immigrant integration grant given to the village by the Chicago Community Trust between 2007 and 2009. Skokie Park District commissioner Jerry Clarito served on the HRC in the early 2000’s before being elected to the park district in 2006, and retells in an interview that he was not involved in any session related to housing issues. Instead, Clarito remembers that HRC was “very active” during his tenure, which involved amending the village’s fair housing ordinance to be LGBT inclusive and instituting diversity training for village staff and leaders.

One long-serving member of the commission discussed how the HRC had shifted since the 1990’s in another aspect – Ten years ago, the commission was more “externally focused” in that commissioners saw their role as reaching out to the wider Skokie community to actively promote and lead the efforts to accept cultural diversity. One example involved the HRC initiating diversity training with village workers aimed at increasing intercultural communication between the village workforce and ethnic minorities and immigrants in the community. Taken as a whole, this “external focus” failed, the commissioner remembered, and today’s HRC is more “internally focused” in that it manages the various outreach and cultural programs supported by the village government. The commissioner speculated that the HRC’s inward focus is a product of the oft-heard phrase that “diversity is a fact in Skokie”: So many governmental and civic organizations in Skokie like churches and synagogues, the public library, and the public schools
all have diversity-oriented programs such that the “community has rallied around and promoted diversity to the point that diversity in no longer a [controversial] issue.”

Representing Skokie’s Ethnic Diversity

Despite the progressive history of Skokie’s HRC, the village’s elected officials remained altogether unrepresentative of Skokie’s growing Asian, Latino, and Black populations. The election of Pramod Shah to a village trustee position in the 2009 elections was noted by fellow villager leaders as a sign of progress. Now, there would be minority voice on the village board. Moreover, every seat on the village board is elected in an at-large basis, a system that dilutes the voting power of potential ethnic blocs in Skokie. However, the at-large system might be immaterial in a political system typically characterized by uncontested elections.

Shah is a longtime Caucus Party loyalist who has been a party member for 15 years and eventually rose to the ranks of vice chair, the second highest-ranked position in the party. He was first appointed to the position of Niles Township collector in 1999, won the same position in township elections in 2001, and won a Niles Township trustee position in 2005. His political involvement began as a member of the board of directors and treasurer of the regional Indo-American Democratic Organization in the early 1990’s, from which he turned his attention to local politics in Skokie. In an interview, Shah described his altruistic motives for entering public service: “I just wanted to work and do whatever I can to make life better for the residents.” He describes his outreach efforts as mostly revolving around receiving phone calls from constituents, many of who are immigrants from South Asian – especially from India and Pakistan – concerned about day-to-day issues such as crime and village services. Shah described

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45 Village-trustee governments in Illinois tend to elect trustees through an at-large basis as opposed to ward-based system that potentially empowers minority voting through geographically-defined blocs.
his role as the lone Asian representative on the village board as more than just “symbolic” since other members of the village board “value your views and opinions. They think it’s OK to have an Asian on the board.” As far as inclusion goes, Shah reiterated how village government is proactive in getting more immigrants involved in village affairs through programs funded by the immigrant integration grant and through the village’s numerous boards and commissions, which are replete with Asian members.

Shah described the Caucus Party’s procedure for nominating candidates to run for office as akin to job interviews, where potential candidates (all party members) would apply and be vetted before party leadership, who will later decide who will run and develop a slate of candidates for the next village election. In the lead-up to the 2009 elections, Shah recounted that other Asian candidates were interviewed for running on the Caucus Party slate that year, but that he was the only one selected. This process is reported in the local paper discussing the Caucus Party holding its convention in December 2008 at the Holiday Inn in Skokie in which a screening committee – which includes the party directors, the current mayor (Van Dusen), and village trustees – vetted 11 total candidates for six open trustee seats before the nominees were brought up before a vote by the party’s general membership (Isaacs, 2008, December 9). One informant who took part in the interview process described Shah’s success in being nominated was due to his heavy involvement in Skokie’s community and that “he’s paid his dues” within the Caucus Party. Shah’s ascension to a village trustee position was undoubtedly part of a larger effort by the Caucus Party to incorporate more Asian members within local politics, something evinced by an earlier news article in 2008 that celebrated Shah and Filipino-American Angeles “Jelly” Carandang being elected to leadership positions within the Caucus Party (Isaacs, 2008, March 27). Shah told the local paper how the Caucus Party was reaching out to ethnic populations: “I
feel we're really moving in the right direction. The party is opening up for members of diverse backgrounds” (Isaacs, 2008, March 27).

As Skokie’s Asian population is roughly 25% of all residents, Shah’s presence on a village board composed of six trustees plus the mayor is meant to convey the growing influence of the diverse Asian population. Trustee Perille describes fellow trustee Edie Sue Sutker’s role as representing the interests Jewish residents in Skokie since she has been a longtime member of that community. The rest of the village board is entirely composed of Whites, mostly of Protestant or Catholic backgrounds that have historically dominated Skokie’s village government. Perille described himself as moderate Republican and generally the most conservative member of the village board, whereas he describes fellow trustee Randy Roberts as the most liberal member and Mayor Van Dusen as being between those two extremes. What is noticeable about the composition of Skokie’s village board is that its members tend to be older, seasoned residents – typically at least in the 50’s – which is a persistent trope of those critical of village government. Given the Caucus Party’s dominance, the age of Skokie’s village board could be attributable to the premium placed on “paying your dues” both within the party establishment by first serving on the community’s boards and commissions, where most of today’s trustees had their start in public service.

But as Shah’s ascension to the Village Board drew plaudits, village government’s workforce since 2000 has statically remained almost entirely White during that time span. As seen in the village government’s Equal Employment Opportunity Report (EEO-4), the percentage of village workers identified as White has remained relatively static since 2000: In the 2001 report, 384 out of 435 (88%) village workers were White, and, in 2009, Whites were
reported as 398 out of 451 village workers, also 88% of the total. The largest group of minorities employed by Skokie are Blacks, who numbered 30 employees in 2001 (7% of the total) and whose numbers have declined slightly to 24 in 2009 (5%), both percentages being not far removed from the 7% of residents in Skokie who today are Black. In 2009, the vast majority of Black workers (16 out of 24) were clustered within “Service and Maintenance” jobs at the village, something that remained true in 2001 (17 out of 30). The enduring employment of Blacks by the village government might be explained by the longer historical presence of Blacks within Skokie relative to Latino and Asian populations (who have experienced considerable growth only in the past 20 years).

By contrast, the presence of Latino and Asian employees within the village’s workforce has been growing the past decade but remains a small portion of total number of employees. The number of identified Hispanics working for the village has grown from 11 in 2001 to 19 in 2009, making them representative of 4% of the total workforce in 2009. This 4% number is lower than the estimated 8% of Skokie residents who are identified as Latino in the latest U.S. Census, and the vast majority of these Latinos (14 of them) are clustered within “Protective Service Workers” that are related to the social work profession. The village’s Asian workforce represents the greatest disparity: Between 2001 and 2009, the number of Asians working for the village has been constant at 10, roughly 2% of the total workforce in 2009. Of course, this number is hardly representative of the 1 in 4 Skokie residents who are Asian, and the static number of 10 Asian workers seemed to indicate that it is the same Asian employees who work for the village. Unlike

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46 Skokie’s Equal Employment Opportunity Report (EEO-4) was obtained through a Freedom of Information Act request. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 stipulates that municipal governments with workforces larger than 15 employees must file EEO-4 reports on a biennial basis.
Black and Latino workers, the 10 Asian workers are spread through jobs in the village’s workforce.

What has happened in recent years is the emergence and coalescence of ethnic-based community groups in Skokie, one such example being the Coalition of Asian Communities in Skokie. As told to the *Skokie Review* in 2007, then Coalition president Anil Pillai (an Indian) described one key aim of the organization: “I would like to see all Asian Americans come under one banner. What we want to do is unite because we feel strong about what we can accomplish” (Isaacs, 2007, October 25). Two leaders in the Coalition – one being Skokie Park District commissioner Jerry Clarito – described how the group emerged in 2003 with the goal of representing the disparate Asian community in local policymaking decisions at a time when no elected leaders in Skokie were racial and ethnic minorities. The two leaders recounted the Coalition’s role in helping to organize taxi drivers during the 2007 taxi parking controversy. “We’re here to provide a show of force [if necessary],” the leader asserts. “If there’s an issue that needs help, we’ll work with the village. Without this, [Asian communities] might not know how to.” The Coalition has 22 members who broadly represent the diverse ethnicities in Skokie – mostly South Asians (Indians and Pakistanis), Filipinos, Chinese, and Koreans – and serves to educate newly arrived immigrants in the mundane day-to-day issues such as applying for a driver’s license and finding apartments.

The two leaders see Skokie’s village government as supporting diversity and being proactive in their outreach to the Asian community, as seen through the appointment of numerous Asians to commissions and boards, the village’s flexibility in negotiating a compromise of the taxi parking ordinance, and the recent construction of a permanent cricket facility. “The village is sensitive enough,” Clarito says. “There are no blatant disparities.”
Moreover, they see an upward trajectory for Asian presence in Skokie’s political establishment as seen through the election of Clarito to the park district in 2005 and Pramod Shah to the Village Board in 2009.

Another emerging ethnic organization is Latinos in Skokie, first formed in 2010 to create a Spanish-language civic space in which members can network and educate members on a wide range of issues such as immigration, fair housing, and education. Liliana Fargo describes most members as being of Mexican descent and working class. Her sentiments about the inclusion of Skokie’s village government is far less sanguine than the two leaders of the Coalition of Asian communities: For one, she is critical of village government’s lack of Spanish-language speakers who can serve as translators, saying that village leaders pointed to the community’s diverse multicultural composition – In that sense, if the village government were to provide Spanish language translators, then they would have to provide translators for the many other ethnic groups in Skokie. For another, Fargo says Skokie residents need to be more aware of the diverse community that they live in, and village government needs to be more in the forefront of erasing stereotypes for the suburb’s growing Latino community. “I don’t think they’ve done enough,” she says.

According to interviews with leaders of ethnic communities in Skokie, the sheer diversity of ethnicities in Skokie makes it difficult for these groups to coalesce around particular stances on local issues. The diversity of Asians (Skokie’s largest racial group), for example, ranges from Filipinos, Assyrians, Indians, Pakistanis, Koreans, and Chinese, all with their distinct histories and cultures making any sort of organization across racial and ethnic lines difficult. The

47 Village government tends to refer residents lacking in English proficiency to the English Language Learning (ELL) Center.
formation of the Coalition of Asian Communities was meant to facilitate such organization since each Asian ethnicity is “separately too small” to make their voices heard, one leader of the Coalition said. The nascent presence of the Coalition and Latinos in Skokie portends a future in which racial and ethnic minorities will be more active in the community’s political and civic life. For now, though, the process of organizing is just beginning.

*The Rise of Skokie Voice And Section 8 As A Community Issue*

Outside of uncontested village elections, the most prominent political development in recent years has been the rise of Skokie Voice, a self-described “grassroots residential association” officially established late in 2010. A driving force behind the creation of Skokie Voice is Lisa Lipin, a longtime Skokie resident known as a consumer safety advocate and active in the local PTA, where she learned that “It’s OK to question the status quo,” she says in an interview. Lipin drew some notoriety for her work as a consumer safety activist in testifying before a U.S congressional committee in 2008 in detailing her young son’s near-death experience with a yo-yo water ball that nearly asphyxiated him. She was part of the effort to advocate for strengthening consumer protection laws between 2003 and 2008 that culminated in the passage of the Consumer Safety Protection Act in 2008.

No doubt, Lipin has channeled some of that activism into making Skokie Voice a force on the political and civic scene. Central to Skokie Voice’s goals is to improve the communication between the village government and its constituents. She insists that civic engagement among residents in Skokie is exceedingly low. “Most people don’t know that [just] there’s one party,” Lipin proffers as an example. “We saw that people wanted to be heard. It wasn’t happening here.” These comments reflect implicit criticism of the one-party structure
that has dominated Skokie for decades, as Skokie Voice has never officially criticized the dominance of the Caucus Party. The organization maintains a membership list and several committees – such as ones dealing with economic development, community safety, and housing – that basically mirror citizen-led commissions that are official organs of Skokie’s village government. In this sense, Skokie Voice acts as a watchdog group over the village government, with whom it has a complicated relationship.

