

UPTOWN – THEN AND NOW

UPTOWN: A neighborhood on Chicago's Northside which encompasses one square mile

Master's Thesis

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

SECTION I: The Built Environment: Location and the Effects of Time

Chapter 1 – Saul Bellow and Nelson Algren: Their Writings as Reflections on Chicago and Uptown.

Chapter 2 - An Analysis of Three Blocks in Uptown According to Criteria Developed by Jane Jacobs in The Death and Life of Great American Cities

SECTION II: The External Influences on the Development of Uptown: 1930 to 2000

Chapter 3 – Social Capital and its role in Faith-based Institutions and Associations

Chapter 4 – The History of Migration over Six Decades

Chapter 5 – The Complexity of Healthcare and the Homeless

SECTION III: The Case for Redevelopment and Renewal

Chapter 6 – Leadership and Politics in Uptown

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

THE DECLINE AND ONGOING RENEWAL OF UPTOWN

The neighborhood of Uptown in Chicago is significant as a microcosm of the dilemma of Chicago and urban America in the past fifty years. As such, a portrait of Uptown provides perspective on the decline and renewal of one neighborhood in Chicago which may have ramifications for hundreds of urban neighborhoods across the US which are facing similar external trends and the resulting social dilemmas of twenty-first century urbanization.

UPTOWN AS A FRAME OF REFERENCE

Uptown is to Chicago as Chicago is to America. Uptown has been at the apex of twentieth century urban American sophistication; and, it has been at the nadir of urban decline in America. In 1930, the local commercial area was second only to the downtown Loop of Chicago. In contrast, current residents leave the community even to buy groceries. Uptown, as it is today, starkly manifests the urban dilemmas of the twentieth century: migration, housing displacement, homeless victims of mental health and substance abuse, economic stagnation and, more recently, widening economic stratification. The study of the decline and renewal of Uptown holds important clues for communities and urban neighborhoods across the United States. In a speech to the Uptown Chamber of Commerce in 1997, Phil Nyden, Director of the Center for urban research and Learning at Loyola University, stated that Uptown, Chicago and Newark, New Jersey are in a significant demographic position to be foretellers of the future for urban communities across the US. Nyden went on to state that the diversity and problems of Uptown and Newark will be the problems and opportunities of communities across the United States in the next decade. (Nyden speech)

LEARNINGS FROM SIX DECADES

Uptown's historical journey can be better understood by examining its bumpy passage through the decades of the last half of the twentieth century. The passage of this one neighborhood mirrors the journey of neighborhoods across the US. There is a recognizable progression beginning with the heyday of Uptown's architecture and

cultural life in the 1920s and 1930s, moving painfully from the 1940s all the way to the 1980s, and finally culminating in the opportunities and contradictions of the most recent decade. Focusing on Uptown Chicago as a microcosm of urban American neighborhoods is instructive in:

- 1) enumerating factors that have contributed to urban decline and renewal;
- 2) identifying the effect of broader American historical events on a particular urban community;
- 3) illuminating the effects of cultural, political and economic trends that have impacted one local Chicago neighborhood over the past 60 years;
- 4) discerning the effects of globalization and migration on one urban Chicago neighborhood;
- 5) shedding some light on the effect of socio-economic stratification on local communities; and,
- 6) enumerating the dilemmas of 20th century urbanization as they affect urban neighborhoods.

Uptown is particularly relevant because the area's historical diversity is one overwhelming factor which US communities are already struggling with. If we neglect to study and learn from Uptown, many current and future urban dilemmas may elude our understanding. Uptown's historical journey begins with the glory of the early movie industry, moves through the historical dilemmas of the mid-twentieth century, and arrives in a new urban space which has been irrevocably changed by migration, homelessness and progressive economic stratification. Strong housing stock, remarkable historical architecture, excellent transportation and a prime location bordering Lake Michigan have ascribed an increasingly visible role for Uptown in the development of Chicago. And yet, the journey has been a rough one.

INFORMING THE FUTURE

The elegiac progression of Uptown's decline and renewal is illuminated in six chapters which divide logically into three sections. Section One, consisting of the first two chapters, describes the glory of 1920s and 1930s Uptown at its apex. Section Two comprises the next three chapters with descriptions of how external influences affected the associations and institutions which have defined Uptown from the 1930s to the

present day, including their role in the major urban dilemmas that have affected Uptown. Section Three contains the final chapter which illuminates the current struggle in which residential renewal has outstripped commercial renewal, revealing vast chasms between the haves and the have-nots.

SECTION I – SETTING THE STAGE

In Chapter 1, two highly regarded Chicago authors share their reflections on Uptown and set the stage for a description of the impact of the decades of the last half of the twentieth century on the Uptown in Chicago. The writings of Saul Bellow and Nelson Algren highlight and reflect the decline of Uptown from its age of glory in the 1920s through its obvious decline in the 1980s. The 1920s and 30s were touted as a golden age for Chicago. Chicago's unparalleled growth and glory were mimicked in Uptown during the twenties and thirties. In the writings of Bellow and Algren, Uptown is shown as a metonym for Chicago's golden age of architectural and cultural development. Their words reveal the glorious precipice of pride and foreshadow the slippery slope of decline for Uptown.

