Integration in Housing: A Plan for Racial Diversity

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Integration in Housing: A Plan for Racial Diversity

The Villages of Park Forest and Park Forest South are concerned about the possibility of racial resegregation. The four parts of the plan are as follows:
- Part I, Why we value integration; Part II, Policy- what we can do to promote integration maintenance; Part III, A discussion of the housing forces which contribute to racial resegregation and; Part IV, A history of housing integration in Park Forest and Park Forest South.

INTEGRATION MAINTENANCE: The use of educational and service programs to encourage the continuation of integration in the community.

RESEGREGATION: Change of an integrated (or desegregated) residential area to a segregated area.

UNITARY HOUSING MARKET: A single open housing market in which members of all races and groups receive the same services and actually compete on equal terms.

Available to the public from the performing organization at $5.00 per copy.
INTEGRATION IN HOUSING: A PLAN FOR MAINTAINING RACIAL DIVERSITY

Prepared by Dudley Onderdonk, Donald DeMarco and Kathy Cardona with special thanks to Larry McClellan, Mayer Singerman, Daniel Carmody, Barbara Molina and Bonnie Page

for

PRESIDENT AND BOARD OF TRUSTEES

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INTEGRATION IN HOUSING: A PLAN FOR RACIAL DIVERSITY

CONTENTS

PART I p. 1 WHY WE VALUE INTEGRATION

Introduction

"Integration as a valued reality"
- Larry A. McClellan, President, Village of Park Forest South

"Living Together"
- Mayer Singerman, President, Village of Park Forest

PART II p. 7 THE FIRST STEPS TOWARD POLICY "WHAT CAN WE DO TO PROMOTE INTEGRATION MAINTENANCE?"

Integration Maintenance and the Dual Housing Market

The Market Model of (Re)Segregation
(How does resegregation work?)

The Goal-Establishment of a Unitary Housing Market

Outline of Housing Market Forces

Making the Problem Define the Solution
(What is the problem - What actions contribute to the solution)

PART III p. 42 A DISCUSSION OF THE HOUSING MARKET FORCES WHICH CONTRIBUTE TO RACIAL RESEGREGATION.

Financial Institutions
Media
Builder - Developer
Rental Management
Realtors
Community Organizations
Community Image
The Law
National Government
Local Government
Location
Schools
Homebuyers - Homesellers
References

* Definitions

PART IV p. 80   THE APPENDIX

A History of Housing Integration in Park Forest South
-Kathy Cardona

A History of Housing Integration in Park Forest
-Donald L. DeMarco

Integration Maintenance Impact Statement

Developing a Regional Approach to Maintaining Integration.

An Analysis of Surveys

Fair Housing Organizations Active in the Chicago Area.

Model Documents
PART I - Why we value integration

INTRODUCTION

Integration as a Valued Reality

by Larry A. Mc Clellan
Village President, Park Forest South

Living Together

by Mayer Singerman
Village President, Park Forest
INTRODUCTION

The Villages of Park Forest and Park Forest South promote integration, but what is integration? We all have heard and read many misleading and incorrect definitions, and we think it's important to set the record straight. Let's first say what it is not. Integration is not the time between the first black moving in and the last white moving out. It is not an 80% white, 20% black population. There is no such thing as "too much" integration. Rather, integration can be defined in market terms as a situation wherein both blacks and whites and other minorities are looking at housing in numbers roughly proportional to their numbers in the general population. This includes considerations of price and style of housing desired.

Thus, if a metropolitan area racial composition is roughly 80% white and 20% black, and if roughly 80% white and 20% black are seeking housing in a community, then that community is experiencing integration at that time. If the situation continues, stable integration is experienced. If demand by one group or the other diminishes considerably, then integration is endangered. It is in the economic interest of a community to maintain demand by all groups of people. In that way, demand is at its peak, and maximum housing values can be realized. There are very clear social and economic advantages to living in a community which encourages and maintains integration.

The November, 1973 issue of Money magazine printed an article discussing the effects of integration on home value.* The conclusion of one economist whose study focused on almost 10,000 housing transactions showed that "the odds are about 4 to 1 that house prices in a neighborhood entered by non-whites will keep up with or exceed prices in a comparable all-white area". And the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has more than once proclaimed there is no substance to the view that incoming racial minorities drive down property values. Money magazine blames real estate agents and mortgage lenders for helping perpetuate the myth. It asserts, finally, that "of the factors that determine the worth of a piece of property, the race of owners is one of the least significant".

More specifically, property value is determined by the laws of supply and demand. The more demand for the supply, the greater the value. The less demand, the lower the value. Maximum appreciation in housing values occurs where demand is strong and can be expected to continue strong. If all people, black, white, and others, who can afford certain housing are competing for it equally, then you have 100% of the potential demand. In Chicagoland, if only whites are competing, that area is sacrificing something like 23% of the demand that is black. If only blacks are competing, then the area is losing 77% of the demand. If an area has a deficiency in the traffic of either race, the property values will suffer. Active competition from blacks and whites together protects values and investments.

The social advantages are, of course, subjective. Diverse groups of friends and associates are available. Children can learn to deal effectively with all kinds of other children. That ability to get along with all kinds of people frequently pays off in the job market, where that is a much sought-after quality. And the reality of today in the Chicago area is that with very few exceptions all communities are home to some minorities. It seems advantageous to live in a community where a positive value is placed on diversity - where it is not forced upon people, but rather chosen willingly and nurtured thoughtfully.

Rather than have the authors of this plan go on at length about the advantage of interracial living, it is important to show that integration maintenance is part of our local public policy. Our local elected Village Presidents value integrated living. In their own words President McClellan and President Singerman explain why we value integration:
A fundamental dilemma in American communities today is the contrast between the easy rhetoric of integration and the hard reality of making it happen. Many can verbally support open housing, equal opportunity and related code words, but the hard reality is in building the context for authentic interrelations of persons of differing racial backgrounds.

In Park Forest South we are seeking to be clear about what it means to experience racial diversity and to continually move beyond the simple reality of blacks and whites living in the same geographic area and move into the valued reality of whites, blacks, and other minorities building the same human community.

In the late 1960's, the New Communities program was established as a form of demonstration program for responding to urban sprawl and furthering basic social objectives including integration. In 1970-71, a private developer, the Park Forest South Development Company, obtained the designation of Park Forest South as the location for a federal New Community. This involved a complex set of financial, land, and development agreements. Park Forest South is unique as the only one of the 13 New Communities in the federal program with a local government having jurisdiction over basically the same area as the total development project.

This dual situation has had mixed results. The existence of the New Community designation with affirmative marketing created well-integrated community-present population of 6,000 with 26% minority. However, for a complex set of reasons, the Development Company ceased operation in early 1975 and the local government had to face multiple crises for survival as a viable community. A major dilemma was to develop the capacity to maintain racial stability in the face of a very negative image related to issues of further development and potential racial imbalances. A series of steps had to be taken to forcefully support our commitment to integration as a valued reality.

We have worked hard to support the value we place on our existence as an integrated community—where children and adults can enjoy the common richness of our racial diversity and where judgments, assumptions, prejudices based on racial characteristics begin to whither away. In light of this, we are aware of tremendous resources being expended to push other communities and institutions to move in directions we have come. There is a real irony in the apparent unwillingness of those same state and national resources to assist a community like ours to maintain and solidify the gains that have been made here. In spite of that unwillingness, we will continue to do all that we can at our local level to insure our growth and stability as a multi-racial, fully integrated community.
It would be foolish to believe that all Park Foresters think alike about racial matters. Not all whites think alike. Not all blacks think alike. Not all people from the same part of the nation or from the same religious groups think alike. But there seems to be a set of attitudes that a great many of us share. It was expressed many years ago when Swedish philosopher and economist Gunnar Myrdal studied racial problems in the United States and wrote a lengthy report published in a book called "The American Delimma". There is a sense in which he captured much of the reality of America's racial problems in his title. For it is a dilemma that most characterizes the racial attitudes of Americans, no matter what their race.

One of the ways the dilemma about race has affected Americans has been in housing patterns. In most of the United States a dual housing market exists. Whites live in one area; blacks in another. This exists without respect to the quality of life in these areas. There are "good" and "bad" white areas. There are "good" and "bad" black areas. But the pattern still reveals them as separate areas. Although this pattern still characterizes the way most Americans live, significant changes started to occur all over the United States about 10 years ago - quite definitely in Park Forest.

At that time, black people started to move into all parts of the village, ending the dual market in Park Forest.

The official policy of the village was: who moves in and out of homes is the business of the private, free economy. Further, all people have the right to safety in their homes and village government is bound to protect that right.

In recognition of the possibility of problems occurring as the first blacks moved into the village, the official village Human Relations Commission and village trustees met with the future neighbors of incoming blacks to aid the effort to be certain the new neighbors would be allowed to move in and live in peace. They were. That is not to say that all blacks moving into the village were greeted in the same way whites were, but no significant problems arose.

After a while, Park Forest passed an open housing ordinance which, in effect, gave the force of law to what was, to a great extent, happening anyway. For some, the law was unnecessary and should not have been passed. For others, it was a way of making certain all people knew and understood that Park Forest stands for the rule of law as well as the Golden Rule.

In the past several years, a new phenomenon has arisen. Free choice is again being limited, but in a subtle and peculiar way. Some white homeseekers are being steered away from Park Forest and some black homeseekers are being steered into it. Both the white and black families may be unaware of what is going on - but it is
happening. This is, indeed, a new way to threaten the free market. For the free market is threatened not only when people are obviously not able to make a free choice, but also, when they think they are— but in reality are not.

In the past, there was no free market. Only white people and a few Orientals lived in Park Forest. Although the number of blacks in Park Forest is estimated at little more than 9 percent, there are some who believe that this means that if something doesn't happen, eventually only blacks will live in Park Forest. To begin with, Park Forest village government not only does not believe such forecasts, it is convinced its belief is shared by an overwhelming number of village residents.

But let us examine for a moment what would be wrong with a village that is all black. Let us start by assuming Park Forest is a good place in which to live. All the things that make Park Forest a good place to live for black people make it a good place to live for white people. This being the case, people of various racial, ethnic and religious backgrounds generally will be attracted to live in Park Forest in percentages approximate to their total percentages in the population. There are, of course, modifying factors. Although blacks constitute approximately 10 percent of the population generally, they constitute a little higher percentage in a large metropolitan area.

Suburban living generally, including Park Forest, requires a considerable income. Although the number of blacks entering the "middle class" is rising dramatically, it is still considerably below the percentage of whites who are considered middle class, the group from which Park Forest draws most of its residents.

For those who believe strongly in the moral, ethical and political foundations of our nation, living in a community where all kinds of people live is normal, natural— good and proper. It fits the "ideals" side of the "American Dilemma".

In a free society, if it is to remain free, free choices must exist for everyone. If choices are free in housing, normal distribution of groups will be found in the community and stability will result. For those who ask what is the right number, or percent of various groups, the answer is: however many of each group chooses to come, providing there is a truly free market everywhere.
PART II

THE FIRST STEPS TOWARD POLICY

"What Can We Do To Promote Integration Maintenance?"

This plan represents the first half of a two year study designed to investigate and prevent the racial resegregation of neighborhoods and communities. The first year's work includes a detailed investigation of the market forces which contribute to resegregation and a brief overview of some counter forces that may be employed to assure stable integration. Next year's study will focus on implementation strategies and action oriented plans.

Part II contains an outline and summary of a plan to prevent racial resegregation. The format for this section includes a goal statement, market forces outline, a model of racial resegregation and a series of programs that can promote integration maintenance. Each program defines a problem, establishes objectives and progress indicators as well as recommends specific actions. For the reader that is pressed for time this section represents the heart of this report.
INTEGRATION MAINTENANCE AND THE DUAL HOUSING MARKET

Maintaining integration means maintaining a strong, full, diverse demand for housing. Members of all races can enter the competition for housing and when housing traffic, demand and occupancy throughout all parts of the market areas reflect the racial composition of all the member races who desire and can afford the housing that is available, a unitary housing market exists.

The unitary market differs from the dual housing market, the dual housing market separates the housing supply into one virtually all white market and another market for blacks and other minorities.

Until 1968 the dual housing market existed in the Chicago area, as in the remainder of the United States, and it was characterized by a high degree of segregation. It was not unlawful to discriminate in the sale or rental of housing on the basis of race. It was considered normal practice in the real estate and lending industries. Black and other minority consumers of housing were relegated to limited geographic areas; the remainder of the market was open to whites. That is a dual housing market. The National Housing Act of 1968 and the Illinois Constitution of 1970 banned discrimination in the sale or rental of virtually all housing on the basis of race. The legacy of decades of overt, legal discrimination in housing, preceded by more than two centuries of slavery, however, has been continuation of a de facto dual housing market. Part of the reason lies in the unlawful, but deeply ingrained patterns and practices of suppliers of housing. Part of the reason is the psychological residue of past practices among consumers.

For whatever reasons, the dual housing market persists. Blacks are steered or steer themselves to communities predominantly occupied by blacks, or to those few communities which have gained reputations as open to minority residence. The long-term effect is a continuation of a social order in which blacks and other minorities reside in one place and whites another. Interracial communities seeking stability continue to find it difficult to remain racially heterogeneous as disproportionate amount of minority housing demand is channeled toward them.
Most neighborhoods in city and suburban areas began as racially exclusive. No white would think of selling or renting his home to a minority and few minority people seriously considered living in all white areas.

With the advent of fair housing legislation, rising minority income, and the large increase of the black middle class, pressures began to develop within both the white and black community to provide for additional housing for minorities in previously all white areas. The beginnings of racial transition started when the first black families moved into a few all white neighborhoods. For the most part, the new black families had incomes and aspirations that were similar to that of the neighborhood; however, the white majority viewed with alarm the growing number of minority families.

Next, typically, racial transition has occurred when whites were either pushed out of the local housing market or, as has been most often the case, white families have dropped out of the housing market for racially diverse neighborhoods.

This finding stands in contrast to much of the published literature concerning racial resegregation. It is not so much that neighborhoods are "block-busted" by low income minority households who invade the area. The more typical process appears to be that as white families move out of the heterogeneous neighborhood, for many reasons, only some of which are race related, they are replaced by black households. This is the dual housing market in operation. Whites, who have many housing options, can easily choose from a wide variety of neighborhoods. On the other hand, blacks, who generally have a very restricted set of apparently viable housing options, tend to concentrate in areas where apparent housing opportunities are available.

As a particular neighborhood becomes identified as "for blacks only," the white demand falls off to almost nothing. When this happens, no homes are sold to whites and the neighborhood becomes an area of minority concentration.

This process of racial resegregation can be reduced to a four step process as described below:

**MARKET MODEL OF RACIAL SEGREGATION-RESEGREGATION**

1. All white neighborhood (No homes sold to blacks).
2. Blacks move into the neighborhood (A few homes sold to blacks).
3. Whites leave housing market (Most homes sold to blacks).
4. Area becomes a black ghetto (No homes sold to whites).
The process of integration can also be outlined in a four-step model.

1. All white neighborhood (No homes sold to blacks).
2. Blacks move into the neighborhood (A few homes sold to blacks).
3. Whites remain in housing market (Homes sold to both whites and blacks).
4. Area becomes successfully integrated (Whites and blacks freely compete for housing).

The Market Model of Racial Segregation-Resegregation, although oversimplified, is central to the understanding of the dual housing market. The model was described verbally in the paragraphs above, however, the model can also be shown graphically. In figure 1, diagrams are used to graphically show the (Re)segregation process. The model is shown in the more typical segregation-resegregation process as well as in the more ideal segregation-integration process.

The resegregation model on the left shows two housing markets, one for whites and one for blacks. This comparable to Stage I in the market model. When the two housing markets converge in a single neighborhood, whites who have many housing options choose to leave, and they are replaced by new black buyers. Stages II and III in the market model are represented by the overlap area on the two circles. This also can be looked upon as a loss in white demand in the neighborhood. The final circle (Stage IV) shows the neighborhood resegregated into an all black neighborhood with little or no white demand.

The integration model on the right represents the ideal unitary housing market model. This concept takes both the white housing demand and the black housing demand (Stage I) and has both races compete freely for housing in some neighborhoods (Stages II and III). This competition then expands until there is competition for housing in all neighborhoods. (Stage IV). The neighborhood to be integrated might theoretically start out with only black residents, with whites moving in and both racial groups continuing to compete together.

The racial demand for housing can be portrayed graphically. Graph #1 represents the white demand for housing in a neighborhood that is undergoing racial transition. Over time, the white demand for housing drops from almost 100% to almost 0%.
Graph of white demand for housing in resegregating neighborhood:

The key to understanding the process of racial resegregation is that whites who have many housing options can easily choose from a wide variety of neighborhoods. As the white demand for housing in a neighborhood declines it is replaced in the marketplace by the black demand for housing, which tends to concentrate minorities in areas where apparent housing opportunities are available. When a neighborhood is identified as "going black" the white demand falls off to almost nothing.

Figure I.
Segregation - Resegregation Market Model

Dual Housing Market

STAGE I

STAGES II & III

STAGE IV

Unitary Housing Market

Key:

- White housing market demand.
- Black housing market demand.
- Integrated market demand.

Note: The symbol representing white market demand is larger than the symbol representing the black market demand because the white market is larger than the black market.
GOAL: The overall goal of a plan to prevent racial resegregation in the housing market is the abolition of the dual housing market and the establishment of a unitary market. The dual housing market is one which separates the housing supply into one all white market and one for blacks and other minorities. For the purposes of this study, a unitary market would exist if housing traffic, demand and occupancy throughout all parts of the market area reflected the racial composition of all the member races who desire and can afford the housing that is available. The future existence of a unitary housing market in Park Forest and Park Forest South is linked to south suburban and Chicago regional improvements favoring a unitary housing market which, in turn, are related to national housing policies.

Code: N National
R Regional
L Local
Short Two years or less
Medium 2 - 10 years
Long 10+ years
### Forces Leading to Resegregation

- Financial Institutions
  - Red-lining.
  - Disinvestment.
  - Mortgage Bankers.
  - Conservative Lenders.
  - VA and FHA Financing.
  - Difficult Credit.
  - Appraisers under-value land.

- Media
  - Lack of Understanding.
  - Lack of Community Commitment.
  - Sensationalism.
  - Tendency to Report "Bad" Things.
  - Active Promotion of South Side as a Poor Place to Live.
  - Bandwagon.

- Builders-Developers
  - Short term outlook "sell and get out".
  - Creation of instant ghetto.
  - Ignorance.
  - Poor site selection for new development.
  - Misuse of Federal Funds.
  - Advertising to minority targets.
  - Illegal activities.
  - Inadequate staff training.

- Rental Management Agencies
  - Ignorance.
  - Illegal activities.
  - Steering.

### Counter-Forces Leading to Integration

- Financial Institutions
  - "Green-lining".
  - Investment.
  - Responsible Lenders.
  - Responsible Financing.
  - Credit Availability
  - Mortgage Incentives.
  - Accurate Appraisals.

- Media
  - Lead to Understanding.
  - Build Community Commitment.
  - Responsibility.
  - Report Positive Aspects of a Community.
  - Recognize good and bad in all areas.
  - Become a Leader.
  - Build Access to Specialized Markets.

- Builders-Developers
  - Longer term outlook.
  - Power to prevent clustering.
  - Enlightened self-interest.
  - Good site selection.
  - Proper use of Federal Funds.
  - Affirmative marketing.
  - Enforcement of law.
  - Adequate staff training.

- Rental Management Agencies
  - Enlightened self-interest.
  - Enforcement of law.
  - Affirmative marketing.

### Scale

- R, L
- N, R, L
- L

### Timing to Implement

- Short
- Long
- Medium
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORCES LEADING TO RESEGREGATION</th>
<th>COUNTER FORCES LEADING TO INTEGRATION</th>
<th>SCALE</th>
<th>TIMING TO IMPLEMENT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rental Management Agencies</strong> - cont'd</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Selected advertising.</td>
<td>Open advertising.</td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate staff training.</td>
<td>Adequate staff training.</td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little control of staff.</td>
<td>Control of staff.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little selectivity.</td>
<td>Power to be selective.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little collection or sharing of data.</td>
<td>Sharing of data.</td>
<td>N, R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Realtors</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Reputation as white or black only.</td>
<td>Open to all races.</td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial steering.</td>
<td>Affirmative marketing.</td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
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<tr>
<td>Illegal activities.</td>
<td>Self-policing, enforcement of law.</td>
<td>N, R, L</td>
<td>Medium</td>
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<tr>
<td>Block busting/panic peddling.</td>
<td>Promote stability.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selected advertising.</td>
<td>Open advertising.</td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative bias.</td>
<td>Willingness to take risk.</td>
<td>N, R, L</td>
<td>Long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power in community.</td>
<td>less realtor control (conflict of interest)</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of social commitment.</td>
<td>Social commitment; long term view.</td>
<td>N, R, L</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate staff training.</td>
<td>Adequate staff training.</td>
<td>N, R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
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<tr>
<td>Active &quot;protection&quot; of neighborhood.</td>
<td>Opening up neighborhoods.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Short</td>
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<tr>
<td>Little control of staff.</td>
<td>Control of staff.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Short</td>
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<tr>
<td>Little sharing of data.</td>
<td>Sharing of data.</td>
<td>N, R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
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<td>Power to influence market.</td>
<td>Power to influence marketing.</td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
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<tr>
<td>Real estate assessed lower in integrated areas.</td>
<td>Real estate assessed fairly.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Short</td>
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<td><strong>Community Organizations</strong></td>
<td><strong>SO S (Save our Suburbs)</strong></td>
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<td>Collect data.</td>
<td></td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
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<td>Promotion and public relations.</td>
<td></td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
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<td>Counseling.</td>
<td></td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperation with others.</td>
<td></td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
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<td>Education and Communication.</td>
<td></td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
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<td>Focus community attention.</td>
<td></td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
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<tr>
<td>Celebrate community.</td>
<td></td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assist in cases of housing discrimination.</td>
<td></td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
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<tr>
<td>FORCES LEADING TO RESEGREGATION</td>
<td>COUNTER FORCES LEADING TO INTEGRATION</td>
<td>SCALE</td>
<td>TIMING TO IMPLEMENT</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Community Image</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Exclusionary zoning and practices.</td>
<td>Opening of communities.</td>
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<td>Short</td>
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<td>Violence - minorities unwelcome.</td>
<td>Inclusionary zoning.</td>
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<td>Long</td>
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<td>Subtle suggestions.</td>
<td>Support groups.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area is promoted as closed.</td>
<td>Support groups.</td>
<td>R, L</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incorrect data is passed out on area.</td>
<td>Area is promoted as open.</td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling that all open communities are black.</td>
<td>Correct data is made available.</td>
<td>N, R, L</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Law</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulty in establishing standing.</td>
<td>Establish standing.</td>
<td>N, R</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little case law.</td>
<td>Litigate.</td>
<td>N, R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulty of prosecution.</td>
<td>Broad application of Title 8 of Civil Rights.</td>
<td>N, R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unwillingness to enforce present law.</td>
<td>Apply remedies to class offended.</td>
<td>N, R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Performance bonds.</td>
<td>N, R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Government (National)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUD practices.</td>
<td>Provide incentives for stable integration.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enforcement of Housing Assistance Plan and other programs.</td>
<td>Make each town responsible for its HAP.</td>
<td>N, R</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution of Federal Funds, A-95</td>
<td>Strengthen the A-95 Process.</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence of housing plans.</td>
<td>Establish standards for Housing Plans.</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laissez-faire attitudes.</td>
<td>Require Integration Maintenance.</td>
<td>N, R, L</td>
<td>Long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Impact Statements.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>FORCES LEADING TO RESEGREGATION</td>
<td>COUNTER-FORCES LEADING TO INTEGRATION</td>
<td>SCALE</td>
<td>TIMING TO IMPLEMENT</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Government (Local)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hiring practices.</td>
<td>Subsidized integration.</td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laissez-faire attitudes.</td>
<td>Teach people to live together.</td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Play a leadership role.</td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Human relations commission.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Short</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Data gathering/monitoring.</td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Equity assurance.</td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Housing plans.</td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ban for-sale signs.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Short</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Registration of Realtors.</td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crisis reaction.</td>
<td>A plan.</td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessment practices.</td>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favored treatment to certain areas.</td>
<td></td>
<td>N, R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expanding ghetto &quot;block busting.&quot;</td>
<td>Opening market, creating stability.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem neighborhoods.</td>
<td>Work on problems.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blighted neighborhood.</td>
<td>Eliminate blight.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-regional reputation.</td>
<td>Build area reputation.</td>
<td>L, R</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New institutions in area specializing in minority service.</td>
<td>Creation of enlightened institutions.</td>
<td>N, R, L</td>
<td>Long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Homebuyers - Homesellers</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selective showing and selling.</td>
<td>Non-selective showing and selling.</td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher prices for minorities.</td>
<td>Same price for all people.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong feelings about land ownership.</td>
<td>Strong feelings toward community.</td>
<td>N, R, L</td>
<td>Long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Schools</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Unbalanced racial composition.</td>
<td>Balanced racial composition.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diverse socio-economic status.</td>
<td>Homogeneous socio-economic status.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concentrated racial locations.</td>
<td>Dispersed racial pattern.</td>
<td>R, L</td>
<td>Long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low emphasis on achievement.</td>
<td>High emphasis on achievement.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
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</table>
**FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS**

**PROBLEM:** Many financial institutions view inter-racial neighborhoods as poor investment risks. When financial credit is denied to an individual or enterprise on the basis of the racial composition of a neighborhood rather than on the ability to repay the loan, redlining occurs. Many racially integrated areas are wrongly considered as "high risk" loan areas and residents and businesses in these areas are often denied credit or forced to pay a surcharge for a loan. Furthermore, the backers of new development tend to favor large scale urban development in suburbanizing areas rather than small scale redevelopment in established neighborhoods. This process of financially favoring developing communities as opposed to established neighborhoods is called disinvestment.

**OBJECTIVE:** To increase investment in interracial neighborhoods by reversing the bias of financial institutions.

**PROGRESS INDICATORS:**
- Records of new investment/reinvestment (loan disclosure).
- Policy statements and commitment to investment by financial institutions. An increase in the proportion of financial institution resources invested in interracial and integrated neighborhoods.

**POSSIBLE ACTIONS:** Financial institutions can play a critical role in neighborhood stabilization. Many of the actions that a financial institution can take center on a basic commitment to continue to provide financial resources to the neighborhood. Given the general conservatism of the industry it is unrealistic to expect that financial institutions will automatically become involved in integration maintenance. People who wish to promote integration maintenance will have to encourage financial institutions to take the following actions:

1.) Green-lining or giving priority to conventional loan applications within an integrated neighborhood can aid in racial stabilization. One way which "green-lining" can take place is for the financial institution to earmark a certain percent of its total assets to be made available within the neighborhood.

2.) In order for majority and minority families to compete freely in the housing market, credit must be made equally available. Racially integrated neighborhoods are not "high risk" areas if all persons meet the same financial requirements. In fact housing values often increase after minorities move into the neighborhood.
3.) Some financial institutions such as the South Shore National Bank in Chicago have taken an active part in promoting the neighborhood. The Bank's Offering Circular states, "that the bank will not attempt to maximize return at the expense of its primary goal of developing the neighborhood for the benefit of its residents". Furthermore the bank conducts research, provides free technical service and makes neighborhood development grants.

4.) Financial institutions need to become aware that not all profitable development takes place in the suburbs. In fact, small scale redevelopment in established neighborhoods gives the lender more flexibility because he does not tie up large amounts of money for future development.

5.) Banks and other financial institutions have traditionally been passive judges. They can as an alternative, go out and actively seek people who can become real estate owners in neighborhoods where they already have a substantial interest. They may wish to offer mortgage incentives to underrepresented households to stabilize a neighborhood.

6.) Accurate appraisals based on the actual rather than the "projected" selling price of the real estate would do much to calm investors' fears in a multi-racial area.
The media has a tremendous influence over people's opinions. Communities with poor images continue to be touted as such. For example, even a favorable story on a community with a poor image often has a negative headline. A community with a good image continues to receive favorable news coverage despite growing problems. The media's understanding and support of racially stable neighborhoods is very limited. Furthermore, the media tends to focus on racial matters as a problem rather than as an opportunity for integrated living. The role of the media as an agent of social change has been overlooked.

To assure that the media reports news accurately and with a sensitivity and understanding of integrated living.

Changes in the number of favorable articles concerning integrated living.
Concentrated efforts to professionally market integrated neighborhoods.
Amount spent on and effectiveness of a public relations program promoting integrated living.

The mass media is a powerful force in American society. As such the media has a responsibility to report the news accurately and to separate opinion from fact. Clashes and controversy makes for good copy and photographs. The media has a here-and-now orientation and few resources are spent to develop a capacity and sensitivity for understanding integrated living. Groups wishing to promote integration maintenance need to promote the media potential as an agent for desirable social change through these actions:

1.) The media can serve as a leader in promoting neighborhood and community stability. Stability is achieved when majority and minority people compete freely in the same housing marketplace. Searching out and reporting the positive aspects of integrated neighborhoods can influence majority demand leading to stability. Reporting the positive aspects of a community often requires that professionally prepared press releases be provided to the media.

2.) Editorials and special features concerning integration maintenance can lead to community understanding. Great care must be taken by those people concerned with neighborhood stability to make sure that the media representatives really understand the terms and concepts associated with integration maintenance. The media should be encouraged to make editorial decisions which do not further the cause of segregation by unnecessarily reinforcing the racially exclusive-non-open housing images of communities which desire to use the media for that purpose.
3.) Historically, stable integrated communities have received less than fair and equitable coverage in the media. When the media makes an error, as when it confuses statistics and photographs of different communities or gives an inaccurate account of a story, citizens who monitor the media should make their concern known. On the other hand, good relations between the media and people interested in stable integration should be encouraged. It is especially important that the members of the main media feel free to call upon supporters of integration for advice and to check out stories.

4.) The media can also be used to build access to specialized housing markets that have an underrepresentation of majority or minority traffic. For instance if minority housing traffic is underrepresented in the marketplace, real estate advertisements can be placed in the media that primarily serve the minority community. Likewise for majority traffic.
PROBLEM: The decisions of builders and developers as to where and where not to build and rehabilitate housing have an impact on the distribution of housing opportunities for majority and minority families. Most new housing is constructed in all white developing areas rather than in the older established mixed race neighborhoods. The marketing approach used by the builder-developer also influences neighborhood stability. Many builder-developers tend to view white purchasers as the most desirable. Black homebuyers are discouraged from moving into new areas because some builder-developers feel that black home buyers will drive away white traffic. The short term outlook of many builder-developers also contributes to racial instability in some neighborhoods. Unfortunately, some builder-developers have also created "instant ghettos" by constructing some subdivisions, often substandard, and marketing them exclusively to minority families.

OBJECTIVE: The construction and rehabilitation of quality housing in existing communities and neighborhoods.

Development of housing traffic for new and rehabilitated homes which is reflective of the racial composition of all the persons seeking housing of that type and price.

PROGRESS INDICATORS: Racial records of traffic, demand, and occupancy. The consummation of affirmative marketing agreements with builder-developers which commit them to make special efforts to attract housing traffic from racial groups, minority and majority, that are underrepresented.

POSSIBLE ACTIONS: Builders and developers have a great deal of control over their small but nevertheless important share of housing market.

Builders and developers construct and market new housing, creating new neighborhoods, or rehabilitating older areas. Their decisions in regard to racial integration and its maintenance will have an impact on the distribution of new housing opportunities throughout the region. For the individual or community group promoting stable racial integration, builder-developers can be an ally when they undertake the following actions:

1.) Increasing the supply of lower cost housing and subsidized low-income housing in areas where such housing is lacking can contribute to integration maintenance. However, depending on scale of the project it also can contribute to the resegregation of whole neighborhoods. Since minority families are disproportionately represented in the lower income brackets, minority families will benefit from an increased housing supply. If subsidized housing projects are small scale and scattered, opportunities for integrated living will be increased. A scattered pattern of subsidized housing also "takes the pressure off" communities that are presently undergoing racial resegregation.
2.) Reinvest in established neighborhoods. New housing construction and rehabilitation can take place in the older established integrated neighborhoods as well as on the suburbanizing fringe. One company, Rescorp. (Renewal Effort Service Corporation), has successfully and profitably rehabilitated apartments in integrated neighborhoods in Chicago.

3.) Develop a long term outlook. Developers who have a long term commitment to an area tend to be more committed to the concept of maintaining integration than short term builders. One form of long term commitment is the large scale Planned Unit Development which generally represents a massive multi-year investment.

4.) Establish affirmative marketing. Some builders and developers do understand affirmative marketing and they are willing to affirmatively market their product to an underrepresented population. In addition, because of their centralized control over the development, developers are in a unique position to avoid clustering of minority households in a particular neighborhood.
PROBLEM: Rental housing dwellers compete for desirable housing; rental housing managers compete for desirable tenants. Blacks tend to view a rental complex where there is "evidence of acceptance of blacks" as a desirable place; rental management agents tend to view white tenants as most desirable, blacks less so, based upon the notion that black tenancy drives away white demand.

OBJECTIVE: Development of rental housing traffic for each rental complex which is reflective of the racial composition of all the persons seeking housing of that type and price.

PROGRESS INDICATORS: The consummation of affirmative marketing agreements with rental managements which commit them to make special efforts to attract housing traffic from racial groups, majority or minority, that are underrepresented. Racial records of traffic, demand, and occupancy.

POSSIBLE ACTIONS: Rental housing management is especially concerned with racial change and integration in the neighborhood. This concern stems from the fact that resident turnover in apartment and other rental housing is much higher than in owner occupied housing. On the other hand, rental management has the power to quickly implement actions that contribute to racial stability. These actions are:

1.) Establish affirmative marketing policies and programs. Rental management agencies can greatly contribute to the maintenance of integration by marketing their rental units most vigorously to that portion of the market that is underrepresented. In addition, the centralized control of the management agent will help to avoid concentrations of minorities on certain floors or areas of the building. Pressure and incentives need to be applied to cause the agent to do this, as experience has shown that rental management tends to favor racial homogeneity, or at least to manage in a way that seems to favor such a view, as judged by the resulting populations.

2.) Increase rental management staff training. Management staff and leasing agents should receive additional training especially in the areas of tenant relations and fair housing law. Top management will become more effective in racially integrated areas when they develop racially sensitive attitudes and implement more modern management practices. This is even more important if a project is economically heterogeneous, Community Development Block Grant monies or other public funds might be spent via non-profit housing agencies in order to assist in gaining necessary expertise. Such agencies could seek to develop underrepresentative traffic for many rental complexes.
3.) A system of incentives and disincentives could be developed to "reward" management agencies that fill vacancies with an under represented population group or "punish" non integration move.

4.) Provide a high level of service and maintenance to tenants. These actions tend to give the present residents a feeling of security and continues to make the building attractive to major group renters who have many options.
Civil Rights legislation protects the individual homeseeker (minority person) from having his/her freedom of choice abridged; the laws do not rectify racial discrimination of the past. Nor do they protect interracial community living. As a consequence of self-steering by race as well as illegal realtor manipulation, the dual housing market is perpetuated, and realtors have too little incentive to alter market trends.

Objective: Achieve realtor commitment to develop housing traffic by race which is everywhere reflective of the regional population seeking housing of the various types and prices, i.e. engagement in affirmative marketing to rectify underrepresentation.

Progress Indicators: Growing list of incentives (both carrots and sticks) to motivate realtor affirmative marketing. Numbers of affirmative marketing agreements in force. Racial records of traffic, sales, and residency.

Possible Actions: The perceptions of housing market by residents and homeseekers are largely in the hands of the commercial real estate industry. The real estate community is often enamored of tradition and finds change abhorrent. It is also interested in doing business in a climate that is not hostile and not so confusing that the members of its salesforce must be social-psychologists to deal confidently with the issues. The real estate community has been force-fed on change, especially regarding matters that are now illegal. While the prohibitions are rather clear cut, the prescriptions on what is expected of the real estate community are in a state of unsettling change and often are communicated in quite uncertain terms. Those who value integration (maintenance) need to accept responsibility for prompting the following:

1.) Clarifying the message. A coherent, simplified message relative to affirmative marketing expectations needs to be developed and promulgated widely in an authoritative fashion, probably via statute and official guidelines. Affirmative marketing should be justified as rectification of damage done to minority and majority families by past discrimination. Evaluation of it should be institutionalized and should include not only subjective, but also with hard-data.
2.) Developing incentives. The incentives ("carrots") most readily understood by most commercially minded persons involve money. If sales personnel can make more money and make it faster by using their powers of persuasion to promote purchases that result in integration (maintenance) they may be expected to develop a booster spirit regarding integrated neighborhoods when in contact with majority potential purchasers and a similar spirit when talking to minorities about non-traditional neighborhoods. The preservation and stabilization urges will be positivized, however, only if there is a good (money) reason. One form of incentive could be a "bonus" to the sales person for selling a home to a family that is underrepresented in the market place.

3.) Further developing disincentives. The real estate community has already felt the sting of the stick approach represented by law suits alleging illegal racial steering. These suits have served as a warning, but the warning has not touched all. The warning has also been faulty in that the remedies, often contained in consent decrees, have often been more appropriate to cases where blacks have been refused service rather than where whites and non-whites have been steered to different housing options. Disincentives to illegal racial steering should involve truly remedial actions and not merely nominal avoidance of racial distinctions, and they must require a significant expenditure (investment) by the offender.
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

PROBLEM: Many community organizations interested in housing frequently protect their "turf", often to the detriment of other local groups and neighborhoods. These groups operate in isolation and often their programs duplicate and overlap each other. In addition, these housing groups generally are understaffed, underfunded and their activities are not publicized. Community organizations in predominantly white areas have not made serious efforts to promote minority housing.