The genesis of Skokie Voice can be traced to grassroots-level outrage at Skokie’s political establishment that is said to be out of touch with its constituents. Lipin is quoted in the local paper as saying that a formative moment for the organization was the public revelation in 2009 regarding the Chicago Transit Authority’s (CTA) proposal to extend their yellow line to include a stop at a local Skokie high school, Niles North. The proposal was part of an existing plan to extend the CTA’s existing stop at the Skokie Swift station to other locations throughout Skokie, a plan heavily backed by Skokie’s village government. Even though the CTA held local hearings about the yellow line expansion years earlier in 2003, Lipin says that most Skokie residents were unaware about the proposal, signaling a lack of communication between Village Hall and its constituents: “Parents at Niles North High School were blindsided by the mayor endorsing the yellow line extension. Nobody had any input nor did we know about it” (Cox, 2010, December 15). Some Skokie residents objected to the yellow line expansion to Niles North on numerous grounds, such as increased traffic, the perceived blight of elevated tracks, and its potentially detrimental effects on nearby housing values.

But one issue that galvanized opposition was the fear that placing a CTA station next to a high school would endanger the safety of teenagers who would be easy prey for wayward criminals riding the train from Chicago, especially given the proximity of the Cook County
Courthouse that is within walking distance of Niles North on Old Orchard Road. At a public meeting attended by over 300 Skokie residents in September 2009, numerous parents of students attending Niles North objected to how the presence of a CTA would bring unwanted urban elements – typically characterized as felons, vagrants, or the homeless criminals – to their community.\footnote{The heated nature of the CTA-sponsored meeting is evident in the transcripts. In the public comments portion of the meeting, the CTA representative struggles to stop audience members who oppose the yellow line extension from applauding as residents speak in disapproval of the plan. \textit{A Skokie Review} article a month later described that meeting as “raucous” (Isaacs, 2009, October 23).} One Skokie resident said at the meeting: “Unfortunately, train stations, et cetera, they attract homeless people. They attract transients. The parking structures that they’re talking about building on the school grounds are not safe (Chicago Transit Authority Public Hearing, 2009, p.40).” Another resident summarized what she felt was the ways in which the CTA station would intrude upon Skokie’s suburban idyllic:

The crime issue has gone up already in Skokie this year and in the surrounding suburban areas, and we feel it will bring in an element to Skokie to our wonderful private community and our beautiful community that we don’t want to have, we don’t want to see. (Chicago Transit Authority Public Hearing, 2009, p.31)

A letter to the editor of \textit{Skokie Review} shortly thereafter described this aspect of the opposition as the “elephant in the room that people see but are afraid to talk about out loud.” He continued: “The fear that train access would make it easier for undesirable elements to enter Skokie” (\textit{Skokie Review}, 2009, October 15). As an overwhelming majority of residents at the meeting opposed the extension of the yellow line to Niles North, Mayor Van Dusen quickly changed his stance and made public his administration’s opposition to the yellow line extension to Niles North, effectively killing the project.
Lipin played an important role in organizing public opposition to the yellow line extension, and its success in reversing the mayor’s opinion no doubt encouraged her to organize Skokie Voice a year later. Skokie Voice is explicitly not a political organization, merely providing what Lipin describes as a way for residents to bring their concern to village government. But members of Skokie Voice are seemingly compelled by the perception that Village Hall is disconnected from its residents, as one member described the closed nature of village government to a local paper:

It’s very hard to communicate with the old boys club that’s down at village hall. They make decisions and do stuff and they sit there and vote, and we don’t have any input from these trustees because we can’t talk to them. It’s like we’re bothering them. (Cox, 2010, December 15)

Lipin herself is critical of that one instrument – the village’s numerous boards and commissions – meant to tether Skokie’s village government to its residents. She served on the village’s consumer affairs commission, saying: “We didn’t do a whole lot.” She was also once a member of the Caucus Party, but said she had “no interaction” with other party members.

Skokie Voice’s most visible public role is organizing well-attended town hall meetings. Mayor Van Dusen and other village leaders attended the first such meeting on June 24, 2010 that drew around 400 residents, according to local news reports (Cox, 2010, June 29). Although the meeting was open to all topics, much of the night’s discussion revolved around one particular “hot button” public safety issue – a widely-held perception that an increase in the number of residents subsidized by Section 8 vouchers was contributing to increases in property crime. The

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49 Mayor Van Dusen introduced this meeting as a “community town hall meeting,” not a specific Skokie Voice event. In an interview, Lipin said that much of the promotional and organizational work was done by Skokie Voice members.
town hall meeting began with Skokie Deputy Police Chief Anthony Scarpelli and Housing Authority of Cook County director Lorri Newson discussing local crime and the Section 8 voucher program, respectively.\textsuperscript{50} Police officials pledged a renewed emphasis on patrolling local parks, but Scarpelli urged residents to “keep in mind that a person’s look or style of dress doesn’t constitute a violation of law. Kids wearing baggy jeans, oversized shirts...doesn’t necessarily mean they are engaging in illegal activity” (Skokie Voice, 2010, June 24).\textsuperscript{51} This remark implies how complaints about youth in local parks often revolved around mere appearances driven by cultural differences. Newson tried to clarify how many Section 8 voucher holders live in Skokie – about 400, a number that has remained steady in the 2000’s – undergo criminal background checks and that recipients can have their vouchers rescinded if they are involved in crime. In protecting the privacy of voucher holders, Newson stressed how apartment buildings could not be readily identified as “public housing” as market-rate housing also dotted these complexes.

The early presentations and later discussions by the deputy police chief and housing authority director did not allay concern of many in the audience. Displeased residents insisted that youth in local parks – often conceived of “outsiders” or gangs coming in to Skokie – caused disturbances and engaged in criminal activity. Lipin herself described friends leaving her Skokie neighborhood in reaction to Skokie’s supposed decline relative to other northern suburbs: “They moved because they thought going north was better. Because safety in this community was deteriorating and they were upset.” Another Skokie resident complained about multiple families

\textsuperscript{50} The Housing Authority of Cook County administers the Section 8 voucher program in Skokie, which does not have a local housing authority.

\textsuperscript{51} All subsequent quotations from this June 24, 2010 Skokie Town Hall meeting was taken from audio recordings courtesy of Skokie Voice.
living in homes, usually a violation of local housing codes, to which Mayor Van Dusen promised to address this in consultation with the local school districts.

The tenor that June night regarding the perceived decline in the community’s quality of life revealed the ways in which a sizable contingent of longtime residents saw the need to maintain a suburban idyllic devoid of distinctly urban problems like gangs and crime. Rarely was promoting tolerance or inclusion discussed, save when one young woman later came to the microphone and tried to remind the audience of Skokie’s tradition of welcoming newcomers and valuing diversity:

There is a place here for everyone regardless if they come from Iraq or the Southside of Chicago. And the fact they are moving here from where it might be shows that they do have a similar set of values, and we need to show them the community that we have … Because they’re here and they want to be here and be part of our community. I was able to benefit from [valuing diversity] growing up and I know their kids will as well.

This statement drew a number of audible boos from the audience, indicative of how inclusion was not universally seen as a high priority or something to be celebrated among some Skokie residents. The mayor was quick to rebuke those who were booing, noting that every resident has a right to speak at local meetings.

The rise of Skokie Voice was perhaps inevitable in a political system dominated by one party, but it has also given a voice to a sentiment among some longtime Skokie residents worried about the decline in the community, with the supposed increase in Section 8 voucher holders as a harbinger of that. At a July 2011 Skokie Voice forum organized to specifically address housing issues, there were around 100 attendees, according to local media estimates (Isaacs, 2011,
October 26). It struck me that forum attendees – who were not necessarily members of Skokie Voice – tended to be disproportionately older and White, something not representative of the new demographic realities in the suburb. The Section 8 voucher issue was again revisited in this forum with one resident declaring, “The issue is there is too much Section 8 housing in Skokie. That creates a lot of police activity about four blocks from our home. We’re afraid to walk around there during the day and especially at night.” Another resident voiced the need to attract more upscale residents, saying, “It doesn’t hurt to have a wealthier population.” In response, village officials basically repeated what they said the year before, that the number of Section 8 voucher holders in Skokie had remained constant for years and that there were no recent arrests of voucher holders who lived in the community. When one village official reported that crime had declined in the past year, I heard some attendees yell “No!”

Village government has generally responded to the Section 8 issue by more openly publicizing facts about Section 8 and crime statistics. Trustee Perille describes how the village government took the initiative to ask the Housing Authority of Cook County about how many voucher holders live in the community – The last public relations release details how the number of voucher holders have declined slightly in the past five years, with 429 living in Skokie in 2011. The press release even describes the geographic distribution of voucher holders who are mostly concentrated in two census tracts – one of which contains the busy thoroughfare of Skokie Boulevard – that have a high number percentage of apartments. The number of housing units funded by the Section 8 program has grown steadily, though not dramatically, from 411 in 2003 to 435 in 2010, with half of recipients being the elderly.

Gail Schecter, the director of the Interfaith Housing Center for the North Suburbs, speculated that many of the incoming Black residents – who are not necessarily Section 8
voucher holders – are from nearby Evanston, which traditionally has a larger Black population who were driven to Skokie due to the recent condominium boom in Evanston that reduced the stock of affordable housing. She describes how some of the older, senior residents expressed resentment against the increased presence of Section 8 housing. Perille says that the rumor about an increase in Section 8 voucher holders has been around for the past decade. Despite how he feels the facts are on village government’s side, Perille describes himself as being upset when the issue is constantly brought up by residents, and says, “Diversity is a fact of life here. But I’m sure there’s a tiny minority that wishes Skokie were still all White.” He says that residents who repeat the charges about Section 8 use it as a “battering ram” to criticize the village’s other policies, even if the facts about Section 8 and crime are not on their side. Village trustee Randy Roberts attended the town hall meeting in which the young woman was booed for supporting inclusion and saw this specific incident as regrettable. He mentioned that there are longtime Skokie residents who do not necessarily buy in to the values of inclusion and are uncomfortable with how Skokie has changed. They tell him, “This isn’t the Skokie where I grew up” in reference to ethnic newcomers. He normally responds, “Yeah, but Skokie has changed.” Village trustee Shah describes the residents’ alarm about crime increasing was understandable given that there was a region-wide uptick after the recession in 2008, but he roundly dismisses Section 8 voucher holders as a cause since half of those voucher holding residents are senior citizens.

Lipin credits Skokie Voice with pressuring Skokie’s village government to be more communicative about publicizing data related to Section 8 and crime, something that can be seen by how a press release on the topic was visibly placed on the splash page of the village’s website. However, tying the Section 8 issue to Skokie Voice is tricky even though the most visible expression of the issue occurs in their town hall meetings. Since residents who attend and
voice complaints in town hall meetings do not have to members of the organization, those
sentiments about Section 8 do not officially reflect upon Skokie Voice, which merely sees itself
as an organization that gives a voice to residents. Lipin seems to recognize this in writing a
comment posted to news story on the Internet version of a Trib Local story entitled “Skokie
Residents Raise Concerns About Subsidized Housing at Forum,” saying that “discussion of the
Section 8 and crime issues were neither the intended focus of the forum nor the majority of its
content” (Cox, 2011, June 24).

In an interview, one social service worker in the community expressed concern about
how Skokie Voice town hall meetings were becoming venues for longtime disaffected residents
to depict Section 8 voucher holders as inimical to the suburb’s quality of life. This worker
speculated that the perceived increase in Section 8 housing was, in fact, really reflective of an
increase in Blacks (long associated in the public imagination with public housing) in Skokie in
the past decade – Between the 2000 and 2010 Census, the local Black population increased from
3,372 to 4,701 residents, a sizable increase of 1,329. Unfortunately, the worker says, Blacks in
Skokie are not well represented within the political system and generally do not have a “voice”
(no pun intended) in the community.