In Chapter 2, Jane Jacobs' four criteria of neighborhood analysis, which she developed in her award winning The Death and Life of Great American Cities are used to analyze three key blocks of Uptown. The history and background, including demographics, of historic buildings in the three blocks provides a topographic map of Uptown. Amazingly, this analysis indicates that Ms. Jacobs' four criteria necessary for neighborhood success are fragmented or missing in the three key blocks of Uptown. In conclusion, the missing criteria help to illuminate the historical decline of Uptown's commercial corridors. The commercial corridors may be found in Exhibit A, a map of the Uptown community.

SECTION II – EXTERNAL INFLUENCES CREATE INTERNAL CHANGES

In Chapter 3, the role of Faith-based Institutions and Associations in Uptown's development is examined in detail. Institutions and associations have helped to define Uptown since the 1930s. The community's history is intertwined with their history and their inception. The Asset-based Community Development research process helps to illuminate the roles of the historical Churches, non-profit 501©3 organizations, recent immigrant churches and faith-based organizations. Potential linkages are identified which

could contribute to current community-building efforts based on investment in social capital along with economic capital. These potential linkages may be found in Exhibit B, the Community Associations Chart.

In Chapter 4, the History of Migration in Uptown Chicago is reviewed starting in 1951 with a description of each succeeding decade. The thesis is based on analyzing four primary factors that defined Uptown as a port of entry community in the last half of the twentieth century:

- 1) Affordable housing availability
- 2) Ease of public transportation
- 3) Social services and health care availability
- 4) Kinship and patterns of familiarity

The waves of migration are chronicled starting with the Appalachian Whites in the late 1940s, the Native Americans in the 1950s, the Cubans and the Koreans in the 1960s, the Southeast Asians in the 1970s, the African migration including the Ethiopians in the 1980s and the Nigerians and the Ghanaians in the 1990s, and finally, the Bosnians, Russians and the Tibetans in the 1990s.

In Chapter 5, the Homeless population of Uptown is examined using an inventory of health care opportunities available for the homeless. Some of the historical reasons for homelessness and its prominence in Uptown are also examined. The non-profits and social service agencies providing services to the homeless are grouped and described by type of service:

1. Homeless Shelters
2. Long-term SROs
3. Direct Service Delivery
4. Mental Health Entry Points and the Impact of Double Diagnosis

SECTION III: THE CASE AND CLIMATE FOR REDEVELOPMENT

In Chapter 6, Leadership and Politics examines the uniquely shared vision of Uptown as a balanced and diverse community. The vision is explored and confirmed through a series of personal interviews. Uptown's shared vision has allowed the community to rehearse its leadership story through a consensual balance of independent associations and an uneasy contretemps of interest groups with vocal opinions, divergent members and

varying methodology. Chapter 6 compares and contrasts the Organization of the Northeast and the Uptown Chicago Commission using nine research questions. The research questions are based on community sources and the method used is the case study format. The ABCD Analytical Framework was applied in order to compare and contrast the data using the same framework of Vision, Alignment Strategy, Resource Discovery Tactics and Mobilization Modes of both organizations. Sixteen conclusions are summarized and implications are revealed. The conclusions and implications are timely and relevant in the current Uptown crisis of residential gentrification.

STANDING IN THE PAST & PRESENT LOOKING TOWARD THE FUTURE

The following chapters on literature and architecture, institutions and associations, migration, homeless health care and the politics of Uptown are crucial to understanding the impact of six decades of change upon one distinctive urban neighborhood that, in its development and historical journey, is a microcosm of Chicago and urban America at the end of the twentieth century.

Uptown has a long and mixed history of diversity and change. It has consistently been known as a port of entry for immigrants. In the early 1900s, Uptown was a way station for people journeying north from the Chicago City center. By the 1920s, Uptown was experiencing a golden age, just like Chicago. Uptown also experienced a time of unparalleled growth and glory during the twenties and thirties. Uptown can be seen as a metonym for Chicago. It was a golden age, not only for literature in Chicago, but for architecture, economics, culture and commercial development. Uptown enjoyed the apex of its architectural and cultural renaissance in the mid-1920s. In 1998, the National Historic District along Lawrence Avenue and Broadway was designated as historically significant based on forty-four “contributing historic buildings”, every one built in the 1920s (US National Park Service 8). Upscale commercial venues including fur salons, restaurants and shoe stores anchored the shopping areas at Sheridan and Lawrence. The historic Peoples Church hosted Preston Bradley’s national radio program each Sunday morning with a live audience of 1,650 persons seated in the auditorium. The early film industry was based in Uptown at the Essanay Studios. Charlie Chaplin hosted after-the-theatre parties at the Loralai Hotel on Lawrence Avenue. Famous early film stars and industry moguls lived in the huge vintage apartments on Marine Drive; their servants

lived on Winthrop and Kenmore Avenues west of Sheridan Road. The Aragon Ballroom and the Uptown Theatre were nationally recognized venues for well-known swing bands and live theatre audiences which regularly filled the Theatre's 4,381 seats (US National Park Service 5). The Green Mill Gardens and the Riviera Theatre were also well known destinations for Chicagoans. The el stations at Lawrence and Wilson built before the 1920s, brought hundreds of theatre and commercial patrons into the area every week (Uptown Chamber of Commerce 1-3). The Edgewater Beach Hotel, a famous local landmark, hosted dances and events. However, by 1938, the film industry had left Uptown and moved to Hollywood and the famous venues had fallen on harder times.