OBJECTIVE: To increase the effectiveness of community groups concerned with maintaining integration.

PROGRESS INDICATORS: Amount of housing traffic handled by the community organization.
Number of pro-integration moves reported by each organization. The development of common goals and strategies through cooperation among community organizations.

POSSIBLE ACTIONS: Community organizations can be effective change agents by working for fair housing and integration maintenance. Such organizations can provide a positive counter force to work against racial resegregation. Community organizations can undertake the following activities that will aid in maintaining racial integration and prevent resegregation.

1.) One important function is the monitoring of realtors, developers, and rental managers to determine if they are complying to the fair housing laws and bringing charges against them if they are not found in compliance. Such activity can be carried on most effectively in neighboring, would-be exclusionary communities, as well as in the neighborhood that the group may be trying to maintain as integrated. Organizations can bring cases of non-compliance to the proper authorities and at times initiate legal action themselves as part of the needed action. Community organizations can also attempt to get these agents to work with them. Communicating community wishes and needs and community refusal to tolerate discriminatory practices can be effective.

2.) Community organizations can also make themselves the voice of concerned citizens to the local government. An organization has resources that can be used in gathering necessary information, understanding government procedures, forming and writing proposals for government policy and action, etc. People involved in shaping their own destiny are not easily intimidated nor so prone to demand simplistic answers to complex questions.
3.) Community organizations can be important in showing, stopping or even reversing disinvestment and neighborhood change. They can help tenants to organize to obtain needed service and maintenance; help seek funds for community and home improvements; influence the local government to maintain and increase public services, etc.

4.) A community organization that helps create or maintain sufficient loyalty and enthusiasm for a neighborhood also contributes to neighborhood stability. The Village of Oak Park has done much to capitalize upon the unique architecture of the town in an effort to promote an image of stability.
COMMUNITY IMAGE

**PROBLEM:**
How a community is viewed by outsiders, whether or not they have factual information, often determines who moves into that community. Also, minority groups tend to self-select certain neighborhoods that have a reputation as accepting minorities. These community images can become self-fulfilling prophecies to the detriment of integration.

The mass media plays a large part in determining and/or forming community image through news selection.

**OBJECTIVE:**
To provide an accurate account of all communities to all citizens.

**PROGRESS INDICATORS:**
Improved and more accurate coverage by the media of all communities measured by the number and content of news items. A commitment by the Federal Government promoting integrated neighborhoods. Increased black traffic in previously "closed" communities and increased white traffic in "open" communities.

**POSSIBLE ACTIONS:**
The image of a community can work for or against the maintenance of integration. Since a community image or reputation can become a self-fulfilling prophecy, actions directed at enhancing the image of an integrated community can contribute to stability. Changing the image of racially exclusive communities also can lead to more housing opportunities for all races. Those people who are interested in maintaining stable integrated neighborhoods should explore the following options:

1.) Promote all communities as open housing areas. Since under Federal law, all communities are open housing communities, a group may wish to advertise a town with the reputation of a closed community as an open housing area. This action will tend to increase housing options for minority families which in turn will contribute to the stability of integrated areas by spreading minority demand over more and more of the total market options. Promote inter-racial neighborhoods as good places to live.

2.) Many majority people believe that integrated neighborhoods are blighted and they are poor places to live. The neighborhoods and communities that are successfully integrated need to actively promote the positive aspects of their area in order to assure visibility in the marketplace and hold majority demand. They do not necessarily have to play up racial themes at all. The Village of Oak Park, Illinois, has had the most experience in this area. They have hired a public relations firm to promote the Village.
3.) Attempt to put forth an accurate, yet positive image. Broad generalizations about integrated communities are seldom true. One community on the south side was recently referred to as "all black" when in fact less than one-third of the residents are minority. The importance of developing a positive self-fulfilling prophecy cannot be overstated. There is nothing wrong with a community or neighborhood attempting to put its best foot forward. Many important housing decisions are made by people with few facts. The decisions are based on what people believe things to be rather than what they are. Such a positive self-fulfilling prophecy may well be a virtual necessity to avoid negative self-fulfilling prophecies.
THE LAW

PROBLEM: Civil Rights legislation protects the individual (minority person) from having his/her freedom of choice abridged; the laws do not rectify racial discrimination of the past nor do they protect interracial community living.

OBJECTIVE: To establish new laws and promote enforcement of present laws which protect and/or promote interracial community living.

PROGRESS INDICATORS: Growing list of laws and court decisions that favor interracial community living. Greater awareness by all people of the law as it relates to interracial living.

POSSIBLE ACTIONS:

1.) Do not be afraid to litigate. There is very little case law concerning housing and integrated living. The Civil Rights Act of 1968, Title VIII (Housing Rights Law) and the 1866 Civil Rights Act have not been fully explored as a tool for maintaining stable communities. Although the courts are reluctant to enter into this new area of housing law, they will make determinations if they are forced to do so. Also, even the threat of a court case has convinced opponents of integrated living to reconsider their actions.

2.) Promote the passage of new laws which favor integrated living. The maintenance of stable interracial neighborhoods will require far more than the enforcement of existing laws for their creation and vitality. These new laws need not be prohibitive and punitive in nature. They may, rather involve tax credits and other financial inducements, such as performance bonds.

3.) Work to increase the resources available to Federal, State, and local Civil Rights Enforcement Agencies so that they may adequately investigate "pattern and practice" suits. Such cases require massive collections of social, economic and demographic data. They should be given higher priority than individual complaints by minority parties because "pattern and practice" cases can have a far reaching impact on housing opportunities for minority families.
4.) Monitor recent court decisions for new developments in civil rights and housing law. Share this data with other organizations and develop an awareness of present laws as they relate to interracial living.
PROBLEM: Federal policy favors local control rather than regional cooperation for the widespread provision of diverse and balanced housing (and other) opportunities. As a result, the presence of blacks and other minorities in a community tends to result in program development which serves and attracts other blacks and minorities; the absence of minorities in other communities tends to produce programs that bolster exclusivity.

OBJECTIVE: Obtain a federal commitment to promote and maintain racial integration.

PROGRESS INDICATORS: A shift of compliance emphasis from individual complaints (especially in transitional areas) to "opening up" closed communities.

Institution of integration impact statements.

Creation of incentives (including monetary) for communities and individuals to racially integrate.

POSSIBLE ACTIONS: At the present time there is little federal commitment to promote and maintain racial integration aside from the purposes stated in the New Communities legislation, "increasing for all persons, particularly members of minority groups, the available choices of location for living and working". The Federal Government has not demonstrated a commitment to stable, integrated living. Federal involvement in housing has deteriorated to the point where the equal housing opportunity sign has become a signal to many whites that the project is "for blacks only". Citizens concerned with building a federal commitment to stable integration should investigate and support the following options:

1.) Strengthen the role of the regional clearinghouse by giving the A-95 review process more teeth. The regional clearinghouse is charged with review and comment on applications for federal funds in the region. Each application must be assessed according to "the extent to which the project contributes to more balanced patterns of settlement and delivery of services to all sectors of the area population, including minority groups". At present a negative A-95 comment is only advisory and there is no required assessment of the impact of the project on minority groups.

2.) Require that all recipients of funds under the Community Development Block Grant prepare and implement a Housing Assistance Plan (HAP). At present municipalities that co-apply with counties are not required to develop a HAP.
3.) Monitor HUD's 701 funded comprehensive planning program to assure that the plans provide for, "the elimination of the effects of discrimination".

4.) Adopt a procedure requiring all users of HUD housing funds, both public and private to prepare an integration impact statement. The procedure envisioned is similar to an Environmental Impact Statement. However, it would focus on the social and racial impacts of HUD programs as well as HUD financed developments. (See appendix)

5.) Establish incentives to individuals for maintaining racial integration. HUD should seriously investigate the concept of providing incentives to families in order to promote racial integration. These incentives could include "equity (buy back) insurance" or subsidized mortgages to be made available in neighborhoods where a racial group is underrepresented.
LOCAL GOVERNMENT

PROBLEM: Many local governments actively work to exclude themselves from region-wide problems and responsibilities in housing. Furthermore, some local governments either do not invest in local interracial areas or they refuse to deal with racial concerns altogether.

OBJECTIVE: To obtain a commitment from local governments to promote and maintain racial integration.

PROGRESS INDICATORS: Number of communities that are addressing interracial housing issues. Growing list of local incentives to neighborhoods and individuals to integrate. Activity designed to focus attention and resources on interracial living.

POSSIBLE ACTIONS: Historically, local governments have had a wide range of responses to racial integration. Some local governments have refused to address the matter, while others are actively addressing housing issues. There are many policies which local governments can pursue to promote integration maintenance:

1.) Regulatory Measures - Local government can constrain the behavior of builder-developers, realtors, and rental management firms from making contributions to the persistence of the dual market. The banning of "for sale" signs has, until very recently, been one way of controlling realtors actions. Controls relative to solicitation for listing have similarly been credited with salutary effects. The proper utilization of land development controls is important in making builder-developers contribute to the goal of integration maintenance.

2.) Public Relations - Ordinarily, public relations is an activity local governments often do not consciously perform. However, if racially diverse communities wish to remain so, it is an essential function of local government. Because perceptions guide so many of the actors in the housing market, it is imperative that these perceptions be accurate ones. Often, integrated communities are identified as being on the way to resegregation. Since the white to black transition has occurred so frequently in the past, this view is often not challenged. People are prone to assume that past patterns will prevail in the future. Local governments must go out and actively deflate this myth; they must convince prospective homebuyers, realtors, lenders, and developers that integration in their communities is going to work.

3.) Communication & Education - In facilitating good communication and in serving an educational function, local government is again primarily concerned with constructing accurate perceptions. Realtors and lenders usually do not act with malice
In contributing to the dual market, but rather, are acting in ignorance of the actual conditions existent in a successfully integrated setting. An example of local government serving as a catalyst in the improvement of communication might be the establishment of a municipal government/realtor joint committee. Such a device helps to reassure the business interests that the community is actively working to preserve and maintain itself and the stability which they desire from an investment standpoint. Failure to conduct such activities will tend to result in the persistence of any existing negative—self fulfilling prophecies.

4.) Advocacy - Another tool open to local government is lobbying. Here the primary concern is with influencing the policies of higher levels of government. Local government can petition the states and the Federal government to design and implement policies that further the goals of integration and the elimination of the dual housing market.

5.) Legal Action - When all the above options fail to produce the desired reaction of some actor, the local government can take legal action to obtain compliance. If realtors are still engaging in steering and if lenders are still practicing redlining in spite of all the public relations, educational, regulatory, and lobbying actions, the local government may have to take the party to court. This is the least desirable means of redress. One large problem is that most of the illegal activities are very subtle and evidence to substantiate claims of wrongdoing is difficult to amass. However, even if enough evidence is gathered and a favorable decision can be predicted there are serious side effects which must be weighed. The case may generate negative images of the community which counteract any public relations effort, or the case may produce unwanted conflict between various housing market actors.

6.) Tax Policy & Service Delivery - An integrated community's local government must maintain both a high level of services and a competitive level of taxes. This is important as these two items contribute directly towards making a community an enjoyable place to live. The quality of the local government has a lot to do with what kind an image other actors in the housing market have of a particular community. For an integrated community, these items are especially important if white demand is to be maintained. The economics of the housing market indicate that the white buyer will have a greater variety of locations to choose from and a lower acceptance of high taxes and low quality services or services that he/she does not want. The minority homeowner-buyer, on the other hand, may be willing or forced to pay a higher price because the supply of housing available to him is artificially restricted or perceived to be.
7.) Attack The Dual Housing Market - Actions taken by a local government which increase the area that a minority homebuyer will consider when looking for a home will add to stability in the housing market. This approach tends to disperse non-white demand for housing into areas formerly perceived as closed to minority group members. Affirmative marketing on a regional level may contribute to this end. (See "Developing a Regional Approach" in the Appendix)

8.) Collect Data & Develop Plans - Many rumors and half truths about integrated housing can be controlled if the data and appropriate response is widely available. As more community resources become focused on developing an integration maintenance program it is important that the facts are available as well as a coordinated plan of attack. Such cannot be considered "an extracurricular" task or left largely to volunteers.
LOCATION

PROBLEM: Almost every city or metropolitan region has areas that are at a locational disadvantage. The location of an integrated area adjacent to an expanding minority ghetto can lead to total racial transition. Also, many majority group people associate concentrations of minority group people with blighted neighborhoods. Areas such as the south side of Chicago are now associated with racial turmoil and blighted neighborhoods. The importance of "place" cannot be overstated. It is the location and distribution of people both minority and majority that works against integration.

OBJECTIVE: To reduce the scale and number of areas that have a socially induced locational disadvantage.

PROGRESS INDICATORS: Number of minorities moving to previously all white area. Percent of the region's financial resources that are invested in integrated areas.

POSSIBLE ACTIONS: The location and distribution of housing opportunities of (or for) minority households within a regional housing market has a profound impact on the maintenance of racial integration. Since location plays an important part in neighborhood stability, individuals and groups interested in maintaining integration need to consider the following:

1.) Open up the housing market. Block by block racial resegregation can be avoided if minority demand is spread out among many neighborhoods and communities and majority demand can be maintained.

2.) Monitor public investments and services to make sure that the neighborhood has not been "written off" by the public sector. A low level of services and/or improvements will accelerate neighborhood decline as majority group people who have other options move elsewhere. If the public investment leaves, so will the private. Certain kinds of investments, services, and their placement will tend to affect the racial composition of a neighborhood. The level of awareness related to these impacts should be defined and acted upon.

3.) Rehabilitate blighted neighborhoods. Neighborhoods or communities that are blighted or are experiencing decline will not attract majority families who have options. This may lead to community instability and racial transition, as whites who have options move, and minority families who do not have options stay or migrate into such areas. The nearer the closest blighted neighborhood, and the more it is associated with one's own neighborhood, the more urgent is the need for rehabilitation.
SCHOOLS

PROBLEM: Interracial schools tend to attract black students, while white students (parents) demonstrate diminishing interest (decreasing enrollment) in them, leading to resegregation; "lily-white" schools are a deterrent to black parents who live in such a school district. Furthermore, all white schools enable whites to avoid contacts with blacks, thereby reinforcing prejudices.

OBJECTIVE: In interracial schools, especially in desegregated schools threatened with future resegregation, legitimize the expenditure of funds and development of expertise on solving problems that would otherwise lead to the underrepresentation of white students. Schools with few minority students should be required to develop and implement plans to be attractive to minorities.

PROGRESS INDICATORS: Reduction and halt of the decrease in white pupil enrollment in interracial schools and introduction of blacks to schools formerly lacking same.

Possible Actions: Those who would promote and support integration (maintenance) of the housing market must concern themselves with the public schools. If they are to look to the community's interest in housing integration, they must be willing to initiate and support school actions, some of which might even bring them into conflict with parents of school children within their own neighborhoods. Actions supporting the following are in order:

1.) Grade reorganization and busing for racial balance which requires sending local children to school buildings that may not be nearest home should be championed. This should be carried out in an evenhanded, non-vacillating manner, providing equity in shouldering the burdens for all neighborhoods and races.

2.) Provide firm reinforcement for a student code of conduct which is conducive to attracting parents holding predominant middle-class values. This means the imposition of discipline expectations (and quasi due process systems) that reassure many white and black parents that order and standards are being maintained.

3.) Achievement and competency, more than creativity, recreation and enrichment need to be emphasized in desegregated/integrated schools. Emphasis on the former should be coupled with determinedly good interpersonal and intergroup (human) relations, led by a staff that is racially reflective of the students to be taught. If desegregation involves differing socio-economic classes, the values of the more elevated should be favored (tactfully) in establishing policy, unless such a class is in a substantial numerical minority.
4.) More costly alternative to public education make public schools relatively more attractive. Alternative schools that are not racially inclusive should be made to cost a great deal more.

5.) School building placement and boundary drawing must be done with integration considerations placed above other competing considerations.

6.) In general, school and housing integration impact statements should be written and reviewed as a part of the regular planning process for education management.
PROBLEM: The actions of many homebuyers and homesellers are often self-limiting and against federal fair housing law. Many whites and black homebuyers are self-steering themselves into neighborhoods where they feel they would be the most comfortable when their assessment is based on very limited factual information. Furthermore, the actions of some homesellers such as selective showing and selling as well as different home prices for each race are illegal. On the other hand some majority homesellers have panicked and sold their houses at a loss after the first minority move in.

OBJECTIVE: To reduce self-steering by whites and blacks. To educate all people about housing opportunities and laws. To prosecute violators of fair housing law.

PROGRESS INDICATORS: Number of families looking for housing in non-traditional neighborhoods. The development of an educational program for homebuyers - homesellers. Growing awareness of real estate sales laws by the public.

POSSIBLE ACTIONS: Homebuyers and homesellers play an active part in the dual housing market. Their actions, although small in scale, can contribute greatly to maintaining a stable neighborhood. Homebuyers and homesellers can contribute to stable racial integration by:

1.) Becoming aware of federal fair housing laws concerning the purchase of a home. Once a house is publicly for sale, it must be fairly marketed and sold to anyone who can meet the asking price.

2.) Learning about housing opportunities; homeseekers need to learn about housing opportunities in many communities and neighborhoods, by self-steering homeseekers may be unnecessarily limiting their housing options.

3.) Overcoming fear and panic sales, homesellers often lose thousands of dollars on a panic sale. Integrated housing does not mean lower property values. In fact several studies have shown the property value to rise after racial integration.

4.) Choosing real estate brokers that are committed to developing a unitary housing market. Lists should be available at local fair housing centers.
PART III - A discussion of the housing market forces which contribute to racial resegregation.

This section includes an investigation of the factors operating to perpetrate the dual housing market. The dual housing market can be defined as "two or more systems of housing delivery practices, differently and independently operated in the areas of real estate". In relation to Park Forest and Park Forest South, the operation of the dual market system threatens the stability of racial integration. With one market serving the majority (white) sector and one market serving the minority (black) sector, neighborhoods and communities soon become demarcated and belong to one or the other of these two markets.

The following pages present a discussion of housing market processes with an emphasis as to how they generate the dual system of housing delivery. This discussion is in the form of short papers on some of the thirteen identified factors. These thirteen factors are presented in a matrix on the next page. The matrix helps to put the housing market within a framework and makes it easier to view the interaction among the various factors. It is hoped that the exploration of the relationships between the variables will lead to more effective decisions by local leaders as vulnerable points of connection can be exploited for the integrated community's benefit.

It should be apparent that each of these factors, by itself, merits an entire report. In fact, the bulk of this project has involved sifting through the volumes of material which have been written concerning discrimination in the housing market. What was attempted then, was to look at as much of this information as possible and present short, crisp papers on each of the variables, highlighting the salient characteristics which contribute to the dual market.
**Matrix of Inter-Relationships Among Housing Market Forces.**

0 - Weak Potential Linkage.

X - Strong Linkage.

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Financial Institutions have a profound impact on the housing marketplace. Some researchers including Calvin Bradford of the University of Illinois believe that financial institutions, through their control of credit, are the primary shapers of a built environment. As an important actor in community stability financial institutions can play an important part in neighborhood resegregation or stabilization.

In the past, financial institutions have influenced the housing marketplace by outright discrimination against minority homebuyers. Not only were loans simply unavailable to minority persons, other forms of credit were also closed. The results of this policy tended to concentrate minority households in certain neighborhoods in the city leading to the present day large minority concentrations there. Although outright discrimination in lending is forbidden by federal law, new, more subtle methods are presently in use.

Many financial institutions offer a wide range of services to their customers including land appraisal. The under-appraisal of land in integrated neighborhoods can lead to racial instability as majority homeowners see their land undervalued by an appraiser.

Before making a loan on a property, a lender estimates the value, or fair market price of the property. In order to have an indication of the general strength and future of the market in the area or neighborhood a real estate appraiser is hired to estimate that value, and usually to indicate the nature and future of the market. Lenders are heavily influenced by the values which these appraisers place on a property since their regulatory agencies may ask them to defend any loans which are out of line with these appraisals.

Appraisals of market value, or more specifically, the possible under-appraisal of market values, has become an area of great concern for residents of integrated neighborhoods. Critics state that the appraisal process penalizes homes located in older areas and in areas where residents are of mixed racial, ethnic and income backgrounds and levels.

The decision making process utilized in appraising property is shaped by the courses and institutes sponsored by the Society of Real Estate Appraisers and the American Institute of Real Estate Appraisers. The appraisal texts state that neighborhood homogeneity affects the "value" of that neighborhood. The student outline states:

Ethnological information also is significant to real estate analysis. As a general rule, homogeneity of the population contributes to stability of real estate values. Information on the percentage of native born whites, foreign whites, and non-white population is important, and the changes in this composition has a significance. As a general rule, minority groups are found at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder and problems associated with minority group segments of the population can hinder community growth. Similar comments are appropriate for occupational types in a community.
The text alerted future appraisers to the possible negative market effects that mixed racial areas can have on the value of a home. It has also subtly stated that mixing different occupational groups—white collar and blue collar—can likewise have negative impact and should be considered in appraising the market value of a home.

The Institute of Appraisers' course also included a slide show on the appraisal of single family homes. The accompanying sound track said of neighborhood analysis "one exceptional factor which may affect value is the influx of inharmonious social or racial groups". The slide on the screen showed a burned out store.

Finally, the text used in the course concludes: The value levels in a residential neighborhood are influenced more by the social characteristics of its present and prospective occupants than by any other factor. Therefore, the appraiser must give major consideration to the importance of social data.

No matter how attractive a particular neighborhood may be, it will not possess maximum desirability unless it is occupied by people who will be happy in one another's company. Thus, a wide tolerance or mutuality is involved on matters of race, religion, income, cultural standards and ways of living. The causes of racial and religious conflicts are not the appraiser's responsibility. However, he must recognize the fact that values change when people who are different from those presently occupying an area advance into and infiltrate a neighborhood. Economic status and degree of assimilation of the new groups are kindred problems in infiltration of a neighborhood. Usually, at first, only a few sales are made to the new arrivals at or slightly above the typical market price. If the older residents flood the market with offerings, prices are depressed and a shift in ownership begins to take place. Usually prices again advance and become firm as this transition nears completion.

The model used by Real Estate Appraisers suggests that as property ages "lower user groups" will move in and that the "influx of inharmonious ethnic groups" will cause property values to decline. This has led the Justice Department to file a civil rights action against four national real estate appraisal and mortgage associations for allegedly teaching and practicing the principle that racial integration reduces property values. The named defendants are the American Institute of Real Estate Appraisers, Society of Real Estate Appraisers, United States League of Savings Associations, and Mortgage Bankers Association of America. The basis of the suit is the contention that the defendants through their appraisal standards and activities state that racially homogenous neighborhoods have greater market acceptance and hence greater value than changing or integrated neighborhoods. The model most commonly used by real estate appraisers is neat, simple and wrong.

The November, 1973 issue of Money magazine printed an article discussing the effects of integration on home value. The conclusion of one economist whose study focused on almost 10,000 housing transactions showed that "the odds are about 4 to 1 that house prices in a neighborhood entered by non-whites will keep up with or exceed prices in a comparable all-white area". And the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has more than once proclaimed there is no substance to the view that incoming racial minorities drive down property values. Money magazine blames real estate agents and mortgage lenders for helping perpetuate the myth. It asserts, finally, that "of the factors that determine the worth of a piece of property, the
race of owners is one of the least significant."

Recently the term "redlining" has come to the forefront. Redlining has many forms. However, for the purpose of this study it can be defined as a process whereby a financial institution refuses to make credit available to a qualified borrower on the basis of the racial characteristics of the neighborhood. Hearings into redlining by the Illinois Legislative Investigating Commission identified several neighborhoods and communities where redlining was taking place. These areas had at least one common characteristic:

These communities and neighborhoods are undergoing or are soon to undergo racial integration, or they are in proximity to neighborhoods that have a concentration of racial minorities.

Often the decision to disinvest is based on a subjective assessment of the likely effects of racial integration in the neighborhood. Research by Northwestern's Urban-Suburban Investment Study Group suggests that this "assessment" is often made prior to any evidence of actual decline, and without reference to such factors as the applicants' credit ratings, condition of the housing stock and viability of the neighborhood.

The most common form of redlining in a built-up area occurs when home improvement loans only become available at rates less favorable than those usually offered in a racially homogeneous area. This contributes to racial instability because homeowners who wish to maintain and upgrade their property cannot get a loan. It tends to drive many solid mortgage shoppers from competition, leaving the neighborhood to more marginal competitors. The neighborhood then declines and shows the first signs of blight. Majority homeowners who wish to stay in the neighborhood may become uneasy when credit is denied to them and they are encouraged by financial institutions to look elsewhere for new housing. A secondary effect takes place when the neighborhood shows the first signs of blight. Majority housing demand falls off. Majority households have many options. When a loan becomes hard to get in a particular neighborhood and the neighborhood is not particularly attractive, majority home-seekers begin to look elsewhere for housing. Neighborhoods that are redlined by financial institutions have little hope of avoiding resegregation.

The U.S. District Court for southern Ohio has found redlining to be a violation of Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 (The Fair Housing Act). The court commented that redlining contributes to "white flight" and racial isolation. In addition, the rights of interracial association, an individual's right to live in an integrated neighborhood are violated by redlining.

Often minority families and racial instability are associated with blighted neighborhoods. Although many families live in blighted neighborhoods this is not a cause and effect relationship. In fact most blighted neighborhoods which presently are undergoing racial resegregation were blighted before the influx of minority families. A form of disinvestment takes place which works to the detriment of the older established neighborhoods and benefits the newly developing areas on the suburban fringe. Given that there is only so much money available for development and redevelopment, financial institutions appear to favor new investments in
developing areas rather than reinvestments in developed neighborhoods. This investment strategy works against the maintenance of integration because it siphons resources away from the older, less exclusive integrated neighborhoods and channels it into exclusive, exclusionary developing areas.

Mortgage bankers and other lenders can contribute to the resegregation of neighborhoods through their lending practices. Minority households which may wish to purchase a home in an area that is not adjacent to the ghetto often are denied a loan on the basis of no credit rating. It is not that the minority household has a poor credit rating but rather that the family has had a "cash and carry" way of life with no history of credit transactions.

Some mortgage bankers have taken advantage of government guaranteed loan programs intended to help minority families which pay off the borrower's loan in the event of a default. In this case some minority families were encouraged to use the loan program when they clearly could not afford the monthly payments. Furthermore, these loans were often concentrated in specific neighborhoods despite the availability of conventional loans. For example, the Beacon Hills Development in Chicago Heights, Ill. was developed almost exclusively with FHA's Section 235 Homeownership Loan Guarantees and the project was marketed almost exclusively to blacks. Not only did this create an "instant ghetto", it also contributed to block by block resegregation in the surrounding community.

While allegations of redlining against financial institutions have been investigated and legislated, the issue of insurance redlining has been largely overlooked although the ramifications of such practices can be equally detrimental to our older neighborhoods and cities.

However, insurance companies, like financial institutions, have been accused of basing their decisions to insure homes on the neighborhood or geographic area where the property or business is located and not solely on the merits of the individual property. In insuror terms, certain geographic areas and neighborhoods are "marked off", "knocked out" and/or "redlined", and few, if any, policies are written in these areas. Basically, insurance companies feel that providing insurance to homeowners and businessmen in many older urban areas to be unprofitable and highly risky. Again, like officials of financial institutions, insurance officials explain this procedure as one of "prudent investment" practices.
The mass media exerts a tremendous influence on people's opinions. Communities with poor images continue to receive "bad press". The media's understanding and support of racially stable neighborhoods is very limited. Most recent articles on neighborhood "integration" have focused on the troubled block by block expansion of big city ghettos. In an area as sensitive as inter-racial living, the reporter needs to go beyond the reporting of events and investigate the cause of news items.

It is not surprising to find that some people in the media have little commitment to the concept of integration maintenance. First, it takes some time and concerted effort to understand the process of neighborhood resegregation. It also takes a "social awareness" to understand the important role that the media can play in promoting racially stable neighborhoods.

One common flaw in much news reporting is the tendency to report "unfavorable" news about an area that already has a generally poor or controversial reputation. The Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry has expressed concern about the media's portrayal of the south side and southern suburbs. For instance, it is difficult to understand why a favorable restaurant review of a fine restaurant in the south suburban area was prefaced by a remark stating that the location was in the dirty, grimy south suburbs. There is more to the south side than the home of "Big Bad Leroy Brown". Even a favorable story about a community with a generally poor image often has a negative headline. Furthermore, a community with a "good image" continues to receive favorable news coverage despite growing problems. Homeseekers often rely on these news stories as an accurate appraisal of an area's desirability. Majority homeseekers have many housing options. They will tend to relocate in areas that are presented by the press consistently in a positive manner. This works to the detriment of stable integration.

In addition to the "sins of omission" sometimes practiced by the media, the accuracy of the reporting itself can be questioned. An especially relevant example is a recent full page article in a Chicago daily newspaper. The article purported to be about housing quality in Park Forest. However, the headlines referred to Park Forest South as did half the text. The photographs were of yet another community - Richton Park.

If a town has a "closed" image, news media coverage tends to reinforce the closed image by driving away potential minority demand. If a town has an open image, the media coverage (often meant to be complimentary) tends to be of a nature that hypes minority demand and diminishes that of whites.

Overall, the media tends to focus on racial matters as a problem rather than as an opportunity for stable integrated living. The media can be an important agent in social change. Stable integrated living can work and the media can play an important role in making it work.
Builders/developers build and market new housing. New housing in any year is a small proportion of the total housing stock but it is a significant portion of housing bought and sold. What kind of homes are built, where they are built, how many are built and how they are marketed, all are important in determining the future racial composition of a neighborhood. Specifically the issue here is the availability of this housing to blacks and other minorities, and what role builders/developers play in the dual housing market.

Most new housing is built in the developing suburbs, partly because of a high demand for suburban living, and partly because vacant and cheaper land exists there. To the extent that some suburbs oppose low income housing and/or minorities, blacks who are disproportionately represented in the lower income brackets, are doubly hurt. Increasing the supply of lower cost housing and subsidized low-income housing is one necessity in establishing fair housing. In this area, many developers are willing to join with fair housing advocates to open the suburbs. The National Association of Home Builders (NAHB) has supported passage and funding of many acts furthering low income housing construction (subsidies make such construction profitable) and they oppose exclusionary zoning. (Building larger scale and higher density housing is also profitable.) But ending exclusionary zoning will not necessarily result in cheaper homes being built and neither high density nor low income housing insures integrated housing.

Other considerations must also be examined in relation to new development. There is a finite amount of capital for developers to invest in housing. With investment attracted to the suburbs, disinvestment in the central city often occurs. This results in deterioration of neighborhoods where many poor and minorities must still live. That in itself is not good. Disinvestment can also work to increase the general opinion of the white majority that blacks are synonymous with bad neighborhoods. This attitude increases prejudice and fear. Disinvestment can also speed up racial succession in neighborhoods as whites with other housing and neighborhood alternative leave rather than invest in the neighborhood.

Once built, the housing must be sold. By law, one cannot discriminate in the advertising and selling (or renting) of housing, and in the case of all subsidized housing, affirmative marketing procedures are required. To the credit of the NAHB they did not oppose the 1968 fair housing act. It has, however, opposed affirmative marketing regulations. Not too surprisingly, new developments still reflect segregated housing patterns. Far too many builders and developers tend to view white purchasers as the most desirable. Black homeseekers are discouraged from moving into new areas because developers feel that black homebuyers will drive away white traffic and they will not be able to market their new homes.

Active discrimination on the part of builders is not necessary for segregation to result. Many passively let community practice determine the racial occupancy of their projects. For federally subsidized developers, this passivity is illegal. Affirmative marketing requires effort to attract blacks (and sell to them) in communities where white demand predominates and actively trying to stimulate white demand in areas where black demand predominates. Far too many developers write up the required affirmative marketing plan and then conveniently forget it. HUD has not adequately monitored the affirmative marketing plans of subsidized developers.
In some cases, active discrimination (though often subtle and sophisticated) takes place to insure that integration will not occur. Many developments are well advertised, and it will usually be more difficult for a developer to discourage minority applicants by hiking prices than by other means. Salesmanship can play a very important role in maintaining the dual housing market. A salesperson making no effort to sell, or even discouraging the buyer by pointing out defects (rather than the usual selling points) can deflect an undesired buyer. A salesperson might also say the home is already sold (or rented), make paper work difficult, delay, be "out", or advertise in a way that does not suggest open housing. People do not need or want these hassles and the developer is often rewarded in his efforts to dissuade them. In the usual situation where a builder is detected and sued, the usual "penalty" is a forced consummation of the deal, often without forfeit of profit.

Unfortunately a few developers have been short sighted with an attitude of "sell quickly and get out" of the area. A few substandard subdivisions in the Chicago area were produced for and marketed exclusively to low income minority families thereby creating an "instant ghetto".

Discrimination and/or failure to market affirmatively can be negatively sanctioned. Watchdogging, however, is not easy and often HUD regional offices do not have the resources to do the job adequately - even with aid from community organizations. If the regulating office is not swift and sure in its enforcement, and sanctions are not 'harsh' in cases of definite non-compliance, the developers are not likely to feel that non-compliance is much of a risk.
There is evidence that the rental housing market may be the most difficult for blacks to enter, and once they do, the most difficult in which to maintain stable integration. The greater resistance to blacks entering the marketplace may be explained by the closer proximity of neighbors in higher density apartment living. This housing resistance may result from whites feeling a greater threat to their in-group status in white society if blacks move in, especially if they have few other symbols of status (education, money, etc.). Once integrated, rental housing is more easily moved out of than a purchased house—a process which probably facilitates rapid racial turnover. And while contact and the experience of living in an integrated setting can foster more understanding and acceptance, life-style differences can also result in friction, especially if attitudes are set in anticipation of disliking the black residents.

Landlords or their managers (who are frequently realtors) often act as gatekeepers to their apartment buildings. Their own attitudes as well as anticipation of their tenants' attitudes lead to efforts to keep minorities out. They may see themselves as protecting the interest of their present or prospective white tenants. Some are perhaps screening their own prospective neighbors if they themselves live in the building. Prejudicial stereotypes of blacks as poor tenants—loud, dirty, reckless with property, etc.—are commonly believed. And if some blacks may be tolerable, a landlord may still wish to exclude them for fear that a major influx of blacks will result.

The most common methods of keeping out undesirable tenants usually involve delay and red tape. Especially where housing supply is tight, if an undesired tenant can be delayed there is often time to get another.

Time is bought in many ways by setting requirements that almost no one can meet, by special forms, by demanding many references, by creating uncertainty and even failing to call back when an initial phone inquiry suggests that the prospect may be of a minority ethnic group. Actually, most minority prospects are easily turned away. They are too proud to force the issue and also very worried about the amount of time it takes to follow through a complaint, even while they have an immediate need for housing.

Some of the data suggests that because of their determination to discriminate, more Ma and Pa operations are using real estate agents than was formerly the case. The obvious reason is that real estate brokers have developed skills to fend off minority prospects and can do this more easily than an owner. Moreover, where all else fails, it can turn out that "the owner had already rented the apartment and forgotten to tell the broker..."

When realtors or other landlords own or manage several buildings, it is possible for them to steer renters from one building by various tactics but still offer a unit in another area which they have already integrated or are turning over. Steering is also done through advertisements. It is illegal in ads to use wordings that indicate "any preference, limitation or discrimination based on race...or an intention to make any such preference..." (Fair Housing Act of 1968). This does not however mean that such advertising has stopped although generally it has become more subtle. Many minorities will not attempt to seek housing where they know they will not be welcome. Advertisements can also be placed so as to most effectively reach desired tenants rather than equally attract all people. Not placing adds in
black newspapers will limit the number of blacks who know about the vacancy, etc...

Once a neighborhood in which a building exists has become integrated and white demand for housing in the area falls, the manager of the building may not only let blacks in but may even encourage rapid turnover. Economics could be the reason. Frequently blacks can be charged higher rents than whites and even receive fewer services or poorer maintenance because there is a pent-up demand for housing among blacks. If a landlord must let blacks in, he may wish to go all-black for a profit motive. Steering away whites and encouraging move by current white tenants can be fairly easily accomplished by playing on their fears and prejudice.

Very few people in the rental management business have been specifically trained for management responsibilities. Not only has rental management staff received inadequate training, especially in such areas a fair housing law, but top management often exercises little control over the staff. This can lead to situations where the top management is ignorant of rental practices that can contribute to neighborhood stability and they use the excuse that they cannot control their staff even if they do learn what can be done to prevent resegregation. Another stumbling block to integration maintenance is the reluctance of rental management to collect and share data. Professional management requires accurate, timely and relevant data for good management decisions.

It should also be noted that some of the same techniques that have been used to manipulate housing demand to create and perpetuate apartment development segregation have occasionnally been altered slightly and used by apartment managers to achieve representative racial balance. More above-board approaches, that is, legitimate affirmative marketing and integration maintenance counseling, have also shown that rental housing integration can be achieved, where there is a commitment.
Real estate practices are the front lines of the battles and skirmishes between the seemingly inexorable forces of (re)segregation and of the emerging forces for integration maintenance.

The real estate practitioners have high visibility in neighborhoods and are sometimes viewed by neighborhood people as virtually the sole enforcers of the dual housing market. Sophisticated observers within and without neighborhoods tend to focus on brokers and sales personnel, not only because of visibility but because they are licensed and governed by State codes, usually containing fair housing provisions. They are, therefore, potentially accountable -- big and solid enough to see and not so vast and solidly in place that they might not be moved.