The popularity of Skokie Voice’s town hall meetings has placed the organization into the
forefront of the village’s political and civic life, but its relationship with village government is a
complicated one. Lipin describes the village government as initially being misinformed about
what the mission of the organization really was, to improve communication between Village Hall
and Skokie residents. Trustee Roberts expressed how Skokie Voice’s functions duplicates
mechanisms for community feedback that the village government already has, but says that the
Village Board’s experience with Skokie Voice has “been positive” and the organization has
“bonafide viewpoints.” However, both Perille and Roberts speculated that Skokie Voice might morph into a political organization that would run candidates in future village elections, noting that how residential organization is well organized. When asked about the political aspirations of Skokie Voice, Lipin denies that the organization has any such aspirations and that village party likes to “put that out there” in order to frame the organization is potentially political. “It’s interesting to me what people want to think,” Lipin remarks.

Perhaps what village officials like Perille and Roberts might be mindful of is the parallels between Skokie Voice and the Caucus Party’s own historical origins: The Caucus Party first emerged from a local homeowners association called the North Central Home Owners Association in the 1950’s. It was formed by residents convinced that there needed to be a reform in the corrupt-laden and inefficient village government at the time. The party’s signature move was to install a city-manager form of government. In this way, the challenge of Skokie Voice to the Caucus Party-led political establishment centers on what its members believe are maintaining the suburban quality-of-life that befits a prosperous North Shore community like Skokie. The organization currently has five committees – ones concerned with community safety, economic development, environment, housing, and schools – that reflect concern about a perceived decline in the suburban way of life in Skokie. Dealing with inclusion is not a top formal priority of the organization, even though Lipin mentions how there are several ethnic minorities on Skokie Voice’s board of directors and that they will have a table at the Skokie Festival of Cultures. “We’re reaching out to different cultural groups,” Lipin says.

In a wide ranging discussion about the ways in which Skokie has changed, trustee Perille described the racial and ethnic transition in the community as being emblematic of how Skokie is an “urban suburb,” roughly defined as the increased prevalence of urban elements and issues –
such as racial and ethnic minorities, immigrants, crime, gangs, and poverty – in suburban areas, a trend he has noticed in the past decades. He sees the dissenting voices of some Skokie residents to the scuttled CTA station at Niles North and the Section 8 issue as being tied to anxieties about how the community is no longer the idyllic, homogenous suburb their parents or grandparents grew up in. Perille sees the village government as being proactive in championing diversity, but laments that diversity might not always bring the entire community together. “We encourage diversity almost to the point that [people getting tired of it],” he says. “I would like for us to start emphasizing things that unite us as a community.”

**Evaluating Political Incorporation in Skokie**

Despite Skokie’s history of inclusion, its governance is *moderately inclusive in terms of political incorporation* since racial and ethnic minorities in Skokie have a limited voice regarding local policymaking. Skokie’s one-party political structure is more likely a hindrance to racial and ethnic minorities ascending to elected office since potential candidates must pass through the Caucus Party’s vetting mechanisms before proceeding to uncontested village elections. Thus, lack of inclusion of racial and ethnic populations within village government will never be a public issue under the current political system unless elements within the Caucus Party deem it an issue, something unlikely given the party’s role as being caretakers of the current array of inclusive-based programs and policies.

Interviews with Skokie village officials also revealed the ways in which they tended to approach inclusion almost entirely from a programmatic perspective (rather than increasing inclusion through political representation). Here, community inclusion is a *problem to be solved through programs and policies* instead of *increasing actual representation* among Village Board or village workers. This orientation reflects the high emphasis on professionalism within the
Caucus Party, which prides itself on retaining power based on capably providing good services to Skokie residents. The election of Pramod Shah to village trustee in 2009 was important, but, in an interview, Shah conceived of inclusion as nothing more than maintaining the status quo of the village’s assortment of inclusion-oriented programs and policies. In this sense, his presence on the Village Board indicates a form of symbolic representation (he does not represent a specific ward or block that is Indian given Skokie’s at-large elected body).

Mayor Van Dusen and other village officials have advocated a strategy of increasing political incorporation by encouraging racial and ethnic minorities to first serve on village government’s numerous boards and commissions. But those appointments are structurally tied to approval from the Village Board (all Caucus Party members), limiting the possibility commissioners will be critical of the village’s approach to inclusion. Party officials implied that public servants must “pay their dues” by actively involving themselves first in these boards and commissions. However, Pramod Shah’s route to being village trustee was centrally tied to his devotion to the Caucus Party. Today’s HRC’s is Skokie’s most effective form of active representation of racial and ethnic groups in the community. But the commission’s role today is generally limited mainly as caretaker of the village’s longstanding inclusion-oriented programs and policies, something one informant described as how the commission has “turned inward” instead of ambitiously focusing on promoting inclusion to the wider community in Skokie.

**Housing Equality**

Unlike Berwyn, political elites in Skokie often associate housing equality as a key component of local governance’s approach towards inclusion. This approach seems to emanate from how housing discrimination against Blacks and Jews were divisive issues in Skokie between 1950 and 1980, something that galvanized local leaders to develop appropriate and
formal responses in the 1960’s. These choices made by political leaders decades ago had tangible consequences as programs and policies to combat intolerance and racism emerged that is hardly controversial today. Moreover, political elites consistently maintained that there is no significant segregation of racial and ethnic minorities in Skokie.

**Moving to Skokie**

Informants cited a range of factors – housing affordability, supply of rental housing, proximity to Chicago, existing demographic diversity, and superior provision of local services and amenities – for why so many ethnic minorities and immigrants have moved to Skokie. Especially crucial has been the community’s large supply of rental housing. Indeed, Skokie’s high supply of affordable rental housing stands in stark contrast to nearby Wilmette and Winnetka. Moreover, Skokie has proximity to the feeder street of Devon Avenue in Chicago. A traditional ethnic melting pot, Devon Avenue today is mostly composed of South Asian communities, especially Indians and Pakistanis, who also compose a significant chunk of Skokie’s current Asian population (see Figure 5.1). In past decades, Devon Avenue was a Jewish enclave, but in recent decades has reflected the recent trend of Jews to move further out to suburbs like “Skokie, Buffalo Grace, Highland Park, Deerfield and beyond” (Yearwood, 2010).

Skokie’s immigrants thus tend to be better educated and slightly more affluent than average. George Mitchell cited how Skokie’s village government is well-run, professionalized, and has managed to combine low taxes with the superior provision of basic village services. In that way, Jerry Clarito echoes a common sentiment among Asian immigrants in Skokie who frequently cite the community’s reputation for “good schools,” a foremost consideration when
families choose suburbs. He also cites a proactive, inclusive approach of Skokie’s village government in welcoming incoming ethnic minorities and immigrants.

*Racial and Ethnic Concentrations*

“[In Skokie today], you can’t find any Asian concentration, and that’s the way it should be,” village trustee Perille proclaims. It is the position of Skokie’s village government that racial and ethnic concentration is not a community problem, as there is no need to alleviate segregation. In exploring the issue of inclusion, two well-known, popular types of segregation measures – an index of dissimilarity (ID) and an index of exposure (isolation, or IE) – were employed to analyze racial and ethnic concentrations at the block group level. The results, listed in Tables 5.1 and 5.2, suggest that Asians and Whites are well integrated. This interrelationship stands in stark contrast to the residential distribution of Blacks in Skokie, whose ID and IE scores indicate higher levels of segregation from Whites and Asians, the two largest racial groups.

As a community that attracts immigrants, Skokie must necessarily house many immigrant households whose primary language is not English. The U.S. Census measures this by detailing which households are “linguistically isolated,” which is defined as a household where no one over the age of 14 speaks English “very well.” Figure 5.5 displays the spatial distribution of Asian households in Skokie that are linguistically isolated as a percentage of all Asian households within a block group. There are significant concentrations of this population. Six block groups, in particular, possess more than half of all Asian households that are linguistically isolated. This speaks to the challenge of Skokie’s village government in reaching out to Asian

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52 Appendix B discusses the use of the two segregation indices as well as census and survey data from the United States Census.
immigrant households that might need assistance with living and participating in the suburb’s
civic and political life.

Affordable Housing

As mentioned earlier, Skokie’s stock of affordable housing – especially multifamily
rental units – are key to the community’s growing racial and ethnic diversity, especially relative
to other wealthy suburbs in the North Shore region. The 2010 census records that 27% of all
Skokians are renters and that 40% of all housing units are located within multifamily
structures. Consistent with numbers throughout the Chicago metropolitan area, racial and
ethnic minorities in Skokie are far more likely to be renters than Whites: About 60% of all
Blacks in Skokie are renters, 27% of all Asians are renters, and 41% of all Latinos are renters.
By contrast, just 22% of Whites in Skokie are renters. Skokie’s median rent is $898 a month,
significantly higher than Chicago’s median rent of $737 a month but far cheaper than other
nearby North Shore suburbs like Evanston ($972), Wilmette ($1,283), Glenview ($1,273), and
Northbrook ($1,548).

Much of Skokie’s diversity can be found in neighborhoods where there are high levels of
multifamily rental housing. One village worker discussed the neighborhoods with plentiful
affordable rental units as initial entry points for the suburb’s large immigrant populations, who
later move out to purchase single-family in Skokie or elsewhere. Figure 5.7 highlights in yellow
the 9 block groups (out of a total of 52) where more than 68% of all housing units are
multifamily units. Seven of these block groups are strewn along Skokie Boulevard, a major
thoroughfare in the community known for having block after block of apartments. In these 9

Data on multifamily housing units and median rent comes from the 2005-2009 and 2006-2010 American
Community Survey. This 40% figure includes not just affordable rental housing but also more expensive
condominiums.
block groups, 25% of residents are Asians, and 4% and 5% are Blacks and Latinos, respectively, figures that roughly reflect the overall diversity of Skokie. The heavy concentration of renters along Skokie Boulevard and Dempster Street can also be seen in Figure 5.9, which displays the percentage of residents within each census tract who are renters. These block groups along Skokie Boulevard are similar to where the village government identified as areas with “low- and moderate- income residents” according to Census 2000 data, something determined for the purposes of Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) allocations (see Figure 5.10).

Nested within these southeastern census tracts are block groups that are exceedingly diverse. Asians compose 36% to 53% of residents of the two block groups (both are within tract 8076; refer to Figure 5.2 for the percentage of Asian residents there). These two block groups also have a high presence of single-family homes, ranging between 70% and 87%, which conveys how racial and ethnic minorities in Skokie are not just renters but also owners. Of course, this speaks mostly to the fact that most Asians (73%) in Skokie live in owner-occupied housing. The village’s latest CDBG report uses Census 2000 to state that racial and ethnic minorities had a “higher ownership rate than the national rate,” (Village of Skokie, 2010, p.29). The ethnic diversity of Skokie’s home ownership is confirmed by a 2011 report that found “Asian home-buyers made up a significant portion of the market” and that Latinos home-buyers composed up to 15% of all purchases in 2006 (Open to All?, 2011, p.51). However, data from Census 2010 indicates a clear decline in minority homeownership rates in Skokie: Blacks

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54 The smallest geographic unit for displaying data from U.S. Census on renters is the census tract.
declined from 59% to 40% between 2000 and 2010, Latinos from 71% to 60%, and Asians from 76% to 73%.$^{55}$

*Fair Housing*

Skokie first passed its fair housing ordinance in 1968 and has periodically tweaked it, most recently adding language to protect the LGBT community. As mentioned earlier in the discussion on political incorporation, the Human Relations Commission (HRC) handled roughly one complaint per year between 1980 and 2000, many of them not dealing with racial discrimination. The village government’s 2010 “Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing” lists and describes 11 cases between 1993 and 2001. Several complaints revolved around discrimination of marital status, families with children, and unmarried cohabitation. Examples of race or ethnic-based discrimination include a 1994 case where a landlord told a new tenant that she “did not want Spanish speaking in her building,” which was followed by physical threats and racial insults. In 1997, a Black woman and her daughter were victimized by a condominium association president who prevented them from seeing a condo (Village of Skokie, 2010, October 6, p.11-12). In both cases, the HRC engaged in collecting facts about the incidents and convening hearing panels to discuss whether there was a violation of the village’s fair housing ordinance. The HRC in both cases found that there indeed were violations and ordered the offending party to pay fines ranging from $240 to $750 as well as to stop discriminatory practices.