By 1950, the Uptown neighborhood had begun to seriously decline. After World War II, heavy demands for housing led to the subdivision of vintage walk-up residential buildings into smaller rental units. During the 1960s, Uptown was the construction site for at least six high-rise subsidized housing complexes. The existing large apartment hotels, built for the movie industry, were often subdivided and became homes for the mentally ill who had been deinstitutionalized by the mental health public policies of the 1970s. The stores and the buildings declined and the commercial areas were left with small stores lacking in appeal or clientele. By 1970, Uptown was known as a dangerous neighborhood lacking in amenities. If people came into the neighborhood for a primary use venue there were no secondary ancillary services left which lured them to stay. A huge population was added to Uptown between 1950 and 1970 but "something was lacking to catalyze the district population's ability to interact economically and help form effective pools of use' (Jacobs 149).

Uptown is densely populated. Two hundred forty thousand people live in a two mile radius of the corner of Broadway and Lawrence. There are 116,000 households with a median income of \$27,000. Sixty-one thousand individuals have at least a Bachelor's degree according to the 1990 census. There has been considerable condo development since 1990 but the numbers have not yet shifted significantly. Uptown is still considered a low-moderate income area according to City of Chicago economic development guidelines. There has been a substantial increase in the homeless population of Uptown in the last five years according to the City of Chicago homeless statistics. The homeless and persons in need of

assisted mental health services or subsidized housing continue to make up a significant proportion of Uptown's population. According to the CACI Marketing Systems Report dated November 30, 1999, the population of Uptown by race was:

Population of Uptown by Race

White	Black	American Indian	Asian	Other
51.4%	21.7%	1.0%	13.3%	12.7%*

*22.9% of Hispanic origin although Hispanics were also listed in the other categories (CACI Marketing Systems 1-5).

The literary descriptions of Uptown and Chicago by Saul Bellow and Nelson Algren foreshadow and highlight the ever-widening gap which jettisoned Uptown from its heyday to a depressed neighborhood in forty short years. In the writers' loss of literary prominence and glory, the loss of Uptown's urban glory is reflected.

CHAPTER 1. SAUL BELLOW AND NELSON ALGREN: THEIR WRITINGS AS REFLECTIONS ON CHICAGO AND UPTOWN

Saul Bellow and Nelson Algren represent the bright promise of literary and cultural achievement that characterized Uptown and Chicago in the 1930s. Their early energy and optimism foreshadow the hopes and promises of twentieth century urban America before the Great Depression. Through their writings, Bellow and Algren chronicle the decades from 1930 through 1980. Saul Bellow's harsh treatment of Uptown in his 1982 lecture, "A Writer from Chicago," and Nelson Algren's elegiac portrait in his 1951 Chicago City on the Make indicated that the Chicago that birthed the writers of the Golden Age was no more. Bellow's reflections on Uptown over a span of fifty years mirror the apex and nadir of the urban neighborhood village in Chicago. His nostalgia for the vital Chicago neighborhood life romanticizes his experience as a young writer in the 1930s in a city full of opportunity for young writers. The theme of the unparalleled opportunity of the American Dream runs through Bellow's early writings. By 1982, Bellow's post-industrial negativity was in tune with the reality of an Uptown which was clearly in decline. However, Nelson Algren's 1951 elegiac portrait of Chicago in its positive and sympathetic leavening was out of synch with post-industrial Chicago in decline. Algren's attachment to the people trapped by their circumstances in the neighborhoods and his enduring social conscience did not fit with the climate of post-war hopefulness. His incongruence with the post-industrial mindset affected the evaluation of his writings. This difference between Bellow's negativity and Algren's sympathy tells us one reason why Bellow is canonical and Algren is not. The intellectual climate of the 1950s demanded the story of the American Dream of unlimited possibility so Bellow's star rose while Algren's star fell. Algren continued his uncompromising loyalty to his characters which were unable to access the American Dream and rise above their circumstances. Saul Bellow and Nelson Algren were both products of Chicago's well recognized literary moment in the 1930s. Bellow received the Nobel and Pulitzer Prizes which validated his work beyond Chicago. Nelson Algren was recognized as a significant Chicago writer but his popularity diminished.

Bellow and Algren were both nostalgic about Chicago in the 1930s. They both reflect the literary moment in Chicago when "there has hardly been an American writer of

stature who has not come up through The Chicago Palatinate” (Algren 83). A significant literary phenomenon took place in Chicago - a talented group of writers used Chicago as their palette. Bellow, for instance, thought that Chicago’s literary climate during the 1930s could be compared to the Paris described in Eckermann’s Conversations with Goethe:

But now conceive a city like Paris, where the highest talents of a great Kingdom are all assembled on one spot, and by daily intercourse, strife, emulation, mutually instruct and advance each other, where the best works of both nature and art, from all the Kingdoms of the earth, are open to daily inspection – conceive this metropolis of the world, I say, where every walk over a bridge or across a square recalls some mighty past, and where some historical event is connected with every corner of a street. In addition to all this, conceive not the Paris of a dull spiritless time, but the Paris of the nineteenth century, in which, during three generations, such men as Moliere, Voltaire, Diderot and the like, have kept up such a current of intellect as cannot be found twice in a single spot in the whole world....(Bellow 206).