The heritage of free enterprise and the "a man's home is his castle" traditions are well entrenched in the real estate business. While castle protection no longer requires the services of a knight (at least in many suburban neighborhoods), protection remains a concern -- protection against incursions "by undesirable and incompatible types" and protection against loss of value. When laws no longer mandated housing separation of the races, the real estate community (with the positive sanction of broad sections of society) accepted for itself, with some exceptions, the responsibility for continuing the tradition. Some realty professionals, that is "transition specialists", even found that it was possible to obtain many listings by panicking whites into selling cheaply "before the neighborhood gets really dark", and (mis)using the FHA insurance program (sometimes with false credit information) to sell to minority purchasers, often at re-inflated prices. A perversion of "open housing" has made panic-peddlers rich by pitting races against one another. By post cards, flyers, telephone calls, or home visits, pressure is applied to the outgoing white, who might even produce a second commission by buying in a "protected area". As the supply of houses on the market in one area is artificially elevated, the projected drop in prices occurs, especially as a major portion of the demand (white) is no longer competing for the housing. As value drops, so do other things (prestige, services, clout associated with a good quality neighborhood).

A somewhat more subtle practice is racial steering. Several intentionally employed techniques may be used to direct potential white buyers into white neighborhoods and non-whites into neighborhoods with minority residents, sometimes by the simple time-honored device of automatically showing homes to minorities in minority or mixed areas while white buyers are shown listing in white areas. Should a white buyer express an interest in an area that is non-traditional, he or she will be told that "it is not right for you" or "the area is unstable" or "it's not what it used to be". Often it is not necessary to downgrade the area to be shunned and quite possible to avoid the risk of saying "Hicks are moving in" or "it's changing". A similar effect can be gained by praising the "right alternative" and let the other suffer by comparison. Often the white buyer expresses appreciation for being properly steered so as not to make a mistake. Whether done crassly or with style and flair, it is a problem and illegal, if, when, and where it is proven.
The minority buyers often find it difficult to detect racial steering because of the way it is done. Outright refusal to deal is much too risky and blacks are often treated courteously. But if they show interest in an area new to blacks, they are likely to be touted on an alternative where they "can get more for their housing dollar", and where they "will be welcomed and their children will feel comfortable and have playmates", and where they "will feel secure", and where "all kinds of people live in harmony". If the black buyer persists, he or she may be warned about the possibly unreliable for you "volunteer fire department", and told it will "probably be okay if you have the pioneer spirit", and it is "a lovely house, though maybe a bit overpriced". Simple devices such as falsely claiming there is a contract written on the house or having some other difficulty in arranging a showing are also still prevalent.

The black broker finds solicitation of listings difficult in neighborhoods that are not black or plainly transitional and has virtually no white buyers. Consequently, he is forced to encourage his black buyer prospects to buy his listings, those in the black and transitional areas.

Much racial steering can be done without an explicit conspiracy and without thoroughly overt or avaricious or even selfish or self-protective motivations. Sometimes it is done more or less unconsciously. For instance, many agents sincerely feel that they owe it to a fine black family to tell them what they are getting into -- that the facts speak for themselves and the prospects are making their own decisions. Likewise with whites. If they place trust in an agent, they deserve to be treated right -- not only because of notions about repeat business and referrals -- but because of the dictates of the golden rule. If after they know the facts, they still want to buy into the mixed areas, that is then their business.

Federal law makes racial steering illegal, as does the real estate registration act of Illinois. Some municipalities have adopted ordinances making it a violation, including the municipalities for which this paper is written. If the laws were perfectly enforced and/or totally respected, racial steering would continue to happen, but it would not be illegal racial steering. It would be self steering and a massive problem. Self-steering by races in the housing market can properly be viewed as the present effect of past discrimination. Blacks, on a wholesale basis, foreclose non-traditional housing opportunities out of fears and concerns and negative mental sets built on past law violations (and past legal acts, since housing discrimination has not been illegal for such a long period of time).

Whites have been conditioned to believe that neighborhoods where minorities live are devalued, are likely dangerous as compared with others, and are in transition and otherwise unstable. Such belief held on a widespread basis can operate as a self-fulfilling prophesy when whites withhold their major portion of the potential demand.

If a real estate agent accepts that most persons, black, white, and others, have tendencies toward self-steering, it may not make economic sense ("a waste of time, theirs and mine") to try to sell against people's inclinations or to unnecessarily "paddle upstream". 
Racial steering appears not to concern most of the population living in virtually all majority and all minority neighborhoods. While support for steering is not always vocal, it is often rather forceful and prevasive. The whites are generally desirous of preserving the "racial integrity" of their area and pressure the real estate agents to "do what is right". The black community is not enthusiastic about losing its upwardly mobile and more affluent residents to another area. Not only does their departure reduce the black ghetto's numbers (and therefore political clout) and lessen their articulate voices and commercial patronage for black business, but it reduces the demand for property in black neighborhoods. White demand does not rush into the void, until and unless it is through urban renewal and replacement of the minorities. Both blacks and whites are often perversely pleased by the racial unrest in a racially changing area. For whites, it confirms their racial stereotypes and eases guilt over racist attitudes. For blacks, it confirms stereotypes of the racist white population and legitimizes anger, builds righteous indignation and morally superior feelings -- both better than feeling inferior.

Those that are concerned, majority and minority, live in interracial areas. Many of these are on the perimeter of the black ghetto. Other (fewer) interracial neighborhoods are free-standing. Compared to those living in racially homogeneous areas, their numbers are not great. The individuals who populate such areas and the location of the interracial areas themselves tend to move. The strategies and tactics of those concerned about combating racial transition, predominantly whites, have ranged and vacillated between reasoning with brokers, investigation and law suits, getting restrictive legislation adopted and poorly enforced, negotiating voluntary agreements, directly harassing non-cooperative agents, forming their own commercial and noncommercial real estate firms and housing services, promoting open housing generally, opposing open housing and trying to "hold back the tide of inundating blacks", and many other doomsaying and rose-colored optimistic approaches, as well as eclectic and moderate approaches.

The real estate community has also vacillated between several approaches and cannot be said to be monolithic in its response to community and legal pressures. The real estate community established a long and well-documented record of opposition to fair housing law. The opposition was based on common law property rights. When the legislative battle was lost, the unanimity of the community was shattered, with some continuing to resist and other looking to make a commercial success by going with the current rather than continuing to peddle up stream.

An interesting example of the go-with-the-current approach is the National Association of Realtors, Department of Housing and Urban Development Affirmative Marketing Agreement for voluntary use by Board of Realtors, approved by the NAR in November of 1975 and which is being promulgated throughout the land.

The NAR-HUD version of affirmative marketing was worked out over a period of many months by the Nixon-Ford HUD Administration and representatives of the real estate community. It is positive in several respects, but is a perversion of HUD's own equal opportunity objectives and the objectives of most interracial communities seeking to stay that way.
Very early in 1972, HUD issued affirmative marketing guidelines to developers assisted or insured by any federal programs. The guidelines required developers to take special care and design special programs to attract minority or non-minority residents, whichever were underrepresented in residence or might reasonably be expected to be underrepresented in residence or in the housing demand. As various public interest groups began exerting pressure to have these plans made meaningful and as pressure began to build for the resale realty industry to be covered by such guidelines, the Realtors began to warm to a negotiated voluntary agreement. Their agreement, however, defines affirmative marketing not in terms of promoting balanced racial demand but instead on "providing information that will enable minority buyers to make a free choice of housing location". Concern for interraciality and all races competing together for housing and living together has vanished. Affirmative marketing then becomes a public relations tool for reaching out to minorities in order to sell them houses in areas that they choose. This is not longer so threatening now as it had been, because experience has shown the most minorities will steer themselves into "safe" areas and little trouble results.

The Boards of Realtors already serving black populations have, of course, been a bit quicker to volunteer for this agreement. The agreement carries with it another interesting feature to protect the real estate brokers against pressures from community groups pushing the balanced racial traffic integration promotion type affirmative marketing. The NAR has told local Realtors that they will lose their nationally negotiated errors and omissions (liability) insurance if they were to enter into any locally negotiated affirmative marketing agreement. This means that many local attempts at promoting racially representative traffic are thwarted.

The laws of states have also been altered. When influencing persons so as to promote segregation and avoid integration (i.e. steering) became an irresistible issue and anti-steering provisions were inevitable (in 1973 and 1974 in Illinois), the real estate industry settled for, indeed, lobbied for provisions that would seem also to make illegal any real estate agent's attempt to influence anyone so as to promote integration or avoid segregation. By this maneuver the real estate industry remains relatively guarded from forces that would otherwise have demanded that it rectify the effects of past discrimination and replace the dual housing market with a racially unitary one.

The National Association of Home Builders, representing many of the parties controlled by the original HUD affirmative marketing guidelines, was not to be outdone. Late in 1976, it finished negotiating a similar voluntary agreement which is just now receiving attention.

A discernible trend is emerging: stop belligerently fighting the words of the equal opportunity bureaucrats; do not make them look bad or make them angry as it causes them to become legalistic and "pattern and practice" compliance minded; accept the language and verbal terms of the integrationists/anti-racists and remake their meanings via formally negotiated but voluntary agreements and industry designed education programs. The rights of some individuals may have to be recognized and accepted, but responsibility for altering the societal-set tilting toward segregation will not be placed upon the shoulders of the real estate industry.
What then are some of the more promising strategies and tactics for the forces of integration (maintenance) in their struggle to regain the support of the somewhat co-opted government anti-discrimination units? How can the integration (maintenance) forces make their goal economically attractive to the commercial real estate industry? How can the integration (maintenance) forces build support for their efforts among some of the now apathetic, indifferent and even hostile people, especially some of those living in the black ghettos and the white ghettos? The answers to these questions must be sought -- sought diligently with acceptance of the notion that they are "right" as much because of how they are obtained and who is involved in their formulation as because of their content. It would seem that a new activism is indicated -- one that should probably start with a coalition of interracial municipalities and neighborhoods and public interest groups such as the League of Women Voters. The aims might well be: new guidelines or even new laws, but certainly should include more sympathetic interpretations and administrations of fair housing legislation; the communication to the public of any success stories to generate positive self-fulfilling prophecies; and vigorous pursuit of open housing reputations for communities and subregions which would not seek such for themselves.
Community organizations come in many sizes and forms, with differing goals and means of implementing them. They perform with varying degrees of effectiveness. There are some organizations that have goals and activities that work to defeat stable integration. Organizations such as the American Nazi Party and Save Our Suburbs actively work to prevent racial integration, and the former openly presents itself as a racist body. To the extent that these organizations are successful, stably integrated neighborhoods are threatened. Rather than focus on the organizations that are antagonistic to the goal of maintaining racial integration, this study acknowledges them. We suggest that those of their activities which are illegal be punished, and then focus on problems experienced by countervailing pro-integration forces.

A community organization can be an effective agent working for fair housing by providing some counter forces to work against the dual housing market. Unfortunately, many community organizations concerned with fair housing are experiencing problems.

Any local community organization that is attempting to influence governmental policy and action must also take care to include other interested organizations and seek both member and citizen input. An organization cannot properly represent others if they are not consulted; good intentions are not enough. Close contact with the community has the additional benefit of creating broader support for the organization's activities and proposals helping to insure success. Many local officials welcome responsible citizen input from community organizations if it is presented in a positive manner.

Community organizations interested in fair housing and neighborhood stability generally are understaffed, underfunded, and their activities are not well publicized. These organizations need to convince members of both the private and public sector that their activities are worthwhile and worthy of funding.

Many community organizations interested in housing frequently protect their "turf", often to the detriment of other local groups and neighborhoods. It is understandable that local neighborhood-based community organizations are very localized in outlook. They are responding to a local need and many outsiders are not in agreement with their goals. The result is that many local groups operate in isolation and often their programs duplicate and overlap those of other organizations. Furthermore, community organizations in predominately white areas have not made a serious effort to promote minority housing.

The dual housing market exists at the local, regional and national level. It is often easy for an organization to be too directed locally and not consider fully the need to open all communities. While local focus is needed and local problems are more likely to generate actions, being part of an agency with metropolitan concerns can aid the establishment of fair housing in several ways: active open housing initiatives are worked for throughout the metropolitan area; more effective and efficient utilization of resources can be made; duplication and overlap of services is minimized; political strength and influence is greater; and the organization is more visible, and effective media coverage of fair housing.
activities is thus more likely.

Larger focus is also needed because what occurs in the rest of the metropolitan area influences the local community, conversely, what occurs in the local community also has effects on the larger region. When minorities are afforded limited access to a community—even for the goal of maintaining integration, black demand must go elsewhere, limiting another communities chance of stable integration, or black demand must go totally unsatisfied. A community organization that secures a degree of stability for its own area while ignoring or aggravating the situation elsewhere has served itself (for the short-term) not the cause of open housing.
The image of a community by outsiders, whether or not they have factual information, often determines who moves into that community. The image of a community or neighborhood will play a part in the overall attractiveness of that area for future investment. Even the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry is concerned about the image of the south side and the southern suburbs. Many people who do not live in southern Cook County believe the area to be exclusively the home of large polluting industries and minority families. Their perceptions are erroneous. The area does serve as the home of several large industries; however, the vast majority of the residents live in middle and upper income neighborhoods which serve as home for majority households.

In addition to the environmental image of an area, the social image is equally important. Many national businesses headquartered in Chicago encourage their new transferees to look for housing in the western or northern suburbs rather than in the city or the southern suburbs. Many northern and western suburbs enjoy an exclusive image which they work very hard at maintaining.

Various techniques are used to discourage minority housing traffic. The range in severity and directness from outright violence to more subtle suggestions that the volunteer fire department might not respond to a request for help or long protracted court battles to fight moderate income housing.

These practices tend to focus majority housing demand on a few communities which are seen as "exclusive" and "safe" from minority households.

Of course these practices tend to have the revenue effect on minority households. Not only is their demand informally concentrated on the south side communities, minority families begin to have unrealistic perceptions of the other suburban areas. If the north and west suburbs are viewed as expensive and minority families moving there will be made to feel uncomfortable, they will naturally self-select certain neighborhoods on the south side that have a reputation as accepting minorities.

Finally, there is one more practice that influence the image of a community or neighborhood. There is a common feeling that "open communities" with "equal housing opportunities" are for minorities only. The terms OPEN and EQUAL OPPORTUNITY have become code words in the public mind for minorities only. These perceptions work against maintaining racial integration, both within an apartment complex or subdivision and to the scale of a whole new town.

These community images can become self-fulfilling prophecies. When some areas appear to be closed to minority families while others are open, the balance of housing demand becomes segregated to the detriment of integration.
The community image of a particular neighborhood and its overall attractiveness to majority and minority home seekers is outlined elsewhere. Suffice it to say that the location of a particular community which occupies a unique part of the region can have a tremendous effect on all the community building actors outlined in Part II.

The location of public investments can block or aid neighborhood stability. Man-made barriers such as interstate highways have isolated neighborhoods from block by block resegregation by providing a barrier between an expanding ghetto and a stable integrated area. Man-made physical improvements which cut through neighborhoods may also contribute to racial instability by displacing families both majority and minority who must find new housing in other city neighborhoods. Every time the majority/minority housing demand equation is changed there is a potential change in neighborhood stability.

Proximity to especially desirable residential areas where persons of prestige and influence live or sharing a school district with such areas is of course a locational advantage. Devalued residential areas nearby and/or sharing a school district constitute disadvantages.

Some cities (inadvertently) accelerate neighborhood resegregation by supplying a low level of services and/or improvements to that location. With majority homeseekers already concerned about racial stability in an integrated neighborhood, any perceived lack of commitment from the city for the neighborhood's physical and social wellbeing can give the impression that the city has "written off" the area. A similar situation occurs when local businesses and landlords fail to maintain their buildings. On a larger scale, the relocation of a major state or federal facility to an exclusive suburb can have the same effect.
Since the Depression the Federal Government has played an important part in the direction of urban development. The fact that our cities have highly segregated residence patterns implies that the Federal Government has helped to foster segregation.

The United States Commission on Civil Rights has divided the Federal Government's contribution towards racial separatism into three parts. The Federal Government, especially prior to 1947, took direct action to encourage segregation. The Federal Government has also implemented programs which indirectly induced segregation. And finally, the Federal Government has taken no action to prevent discrimination when it has been its duty to do so.

It was between the end of World War II and the end of the Johnson Administration that segregation resulted largely from the side effects of Federal programs. In this period, the suburbanization which was taking place was largely subsidized by Federal money. The Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration were concerned with facilitating new housing construction, while the various highway funds financed road construction. The agencies responsible for implementing these programs worked to achieve narrowly conceived objectives. The housing agencies were solely concerned with maximizing housing construction and the highway administrators were concerned with optimizing traffic flows. The failure to analyze the side effect of these programs allowed the segregated residence pattern to develop. Few people stopped to think about the negative impact that the Federal programs would have on housing opportunities for both majority and minority families in the city. Only very recently has the Federal Government voiced intention to tie the distribution of expenditures for capital improvements like road construction to the achievement of broader societal goals. (The recent failure to deny road widening funds to the Chicago suburb of Oak Brook because of its exclusionary nature suggests that the Federal Government remains open to the charge that its commitment is largely lip service.) The government then, has historically helped to promote segregation by not offering local government any inducements to provide equal access to housing. A more integrated urban residence pattern would have resulted had the Federal Government tied its urban development programs to the achievement of open housing objectives.

The Federal Government did not begin to take a partially active role in the promotion of minority housing opportunities until around 1964. The majority of programs enacted to achieve this objective have been designed to increase minority housing opportunities in areas already containing large concentrations of minority group members. The only Federal programs designed to produce housing for low and moderate income, until the late sixties, were the public housing programs. These programs had a feature that further exacerbated housing segregation. These programs contained a local option clause whereby a community could refuse to allow the construction of public units within its borders. As a result, most white suburbs have not allowed any public units to be constructed while the great majority
of such units were located in the central city. Even within the central city, the tendency has been to build such units in non-white neighborhoods.

It was not until 1968 that the Federal Government actually began to move on minority housing opportunities. The passage of the 1968 Civil Rights Act, which contained the Federal Fair Housing Act, and the development of two new housing programs, which allowed for the location of subsidized units without explicit local approval, provided tools that could have been used to reverse the impact of previous Federal Housing Programs. Although these two housing programs have been very successful in getting low and moderate income units built, they have been implemented along traditionally segregated lines.

Three years later, in 1965, HUD developed some mechanisms to make developers utilizing these problems market their units in an affirmative manner. Affirmative Fair Housing Marketing Regulations and Project Selection Criteria were supposed to reduce the amount of Federally funded housing segregation. It seems, though, that the nonenforcement of these mechanisms has allowed the Federal Government's support of segregation to continue. A study in the San Francisco SMSA investigated eighteen subsidized projects and found seventeen not in compliance with their own affirmative fair housing marketing plan.

The latest attempt on the Federal Government's part to increase minority housing opportunities is the Community Development Act of 1974. In order to receive Community Development funds, localities are supposed to be required to produce Housing Assistance Plans. These plans are supposed to designate the number of low and moderate income units the community needs to provide. Instead of scrutinizing these plans to determine if they are realistic, HUD has rubber stamped most of the plans after only a shallow analysis. This has allowed even the most exclusionary of suburbs to receive grants without any provision for low and moderate income units. Again the Federal Government has failed to use the carrots it has at its disposal to induce suburbs to provide minority housing opportunities. The Federal Government, then, is guilty of both funding programs which directly assure segregation and failing to enforce those programs and regulations which were designed especially to allow for more widely spaced minority housing opportunities.

The Federal Government has failed in its responsibility to insure equal access to housing. This does not mean that once this access is guaranteed integration will be a reality. However, until such time that housing discrimination is effectively eliminated, the goal of achieving integration will remain much harder than it need be. Federally funded housing units in "white suburbia" does not mean the imminent integration of such communities, but it may well help to reduce the "closed" perception that minorities have of the community and help to redistribute housing demand in such a way that a more unitary market can be achieved.

One other way the Federal Government fails to reduce segregation has been the absence of any data requirements. The collection of hard data is the only effective means of evaluating both the government's own programs and the actions of other institutions. Until 1971, HUD did not even collect ethnic/racial data on the participants in its programs. The Federal Home Loan Bank Board, in addition, does not require any data collection by its member banks. The collection of data could be an effective way of influencing other actors in the housing market to perform in ways that will promote integration.
The Federal Government generally fails to show much leadership in the elimination of the dual housing market. While the foundation of its activity in the area is in eliminating discrimination, the fulfillment of this objective would make the elimination of the dual market much easier. There are some things which the Federal Government could do directly to speed the end of the dual market. First, in its distribution of funds the Federal Government could strengthen the role of the metropolitan planning agencies by giving the A-95 grant review process more teeth than it has at present. This would make suburban communities more sensitive to the region's housing needs as the availability of Federal funds may depend on this consideration. One other way the Federal Government could directly reduce the dual market is by more effectively regulating the industries over which it has some influence. The financial community, real estate brokers, and builders could be prodded to strengthen their codes of ethics in regard to racial discrimination and redlining.
In considering the role of local government in the operation of the dual housing market we are dealing with two distinct varieties. On the one hand, there are the local governments which actively work to preserve homogenous communities, and on the other hand there are those governments which serve integrated, or at least multi-racial communities.

Among those in the latter group we find the large central city governments. Generally, racial resegregation has occurred within large cities. The role of such governments in the dual housing market can be characterized as apathetic. Whereas it is the actions of other actors that create the dual market, we must examine what local governments do not do in their involvement with the dual market. In the classic central city scenario where a neighborhood undergoes rapid and sometimes violent transition from an "all white enclave" to an "all black ghetto", the local government has shirked its duty of maintaining racial stability in allowing block busting and panic peddling to continue without resistance. Perhaps more importantly, the city governments have not worked to open up housing opportunities within or without their own corporate limits for minorities.

In smaller multi-racial suburban communities, local governments are usually more responsive. A large central city is burdened with other pressing problems that distract attention from areas of racial transition. It is realistic to expect governments in smaller autonomous communities faced with racial change to be more easily activated to pursue vigorous policies promoting stability. The maintenance of integration in suburban communities is critical to the future health of such areas.

In considering regulatory measures, the local government can constrain builder-developers, realtors, and rental management firms from contributing to the dual market. Prohibition, and regulation of solicitations for listing has been one kind of restraining influence on realtors. The banning of "for sale" signs has, until very recently, been another. Subdivision controls can be important in making builder-developers contribute to the goal of integration maintenance. The controls can require affirmative marketing of all the lots in the subdivision.

Ordinarily, public relations is an activity local governments do not consciously perform. However, for interracial communities it is an essential function of local government. Because perceptions guide so many of the actors in the housing market, it is imperative that these perceptions be correct. Oftentimes integrated communities are identified as being on the way to resegregation. Since the white to black transition has occurred so frequently in the past, this view is not often challenged. People are prone to assume that past patterns will prevail in the future. Local governments must go out and actively deflate this harmful myth. They must convince prospective homebuyers, realtors, lenders, and developers that integration in their communities is going to work.

Such a positive self-fulfilling prophecy does and will require the expenditure of effort and money, and should be viewed as a primary municipal responsibility and not "extra-curricular business".
In facilitating good communication and in serving an educational function, local government is again primarily concerned with constructing accurate perceptions. Realtors and lenders often do not act with malice in contributing to the dual market, but rather, are acting in ignorance of the actual conditions existent in a successfully integrated setting. An example of local government as a catalyst in the improvement of communication might be round-table discussions between realtors, lenders, citizens, and government leaders. Such a device helps to reassure the business interests that the community is actively working to preserve and maintain itself and the stability which they desire from an investment standpoint. For citizens, such meetings can help to dispel fears and create an atmosphere of cooperation. Both of these policy areas, education-communication and public relations, are geared towards the creation of a positive self-fulfilling prophecy. Failure to conduct such activities will result in the persistence of any existing negative self-fulfilling prophecies. (Neighborhoods decline as a result of lenders, realtors, home buyers, etc. thinking that the neighborhood will decline.)

Another tool open to local government is lobbying. Here the primary goal is to influence the policies of higher levels of government. Local government can petition the states and the Federal government to design and implement policies that further the goals of integration and the elimination of the dual housing market.

When all the above options fail to produce the desired reaction of some actor, the local government can take legal action to obtain compliance. If realtors are still engaging in steering and if lenders are still practicing redlining in spite of all the public relations, educational, regulatory and lobbying actions, the local government may have to take the party to court. This is not the most desirable means of redress. One large problem is that most of the illegal activities are very subtle and evidence to substantiate claims of wrongdoing is difficult to amass. However, even if enough evidence is gathered and a favorable decision can be predicted, there are serious side effects which must be weighed. The case may generate negative images of the community which counteract any public relations effort. The case may produce unwanted conflict between various housing market actors. And finally, the legal action may just force the guilty party to use more subtle methods. On the other hand, a willingness to litigate may well engender respect not otherwise obtainable.

Lastly, an integrated community's local government must maintain both a high level of services and remain competitive in the marketplace, with a competitive level of taxes. These two strategies contribute directly towards making a community an enjoyable place to live. The quality of the local government has a lot to do with what kind an image other actors in the housing market have of a particular community. For an integrated community, these strategies are especially important if the community wants to maintain white demand. The economics of the housing market indicate that the white buyer will have a greater variety of locations to choose from and a lower acceptance of poor services. The minority homeowner-buyer, on the other hand, may be willing to pay a higher price because the supply of housing available to him is perceived to be restricted.

This brings us to consider the impact that homogeneous white suburbs have on the perpetuation of the dual housing market. Clearly, these local governments help to maintain duality. There are two varieties of such local governments, the major distinction being that of age.
Many older, white communities are often not considered by minorities as possible locations to live because of the hostility that non-whites can expect should they reside there. The image of the community as being hostile to minorities, the presence of community groups actively working to maintain segregation, and the non-enforcement of open housing laws by the courts and higher levels of government create the background against which the first type of local government works. Local governments in this scenario can be expected to do nothing to encourage integration and they may give implicit or even explicit support to the community groups seeking to maintain segregation.

In newer suburban communities, on the other hand, the local government may be expected to take an aggressive role in helping the dual market work. These communities engage in exclusionary land use practices which result in few moderately priced units being constructed. Increasingly, even units which the middle class can afford are being excluded from new areas. As non-whites have lower incomes than whites do, they feel this artificial supply restraint more so than do whites.

In the both cases the effect is to limit the area that a minority homebuyer will consider when looking for a home. This situation concentrates non-white demand for housing in areas already perceived as being open to minority group members. This concentration leads to minority homebuyers outbidding white homebuyers in "open" areas and the process continues until the non-white demand has totally replaced the white demand.

The dual market must be changed. The "closed communities" must be opened, up in fact, and in terms of perceptions. Opening closed communities is a legitimate cause for neighboring communities which desire to be and remain integrated.

To conclude, in working to eliminate the dual market it is essential that integrating communities convince whites that the community is in fact integrated and not resegregating. Equally important, minority homeseekers must be alerted to housing opportunities in communities perceived as "closed".
The location and distribution of minority households in an urban area can work for or against the maintenance of racial integration. Almost every city and metropolitan region has areas that are at a locational disadvantage.

Historically, newcomers to the city, especially minorities, were forced by economics and racism into disadvantaged areas. Early racial maps of Chicago's suburbs show black families clustered in a few neighborhoods. Their neighborhoods generally were the least desirable because of their proximity to industrial districts or environmental hazard areas (such as a marsh). Later, these black areas expanded block by block with each resegregating block contiguous to an all black block. The real estate community had an agreement among their members that no minority families would be introduced into an all white neighborhood. Remnants of this "informal agreement" continue to the present day. This block by block ghetto expansion is so widespread that it has been modeled mathematically by Morrill, a geographer, and Sunshine, a sociologist and applied with some degree of accuracy to several American cities.

Historical patterns of household movement also influence present day racial housing patterns. In the Chicago area, south siders traditionally relocate to the south, west siders move to the west and north siders gravitate to the north. Since there are minority concentrations on the south and to a lesser extent on the west side of the city, the bulk of the minority households who move to the suburbs follow the historical pattern creating an unbalanced minority demand for suburban housing. Unbalanced minority demand for housing in one sector of the suburban area can lead to racial resegregation in that sector.

Today, location plays an important part in neighborhood racial stability. The direction and distance of an integrated neighborhood from the black ghetto can have an important influence on future stability. A neighborhood or community which is on the edge of an expanding black concentration often finds it very difficult to maintain majority housing demand in those areas bordering on the ghetto area. On the other hand, a community working to maintain integration which is somewhat removed from minority concentrations will be more attractive to majority homeseekers and therefore have a greater chance of maintaining integration. This observation is borne out by an analysis of two neighborhoods on Chicago's west side. The Austin neighborhood, an integrated area adjacent to Chicago's west side ghetto, is much less attractive to majority homeseekers than is East Oak Park which is geographically removed from the west side ghetto. Majority housing demand is much higher in East Oak Park than it is in Austin.

The community image of a particular neighborhood and its overall attractiveness to majority and minority homeseekers is outlined elsewhere. Suffice it to say that the location of a particular community which occupies a unique part of the region can have a tremendous effect on all the community building actors.
The location of public investments can block or aid neighborhood stability. Man-made barriers such as interstate highways have isolated neighborhoods from block by block resegregation by providing a barrier between an expanding ghetto and a stable integrated area. Man-made physical improvements which cut through neighborhoods may also contribute to racial instability by displacing families both majority and minority who must find new housing in other city neighborhoods. Every time the majority/minority housing demand equation is changed there is a potential change in neighborhood stability.

Proximity to especially desirable residential areas where persons of prestige and influence live or sharing a school district with such areas is of course a locational advantage. Devalued residential areas nearby and/or sharing a school facilities with poor areas constitute disadvantages.

Some cites (inadvertently) accelerate neighborhood resegregation by supplying a low level of service and/or improvements to that location. With majority home-seekers already concerned about racial stability in an integrated neighborhood, any perceived lack of commitment from the city for the neighborhood's physical and social wellbeing can give the impression that the city has "written off" the area. A similar situation occurs when local businesses and landlords fail to maintain their buildings. On a larger scale, the relocation of a major state or federal facility to an exclusive suburb can have the same effect.
Proponents of integrated housing are often encouraged by the number of whites who positively value integration and want to live in a liberal community with a cosmopolitan racial mix. This encouragement lags, however, when many of these would-be integrationists ask about the racial composition of the schools serving the interracial neighborhood.

Regardless of the enthusiasm for the educational program as expressed by teachers, parents, or students, it is quite plain that for many potential buyers a disproportionate racial composition in the schools, i.e. a significantly greater minority school population than would be indicated by area minority residency, presents for them a very considerable obstacle.

Lower numbers of children per household in white families and a certain amount of white flight from mixed-race schools, plus school attendance zones regularly falling in such a manner as to encompass all-minority and mixed-race areas contribute to instability. Among the factors that are regularly associated with imbalance in the schools (and a reputed cause of the loss of neighborhood integration) are the following:

It may be said that racial integration in the schools can be measured in terms of the degree to which the schools are attracting children of all races (in proportion to their residence in the region). This is an analogous definition to the one used to define an integrated housing market. To the degree the public school education (market) is not attractive to blacks and/or whites, it is not integrated, although it might yet be racially mixed.

School officials and even some jurists have looked upon racial imbalance in the neighborhoods and outright neighborhood segregation as the cause of school segregation. They call for integrated neighborhoods so that the schools can then be integrated. It would seem that an equal or ever better case can be made for calling upon the schools to remain integrated in order that the neighborhoods might remain so, since integration in the schools is often lost prior to its loss in the housing market.

In any event, the integration of one is linked to the other. It then follows that school officials cannot be afforded the luxury of foisting off their responsibility onto the real estate community or the community at large. They should be encouraged to see themselves as determiners, and not allowed to pass themselves off as merely parties dedicated to educating individuals. School officials are in a position to control and not simply be acted upon by prevailing societal forces.

It should also be pointed out that educational excellence in a school is not a sufficient magnet to retain white students. In addition to the relative presence or absence of other white students, there is some reason to believe the white students and their parents are (super) sensitive to any modification of discipline and/or academic standards which might be viewed as "catering to blacks at white expense". When there is mixing of the races and a mixing of classes, as well, other problems occur. For instance, if the black students are less advantaged and ascribe to "street values", and schools' personnel equate such values with black values and
black culture (largely a racist assumption) and this assumption leads to a legitimized threat to predominant middle class standards. White parents and students are often turned-off. Biases which evenhandedly support achievement, order, self-discipline, self-control, and other values of predominant middle class society is less racist and more advisable.

If racial imbalance in a school system leads to desegregation planning, whether voluntary or compelled by State or Federal Administrative guidelines or the courts, difficult sets of problems and opportunities usually arise. For example, a school district can reorganize, or bus in such a way as to send children to schools in neighborhoods which have previously not attracted minority residents. Many black parents have been reluctant for their school children to become "pioneers". At the same time, white students that are sent to school in areas of weakening majority demand for housing may well prompt a resurgence of majority demand. White parents with young children are prone to be the most protective and they are characteristically the most underrepresented group in a racially transitional school situation.
Homebuyers and homesellers play an active role in the dual housing market. Very often their actions are self-limiting and ignorant of federal law.

Homebuyers, both majority and minority are manipulated by powerful market forces many of which are beyond their control. The homebuyer is, of course, attempting to purchase the house with the greatest utility for his particular needs. Inputs such as financing, housing type location and neighborhood appear to be important to the homebuyer. Fear by majority homebuyers of racial change is also a primary concern. This fear caused Brian Berry, formally of the University of Chicago, to suggest that race is the major determinant shaping our urban environment.

Many majority people are attempting to isolate themselves from minority families. On the other hand, minority homebuyers are less concerned with neighborhood racial composition and they are more concerned with the overall quality of the house and neighborhood. Minority homebuyers are less willing and less able to pay a premium for racial exclusivity. Add to this the apparent facts that white homebuyers tend to view a neighborhood as well integrated if it has but a few black families. White homebuyers often describe areas that are 20-30% as "mostly all black" and many blacks tend to view an area as predominantly white and not really integrated until 20-35% of the population is black.

Another way to address this process is through the concept of self-steering. Since many majority homebuyers feel their investment and their status will be enhanced if they live in a "majority only" neighborhood they self-steer themselves away from any neighborhood that they think is integrated or is about to become integrated in the future. Minority homebuyers tend to take the path of least resistance; therefore, they look for housing in neighborhoods and towns that already have a reputation for accepting minority families. Few minority families want to be "pioneers" in all majority neighborhoods. Thus, self-steering by minority and majority homebuyers contributes to the dual housing market to the detriment of stable inter-racial neighborhoods.

Homesellers, even when they operate without a real estate agent, often commit illegal acts out of ignorance or malice which contribute to the resegregation of neighborhoods. One of the most common illegal practices is that of selective showing and selling of their house. It is often thought by the homeowner that if he owns the house he can show and sell it to anyone of his own choosing, even though it is publicly for sale. This is in violation of Federal Fair Housing Laws. The house must be marketed fairly and sold to anyone who can meet the asking price. Some homeowners have attempted to circumvent the law by establishing two asking prices, one high price for minority homeseekers and one lower price for majority homeseekers. This dual pricing, one price for blacks and another lower price for whites, has also been called a "Skin Tax", because it taxes the minority homebuyer. This practice, too, is illegal.

The dual housing market is perpetuated by individuals' strong feelings about land ownership and the transfer of this land to another party. Many low and middle income homeowners view their socio-economic status as being tied to the racial homogenity of their neighborhood. Contributing to these feelings are misunderstandings and ignorance -- held with great tenacity. An improved public understanding of the dual housing market would seem to be one of the ways to reduce fear and irresponsible behavior.
The references used in the research for this document are linked to each market force. Following each citation is a number or numbers which refer to the appropriate housing market force. The housing market forces are:

1. Financial Institutions
2. Media
3. Builder - Developers
4. Rental Management
5. Realtors
6. Community Organizations
7. Community Image
8. The Law
9. National Government
10. Local Government
11. Location
12. Schools
13. Homebuyers - Homesellers
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AFFIRMATIVE MARKETING: A special effort to attract to a development or a community members of racial and ethnic groups which would not ordinarily be expected to be attracted through the normal mechanisms of the commercial market.

BLACK CLUSTERING: This term is being used to describe the situation in which several black families live as immediate neighbors within an area consisting mainly of white neighbors.

BLOCK BUSTING: Soliciting housing listings from white homeowners, after the initial entry into the vicinity by minority group buyers or renters, by inducing the whites to fear wholesale racial transition and/or neighborhood deterioration.

CHANGING COMMUNITY: A community in which the traditional class or racial make-up is undergoing change, sometimes as a result of "white flight", but more usually as a result of whites being pushed out or dropping out of competition for housing. A changing or transitional community is not an integrated community.

DESEGREGATION: Opening of housing, services and facilities to all groups of people.

DISCRIMINATION: Unequal treatment based on membership in a certain group without relation either to individual capacity or merit.

DUAL HOUSING MARKET: Two (or more) systems of housing delivery practices, differently and independently operated in the areas of real estate.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY: Access by all people to full participation in all institutions.

GHETTO: An area in which the residents are determined by racial, political and social pressures, and from which they cannot freely move.

ILLEGAL RACIAL STEERING: Practices by real estate sales people and others which tend to limit, bar or circumvent integration and promote (re)segregation.

INTEGRATED HOUSING MARKET: A market in which people of different races, ethnic groups and religions are competing for housing in numbers generally reflective of their presence in the total area population. 100% of the people competing for 100% of the housing options.

INTEGRATION: Deliberate cooperation in affording access to housing, services and facilities to all groups of people.

INTEGRATION-FUNCTIONAL: The continuing desirability of a community as a place of residence for all people.