$^{55}$ Of course, these declines can be entirely attributable to the foreclosure that hit Skokie hard after 2008. Gail Schecter of the Interfaith Housing Center for the Northern Suburbs told me that Skokie had the most foreclosures between 2008 and 2010 within suburbs in their service area.
But since 2001, fair housing complaints brought before the HRC have dried up completely, a trend that has altered HRC’s function. Today, HRC deals more with cultural and educational programs. At a 2012 HRC meeting I attended, commissioners discussed news that a fair housing complaint had been filed with Interfaith Housing Center. Even though the complaint was without merit, the commissioners discussed why HRC no longer receives fair housing complaints. One commissioner expressed disbelief that there no fair housing-related complaints in Skokie, given the volume of rental housing in the community and large numbers of immigrants. Other commissioners suggested there were language, cultural, and educational barriers that prevented people from lodging complaints. There was a suggestion to investigate why there are no more fair housing-related complaints as well as a proposal to hold a public seminar discussing renter’s rights and obligations. HRC chair James Coney reminded commissioners that dealing with fair housing issues is integral to the commission, and retold a story of when he first looked to move in to Skokie over 30 years ago: “When we first came to Skokie this guy took us to a particular area. When he found out how much money we had, he took us over here and over there.”

*Evaluating Housing Equality in Skokie*

Skokie has a long and continuing history of promoting housing equality with a stock of affordable housing that has remained stable in the past decade and a means for enforcing the local fair housing ordinance. Today, promoting fair housing remains a priority, as the HRC regularly deals with housing-related issues. Moreover, racial and ethnic groups in Skokie tend to be less segregated than their counterparts in the Chicago metropolitan area – The ID scores of Blacks, Asians, and Latinos (when compared to Whites) in Skokie of 51.6, 30.1, and 38.2, respectively, are lower than those in the Chicago area of 78, 47, 57, respectively. When
comparing IE scores, Whites had a higher exposure to Skokie’s largest ethnic groups, Asians, at 0.20 than they do in the Chicago area at 0.06. Given lower levels of segregation and Village Hall’s continued support of fair housing, Skokie is inclusive in terms of housing equality.

However, this determination has a number of caveats. Notable is the spatial isolation of Blacks relative to other racial and ethnic groups. According to Figure 3 in Chapter 5, Blacks in Skokie tend to cluster towards the eastern parts of the suburb, close to traditionally larger Black communities in Evanston. ID scores between Blacks and Whites in Skokie (51.6) are lower than that in the Chicago area (78). Similarly, the exposure of Whites to Blacks – with an IE score of 0.6 – is the same as that in the Chicago metropolitan area. But the low ID and IE scores of Blacks indicate that this racial group is not well integrated into Skokie. Perhaps as a consequence of this, many Skokie residents see an increase in Blacks in their neighborhoods and parks as indicative of increased Section 8 voucher holders, something that might be attributable to age-old fears about the racialized poor invading their North Shore suburb.

By contrast, Whites and Asians in Skokie are better integrated. These higher levels of integration reflect that Asians are far more likely to live in owner-occupied housing (27% of Asians in the community are renters). This fact speaks to higher socioeconomic status of Asians who migrate to Skokie, which we can assume makes their presence more palatable to longtime residents. Relative to its North Shore neighbors, Skokie maintains a housing stock replete with affordable multifamily housing, something that has drawn ethnic minorities and immigrants from throughout the region. Moreover, village government in the past decade has collaborated with a community-based organization and a statewide housing authority to utilize CDBG funds for adding housing for low-income residents.
But the village government’s tact regarding the Section 8 issue speaks directly to a certain level of skittishness regarding political elites being strong advocates for housing affordability. As discussed before, there is an undeniable racialized dimension regarding the controversy over Section 8 voucher holders. The village government’s cautious tact of informing residents about Section 8 and crime statistics does not get at the potential heart of the matter: That there are racial and ethnic tensions in the suburb. Moreover, village officials tend to resort to describing the Section 8 issue as beyond their purview since the program is managed by the Housing Authority of Cook County. In essence, village government is essentially offloading responsibility for the Section 8 issue to county and federal-level officials. This arrangement is hardly unique since the vast majority of Chicago area suburbs do not have an in-house or local housing authority that is responsible for administering the federally-funded Section 8 voucher program.

The village government’s efforts to promote fair housing have been historically spearheaded by the HRC. As detailed in Chapter 5, between the late 1960’s to 2000 the HRC had been active in resolving race-related housing discrimination cases brought before its housing committee; However, these fair housing complaints have all but evaporated, leading to two possible scenarios: That there is no housing discrimination in Skokie anymore, or that the HRC is not active enough in promoting or enforcing fair housing. Of the latter possibility, Interfaith Housing Center director Gail Schecter says that less than 1% of all housing discrimination goes unreported since prospective home buyers and tenants often do not know they have been discriminated against. Moreover, one commissioner speculated that the racial and ethnic composition of the HRC, though diverse, is not “diverse enough” in that the commission needs to be more representative of newer immigrant groups moving in to Skokie. There have been
sporadic efforts to educate residents about fair housing (mostly related to sessions funded by the immigrant integration grant) but most of the HRC’s duties appear to involve stewarding the village’s numerous inclusion-oriented education programs.

In this way, the HRC today acts as the caretaker of many of these inclusion-oriented efforts that involves inculcating Skokie youth into the virtues of celebrating diversity. This change was duly confirmed by a number of interview subjects. Today, the commission rarely wades into the more controversial aspects of ethnic diversity in Skokie, something exemplified by the taxi parking, Section 8, and the proposed CTA station issues. In dealing solely with inoffensive aspects of inclusion, there is a question of whether the commission is nimble enough to deal with the more controversial inclusion-related issues that confront the community today.

There is ethnic diversity on the commission, but many of the more active commissioners (including the chair, Jim Coney) are long-serving members – having served for between 10 and 20 years – and are older residents. A number of past and present commissioners expressed some notable sentiments: For one, there is a need for newer commissioners with new ideas and different social networks; Another expressed how there is “racial tension” tension within the village but that village government is reluctant to alter any of its inclusion-oriented practices, especially its over-reliance on volunteers. In this way, the informant cited a need for more “professionals” who can devote more time and attention to these issues. Finally, the effectiveness of Skokie’s numerous commissions and boards are generally dependent upon having a “dynamic” chair who tends drive the group’s agenda. Skokie’s HRC certainly has a rich heritage of spearheading inclusion in the community, but the commission today does not appear to be on the bleeding edge of dealing with controversial inclusion-oriented issues today. The decline of the HRC in being an active force in the community speaks to how village
government’s approach towards inclusion has grown stale as the suburb as grown increasing multi-racial and class diverse.

**Programs and Policies**

As with Berwyn, numerous social-cultural programs have been developed in Skokie to integrate its recently arrived immigrants into the community fabric. Such programs -- the Skokie Festivals of Cultures, the local Immigrant Integration Initiative, and the village government’s support of the ELL Center – explicitly identify the community’s demographic diversity and the need to bring all into the community social center. Yet, other programs and policies, some set up with the identical goal, others simply regulative and traditional, evoked tensions within the community. The brief discussion is important: Here are the programmatic failures against which other existing inclusionary programs respond to in efforts to be effective. Illustrative of such failures is the taxi cab parking ordinance of 2007 that resulted in numerous South Asian residents protesting at Village Hall.

*Taxi Parking Ordinance*

The most visible instance of tension between Skokie’s village government and its racial and ethnic populations involved the seemingly mundane issue of parked taxicabs on residential streets and driveways. By 2007, village ordinances permitted one taxicab to be parked on each residential street, but this standard proved difficult to enforce. This taxicab parking ban arose mostly from complaints by residents who saw parked taxicabs on residential streets as an eyesore and aesthetically inconsistent with suburban neighborhoods (Isaacs, 2007, August 30). Thus, with little fanfare, the Village Board in August 2007 unanimously voted to modify an existing
commercial parking ordinance to prohibit parking taxicabs on any Skokie residential streets (Isaacs, 2007, August 30).

The reaction of taxi drivers proved a surprise to Skokie’s political leadership. Many taxi drivers in Skokie are South Asian immigrants from India and Pakistan and their objection to the ordinance was for personal safety. Gail Schecter described how they would have to park their vehicles in approved commercial lots at a considerable distance away from homes late at night, something potentially dangerous since drivers typically carry much cash and were vulnerable to theft. One Chicago Tribune article narrated how local taxi drivers were informed of the ban when village police “tacked notices onto cab windshields describing the ban” (Horan, 2007, October 17). Many cabbies felt “blindsided” by a decision they felt demonstrated “racial undertones against immigrants from Asian and the Middle East” (Horan, 2007, October 17). Mayor Van Dusen denied anti-immigrant sentiment, saying: “If any community has opened its arms to people from all over the world, it's Skokie. We have 70 different ethnic groups. We live harmoniously” (Horan, 2007, October 17). The taxicab parking ban was scheduled to be enforced on January 1, 2008, compelling the taxi drivers to quickly organize opposition against the ordinance.

The taxi drivers initially turned to regional organizations like the Council of Islamic Organizations and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), which in turn enlisted the help of the Interfaith Housing Center of the North Suburbs. Since the ordinance might have forced some taxi drivers to move, Interfaith deemed the ordinance a violation of fair housing laws and assisted Skokie taxi drivers with readying to file a fair housing complaint against Skokie (Interfaith Housing Center of the Northern Suburbs, 2011, pp.75-76). Taxi drivers also made their presence felt at Village Board meetings throughout the fall of 2007 by attending those
meetings en masse to pressure the board to rescind the ban. A *Skokie Review* article reported that “about 60 Skokie cab drivers milled around the outside of village hall, some of them carrying placards reading “Let Us Park On Our Private Property,” “Neighbors Stand By With Cab Drivers,” “Yes! To Taxi Parking” and “No Discrimination Against Cab Drivers,” scenes that drew uncharacteristically negative attention to Skokie’s claim as an inclusive community (Isaacs, 2007, October 18).

There were months of behind-the-scenes negotiations between village trustees, taxi drivers, and representatives from AFSC and the Council of Islamic Organizations. Village leaders offered different compromises, such as placing tarps on parked taxicabs or parking taxicabs at village-owned parking lots, all of which failed to placate the taxi drivers (Isaacs, 2007, October 18). Village trustee Randy Roberts negotiated a compromise with the taxi drivers, as described by an Interfaith report that describes Rogers as an “inside” champion of the taxi drivers within Skokie’s village government (Interfaith Housing Center of the Northern Suburbs, 2011, p.75). “We had a lot of empathy for the taxi cab drivers,” he said to me. “If [the cab drivers] come home at 2 a.m. and have cash, they could get robbed.” Roberts described the process of compromise as balancing the ethical and moral dilemmas of potentially excluding certain ethnic groups against the nuts-and-bolts of policymaking in a suburban community – In this case, the concern of residents with the aesthetic appearance (and property values) of their residential neighborhoods.

Trustee Roberts first introduced a proposal to amend the taxi parking ordinance in November of 2007 (Routliffe, 2007, November 8). “It was not a hard sell [to other members of the village board],” Roberts remembers. The compromise proposed by Roberts involved allowing taxi drivers to park their vehicles on paved surfaces in the rear of their homes, away
from visible residential streets, and allow for others to park in village-owned lots. Taxi drivers who could not be accommodated by the two criteria were given “hardship permits” and allowed to park next to their homes. Village trustee Michael Gelder described to the *Skokie Review* how the “‘fair reasonable interest’ of protecting the village from ‘unsightly vehicles’ has consequences” (Isaacs, 2007, December 20).