Bellow’s remembered Chicago as a prairie Paris, “In less than a century some force – we may call it for convenience the world historical spirit – raised up a giant city and then scraped most of it away. Fifty years ago we all thought it would endure forever”. But his sense of loss reflects his longing and nostalgia for the lost moment of literary creativity during which both he and Algren were formed as writers (Bellow 208). His nostalgia is indicated in his 1982 reminiscence about the Uptown of the 1920s where he delivered funeral wreaths as a teenager:

This was then a mixed neighborhood, Scandanavian, German, Irish, and Jewish. There was a great ballroom on Lawrence Avenue where name-bands played, and there was a Balaban and Katz movie palace, very lavish. Still standing, it reminds me today of the abandoned wedding feast of poor crazy Miss Havisham in Dickens’s Great Expectations – twenty years have passed since the bride was jilted, but the cake is still there (Bellow 191).

The Uptown of today remains a port of entry for immigrants but also reflects a diversity made up of Asians, Africans, East Europeans, and even, transplanted southern blacks and poor whites. The Uptown Theatre, described by Bellow, as “a Balaban and Katz movie palace, very lavish” has declined dramatically in the past twenty years and is nationally recognized as one of the most endangered historical structures in the US. Uptown, in 2004 (twenty years after Bellow wrote his essay quoted above), persists as a neighborhood in transition which has never recaptured its former cultural glory and or, to date, its hope to rehabilitate the commercial corridors.

During the cultural renaissance of Chicago, a powerful industrial economic engine existed. As Bellow stated in 1982, “Chicago stood for something in the twenties and thirties. That something was not entirely good, but it was distinctive” (Bellow 198). Bellow notes that the early twentieth-century cultural and literary renaissance in Chicago was complimented by a strong financial system based on:

a vast system of bloodshed, labor, sacrifice, and nutrition resulting in the organization of a huge, monstrous, and painful urban ugliness...Yes, they supported orchestras and libraries, they became university trustees, founded art museums; but learning, art even science – none of these could be given the weight of money. This fact of life has never been disguised in Chicago (Bellow 187).

By the 1940s, Chicago’s raw economic power based on manufacturing was replaced by post-industrial service industries which were unable to support the industrial-based neighborhoods.

Twenty and fifty years later, both Algren and Bellow produced works that reflected back on Chicago during the Golden Age. Uptown and Division Street are used as a metonym for Chicago by Bellow in 1982 in “A Writer from Chicago”. Bellow’s distance and alienation from the people of Uptown and the neighborhoods is clear and complete. His Chicago focus had been on characters that rose above their neighborhood and circumstances to fulfill the American Dream. He had written about himself, the son of Russian immigrants, who had made his way from the old neighborhood to Northwestern and the University of Chicago. He had become a writer in a Chicago full of hope and opportunity. He had written books and been awarded the highest accolades for his work.

Saul Bellow had achieved the American Dream and was recognized for his literary achievements.

In 1982, Bellow approached the age of seventy with misgivings about Chicago and what it had become. Looking back with nostalgia, he highlighted Chicago's "sensible universe" based on economic stability and the neighborhood culture made up of striving immigrant families which contributed to the literary renaissance of which he was a part. Bellow reminisced, "This is where we, the children of greenhorns, came in – diminutive but capable of dilating – most eager, given the character of the sensible universe in Chicago, to begin outcoping time and space without delay" (Bellow 188). He referred to Whitman in Democratic Vistas for the concept that ideas are dilated, or nurtured, by a "sensible universe" and practical energy. Bellow lamented that his "sensible universe", his city of fact, had passed away. He shared his own disappointment at the passing of the time and place which formed him as a writer. He illustrated his disappointment with his 1982 drive through the Chicago neighborhoods which were important to him in his early writing career:

The drive to Division Street takes me through the Uptown slum and then through more of the same, the inner-city wasteland. You are aware that the people who moved out found better housing in better neighborhoods, or in the suburbs, but the city you knew has fallen apart. It is painful to see. It makes you think how you have passed your life, and leads you to consider again the plan, formed so many years ago, to interpret your surroundings, sift their secret message, reach their human meaning – to work them through yourself somehow. The project itself survived, the city in which it was conceived did not (Bellow 210).

He cites a phrase in Harvey Zorbaugh's study of the Near-North Side, *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, "rags and riches side by side" to illustrate his own alienation from the Chicago of 1982. Bellow builds on Zorbaugh's phrase and takes it further, exposing some of his own fears and nostalgia as a man approaching seventy:

But this is now the condition of the whole city. Chicago safe and unsafe face each other from opposite sides of the street. From the residential high-rise apartments, the assault troops are always

visible, riding in jalopies or doing their thing openly. You step westwards from Sheridan Road and find yourself in the Uptown, East Rogers Park slum...Home in the bourgeois nineteenth century was safe, profoundly comfortable, lavishly decorative...But all this privileged bourgeois and lower-middle-class immunity has ended...The slum begins across the way, and what a slum it is! It makes the slums of the Roaring Twenties seem Arcadian. Their crimes were so tame, their vices were so quiet (Bellow 212).