INTEGRATION MAINTENANCE: The use of educational and service programs to encourage the continuance of integration in the community.

INTEGRATION MANAGEMENT: The use of programs intended to assure the continuance of integration, including efforts to control (manage) racial composition of a community, sometimes done at the expense of the individual's right to make the final determination.

MAJORITY: The dominant group.

MINORITY: Designation for groups other than majority.

MULTI-RACIAL: Many races.

NON-DISCRIMINATION: Equal treatment for all people.

OPEN COMMUNITY: A community which affords equal opportunity in housing, services and facilities to all people; may be all white; all black, mixed, in transition or integrated.

PANIC-PEDDLING: A mass effort to list homes for sale on the basis of racial fear; rumors are sometimes circulated by real estate sales people and residents who allege it is "time to get out before the neighborhood goes down"; a form of block busting.

PREJUDICE: An unfavorable attitude toward any people as a group drawn from emotions and assumptions.

RESEGREGATION: Change of an integrated (or desegregated) residential area to a segregated area.

SEGREGATION: The separation of residence areas, services and other facilities on the basis of race, religion, ethnic group or social class, whether involuntary or voluntary, the latter often being the present consequence of past discrimination.

SELF-STEERING BY RACE: White and black "voluntary" avoidance by foreclosing housing options based on the others presence. It is not illegal, but is caused by the impact of unrectified past discrimination.

SEPARATISM: The theory or doctrine of people living in separate societies according to racial or other distinctions.

UNITARY HOUSING MARKET: A single open housing market in which members of all races and groups receive the same services and actually compete on equal terms.
PART IV

THE APPENDIX
HISTORY OF HOUSING INTEGRATION IN
PARK FOREST SOUTH

by

Kathy Cardona

Park Forest South is located 35 miles south of Chicago's loop. It is an incorporated 6,000 acre tract encompassing 12½ square miles of heavily wooded forests, farmland and prairie.

Incorporation was attempted by a strong and determined Homeowners Association in 1966 but met with failure. Shortly thereafter Nathan and Lewis Manilow started buying land in the areas of Wood Hill. An article in a January, 1969 issue of the Chicago Tribune quoted the Manilows as saying the project had been in the planning for 4 years.

In 1967 another attempt was made to incorporate and this time it was met with success. The name for the village on the incorporation ballot of June 10, 1967, was Park Forest South and at that time the village included 500 acres of land, 250 homes and a population of 1,050. The first village board meeting was held in November of that year. 288 residents voted in that first municipal election.

Early in 1968 Nathan and Lewis Manilow formed a company called New Community Enterprises to develop further the Village of Park Forest South. Thirteen hundred acres of land was annexed to the Village and a comprehensive plan which envisioned 125,000 residents was approved. Large land areas were set aside for recreation, open space and school sites. The neighboring Village of Park Forest had been considering annexing this land, but it was not to be. A Park Forest Village Trustee would shortly thereafter suggest a merger of the two communities.

A variety of planned residential areas was provided and locations for shopping facilities were also designated. A senior level commuter university was announced in late '68 with a projected 1972 opening. This would become a reality in the form of Governors State University.

In 1968 Congress passed Title IV of the Housing and Urban Development Act providing mortgages for developers of "New Communities". Now government insurance could be provided on amounts up to $50 million with repayment and maturity provisions to be worked out with the Secretary of HUD. In 1968 the developer of PFS was seeking a HUD Guarantee for a $30 million bond issue. It was never to happen under Title IV.

With a change in Federal Administration in 1968, the Congress and Federal Administration began the process of reviewing the entire New Communities program. While these deliberations were occurring in Washington, PFS was planning for its first minority residents.
First, PFS Village President, Ken Koenig, began talking about the formation of a Human Relations Commission scarcely three months after he assumed office. According to residents of that time, there was a general understanding and agreement that PFS would be integrated, although the first minority family would not move in for 6 months. The creation of a three member, Ad-Hoc Committee in March of '68 began the process that would plan for orderly integration.

Newspaper accounts of April, 1968 reveal that the committee was studying the fair housing ordinances passed by neighboring Forest Park and Highland Park a suburb some 25 miles north of Chicago's loop. This was in preparation for the drafting of one for PFS. Later that year in October, ordinance #53 established a five member Human Relations Commission and prohibited discrimination in the sale or rental of real property. Additionally, it forbade any solicitation which discriminated on the grounds of value due to the present or prospective race of an individual. PFS was the eighth community in the State to pass a fair housing ordinance. The village provided an outside consultant to lead sensitivity sessions with the commission members.

In addition to the idealism that seemed to prevail in the community, there was a hard-nosed realization that the real estate industry had done in PFS (then Wood Hill) before, and unless safeguards were provided, they would do it again. Vern Young, a white resident who served on the Village Board (and has served continuously except for one 18 month period) reported that even when he was looking for a home in 1966, realtors were steering people away from Wood Hill because it was regarded as a poor investment. Only after changing real estate companies three times did the Youngs buy a home in Wood Hill. It had just been listed with a broker that day, though the owner had attempted to sell on his own for over a year.

Wood Hill Enterprises had engaged in some unscrupulous practices resulting in the foreclosure and abandonment of many homes. Vacant lots remained. There was no incorporated government to help with the problems. Wood Hill was viewed by the outside world, particularly the real estate industry as an area in irreversible decline. Today, although much has changed, the "image" of PFS is similar. It would seem that bad news dies hard and an area's history stays with it long after that history has changed.

In August of 1968, Walter Strothers and his wife Vivien became the first blacks to move into PFS. They report that even before their new home was completed their future next door neighbors invited them to a July 4th barbecue. The Strothers attended and were cordially received by all their neighbors.

Why PFS? The Strothers had lived in an apartment complex on the south side of Chicago (81st and Ingleside). After unsuccessfully attempting to buy land north of the city on which to build their dream house, they investigated some land near PFS in rural Momence which Mrs. Strothers father owned. Finding that to be unsatisfactory, they were enroute home when they noticed Park Forest signs along the freeway. Mrs. Strothers recalled a cousin who lived there and the next week they visited, still hoping to buy land. There was little available and the cousin suggested PFS, the new development "down the road". The Strothers went and were warmly treated at the developer's sales office. In spite of their former determination to build, they found a model they liked immediately and the deal was consummated. The Strothers still live in that house.
By the end of 1968, 2 other black families had moved into new houses. Neither experienced any racial incidents and both still live in town.

Why were blacks so readily accepted into a previously all-white community? Early residents give these reasons:

1. The development and redevelopment of PFS was the key concern. Woodhill Developers had left vacant lots and sold homes to people unqualified to buy. Many of these homes were subsequently abandoned and people who remained had difficulty selling their property. Integration was a peripheral issue.

2. The personalities of the first blacks encouraged acceptance. When asked if they worried about moving into an all-white community, Walt Strothers and Jim Copper (4th black family, 1969) said, "No". Neither thought about it. They were "just people" who wanted a nice home. They found good housing quality and value in PFS. They immediately became involved in community activities.

3. PFS was a small, closely knit, fledgling community. There were no racist traditions to follow. It was a place to set down roots—where everyone who pulled his own weight was welcome—where everyone was someone.

4. Most of the early residents were young, with children, and operating on a shoestring budget. Economically, none were able to move away. These were their first homes and they were putting all of their money into them. Additionally, residents point to the general liberalism which characterized the young couples. The "pioneer spirit" which had brought people so far away from the city seemed also to encourage an acceptance and tolerance of other new elements in their lives.

A real estate licensing ordinance was passed in 1968. Its intent was to prevent fraud and misrepresentation such as had occurred in Wood Hill, by regulating the activities of brokers who did business in PFS. It gave the realtors the right to sell property in PFS and it gave the Village legal recourse against abuses which might arise. Although not enforced because of State Legislation prohibiting the local licensing of brokers (by non-home rule municipalities), this ordinance remains on the books. The State's pre-emption of licensing is presently being challenged in the State Supreme Court.

Between 1968 and 1970 the Federal Administration and members of Congress agreed that the country was in urgent need of a truly comprehensive housing and urban growth strategy. Consensus was reached that new communities could solve the problems caused by suburban sprawl and deteriorating central cities. New communities could, it was felt:

1. Provide significant amounts of housing for low and middle income residents in the suburbs in close reach of new jobs and improved public services;

2. Help spur growth in lagging areas by creating a market for key services and facilities and by aggregating people and jobs;

3. Revitalize inner-city areas by providing attractive mixed use development at a scale large enough to have a disproportionate impact on the entire city.*

In 1970 Congress passed and the President signed the Housing and Urban Development Act, 1970, Title VII -- Urban Growth and New Community Development. On March 17, 1971, PFS became a Title VII New Community. At this time the development group issued $30 million in bonds which were guaranteed by HUD. This action made it possible for New Community Enterprises to move forward more rapidly in the acquisition of lands for open space and other developmental needs.*

In the summer of 1971, PFS experienced a flurry of development activity. The various municipal boards and commissions were constantly meeting a special sessions necessitated by the volume of plans, permits, ordinances, etc., which had to be considered before the developers could proceed. The number of building permits rose from 111 in 1960 to 591 in 1970! The population doubled between 1970 and 1972. And the minority population rose to an estimated 10% from 3% in 1970. Between 1970 and 1972 PFS had truly become integrated with blacks living throughout the community. "For Sale" signs did not appear when the first blacks moved on a block. Everything seemed to be processing as planned and on schedule.

Ordinances dealing with fair housing, employment, etc., were updated as federal civil liberties grew in the U.S. consciousness. They were passed in advance of problems, as a safeguard against potential problems.

Early documents drawn up between the developer and HUD had stressed broadening the options of all persons, "particularly members of minority groups" regarding their available choices of housing locations. Provisions were made to provide a good mix of low and moderate income housing. The language of these documents plus that of the actual project agreement mandated outreach to minorities. The community's idealism concerning integration matched well that of Lewis Manilow, then developer. The result was an emphasis on attracting minorities to the community in all of the developer's marketing efforts. Integrated living was advertised as a selling point. Picture after picture featured blacks and whites living and recreating together.

That marketing, so well-intended by both the mandates of the law and the idealism of the community in the words of one early resident, "turned others off-including realtors". Rumors began to spread about the "image" of PFS. More and more residents reported hearing PFS referred to as a "racially changing community". In March of 1972 a concerned group of black and white citizens appeared before the Human Relations Commission and lodged protests against the alleged practice by the developer of permitting racial clusters. This group suggested a percentage limitation on house sales to minority groups. There proved to be no legal way to restrict area concentrations of blacks, though village government talked with the developer, sales staff and federal officials. The interpretation of fair housing law at that time was that no one could intervene in the process of minorities choosing a specific housing location. No governmental body could predetermine the racial

* In testimony given before a Senate sub-committee studying the New Town legislation in 1975, (Oversight Hearings on HUD New Communities Program before the Sub-Committee on Housing of the Committee on Banking, Currency and Housing.) The Village declared, "We feel that the provisions of this law are truly remarkable. Title VII is nothing less than a blueprint for restructuring the living patterns of the American people with New Communities in the vanguard. The New Community was to be the model from which all Americans might learn". 
composition of a neighborhood. Since then, the concept of affirmative marketing has come to be an equally accepted interpretation of the law. That is, that in order to avoid (re)segregation, governments, or other entities may encourage people to locate in areas where their race is underrepresented in the demand for housing. Thus, in some instances the outreach might well be to blacks—In others, the underrepresented roll might well be white.

Ironically, in that same year, a PFS black couple brought suit against the developer alleging discrimination in the sale of housing. The couple chose a model of house which had temporarily been taken off the market for repricing. Another home was offered to them, but was refused. They felt they were being discriminated against because of race and filed a complaint with the Leadership Council for Open Communities, a fair housing agency staffed with attorneys and charged with enforcing fair housing law through legal means. The Council sent a white tester, who was also told that the model was temporarily off the market. The white couple was encouraged to return; the black couple was not. The basis of the suit was alleged difference in treatment. The developer pointed to his track record on integration and claimed there had been no discriminatory intent. The case was settled out of court and as a result of the settlement, the couple got a home in PFS and paid less than the going market rate for it. Discrimination was never proved against or admitted by the developer.

New housing starts for the 2nd half of 1973 were only 1/3 those of the 1st half, with fewer than 500 persons moving into the village between March and December.

At first village officials thought this decline was simply a reflection of the general slackening in the Chicago area housing market. But research into the market condition of two other suburban developments proved something more.

The two "target suburbs" were chosen because of their similarity to PFS with respect to age, education, and income level. One major difference among the three: PFS -- a Title VII, totally planned, New Town; the second -- a typical, sprawling and unplanned suburb; and the third -- a planned residential suburb. In 1973, all three communities had a decrease in the number of new housing starts. The drop, however, in the other two suburbs, was substantially less than the general drop in the suburbs or metropolitan region. PFS, on the other hand, had more than twice the average decrease of the entire metropolitan area and more than three times the suburban rate of decrease, the absolute increase in population in both other target suburbs had doubled between 1972 and 1973. From this data, the village concluded that more was involved in PFS rate of decline than the tightening housing market.

One other dramatic difference between the three suburbs exposed during the study—less than 1% of the other suburbs' populations were black. Between 1970 and 1974 the proportion of blacks living in PFS had risen fivefold to 16%. The village concluded, "We cannot prove that the majority of middle class whites will not purchase homes in integrated communities, but we all know it is true. Somehow "the word" spreads and whites became scarce".

Many fingers point at the "somehow" being the real estate industry. Realtors knew that blacks were accepted and welcomed in PFS. This became the place, then, where blacks "should" live. When questioned on this point, representatives of the real estate industry will inevitably say they try to give the client what he "needs" and "wants". They also are stereotyped as "taking the path of least resistance". PFS had black visibility. Through the realtor grapevine, PFS became known as a community where prospective black home-seekers could find good housing and be "comfortable" too. It was an easy and convenient way to make a sale.
Although probably not maliciously intended by the real estate agents, the end result of this steering was a situation in which the industry, by taking advantage of PFS integrated status, threatened its very existence as a stable, integrated community. Blacks outnumbered whites in the demand for PFS homes and apartments by a considerable amount. Data was not actually collected until 1976, at which point some apartment complexes reported over 70% of the traffic through their offices was black. Even in 1973, however, in the absence of empirical evidence, people's perceptions were that most of the people looking for housing were blacks. And perceptions often are as important or more important than the real facts in determining people's behavior.

Buyer self-steering to PFS was also a factor as PFS became known as one of few Chicago suburbs in which blacks would be comfortable and welcome. As development declined, publicity surrounding PFS became more and more negative. Fewer whites showed interest in investing in homes. They, after all, had many more options. Blacks felt they had few housing options even though the 1968 Housing Act allegedly prohibited discrimination.

The ancient history of racial separatism was continuing. White communities remained white and integrated communities became blacker.

In July of 1973, a proposal for the support of an anti-steering project was initiated by both the Boards of Trustees of PF and PFS. The program was intended to advertise the fact that each and every community was open. It noted"...that only by greatly increasing the housing supply available to minorities primarily by replacing the dual housing market with a unitary housing market, can a truly open and multi-racial community insure its integrated future". Over 20 funding requests were sent out in the first months of 1974. All were refused and the program was never implemented.

Five suits were fraught against realtors alleging illegal racial steering following an extensive auditing (testing) program conducted by PF and PFS in cooperation with the Leadership Council of Open Communities, a fair housing agency established to enforce fair housing laws. Two cases were settled out of court. Three are still pending.

Village government continued to maintain that racial prejudice was not the most important cause of decline in PFS, but rather the federal government's negligence in administering Title VII. "Although enticed into action by federal legislation and promised massive federal support, we have in fact been left alone to address the problem of integration which, let us face it honestly, the American people have as yet been unable to handle and which motivated, perhaps more than any other single factor, the very legislation of which we speak. There is, then, an irony in our situation! our future is in jeopardy precisely because we have, on our own, successfully implemented Title VII. In theory this legislation mandates the massive machinery of the Executive branch to help the American people create a new urban environment. In practice we have been expected to grapple with all the problems of infancy. And, at the same time, to change deeply entrenched living patterns -- all this without money, without advice, without the necessary tools."

The developer's financial situation worsened through 1974 and into 1975 and with it the "image" of PFS. The press began to confuse the developer's financial difficulties with that of the community itself. In point of fact, the community was never really a part of the development process. The government remained as a by-stander, always reacting to the fortunes and failures of the development process. In spite of protests that the community was still viable
newspaper headlines such as these told another story: "700 acres of PFS land sold to cover loan interest"; "Plans for hospital in PFS shelved"; "PFS awaits delivery of promises from Washington; "PFS Development Company defaults on loan interest;" "Developers of PFS face financial squeeze;" "Development of PFS jeopardized by loan default;" "PFS officials react to... article; village still viable." Inland Architect in late 1974 included an article entitled, "PFS; Utopia Goes Kerplunk".

But PFS citizens had been remarkably determined in the past, and they would come through again. In November of 1974, a town meeting was called, and was attended by over 400 people. The purpose of the meeting was to acquaint the public with the problems facing the developer and the village, including his impending declaration of bankruptcy and subsequent departure from the village. An Ad Hoc Committee was formed named TNT- (Terrific New Town Committee) whose goal it was to get the town on the move again, and get the long delayed Oversight Committee hearings on New Communities actually on the calendar. They succeeded, although it took 12 residents a trip to Washington to accomplish this purpose.

To offset in part the negative press PFS was experiencing, the Human Relations Commission early in 1975 proposed and later completed a slide tape presentation in order to project a positive image of PFS. It was acknowledged that more than reactive measures were necessary to combat the problems facing the community. As another indication of that philosophy, the commission began investigating the possibilities of establishing a housing center for the community, similar to others in the Chicago area dealing with the concerns of fair housing and the elimination of the dual housing market.

While plans were underway to incorporate such a center as a separate resident based, not-for-profit organization, the commission, still an all volunteer group of seven, terminated three years of effort with the successful passage of an ordinance banning all real estate "For Sale" signs, since struck down by the Supreme Court as impeding 1st Amendment privileges. The authors of the ordinance hoped to prevent any further abuses by the real estate industry of PFS' unique multi-racial status. It was felt that people already sensitive to the state of integration in PFS might panic and run if many "For Sale" signs appeared, even if the number of signs were reflective of the normal selling patterns of any community.

In January of 1976 plans for a housing center came to fruition as the PFS Community Information Center (CIC) filed articles of incorporation with the State of Illinois. Its bylaws stated the following purposes: "to project a positive image of PFS by compiling and disseminating accurate information, to foster growth through the establishment of a village housing referral services, and to work with other metropolitan housing groups, area realtors, and village residents to insure the stability of PFS as a multi-racial community". The center opened its doors in June and a part-time Director was hired in July. Data collected by the center on housing trends in PFS clearly indicated that stabilization efforts were in order. Over 70% of apartment and single family homeseekers were minorities. In October the center began affirmative marketing counseling. This counseling encourages both black and white homeseekers to consider the social and economic advantages of integration and to make a pro-integration housing move, one which promotes integration by taking into consideration what the demand is for housing by race in a particular area or community. People are encouraged to locate in areas where they are underrepresented by race in the demand for housing. It is definitely a color-conscious approach, and one in which eight other Chicago area housing agencies participate. These agencies are all not-for-profit, and constitute what is known as the Fair Housing Network. Members meet monthly to share information and frequently work together on common projects.
In the last months of 1976, the New Communities Administration of HUD made the basic policy decision to continue their commitment to the development of PFS as a Title VII New Community, one of only four receiving continued HUD support. This action implies the designation of a new developer once the complex land issues remaining from the previous developer are resolved.

The CIC began pushing immediately for a public relations, image-building campaign to be in operation between the early spring and late fall, before a new developer began his marketing programs. A Center memo notes, "spring and summer are the peak moving times for present and potential populations. We cannot afford to wait for a new developer to be selected or to start construction in order to begin promoting PFS (and) such a campaign would inspire renewed confidence in PFS by its present residents". Although the wheels were set into motion by NCA administrators, they were abruptly stopped with the change in administration throughout the Federal Government with the election of President Carter. Many good things were happening in the community and could be reported as a result of Community Development Grants, but the village government, though solvent, did not have the money to implement such a program on its own. Officials are currently seeking alternative recourse. In the minds of most, PFS' most pressing need is to get the "good word" out.

On January 11, 1977 the village board passed a policy statement affirming the commitment of PFS to its racially inclusive status. It declared, "diversity is our strength". As a result of a task force established by the village and HUD to take a hard look at the maintenance of integration in PFS, the village adopted a "Strategy for stability and growth as a multi-racial community". The basic components of the strategy involve enlarging the Human Relations Commission and hiring a half-time Director of Community Relations who would provide staff assistance to the commission. Although pressed for funds, the Board passed favorably on the recommendations noting that "Local support insures local control and the need is now". In 1977, the promotion and maintenance of integration had become a priority. The 1977-78 Community Development Block Grant proposal would ask $65,000 for affirmative marketing. A special committee was formed by the village to formulate a comprehensive plan of affirmative marketing- to identify the actors and their roles in the process.

The Information Center continued to support itself with local resources alone. With two other South Suburban Housing Agencies, it sponsored affirmative marketing seminars for realtors and a highly successful South Suburban Housing Conference. The center recognized that forces outside of the community contributed to the problems of balanced demand within it.

Whites need to be made aware of the social and economic advantages of living in an integrated setting. Blacks must learn that their housing options go beyond those of easily discernible "open" communities- that, in fact, all communities are "open" and most do house some minorities.

Although integration has become a local priority and determination is strong for the maintenance of a stable community, several unresolved problems remain. The unified school district which includes PFS (201-u) also includes the predominantly all-white rural communities of Crete and Monee. Early in the 76-77 school year, the district received notification from the State that it was out of compliance with the A-160 guidelines regarding levels of school integration. Hickory Elementary School
in PFS had a 34% minority population, greater than the 15% plus or minus variance among schools permitted by the state. The District's five other elementary schools had virtually all-white populations. The State mandated desegregation. After four months of work, an Ad Hoc Committee of the School Board recommended a redistricting plan and alteration of school attendance zones. Feelings were high in PFS, as the community's children would be attending five different elementary schools. Cross-districting was proposed so that the entire district would share in the resolution. At the May 16th meeting of the Board, the proposed plan held a place on the agenda. In a move which heightened the anger of PFS residents, the Board amended the proposed plan and adopted another. Many PFS residents felt the move was racially motivated and demands for suing the district, de-annexing from it and other equally extreme suggestions were made. A citizen's committee was formed to study ways PFS residents could organize for excellence in the schools. It is not clear at this time what the final outcome will be. What is obvious at this point, however, is that the school district's situation is having and will continue to have major impact on local housing patterns and outside perceptions of PFS. A desegregated system - one in which minority children are attending schools in predominantly white areas will aid in the perception by outsiders that these too, are "open" communities. Those perceptions will go a long way in creating a unitary housing market - a market where all people of all races are seeking housing in all areas of the housing market. The creation of such a market is essential if PFS is to maintain its multi-racial character. It will, in fact, enable this to happen.

Another concern relating to the continued existence of PFS as a stable, multi-racial community is its relationship to the Federal Government as a New Community. The bureaucratic wheels grind slowly, and seemingly continual changes in major administrative staff create delays and problems in communication which hinder, the efforts of the local government to respond to the immediate needs of the community. Promises made by one administrative staff are not always implemented by the next. And it frequently requires a long "start-up time" to bring new people to a level of awareness attained by previous staff. Though problems remain, positive steps have been taken to insure PFS future as a stably integrated community - not the least of which is the determination of the people within the community, both black and white. As one long-time resident put it, "We made it before; we'll make it again!"
Planning for what was to be Park Forest began in the Fall of 1945. Principal in the developing company were Nathan Manilow and Philip M. Klutznick, the latter having been Commissioner of Public Housing Administration during World War II. The company, American Community Builders (ACB), also included Jerrold Loeb, Sam Beber, and Carroll Sweet. Construction commenced in 1948, with townhouses and then commercial buildings. Park Forest was incorporated as a Village on February 1, 1949, only six months after its first residents moved in.

These events took place at a time of a great housing shortage and pent-up demand. The townhouse building was followed in 1951 with the start of single-family home construction. Many of the buyers of the single family units were "graduates" from the townhouse rentals.

As demand for housing was great, the developers could choose from particularly "well qualified" renters and buyers and Park Forest quickly developed the reputation of a town full of people with a pioneer spirit, and a little later, the town of "The Organization Man" of William H. Whyte.

A resident of Park Forest, Mr. Thomas Colgan, addressed a letter to the Village Board of Trustees which was received at its meeting of June 26, 1951. This was the summer of the "infamous Cicero riots" and the first inquiries regarding rental housing were received by ACB from Negroes, possibly encouraged by the American Friends Service Committee. In the letter, Mr. Colgan, affiliated with the American Friends Service Committee, called upon the Village to form a commission on human relations to study racial discrimination in Park Forest and advise the Board. About a dozen others wrote supporting letters expressing general concern regarding the need for study, preparedness, and fairness.

The Board authorized the creation of the Commission on Human Relations (CHR) by a Resolution (making references to ethical and legal principles of treatment for all citizens) on July 24, 1951, appointed membership (by Henry X. Dietch, Village President) on August 21, 1951, and the CHR held its first meeting on September 14, 1951.

Early meetings of the CHR were used to discuss what issues would be studied. The CHR heard from the Anti-Defamation League, the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, the Illinois CHR, participated in "Brotherhood Week" and encouraged the Village to include minority candidates for Village staff positions and for the schools to do likewise with teacher positions. The CHR felt that its concerns should be "inter-faith as well as interracial cooperation." Among the dominant concerns that were voiced was possible future housing integration, i.e. Negroes moving to Park Forest. In Spring of 1952
Milton Manilow's remarks as a Chicago Housing Conference panelist were reported to the CHR. Manilow had reportedly said that it was his desire to build houses for anyone. When asked about houses for Negroes, he responded by saying that Negroes prefer to live with other Negroes and that Park Forest would not change that situation.

The October 24, 1952 CHR minutes concern themselves with a proposal made by Mr. Klutznick who had asked the CHR to "ascertain the sentiments of leaders of prominent organizations in the community before he would decide whether or not American Community Builders could shoulder the risk involved in accepting such (Negroes) applications." The CHR and the Village Board decided "that it is not the role of the Commission to act as a poll-taking organization for ACB which is well staffed and well-equipped to obtain such information itself; that the Commission, as a Village organization, is not in a position to take an activist position in the matter of acceptance of Negroes as tenants but it is rather their NEUTRALITY position to insure that no incidents occur when the first move-in occurs." Also, the CHR nixed the idea of a community conference which might stir up controversy and to tell Mr. Klutznick that he must make his own decision on the matter. The CHR decided that its policy would be "to work toward democratic conditions for residence in the Village of Park Forest."

The CHR investigated allegations that the police had possibly harassed Negro visitors of Park Forest residents. With regard to Klutznick's decision, according to the 12/19/52 CHR minutes, ACB intended to process applications from Negroes like all others, but if such applicants met ACB standards, the matter would be turned over to the Board of Trustees for its consideration. It was noted that the Village's "powers could not be used to prevent the attainment of civil rights to individuals." Cooperation was promised, especially as it pertained to urging municipal (particularly police) responsiveness in the event that problems might arise. The CHR also prepared to send out information that would reassure white residents concerned about possible devaluation of property related to Negroes moving in. Human relations training was emphasized for police officers. Three Negroes made application for the police department, with one showing up to take the examination. He did not pass but was to be notified for a subsequent test.

It was 1953 when the CHR was reconstituted and reorganized as a body that was clearly advisory to the Village Board and not an independent agency. This followed criticism concerning the CHR "negotiating" directly with the developer and charges of CHR radicalism. The winter of 1953 also brought Dr. Edward Pattulo, Ph.d. to the attention of the public, when he wrote a letter published in the Park Forest REPORTER, asking "why are there no Negroes in town?"

Between 1955 and 1958 the CHR was rather inactive, the first black family not yet having moved to Park Forest. In January 1958, Village President Robert A. Dinerstein met with the reconvened CHR to discuss an Illinois CHR and AFSC proposal to participate in a South Cook County human relations council. At the same time, Harry Teshima, a Nisei who had himself encountered little enthusiasm from ACB when he moved to Park Forest in the early fifties, was working with a small group of friends and in communication with AFSC, the National Conference of Christians and Jews and local Unitarian Church's Social Action Committee to interest Negro families.
to seek housing in Park Forest. Years later, the CHR would honor him for his work.

The CHR restated its position of "non-activism" and "rights observance" when the first move-in would occur. A July 13, 1959 "scare" in the Eastgate section of the village over a possible sale of a house to a Negro family prompted the President and Board of Trustees and Village Manager John Scott to issue a 7/27/59 directive to Village employees (attached) informing all that a Negro resident's rights would be respected regardless of personal attitudes. That deal was not consummated, apparently because of neighborhood pressure on the would-be seller. It was decided that the neighbors of the Negro move-ins should be called upon by teams of two to provide them accurate information regarding the move-in. The Negro family should be contacted to let its members know of support and of community resources.

At the June 25, 1959 meeting of the CHR, members discussed conversations they had had with Dr. Charles Wilson, a Negro with a Ph.D interested in purchasing a home in Park Forest. On September 24, 1959, Dr. Wilson had not yet moved in when the CHR presented "A Program of Minority Group Residence in Park Forest - a Report to the President and Board of Trustees." The emphasis would be on a low news profile and high local communication with neighbors and local movers and shakers, profiting from 1957 mistakes made in another new town, Levittown, Pennsylvania, viewed by some as a sister community.

In December of that year, Dr. Wilson moved to a Park Forest home FIRST BLACK RESIDENTS plan was actuated. There was reaction from some of the neighbors and the members of the Board of Trustees heard from many residents both pro and con, at its meeting of January 12, 1960.

A Rich Township (Park Forest) high school class conducted an attitudinal survey without the prior knowledge of Village officials and received the following response from Wilson's neighbors: Are you against the move in? Yes 27, No 34; Would you make friends? Yes 29, No 32; Do you respect his rights? Yes 59, No 2; Are they equal? Yes 50, No 9; If more move in, would you move out? Yes 30, No 26; Do you fear property value falling? Yes 35, No 28.

The board remained restrained and the Village's posture in support of law and order was firm and generally won praise in the next few months. From late 1959 until late 1962, the CHR had been stably chaired by H. Thurber Stowell.

The Wilson family transferred away from Park Forest in 1962. From 1953 through 1959, each Village election campaign had included questions relative to what the Village would do when the first Negro moved in. Thereafter, the question would not arise. The 1960 attempted organization of a white power group (Park Forest Residents Association led by Herschel Ward) gained little sympathy
Late in 1962 Mr. Terry Robbins, "a Negro gentleman" employed by a chemical firm (which had other of their employees residing in the village) was seeking housing in Park Forest. He encountered resistance from the townhouse rental managers (who "were unable to entertain his application.") Harry Teshima encouraged Mr. Robbins to purchase a home. He bought at 273 Blackhawk Drive. Again, the plan was actuated and negative reactions were discouraged. (One reaction of a next door neighbor was to paint one side of his fence black, while leaving the other side white. Village Manager Robert G. Pierce had one of his employees repaint the fence white before the Robbins family could see what was intended as an insult.)

Harry Teshima brought several other black families to Park Forest, most of the earliest ones buying Veteran Administration and Federal Housing Administration foreclosures. These units were covered by the federal executive order prohibiting discrimination against minorities. Mr. Teshima also discouraged some black home-seekers from selecting houses that were in close proximity to other black-occupied units. He was successful in several but not all instances. Others offered similar assistance, such as Bill Berry, then executive director of the Chicago Urban League.

In the early sixties, following his 1955-1961 stint as Village President, Mr. Dinerstein chaired the CHR, with Bernard G. Cunningham having assumed the Village presidency. The program of response and record keeping continued. As many of the townhouse units were reorganized as federally insured cooperatives, black families began to be accepted for membership.

By the end of May 1964, the twelfth black family had become residents of Park Forest, all but the Wilsons remaining in town. By July of 1965, there were 33 black families in residence, spread throughout the village, with an almost even split between multi-family and single-family occupancy. Church support had been gained through the efforts of Rev. Gerson Engelmann, the minister of Faith United Protestant Church, Rev. Nicholas Brewer, United Protestant Community Chaplain, Rabbi Minard Klein, and others.

Many of the sales were made without realty company involvement or by Jackson Gray, a black Chicago Heights real estate broker.

The Village's official posture continued to neither encourage nor discourage minority move-ins. Based upon advice from human relations experts, President Cunningham wrote to all Park Forest real estate brokers in October of 1965 encouraging them to give special care to the sale of homes in close proximity to black occupied homes (which were listed in his communication). Real estate people were being encouraged not to let these homes remain vacant and to encourage majority purchases, although the latter was not spelled out in precise language. Clergy representatives received copies of the correspondence, as was often the case. They were expected to and did play supportive roles with respect to welcoming new black members and calming other members who required reassurance.

By the end of 1965, 1.25% of the cooperative homes families were black, .25% of the single-family homes families were black, and just over .50% of all
Park Forest families were black. The trustees and police chief were no longer making regular neighborhood calls regarding new move-ins, as that task was given to the CHR almost exclusively. Most Park Foresters reacted with acceptance and were assured that all was in order. It was also during 1965 that the first black families moved into Flossmoor and Homewood.

Move-ins and move-outs were tracked systematically into 1968, when in June of that year 110 Park Forest families were black. By the end of September that number was 144 (56 - homes; 80 - co-ops; 8 - rentals). Another memorandum was sent to area realtors specifically promoting the sale of properties near black occupied homes to non-minorities in order to avoid "clustering."

During the late sixties there were many disturbances on the national scene which need not be referenced here. Among the responses were the passage of Resolutions of various bodies supporting the adoption of fair housing legislation; e.g. the Chicago Bar Association's Resolution of 2/16/67, also adopted on 3/14/67 by the Chicago Mortgage Bankers Association.

In late 1967 the Village of Park Forest was considering whether it should adopt an ordinance. Trustee Mayer Singerman was the proponent, praising the symbolic as well as the practical value. Some others felt that things were going well enough and that an ordinance might serve to polarize the community. Some wanted an ordinance that would cover broker-assisted sales and permit owners to discriminate. The CHR served to clarify the issues and to draw the alternatives, after having its own vigorous debate over whether to recommend an ordinance (favored by Chairman Dinerstein) or a notice of intent resolution (a lesser action). In November of 1967 the CHR recommended a comprehensive fair housing ordinance for Park Forest. The Village Attorney Henry X. Dietrich's opinions buttressed the CHR recommendations, as they had the earlier pro-open housing postures of the trustees. The final decision was left to the Board of Trustees, which, after considerable "executive session debate," passed (by what Village President B. G. Cunningham felt was a surprisingly solid 7-0 vote given earlier discussion) a rather comprehensive fair housing ordinance on January 29, 1968. The CHR was given the role of ordinance enforcement, making it an administrative-quasi-judicial body. Later that year Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated and the federal fair housing legislation, the Civil Rights Act of 1968, Title VII, became law.
Through 1969 the Village continued to collect data on black residency in Park Forest. This was considered to be an appropriate way of monitoring compliance with Village policy and the law. Information regarding the families of black move-ins was less regularly collected; few neighborhood visits for reassurance were made. They no longer seemed warranted. Soon it was decided that the collection of information on individuals might be considered an infringement of their rights or dignity, and it was decided to discontinue the practice and treat individual black move-ins without any special regard. The 1970 Census found Park Forest 2.4% black.

It was about this time that developments in territory adjacent to Park Forest began to attract the concern of the Village. Excerpts from a report by Harry Teshima made to the CHR in January 1972 provide a background:

**BEACON HILLS—FOREST HEIGHTS**

Beacon Hills and Forest Heights is a community of 542 homes located in the far southwest corner of the City of Chicago Heights. It is adjacent to Park Forest but is separated from Park Forest by the busy E.J.&E. Railroad track that is fenced along both sides. It is a long narrow area about 1100 feet wide by 5800 feet long. It is bounded along both long sides by railroad tracks, on the western end by Western Avenue, and on the eastern end by an undeveloped Forest Preserve area. The community is isolated from the surrounding communities with only three streets that enter the area. Although the area is in the City of Chicago Heights, it is in the same school districts that serve Park Forest.

The Beacon Hills development was built by Andover Construction Company (a subsidiary of ACB) and occupies the western half of the community. This development was started in 1960 and the approximately 270 homes were completed in 1963. The original buyers were all white. Shortly after the homes were completed, many homes were abandoned and ended on the FHA foreclosure list. Black buyers first purchased some of the foreclosed homes in 1963. By 1965 there were dozens of additional houses on the foreclosure list. There was concern that the area would go through a racial change and become a Black Ghetto. However, by 1969, just prior to the start of the Kaufman and Broad operation, the housing situation began to stabilize. At this point the population was about 25% Black and the vacancy rate was low. It was still a community that was struggling to remain an integrated area, and it appeared that there might be a chance for success.

Kaufman and Broad started the Forest Heights development in late 1970, covering the eastern half of the area. In less than one year they built and sold some 270 homes. Their sales were 90% to Black buyers and 85% in low income subsidized mortgages. Their sales promotion was largely directed to Black buyers through the Black media. This policy not only produced a Black Ghetto in the new Forest Heights area, but also started the exodus of Whites from the original Beacon Hills area. Presently, the make-up of the combined Beacon Hills—Forest Heights area is about
85% Black, 7% Chicano and 10% White. The new Forest Heights area now is over 99% Blacks. Kaufman and Broad has successfully created an instant new Black Ghetto in a new suburban area. HUD was a partner to the operation and did absolutely nothing about this situation. In fact, it was instrumental in this operation since it permitted Kaufman and Broad to have over 90% of the mortgages in low income subsidized mortgages, when even the more common 50% ratio would have been too high.