Throughout the fall of 2007, Skokie’s village government dealt with the taxi parking issue solely as a planning and ordinance issue, with the Village Board interacting with the Planning Commission. As described by one member of the HRC, the village’s Human Relations Commission was not involved since political leaders did not see the issue as being related to inclusion. Even though many residential complaints about the ordinance centered on aesthetic concerns, some racist complaints were lodged by residents indicative of an undercurrent of racism within Skokie. One individual’s email favored the parking ban and further stated, “Yes, Skokie has embraced it’s [sic] culturally diverse immigrants with open arms … far too many of them … I do not want these Middle Eastern front lawn extremely noisy hour long weddings with drums and trumpets and various loud musical instruments allowed on my street” (Interfaith Housing Center of the Northern Suburbs, 2011, p.75). The tense taxi parking controversy was also indicative of how an entirely White slate of elected officials was unrepresentative to what Skokie had become despite the traditions of inclusion. Interfaith director Schecter worked closely with trustee Roberts, but characterized the Village Board’s response to the issue as “reactionary.”

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56 It also seems reasonable to assume that the issue prompted the election of Pramod Shah – a South Asian immigrant – as village trustee in 2009, widely seen as an important milestone for the Asian community in Skokie.
Skokie Festival of Cultures and Coming Together in Skokie

Alternatively, the minimally controversial Skokie Festival of Cultures has its origins in the VOICES (“Valuing Our Image Concerning Ethnicity in Skokie”) initiative, an ethnic diversity project founded by the village government in 1990 after “some initial negative response to the village’s new ethnic diversity” (Isaacs, 2005, May 19). One long-time volunteer for the Festival described the VOICES initiative as arising from concern about ethnic tensions among students at local high schools in the 1980’s and early 1990’s. In working with school officials at the time, the volunteer described how students were segregated by social groups along racial and ethnic lines, causing problems when, for example, groups of Filipino students would “get into conflict” with Greek students. “The school was very nervous,” the volunteer recalled. “If there was 10 groups, then there was going to be 10 [different] problems.”

VOICES brought together a range of governmental stakeholders including village officials, members of the HRC, and park district and school officials that all sought to publically affirm diversity. The Festival volunteer described how VOICES participants saw educating the community about different cultures as key to resolving tensions at local schools. “These kids needed to be more involved and understand each other,” the volunteer recalled. “The kids learn whatever they learned at home, and they were not interested in much else.” Their idea was to hold the Festival of Cultures in 1991, which was held in Oakton Park and was attended by 1,000 people and featured seven different local cultures in Skokie (Isaacs, 2011, August 4). The volunteer described the Festival as being most beneficial for youth in the community, who are steeped in the value of tolerance and cultural appreciation. “I learned it’s hard to travel [to other countries],” the volunteer said. “But [at the Festival] I’ve actually learned things about other cultures, like the Japanese, Chinese, and Vietnamese.”
Since then, the festival has been held every year in Oakton Park for one weekend in May, steadily adding new cultures to celebrate every year. The 2010 edition drew between 25,000 to 35,000 attendees and members of its executive planning committee were drawn from various community stakeholders – such as village government, the public library, the Skokie chamber of commerce, and Skokie Valley Rotary (Isaacs, 2010, May 27). The festival is arguably the community’s most visible commitment to inclusion and is heavily promoted through regional media.

I attended the 2010 edition of the festival, the year Iranian and Czech cultures were added. A large portion of the festival’s landscape are composed of row after row of tented display booths, with each manned by representative from 32 ethnicities or cultures, ranging from Assyrian, Chinese, German, Haitian, and Belgian (to name a few). Festival goers are encouraged to mingle with costumed ethnic/cultural representatives and peruse various cultural artifacts on display. Other display booths house the “International Marketplace” where various ethnic and cultural crafts and services are sold as well as social service agencies, places of worship, and governmental entities that include local healthcare organizations, the Skokie Police Department, and the village’s human services department. There is also a public stage where attendees are treated to ethnic performative arts – I witnessed performances by the Mexican Folkloric Dance Company and Tumbalalaika, traditional Jewish folk songs sung in Yiddish. Mayor Van Dusen and members of the Human Relations Commission took part in an on-stage presentation of inclusion-related awards given to local teenagers.

Skokie resident Liliana Fargo is a rare voice critical of the Festival. She claims it is unrepresentative of the community’s actual diversity. She says the Festival should make more of

57 There are different estimates of that year’s attendance at the Festival of Cultures.
an effort to “include people who are part of the community” and it was also excessively “commercialized,” noting an unimpressive collection of local restaurants at the festival’s food area. Regarding Fargo’s first criticism, I noticed that when engaging various display booths, cultures in the Festival are themed along an exploration of the world as opposed to being representative of actual ethnic groups in Skokie. For example, there is a display booth for Mexican culture at the Festival, but not one for Latinos. The 2010 edition also featured no display booths from African cultures (the closest in terms of race was a booth displaying Jamaican/West Indies culture), even though Blacks in Skokie compose a substantive 7% of the village’s population. Moreover, my discussions with religion-affiliated groups at display booths for churches and an Islamic organization revealed that many of them did not actually live in Skokie, indicative of how the Festival might be more of celebration of diversity that is located in Skokie as opposed to a celebration of diversity within Skokie.

Skokie’s newest diversity initiative is Coming Together in Skokie, an effort that brings together several community stakeholders (not including village government) in promoting a more sustained exploration of community cultures. Coming Together was started in 2010 by a group of five women civic leaders – including Mayor Van Dusen’s wife, Susan – and works with local schools and the public library to devote six weeks worth of activities devoted to one particular culture in Skokie: In 2010, it was Indian; In 2011, it was Filipino; In 2012, it will be Assyrian (Isaacs, 2010, January 11). "We appreciate and celebrate our diversity and we have the Festival of Cultures," Susan Van Dusen said. "But we wanted to take it a step further” (Isaacs, 2010, January 11). Coming Together revolves around a community book reading project in which the author of an assigned book – it was Vineeta Vijayaraghavan’s *Motherland* in 2010 – is invited to speak at the public library. The book is assigned reading in certain courses at the local
community college and one local school district, demonstrative of the ways in which there is a broad-based cooperation regarding inclusion in Skokie. The 2012 edition of Coming Together features over 30 different events revolving around Assyrian culture held through the public library, local schools, and the local community college.

*English Language Learner (ELL) Parent Center*

The English Language Learner Parent Center (ELL Center) was founded in 2008 through an intergovernmental agreement with Skokie-area school districts (Benson, 2010, March 8). The Center reaches out to the growing immigrant populations by providing English literacy and conversation classes, citizenship classes, and information on community resources, all at no cost. The ELL Center is based in Skokie but serves clients from throughout Niles Township schools – the primary source of funds for the Center – in Skokie and nearby Morton Grove, Lincolnwood, and Niles. In an interview, ELL Center director Corrie Wallace describes it as a “one-stop shop for new people in the community.” Wallace taught English in both Japan and Singapore and Spanish in an Evanston high school, and says, “There is no parent center like this anywhere, specifically for parents.”

In interviews with elected officials and village workers in Skokie, informants repeatedly suggested talking to Wallace and visiting the Center, signs of the close collaboration between Skokie’ village government and the ELL Center. Wallace describes how Village officials typically refer immigrants with limited English skills to the ELL Center, which maintains a list of volunteers who serve as translators for different languages. The interpreter services involve helping immigrants with the day-to-day issues of obtaining citizenship, navigating the healthcare system, and using local public transportation. Wallace described the relationship between the
ELL Center and Skokie’s village government as close, and that the village government has
donated a “nice chunk of money” to the Center from the village’s immigrant integration grant in
order to fund interpreter training. She described how the Center works with the Village of
Skokie’s two social workers to help clients on “every issue,” since they need services ranging
from financial help to connecting with mental health professionals. In working with her clients,
she has not heard complaints about how Skokie’s village government (particularly its human
services division) works with immigrants.

Since the Center opened in 2008, Wallace says that over 700 people have been served
from diverse backgrounds: Their clients are both immigrants and refugees from over 55 different
countries, with a mixture of educated and working class families. The number of clients that
have been served, Wallace says, “has exceeded expectations. We didn’t think there would be
that much foot traffic.” The existence of the ELL Center depends on how the various
stakeholders in the community – particularly the school districts and village government –
“really need collaboration and support” to make the Center work, an example she proffers of the
community’s broad-based commitment to inclusion. She says this commitment stands in stark
contrast to her experience of living in the diverse suburb of Highwood, where there is a mixture
of old Italians and incoming Hispanic residents.

Aside from translation and employment, Wallace says the biggest obstacle faced by her
clients is transportation, which she described as “challenging” in a suburb where automobiles are
the dominant mode of transport (The ELL Center’s location is close to a local school near a
major shopping district in Skokie and is not easily accessible by pedestrians).

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58 In 2009, the ELL Center won a $140,000 federal grant to support transportation to and from the center in order to
remedy this problem.
challenge faced by the Center is the sheer diversity of Skokie’s immigrant populations, something she described in a newspaper interview: "Unlike a lot of communities that may have large pockets of Spanish or Polish or Russian, we have everything. We are like the United Nations" (Benson, 2010). With that in mind, Wallace says the Center desires to increase its pool of trained interpreters to meet its clients’ needs.

**Immigrant Integration Grant**

In 2007, the Village of Skokie applied for and won an immigrant integration grant from the Chicago Community Trust (CCT), currently the 5th largest community trust in the nation with assets of over $1 billion (Isaacs, 2009, March 4). The CCT funded the grant from 2007 to 2009 for a total of $135,000, roughly split evenly between the three years. Spearheaded by the village’s human services department, Skokie’s village government formed a 22-person grant advisory committee composed of core volunteers from the Festival of Cultures as well as staff from other governmental stakeholders like the public library, the park district, and Oakton Community College’s ESL program. According to a village memorandum, the grant advisory committee was intentionally representative of different ethnic groups in Skokie, with members from the Chinese, Filipino, Haitian, Indian, Assyrian, Mexican, Pakistani, and Russian communities (Tennes, 2009, February 19).

Village leaders used the grant to cultivate a group of leaders from immigrant communities in Skokie through holding an International Leadership Academy in 2008. As described by Skokie’s director of marketing and communications (Ann Tennes) and her memorandum, the two-day event was attended by 35 people who were broadly representative of immigrant populations and attended by Mayor Van Dusen and staff from the village’s human
services department. Skokie Park District vice president Jerry Clarito spoke in one session entitled “Leadership through Service as an Elected or Appointed Official” and described the overall experience of the event as an honest effort on the part of village leaders to reach out to other immigrant leaders in the community. “They tried to do it [be inclusive of immigrants],” Clarito remembers. Mayor Van Dusen spoke on the topic of “Preparing for Volunteer Opportunities and Serving as a Public Official,” again reiterating efforts to encourage ethnic minorities to serve on the village’s boards and commissions.

As funded through the grant, the village government also held a “Housing Information Series” that focused on tenant-landlord relations. There were two sessions held in spring of 2009, one described as a “Tenant Information Session” and another on “Landlord Information Session,” both broadly conceived of as educating tenants about their rights and reminding landlords about their obligations. Both sessions dealt with issues related to fair housing, building codes, tenant-landlord mediation, and relevant village ordinances, and included speakers from the John Marshall Law School and the Interfaith Housing Center for the Northern Suburbs. The village’s Human Relations Commission was key to organizing the session as one commissioner who has connections to the law school and another HRC member described the two sessions as being “well attended.”