This passage exposes the fear and isolation of the Uptown neighborhood in the 1980s. It describes, for Bellow, what Uptown had become, how far it had declined in just six decades from the golden age of Chicago in the 1920s.

The passage also reveals that Saul Bellow fears the thinning of his own imagination and laments that the palette of the Chicago neighborhoods, which had inspired him, has also passed away. He is driven toward reflection on the life of the artist (himself) and the artist's palette of place. The Chicago of Bellow's memory reinforced and inspired him as an artist. The question is thus voiced, what next for Chicago and, in a more desperate plea, what next for Saul Bellow? Bellow addresses the role of Chicago in his development as a writer:

A lifetime in Chicago has taught me quite a lot about this. It was through Chicago that I began to see my own outline. You must turn to the outer world to see yourself, but then it is only from within that the outer world itself can be studied. We ourselves, individually, are the only knowers of its qualities—qualities which, as matters stand, we are not nowadays educated to grasp (Bellow 217).

In "A Writer from Chicago", Saul Bellow constructed a strong case that the Chicago neighborhood, the city of fact, had changed; and that Chicago, the city of feeling, had changed as a result.

In his 1961 Afterword to Chicago City on the Make, Algren also acknowledges that Chicago has changed. He criticizes the press, the politicians, and the economic power brokers. But Algren's commitment to the people trapped by circumstance in their

neighborhoods and his continuing agenda to speak for them is unchanged. In 1951, the post-war euphoria of unlimited possibility permeated the country, leaving Algren out of synch with the times. The post-war mindset had little tolerance for disenfranchised people trapped by circumstance and unable to access the American Dream. In 1956, Leslie A. Fiedler remarked, "In a strange way, Algren, for all his desire to come to terms with an impossibly 'real' life, is isolated from the life of his time. He was made, unfortunately, once and for all in the early 1930s, in the literary cult of 'experience' of those times" (Fiedler 43). Nelson Algren's formation in the 1930's marked him for life as a writer of "conscience in touch with humanity" (Algren 81).

Chicago City on the Make has been called an elegy for Chicago. Elegy is defined as "a poem expressing grief for one who is dead; also, a reflective poem usually melancholy in tone" (Merriam-Webster 235). In 1983, Studs Terkel called it "a love song. It sings, Chicago style: a haunting, split-hearted ballad" (Terkel 2). In the 2001 Preface to Chicago City on the Make, David Schmittgens and Bill Savage called it "at once both historical chronicle and love poem—Algren speaks with evocative language across the decades, and yet requires of his readers a certain knowledge of Chicago, its people, and its history" (Schmittgens vii). They elaborate stating that "it is a beautifully written expression of Algren's relationship with Chicago. Due in no small part to his sense of having been rejected by his city, Algren's poetic prose has a bittersweet quality, a tone of loss and pain vigorously mixed with beauty and possibility, an elegiac sadness redeemed by laughter" (Schmittgens vii). Algren's elegiac 1951 portrait of Chicago exposes and reveals a leavening in his attitude toward the city, its neighborhoods and its people. His sympathetic attitude toward Chicago and its people was amplified by his social conscience agenda which is manifest in all Algren's writings.

Algren's social conscience subject matter was out of step with the post-war climate which promoted an American mindset of unlimited possibility. In his 1961 Afterword to Chicago City on the Make, Algren shared his definition of literature, "I submit that literature is made upon any occasion that a challenge is put to the legal apparatus by conscience in touch with humanity" (Algren 81). He reveals his bias and places himself in the tradition of Dreiser, Wright and Sherwood Anderson when he states "novelists gained stature by concern for America's losers", and, "faces of men and women living without alternatives were revealed" (Algren 92-93). In keeping with this tradition and consistent

with his social conscience, Algren's characters live without alternatives and are trapped in their circumstances, unable to access the American Dream of unlimited opportunity.

The characters in Chicago City on the Make reveal much about Nelson Algren. He juxtaposes villains and heroes and slowly reveals the city of feeling from which they are inseparable when he states:

For always our villains have hearts of gold and all our heroes are slightly tainted. It always takes somebody like The Hink, in whom avarice and generosity mingled like the hot rum and the cold water in his own Tom-and-Jerries, to run a city wherein warmth of heart and a freezing greed beat, like the blood and the breath, as one (Algren 21).

Algren's villains and heroes are interwoven like a tapestry as two contradictory threads of thought, acting and interacting in relationship to each other and the city. He continues to criticize, characterize and defend the city in 1961 when he states:

I too wish to defend my city from people who keep saying it is crooked. In what other city can you be so sure a judge will keep his word for five hundred dollars? What's so crooked about that: I'm tired of hearing detractors of my city say it is broo-tul. For in what other city, head held high, sweating, laughing, all of that, can you get homicide reduced to manslaughter and manslaughter to a felony and felony to a misdemeanor? What's so broo-tul about *that*? What do you want, for God's sake? Your gun back? (Algren 103).

Algren reveals his love for the city with all its contradictions through one of his own characters, quoting Sophie in The Man with the Golden Arm:

"We have to keep Chicago strong and America mighty!" I heard His Honor proclaim before sentencing the girl with a record for addiction, "A year and a day! Take her away!"