Kaufman and Broad with HUD approval used up every square foot of land for homes to sell and did not leave any space for community facilities, recreation space, church space, etc. They did not even attempt to maintain improvements existing in the Beacon Hills area. The Beacon Hills development provided streetlighting and paved driveways. Kaufman and Broad's Forest Heights does not have any streetlighting and the homes have soft gravel driveways.

At present, there are some 30 houses abandoned and boarded up in the Forest Heights section. This is more than 11% of the development, which is not even one year old. The Beacon Hills area has 20 homes that are vacant and boarded up. Many of these homes have been vandalized and would require extensive repairs to make them saleable.

Efforts by Mr. Teshima, by Harriet Marcus, as a CHR member and reporter for the Park Forest STAR, and representatives of the Beacon Hills-Forest Heights community, working with HUD, the City of Chicago Heights, and others served to somewhat improve the lot of BH-FH residents. By this time the CHR had begun to have a slightly more activist orientation. The CHR was now assisted in its work by the newly hired assistant to the Village Manager for Community Relations, Don DeMarco.

From 1969 through 1972, considerable tension had built up concerning the Beacon Hill-Forest Heights (BH-FH) situation and conflict between students from the area with each other and with Park Foresters at the two Park Forest School District #163 junior high schools and at Rich Central High School (Olympia Fields) of District #227. The matter of class integration on top of race integration complicated the picture very considerably. The older Village line of "these-new-residents-who-happen-to-be-black-are-just-like-you, me, and-the-rest-of-us-Park Foresters" did not seem applicable nor effective.

The CHR, with the cooperation of the Police Department, established a "Rumor Control" answering service to enable citizens, news personnel, public officials, and school personnel "to report incidents, check out rumors and obtain other information relevant to tensions in the community." Rumor Control never received much information. Several of its few calls were to learn if there were "any new rumors going around." For about 18 months the police did keep a special human relations blotter, mostly devoted to interracial incidents.
During 1972, School District #227 was beginning to learn how to deal with its new Black students. Dr. Arthur Friedman, an outside psychologist, conducted a special assessment of the situations, made recommendations and identified community and area resources, including those from Park Forest and the CHR. Especially valuable in this process was Mr. William McGee (a Black man who had formerly been a school principal at a Black Chicago Heights school and who was the human relations expert working out of the Cook County Superintendent's office) was soon hired by S.D. #227 to be the assistant principal for Rich Central (and for a time, its acting principal). This served to ease the concern of Eastgate and Lincolnwood residents who also send students to Rich Central and had been concerned about their property values.

During 1971 and into 1972, School District #163 was voluntarily planning to deal with the segregation within the district that had occurred as a result of the happenings described by Harry Teshima. The district went to considerable length to obtain citizen input, majority and minority, Park Forest and Chicago Heights, for plan development. Much effort was put into in-service training for school personnel, recruitment of additional minority personnel, and communications with the public. This effort was skillfully led by Supt. Ivan Baker.

Upon the recommendation of the CHR, the Village Board adopted a Resolution on 5/22/72. The Board pledged "all the resources of this government in providing an atmosphere wherein the school districts may meet their responsibilities" and went "on record in support of School District #163 in its efforts to desegregate-integrate in the best tradition of conscious decision making by responsible Park Foresters."

The School District #163 School Board adopted a two-phased plan: (1) Magnet school/voluntary reassignment of Park Foresters to the Beacon Hill School and BH-FH students to the Park Forest elementary schools; and (2) failing enough volunteers to implement the magnet school plan, automatically going to an alternative, grade reorganization (some schools becoming 1-3 primary buildings and others 4-6 intermediate buildings, with a re-definition of school neighborhoods) and use of two-way busing. During the summer of 1972 there were insufficient numbers of volunteers for the magnet plan and the grade reorganization plan was executed when the new school year began. Close communication was maintained between the schools and both Park Forest and Chicago Heights municipal officials, especially the police. Except for a couple of bus drivers who had trouble with their routes (getting lost), the process went rather smoothly. District administrators and parents rode buses during the first days and communication was kept open.

The first school election after desegregation found two incumbents defeated in a close race by opponents of busing. In the next election, held the following year, three candidates supporting the desegregation (now successfully implemented) defeated three anti-busing opponents by a 2 to 1 margin.
The S.D. #163 schools continue operating today under grade reorganization and conflicts have greatly dissipated (possibly due to good management, acculturation, assimilation, respect for differences, experience succeeding together with increasingly more confident teachers) and achievement scores have improved significantly for the BH-FH students and slightly for Park Foresters. The district, however, is losing white students, especially in the primary grades as Park Foresters do not move away and as their children get beyond primary grade ages. Also, family size is decreasing for Park Forest, as it is in the nation.

Only a very few white Park Foresters moved from S.D. #163 because of desegregation (busing), some of them moving to other integrated sections of Park Forest served by other districts (194, 201-U, and 162). Realtors have stated that some home sales have been more difficult to make in the S.D. #163 area as a result of some newcomers' distaste for busing their children away from the immediate neighborhood.

In mid-1971 the Park Forest residents of Eastgate, immediately EASTGATE south of BH-FH, were expressing alarm over minority clustering in their area. They feared that their neighborhood would be slated to become the next BH-FH. Members of the Village Board and CHR met with residents at the school in that neighborhood. Village President Ralph Johnson provided assurances that Village services to the Eastgate neighborhood would not be permitted to deteriorate and would, in fact, be intensified. Realtors were alerted to citizens concerns, even though several Village officials felt that some of the Eastgate residents were "alarmists."

In the summer of 1972, the CHR held the first of its three Responsible Housing Practices Day. This brought together elected and appointed State and Federal officials to Park Forest to discuss the impact of subsidy program administration on the lives of intended beneficiaries and the community. Park Foresters were developing an appreciation for the bigger picture and more liberal people were recognizing that they had some interests beyond the altruistic ones connected with equal access. Federal involvement in the local housing market had been slipshod and damaging to them OUTSIDE INFLUENCE (Black and White and other), and many persons uttered words to the effect that Park Forest must not be allowed to be done in by outside influences. The Village became a regular housing correspondent with HUD, the Illinois Housing Development Authority, Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission and others, especially including elected officials. The Village also decided that the few "abandoned homes" in Park Forest, predominantly in Eastgate, deserved extra ordinary Village attention.

The Village also joined National Neighbors, an organization of neighborhoods and communities seeking to promote integration and avoid segregation. It was also during this period that the State Legislature adopted a Bill (H.B. 3636) which pre-empted the licensing of certain professionals, real estate brokers and salespersons, as the sole preserve of the State, thereby abridging the Village home rule powers, which led to litigation and an Illinois Supreme Court decision that is soon expected. In the meantime, the Village's ability to regulate Realtors has been hampered.
In November of 1972, the Village also spelled out its commitment to affirmative action for equal opportunity for Village employment. It was more than two years later that an ordinance prohibiting discrimination by other Park Forest employers was adopted.

In October of 1972, the CHR had a meeting with the realty community (32 people representing 21 of the 40 Park Forest licensed forms). It was at this time that the realty local professionals were confronted with the term "racial steering." Most of the brokers and salespeople said that they were not familiar with the term, which means discouraging whites from moving into areas where minorities reside and influencing Blacks to choose locations where other Blacks are in residence. When its meaning was given, most said that it was not really illegal, was not going on in the area, or was a phantom of someone's imagination. Most of the real estate representatives stated that it was their firm belief that any segregation or racial transition results from economic factors or free self choice and that any suggestion to the contrary is an insult. They suggested that much of Park Forest's loss of attraction among whites was caused by the happenings in S.D. #227 and S.D. #163. They expressed considerable reluctance to show minorities houses in non-traditional south suburban neighborhoods, because it would not be fair or safe to those minorities or the salesperson. Whites were shown in areas where their investment would be protected and where they wanted to live.

It was also at this meeting where the need for a housing counseling center to assist incoming families was discussed. Some of the realty representatives were in favor of this idea and others felt that it would be an infringement on their own legitimate interests and prerogatives.

In December of 1972 the question of requiring the inspection of re-occupancy housing units between occupancies and the issuance of Certificates of Occupancy was raised, this was a way of assuring the maintenance of the aging housing stock. In the months to come, the proposal was set aside because of substantial opposition, to be considered again a couple of years later and once again in 1977. The CHR has supported this program, but it has not been popular with some landlords and homeowners who "resent the municipal intrusion into (their) business."

In April of 1973 the Village concerned itself with real estate "sold signs," which sometimes remained up long after houses were sold, giving the impression that Park Forest houses "were not moving." The Village soon limited sold signs to 14 days after a firm commitment on financing had been obtained, thereafter the sign (for sales with sold notation affixed) would be removed.

At about the same time, Village President Johnson was besieged with distressed calls from residents of the West Lincolnwood area, an area of homes considerably more expensive than those in Eastgate. Three adjacent houses had been sold to Black families in a 90-day period and a fourth was on the market and being shown to Blacks (and was shortly thereafter sold to Blacks). At a meeting held at Village Hall with complaining West Lincolnwood residents and with representatives of the realty firms in-
involved in the listing and sales, residents complained to the Village about clustering. They wanted to know what had happened to the anti-clustering policy (which one person called the "black per block program"). They charged panic-peddling and block-busting and said that Park Forest had become a "soft touch for colored." A real estate representative, speaking for himself and others, said that the clustering was the fault of the Village because the Village no longer supplied Realtors with information as to where minority residents are located and Realtors are, therefore, no longer in a position to avoid clustering.

President Johnson promised an investigation regarding illegal racial steering and panic peddling (which was done without uncovering anything actionable) and encouraged the neighbors not to panic and sell out — that a solution would be fashioned. The real estate community was then asked to develop white traffic that was at least proportioned to the Black traffic looking at homes in that area, in order to minimize the chance of building a mini-ghetto. The cluster has not increased in size since that time.

Up to this point informal discussions relative to integration management or integration maintenance, mostly involving the Assistant to the Village Manager for Integration Maintenance, had not sparked significant interest. At this time and after, it was different. Many people, among them folks who considered themselves anti-racist and pro-integration, were quite concerned but had previously avoided voicing those concerns because they did not have terms that did not sound racist. The estimated 6-7% Black population, promising to rise and cluster and cause alarm after a number of years of quiet confidence, ended the period of benign neglect and ushered in the era of positive racial color consciousness and broad, general support for avoidance of resegregation. What means were to be used to gain integration maintenance, however, was a matter of occasional opinion differences worthy of later note.

In late May of 1973 a special Rules Committee meeting of the Board of Trustees was called to hear from the Village staff, the CHR, Harry Teshima, housing activists from Evanston and Oak Park and from the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities' regional housing coalition project. Various suggestions (auditing real estate brokers, generally promoting the Village and physical maintenance, organizing block clubs, ordinance revisions banning for sale signs and solicitation, housing counseling, etc.) were recommended. Affirmative marketing, especially with regard to continuing to attract whites was identified as the key by Harry Teshima, who, along with others recommended that Village officials closely track what was happening in the town and in the housing market and not allow the town "to turn."

Within a few days a committee of the Village Board had "integration maintenance recommendations." The committee urged a reaffirmation to open housing and a new ordinance specifically prohibiting racial steering. The new ordinance would create a Fair Housing Review Board and make the CHR advisory and an initiator of complaints. It also called for testing or auditing real estate brokers, providing homesseeker counseling, provision of promotional aids and more cooperation and communication with the real estate community.
It further provided for establishment of an up-to-date listing of all existing Park Forest housing by race and a listing of all Park Forest housing that comes upon the market. Agreement was reached on most of the recommendations, but on the record keeping (known as the "racial map") opposition quickly erupted. There had been very little time in developing the plans and very little input from Blacks. A rumor developed that the Village was planning to physically mark the homes of Black residents. Others did not believe that but said that the map was an affront to Blacks - that it was racial stigmatization. A Jewish resident suggested that such record keeping smacked of Naziism.

While not many spoke on the matter, some who did were emphatic and opposed. Among them was one member of the CHR, Mr. William Simpson. The Village Board decided in July to rescind its decision to create the map on racial census for the time being and order the map project "put in the drawer." The decision was apparently based upon the feeling that the several benefits of such record collection would likely not outweigh the turmoil and misunderstanding in the community that would grow out of controversy and mistrust.

Auditing, the anti-racial steering ordinance, and plans for counseling and promotion proceeded during the next several months. The auditing was organized by the Assistant to the Village Manager for Community Relations in cooperation with the Leadership Council. Henry X. Dietch, Village Attorney, was the principal ordinance drafter. The counseling issue, together with the abandoned housing issue, became the matters of study for the Village's Ad Hoc Housing Corporation Committee, chaired by Mayer Singerman, former trustee.

Through the first half of 1973 this committee of Park Forest citizens considered the best way for the Village to take care of its concerns (abridgment of minority housing opportunity in various communities of the area and region) within and without Park Forest. It finally recommended the establishment of a non-profit housing corporation, somewhat independent from the Village but having ties and support. The Village, in mid-1974, called a meeting of interested residents, which later organized a steering committee to form a corporation, the Park Forest Area Housing Council, quite independent from the Village, except for requiring Village funds. The PFAHC became the Far South Suburban Housing Service in mid-1975, this name change reflecting its area concerns. Affirmative marketing and integration maintenance, along with housing rehabilitation, continue to be this organization's primary programs. The Housing Service, in cooperation with two other similar agencies, has begun to hold a series of seminars for local realtors, concentrating on techniques of affirmative marketing for integration and its maintenance. These seminars appear to improve rapport between "the community" and the realtors.

The auditing of realty firms (i.e. determining the difference in quality, content, and quantity of information and service given clients that could only result from a difference in the clients' race) confirmed that racial steering was, in fact, happening with regularity. The real estate community was then confronted by the Village with evidence, warned to stop racial steering, and told that future audits evidencing such steering would lead to law suits. The Realtors said they had no invidious motives and that any
steering that might occur happens without the knowledge of all responsible company principals. Other brokers threatened to sue if their salespersons had their time occupied by non-bonafide buyers (auditors). The Village said that principals must be responsible for their agents and that auditing would proceed.

In the fall of 1974, the Village proceeded to file five racial steering suits against five firms. The suits were brought in Federal Court alleging violations of the Federal Fair Housing Laws. Co-plaintiffs with Park Forest were Park Forest South, the Leadership Council, and several south suburban residents, some auditors and some not. Two cases were settled by consent decrees drawn up by the plaintiffs' attorneys. They did not involve admissions of guilt but did call for remedial actions and a small monetary settlement. The settlement Accord was then used as the basis of voluntary agreements reached with several other brokers. The other three cases are still pending on the Court's calendar.

Also in 1974 the Village commissioned Mayer Singerman, former trustee and a communications professional, to author a communication to Park Forest residents to explain Park Forest's posture, policy, and program with regard to integration maintenance. The product of that effort is "Living Together," a pamphlet distributed to every Park Forest residence.

Promotional assistance to market Park Forest was a matter assigned to an ad hoc communications committee, including several Park Forest communications professionals: Mayer Singerman, Robert Wolf, Ed Kirk, Ben Leibson, Bob Modlock, and two CHR members. This committee produced a number of recommendations which were forwarded to the Village Board in May and June of 1974. The committee suggested the basic parameters of the task and recommended that community research be conducted in order that perceptions regarding Park Forest might be tested and the "quality of life," especially related to social and racial relationship, might be professionally assessed. Some of the members of the committee then assisted the Village Board and Manager Robert Pierce in the selection of Richard D. Jaffe, a prominent social and market researcher. The Jaffe firm interviewed a scientifically drawn sample of 300 Park Foresters during 30 days in June and July of 1974. He found Park Foresters predominantly to have quite positive attitudes about their town, its various services, their neighbors, and showed confidence in Park Forest's chances of maintaining integration. A number of recommendations were also included.

The results of the Jaffe study were quite encouraging and the Village provided the study to about seven public relation-communications firms and requested presentation ideas for promotional material, especially slide films and brochures. C-M Film Productions was awarded a contract to produce a motion picture film appropriate for use with real estate brokers, major corporation personnel directors and other metropolitan opinion makers. They were also charged with production of a promotional brochure. The film was shot during mid-summer 1975, was delivered late in the year, followed soon thereafter by the brochure. Both have been used as intended, except that the film has not been easy to show to corporate executives and has had mostly local showings. Also, as a part of the promotional effort, the Assistant to the Village Manager for Community Relations approached the League of Women
Voters about submitting a 1976 application for the National Municipal League’s All-America City Award. The Village was one of 18 finalists in the nation and was optimistically expecting to receive this award in early Spring of 1977 and to use it to further build a "positive self-fulfilling prophecy" with the help of two communications/public relations firms, Robert Wolf and Associates (local) and Morton Kaplan Associates (downtown). In late April the winning of the coveted designation was announced and plans to maximize favorable media coverage were being put in gear.

In 1973 three of Park Forest's five housing cooperatives began to express concerns through their management agent about shrinking white traffic, demand and residency/increasing Black traffic, demand and residency as well as clustering. Minority percentages were in the low to high teens and clustering seemed to threaten that racially identifiable cooperative courts were imminent. After consultation with the community relations division of the Village Manager's office, the cooperatives adopted an integration maintenance policy and procedure. Advertising changes were made to attract additional majority group traffic and a plan for soliciting the cooperation of incoming members to take units that would help distribute majority and minority families so as to avoid racially identifiable courts.

Also with regard to this situation faced by the three cooperatives there arose the issue of alleged steering of Blacks away from another of the cooperatives toward these three co-ops and to the townhouse area that is a rental operation. The allegations were investigated and substantiated, leading the CHR to bring a complaint before the Fair Housing Review Board, which conciliated the matter.

Concerns that have arisen regarding the single-family area have tended in the mid-1970's to center around fears that certain blocks "were going to turn black" because three or four Black families were already in residence and houses that went on the market in close proximity to the Black neighbors were disproportionately shown to Blacks. These concerns have been shared by some Blacks as well as Whites. Investigations into these situations often found that neighbors' observations regarding the racial composition of the parties being shown the houses in question were not accurate. In other instances the observations were quite accurate, but there was no good evidence of illegal racial steering, but that instead self-steering (not illegal, though still a problem) seemed to be a factor.

These kinds of situations were most often dealt with by contacting the listing broker and urging him to make his salespeople and cooperating brokers aware of the imbalance in the traffic and the concern of neighbors and, further, to work affirmatively to develop a more representative or proportional majority traffic. Brokers were never told to stop showing certain houses to minorities, but they were urged to show minorities other comparable housing options as well - options within and without Park Forest, especially in areas where minority traffic was deficient. Brokers were urged to monitor their traffic and become aware of racial skewing of demand for various sub-areas in the market. The emphasis now was focused not only on the racial composition of the present population, but also on current demand (offers to purchase or rent) and traffic (showings).
Brokers were encouraged to try to get one hundred percent of the market (majority and minority) competing for one hundred percent of the housing supply. This, of course, takes a countering of self-steering, which is viewed as a present manifestation of past discrimination. (The effects of discrimination on people's mind-sets do not end by simply outlawing discrimination.) These efforts to keep majority and minority homeseekers from foreclosing non-traditional options were termed "affirmative marketing."

Where concerns of neighbors were not shared with the Village - where incipient minority racial clusters or exclusively white blocks were not yet perceived to be worthy of alarm, nothing was done, as the Village nor the real estate community kept accurate, systematic records of residency, demand, and traffic. Noting this and the value of such records of residency for legal compliance purposes, as well as for program evaluation and planning, the CHR unanimously recommended in early 1977 that the Village Board authorize the collection of these data for the Far South Suburban area.* The Village Board debated the matter and decided against such record collection by a 4-3 vote. Some of the old concerns were again raised, especially those relative to the use and access to the statistics, as well as the political wisdom of taking an action that has potential for community polarization.

Over a number of years, particularly during the 1970's, Park Forest officials have come to "appreciate" the impact on Park Forest of the policies and practices of other area and regional jurisdictions with regard to exclusion of minorities and of moderate income persons. Also, if Park Forest South is thought (incorrectly) to be mostly Black and to be bankrupt, that not only softens demand there, especially by whites, but it has a spillover effect on its close neighbor with a similar name. If Crete and Arlington Heights avoid housing Blacks, demand from Blacks must be concentrated on those "progressive communities." If the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission in reviewing applications for federal funds (A-95 comment and review process) fails to negatively comment on applications from jurisdictions that refuse to provide a diversity of opportunities, that damages Park Forest. If NIPC does become responsive, in part because of the exhortation of Park Forest, and then is punished by other communities that want to protect their "right" not to include certain populations, then Park Forest's successes might only be transitory. These recognitions have prompted the Village Board to become an even more vigorous regional advocate for the fair share shouldering of social and economic responsibility and inclusiveness.

The Village of Park Forest's posture with regard to the real estate community (and also appraisers, lenders, and insurers) and that community's attitude toward the Village continues to indicate cautions and reservations. Community imperatives and commercial imperatives seem not always to be in conformance; however, some success and better communication have considerably eased tensions. Park Forest is estimated to have a Black population of nine percent, or just slightly above that figure. Other non-white population is in the area of 1½%. Almost 90% of Park Foresters are white and whites continue to demand houses in Park Forest, including those being sold by Blacks. The rate of racial transition has slowed perceptively since the early seventies.

* Find in the appendix the CHR's outline of the Village's MAINTENANCE OF INTEGRATION PROGRAM, especially the section on "proposed measurements." Also attached is a staff memorandum discussing benefits of race/residence information collection.
Retaining most of the Park Forest share of the white traffic while gaining its share (plus) of the Black traffic has resulted in property value increases which have outstripped most area communities. There also is no community in the area without some minority population. Blacks and other minority people have more and more viable housing option from which to choose. No longer are there only a few communities that are considered sufficiently "safe."

As an indication of eased tension there is the example of the Village's ordinance to regulate real estate listing solicitation. It is the product of late 1976 and early 1977 Village-Realtor cooperation and compromise. It permits solicitation, while several other communities have not. It provides some restraints and checks benefitting the Village and tends to increase Village and realty sales agent contact. Also facilitating Realtor-Village communication is the Village-Realtor joint committee which regularly brings representatives of the two local Boards of Realtors and the Village together to promote understanding and the exchange of information.

After some success with ad hoc planning designed to maintain integration or combat resegregation, the Village decided in 1976 to work toward creating a more long-term and studied approach. Park Forest applied jointly with Richton Park for Comprehensive Planning Assistance (701) funds for preparation of a plan and implementation strategy to prevent resegregation. This partnership between the two municipalities was predicated on earlier joint planning projects; however, Richton Park withdrew its backing for the application, after its elected officials apparently concluded that Richton Park's interests would not be furthered by a plan to develop racially representative demand for housing in all area towns. Park Forest South was solicited to join with Park Forest and the application was funded. The planning work is proceeding during 1977. It should help provide a framework in which to marshal resources and proceed in the years to come.

CONCLUSION:

Park Forest is an integrated community; that is, one in which people of different races, ethnic groups, religions, and economic means interact, cooperate and compete in relative harmony. The cooperation in affording equal access to housing, services and facilities is deliberate. It is also planned and positively valued and viewed as sometimes fragile and threatened because of the pervasive national and regional dual housing market, which sends whites and non-whites to live apart and in suspicion.

The Village of Park Forest has eschewed a static definition of integration and notions of fixed "tipping points." It has, instead, employed a process or market definition of housing integration; i.e., a situation in which persons of all races, nationalities, and religions are competing for (Park Forest) housing - and they are competing in numbers reflective of the total area population seeking housing of kinds and price available. Park Forest is committed to open housing, but distinguishes this legal concept from the market and community goal of integration (maintenance). While the goal is almost universally shared by Park Foresters, there are differences with regard to some of the means. It is Park Forest's heritage that it has profitted from the art of reasoning about matters of opinion. The dialectical approach to differences
on means should also profit from that heritage and the willingness to deal creatively with the challenges of the urbanization of suburbia.

Donald L. DeMarco/hco
April, 1977
Instructions to Village Employees
For Answering Questions With Respect to Local
Residence of Members of the Negro Race

These instructions have been issued with the approval of the Village President
and every member of the Board of Trustees:

The Constitution of the United States and of the State of Illinois
establish that there can be no question as to the policy of the
Village Government in the event that a Negro family should make its
home in Park Forest. However, in view of the questions sometimes
addressed to Village personnel by individuals who are disturbed by
rumors they have heard, this short statement has been prepared as
a guide in replying to these inquiries.

It is probable that a variety of opinions on this subject are held
by the individuals who make up the staff of the Village Government.
It is important to remember that as public servants, it is absolutely
necessary to support the policy of the Village Government even though
it may not conform entirely with personal opinions.

The Village Government must extend equal services and protection of
the law to all its citizens without any discrimination between them.
The Village Government neither encourages nor discourages the residence
in the Village of members of the Negro race. However, the Village
Government carefully investigates all information which reaches it,
so that preparations can be made to avoid any undesirable incidents.
In the event that a Negro family should make its home in Park Forest,
the Village Government will assure that family the same protection of
the law that is afforded to any other resident or property owner in
the Village.

July 27, 1959
Park Forest, Illinois
A PROGRAM OF MINORITY GROUP RESIDENCE IN PARK FOREST

A Report to the President and Board of Trustees
by the Commission on Human Relations

INTRODUCTION

The Commission on Human Relations is charged with the general responsibility of acquainting itself with the status of minority group representation in Park Forest and any problems of a governmental nature attendant thereto. It is further charged, from time to time, as it seems advisable or as directed by the Board of Trustees to recommend to the Board of Trustees certain policies or courses of action relative to its area of responsibility.

Park Forest now has a mixture of religious and a fairly high degree of racial integration. The major area of non-integration in the Village involves Negroes. The present report deals primarily with this area of minority group residence in Park Forest.

After many months of study, thorough reviews of the literature available on the subject, and interviews with persons who have done pertinent work in this area, the Commission submits this report to the Board of Trustees to assist in reviewing the possible developments were a Negro family to move into Park Forest and the Village processes that might be affected by such a situation. Let it be said at the outset that it is the Commission's opinion that a review of these programs should be made periodically, probably once a year.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

As mentioned above, Park Forest now has a fairly high degree of religious and racial integration. However, no members of the Negro race are known to be living here. If the patterns evident in other parts of the country are repeated, integration of Negroes into Park Forest is likely to occur. The public is well aware, from general press information, of situations where human rights were denied, property values destroyed, and neighborhood bitterness developed after Negroes moved into formerly all-white neighborhoods.

The Commission has studied the various items of literature available on pertinent instances of this type and has received first-hand accounts from responsible persons who were close to the actual happenings. Seldom are two communities to be found that are sufficiently alike to be able to draw heavily on one for solutions to problems of the other. This has been true in the course of the Commission's study, where each of the municipalities differed in one or more significant ways from Park Forest.

It is extremely difficult, of course, to measure each of the contributing factors in public or neighborhood reaction. And even if a reasonably accurate evaluation of the major contributory elements is made, such as the Commission has attempted, it is doubtful whether those elements would combine in proper proportion in another neighborhood so as to make group reaction predictable. For this reason
it cannot be said with certainty that integration would or would not be accomplished in Park Forest without incident.

Since we must deal in future events and probabilities, we present our recommendations in a flexible outline which covers some of the contingencies. This report represents present knowledge and judgment. It is offered as a point of departure, so that the Board of Trustees and the Commission may be mutually informed, agreed as to desirable actions, and as prepared as possible to meet this situation if and when it arises.

VILLAGE POLICY

The role of municipal government must be to assure equal application of law to all persons. This is implicit in the oath that each elected official takes to uphold the Constitutions of the United States and the State of Illinois. It is explicitly stated in the "Statement of Policy with Respect to Local Residence of Members of the Negro Race" issued by the Village in July, 1959, for the guidance of village employees. (A copy of this policy statement is appended to this report.)

AREAS OF PROCEDURE

I. INFORMATION

A. The Village government should keep informed of any contemplated or actual real estate transactions which might immediately or ultimately involve Negro families.

B. The Commission on Human Relations should continually keep abreast of developments in inter-racial housing and analyze situations which might be pertinent to this village.

II. APPLICATION OF LAW

A. Prompt, efficient and intelligent police action is vital in the event of a Negro family moving into Park Forest.

1. No action (other than emergency) will be taken in connection with a racial problem except under the direction of the Director of Public Safety.

2. It is necessary that all regular and auxiliary personnel in the Police Department be given special instruction in methods of handling inter-racial housing incidents.

3. The Police Department shall use both its regular and auxiliary police forces, as deemed advisable by its director, to police any inter-racial situation. If local forces prove inadequate, State police forces should be requested.

B. Knowledge of and familiarity with State laws and Village ordinances applicable to inter-racial situations is imperative for all personnel directly concerned.
III. THE NEIGHBORHOOD

A. The Family.

If the family has already moved in or if we are satisfied that a transaction has been consummated, arrangements should be made to:

1. Assure them of the good will of the village government.
2. Ask them to keep in touch with the Commission on Human Relations or police in the event of questions or problems.

B. The Neighbors.

The village government shall be prepared to hold meetings of the neighborhood, as the Board of Trustees deems advisable, to give factual information concerning:

1. Family Data
2. Property Values
3. Current Rumors
4. Prevalent Fears

C. Real Estate.

Most of the sales of real estate in Park Forest are handled by local companies. Village officials will discuss with the realtors ways of keeping a neighborhood from going into a stage of transition to an all-Negro segregated area rather than an integrated area. In the event of a Negro move-in, it is recommended that the realtors make every effort to encourage succeeding sales in the area to non-Negro families.

IV. PUBLIC RELATIONS

A. Church and Civic Groups.

The village government is aware that there are many aspects to the question of inter-racial neighborhoods which are not properly the concern of government. Various church and civic groups have concerned themselves with some of these facets. The Commission on Human Relations, with the prior consent of the Board of Trustees, should maintain those contacts among church and civic groups that might prove helpful in the performance of its governmental function in the event that a Negro family moves into Park Forest.

B. News Agencies.

1. The news agencies shall be kept informed of the steps taken by the village government in discharging its responsibilities in the field of inter-racial housing.

2. Recognizing that news reports of Negro move-ins to previously all-white neighborhoods have a far-reaching impact, it is imperative that the news agencies receive all available data. The Village shall encourage the agencies to handle their reports in a manner to assure the preservation of human rights and to promote tranquility.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CURRENT MEASUREMENT</th>
<th>PROPOSED MEASUREMENT. In addition to the current informal measurements, we propose the following formal ones.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Informal feedback from housing management, rental, co-ops. Sporadic comments, observations and judgments from real estate, results of auditing, observations and judgment from professional staff.</td>
<td>Obtain as accurate statistics as possible for the South Suburban Area: 1) Current racial composition (Black, White, Other) for each municipality in the area and the area as a whole (from realtors, municipalities, statistics), 2) Numbers of people by race looking for housing in the area, 3) Numbers of people by race why buy in the area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal feedback ... Sporadic comments ... School statistics, observations and judgment from professional staff ... Awareness of level of comfort of various races ... Absence of conflict.</td>
<td>To determine racial distribution in Park Forest on a periodic basis, collect data by race on who is asking, being shown housing, or buying, renting, leasing, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal feedback ... Sporadic comments ... Results of auditing ... Observation and judgment from professional staff.</td>
<td>For #3-7 we are proposing that data be obtained on a formal and regular basis, in addition to informal procedures currently in use. It should be noted that the data collected for objectives 1 and 2 are applicable in dealing with objectives 3-7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Informal feedback ... Sporadic comments ... Results of auditing, observ. ... prof. staff ... observation and judgment of Commission on Human Relations.</td>
<td>Repeat Jaffe-type report at periodic intervals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Informal feedback ... Complaints or absence of complaints ... Concerns of local citizens ... Observa. prof. staff ... CHR ... Awareness of level of comfort of various races ... Absence of racial conflict.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal feedback ... Sporadic comments ... Complaints or their absence and concerns of local citizens ... Observations of prof. staff ... CHR ... Measure of people's perception (Jaffe) ... Awareness of level of comfort.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal feedback ... Sporadic comments ... School statistics ... Observations of professional staff ... CHR ... Measurement of people's perception ... Awareness of level of comfort ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal feedback ... Sporadic comments ... Observations of professional staff ... Property inspections by building commissioner ... Annual beautification awards.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CURRENT OBJECTIVES</td>
<td>CURRENT ACTIVITIES aimed at achieving those objectives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. To create and maintain in the South Suburban area a statistically normal demand for housing with regard to race insofar as economic circumstances permit.</td>
<td>Auditing, complaints and suits filed by the Village, information and education for housing management people; counseling; promotion of the Village generally; affirmative marketing*; cooperation with surrounding communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Promote racially integrated neighborhoods (including blocks and courts) and discourage racial clustering within Park Forest.</td>
<td>Auditing; complaint investigation and conciliation; information and education for housing management people; gaining information and understanding from housing sales and management people; counseling.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Promote open housing image for communities in the surrounding area.</td>
<td>Auditing; complaints and suits filed by the Village; counseling; affirmative marketing; cooperation with surrounding communities.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 4. Enforcement of open housing laws.  
   a. Protect community rights.  
   b. Protect individual rights. | a) Auditing; Village complaints and suits.  
b) Complaint investigation and conciliation. |
| 5. Build and maintain confidence that community and individual rights are protected. | Information and education for housing management people; gaining information and understanding from housing sales and management people; counseling; public information. |
| 6. Promote Park Forest as a workable, racially integrated and stable community. | Information and education for housing management people; gaining information and understanding from housing sales and management people; promotion of the Village generally; affirmative marketing; public information. |
| 7. Maintain (and improve) physical appearance of the village. | Purchasing housing rehabilitation and related counseling services from FSSHS; residential and non-residential code enforcement. |

* Affirmative marketing may be defined as: 1) marketing to achieve racial balance; or 2) marketing to achieve unitary housing market; or 3) marketing to correct underutilization of the housing market by either majority or minority.
MEMO TO: PRESIDENT AND BOARD OF TRUSTEES
THROUGH: ROBERT G. PIERCE, VILLAGE MANAGER
FROM: DONALD L. DE MARCO, ASS'T TO VILL. MGR. FOR COMMUNITY RELATIONS.

SUBJECT: BENEFITS OF RACE/RESIDENT INFORMATION COLLECTION IN CONNECTION WITH INTEGRATION MAINTENANCE.

As race/residence record collection is a politically sensitive issue, it is this writer's understanding that the Village Board desires some further exposition on the projected benefits of such information development, especially as compared to the current "prohibition" on developing this information.

Before enumerating benefits, I would like to call attention to an excerpt from a statement made before the U.S. Senate's Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs 3/12/76, by J. Stanley Pottinger, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, U.S. Justice Department:

"The keeping of racial records is a form of affirmative action necessary to correct the effects of prior discrimination. In such circumstances, it is not unlawful to be aware of race, for nondiscriminatory purposes. Offerman v. Nitkowski, 378 F. 2d 22 (2nd Cir. 1967). Federal law does not bar the collection of racial information for a legitimate purpose, such as data gathering. Tancil v. Woolls. 379 U.S. 19 (1964), affirming per curiam, Hamm v. Virginia State Board of Elections, 230 F. Supp. 156 (E.D. Va. 1964) (three judge court). Racial record keeping of this kind, done pursuant to a federal program to determine compliance with the law, is not, in our view, prohibited by various state laws which may prohibit racial notations or records in an effort to prevent discrimination. Contractors Association of Eastern Pennsylvania v. Secretary of Labor, 442 F. 2d 159 (3rd Cir. 1971) cert. den. 404 U.S. 854 (1971). If periodic compliance reviews by the appropriate enforcement agencies are done, racial records will not be permitted to become devices for discrimination."

Park Forest as a part of the South Suburbs of Chicago, like most other areas of our country, has suffered from being a part of the dual racial housing market. Though Park Forest's history does not suggest that its part in the dual market process was a willing one, it was nevertheless affected by the process - first by the exclusion of minorities and more recently by the steering-in of minorities and steering-out of whites. The effects of past discrimination continues to impact on Park Forest.

Mr. Pottinger maintains that "racial record keeping is a form of affirmative action necessary to correct the effects of prior discrimination". He says "necessary" rather than desirable. That position was arrived at after considerable counsel from majority and minority group persons knowledgeable in technical matters of equal opportunity.

More specifically, some of the benefits and uses of race/residence record collection regarding (a) current residence pattern, (b) current housing demand (purchase offers and apartment applications, (c) current housing traffic (who
is looking) are these:

1. Records can reveal trends (racial skewing of demand, for instance) which can be addressed prior to the full development of a minority (or majority) racial cluster or mini-ghetto. Efforts can be systematically made to promote housing traffic where it is racially under represented as opposed to the ad hoc fashion of current efforts.

2. Records provide an improved base of statistical evidence for purposes of litigation (or for prompting compliance through a conciliated settlement, working from a position of strength). For example, the Village may be able to show that in virtually all situations where two black families live within a certain distance from houses for sale that those houses are twice as likely to be sold to blacks as comparable houses for sale in less proximity to black families. This pattern or practice can then be addressed as such, with an appropriate remedy rather than a case by case basis approach.

3. Records provide an ability to respond to citizen alarms and concerns with more precise, accurate information than is now possible. Citizens tend to feel reassured if they sense "that Village Hall has a firm handle on things". They do not get that feeling when they have more information (sometimes not accurate) about their neighborhoods than does Village Hall.

4. Records are the key ingredient of any program that purports to be "positively color-conscious," as any intelligent program of integration maintenance must be. The Village has been in the position of urging real estate brokers to "drive toward a unitary housing market without the use of a roadmap," in effect to do something the Village has chosen not to do. The Village's credibility with real estate brokers and salespersons may be expected to take a significant jump if the Village takes an "eyes open" approach towards assisting the real estate community to work toward Village expectations. Further, the regular exchange of information would not only well serve Village monitoring needs, but also serve to heighten racial awareness by realty professionals in the sense that the cumulative effect of their actions will be known to them and they get a glimpse of "the big picture".