Grant monies were directly given to the ELL Center and Metropolitan Family Services, a Skokie-based social service agency that funds an Immigrant Transition Program for high school students and their families. Not all grant-related programs were effective, however. The village government held a once-a-month “Immigrant Information Series” between April 2008 and February that dealt with an array of topics from healthcare, transportation, insurance, and immigration. Held at the Skokie Public Library, these sessions did not “experience acceptable
attendance levels” as the highest session had 20 attendees and several only had one or two attendees, according to an internal Village of Skokie memorandum discussing the initiative (Tennes, 2009, February 19). The immigrant integration initiative also funded Know Your Neighbor Week, an initiative designed to encourage neighbors to meet each other in which the village government furnished invitations, conversation starters, small world maps, and coupons for food at local eateries; an International Citizen Police Academy, held through fall of 2008 and designed to inculcate immigrants into community relations with the police and law enforcement techniques.

The long-term impact of the Immigrant Integration Grant on village services is unclear right now. The village government contracted with Millenia Consulting of Chicago for over $21,000 in 2009 to both assess immigrant integration in the community and to develop a long-range plan regarding the issue (Isaacs, 2009, August 13). However, my email correspondence with Ann Tennes revealed how that plan, as of the fall of 2012, “remains in the draft form and thus cannot be released.”

*Evaluating Programs and Policies in Skokie*

Skokie maintains and champions an array of inclusion-oriented programs and policies, with its lone blemish being the taxi parking initiative of 2007. It is easy to understate the importance of such celebrations of inclusion as merely symbolic or “soft” celebrations of diversity. But its largest initiative, the Festival of Cultures, is traditionally well attended and supported every year, as its attendance and scale have steadily rose from just over several thousands to around 25,000 today (Isaacs, 2010, May 24). It is now a staple of civic life in Skokie that conveys how major community stakeholders support “Diversity is fact in Skokie.” The Festival’s global orientation in celebrating immigrant groups parallels how the suburb has
become an immigrant gateway. Thus, the degree to which Village Hall has actively supported and developed new inclusion-oriented programs in the past decade indicates that Skokie is inclusive in terms of programs and policies.

In this regard, the support of local governance for the English Language Learner (ELL) Center and immigrant integration programs demonstrates how political elites are responsive to immigrant needs. These efforts are generally well-publicized by local media and require that village officials cultivate strong working relationships with other community stakeholders, particularly local schools, the local library, and park district. The ease with which these two programs were held or enacted in the past decade in Skokie is due to steps taken by political elites decades ago to visibly embrace incoming immigrant populations through the festival. By contrast, political elites in Berwyn approached similar language and immigrant-related programs in the 2000’s with far more trepidation and far less publicity. Thus, the traditional embrace of inclusion in Skokie has instilled a community-wide norm of tolerance and cross-cultural understanding, effectively creating a “safe haven” for enacting inclusion-oriented programs like the ELL Center and immigrant integration programs.
CHAPTER 5
FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 5.1: Map of Skokie with census tracts that measure the spatial distribution of Asian residents, particularly those from traditional feeder communities near Devon Avenue in Chicago.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index of Dissimilarity (ID) scores</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black to White</td>
<td>51.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian to White</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino to White</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian to Black</td>
<td>54.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian to Latino</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black to Latino</td>
<td>55.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Data: 2005-2009 American Community Survey)

Table 5.1: Table displaying Index of Dissimilarity (ID) scores in Skokie.
Index of Exposure (IE) scores

<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Latino</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
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<td>0.06</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data: 2005-2009 American Community Survey

Table 5.2: Index of exposure (isolation) results in Skokie.

Figure 5.2: Map of Asian residential distribution within census block groups in Skokie.
Figure 5.3: Map of Black residential distribution within census block groups in Skokie.

Figure 5.4: Map of Latino residential distribution within census block groups in Skokie.
Figure 5.5: Map displaying the percentage of Asian households who are linguistically isolated in Skokie.

Figure 5.6: Map displaying the percentage of Spanish language households that are linguistically isolated.
Figure 5.7: Map displaying the percentage of housing units that are multifamily units in Skokie. The block groups with the highest levels of multifamily units are highlighted in yellow.

Figure 5.8: Map displaying the percentage of renters in Skokie by census tracts.
Figure 5.9: Village of Skokie's low-income area benefit eligible block groups. Source: Village of Skokie 2010-2014 Consolidated Plan
CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

This final chapter initially discusses kinds and levels of inclusion in Berwyn and Skokie. Next, I reflect on this work’s theoretical implications for ethnoburbs as a spatial formation and policy implications for the development of truly inclusive suburban communities. This chapter thus charts new questions for research recognizing the context for this study of a supposed, substantive, historical shift in our perception of race between the Civil Rights era to today, which scholars have increasingly defined as a post-racial era.

Evaluating Inclusion in Berwyn and Skokie

This study concludes that Skokie’s political governance of today exhibits a meaningful drive to foster inclusion. Evaluation of programs and policies revealed an evolving community governance that has committed itself to welcoming and integrating recently arrived racial and ethnic minorities and immigrants into the community social and economic fabric. Moreover, interviews showed that Skokie’s political and civic leaders publically embrace diversity as they were eager to discuss the suburb’s inclusive tradition as well as the inclusion-oriented programs and policies. The decades-long existence of these programs and policies demonstrates a broad-based commitment to inclusion that involves extension cooperation with various governmental stakeholders in the community – such as local schools, the park district, and public library – with Skokie village government often taking a proactive leadership role. Thus, inclusion in Skokie involves not just the public embrace of diversity but also a broad recognition of the need for inclusion-related programs and policies.
However, inclusion in Skokie is not without controversy, as the protestations of South Asian taxi drivers in 2007 bring to light. But the responsiveness of villager leaders – especially of trustee Randy Roberts – to the plight of these South Asian immigrants indicates that political leaders are mindful of the need to be inclusive. We can trace this responsiveness to the community’s unique *inherited history* – especially of being the epicenter of the well-publicized Neo-Nazi controversy of the late 1970’s and the village’s proactive stance on fair housing during the Civil Rights era. In this sense, current levels of inclusion in Skokie owes a great deal to decisions made by community leaders decades ago.

Yet, current levels of inclusion in both cases must be compared to the recent historical record across America. In this context, much is grim. In particular, inclusion in Skokie is no longer pathbreaking and proactive compared to the Civil Rights era or in the 1980’s and 1990’s, when enforcement of fair housing ordinance was more aggressive. The greatest indictment of this is how Skokie’s village leaders have been uncharacteristically passive during the Section 8 controversy. Altering this governance’s approach to inclusion will always run through the Caucus Party since it effectively controls policymaking and necessary resources. This necessary evolution of inclusion in Berwyn would include a more active role for the HRC in promoting anti-racism and for the commission to be more in the forefront of relevant issues, like the taxi parking and Section 8 controversies.

On the other hand, this study concludes that *Berwyn’s political governance of today does not exhibit a meaningful form and level of inclusion*. Yet, I suggest, Berwyn’s level of inclusion has recently improved. In this regard, there has recently been the election of Latino aldermen, the increased provision of translation services at City Hall, and a multiplying number of inclusion-oriented programs offered by the public library and park district. Moreover, Berwyn’s
political elites are more proactive in resolving racialized disputes today than in past years. This increased mindfulness for inclusion can be seen through the O’Connor administration’s refusal to enact residency checks in 2006 and Mayor Shaughnessy’s willingness to overhaul the city’s home inspection practices in the early 2000’s.

However, a sustained rhetoric of superficial inclusion and an unwillingness to provide and bolster key programmatic initiatives persists in Berwyn. Unlike Skokie, inclusion in Berwyn does not involve political elites publically embracing diverse populations. Instead, various political and civic institutions in Berwyn have pursued a kind of fragmented, uncoordinated inclusion often without local governance’s explicit sanctioning. The costs to this approach: City Hall and civic elites in Berwyn have not attempted to develop an overarching rhetoric of inclusion that suggests longtime residents must change and build an inclusive community. In this sense, Berwyn’s inherited history weighs down the degree to which elected officials can pursue inclusion, something most palpably evinced by Mayor Michael O’Connor’s reticence to fully publicize City Hall’s cooperation with the Immigrant Integration Initiative.

The unfulfilled potential of the initiative is emblematic of how City Hall could do more for its Latino residents. This general sentiment casts serious doubt upon the efficacy of the sparse inclusion-related efforts that Mayor Lovero and his aldermen referred to in interviews. The fact that other political and civic institutions in the community – like the North Berwyn Park District and the Berwyn Development Corporation – have purposefully developed such programs belies that fact that these programs lie beyond the purview of City Hall. The tacit refusal of political elites in City Hall to take greater ownership of inclusion hinders the development of a more meaningful form of inclusion in Berwyn.
The presence of a vibrant two-party political system in Berwyn might seem to offer a better entry point for Latinos into City Hall. But my skepticism that Berwyn’s two Latino aldermen (something that Mayor Lovero pointed to as a sign of progress) are difference-makers in terms of inclusion points to how political governances often project a convenient rhetoric of inclusion above championing actual substantive programs and policies. Again, Aldermen Santoy and Avila are more symbolic than active representatives of Latinos in Berwyn since the two do not spearhead any new inclusion-oriented programs and policies. This draws attention to the dangers of overly investing in the importance of procedural democracy (i.e. the election of minority elected officials or the implications of two versus one-party political system) above a focus on the effectiveness of inclusion-related programs and policies. The fact that the IVB is similarly unconcerned with inclusion gives Latinos a no-win scenario when it comes to city elections.

Comparing Berwyn to Skokie, Berwyn mostly lacks, first, a dedicated cadre of civic leaders who would ideally represent the suburb’s demographics and be committed to developing and administering inclusion-oriented programs and policies. This is what Skokie has had since the late 1980’s with the initiation of the VOICES project. In one sense, these committed volunteers in Skokie caretake and actualize the suburb’s inherited history of inclusion. By contrast, political leaders in Berwyn willing to address the suburb’s history of reactionary inclusion must necessarily marshal great political courage to do this (i.e., to go against the strong assimilationist ideas evident in the thoughts of longtime residents and fellow elected officials).

Considering the indifference of Berwyn’s political system, what its largest, recently arrived immigrant population, Latinos, most need is home-grown organizing similar to nascent ethnic-based groups having formed in Skokie. Ideally, this organizing would be broad, multi-
racial, multi-ethnic, and include many of the progressive-minded Whites (exactly the kind of young, hip Chicagoans that the “Bulls-eye” campaign caters towards). In this way, Latino civic leaders in Berwyn could build a coalition with BUNGALO, the local LGBT advocacy group, and demand a more inclusive community (a tactic that might place elected leaders in a difficult position given their previous proclamations of Berwyn as being “gay friendly”). In this sense, building broad-based progressive coalitions might challenge Berwyn’s staid and reactionary political class.

Both local governances in Berwyn and Skokie exhibited differing levels of inclusion: Berwyn was found to be just “moderately inclusive” for every dimension of policymaking, whereas Skokie was found to be “moderately inclusive” in terms of political incorporation. This illuminates the very real possibility of constrained inclusion, where real and hard-won progress is made in terms of achieving more inclusive local governance. However, constrained inclusion involves a state of affairs where the needs and interests of racial and ethnic groups and the political willingness of existing local governances to be inclusive reach a stage of equilibrium. Numerous local factors buttress this status of constrained inclusion in both communities: In Skokie, it is the nearly unassailable status of the Caucus Party that hinders any reforms of inclusion-oriented programs and policies; In Berwyn, it is the strong, pervasive assimilationist mindset in the community that political elites are loath to challenge. Describing constrained inclusion as a sort of equilibrium-like process conveys how progress can be made in terms of inclusion, but then further progress stalls or might even erode. Of course, it is difficult to prognosticate the futures of Berwyn and Skokie. But it is not a given that political elites will push Berwyn to be more inclusive ethnoburb, or that the Caucus Party in Skokie will deliberately seek greater input from racial and ethnic groups in terms of policymaking. In this sense, the
reality of constrained inclusion becomes the dominant modus operandi of local governance in these communities.