Blinking out of the window of an Ogden Avenue trolley at the sunlight she hadn't seen for almost a year, "I guess it was lucky I

done that time,” the girl philosophized, “Chicago still looks pretty strong and America looks mighty mighty” (Algren 103).

Algren quotes Sophie to reiterate his consistent theme of social injustice as exposed through the misfortune of his own characters. In so doing, he reiterates the ongoing injustice and his abiding love for Chicago, the place where these contradictions still exist.

The Chicago that is like Uptown is Algren’s Chicago, the Chicago of the el tracks, alleys, ethnic churches and immigrant neighborhoods. His topography is outlined by the el lines and the ethnic neighborhoods:

Between stops stretch the streets where the shadow of the tavern and the shadow of the church form a single dark and double-walled dead end. Narrow streets where the summer sun rocks, like a Polish accordion, with a louder, shinier, brassier blare than American music anywhere. Churches that look as though they’d been brought over whole, without a brick missing, from Stockholm and Lodz, Dublin or Budapest: from all the old beloved places. Negro churches, as often as not, bearing Hebrew characters out of some time when the building was a synagogue.

Yet the city keeps no creed, prefers no particular spire, advances no one color, tolerates all colors: the dark faces and the blue-eyed tribes, the sallow Slavs and the olive Italians. All the creeds that persecution harassed out of Europe find sanctuary on this ground, where no racial prejudice is permitted to stand up (Algren 45).

The Chicago that Algren loves is the neighborhoods like Uptown. It celebrates diversity, it welcomes the immigrants, and it adapts to the new customs and traditions that the new immigrants have brought with them.

Algren always stayed true to his intent. In the 1961 *Afterward to Chicago City on the Make*, he reminds us that his essay on Chicago “still speaks of a hopeful past, of a time that came on too fast; out of a greater concern for the people living in the city than in its transportation problems” (Algren 97). This is classic Algren, true to himself, true to his characters, true to his sympathy for Chicago and the people he has written about. But, Algren’s sympathetic leavening toward the “losers” was out of synch with Chicago and America in 1951. Just as the huge Sheridan Road windows of the Kemper National

headquarters building were boarded up in 1951 for fear of the decline of the neighborhood, Algren was out of synch with the American post-war optimism. The fact that Saul Bellow finally dismissed Chicago in 1982 and Nelson Algren still wrote a book of “elegiac praise” in 1951 suggests that the city, the neighborhoods and the people were timeless for Algren. Algren continued to write about the plight of the “losers” and continued to criticize the powers of injustice in Chicago. Bellow used his characters and Chicago as a stage to illuminate the trajectory of the American Dream. The relative canonical fates of Bellow and Algren suggest that the decade of the 1950s demanded the story of the uplifting hopefulness of the American Dream so Bellow’s star rose. Algren, true to his characters and the venues of the streets along the el, indicates again and again that the American Dream is not assured for the people he writes about who were still trapped by their circumstances. This un reassuring message did not fit in the climate of post-war hopefulness and negatively affected the evaluation of Algren’s writings.

Algren, in his honest exposure of the neighborhood people, foretold the impending urban struggle of the 1960s, 70s and 80s. Bellow, struggling with his own aging and his self-made alienation from the people of the neighborhoods, further distanced himself by looking fearfully across Sheridan Road at the people whom he understood less and less.

For Algren:

Chicago still captivates with its stunning natural and manmade beauty, its boundless human energy. Yet Chicago City on the Make is no civic booster’s text, and here we find the book’s second great strength: its unflinching confrontation with history. Any honest description must grapple with the fact that much of the city’s history is a compendium of low deceit, smiling hypocrisy, organized crime, political corruption, spectacularly unmitigated greed, institutionalized racism, dehumanizing class conflict, and brutalizing violence (Schmittgens viii).

Nelson Algren did not waver from his intent to tell the truth about Chicago as he saw it. He exposed injustice while showing empathy toward the people who were victims of injustice.

The difference between Bellow’s view of Chicago in 1982 and Algren’s portrait of Chicago in 1951 illustrates one of the reasons for the canonicity of Bellow’s works and the

relative obscurity of Algren's writings. Bellow's post-industrial negativity was in tune with Chicago in decline. In 1982, Bellow's writing revealed his personal fear of aging and his disappointment in Chicago and its coincidental loss of vigor. Bellow stayed in tune with the public consensus about Chicago all the way through. When Chicago was up, Bellow was up. When Chicago was down in the eighties, Bellow was down and reflected hopelessness about Chicago in his 1982 essay. Bellow's canonicity reflects his ability to mirror the mood of the public consensus.

Algren, however, in his sympathetic leavening toward Chicago and its street people, was continually out of synch with the public consensus about Chicago. Nelson Algren's sympathy was in congruence with his definition of literature as "a challenge.... put to the legal apparatus by conscience in touch with humanity" but out of synch with the post-war mindset of unlimited possibility for every person (Algren 81). Because Algren continually was out of synch with the public consensus, his writings remained relatively obscure.

The writings of Nelson Algren and Saul Bellow shed literary illumination upon the journey of Uptown from its glory period through the 1950s and even to its nadir in the 1980s. In the next chapter, Jane Jacobs' sentinel 1960s book, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, is used to provide a framework for analysis of the characteristics of Uptown which are still lacking for successful commercial development.