Most of the other benefits are variations of the above listed four, which can be capsulized as (1) planning and systems implementation, including evaluation; (2) compliance; (3) response to citizens; and (4) realtor relations relative to affirmative marketing. Whether the benefits of a first order commitment to a program of integration maintenance (as distinguished from placing a positive value on integration as a goal) outweighs the political flak which must be expected if such a commitment is made - that judgment is one for the Village Board of Trustees.

DLDM:hco

cc: Commission on Human Relations
Environmental impact statements and financial impact statements have become quite common in the lives of government and business. Other kinds of impact statements are being developed and promulgated as means to focus attention and resources. The promotion and institutionalization of integration (maintenance) or racial diversity impact statement are in the interest of those who would enjoy integrated living in a stable, unitary housing market.

All levels of government should be pressed to require such integration impact statements to be prepared and made available to public interest groups prior to adopting legislation which might impact on the racial composition of communities. Likewise, developers of residential, educational, commercial, or industrial property should be required to focus on the racial impacts of their projects.

This is a logical extension of the positive racial-consciousness approach to promoting equal of opportunity and equity in race relations. As impact statement will not likely be popular with many local governments, developers, and some racial groups, such impact statements will only come into use if they are mandated. Their mandated use would most likely stem for the issuance of guidelines from a federal agency with review provision at the regional level, probably as part of the A-95 process.
DEVELOPING A REGIONAL APPROACH TO MAINTAINING INTEGRATION

Park Forest and Park Forest South have been called "islands of equal housing opportunity in a sea of closed communities". Clearly, if Park Forest and Park Forest South are viewed by the major community building actors and members of the marketplace as one of the few places in Chicagoland where middle class minority families will feel comfortable living, their perceptions will be changed into minority housing demand. Contrarywise these same actors tend to diminish majority demand. One can say that if "unnatural forces" cause minority people to look in and purchase housing only in selected communities which have a reputation for accepting minority households, those selected communities have little hope of maintaining integration. The minority demand for suburban housing is too high to have it channeled into just a few communities. On the other hand, if the minority demand were spread among all the suburban municipalities, no place would need to be concerned with the maintenance of integration and, indeed could profit economically from the increased, balanced demand.

Unfortunately some municipalities have a reputation of actively excluding minority households, while others "enjoy" de facto segregation.

Since, according to federal law, all municipalities are fair housing communities, there are no legal barriers to minorities living in any municipality. However, current housing practices demonstrate that there are many towns in the Northeastern Illinois area which house few minority families. In response to this situation the Villages of Park Forest and Park Forest South are developing a strategy to "take the pressure off" the few truly open communities by opening up housing options for minorities in other communities.

Central to this advocacy approach is a campaign designed to make other agencies, both private and governmental, aware that the two Villages value integrated living and that they are committed to expanding the housing options of minority persons. These values have also been stated by Congress when they require that the Housing Element of the 701 Comprehensive Planning Assistance program provide for, "the elimination of the effects of discrimination". Furthermore, the Office of Management and Budget requires that applications for federal grants be assessed to, "the extent to which the project contributes to more balanced patterns of settlement and delivery of services to all sectors of the area population, including minority groups".

Thus far, implementation of the regional advocacy approach has been limited to encouraging the Northeastern Illinois Planning commission (NIPC) to adopt housing criteria for assessing applicant's requests for federal funds. As the A-95 review agency, the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission serves as an advisor to the federal government on the funding of a wide array of programs. More than $1 billion in federal grant applications pass through the commission each year when NIPC does not endorse an application, that application is in trouble.
Realizing the importance of NIPC the Village Boards of Park Forest and Park Forest South jointly passed a resolution that encourages NIPC to, ① "look very critically at all proposals which exacerbate racial and economic opportunity inequities or fail to positively address obvious deficiencies in need consistent with NIPC's own plans, and ② give careful attention to the civil rights and equal opportunity objections of individuals and organizations wishing to make the A-95 process an important tool in the fight for social justice and community responsibility". (See Resolution Attached)

The results of this "A-95" attack led by Park Forest and Park Forest South, along with several other municipalities and public interest groups, were rewarded when the NIPC Board adopted Interim Criteria for suburban housing. Later NIPC listed the names of 53 Chicago area suburbs that did not meet the criteria. According to the interim criteria, any suburb that provides more than 5,000 jobs should have one low or moderate income housing unit for every three jobs and a minority population of at least 2 per cent. Although the list is not presently used in its deliberations, it is hoped that the list will be used to give priority for federal money to suburbs that have achieved diverse housing, a method that is used in Hartford, Conn. and Minneapolis-St. Paul. kale Williams, Director of the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, said of the NIPC criteria, "I think it's a step in the right direction. Of course, I wish they'd gone further.

This A-95 attack has sparked a continuing controversy over the role of NIPC in planning for the region which is at present unresolved. The Illinois Municipal League is among those identified with moves to punish NIPC for performing its A-95 duties. Many Chicagoland municipalities which are now or will soon house significant numbers of minorities and low and moderate income persons have yet to identify their interest in this issue. They will be relatively disadvantaged by the continuing ability of many of their neighboring communities to avoid the provision of diverse opportunities. Nevertheless, opponents have rather effectively characterized NIPC as a would-be regional government threatening to end local control to everyone's detriment.
WHEREAS, Park Forest's future as a stable, integrated community is directly linked to a balanced distribution of housing opportunities throughout Northeastern Illinois; and

WHEREAS, the Federal Office of Management and Budget through the A-95 process has authorized the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission to review and comment on applications for a whole array of projects; and

WHEREAS, Circular A-95 requires that regional planning agency review projects as to "...the extent to which the project contributes to more balanced patterns of settlement and delivery of services to all sectors of the area population, including minority groups;" and

WHEREAS, the Comprehensive General Plan adopted by NIPC calls for a housing market operating without discrimination and for the provision of housing opportunities for varied income levels on a widespread basis and for housing in proximity to employment opportunities; and

WHEREAS, the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission does not have an adopted policy concerning applications for federal funds and a community's compliance with regional housing objectives:

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Park Forest President and Board of Trustees urge the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission to (1) look very critically at all proposals which exacerbate racial and economic opportunity inequities or fail to positively address obvious deficiencies in need consistent with NIPC's own plans; and (2) give careful attention to the civil rights and equal opportunity objections of individuals and organizations wishing to make the A-95 process an important tool in the fight for social justice and community responsibility.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be distributed to the following: James J. McClure, Jr., President, Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission; James Lynn, Director, Office of Management and Budget; Daniel Walker, Governor, State of Illinois.

Adopted this day of , 1976.

APPROVED:

ATTEST:

Village President

Village Clerk

RGP: s1d
10-22-76
Another attempt to increase housing options for minority families throughout the suburban housing market was initiated in 1975. At that time the Park Forest Area Housing Council, (now the Far South Suburban Housing Service), submitted a proposal to the Ford Foundation for a region-wide affirmative marketing program. The Housing Council's proposal is described in the paragraphs below:

**Purpose**

Purpose of the Park Forest Area Housing Council is to see that good housing is consistently available to all who want it, on an equal opportunity basis, throughout the far south suburbs of Chicago.

The media communications program, for which we are requesting funds from the Ford Foundation, is based on our belief that only when all municipalities in our area are perceived as being "open" do any of the municipalities have the opportunity to become racially stable. Stability relates to the consistency of good housing throughout the entire area, just as it relates to the consistency of equal opportunity.

The community with which the Council is concerned encompasses the entire south suburban area because we believe it cannot be limited more tightly than that. The perception that a single municipality in a suburban area is committed to equal opportunity in housing has meant historically that the single municipality is "going black".

On the other hand, we cannot now take on a larger community, for example the entire Chicago metropolitan area, simply because we do not have the resources.

Therefore, realizing that we are not an island, and that what happens in one municipality in our community must affect the other municipalities, we have developed a proposed media program.

**Media Program**

The Park Forest Area Housing Council was formally established in May, 1974 to take the steps necessary to assure that good housing is consistently available to all who want it throughout the suburban community. The Council has initiated steps through which to achieve this goal:

Most important is a media program dealing with integration and integration maintenance which is based in part on developing the perception that all municipalities in our area are "open" and can be both open and stable. The measure of success of the media program of the Park Forest Area Housing Council will be the number of municipalities that are perceived to move away from a "closed" image toward an "open" image.

Many who hear or see our message will be active homeseekers. Those who are minority people looking for good housing values in the south suburbs (and some who are majority) will see our message as a direct offer of information and perhaps help and will contact the council through the address and phone number listed in our commercial message.
The Council, through its executive director and his volunteer assistants, will gather the following information about the homeseeker:

A. Specific housing needs.
B. Knowledge of housing availability in our community.
C. Knowledge of and background in home ownership.
D. Income and housing budget.
E. Knowledge of supplementary costs of home ownership (taxes, maintenance, etc.).
F. Special needs and desires.
G. Information on previous contact with real estate people and local listings.

After receipt of this information, the Council will provide the following service and counsel:

A. Provide information on the housing choices available in the south suburbs, if needed.
B. Put the homeseeker in direct contact with an individual real estate salesperson who both adheres to our goal and who sees that cooperation with our efforts is in his/her own best financial interests. If necessary, a Council member will accompany the homeseeker to the real estate office.
C. Provide contact (again in person if necessary) with a lending institution that meets the criteria above.
D. Inform the homeseeker of his/her rights under law.
E. Provide follow-up counseling both before and after home acquisition, if necessary.
F. Maintain liaison with municipal administrators to make sure that there is no problem after move-in.

Obviously, not all who seek and hear our message will be minority homeseekers or those majority homeseekers who are specifically interested in moving to "open" towns.

A media program that works here can be successfully applied to any part of the country with a similar problem - perceptions of "closed" towns restricting housing choices and therefore working against racial integration. The components that will be needed to apply this program successfully elsewhere include:

A. A case study based on a working program, which we will be able to offer as a result of funding.
B. An active group such as the Park Forest Area Housing Council.
C. A school, preferably a college or a university, with a communication program that can absorb some of the production responsibility, and that has a commitment to its community.

**SUMMARY**

The Park Forest Area Housing Council is a diverse group of individuals with one cohesive purpose: to work toward the consistent availability of good housing, on an equal opportunity basis, throughout the south suburban community. The media program alone will not bring this about. It will, however, perform a very basic role, that of helping us to educate the public that only if all municipalities are perceived as open - as they all in fact are by law - will any municipality have the opportunity to be truly stable.
DEVELOPING A "FAIR SHARE" CONCEPT

Opportunities for minority families in the housing marketplace are artificially restricted in the Northeastern Illinois area, as elsewhere. Minority households are clustered in a few neighborhoods and suburbs. These areas can be viewed as "Islands of equal opportunity in a sea of closed communities". Figure R-1 shows a hypothetical region in which there is one area of truly equal housing opportunity. This "island" is surrounded by large areas which are closed to minority households. Middle and upper income minority families moving out from the city to suburban locations are encouraged to find housing in the "island of equal opportunity". This demand can lead to concentration of minorities.

The regional approach to integration maintenance suggests that if integration is to be maintained in the few truly open communities, minority demand for suburban housing must be spread out among all suburban municipalities. Figure R-1 shows how the housing market might operate if minority households freely competed with majority households for housing throughout the region.

The pattern of minority settlement in the Chicago area would be different if the dual housing market were not operating. The dual housing market segregates housing demand into areas of race. Professor Pierre deVise, at the University of Illinois-Chicago Circle, has assessed the extent of the dual housing market through a listing of actual and potential black population in a color-blind housing market. Table R-1 lists the major municipalities in the Chicago area along with their total population, black population, and potential black population. The potential black population shows how many blacks could be expected to live in each municipality and community area if black and non-black households settled in a color blind housing market. Clearly there is a disparity between the actual black population and the potential black population. This difference may be viewed as a measure (of the extent of) the dual housing market.
ISLAND OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN A SEA OF CLOSED COMMUNITIES

Area of Equal Opportunity

Closed to Minorities

Majority Family

Minority Family

Equal Housing Opportunities

The City

Closed to Minorities
FIGURE R-2
REGION OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

AREA OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

EQUAL HOUSING OPPORTUNITIES

THE CITY

EQUAL HOUSING OPPORTUNITIES

AREA OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

EQUAL HOUSING OPPORTUNITIES

EQUAL HOUSING OPPORTUNITIES
The per cent of population Negro is shown as follows:

25% (360° = 100%)

Potential Negro population in a color-blind housing market, by municipality, and by community area in City of Chicago, 1970
TABLE R-1  Actual and Potential Negro Population in a Color-Blind
Housing Market for Municipalities of 2,500,
Chicago Standard Consolidated Area: 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Actual Negro Population</th>
<th>Potential Negro Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>Alsip</td>
<td>11,141</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arlington Heights</td>
<td>64,884</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Barrington</td>
<td>7,701</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Barrington Hills</td>
<td>2,712</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bellwood</td>
<td>22,096</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Berkeley</td>
<td>6,152</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Berwyn</td>
<td>52,502</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Blue Island</td>
<td>22,958</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bridgeview</td>
<td>12,522</td>
<td>9</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Broadview</td>
<td>9,307</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>4.3</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Brookfield</td>
<td>20,284</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Buffalo Grove</td>
<td>11,799</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td>Burnham</td>
<td>3,634</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Calumet City</td>
<td>32,956</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Calumet Park</td>
<td>10,069</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Chicago</td>
<td>3,366,957</td>
<td>1,102,620</td>
<td>32.7</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Chicago Heights</td>
<td>40,900</td>
<td>7,100</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Chicago Ridge</td>
<td>9,187</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Cicero</td>
<td>67,058</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Country Club Hills</td>
<td>6,920</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Countryside</td>
<td>2,888</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crestwood</td>
<td>5,543</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Des Plaines</td>
<td>57,239</td>
<td>47</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dixmoor</td>
<td>4,735</td>
<td>3,071</td>
<td>64.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dolton</td>
<td>25,937</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>East Chicago Heights</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>4,855</td>
<td>97.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elk Grove Village</td>
<td>24,516</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elmwood Park</td>
<td>26,160</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Evanston</td>
<td>79,808</td>
<td>12,849</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Evergreen Park</td>
<td>25,487</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Flossmoor</td>
<td>7,846</td>
<td>13</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Forest Park</td>
<td>15,472</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Franklin Park</td>
<td>20,497</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glencoe</td>
<td>10,542</td>
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Housing Market for Municipalities of 2,500,
Chicago Standard Consolidated Area: 1970

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<td>Harvard</td>
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<td>Lake in the Hills</td>
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<td>Marengo</td>
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<td>McHenry</td>
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<td>Bolingbrook</td>
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<td>Crest Hill</td>
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<td>Joliet</td>
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<td>Lockport</td>
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<td>New Lenox</td>
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<td>Park Forest</td>
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<td>Plainfield</td>
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<td>Romeoville</td>
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<td>Steger</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Wilmington</td>
<td>4,335</td>
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It has been traditionally accepted (and we do not dispute) that areas that house high percentages of persons with fewer resources and options (lower income families, elderly persons, families headed by women only, as well as minorities) tend to be least attractive to those portions of the population with greater resources and options. Housing demand from advantaged persons may be viewed as a key to the avoidance of poverty impaction (in isolation) and resegregation. Chicagoland areas that require stimulation in that regard can be identified by the maps which follow.
RACIAL SEGREGATION: BLACK AREAS WITH GREATER THAN 10% NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS SMSA 1970

SOURCE: U.S. Census
RACIAL SEGREGATION: SPANISH-AMERICAN AREAS WITH GREATER THAN 10%
NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS SMSA
1970

KEY

Minority Concentration

SOURCE: U.S. Census
HOUSING VALUE (GENERALIZED)
NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS SMSA
AREAS WITH HOUSING VALUE GREATER THAN $30,000 IN 1970

KEY

Housing over $30,000

SOURCE: U.S. Census
MONTHLY RENT
NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS SMSA
AREAS WITH MONTHLY RENT GREATER THAN $150 IN 1970

KEY

Monthly rent over $150

SOURCE: U.S. Census
FAMILIES WITH A FEMALE HEAD
AREAS WITH MORE THAN 10% OF THE
FAMILIES HEADED BY A FEMALE
NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS SMSA
1970

SOURCE: U.S. Census
POVERTY
AREAS WITH MORE THAN 10% OF THE HOUSEHOLDS IN POVERTY
NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS SMSA
1970

KEY
Areas of poverty Concentration

SOURCE: U.S. Census
THE ELDERLY
AREAS WITH 10% OF
THE POPULATION OVER 64 YEARS
NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS SMSA
1970

KEY

Elderly Concentrations

SOURCE: U.S. Census
Regional Approach References

Smith, Z. N., "How Suburbs Stand on Housing"
in Chicago Sun-times, Dec. 7, 1976


NIPC, Interim Housing Criteria 1976

Goldstein, N., "Oak Brook Funds Imperiled"
in Suburban Week, Sept. 30, 1976

Swanson, W., "Link Funds, Fair Housing, NIPC Urged"

"Can Wealthy Communities Find Happiness with Federal Funds"

Pascal, E., "Did he really mean that?"
Citizen participation in any planning process is at best difficult. Citizen participation in a planning process which includes value judgements concerning integrated living is a potentially explosive topic. Yet citizens need to participate in the planning process. Individual concerns need to be solicited and digested. In order to assure that citizen comments be as constructive as possible, survey instruments were used to gauge public opinion. An analysis of surveys taken in 1973 and 1974 was supplemented by recent surveys of key target audiences such as the Real Estate Industry and local School Districts.

Attitude surveys concerning racial integration are generally rare. Fortunately several surveys of the Park Forest - Park Forest South area are available for analysis.

The oldest survey was taken in 1973 by the Center for Urban & Regional Studies at the University of North Carolina. Their survey, financed in part by the National Science Foundation, had one question concerning income and racial mix in neighborhoods. The residents of Park Forest and Park Forest South were much more accepting of both low and moderate income black families than were the residents of neighboring South Suburban Communities (Richton Park and Lansing) and the North Western Suburbs (Elk Grove Village and Schaumburg). It is also interesting to note that the respondents in the North Western Suburbs were less accepting of low and moderate income families of all races than the residents of South Suburban Communities. See table S-1.

Later, in 1974, Richard D. Jaffe and Associates was commissioned by the Park Forest Village Board to conduct a follow-up survey on Park Forest aimed at sensitive community concerns including integration and neighborhood stability. Much of the information contained in the following section was derived from the Jaffe report.

To gain some insights into how the residents of Park Forest feel about their community they were asked, "Now, thinking about problems we have here in Park Forest--what do you think are the most important problems we have in Park Forest?" Twenty-five per cent of the respondents could not think of a problem, but of the other 75 per cent, integration problems were rated as third most important after youth, and school problems. Almost 10 per cent of the respondents mentioned integration as a problem, but their responses indicate that the concern is mainly that of having an integrated community and how other people will be able to handle it as well as how the Village will handle the concepts of integration and the population flow into the community. Very few comments were expressed negatively.

The respondents were also asked how they felt about the Park Forest schools being integrated. One-third liked it very much, over one-third liked it somewhat, and almost one-quarter disliked the idea of integration in the school. Around 7 per cent indicated that they did not care one way or the other.

One area of community ignorance is its knowledge of the degree of racial mixture. The respondents were asked to tell us the percentage of population they think is black in Park Forest. Table S-2 indicates their response.
**UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA - NEW COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT SURVEY RESULTS**

**TABLE S - 1**

Percent of Respondents

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Park Forest South</th>
<th>Richton Pk</th>
<th>Park Forest</th>
<th>Lansing</th>
<th>Elk Grove Village</th>
<th>Schaumburg</th>
<th>13 New Communities</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feel groups would not harm neighborhood</td>
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<tr>
<td>Low income white families</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>24.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Low income black families</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>18.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moderate income white families</td>
<td>81.2</td>
<td>81.5</td>
<td>84.2</td>
<td>64.9</td>
<td>65.2</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>64.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moderate income black families</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>63.1</td>
<td>69.1</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>50.2</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>49.3</td>
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</table>

Feel groups would not harm neighborhood

Respondents were asked whether homes for each type of family would greatly improve, improve, not affect, harm, or greatly harm their neighborhood. Neighborhood was defined as the area within a half mile of respondents' homes. Family types included those with incomes under $5,000 a year (low income) and those with incomes of $5,000 - $10,000 a year (moderate income). Percents indicate the proportions of respondents who said that housing for such families would "greatly improve," "improve," or "not affect" their neighborhoods.

**SOURCE:** Community Profile Reports #2, 10, 11. Center for Urban & Regional Studies, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (1973)
It would appear that community perception is low and the fact that 10 per cent of the population sees the community as having 25 per cent or more black families indicates that the communication level in the community is not adequate.

**ESTIMATED DEGREE OF RACIAL MIXTURE**

**TABLE 8-2**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Estimated Percent Black</th>
<th>With Don't Knows</th>
<th>Without Don't Knows</th>
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<tr>
<td>Under 5 per cent</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>12.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>5-9 per cent</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>28.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>10-14 per cent</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>22.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>15-24 per cent</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 per cent or more</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>11.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>99.8</td>
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</table>

* Actual per cent, of racial mixture

The residents of Park Forest appear to be realistic and capable of dealing with many of their problems. They would not feel uncomfortable if a black family would move on their block, and in fact, 60 per cent indicated they have black families on their block already. Less than 5 per cent indicated that they would be uncomfortable.

In addition, the survey found that while 13 per cent feel that the racial balance will remain the same in the next five years, some 50 per cent feel there will be some more blacks, but not many, and 36 per cent see Park Forest with a large number of black families. They see the communities around Park Forest moving much more slowly than Park Forest toward integration. This perception, according to the North Carolina Survey, appears to be true. Half of the respondents feel it will be slower, only 15 per cent feel it will be faster.

The awareness of integration and the ability to accept is also indicated in the question we asked about racial composition. When asked if 10 per cent of Park Forest were to be black, would this affect his decision to remain, and 97 per cent said no. We then increased the number to 25 per cent and 81 per cent said no to moving. This indicates a fairly strong holding power within the community.
The awareness of housing and racial composition is transferred to education and racial composition. When asked, those parents with children in schools, what percentage of their school is black: 5 per cent said 50 per cent or more; 22 per cent said 20 to 50 per cent; 26 per cent said 10 to 20 per cent; and 48 per cent said under 10 per cent.

Racial contact is good, with 73 per cent of the families indicating that they have been to small social affairs or dinner with a black person in the past few years. At the same time there are 12 per cent of the families who feel intermarriage should be outlawed.

Owners of homes and renters see Park Forest as being less integrated than cooperative and condominium owners. This may be a relationship to fact rather than imagery. Thirty-eight per cent of the owners of homes and renters believe that Park Forest has a black population under 10 per cent, while only 12 per cent of the cooperative and condominium owners believe it to be that low. This levels out when one looks at the total population who believe the black population is 19 per cent or less.

Generally, newer families are also the most inclined to be positive about integration in Park Forest and as the family stays in the community, a feeling of cynicism sets in about the future of the community. One of the reasons for the results shown in Table S-3 is the resident's attitude toward school integration. While 80.0 per cent of the newest residents feel positive about school integration, only 55.8 per cent of the oldest residents feel as positive. In addition, older residents assume that the Village of Park Forest will have a large number of black families (52.5 per cent) as compared to 17.8 per cent for the newer families, in the next five years. Furthermore, thirty per cent of the older families will be inclined to move if 25 per cent of the community of Park Forest were black, while only 11 per cent of the newer families feel this way. This is equally true of objections to sending children to schools with 25 per cent black--31 per cent older families and 17 per cent younger families. This shows that there is a tendency for the older families to be more insulated from socialization with black families than newer families.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in Community</th>
<th>Reflecting Cynicism</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 1 year</td>
<td>13.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-2 years</td>
<td>17.4</td>
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<td>3-6 years</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-12 years</td>
<td>40.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 years or more</td>
<td>47.5</td>
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</table>
The survey attempted to gain some insights into the small percentage of the population which expressed some racial bias. Jaffe & Associates constructed a scale from three positions—the subjective opinion of the interviewer who was asked to record after the interview whether the respondent expressed racial prejudice during the interview; the attitudes toward the integration of the Park Forest schools; and the item on socialization with a black person at a small gathering.

Respondents who expressed some racial prejudice tended to view Park Forest less favorably as a "very good place to live", but did not indicate any immediate plan for moving.

The older residents of Park Forest, those who have been in the community the longest, tend to be more prejudiced than the newer residents, but they all came from substantially the same areas before they moved into Park Forest. They all view the services of Park Forest equally, with the least amount of difference.

The more prejudiced respondents feel it is not as safe to walk around at night than those who are least prejudiced. The more prejudiced also feel that Park Forest will not be as good a place to live in the next five years.

There is no difference in the estimate of percentage of black population which would indicate that the prejudiced do not have a more distorted view than the unprejudiced.

The prejudiced population tend to feel they have less influence on the local government, but vote in the same proportion as the unprejudiced.

The more prejudiced feel that Park Forest will have a large number of blacks in the next five years, and would be more inclined to move if Park Forest would have 25 per cent blacks in the schools.

The awareness of the level of integration in Park Forest can be summarized.

It would appear from the finding that over half of the respondents in the sample assumed that the Village of Park Forest has a population of over 10 per cent black families, slightly less than a third assumed that black population is over 15 per cent; and almost 10 per cent of the population assumed the black population to be over 25 per cent of the total population. This does not include the 15 per cent segment who responded that they did not know the percentage of the black population.

There is a concern that families have about a large racial change. Some 36 per cent of the respondents felt that Park Forest would have a large number of black families in the next five years.

It would appear that Park Forest has a greater chance than most communities to have integration without panic and flight. Almost all of the residents of the community live within a block of existing black families, with 70 per cent responding that they have a black family on their block and 92 per cent responding that there is a black family within a three-block-radius of their home. They generally feel that schools are being well integrated, and 70 per cent indicated that they like the way it is being integrated. They have a desire to stay, and a general satisfaction with most of the services.
In December of 1976 the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission distributed a questionnaire to various groups concerned with housing. Some of the questions were race related and concerned neighborhood stability. It may prove useful to outline the questionnaire responses which link racial change to neighborhood stability.

Neighborhood stores and commercial facilities often close or relocate because their owners fear new racial and ethnic residents?

STRONGLY AGREE 65%  NO OPINION 14%  STRONGLY DISAGREE 2%

Racial, ethnic, and economic integration causes community and neighborhood decline?

STRONGLY AGREE 18%  NO OPINION 11%  STRONGLY DISAGREE 71%

Neighborhoods and communities to survive should have only people of the same economic racial or ethnic character in them?

STRONGLY AGREE 8%  NO OPINION 6%  STRONGLY DISAGREE 86%

Preferences for federal grants should be given to communities which are trying to achieve a diversity of economic, racial and ethnic residents?

STRONGLY AGREE 78%  NO OPINION 8%  STRONGLY DISAGREE 14%

SOURCE: Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission

The questionnaire results suggest that there is a significant population (at least those respondents on the NIPC mailing list) that support integrated living and feel it should be supported by the federal government. On the other hand, these same people feel that integration is viewed with alarm by most members of the business community.

In an effort to have input from key actors concerning integrated living, special questionnaires were designed and distributed to important organizations having a key role in the segregation-resegregation process. The responses from Real Estate Firms, Financial Institutions, Schools, Municipalities and Community Groups follow.
The planning staff distributed an open ended questionnaire to the 35 communities that are members of the South Suburban Mayors and Managers Association. An open ended survey was used because the staff wanted community leaders to respond in their own words to questions related to maintaining stable integration.

The results of this survey were disappointing despite the fact that at least ten south suburban municipalities are presently undergoing racial re-segregation only two surveys were returned. Although, their feelings are speculative, it would appear that community leaders in almost all south suburban municipalities are reluctant to consider stable integration as a priority policy item.
LENDER IMPUT ON THE FAR SOUTH SUBURBAN HOUSING MARKET

Recent research by Calvin Bradford, a professor at the University of Illinois, suggests that investment decisions made by financial institutions have a great impact on neighborhood stability and revitalization. Twenty South Suburban financial institutions, including banks, savings & loans, and mortgage bankers, were asked to respond to questions concerning their investment decision.

Response to the questionnaire was very low (10%) with only two responses. With such a small number of respondents, an in-depth analysis would be inappropriate. From the comments on the two questionnaires returned and the low overall response rate, it would appear that lenders feel very uncomfortable discussing racial integration and the housing market. This may be the result of a recent State of Illinois investigation into redlining by financial institutions. It would appear that lenders will only reluctantly address problems concerning neighborhood stability.
Since integration is often lost in the classroom before the housing market, and since schools are widely thought to be great determiners of community attractiveness, the following eight questions were asked of 46 south suburban school superintendents and principals, including some from Park Forest:
The Villages of Park Forest and Park Forest South are conducting a study of the housing market of which the villages are a part, especially concentrating on the factors involved in resegregation and how to avoid it. As schools are relevant to the issue, your voluntary assistance in responding to the following opinion items will be appreciated.

This study is partially supported through a Comprehensive Planning Grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, under provisions of Section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954, as amended.

Please circle the letter before the best answer as you see it.

1. In your opinion, what is the impact on quality of educational experience of racial integration or desegregation?
   a. No impact.
   b. Improves quality.
   c. Dilutes quality.
   d. Depends on school system's response and whether its integration or its desegregations.
   e. Depends on the socio-economic status of the minority and majority.
   f. Other; explain: ________________________________

2. In your opinion, what is the cause of racial transition (resegregation) of a school, as distinguished from stable integration?
   b. White flight.
   c. Unresolved racial tensions.
   d. Expected (or actual) rise in discipline problems at the school.
   e. Expected (or actual) fall in achievement levels of the school.
   f. Other; explain: ________________________________

3. In your opinion, what is a school system's proper role with regard to promoting an integrated community and avoiding resegregation?
   a. None; that's a concern for other institutions, e.g. Village, real estate.
   b. Providing a quality education for all, with special emphasis on the needs of minority students.
   c. Providing a quality education for all, with special emphasis on needs of students who are underrepresented in the classroom (as compared with their proportion in the larger society).
   d. Educational decisions ought to be made only after giving full consideration to their impact on community integration or the loss of it.
   e. Strict compliance with equal opportunity laws affecting education do not allow for vigorous pursuit of the interests of integration.
   f. Other; explain: ________________________________
4. In your opinion, what is an optimally integrated school situation?
   a. One that is inclusive of all racial and ethnic groups in whatever numbers happen to live in the district.
   b. Integration is not school responsibility; desegregation according to State guidelines may be, however.
   c. One where each school is a microcosm of the region.
   d. One where people of various races cooperate with one another regardless of racial composition.
   e. One where middle class values predominate but where there is acceptance of minority values and rights.
   f. Other; explain: ________________________________________________________________

5. In your opinion, black students in a predominantly white school system ...
   a. should be treated the same as whites.
   b. should have special allowances made for them if they come from disadvantaged backgrounds.
   c. should be given special consideration in terms of academics, but held to behavioral expectations of the predominant group.
   d. should have standards and values of the whole school adjusted in order to reflect their proportionate presence.
   e. should, along with their parents, be given their independent choice regarding same or different treatment.
   f. Other; explain: ________________________________________________________________

6. In your opinion, "average white parents" will take their children out of a desegregated school ...
   a. when they believe that school officials are "catering to blacks" and not maintaining discipline.
   b. when the black percentage in the school gets "too high," no matter what the discipline or achievement developments.
   c. when their child claims to have been victimized in a racial hassle or fears same.
   d. when they sense that the school has lost prestige.
   e. only when they move for altogether non-racial reasons, and not before.
   f. Other; explain: ________________________________________________________________

7. In your opinion, racial record keeping and a colorconscious approach to equal opportunity ...
   a. are mandated by law in education and desirable in dealing with housing questions, especially as they impact on classroom racial composition.
   b. are infringements on individual rights and dignity and ought to be avoided where possible.
   c. are necessary in order to avoid support for racial isolation in neighborhoods and in schools.
   d. are euphemisms for discrimination against minority and/or majority group people.
   e. discriminate against some people; which ones: ______________________________
8. Please describe, as you see it, the relationship between the handling of racial issues by schools and an integrated housing market, one where people of all races are competing for housing in numbers which reflect their presence in the region.

The following identifying information is optional; however, your expert opinions are being solicited; therefore, identification would be appreciated:

Name: ____________________________  Date: ____________

Title: ______________________________

School System: ____________________________

Work station or school: ____________________________

School (system) racial composition: %white ___; %black ___; %non-black minority ___

Your town of residence: ____________________________

Other information which you feel describes you more fully than the above:

______________________________________________

______________________________________________

______________________________________________

______________________________________________

On behalf of the Village of Park Forest and Park Forest South, THANK YOU. Please return to 200 Forest Boulevard, Park Forest, Illinois 60466.

Donald L. DeMarco  Dudley Onderdonk  Kathy Cardona
Assistant to the Vil Mgr.  Village Planner  Planning Assistant
for Community Relations
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Sixteen responded, most of them identifying themselves in some fashion, if only by an envelope with a school's return address; some represent mix race schools and a smaller number do not.

With respect to the first question regarding the impact of racial integration or desegregation on the quality of education, eight said the impact is dependent upon whether the system is integrated or desegregated, there being an important difference. Evidently the first is viewed as "natural" and gradual and the second as sudden and a contrived (if necessary) solution to discrimination, which is not the fault of the schools. Three answered that quality improves, and two said it depends upon the socio-economic status of the majority and minority group involved.

Racial transition (question 2) was attributed to white flight by twelve, to massive black move-in by four, and to unresolved racial tension by three. Three cited discipline problems and two said achievement level reductions. (More than one answer had been selected by two respondents).

On the question of the schools proper role with regard to promoting an integrated community and avoiding segregation (question 3), there was no real pattern of agreement.

Optional school integration (question 4) was similarly without a plainly discernable pattern in the responses.

Treating black students the same way white students are treated drew eight positive responses to the question about blacks in a predominantly white school (question 5). Other suggested that individuals were treated according to their own individual needs. Three felt that academic expectations should be adjusted, but that predominant group behavior expectations should prevail.

With regard to when "average white parents" take their children out of a desegregated school (question 6), six responses were marked for two answers: "too high black percentage" and "when their child claims" to have been victimized in a racial hassle or fear same. The other responses also got some play.

Racial record keeping and a colorconscious approach to equal opportunity (question 7) was viewed by seven as mandated by law and desirable. Five said they were necessary to avoid racial imbalance in neighborhoods and schools. Two said they are euphemisms for discrimination against minority and/or majority and another two said they were infringements on individual rights and dignity and ought to be avoided.

Sensitivity and communication were prescribed as the necessary ingredients in the relationship required of both schools and the housing markets as they impact so heavily upon one another. A couple of the respondents said there is no essential relationship. Others left the question 8 blank or offered comments somewhat unrelated to the question, which was apparently not well worded.
The opinions of Real Estate Brokers on questions about equal opportunity in housing, about integration, segregation and affirmative marketing are, of course, of considerable concern to any study of the housing market. Sixty seven realty company principals and fifteen management agents for apartment complexes were mailed the following questionnaires:
REAL ESTATE BROKER INPUT ON THE FAR SOUTH SUBURBAN HOUSING MARKET

The Villages of Park Forest and Park Forest South are conducting a study of the housing market of which the villages are a part, especially concentrating on the factors involved in resegregation and how to avoid it. The study is partially supported through a Comprehensive Planning Grant – from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the provisions of Section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954, as amended:

Your assistance by responding to the following opinion items as convenience permits will aid the villages by providing a local real estate industry perspective to the study. Your voluntary cooperation will be appreciated. Please circle the letter before the best answer as you see it. This is not a test.