**The Ethnoburb as Theory**

This study has sought to thoroughly investigate whether existing political governances in ethnoburbs were inclusive of incoming racial and ethnic minorities of all socioeconomic classes. Li herself presages this question towards the end of her 2009 monograph, *Ethnoburb*, when she discusses how “localities where ethnoburbs exist are often left on their own to deal with problems associated with the changes,” given that there is little federal or state guidance (Li, 2009, p.180). My study was initially conceptualized as a straightforward study on local governance and inclusion but necessarily involved making an intellectual link to the struggle over how to make suburbs into “open communities.” In this way, this study has a beginning point that differs from Li in that I considered the problem of inclusion as emanating from the era of Black suburbanization that stretched from the 1960’s to the 1980’s, a time that not coincidentally was parallel to the Civil Rights era and its drive to “open up” suburbs to Blacks. It is in this narrative that pioneering Black families, fair housing ordinances, and crusading community-based advocates challenged existing suburban taboos by enabling Black families to move into all-white neighborhoods, something that occurred in Skokie during the 1950’s and 1960’s long before it occurred in Berwyn.

From this vantage point, it is clear how difficult it is for suburban communities to maintain Li’s idealization of ethnoburbs as “multiracial/multiethnic, multicultural, multilingual, and often multinational communities.” Take the much-studied Chinese ethnoburb of Monterey Park, California, for example: Between 1950 and 2000, the percentage of Chinese increased from just around 0.04% to 61.8%. This demographic change might be narrated as the triumphal rise
of a Chinese ethnoburb. But when we consider how the percentage of Whites during that time span decreased from 99.9% to 21.2% by 2000, one might sense that the rise of a Chinese ethnoburb resulted more from a process where White households fled Monterey Park. This, I believe, is not a true foundation for an inclusive community (when one racial group feels effectively marginalized by an incoming ethnic group). Moreover, it is evident from census data in Chapter 3 that “white flight” from the suburbs is an attendant problem when considering the increased suburbanization of racial and ethnic minorities, a trend mostly visible in the South Suburbs of the Chicago metropolitan area. The failure of Monterey Park and Chicago’s South Suburbs to maintain that multiracial/multiethnic blend portends how ineffective their political governances were in creating a sense of community-wide inclusion.

The difficulty of achieving a “multiracial, multiethnic” ethnoburb underscores how scholarly attention on the ethnoburb model is overly focused on the celebratory rhetoric of ethnic groups achieving a form of agency through the creation of ethnicized suburban landscapes. Indeed, the harsher reality of ethnoburbs is what was found in Berwyn and Skokie: There were indifferent local governances, resistant longtime residents, and newly arrived immigrants who were unduly targeted by discriminatory local ordinances. This “other side” of the ethnoburb story requires not just more scholarly attention, but a fuller theorization regarding of how ethnoburbs challenge a community’s dominant political and civic structures. For example, the reaction of longtime residents and existing political systems might be incorporated within Li’s three stages of an emerging ethnoburb. Findings from this study suggest that ethnoburbs that achieve some level of a true multiracial, multiethnic dynamic arrive at a level of equilibrium between the interests of incoming racial and ethnic groups and the traditional practices and perspectives of local governance (again, a form of constrained inclusion).
This brings us to the omission of political governance within the theoretical framework of ethnoburbs since it is governance – anchored by municipal government – that must necessarily deal with social, cultural, and economic changes in ethnoburbs. In this sense, political governances are vital to maintaining this area’s multiracial/multiethnic character. Within the ethnoburb model, my case study site of Skokie might be considered as within the “blooming stage” of development which features the “arrival of large numbers of immigrants from a variety of origin countries and areas” (Li, 2009, p. 80). Skokie lacks the distinct concentration of ethnic businesses and retailers found in other (primarily Asian) ethnoburbs, but it does retain that multiracial blend – As mentioned earlier in this study, the proportion of White residents in Skokie has declined in recent decades, but they remain a slight majority of residents. We might attribute this stabilized White majority in Skokie to the steps that political elites in the community took to convince residents of how “diversity is a fact in Skokie,” to echo an often heard phrase during my fieldwork. Though the success of inclusion in Skokie has varied over time, the fact that many longtime residents of Skokie still reside there points to how municipal governments, often working in concert with other layers of governance and community groups, can play a more positive role in promoting inclusion. By contrast, the centrality of ethnic entrepreneurs in Li’s ethnoburb model gives power to an entity – ethnic businesses and developers – who are lightly concerned with building inter-racial and inter-ethnic solidarity among residents.59

The next significant finding in this vein is that ethnoburb formation remains embedded within racial economies (i.e., race is an element that can be found within everyday mundane

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59 My skepticism with ethnic entrepreneurs in the ethnoburb model parallels my views on how the business community in Berwyn – specifically the Berwyn Development Corporation (BDC) – is taking the lead in engaging with Berwyn’s Latino community, something mentioned earlier in this chapter.
practices at the local level). Wilson elucidates these practices as “negotiating and hiring labor, making commodities, advertising to potential consumers, selling commodities and services, regulating populations via rules and regulations” (Wilson, 2009, p. 42). My fieldwork revealed that many policy-related conflicts – ranging from the taxi parking and failed residency check controversies – remain racialized today in these two suburbs. This facet of my data is congruent with earlier studies, particularly Li and Saito’s work on Southern California, over local policies that revolved around immigrant backlash in the 1980’s and 1990’s. While the policies used to resist inclusion over time have changed – English-only movements grew in popularity in the 1980’s and 1990’s, but have waned in the 2000’s – it is apparent that racialized conflicts over a range of local policy issues remain a reality in contemporary suburban politics.

This point about racialization brings us to what I believe is a key oversight of the ethnoburb model: Its opportunity to form under new anti-housing discrimination legislation. Li rightfully posits ethnoburb formation as being the product of broader changes at global and national scales, specifically shifting geopolitics between the U.S. and Asian countries, globalization and economic restructuring, and changes in U.S. domestic policy related to immigration (Li, 2009, pp. 29-39). However, her narrow focus on post-1965 changes in U.S. immigration policies (something that allowed the influx of Asian immigrants) elides an important element of ethnoburbs, the passage of the Fair Housing Act of 1968. This act specifically forbade housing discrimination based on “race, color, religion, or national origin,” and spurned the creation of the open housing movement, which is enforced to this day by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). In this sense, the emergence of ethnoburbs owes itself not just to well-heeled ethnic entrepreneurs, but also to deliberate government intervention at the federal level, not something that was universally popular at the
time – President Lyndon Johnson used the assassination of Martin Luther King on April 5, 1968 and the ensuing urban riots as part of the political calculus for compelling Congress to pass the act on April 10, 1968.

The Fair Housing Act was a landmark piece of legislation. An important facet of the law has been its practice of devolving responsibility for pursuing fair housing complaints to state or local authorities if their “laws, rights, procedures, remedies and judicial review are ‘substantially equivalent’ … to those” in the federal Fair Housing Act (Wilk et al., 2011, pp.25-26). As more state and local governments passed their own fair housing laws in the 1970’s and 1980’s, enforcing fair housing statutes became more of a local concern (Wilk et al., 2011, p.27). We can see this Civil Rights-era fervor in Skokie of the 1970’s and 1980’s, a time when village leaders took public stances against racism and vigorously pursued fair housing complaints in the 1980’s and 90’s. Thus, the degree to which ethnoburb governances are inclusive is duly informed by processes and policies at the national scale, just as ethnoburb formation is stimulated by geopolitical and national shifts.

**Policy Implications for Inclusion**

*Our Post-Racial Present*

An important finding of this study is that political elites in Berwyn and Skokie eagerly tout racial and ethnic diversity as selling points for their communities. In this sense, diversity is no longer an overt source of controversy for political governances, as was the case in Berwyn until the 2000’s and Skokie until the 1990’s. This finding was consistent with my pre-fieldwork expectations regarding Skokie (given the suburb’s unique inherited history), but was surprising in Berwyn (considering the suburb’s reputation of historically being resistant to racial
integration). The fact that both suburbs publically proclaim diversity and inclusion as tangible, marketable assets for their communities suggests this practice is pervasive among many local governances in large metropolitan areas. But this trend belies a complex reality in which, on the one hand, diversity is cherished as a community-wide norm but, on the other, race-related problems persist as seen from the continued presence of racialized conflicts over local programs and policies.

As race has lasting importance in the history of cities and suburbs, my research agenda as a scholar will involve studying how this widespread shift to a new, more complex reality about race affects how communities are regulated (via governance) as well as how residents are racialized and, in turn, racialize others in navigating various facets of their everyday lives. More specifically, this research agenda will explore not just how racialization occurs today in communities but also theorize how new forms of discrimination operates, drawing inspiration from Frug’s idea of “legal technologies of exclusion” (Frug, 2006). Race remains a salient, lived reality in communities, but notions of race are conceived and maintained in different ways, I assert, from previous generations.

In this way, I chronicle how an operative post-racial era is fast becoming a powerful and influential narrative that threatens to further undo achievements from the Civil Rights era (Wise, 2010; Drew, 2011; Ikard and Teasely, 2012). Research on post-racialism has tended to focus either on President Obama’s use of racially transcendent rhetoric in the 2008 election cycle or on national-level discourses on race relations. I propose that the pervasiveness of a post-racial rhetoric and mindset in the United States is subtly shaping race relations and, more importantly, race-related programs and policies in large metropolitan areas. It involves public invocations about racism and social exclusion as being substantially a thing of the past. In this vein, Sumi
Cho describes post-racialism as an ideology that assumes “significant racial progress … has been made,” and the “state need not engage in race-based decision-making or adopt race-based remedies,” an argument that “effectuates a ‘retreat from race’ (Cho, 2009, p.1594).

Post-racialism should be thought of as the current stage of an evolving narrative about race relations in this country that begins with the Civil Rights movement. In Schuman et al.’s comprehensive 1997 study of American racial attitudes, they narrate a history that begins from “Prelude to Civil Rights Politics, 1930-1954,” to “Modern Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1965,” to “Unfinished Civil Rights Agenda, 1965-1979,” and then to “Retrenchment and Reaction, 1980-1997,” an era in which the federal government “retreated from a commitment to civil rights and affirmative action” (Schuman et al., 1997, pp. 8-39). Against this chronology, I want to posit that the United States has entered a post-racial era since the 2000’s. Of course, the election of President Barack Obama in 2008 elicited discussion about the United States having moved into a “pure” and unequivocal post-racial era where race and racism have substantially disappeared as a societal process. Both political governances in Berwyn and Skokie celebrate their community’s newfound racial and ethnic diversity in ways that tacitly and purposefully assume that inter-racial and ethnic tensions have been overcome. In this way, I believe that political elites in Berwyn and Skokie are responding to a larger political and socio-cultural-political zeitgeist of post-racialism.

However, I suggest that sensitivity to race and the reality of racism subtly persists. While, for example, village leaders in my case study communities promote symbolic displays of diversity – such as the venerable Festival of Cultures and the litany of educational-related programs supported but the HRC – the power of race and racism continues. Race and racism, alive and well in these communities, continues to “color” the nature of supposedly inclusive
programs and policies. But it is a new racism, I suggest, one that completely conceals and sanitizes its racial dimension. Unlike all previous stages of governance inflected racism in American communities, this influence works under the complete denial of race as a human awareness. But never very far from this polished surface, all is not what it appears to be.

**Inclusive Rhetoric Matters**

Though I have criticized symbolic displays of inclusion in ethnoburbs, my intentions were not to entirely dismiss them. In fact, I want to argue that these symbolic displays – ranging from leaders publicly supporting racial and ethnic diversity, multicultural festivals, and youth-oriented educational programs – are the first important step towards a truly deepened inclusion. Such symbolic displays are not a substitute for proactive, substantive policies and policies, like effective fair housing ordinances and translation services, but political governances must understand the importance of the discursive realm. Symbolic displays are important not just in building expectations that diversity is a community-wide norm – again, think “Diversity is a fact in Skokie” – but in creating a broader base of popular support within an ethnoburb such that the community is not just a “White suburb,” “a Chinese ethnoburb,” or a “Latino ghetto.”