CHAPTER 2. AN ANALYSIS OF THREE BLOCKS IN UPTOWN ACCORDING TO CRITERIA DEVELOPED BY JANE JACOBS IN THE DEATH AND LIFE OF GREAT AMERICAN CITIES

In 1961, Jane Jacobs published her sentinel book, The Death and Life of Great American Cities. In Part Two, The Conditions for City Diversity, Jacobs developed four key criteria, or conditions, with sub-criteria for encouraging city-neighborhood stability. The second half of this chapter uses Ms. Jacobs' criteria to develop an analysis of three key blocks of the Uptown neighborhood.

ANALYSIS CRITERIA:

The four criteria/conditions developed by Jane Jacobs which are indispensable "to generate exuberant diversity in a city's streets and districts are:

- 1. The district, and indeed as many of its internal parts as possible, must serve more than one primary function; preferably more than two. These must insure the presence of people who go outdoors on different schedules and are in the place for different purposes, but who are able to use many facilities in common.**
- 2. Most blocks must be short; that is, streets and opportunities to turn corners must be frequent.**
- 3. The district must mingle buildings that vary in age and condition, including a good proportion of old ones so that they vary in the economic yield they must produce. This mingling must be fairly close-grained.**
- 4. There must be a sufficiently dense concentration of people, for whatever purposes they may be there. This includes dense concentration in the case of people who are there because of residence.**

The necessity for these four conditions is the most important point this book has to make. In combination, these conditions create effective economic pools of use" (Jacobs 150-151).

SOURCE MATERIAL BACKGROUND

A portion of this analysis is based on original source material developed in the Corridors of Vision Project sponsored by the Uptown Community Development Corporation in partnership with the Institute of Cultural Affairs. The Corridors of Vision

Project gathered some 50 community leaders and residents in a participatory workshop process to develop a comprehensive vision toward the revitalization of Uptown's primary commercial corridors. Uptown is unique on the north side of Chicago and known for its rich diversity and high concentration of population. Its boundaries are Foster Avenue to the north, Ashland to the west, Irving Park on the south and Lake Michigan on the east. The three blocks of concentration are located at the center of this area. The three blocks are: the Broadway-Lawrence Entertainment Area; the Broadway Retail Center; and, the Lawrence Avenue Historic District Corridor.

BUILDING ON JANE JACOBS' CONTEXTUAL FOUNDATION

In Part Two of *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, the author introduces her four criteria for assessing neighborhood vitality. It is important to note that the four generators of diversity are present in Uptown but *no one block of the three blocks in this analysis has all four generators in sufficient mixture to sustain real vitality*. According to Jane Jacobs,

A mixture of uses, if it is to be sufficiently complex to sustain city safety, public contact and cross-use, needs an enormous diversity of ingredients. So the first question—and I think by far the most important question—about planning cities is this: How can cities generate enough mixture among uses—enough diversity—throughout enough of their territories, to sustain their own civilization (Jacobs 144).

Insufficient primary mixture of uses is typically the principal downfall in most US downtowns. In the past, the big-city downtowns did fulfill the four necessary conditions for generating diversity (Jacobs 149). This was true for Uptown in its heyday and, with the planned addition of some of the missing primary and secondary mixed uses, Uptown has every reason to reclaim its heritage as a vibrant historic neighborhood serving both the residential and commercial interests (Bey, L. 18).

It is also important to note that Jane Jacobs' use of the word "diversity" in this context is primarily a description of key generators of diversity which, if favorable and in the proper mix, can lead to a vital and successful area. In chapter 8, *The Need for Mixed Primary Uses*, Jacobs states:

I am discussing two different kinds of diversity. The first, primary uses, are those which, in themselves bring people to a specific place because they are anchorages. Offices and factories are primary uses. So are dwellings. Certain places of entertainment, education and recreation are primary uses. To a degree.....so are many museums, libraries and galleries, but not all...When a primary use is combined, effectively, with another that puts people on the street at different times, then the effect can be economically stimulating: a fertile environment for secondary diversity. Secondary diversity is a name for the enterprises that grow in response to the presence of primary uses, to serve the people the primary uses draw....Serving mixed primary uses, it can be innately efficient and – if the other three conditions for generating diversity are favorable also - it can be exuberant (Jacobs 161).

She continues to point out that “the primary mixture has to perform effectively itself. Effectiveness means, first, that the people using the streets at different times must actually use the same streets. If their paths are separated from one another’s, or buffered from one another’s, there is no mixture in reality..... Effectiveness means, second, that the people using the same streets at differing times must include, among them, people who will use some of the same facilities” (Jacobs 162-163).

The above definition is not completely congruent with the word diversity as applied to the “diversity in Uptown” which is locally used to describe the diverse origins of people from many countries and the diverse economic levels of the population living in Uptown. Uptown is known for its international character. Seventy-two languages are used daily in business and commerce. The international diversity is evident in the many ethnic restaurants and in the mutual aid organizations which have chosen to locate their offices in Uptown including: Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, Chinese, Tibetan, Bosnian, Russian, Ethiopian, Filipino, Japanese, and Korean. The presence of a high percentage of homeless people and persons in need of mental health services does affect the present day current reality and is a partial contributor to the diverse economic levels in Uptown. However, the continuing entry of new immigrants along with the subsidized and

subdivided housing also contributes to the diverse economic palette of Uptown. The amazing ethnic diversity of Uptown with its stores, restaurants and mutual aid associations could and should potentially be a key unique contribution to an exuberant mixture of primary and secondary diversity as defined by Jane Jacobs (Linton 25).