1. In your opinion, what is the impact on property values in a formerly all white area when some blacks move in?
   a. No impact.
   b. Values increase.
   c. Values decrease.
   d. Values might go either way.
   e. Values increase if white demand is maintained and tend not to if whites lose interest in the area.
   f. Other; explain: ____________________________

2. In your opinion, what is the cause of racial transition (resegregation), as distinguished from stable integration?
   b. Redlining by lenders and insurers.
   c. White flight or panic selling.
   d. Illegal racial steering.
   e. Self-steering by prospective buyers and renters because of racial factors.
   f. Other; explain: ____________________________

3. In your opinion, what is the real estate community's proper role with regard to promoting integration and avoiding resegregation?
   a. Should not be involved because of civil rights liability.
   b. Should promote white housing traffic and demand where it is under-represented or "soft".
   c. Should promote black housing traffic and demand where it is under-represented or "soft".
   d. Both "b" and "c".
   e. Should not address the question, but should positively promote all areas as good places to live.
   f. Other; explain: ____________________________
4. In your opinion, what is an integrated housing market?
   a. One where blacks and other minorities are free to move.
   b. One where people of various races live.
   c. One where people of all races are free to compete for all housing.
   d. One where people of all races are actually competing for housing in all sectors.
   e. Integrated housing does not exist; however, markets of racial change do exist because of free access laws.
   f. One where people of various races live together, getting along and cooperating.
   g. Other; explain: ____________________________

5. In your opinion, introducing the first black family onto a block or to a neighborhood ...
   a. is block busting and, therefore, a violation of fair housing law.
   b. is commendable as a move to promote an increase of black demand where it has been lacking previously.
   c. should be avoided if the realty agent feels that the black family will be harrassed or made to feel unwelcome.
   d. should be accompanied by assurances to the family that it will be well received.
   e. is asking for trouble, one way or another.
   f. Other; explain: ____________________________

6. In your opinion, racial record keeping by realty firms is:
   a. Lawful.
   b. Unlawful.
   c. Mandatory.
   d. Permissable; but should be avoided.
   e. An appropriate tool for monitoring the effects of affirmative marking.
   f. Other; explain: ____________________________

7. In your opinion, equal housing opportunity is:
   a. the same as affirmative marketing.
   b. provided when parties act without racial malice.
   c. a way of guaranteeing desegregation.
   d. has come to be equated in the marketplace as code words for "soon to be black".
   e. a legal concept with a poorly understood meaning.
   f. Other; explain: ____________________________

8. In your opinion, being aware of the race of customers:
   a. is something that usually cannot be avoided.
   b. should be avoided if at all possible.
   c. is necessary in order to effectively carry out affirmative marketing policies.
d. may be unavoidable, but should not be compounded by making written racial notations.
e. does not matter.
f. Other; explain: ________________________________

9. In your opinion, affirmative marketing ...
   a. is advertising and selling so as to promote traffic and demand where it is racially under represented.
   b. is providing information that will enable minority buyers to make a free choice of housing location.
   c. is being especially careful not to violate fair housing laws.
   d. is another term which has come to mean "preference for blacks".
   e. means being positive about people and housing.
   f. Other; explain: ________________________________

10. In your opinion, who should be concerned about affirmative marketing:
    a. Government at various levels.
    b. Government at the local level.
    c. The real estate industry.
    d. Lenders.
    e. None of the above.
    f. Other; explain: ________________________________

11. In your opinion, which of the following is most influential in determining the racial composition of a community?
    a. Real estate agents.
    b. Lenders
    c. Appraisers.
    d. Municipal government.
    e. Schools.
    f. Other; explain: ________________________________

12. In your opinion, a racial "tipping point" ...
    a. is reached at or before 10% black population.
    b. is reached at about 20% black population.
    c. is reached at about 35% black population.
    d. is reached at about 50% black population.
    e. is not an applicable concept relative to integration vs. resegregation.
    f. Other; explain: ________________________________

13. In your opinion, the south suburbs' image ...
    a. is a good one.
    b. suffers compared with the northern and the western suburbs.
c. gets tied up with the image of the south side of Chicago.
d. is quite reflective of the realities.
e. is unclear.
f. Other; explain: __________________________________________________________

14. In your opinion, Park Forest and Park Forest South ...

a. will both very likely be stably integrated for many years.
b. will both likely resegregate within 10-15 years.
c. one will resegregate; one will not.
d. are properly approaching the achievement and maintenance of a functionally integrated housing market.
e. many remain attractive to whites if other area housing options are made attractive to blacks.
f. Other; explain: __________________________________________________________

15. Please describe the far south suburban housing market in terms of housing values, prices, racial characteristics, and any one or two other variables which you consider to be important.

The following identifying information is optional. Remember, this questionnaire is not a test. Your expert opinions are being solicited; therefore, identification would be appreciated:

Name: ___________________________ Date __________________
Title: _____________________________ Firm: ______________________
Firm's number of agents and/or employees: ___________________________
Number of firm's offices: ___________________________
Your town of residence: ___________________________

Other information which you may feel describes you more fully than the above:

On behalf of the Village of Park Forest and Park Forest South, THANK YOU.

Donald L. DeMarco Dudley Onderdonk III Kathy Cardona
Ass't to Vil. Mgr. for Village Planner Planning Assistant
Community Relations

DLDM:hco 11/11/76
Only eight responses were received, five from resale realtors who disclosed their identity, one from an anonymous broker, and two from identified rental agents.

Six out of the eight agreed that property values in formerly all white areas increase when blacks move in if white demand is maintained and tend not to if whites lose interest in the area (question 1).

Self-steering by prospective buyers and renters because of racial factors is the prime cause of racial transition (resegregation) according to six respondents (question 2).

Five of the respondents hold the opinion that the real estate community should not address the question of promoting integration or avoiding resegregation, but should merely be positive about all areas; too adding that the reason for this stance is civil rights liabilities (question 3).

Regarding the matter of what integration in the housing market means (question 4), five said it is a place where people of various races live together, getting along and cooperating. Two said integration does not exist.

Regarding the question (5) of introducing the first black family onto a block or to a neighborhood prompted four answers of "other", indicating a distaste for the question and all the alternative responses.

Four answered that racial record keeping by real estate firms is unlawful (untrue) and none said that it is lawful. Three did say it was an appropriate tool for monitoring the effect of affirmative marketing (question 6).

Housing equal opportunity is provided when parties act without racial malice according to five respondents (question 7). Two said it's a code work for "soon to be black", and two said it's a legal concept with a poorly understood meaning.

Being aware of the race of customers is unavoidable for half of the eight and is considered necessary to effectively carry out affirmative marketing by two. Three say it does not matter and another two say the unavoidable should not be compounded by making written records (question 8).

There were two positive responses to advertising and selling so as to promote traffic and demand where it is racially under represented as a definition for affirmative marketing, the same number as for a meaning associated with providing information on free choice to minorities (question 9).

On question 10 about who should be concerned about equal opportunity, four of the respondents checked a through d.
Regarding who is most influential in determining the racial composition of a community, three cited real estate agents. The others split among our offered, answered or supplied their own such as "buyers" or "sellers" (question 11).

Two respondents felt that a racial "tipping point" is reached at, or before 10% of the population is black. Another two said that point is reached at 20%. One, the only black broker in the group, said 35% is the tipping point. One said the term is not applicable, and the other one said that it is reached when the people in the area feel it is reached (question 12).

The image of the south suburbs (question 13) was not thought to be good by any of the respondents. Seven said it suffers compared to the northern and western suburbs. Checking more then one response, two respondents felt that the south side image is tied-up with that of the south-side of Chicago and another two indicated that the image reflects reality.

Question 15 dealt specifically with Park Forest and Park Forest South. Two respondents felt that both would very likely be stably integrated for many years; none felt both would resegregate within 10-15 years; but two felt that one of them would (Park Forest South). Four said that both towns would remain attractive to whites if other area housing options are made attractive to blacks.

In describing the south suburban housing market in terms of value, prices, racial characteristics and other variables, the respondents, in several instances, noted their years of experience doing business in the area and their confidence in their ability to predict what will happen in the market. Several made reference to their own lack of bias. A couple wrote of rising concerns about crime and school problems. One complained about being tested by fair housing auditors.

While the return on the questionnaires sent out was minimal, numerous discussions with area real estate brokers tend to confirm that the responses of these eight respondents are typical. If anything, they may be more enlightened than the average broker's responses. If that is a true statement, it is then also an indication of the very considerable gulf between the current mindset of the real estate community and the mindset, and even store of information, which would be desirable in promoting integration and avoiding segregation.
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No. 1 reason for white population panic is deterioration of the school system; No. 2 is increased violent crime. Go about racially related matters without public notice.

This area provides most for ones housing dollar.

Word of mouth stories among whites result in many south suburban (mixed) areas appearing less attractive to them.

Integration controlled by economics, minorities go where minority oriented financing (FHA & VA) is available.

Best housing values are in south suburbs, racial characteristics move as lowest price houses move in the various subdivisions.

Park Forest racial, ethnic, and economic balance is unique and desirable; must be retained.

Foresees town of Park Forest South going all black with next 5 years because of stigma already attached to town.
Established in March, 1975, by Morris Milgram and James Farmer as a non-profit mortgage company to promote and help maintain stable integrated neighborhoods - to provide financial incentive in the form of financially advantageous loans to persons making pro-integration housing moves.

Goals:

1. To help neighborhoods become interracial.
2. To help existing interracial neighborhoods maintain stability.
3. To strengthen acceptance of integrated housing.
4. To help solve the problem of segregated schools by breaking down walls of residential segregation.

PROGRAMS: MORTGAGE LOANS, MOSTLY IN PHILADELPHIA AND D.C. APPLICATIONS ACCEPTED FROM OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY - SOMETIMES TIED IN WITH A LOCAL GROUP, LIKE HIP.

HOW:

a.) Can lower the cost of loan.

b.) Can help reduce downpayment to 5% of purchase price on homes costing over $20,000.

c.) Interest rate probably will be 1/4% lower than the going conventional rate.

OFFICERS: Program Director: Caroline Isard
Chairman, Board of Directors: James Farmer
President, Board of Directors: Morris Milgram
NORTH SHORE INTERFAITH HOUSING COUNCIL
1125 Wilmette Avenue
Wilmette, Illinois 60091

PURPOSE: "... ALLEVIATION of discrimination in housing patterns in the North Shore suburban area of Chicago on the basis of income, race or ethnic heritage (a) by expression of religious concern, community education, collection and dissemination of data, including the need for low and moderate income housing in the North Shore suburban area; (b) by coordination and assistance of the housing efforts of various religious congregations and denominations on the North Shore; and (3) by initiating, financing and operating specific projects, as approved by the member congregations, to further charitable, religious and educational goals of a greater North Shore suburban community without discrimination in housing occupancy, whether economic, religious, or racial."


ACTIVITIES: COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION: Work with groups to get subsidized housing for the elderly into the North Shore suburbs, by political action aimed at zoning changes. Successful.

EDUCATION: Of Section 8 benefits and provisions. Developed and printed a "Citizen's Guide to Rental Assistance" in an effort to inform eligible residents and workers in the area of the opportunity to participate in the program. Panel discussions, presentations, etc. on matters re: housing.

HOUSING REFERRAL: Under study.
HOME INVESTMENTS FUND  
116 South Michigan Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60603  
641-1035  

ESTABLISHED: 1968  

PURPOSE:  

a. To encourage and assist the integration of housing in urban and suburban communities, including the stabilization of previously integrated neighborhoods.  

b. Words to the effect that HIF can buy and lease housing.  

SERVICES:  

Counseling / Housing Referral  
Financial Assistance / Counseling  
Employer Fair Housing Program  
Community Profiles  
Anti-discrimination work.  

PROVISO HOUSING CENTER  
P. O. Box 86  
Maywood, Illinois 60153  

PURPOSE:  

To create and maintain multicultural, interracial communities by offering equal housing opportunities for all people throughout Proviso Township.  

INCORPORATED: July, 1976.  

PROPOSED SERVICES (CENTER IS NOT FUNCTIONING):  

1. Counsel prospective residents.  
2. Assist employers in finding employees housing close to work.  
3. Keep information on practices of realtors and lending institutions regarding equal opportunity housing.  
5. Provide referral information.  
6. Provide information regarding positive values of open housing.  
7. Provide forum through which people can offer ideas and advice, knowledge and support of those purposes.
NAME & ADDRESS
Kale Williams, Director
Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities
407 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois 60605

AREA & PEOPLE SERVED
Chicago Metro Area
Established 1966

PURPOSE
To establish, promote and report upon education and action programs necessary to achieve fair housing in the Chicago Metropolitan Area.

GOAL
A single housing market in the Chicago Metropolitan Area free of racial and economic discrimination.

SERVICES
1. Legal Action: To enforce fair housing laws.
   a. Auditing real estate industry.
   b. Countering red-lining.

2. Technical assistance to integrated communities facing resegregation.

3. Education of legal profession.

Affiliated with Home Investments Fund (HIF) and Metropolitan Housing Development Corporation (MHDC).
Joelyn Chiero, Director
Minority Information Referral Center
694 Lee Street
Des Plaines, Illinois 60016

Suburban industry and intercity minority workers. The Center was established in 1973.

To lessen geographical and psychological distance between minorities in urban core and suburban industry.

1. The placement and counseling of minorities in suburban jobs.
2. The placement and counseling of minorities in suburban housing.
3. Serving as a housing advocate for minorities.
4. Monitoring housing practices.

Lois Gungel, Director
Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference
1400 East 53rd Street
Chicago, Illinois 60615


The Conference is established to assemble, correlate and disseminate information with respect to living standards, social conditions and morale of residents, the quality and availability of private, community and government facilities and services, the physical condition and use of private and public buildings, streets and land in the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhood; to plan, study and test measures for maintenance and improvement of the same; to train teachers and community leaders in the aforementioned matters. The educational and scientific activities shall be carried on through cooperative programs with residents of the neighborhood, regardless of their race, creed, or national origin, and in cooperation with other educational, scientific, religious and charitable organizations.

1. Focus community attention on issues.
2. Provide opportunities to celebrate and enjoy unique community.
3. Educates and communicates information about services, possibilities, issues.
4. Provide problem solving capacity.
5. Provide a vehicle by which residents examine alternatives, seek consensus, speak out on behalf of community.

Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Development Corporation.
Child Care Task Force.
Whistle Stop Crime Prevention Program.
| NAME AND ADDRESS | Bobbie Raymond, Director  
Oak Park Housing Center  
1041 South Boulevard  
Oak Park, Illinois 60302 |
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<td>AREA &amp; PEOPLE SERVED</td>
<td>Oak Park. Opened May 1, 1972.</td>
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<td>PURPOSE</td>
<td>Creation of a stable, integrated community, one in which racial change would act as a positive rather than as a negative force in the years ahead. Blacks where there is a deficiency of blacks, whites where there is a deficiency of whites. Also, creation of a climate in which interaction with people of other races is seen as an enriching experience.</td>
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| SERVICES | 1. Promotion of Oak Park and Public Relations.  
2. Housing counseling referral and placement.  
3. Education and information.  
5. Concern with maintenance and redevelopment in the community. |

| NAME AND ADDRESS | Kay Esperson, Director  
West Suburban Housing Center  
525 Hillside Avenue  
Glen Ellyn, Illinois 60137 |
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<td>AREA &amp; PEOPLE SERVED</td>
<td>Started in 1975.</td>
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<td>PURPOSE</td>
<td>&quot;To encourage the promotion of equality of opportunity for minorities;&quot; &quot;minority&quot; includes all races, elderly, women and low-income families.</td>
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| SERVICES | 1. Cooperates with local industry to help people find housing.  
2. Serves as a clearinghouse for information about subsidized housing.  
3. Provides housing counseling and referrals.  
4. Provides escort services.  
5. Serves as a resource center for education and information. |
Renee Paczesny, Director
South Suburban Housing Center
1048 Ridge Road
Homewood, Illinois 60430

South Suburban Chicago.
The SSHC is dedicated to promoting and encouraging racial and economic diversity in neighborhoods of the south suburbs.

1. Community education and information including:
   Housing costs by community.
   Community profiles.
   School District information.
   Available transportation.
2. Financial counseling.
3. Legal follow-up.
4. Referral to other network housing centers.
5. Housing counseling.
6. Integration maintenance - equal access to total south suburban housing market.

National Neighbors
17 Mapelwood Mall
Philadelphia, Pa. 19144

National Neighbors is a federation of multiracial neighborhood organizations from all over the country. National Neighbors was founded 1970.

To foster and encourage successful multiracial neighborhoods.
To achieve a single housing market - meaning there must be equal opportunity for whites and minorities to move into any community.
To support quality public education and improve the image of integrated public education.
To achieve adequate public services for all neighborhoods.
To bring about integration of non-integrated neighborhoods.
To achieve greater participation by members of minority groups in the implementation of multiracial living.
To encourage an economic mix in all neighborhoods.
To achieve better ethnic and racial understanding through planned intergroup contact.

1. Clearinghouse for individuals seeking to move into interracial neighborhoods.
2. Publications and materials useful to interracial neighborhoods.
3. Newsletter published five times yearly.
4. Field services.
5. Annual conference.
6. Representation of the interests of interracial neighborhoods.
7. Program aimed at impacting real estate industry - consultation services, technical and legal assistance.
NAME & ADDRESS
Mary Meyer
Calumet Park Housing Center
12446 South Loomis
Calumet Park, Illinois 60643

AREA & PEOPLE SERVED
Calumet Park since 1974. (A service of the Calumet Park Community Improvement Association.)

PURPOSE
To assist in stabilizing the village.

SERVICES
1. Housing counseling and referrals.
2. Advice concerning financial assistance.
3. Education.
4. Realtor contacts.

NAME & ADDRESS
Marlene Sirilo, Director
Far South Suburban Housing Service
3850 Sauk Trail
Richton Park, Illinois 60471

AREA & PEOPLE SERVED
Far South Suburbs of Chicago, established in 1975.

PURPOSE
The protection of housing values throughout the far south suburban area.

SERVICES
1. Acquisition and rehabilitation of blighted housing.
2. Housing counseling, referral and placement.
3. Education and information.
4. Working toward equal opportunity in housing.

NAME & ADDRESS
Kathy Cardona, Director
Park Forest South Community Information Center
850 Exchange Ave.
Park Forest South, Illinois 60466

AREA & PEOPLE SERVED
Park Forest South and other south suburbs. Established in 1976.

PURPOSE
1. To project a positive image of PFS by compiling and disseminating accurate information;
2. To foster growth through the establishment of a village housing referral service;
3. To work with other metropolitan housing groups, area realtors, and village residents to insure the stability of PFS as a multi-racial community.

SERVICES
1. Housing counseling, referral and placement
2. Monthly newsletter
3. Education
4. Advocacy
The following section contains Model Documents that may serve as useful guides.

- Model Affirmative Marketing Agreement
- Model Fair Housing Ordinance (Park Forest)
- Model Regulation of Solicitation Ordinance (Park Forest)
- Model Intent to Sell or Rent Ordinance (Bellwood, Illinois)
- Equal Opportunity Housing Under the Law—current legal requirements
- Balanced Development Zoning Ordinance (Aurora, Illinois), pending
WHEREAS, racial segregation in housing results in separate and unequal societies to the eventual detriment of all; and

WHEREAS, racial segregation has in the past been fostered by among other forces the real estate industry, mortgage lenders, and various levels of government; and

WHEREAS, racial segregation continues as a consequence of among other things steering of majority and minority group persons, and is illegal discrimination; and

WHEREAS, the present enforcement of laws prohibiting housing discrimination based on race are necessary for the protection of individual rights and can serve the interest of integration but have not sufficiently promoted and maintained functionally integrated housing markets, thereby failed to fully remedy the effects of past discrimination; and

WHEREAS, the avoidance of segregation and resegregation requires planning and implementation beyond the enforcement of prohibited acts, including affirmative marketing, defined by the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development as: "A program which should include efforts to reach those persons who traditionally would not have been expected to apply for the housing. For instance, for housing in a white suburban area, special steps may be needed to make its availability known to minorities; similarly, if the housing is located in an area of minority concentration, special steps may be needed to make its availability known to whites;" and

WHEREAS, Affirmative Marketing is a legal, prescribed approach to develop a housing market in which persons of all races are well and fully represented, within economic means, in competing for housing throughout each portion of the housing market; and

WHEREAS, Affirmative Marketing requires special efforts to develop housing traffic and demand where it is racially underrepresented - majority or minority - in order that a unitary housing market might come into existence; and

WHEREAS, Affirmative Marketing, if it is to be both effective and non-discriminatory, requires careful racial record keeping with respect to housing traffic and demand as well as current residency; and

WHEREAS, , a real estate firm in the State of Illinois and , a non-profit Illinois corporation which purpose is , desires to enter into a mutual understanding relative to affirmative marketing efforts to be conducted by the realty firm and by the non-profit corporation and by the two together:

NOW, THEREFORE, in consideration of the mutual agreements contained herein, the parties hereto agree as follows:
1. Realty agrees to inform its customers and clients of housing options throughout its service area.

   a. Taking special care to make majority group persons (whites) positively aware of housing opportunities in areas where they are presently underrepresented in the current housing demand;

   b. Taking special care to make minority group persons (black and other non-whites) positively aware of housing opportunities in areas where they are presently underrepresented in the current housing demand;

   c. Monitoring its own agents to assure that each is working to develop housing traffic for company and non-company listing in furtherance of the establishment of a unitary housing market.

2. Realty agrees to maintain racial records by which it will monitor its affirmative marketing performance.

3. Realty agrees to utilize the counseling services of to assist in its efforts to encourage its customers to consider housing options which they seem to be foreclosing because of perceived racial factors.

4. (a fair housing organization) agrees to provide counseling services described in three (3) above.

5. (*) agrees to provide consultation and training to Realty in connection with one (1) and (2) above.

6. (*), agrees, in the event that Realty is questioned regarding a matter of possible racial discrimination, whether in pursuance of the policies set down herein or not, to inform the inquiring parties of Realty's cooperation in promoting an equal opportunity housing market through affirmative marketing. The names of such inquiring parties shall be forwarded within 48 hours to (*).

7. Realty and (*) agree to file copies of this agreement with the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities and Home Investments Fund, which along with the principal parties hereto have been instrumental in establishing this agreement.

8. The parties hereto agree to review affirmative marketing performance on a regular basis and not less than at six (6) month intervals, giving attention to desirable revisions as dictated by the development of fair housing law and the relevant market.

9. Nothing stated herein shall be construed to abrogate the obligation of all parties to observe all applicable fair housing laws.

10. The term of this agreement shall begin ____________, 1976 and shall continue until ____________, 19____.
IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties have each caused this Agreement to be signed on its behalf by its duly authorized officers.

______________________________

______________________________

Date

ATTEST:

______________________________

______________________________

Date

DDLDM:hco
10/12/76
The keeping of racial records is a form of affirmative action necessary to correct the effects of prior discrimination. In such circumstances, it is not unlawful to be aware of race, for nondiscriminatory purposes.


If periodic compliance reviews by the appropriate enforcement agencies are done, racial records will not be permitted to become devices for discrimination.
ARTICLE XII. COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS.

Section 2-257. Commission; term of office; qualifications for membership.

There is hereby created a Commission on Human Relations consisting of thirteen (13) members, residents of the Village, who shall each serve for terms of three (3) years. The Chairman and Vice-Chairman shall be annually designated by the President and Board of Trustees. The terms of office for the initial appointments shall be: five (5) members for three (3) years; four (4) members for two (2) years; and four (4) members for one (1) year.

Section 2-258. Purpose of Commission.

The purpose of the commission shall be to foster, encourage and stimulate the improvement of human relations among and between citizens of all races, colors, creeds, national origins and economic and educational levels so as to provide all individuals with an equal opportunity to grow, participate and share to the best of their ability in the economic, educational, political, social and judicial systems.

Section 2-259. Duties and Functions.

The primary function of the Commission shall be to improve human relations in the Village. Its duties shall include but shall not be limited to:

a. Advising the President and Board of Trustees on human relations matters;

b. Serving as an educational arm of the Village in fields of human relations to all persons, areas, groups and institutions in the Village;

c. Acting as a bridge between Village government, citizens, and citizen groups;

d. Performing as a catalyst in improving human relations and equitable living conditions;

e. Carrying on research and studies in the field of human relations in an effort to equalize opportunities and lessen prejudice and discrimination based on race, color, religion, national origin, sex, age or marital status; and

f. Performing an advocacy role by assisting and encouraging citizens and non-citizen residents in the pursuit of their rights under the laws of the State of Illinois, the United States of America, and the ordinances of the Village.

The Commission shall meet regularly and adopt its own rules of procedure, and all meetings shall be held in accordance with said rules. The Commission shall submit to the Village an annual report and such special reports as it may from time to time deem advisable. The Commission shall perform such further duties as may be assigned to it by the President and Board of Trustees.

Section 2-260.

When authorized by the President and Board of Trustees by appropriate resolution,
the Commission may require by subpoena the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of documentary evidence relating to any matter under investigation and hearing. The chairman may sign a subpoena which may be served by any police officer of the Village of Park Forest, or by any person lawfully authorized to serve a subpoena under the laws of the State of Illinois. The attendance of witnesses or the production of documentary evidence may be required at such designated place of the hearing within the Village and before the Commission as a whole, or before a duly constituted subcommittee of the Commission. Witnesses summoned before the Commission, or a subcommittee of the Commission, shall be paid the same fees and mileage that are paid witnesses in the Circuit Court of this State.

In case of disobedience by a person to the subpoena, the Commission may petition the Circuit Court of Cook County for an order requiring the attendance and testimony of witnesses, for the production of documentary evidence, or both. The Chairman of the Commission or the commission member conducting the hearing is hereby authorized to administer oaths and is required to provide for the preservation of all testimony taken.

ARTICLE XV. FAIR HOUSING REVIEW BOARD.

Section 2-325. Creation; Term of Office; Qualification for Membership. There is hereby created a Fair Housing Review Board consisting of nine persons, residents of the Village, who shall each serve for a term of three years. None of the members of such board shall be members of any other commission or board of the Village. The Chairman and Vice Chairman shall be annually designated by the President and Board of Trustees. The terms of office for the initial appointments shall be three members for three years; three members for two years; and three members for one year.

Section 2-326. Duties and Powers of the Fair Housing Review Board.

a. The Board shall receive and investigate complaints charging discrimination in housing as set forth in Chapter 24½ of the Code and shall seek conciliation of such complaints and seek compliance by violators;

b. It shall hold hearings, make findings of fact and recommendations in accordance with the provisions of Chapter 24½ as applicable;

c. It shall adopt, promulgate, amend and rescind rules and regulations of procedures;

d. It shall have power to administer oaths and to take sworn testimony at hearings;

e. It shall have power to subpoena witnesses and pertinent documents, and its subpoena power may be enforced by proper petition to any court of competent jurisdiction;

f. It shall have discretionary authority to hold meetings which are closed to the public, but only for the purpose of conciliating complaints of discrimination;

g. It should make an annual report to the President and Board of Trustees concerning its activities and shall communicate its recommendations related thereto.
Fair Housing Ordinance

REAL ESTATE AND HOUSING PRACTICES

ARTICLE I. IN GENERAL

Section 24½-1. Definitions.

For the purpose of this Chapter, the following words and phrases shall have the meaning respectively assigned to them:

BOARD means the Fair Housing Review Board of the Village.

COMMISSION means the Commission on Human Relations of the Village.

LEASE includes sub-lease, assignment, and rent (or rental), and includes any contract to do any of the foregoing.

LENDING INSTITUTION means any bank, insurance company, savings and loan association, other person in the business of lending money or guaranteeing loans, any person in the business of obtaining, arranging or negotiating loans or guarantees as agent or broker, and any person in the business of buying or selling loans or instruments for the payment of money which are secured by title to or a security interest in real property, but shall not include any religious institution or organization nor any charitable or educational organization operated, supervised or controlled by a religious institution or organization.

NATIONAL ORIGIN includes national origin and ancestors.

OWNER means any person who holds legal or equitable title to, or owns any beneficial interest in, any real property or who holds legal or equitable title to shares of, or holds any beneficial interest in, any real estate cooperative which owns any real property.

PURCHASE includes any contract to purchase.

REAL ESTATE BROKER means any person who for a consideration sells or offers for sale, buys or offers to buy, or negotiates the purchase or sale or exchange of real property, or who leases, or offers to lease, or rents or offers for rent, any real property, or negotiates leases thereof, or of the improvements therein for another or others, or who employs any person as a real estate salesman to perform any of the above acts.

REAL ESTATE SALESMAN means any person licensed as a real estate salesman in accordance with the provisions of Chapter 114½ of the Illinois Revised Statutes, or required thereby to be so licensed.

REAL ESTATE TRANSACTION means the purchase, sale, exchange or lease of any real property and an option to do any of the foregoing.

SALE includes any contract to sell, exchange or to convey, transfer or assign legal or equitable title to or beneficial interest in real property.
ARTICLE II. REAL ESTATE BROKER

Section 24\-2. License Required.

a. It shall be unlawful to carry on the business of real estate broker, directly or indirectly, in the village without first having obtained a Village real estate broker's license, or to violate the terms of any such license, when so granted.

b. It shall be unlawful for any real estate broker to erect or maintain any sign on any real estate without first having obtained a Village real estate broker's license.

Section 24\-3. Application.

Applications for such licenses shall be made to the Village Clerk in writing, signed by the applicant if an individual, and signed by all the partners of a partnership, or by a duly authorized officer thereof if a corporation, verified by oath or affidavit, and shall contain the information required by this chapter, and such other information as may be required by the board in their discretion after said application has been submitted to the Village Clerk.

Section 24\-4. Revocation.

The President shall have the power to revoke all licenses issued under this article, whenever a licensee, directly or indirectly, shall be guilty of:

a. Making any substantial misrepresentation, or engaging in untruthful advertising, or

b. Making any false promises of a character likely to influence, persuade, or induce action contrary to the best interest of the Village and preservation of property values in the village, or

c. Pursuing a continued and flagrant course of misrepresentation or the making of false promises through agents or salesmen or advertising or otherwise, or

d. Any misleading or untruthful advertising, or using any trade name or insignia of membership in any real estate organization of which the licensee is not a member, or

e. Acting for more than one party in a transaction without the knowledge of all parties for whom he acts, or

f. Failure to furnish copies upon request of all documents relating to a real estate transaction to all parties executing the same, or

g. Paying a commission or valuable consideration to any person for acts or services performed in violation of this article, or

h. Having demonstrated unworthiness or incompetency to act as a real estate broker in such manner as to endanger the interests of the public, or

i. Employing any person as a salesman on a purely temporary or single deal basis
as a means of evading the law regarding payment of commissions or any of the provisions of this Chapter, or

j. Displaying a "for rent" or "for sale" sign on any property without the written consent of an owner or his duly authorized agent, or advertising that any property is for sale or for rent in a newspaper or other publication without the consent of the owner or his authorized agent, or

k. Failing, within a reasonable time, to provide information requested by the Village President as a result of a formal or informal complaint to the Village, which would indicate a violation of this Chapter, or

l. Being found by the Commission or a Court of competent jurisdiction to having acted in a discriminatory manner in real estate transactions contrary to the provisions of this Chapter, or

m. Disregarding or violating any applicable provision of this Code, or

n. Any other conduct, whether of the same or a different character from that hereinbefore specified which constitutes dishonest dealing.

ARTICLE III. DISCRIMINATION

Section 24-16. Prohibited.

No owner, lessee, or sub-lessee of real property, real estate broker or salesman, lender, financial institution, advertiser, or agent of any of the foregoing, shall discriminate against any other person because of the religion, race, color, sex, age, marital status or national origin of such other person or because of the religion, race, color, sex, age, marital status or national origin of the friends or associates of such other person, in regard to the sale or rental of, or dealings concerning real property. Any such discrimination shall be considered an unfair real estate practice. Without limiting the foregoing, it shall also be an unfair real estate practice and unlawful for any real estate broker or other person to:

a. Publish or circulate, or cause to be published or circulated, any notice, statement or advertisement, or to announce a policy, or to use any form of application for the purchase, lease, rental or financing of real property, or to make any record or inquiry in connection with the prospective purchase, rental or lease of real property, which expresses directly or indirectly any limitation, specification or discrimination, or any intent to make any such limitation, specification or discrimination.

b. Deceive, or overcharge any person for real property in the village, or to make any distinction, discrimination or restriction against any person as to the conditions or privileges of any kind relating to the sale, rental, lease or occupancy of real property.

c. Discriminate or to participate in discrimination in connection with borrowing or lending money, guaranteeing loans, accepting mortgages or otherwise obtaining or making available funds for the purchase, acquisition, construction, rehabilitation, repairs or maintenance of any real property in the village.
Fair Housing Ordinance

d. Solicit or to enter into an agreement for the sale, lease or listing for sale, or lease, of any real property within the village on grounds of loss of value due to the present or prospective entry into any neighborhood of any person or persons of any particular race, color, religion, sex, age, marital status, or national origin or ancestry.

e. Distribute or cause to be distributed, written material or statements designated to induce any owner of any real property in the village to sell or lease his or her real property because of any present or prospective change in the race, religion, color, sex, age, marital status, or national origin or ancestry of persons in the neighborhood.

f. Make any misrepresentations concerning the listing for sale or the anticipated listing for sale or the sale of any real property for the purpose of inducing or attempting to induce the sale or listing for sale of any real property by representing that the presence or anticipated presence of persons of any particular race, religion, color, sex, age, marital status, or national origin in the area will or may result in the lowering of real property values in the block, neighborhood or area in which the property is located.

g. Refuse to sell or rent real property because of race, color, religion, sex, age, marital status or national origin.

h. Refuse to show to any person who has specified his needs, and affirmed his ability to finance the purchase or lease of real property, the list or other records identifying all real properties reasonably meeting such specifications.

i. To discriminate in the sale of insurance in connection with real estate or the appraisal of real estate or to differentiate in lending in connection with mortgage loans to be secured by real estate in the village because of race, color, sex, age, marital status, or national origin of the persons living in the village or in the particular neighborhood of the property to be used as security for the loans or because of prospective or present changes in such categories of such persons living in the village or in the neighborhood of the property to be used as security for the sale mortgage loan.

For the purpose of this section differentiation in lending shall include:

1. Refusal to make loans; or

2. Differentiation in the type of loans including interest rates, charges to buyer or seller, duration and amount of loan; or

3. Influencing appraisals in connection with loans; or

4. Delaying processing of loan applications.

Section 244-17. Limitations.

a. This chapter shall not apply to the rental, leasing or other arrangements for the use of any room in any owner occupied single family dwelling.

b. Nothing in this Chapter shall bar any religious or denominational institution
or organization or any charitable or educational organization operated, supervised or controlled by or in connection with a religious organization from limiting living accommodations or giving preference with respect thereto to persons of the same religion or denomination.

c. Nothing in this Chapter shall require an owner or others to offer for sale or lease real property to the public at large where any applicable Federal, State or local laws or ordinances provide otherwise.

Section 24-18.

All persons affected by the provisions of this Chapter shall be required to maintain records, relative to the purposes and policies herein expressed, in accordance with such procedures and pertaining to the activities of such persons in the rental or sale of property, as may be determined by the Village Manager and approved by the President and Board of Trustees. Such records shall be open for inspection by persons designated by the Village Manager at any time during regular business hours. Such persons shall be required to furnish information from said records in the form required from time to time by the Village Manager with the approval of the President and Board of Trustees. Such records shall be maintained from and after the enactment of this amendment and continuously thereafter with respect to any particular business, profession or occupation affected by this Article.

ARTICLE IV.

Section 24-25. Complaints and Enforcement.

a. Proceedings under this Article shall be commenced by the filing of a complaint, within 60 days of the alleged violation, with the Village Manager or his duly authorized assistant for such matters. The complaint shall contain a short and plain statement describing the grievance alleged, the name and address of the person charged and shall be signed by the aggrieved party or the Commission on Human Relations by its Chairman or Vice Chairman, as authorized. The aggrieved party may be assisted by members of the Commission on Human Relations.

b. After the complaint is filed, the Village Manager or his duly authorized assistant shall, within 5 days, serve a copy of the complaint personally or by certified mail with return receipt requested, on the person or persons charged and shall furnish copies thereof to the Fair Housing Review Board.

c. If the Village Manager or his duly authorized assistant determines that the allegations, as stated in the complaint, if true, would constitute a violation of the Code, he or his duly authorized assistant shall investigate the complaint. If it is found by that investigation that the allegations appear to be supported by the facts, a time and place shall be set for a conference and the parties notified. At such conference, the Village Manager or his authorized assistant shall interview the complainant and the person or persons against whom the complaint has been filed and shall attempt to resolve the same by conciliation.

d. If the Village Manager or his duly authorized assistant are unable to conciliate the complaint within 14 days of the filing of the complaint, they shall immediately notify the Chairman of the Fair Housing Review Board, and such Board shall promptly hold a hearing on the complaint.
e. If, in the discretion of the Village Manager and in an emergency situation, immediate court action is necessary, he may at any time direct the Village Prosecutor to file a complaint in any court of competent jurisdiction for a fine, injunction, or other appropriate relief. Such action may be taken even though administrative hearings on the complaint are still pending before the Board.

f. At hearings conducted by the Board, not less than three of the same members of the Board must be present at all times. Only those members who have attended all hearings may participate in the final determination of the complaint. At the conclusion of the hearings, the Board shall render a written report with findings of fact and recommendations which shall be served by certified mail, return receipt requested, upon the complainant and the respondent or their attorneys when represented by counsel. Such decision of the Board must receive the affirmative consent of a majority of those members of the Board who have been present at all the hearings above referred to. Such report shall be rendered on or before sixty (60) days after the date of the first hearing, unless such time has been waived by agreement of the complainant and the respondent or their attorneys and accepted by the Board. Nothing in this section shall preclude a complainant from withdrawing a complaint at any time after filing.

g. The Board shall be empowered at the conclusion of such proceedings, and as part of its report, to recommend to the Village President that he suspend or revoke, for a period not to exceed one year, the license of any person to whom there was issued such a license by the Village, and who shall have been a respondent to any proceedings thus filed and found guilty of violation of any applicable discriminatory provision. Any person whose license has been suspended or revoked, or any complainant aggrieved by the decision of the Board, shall have full right to appeal in accordance with procedures specified in the Administrative Review Act of Illinois. Otherwise, the order of the Board shall be final and conclusive. It shall serve a copy thereof upon the respondent, and any appeal may be taken thereafter.

h. In addition thereto, the Board may request that the President and Board of Trustees direct the Village Attorney to file with the State of Illinois a complaint against any person found guilty of violating any provision of this Code, seeking suspension or revocation of the license issued to such person by the State.

i. The Board may request that the President and Board of Trustees notify the contracting agency of the State or any political subdivision or agency thereof or the United States of America or any agency or instrumentality thereof of any violations of this chapter by any person in the course of performing under a contract or subcontract with such agency for the purpose of causing termination of such contract or any portion thereof either absolutely or on condition of compliance with the provisions of this chapter.

j. The Board may request that the President and Board of Trustees direct the Village Prosecutor to commence action in any court of competent jurisdiction to recover the penalty provided therein or to seek such equitable relief as may be proper.

k. If a respondent has been found guilty of a violation of this chapter, in accord-
Fair Housing Ordinance

ance with the procedures specified herein, the determination of the nature and extent of the penalty shall be vested in the entire Board.