We can see the benefits of actively engaging in symbolic displays of inclusion in Skokie. Throughout the 1960’s and 1970’s, political leadership in Skokie built a progressive reputation based on an active Human Relations Commission, a pathbreaking fair housing law in 1968, and a courageous stance against Neo-Nazis in 1978. In fact, it was the substantive policies and programs in Skokie that preceded the development of a community-wide narrative that publically embraced racial and ethnic diversity beginning in the late 1980’s. It was the school-aged Skokie children who grew up in the 1990’s who benefited from attending the popular Festival of
Cultures and learned about different peoples and cultures. These children grew up knowing that Skokie leaders like Mayor Albert Smith once took a courageous stand against intolerance, and this sort of inclusion was a part of their community heritage.

In Berwyn, it is apparent that in recent years political leaders have embraced their growing diversity. But the nascent prominence of civic leaders like Tammy Clausen and Joe Vallez, who administer inclusion-oriented programs, and the ease which Aldermen Cesar Santoy and Rafael Avila can converse with their constituents in Spanish, speaks to how Berwyn is a different place than the one that actively refused to affirm fair housing until the late 1990’s. The key to inclusion in Berwyn, of course, is building an inclusive agenda in which a generous proportion of longtime White residents learn to accept incoming Latino immigrants as full citizens of Berwyn. But we might speculate that the continual migration of White residents out of Berwyn – a trend that has been stark in the past two decades – only seems to mean that they left more out of fear than anything else, that their beloved suburb was changing in ways that were unacceptable.

A View From Above

Clearly, ethnoburbs are not merely self-contained communities but are porous in that local conditions are affected by political, economic, and cultural processes at metropolitan, state, and national scales. Considering this, the role of both federal and state-level policies and agencies together represent vastly under-utilized resources that can promote inclusion at the local level. The main mechanisms for achieving this revolves around the Fair Housing Act of 1968 and Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) programs, the former a legacy of the Civil Rights movement and the latter a legacy of President Nixon’s New Federalism in the 1970’s.
The Fair Housing Act and CDBG monies are linked together since municipal governments must demonstrate that they are “affirming fair housing” in order to receive the hundreds of thousands of dollars for local programs.

It is this aspect of linking “affirmation of fair housing” to CDBG monies that has clearly waned and been severely weakened since the inception of the Fair Housing Act of 1968. In 1968, former Michigan governor George Romney became the first Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and was determined to use the full weight of HUD and the Fair Housing Act to compel local governments to desegregate. In Living Apart, Nikole Hannah-Jones narrates how Romney – who was “profoundly affected” by the 1967 Detroit riots and championed housing integration during his tenure as Michigan governor – directed HUD officials to reject applications for federally-funded infrastructure projects from cities and states whose policies fostered segregation, an initiative he dubbed “Open Communities.” In a showdown with then President Richard Nixon, Romney was ultimately forced to resign when the disapproving Nixon found out about “Open Communities,” which Nixon ultimately described as “forced integration” (Hannah-Jones, 2012). The Nixon administration sought to stop all efforts by HUD to pressure city and state governments, a moment that Myron Orfield lamented as a missed opportunity for integration. “Segregation would have been cut by half and possibly eliminated,” Hannah-Jones quotes Orfield as saying. “The country would have been a very different place” (Hannah-Jones, 2012).

The Fair Housing Act today is often criticized as being ineffective in combating residential discrimination and housing segregation through programs and policies that have been widely identified as perpetuating urban problems (Larkin, 2007). Many state and local governments regularly fall short of the requirement to affirm fair housing and, of the four million
instances of housing discrimination documented annually, only 0.76% of such cases were investigated nationwide, the result of “acute underfunding” and “inconsistent implementation” of fair housing policy (Silverman & Patterson, 2011, p.5). In this study, we can see the results of this in the waning vigilance of promoting fair housing in Skokie since the 1990’s and the wholly ineffectual efforts of Berwyn’s Community Relations Commission since its very inception, mostly evident in Berwyn’s recent “Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing” document that talked solely about affordable housing (a related, though somewhat different concept than fair housing). In short, local governments must be intrinsically self-motivated in order to pursue policies that promote residential integration.

The solution to this, of course, is that federal leaders must deliberately choose to use the weight of the federal government to compel ethnoburbs to pursue inclusion. There have been incremental changes in the Obama administration, which early in its term chose to withhold federal monies from Westchester County in New York and Joliet, Illinois for not fulfilling their civil rights obligation under the Fair Housing Act. But the current metropolitan landscape appears to be one in which individual ethnoburb governances must be, again, intrinsically motivated to fulfill their fair housing-related obligations, resulting in some ethnoburbs like Skokie being more inclusive than others like Berwyn. HUD officials might consider coupling punitive measures of withholding federal monies (and actually enforcing the Fair Housing Act) with programs designed to foster “buy-in” from White residents who are sure to be angered by the former, given their general and historical disapproval of policies designed to rectify segregation. This might include, again, a comprehensive advertisement campaign designed to introduce low-income residents (many of them racialized poor, of course) to the community or HUD holding community-wide fair housing workshops designed to bring citizens, tenants,
landlords, and real estate agents together to discuss housing-related issues, essentially rectifying a need to educate the public about fair housing.

Organizing Matters

The final policy implication in this research is that racial and ethnic groups must seek to organize as identifiable, coherent interests as part of the political process to ensure inclusion. To promote civil rights, the efforts of advocacy groups to organize specific ethnic groups (South Asians in Skokie and Latino immigrants in Berwyn) persuaded political governances to choose directions that were more inclusive. The presence of ethnic groups at city council meetings demonstrated a veritable “show of force.” Organizing efforts that cross racial and ethnic lines and become multiracial/multiethnic are the most potent, something demonstrated in earlier studies of ethnoburbs (Saito, 1998). However, these sort of advocacy-related organizing efforts tend to be from communities that are less-than-inclusive in its racial and ethnic communities (i.e., the need to organize is compelled by a need to allay potential civil rights violations).

For political governances in ethnoburbs to cultivate close working relationships with ethnic-specific groups, they must tap “grassroots” interests in the community. These working relationships are necessary as a preemptive measure so that racialized conflicts over local programs and policies never reach an incendiary stage. This type of relationship is what Skokie has arguably developed since the 1980’s, with its cadre of dedicated volunteers who are central to holding the Festival of Cultures every year. However, my study indicated that the formalized nature of the HRC – with its memberships being funneled through the approval of the Caucus Party-dominated village board – has grown stale and overly bureaucratic over the years. Instead, what is needed is a committee that exhibits a greater deal of independence from Skokie political
governances in the same way that religious leaders historically helped to organize the Skokie HRC.

My emphasis on the importance of ongoing racial and ethnic groups highlights my sense of how a broad-based form of political participation could help drive inclusion rather than solely relying on programs or minority elected officials. Of the latter, my skepticism is founded in how Berwyn’s two Latino aldermen seem to represent more a symbolic sign of inclusion than an actual turn towards enacting inclusion-oriented programs and policies. Thus, an over reliance on viewing inclusion through the prism of what ethnoburb has newly elected an ethnic minority to local office is, in and of itself, not substantive enough in determining inclusion. On the other hand, the degree to which ethnoburb governances have cultivated genuine relationships with local ethnic-specific groups of all kinds is more indicative of a greater level of true substantive democracy, as opposed to procedural democracy. In this sense, inclusion – like racialization and racism – is a humanly-crafted endeavor that relies on that toil and sacrifice of those committed to social justice and equality.
## APPENDIX A

### LIST OF INTERVIEW SUBJECTS

#### Interview Subjects in Berwyn

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amy Crowther</td>
<td>Communications staff for Berwyn Development Corporation</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berwyn resident</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Local resident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cesar Santoy</td>
<td>Current 5th ward alderman</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deborah Sitz</td>
<td>Executive director of Solutions for Care</td>
<td>Social service worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Marie Hajer</td>
<td>Former director of community outreach</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe Vallez</td>
<td>Executive director of North Berwyn Park District</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marge Paul</td>
<td>Current 3rd ward alderman</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark Weiner</td>
<td>Former third ward alderman</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael O’Connor</td>
<td>Former mayor</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nora Laureto</td>
<td>Current 8th ward alderman</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rob Breymaier</td>
<td>Executive director of Oak Park Regional Housing Center</td>
<td>Social service worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Lovero</td>
<td>Current mayor</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social service worker</td>
<td>Local social service agency in Berwyn/Cicero area</td>
<td>Social service worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tammy Clausen</td>
<td>Berwyn public service agency</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Interview Subjects in Skokie

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corrie Wallace</td>
<td>Director of English Language Leaners Center</td>
<td>Social Service worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Perille</td>
<td>Current village trustee</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gail Schecter</td>
<td>Director of Interfaith Housing Center for Northern Suburbs</td>
<td>Community-based worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Mitchell</td>
<td>Former chair of Human Relations Commission</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Van Dusen</td>
<td>Current mayor</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HRC member</td>
<td>Current member of the Human Relations Commission</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HRC member</td>
<td>Current member of the Human Relations Commission</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerry Clarito</td>
<td>Commissioner of Skokie Park District</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liliana Fargo</td>
<td>Member of Skokie Voice and chair of Latinos in Skokie</td>
<td>Local resident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisa Lipin</td>
<td>Chair of Skokie Voice</td>
<td>Local resident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maureen DiFrancesca</td>
<td>Village of Skokie director of human services</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pramod Shah</td>
<td>Current village trustee</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randy Roberts</td>
<td>Current village trustee</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skokie resident</td>
<td>Member of Asian American Coalition in Skokie</td>
<td>Local resident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steve Marciani</td>
<td>Village of Skokie planning supervisor</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomm Damrich</td>
<td>Former mayoral candidate</td>
<td>Political elite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B
MEASURES OF SEGREGATION

Index of Dissimilarity (ID) and Index of Exposure (IE) were used in this dissertation to measure different types of census block group-level segregation. Since the ID was first popularized in 1955 by Duncan and Duncan (Duncan & Duncan 1955), ID and IE are generally the two most commonly used methods used to compute segregation. There is an ample amount of scholarly criticism of these two indices, as researchers have emphasized their limitations and proposed a wide array of alternatives (Johnston et al., 2010). But the continued use of ID and IE in recent studies of racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic segregation points to their continued utility and acceptance in scholarship (Spivak et al, 2011; Darden et al, 2010; Johnston et al., 2008).

ID is a measure of evenness that refers to how a minority group is said to be “segregated if it is unevenly distributed over areal units” in a city (Massey & Denton, 1988, p.283). In using ID in measuring the evenness between Whites and Blacks in a particular city, for example,

\[ ID = 0.5 \sum \left( \frac{b_i}{B} - \frac{w_i}{W} \right) \]

In this equation, \( b_i \) refers to the Black population in a particular areal unity (in this case, block groups), \( B \) is the total population in that larger geographic area (the city), \( w_i \) refers to the White population within the same block group, and \( W \) refers to the total White population in the entire city. The summation for this occurs over every census block group in that entire city, resulting in a number that ranges from 0 to 100, with higher scores indicating higher levels of segregation.

On the other hand, IE measures the “extent to which minority and majority members physically confront one another by virtue of sharing a common residential area” (Massey &
In using ID in measuring the exposure of Whites towards Blacks in a particular city,

\[ IE = \text{SUM} \left( \frac{w_i}{W} \right) \times \left( \frac{b_i}{T} \right) \]

In this equation, \( w_i \) refers to the White population within the block groups, \( W \) is the total White population in that the city, \( b_i \) refers to the black population within the same block group, and \( T \) refers to the total population in the entire city. Again, the summation for this occurs over every census block group in that entire city, resulting in a number that ranges from 0.0 to 1.0, with higher scores indicating higher levels of isolation between one group and another. Should one choose to measure the exposure of Blacks towards Whites, this equation would be necessarily reversed in that \( w_i \) and \( W \) would be replaced by \( b_i \) and \( B \) while \( b_i \) would become \( w_i \).
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CHAPTER TWO BIBLIOGRAPHY


CHAPTER THREE BIBLIOGRAPHY


CHAPTER FOUR BIBLIOGRAPHY


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CHAPTER SIX BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDIX B BIBLIOGRAPHY