1. In the event of a dismissal of a complaint by the Village Manager or his duly authorized assistant or in the event of their refusal to act on a complaint, the complaint shall nevertheless be forwarded to the Fair Housing Review Board by the Village Manager together with his reasons therefor. The Board shall review every complaint thus filed. If a majority of the Board determines that the respondent has not engaged in any unlawful practice, it shall state its findings in writing and dismiss the complaint. If a majority of the Board determines after such review that probable cause exists for the allegations made in the complaint, the Board shall set a date for a full hearing as above provided and follow the procedure accordingly.

m. Any person aggrieved in any manner by a violation of this chapter, who has exhausted the administrative remedies provided in this article, may apply to any court of competent jurisdiction for appropriate relief from such violation, including:

1. An order compelling compliance with this chapter;

2. An order to prohibit any person found by the court to have violated this chapter, from the sale, lease, exchange, transfer, conveyance, or assignment of any real property;

3. Compensatory damages;

4. Such other and further relief as may seem appropriate to the court for the enforcement of this chapter and the elimination of violations thereof.

These remedies shall be available notwithstanding the imposition of other penalties as are provided for violations of this Code.

WHEREAS, the Village of Park Forest is a home rule unit as defined under the Illinois State Constitution and as such has the right to exercise its authority with respect to its government and affairs; and

WHEREAS, in connection with such government and affairs, it has adopted a policy to assure full and equal opportunity to all residents of the village to obtain fair and adequate housing for themselves and their families without discrimination against them because of their race, color, sex, marital status, age, religion, national origin or ancestry; and

WHEREAS, such policy has been and is being threatened by a practice known as "steering" and similarly related real estate practices which have a tendency to prevent the fulfillment of the above referred to policy; and

WHEREAS, such practices are contrary to and affect the Village's exercise of its powers for the protection of the public safety, health and welfare of the persons residing in the village and is inimical to the maintenance and promotion of commerce, industry and good government in the village.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT ORDAINED by the President and Board of Trustees of the Village of Park Forest, Cook and Will Counties, Illinois, as follows:
ARTICLE V.

Section 24½-50.

The following acts are hereby prohibited and shall constitute a violation of this Article and shall be subject to prosecution in accordance with the provisions and penalties provided in the Code.

1. Influencing or attempting to influence prospective purchasers, occupants or tenants to refrain from purchasing or renting property by referring to the race, color, sex, marital status, age, religion, national origin or ancestry of occupants or prospective occupants of other real estate in the neighborhood.

2. Influencing or attempting to influence prospective sellers, purchasers, occupants, landlords or tenants so as to promote or tend to promote racially segregated housing or to retard, obstruct or discourage racially integrated housing.

3. Discriminating against prospective sellers, purchasers, occupants, landlords or tenants, or giving differential treatment in connection with the sale or rental of property or furnishing of information or services because of race, color, sex, marital status, age, religion, national origin or ancestry.

Section 24½-51.

The provisions of this Article shall be enforced by complaints to the Fair Housing Review Board heretofore created in Chapter 2, Article XV. It shall be the duty of such Board to receive and investigate complaints under the provisions of this Article and to follow the procedures set forth in conjunction with complaints filed before such Board.

Section 24½-52.

The Commission on Human Relations shall provide for the exchange of information related to the provisions of this Article among real estate brokers and salesmen, bankers, lenders, Village officials, other municipal officials and community groups whether within the Village or outside the Village.

Section 24½-53.

The Commission on Human Relations and the Village Administration shall provide educational material and make recommendations to eliminate discrimination and shall take such steps necessary and proper to provide for the application of the principles herein enunciated and set forth.

NOTE: The Fair Housing Ordinance, Ord. No. 649, was adopted 1/29/68; amended by Ord. 756, 4/27/70; amended by Ord. 818, 8/12/71; amended by Ord. 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 11/26/73.

Section 1-7 of the Code of Ordinances of the Village of Park Forest states as follows: General penalty for violation of Code; continuing violations: Whenever in this Code or in any ordinance of the village any act is prohibited or is made or declared to be unlawful or an offense, or whenever in such Code or ordinance the doing of any act is required or the failure to do any act is declared to be unlawful, where no other specific penalty is provided therefor, the violation of any such provision of this Code or any ordinance shall be punished by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars ($500.00) for any one offense.
AN ORDINANCE AMENDING CHAPTER 24½ OF THE CODE OF ORDINANCES,
VILLAGE OF PARK FOREST, COOK AND WILL COUNTIES, ILLINOIS.

BE IT ORDAINED by the President and Board of Trustees, Village of Park Forest,
Cook and Will Counties, Illinois:

I. Chapter 24½ of the Code of Ordinances, Village of Park Forest, Cook and
Will Counties, Illinois, is hereby amended as follows:

A. Add the following Section 24½-5:

(a) Each broker who expects to have agents soliciting for real estate
sales listings door to door, via the mail, and/or by telephone shall
register yearly with the Village and accompany the application for a
broker's solicitation permit with copies of the company's standard
solicitation literature.

(b) Prior to soliciting homeowners, excluding those who have made known,
directly or indirectly, their intent to sell, the broker or agent shall
apply for an individual solicitation permit good for one month.

(c) The individual application for a solicitation permit shall be made at
least three working days prior to intended solicitation and shall
include the specific addresses and expected dates of contact within
the month for which the permit is to be issued.

(d) The applicant shall arrange to receive the solicitation permit at
a time mutually convenient to the applicant and to the Village
Manager or his duly authorized assistant. At that time, a meeting
shall be held wherein the applicant shall make the Village Manager
or his duly authorized representative familiar with the language,
written and/or oral of the intended solicitation message and receive
facts and information with respect to the possible impact of the message
upon the specific neighborhood to be solicited. The meeting requirement
may be fulfilled, at the discretion of the Village Manager or his duly
authorized representative, by a telephone conference.

(e) The Village Manager or duly authorized representative shall not prohibit
the use of solicitation language which is not in violation of the law,
but they shall counsel the applicant's use of language which might be
inadvertently suspect or misunderstood.

(f) The Village shall not prohibit the solicitation of any particular
neighborhood, or part thereof, but may counsel the applicant
of the negative impact such solicitation will have on such areas.

II This Ordinance shall be in full force and effect from and after its passage,
approval and publication, as provided by Statute.

APPROVED:

Ayes: 7
Nays: 0
Absent: 0
Adopted: 2-28-77
Approved: 2-28-77
Published: 3-3-77
ATTEST:
/s/Katherine Bader
Village Clerk

/s/ Mayer Singerman
Village President
ORDINANCE NO. 77-2

AN ORDINANCE REQUIRING NOTIFICATION OF INTENT TO SELL OR RENT RESIDENTIAL PROPERTY

BE IT ORDAINED by the President and Board of Trustees of the Village of Bellwood, Cook County, Illinois, that the Bellwood Village Code, with amendments thereto be further amended by adding the following thereto:

SECTION I: That all owners, agents, Brokers or any individual or legal entity having ownership or control of any residential property which is offered for sale or rental within the Village of Bellwood, must notify the Village of Bellwood, Department of Community Relations & Building Commissioner within five (5) days after the first real estate listing agreement is entered into, and or public notification of such intent to sell or rent is made, whichever shall occur first.

SECTION II: That any owner, agent, Broker, individual or any legal entity violating any provision of this article shall be fined not less than Five ($5.00) Dollars nor more than Five Hundred ($500.00) Dollars for each offense. A separate offense shall be deemed committed on each day during or on which a Violation occurs or continues.

This ordinance shall be in full force and effect from and after its passage, approved and publication as required by law.

Passed and Approved this 23rd day of March, 1977.

[Signature]
Village President

ATTEST:

[Signature]
Village Clerk
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY HOUSING UNDER THE LAW

A condensed version of current legal requirements.
Foreword

This booklet is written to help the real estate agent. Its primary purpose is to provide agents with a practical background in the concept of the law regarding equal opportunity housing. Once the agent knows the concept, it is up to him or her to work within the spirit of the law.

Federal Law

Federal law says housing discrimination based on race, color, religion, national origin or sex is illegal under provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, Title VIII of the Fair Housing Act of 1968, and the 1974 amendment to the 1968 Act.

The 1968 Fair Housing Act specifically mentions the following prohibited areas:

1. To refuse, after making a bona fide offer, to negotiate on or to sell or rent, or to otherwise deny, a dwelling to any person because of his race, color, sex, religion or national origin;

2. To discriminate in the terms or conditions or privileges of the sale or rental of any dwelling, or in providing services or facilities in connection with that sale or rental, on the basis of race, color, sex, religion or national origin;

3. To tell any person, because of his race, color, sex, religion or national origin, that a dwelling is not available for sale or rent, or for inspection;

4. To make or publish (or to have anyone else make or publish) any advertisement or notice indicating any preference or limitation based on race, color, sex, religion or national origin in connection with the sale or rental of a dwelling;

5. For profit, to induce or attempt to induce any person to sell or rent any dwelling by representations regarding the entry or prospective entry into the neighborhood of a person or persons of a particular race, color, sex, religion or national origin. This practice is more commonly known as "blockbusting."

State Law

The Illinois Constitution prohibits discrimination on the above basis and adds protection for those with physical and mental handicaps.

Each real estate agent is probably already familiar with the Illinois real estate licensing law. Part of the law that is important enough to be repeated here makes it illegal for a broker or salesperson to:

1. Solicit for sale, lease, listing or purchase any residential real estate on the basis of loss or threatened loss in value of the property because a minority family has moved or may move into the area.

2. Distribute written material designed to induce owners of real estate to sell or lease their property because a minority family has moved or may move into the area.
3. Intentionally create alarm or fear in a neighborhood by communicating in any way, including by telephone, warnings, threats or other communication designed to induce owners to sell or lease because a minority family may move or has moved into an area.

4. Fail to provide requested information within a reasonable time to the Department of Registration and Information as a result of a complaint to the department.

5. Disregard or violate any portion of this act or the rules and regulations published by the department to enforce this act.

6. Advertise or cause to be advertised in any way the sale of property without clearly disclosing the name of the broker or the name by which the broker legally does business.

7. Enter into a listing agreement that prohibits the sale or rental of property to any person because of race, color, religion or national origin.

8. Act as broker in the sale of any property that carries a restriction in sale based on the race, color, religion or national origin of any potential buyer.

Municipal Law

Many municipalities have ordinances that provide other means for parties to take action on discrimination complaints.

For example, in Park Forest, Illinois, the ordinance prohibits: "Influencing or attempting to influence prospective sellers, purchasers, occupants, landlords or tenants so as to promote or tend to promote racially segregated housing or to retard, obstruct or discourage racially integrated housing."

It is the effect of the federal, state and local laws that a party alleging violation of fair housing law has many avenues to choose from in addition to complaining to a local board of realtors. A complaint through any one of these avenues need not preclude action via another course.

Racial Steering

Racial steering is not mentioned as such in federal and state legislation. Nevertheless, it has been a frequent charge in complaints alleging violation of Federal law. The U.S. Justice Department and the courts have regularly construed racial steering as a violation of the requirement that all housing be available to everyone equally.

Basically, racial steering is any word or action by a real estate agent that is used to influence the choice of a prospective home buyer on a racial basis. Any action by a real estate agent that in any way impedes, delays or discourages a prospective home buyer from renting or purchasing so as to promote racially segregated or resegregated housing is unlawful.

The professional real estate salesperson naturally guides or "steers" every prospective home buyer to ensure that the real estate matches the prospect's needs and desires. However, when the agent imposes the variable of race in this house selection process, he or she is in jeopardy of violating the Federal Fair Housing Act and most local ordinances, which usually state:
"It shall be unlawful ... to refuse to negotiate for the sale or rental of, or otherwise make unavailable or deny, a dwelling to any person because of race, color, sex, religion or national origin."

The key phrase is "to make otherwise unavailable." The statute was apparently worded as expansively as possible to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination, and racial steering is essentially a subtle approach to discrimination.

Racial steering can often have the same effect as outright racial rejection. For example, a black's opportunity for homes may be greatly restricted if he is shown only homes in a predominantly black area or in an interracial area. If he is not given an informed choice of comparable homes in a white area in which he might be interested, then those homes have been made unavailable to him.

Where racial steering is practiced, the home buyer does not have an informed choice about the neighborhood in which he may wish to live. In effect, the agent makes the choice for the home buyer based on race, guiding him to areas where his race is predominant or may become predominant. If the black is not given the same treatment and selection as the "comparable" white, the law has been violated.

Racial steering can be used against whites as well. For example, a white may be steered away from an interracial area or one that may become interracial or a black area, in which case that area was made unavailable to him on the basis of race.

Here are a few of the obvious and common practices that may constitute steering:

A. Showing homes in a black area or an interracial area only to blacks when the agent knows of whites who might normally be interested in the area.

B. Assuming that prospective buyers have certain racial preferences.

C. Volunteering information to prospective buyers about the racial composition of a neighborhood, its schools, etc., or imparting incorrect information when asked.

D. Underselling an area through negative comments about it in order to steer a person away from it because of his or her race.

E. Advertising listings for an interracial area in a way calculated to attract minority persons to it and to avoid white inquiry for the same area.

For those interested in more detail, the Department of Justice has itemized nearly a hundred business and sales devices used to carry out this form of housing discrimination.

Conclusion

As equal opportunity advocates in government and in the non-real estate private sector gear up to promote equal opportunity, the broker and agent and also real estate boards should look at the growing intricacies of equal opportunity requirements as presenting new opportunities. Those who are well versed in these requirements have additional expertise to offer clients and an advantage over those who merely give lip service to the law.

Real estate professionals must associate themselves with the free real estate market - free from racism, free from racial discrimination (including steering) and free from the unnatural, artificial barriers that have created a closed, forced dual housing market.

Professional brokers and agents must be willing to shoulder their share of the responsibility for implementing equal opportunity practices.
For real estate salespersons attempting to avoid racial steering, there are some general cautions that should be helpful:

1. Establish a written policy with respect to equal opportunity service. Discussion with agents should be held as frequently as once a week to ascertain understanding and effective adherence. Sample policy items could include the following:

A. That the prospective purchaser shall be shown any and all homes or other housing that the purchaser qualifies for, on the sole basis of ability to pay.

B. That business procedures must not vary according to the race, color, sex, religion or national origin of the client and/or customer. The question each agent must ask is, "Are we doing that for everybody?"

C. That even though the prospective purchaser asks to be shown listings in a particular area, if the customary procedure of the broker is to show other listings, all prospective purchasers should be shown other listings without regard for race, color or creed.

D. The agent must never permit the racial composition of an area to influence his initial selection of additional offerings made to all prospective purchasers.

E. The agent will show all listings, within the qualifications defined above, available to him through any multiple-listing service or any other source, regardless of race, color or creed of the prospective purchasers.

F. Agent will use only that guidance necessary to assist a prospective purchaser in obtaining a home that would best fit his need and his ability to pay, without direct or indirect reference to race, color or creed.

G. Broker and agent will cooperate only with other brokers or listing services that comply with the terms of an equal opportunity policy equivalent to the above.

H. Broker will seek the assistance of outside experts (legal counsel, equal opportunity enforcement agencies) when confronted with situations that appear to have potential for racial misunderstanding and feelings.

2. Be informed about the racial compositions of the communities in the market. When asked for information, the agent should provide none that is inaccurate. Sharing one's ill-formed impressions about the racial makeup of communities has been the source of considerable trouble. If you don't know the answer, say so.

3. Participate with other equal opportunity advocates in efforts to drive from the market those brokers and agents who engage in racial steering.

4. Participate with other equal opportunity advocates in promoting each and every community as an open community, as all are by law.

5. Deal with each potential purchaser as if he or she were an equal opportunity investigator (tester, auditor).

6. Remember that equal opportunity in housing relates to equal opportunity in other markets, including employment with real estate firms.

7. Invite governmental personnel to discuss these matters at meetings twice a year.
AN ORDINANCE AMENDING ORDINANCE NO. 3100 OF THE CITY OF AURORA, ILLINOIS SO AS TO PROVIDE FOR LOW- AND MODERATE- INCOME DWELLING UNITS AND AFFIRMATIVE MARKETING IN PLANNED DISTRICT DEVELOPMENTS, PLANNED DEVELOPMENTS, AND SUBDIVISIONS WITH 50 OR MORE UNITS.

WHEREAS, in recent years the City of Aurora has experienced a rapid population increase due to the development of vacant land either previously within the jurisdiction of the City or later annexed to the City;

WHEREAS, there exists in the City of Aurora a serious and worsening shortage of housing for all income groups, but especially for low and moderate income persons, and racial and economic segregation;

WHEREAS, racial and economic segregation would be accentuated by new development on the periphery of the City of Aurora if such development is not open to persons of all income levels;

WHEREAS, persons employed in such new development would not be able to afford to live there if provision is not made for housing for all income groups;

WHEREAS, the City of Aurora is committed, by City of Council resolution adopted May 27, 1975, to insuring that all...
its citizens, of whatever racial group, have access to decent and sound housing on a desegregated basis, and that its less affluent citizens have access to units they can afford in mixed-income developments:

Now, therefore, Be It Ordained by the City Council of the City of Aurora, Kane County, Illinois as Follows:

That Ordinance No. 3100 of the City of Aurora, entitled, "An Ordinance, To Be Known as 'Aurora Zoning Ordinance' Comprehensively Amending Ordinance No. 2250" ... Be Amended

By Adding the following subsections to Section 3 and revising the numbering of the succeeding subsections of Section 3 accordingly and by adding a new Section 11 and revising the numbering of existing Section 11 and succeeding Sections accordingly:

SECTION 3 - RULES AND DEFINITIONS

3.2 Definitions

(3) AFFIRMATIVE MARKETING PLAN. Documentation, in narrative form, submitted pursuant to §11.3-2, 3, or 4, showing how the developer intends to comply with the requirements of §11.2-7a.

(35) DESIGNATED SITES. Sites upon which low- and moderate-income or mixed-income housing is to be built, according to the site plan, plans submitted pursuant to §11.3-3a and d, or final plan.

(36) DEVELOPER. The applicant for approvals pursuant to §§15.2, 15.3, 15.6-7, and 15.7, whichever shall apply, and his designees, agents, and assignees.

(37) DEVELOPMENT. The land area covered by a site plan approved pursuant to §15.2-1, a special use permit granted pursuant to §15.6-7, or an application for PDD zoning and a plan description approved pursuant to §15.7.
(54) **HOUSING FOR THE ELDERLY.** Dwelling units financed and developed pursuant to low- and moderate-income housing programs designed specifically for elderly persons.

(80) **LOW- AND MODERATE-INCOME HOUSING.** Housing developed with subsidies pursuant to §8 of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 or its predecessors or successors or otherwise made available to persons within the income limits specified by such Act through use of: other federal, state, or municipal subsidy programs; federal, state, or municipal insurance programs; land write-downs utilizing Title I of such Act or other appropriate programs; cost reductions by the developer; or otherwise; provided that during any time when such Act has been repealed and no successor legislation has been adopted, the definition of low- and moderate-income persons (called in such Act persons of lower income and very low income respectively) contained in such Act shall be utilized as the definition of low- and moderate-income persons for purposes of this Ordinance.

(83) **MINORITY PERSONS.** Black, Latino, Native American and Asian-American persons.

(84) **MIXED-UNIT SUBDEVELOPMENTS.** Subdevelopments which contain both market-rate and low- and moderate-income dwelling units.

(99) **PHASE.** The land area covered by a site plan approved pursuant to §15.2-1, a special use permit granted pursuant to §15.6-7, or a preliminary plan approved pursuant to §15.7.

(115) **SUBDEVELOPMENT.** A contiguous residential area of land within a development designated for the construction of a number of dwelling units for which building permits are applied jointly or which are otherwise designed as a functioning unit.

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**SECTION 11 EQUAL OPPORTUNITY HOUSING**

11.1 **APPLICABILITY.** The provisions of this section shall apply to all developments of 50 or more dwelling units approved pursuant to §15.2 after the effective date of this Amendment; all planned developments (PDS) for which special use permits are granted pursuant to §15.6-7 after the effective date of this Amendment; and planned district developments (PDDs), if the application for PDD zoning is approved after the effective date of this amendment, and the land within PDDs previously zoned for which no final plan had, as of the effective date of this Amendment, been approved.
11.2 STANDARDS.

11.2-1 At least 15% of the total number of dwelling units in each phase of any development shall be low- and moderate-income units.

11.2-2 The developer may build and market up to 250 market-rate units before building any low- and moderate-income units, but thereafter at least 15% of all the units in the development under construction or already constructed shall be low- and moderate-income units.

11.2-3 All low- and moderate-income units shall be mixed with market rate units so that at least 15% but no more than 40% of the units in each subdevelopment are for low- and moderate-income persons. All low- and moderate-income units within each subdevelopment shall be dispersed evenly within each subdevelopment. Low- and moderate-income units may be built in subdevelopments containing only such units if such subdevelopments are necessary to meet the requirement of §11.2-1, provided that such subdevelopments contain no more than 250 units and not be adjacent to each other or otherwise concentrated in the same area.

11.2-4 Low- and moderate-income dwelling units and subdevelopments shall be treated no less favorably than market rate units and developments, if any, in terms of design, location, and other physical attributes. In particular,

a. Subdevelopments which contain only low- and moderate-income units shall be located on sites no less desirable than market rate or mixed-unit subdevelopments and shall be no less accessible to public facilities, public transportation, and shopping facilities than market or mixed-unit subdevelopments.

b. The number of bedrooms in the low- and moderate-income dwelling units shall, on the average, be no less than the average number of bedrooms in the market rate units.

11.2-5 No more than 20% of the total number of low- and moderate-income dwelling units may be for the elderly and at no time may the percentage of dwelling units for the elderly exceed 20% of the total number of low- and moderate-income dwelling units under construction or already constructed.

11.2-6 All low- and moderate-income units shall be continued as such for at least a 20-year period.
11.2-7 AFFIRMATIVE MARKETING REQUIREMENTS AND PROCESS. The developer shall in good faith market all the dwelling units within the development in a manner which will maximize the chances of the development being occupied on a racially-and ethnically-integrated basis.

a. Developer's Responsibilities. In conducting such marketing, the developer shall:

(i) Establish a target population least likely to apply because of the location of the development;

(ii) Establish a goal, equivalent to the percentage of minority persons residing in the housing market area, of the percentage of minority persons which the developer will affirmatively seek to live in the development;

(iii) Formulate and implement an affirmative marketing program designed to advise the target population of and attract it to the housing opportunities, both market-rate and low- and moderate-income, in the development. Such program shall include:

(1) Advertising in both a newspaper of general circulation and in the minority media, including advertising in Spanish where such appears necessary to acquaint Latino persons with the housing opportunities in the development;

(2) Creating working arrangements with fair housing centers which service the area and with minority and other interested organizations and large employers in the area through which such entities are: given an opportunity to comment on and assist in the formulation of the affirmative marketing plan; advised of the housing opportunities in the development a reasonable time in advance of the sale or rental of the dwelling units; regularly informed of units available during the sale and rental stage; and given the opportunity to refer potential purchasers or renters to the developer;

(3) Using the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development-approved logo, slogan, or statement on all signs and in all promotional literature; and
(4) Using minority models in all photographs and displays depicting human models.

(iv) Affirmatively recruit minority personnel for the sales/rental staff of the development, with the goal that the percentage of minority personnel on the sales/rental staff be at least equivalent to the percentage of minority persons in the labor force within the labor market area;

(v) Train the sales/rental staff in marketing dwelling units to minority persons, including training in federal, state, and local fair housing laws.

(vi) Make a written affirmative marketing plan, submitted as part of his Final Equal Housing Opportunity plan and detailing how he intends to comply with the requirements of this §11.2-7a (including samples of advertising and working agreements he intends to use), such plan to be available for public inspection at all sales/rental offices;

(vii) Use all available Federal Housing Administration housing insurance programs, and other applicable programs, when the Human Relations Commission determines that use of such programs will increase the supply of minority purchasers and renters;

(viii) Report monthly to the Human Relations Commission from the point that the dwelling units are offered for sale or rental to completion of such period, reviewing the implementation and results of the affirmative marketing plan and attaching thereto samples of all advertising, promotional literature and working agreements and correspondence with the entities set forth in §11.2-7a(iii)(2);

(ix) Inform the Human Relations Commission forthwith if it becomes apparent that the results of the affirmative marketing plan are substantially below the goals of such plan, reserve a number of units available for sale or rental sufficient to insure that the goals can still be met, and revise the plan, with the assistance and approval of the Human Relations Commission, so as to maximize the chances that the goals will be met. Nothing in this subsection shall be construed as requiring the developer to permanently reserve units for minority persons, provided that he has made good faith efforts to implement an affirmative marketing plan, as determined by the Human Relations Commission in subsection b(iv).
b. **Human Relations Commission's Responsibilities.**

In supervising such marketing, the Human Relations Commission is hereby empowered to and shall, in addition to all action undertaken pursuant to §11.3-4:

(i) Monitor the affirmative marketing activity of the developer, including review of the monthly reports and on-site inspections;

(ii) Assist the developer in any needed modifications of the plan, as determined by either the developer or the Commission;

(iii) Appoint a citizen advisory committee to assist the Commission in all activities taken pursuant to §11.2-7b(i) and (ii).

(iv) Order the Zoning Administrator to desist from issuing or to revoke all occupancy certificates for the dwelling units covered by the affirmative marketing plan if the Commission determines that the developer is not in good faith implementing the plan, until such plan is implemented in good faith. The Commission may order that a sufficient number of units be reserved for minority persons to remedy prior bad faith marketing by the developer;

(v) Retain for public inspection the affirmative marketing plan and all modifications thereof, the monthly reports required by §11.2-7a(a)(viii), and all reviews and other documentation of monitoring by the Commission; and

(vi) Adopt such other rules and regulations which the Commission deems necessary to effect the purposes and provisions of this subsection.

c. Nothing contained in this subsection shall be construed as limiting the requirements of any applicable federal or state affirmative marketing requirements.

**11.3 PROCEDURES**

**11.3-1 GENERAL**

a. Where not inconsistent with the provisions of this Section, all provisions of §15 shall apply.

b. No developer shall avoid the intent of this Section by submitting piecemeal applications or approval requests for any plans, sites plans, plan descriptions, or any permits for less than 50 dwelling units at any one time.
11.3-2 PROCEDURES FOR SUBDIVISIONS OF 50 OR MORE DWELLING UNITS

a. Site Plan. All developers submitting site plans pursuant to §15.2-1 (other than developers of planned developments and planned district developments) for 50 or more dwelling units shall submit as part of such site plan information sufficient to show that the requirements of §11.2 are being met. No zoning permit shall be issued unless such information is contained in the site plan.

11.3-3 PROCEDURES FOR PLANNED DEVELOPMENTS

a. Application. Any applicant for planned development zoning pursuant to §15.6-7 of this Ordinance shall submit with the application a plan indicating how he intends to meet the provisions of §11.2. The plan shall contain the following, including maps when appropriate:

(i) Designation of specific sites within the planned development upon which low- and moderate-income dwelling units shall be located.

(ii) Designation of buildings which shall include low- and moderate-income dwelling units.

(iii) Designation of units within buildings which shall be low- and moderate-income dwelling units, if known.

(iv) The percentage of total units within the development which shall be low- and moderate-income units.

(v) The percentage of elderly low- and moderate-income units.

(vi) Documents indicating that the developer has sought and received financial commitments, to the extent feasible at that time, which will enable the developer to fulfill the provisions of this Section.

(vii) A preliminary affirmative marketing plan.

b. Review of Application. The City Clerk shall refer the plan to both the Plan Commission and the Human Rights Commission, which shall review it in joint and public session for compliance with the provisions of §11.2 and recommend that the City Council approve or
disapprove it. Each commission shall set forth in writing the reasons for its recommendation and shall specify particular changes and additions, if any, to be made in the plan. Such reasons and specifications shall be made available to the public. The recommendations shall accompany any recommendation pursuant to §15.6-5 by the Plan Commission to the City Council for other aspects of the application for planned development zoning.

c. City Council Action on Plan. The City Council shall accept or reject any such recommendation by the Plan Commission and Human Rights Commission at the same time it grants or disapproves a request for planned development zoning. In no event may a special use permit be approved without approval of the plan. In no event shall the City Council grant a special use permit for a planned development, except by 3/4 vote of the members present, if either Commission filed a report recommending disapproval of the plan.

d. Review and Approval of Supplemental Plan and Compliance Report; Sanctions. The developer shall submit to the Plan Commission and the Human Relations Commission prior to the issuance of any building permits, zoning permits, or certificates of occupancy (i) information which supplements and finalizes the plan submitted pursuant to §11.3-3a and (ii) a compliance report showing how he has implemented any previously-approved plan and supplemental plan. Each Commission shall review the submissions and shall recommend within 30 days that the City Council approve or disapprove the supplemental plan and compliance report. Each Commission shall set forth in writing the reasons for its recommendation and shall specify particular changes and additions, if any, to be made in the submissions. Such reasons and specifications shall be made available to the public. The City Council shall accept or reject the recommendations of the Commissions within 10 days after its next regular meeting following the action of the Commissions. If the City Council fails to approve a developer's compliance report, it shall instruct the Zoning Administrator to desist from issuing any approvals, permits, or certificates specified in §§15.2 and 15.3 for any other unit or building in the development until further instructed by the Council. At such time, the Council, by a majority of those present and voting, may grant the developer the right to resubmit a compliance report at any time after the failures upon which the finding of non-compliance was based have been corrected. The compliance report shall be referred and acted upon in accordance with the procedures set forth in this subsection.
11.3-4 PROCEDURES FOR PLANNED DEVELOPMENT DISTRICTS

a. Application for PDD Zoning Stage. Any applicant for a zoning amendment establishing a Planned District Development pursuant to §15.7 shall submit, as part of the Plan Description required by §15.7-4, a written description of the applicant's general plans to fulfill the provisions of §11.2. The description shall include an analysis of possible sources of housing subsidies; the projected number, percentage, types, and location of low- and moderate-income dwelling units to be constructed; estimated rental and/or sales prices for such dwelling units; and the outlines of an affirmative marketing plan.

b. Preliminary Plan Stage. Any Preliminary Plan submitted pursuant to §15.7-8 of this Ordinance for any residential area or phase of the planned District Development shall contain a Preliminary Equal Housing Opportunity Plan which indicates how the developer intends to fulfill the provisions of §11.2 as it applies to the area covered by the Preliminary Plan. Such Equal Housing Opportunity Plan shall contain the following, including maps when appropriate:

   (i) Designation of specific sites upon which the low- and moderate-income dwelling units shall be located.

   (ii) Designation of buildings which shall include low- and moderate-income dwelling units.

   (iii) Designation of units within buildings which shall be low- and moderate-income dwelling units, if known.

   (iv) The percentage of total units within the development which shall be low- and moderate-income units.

   (v) The percentage of elderly low- and moderate-income units.

   (vi) Documents indicating that the developer has sought and received financial commitments to the extent feasible at that time, which will enable the developer applicant to fulfill the provisions of this Section.

   (vii) A preliminary affirmative marketing plan.
c. Final Plan Stage. Any Final Plan submitted pursuant to §15.7-9 for any residential area of the Planned District Development shall include a Final Equal Housing Opportunity Plan for the area covered by the final plan which finalizes and updates the proposals contained in the Preliminary Equal Housing Opportunity Plan submitted for the phase. In the Final Equal Housing Opportunity Plan, the developer shall either: (i) describe with particularity the financing that has been secured for the low- and moderate-income units; or state (ii) that he has determined that financing is unavailable but that he intends to develop the low- and moderate-income units once financing is available, as provided in §11.4-2 or (iii) that he does not wish to develop the low- and moderate-income units but will reserve all sites containing such units, as provided in §11.4-1.

d. Report on Equal Housing Opportunity Activity. Each Preliminary and Final plan submitted shall include a Report on Equal Housing Opportunity Activity [hereafter, "Housing Report"] which reviews in detail all efforts the developer has made to comply with all approved Preliminary and Final Equal Housing Opportunity Plans for the development and the results of those efforts. If no Preliminary or Final plan for any phase of the development is submitted within one year after the last submitted Preliminary or Final plan has been approved, then within that one year the developer shall submit a Housing Report as described herein.

e. Review of Plans or Report. The City Clerk shall refer all Preliminary and Final Equal Opportunity Plans, or Housing Report if no plan is submitted, to both the Plan Commission and Human Rights Commission, which shall review the Plans in joint and public session for compliance with the provisions of §11.2 and recommend that the City Council approve or disapprove such Plans or Report. The Commissions shall each set forth in writing the reasons for their recommendation and may specify particular changes or additions to be made in the Plans or Report. Such reasons and specifications shall be made available to the public. The recommendations shall accompany any recommendation by the Plan Commission to the City Council concerning the Preliminary or Final Plan itself.
f. City Council Action on Plans or Report; Sanctions. The City Council shall accept or reject any recommendation by the Plan Commission and Human Rights Commission concerning a Preliminary or Final Equal Housing Opportunity Plan at the same time the entire Preliminary or Final Plan for the area or phase is accepted or rejected. In no event may a Final or Preliminary Plan be approved without approval of the corresponding Equal Housing Opportunity Plan. In no event shall the City Council approve an Equal Housing Opportunity Plan, except by 3/4 vote of the members present, if either Commission has disapproved the Plan. If the City Council fails to approve the Plan, or the Housing Report, because it determines that the Housing Report is inadequate or that the Housing Report indicates that the developer has not made good faith efforts to comply with previously approved Equal Housing Opportunity Plans, the Council shall instruct the Zoning Administrator to desist from issuing any approvals, permits, or certificates specified in §§15.2 and 15.3 for any other unit or building in the development until further instructed by the Council. At such time, the Council, by a majority of those present and voting, may grant the developer the right to resubmit a Housing Report at any time after the failures upon which the finding of non-compliance was based have been rectified. The Report shall be referred and acted upon in accordance with the procedures set forth in §§11.3-4e and f.

11.4 DEVELOPERS' OPTIONS WITH RESPECT TO LOW- AND MODERATE-INCOME HOUSING.

11.4-1 RESERVATION OF SITES DESIGNATED FOR LOW- AND MODERATE-INCOME HOUSING.

a. The developer may choose not to develop those sites upon which low- and moderate-income or mixed-income housing is to be constructed as designated in the Preliminary and Final plans, by so stating in such Preliminary and Final plans. The developer shall thereafter, for a five-year period from the date of City Council approval of the Final Plan, agree to sell to the first person or entity, public or private, who offers to purchase any site at its fair market value and demonstrates that he has the capacity to and will develop such site or sites, as determined by the Human Relations Commission, in conformance with the approved Final Plan and that he has secured the necessary financing for such development.
b. In the event the developer and purchaser shall be unable to agree upon the fair market value of the land, each shall appoint an MAI or SREA appraiser, each of whom shall have 60 days to appraise the fair market value of the property. Following these appraisals, if the developer and purchaser remain unable to agree upon the fair market value, the two appraisers shall within 30 days appoint a third MAI or SREA appraiser to review both appraisals and, taking each into consideration, together with such additional appraisal activity as he deems necessary, decide within 30 days after his appointment upon the value of the land. The developer and purchaser shall pay the costs of their respective appraisers and shall share equally the costs of any third appraiser. The restrictions imposed upon the use of the land by the approved final plan shall be considered in determining the fair market value of such land.

c. If, at the end of the five-year period, the developer has received no bona fide offer to purchase the designated sites, the developer shall, by certified mail, return receipt requested, so notify the Mayor. The City shall have 90 days within which to offer to purchase at their fair market value, as determined by the procedures and standards set forth in §11.4-1b, any or all of the designated sites, for development according to the approved Final Plan at such time as it sees fit. If the City makes no offer within the 90 day period, the developer may proceed to develop the designated sites in accordance with the approved final plan, except that market-rate units may be constructed where the final plan called for low- and moderate-income units.

d. The developer shall not be held responsible for the failure of any purchaser under this section to develop land in accordance with the approved final plan.

11.4-2 DETERMINATION AS TO THE AVAILABILITY OF FINANCING FOR THE LOW- AND MODERATE-INCOME HOUSING UNITS.

a. If the developer chooses to develop the sites upon which the low- and moderate-income dwelling units are to be developed but determines that financing for the low- and moderate-income dwelling units is currently unavailable, he shall so state in his Final Plan.

(i) If the City Council determines that financing is available, it may approve the Final Plan but shall condition such approval upon the developer obtaining such financing or exercising his option under §11.4-1.
(ii) If the City Council determines that financing is not available, it may approve the plan but shall condition such approval upon the developer obtaining such financing or exercising his option under §11.4-1 at such point that he determines financing is available or is notified by the City that it has determined financing is available. The Council shall also instruct the Mayor to notify the developer, by certified mail, return receipt requested, that the City has determined financing is available when the Mayor so determines. If, after 5 years from the date the Final Plan has been approved, neither the City nor the developer has determined that financing is available, the developer shall offer the designated sites to the City in the manner provided in §11.4-1c.

b. If the developer is notified by the procedures set forth in 11.4-2a (i) or (ii) that the City has determined that financing is available, he shall within 60 days

(i) Exercise his option under §11.4-1; or

(ii) Secure financial commitments for the low- and moderate-income units and provide evidence thereof to the Mayor.

Such 60-day period may be extended by the City Council if the developer demonstrates that he is making good faith efforts to secure such financing. If, at the end of such period, the developer has not secured such financing, he shall be deemed to have exercised his option under §11.4-1.

11.5. ENFORCEMENT. Any resident of the City of Aurora, any developer to whom the provisions of this Section applies, the City, and the Human Relations Commission may seek, in the Circuit Court having jurisdiction over the controversy, judicial review of this Section or any provision contained herein and mandatory relief necessary to implement the provisions of this section.