THE BROADWAY-LAWRENCE ENTERTAINMENT AREA

DESCRIPTION OF AREA:

The Broadway- Lawrence Entertainment Area has been identified as the potential nucleus for Uptown's redevelopment by the Urban Land Institute which interviewed 100 community leaders and stakeholders in November 2000. Four nationally known entertainment venues (The Uptown Theater, Riviera Theater, Aragon Ballroom, and the Green Mill Lounge) are located at the Broadway-Lawrence intersection flanked by the historic Goldblatt's building, the terra cotta clad Uptown Bank Building and the Uptown Broadway Building with its Spanish/Baroque façade.

Seven key aged buildings contributing to the National Historic Entertainment District are located within 200 feet of this intersection. All have current primary uses except the Uptown Theater which has been closed since 1983 (Kaarre, D.). The Uptown Theater is listed by the Smithsonian magazine as one of the ten most endangered landmark status buildings in the US. Several studies have been prepared since 1992 with a focus on the redevelopment of the Broadway-Lawrence area. In the Report of the Uptown Community Assistance Panel prepared by the Department of Planning and Development of the City of Chicago in 1992, Fred Fine, formerly of the city's Department of Cultural Affairs, stated that the Uptown Theater will be "a herculean task...not only to open it but to sustain it" (Chicago Department of Planning and Development, Report of the Uptown Community Assistance Panel). Estimates for its redevelopment are \$25-35 million dollars and that assumes a use concept that would sustain the formidable operating costs and the construction of nearby parking for patrons. Of the remaining six operating aged buildings at the Broadway-Lawrence intersection, only the Bridgeview Uptown Bank Building has been completely renovated and is currently the premier office building in Uptown with a lengthy tenant waiting list. The Goldblatt's building is the anchor development project for a new Tax Increment Financing District and has been rehabbed over the past two years to house a Borders Bookstore, a residential condo development, and other new

retail stores. The Aragon Ballroom and the Riviera Theatre maintain a lively schedule of rock bands on most weekends. They attract thousands (weekends with both venues open are estimated at 3-5,000) of people from outside Uptown into the area each weekend. The local surface parking lots raise their prices to \$17-25. per car on performance nights. However, the crowds are boisterous and seldom stay in the area to eat or shop because there are no secondary destinations. The Uptown Broadway Building was built by Al Capone to house a speakeasy during the Roaring Twenties. It currently operates as an office building with an African-American Dance Club in the basement. The Green Mill Lounge, formerly the Green Mill Gardens jazz speakeasy, is a nationally known jazz venue frequented primarily by national and suburban visitors. These thousands of patrons seldom remain in the area due to lack of secondary destinations.

In the Corridors of Vision Workshop Session I which focused on the Broadway-Lawrence Entertainment Area, the current condition of this area and its aged buildings was described as:

monumentality with urban grit, a place to get through, stripped of charm, fallen asleep, abandoned and seedy, of a bygone era, nostalgia, unfulfilled dreams, audience for retail, neglected and overlooked, old landmarks with curious angles, and surprises under the surface (Uptown Community Development Corporation, COV Session I).

When community leaders and stakeholders were asked what was needed to make the area vital again, they brainstormed secondary uses that would attract the people already drawn to the area by the primary uses including:

nice restaurants, reasons to stay, enterprises built on ethnic diversity, national retail tenants, quality food stores, appropriate activities for existing buildings, movie theaters, a silent movies era museum, complementary activities to the entertainment venues (stickiness= reasons to stay in the area before or after the theatre), parking structures, historic building plaques, points of interest, upscale ethnic evening restaurants, urban outdoor plaza, era lighting, green space, restore historic street wall (remove broken teeth buildings – non-contributing to the historic district), café

culture development, ethnic-based shopping, pedestrian friendly businesses including a drugstore, Kinko's, fruit market, bakery, shoe repair and art galleries (Uptown Community Development Corporation, COV Session I).

According to Jane Jacobs' criteria, the Broadway-Lawrence Entertainment Area has some key elements of CONDITION I: MIXED PRIMARY USES, INCLUDING OFFICE AND ENTERTAINMENT VENUES. There is more than one primary function in the district. However, secondary supportive services "to serve the people the primary uses draw" are completely nonexistent – no evening restaurants to serve the theater patrons and minimal lunch options to serve the office workers (Jacobs 162). There are no residents at the intersection. And the movement of people through the area is not complementary so there is little repeat use of any of the facilities. A key to primary use mixtures is effectivity.

Effectiveness means, first, that the people using the streets at different times must actually use the same streets.....second, that the people using the same streets at differing times must include, among them, people who will use some of the same facilities. All kinds of people can be present, but those who turn up for one reason at one time must not be sorted out in some totally incompatible fashion from those who turn up for another reason.....and finally, effectiveness means that the mixture of people on a street at one time of day must bear some reasonably proportionate relationship to people there at other times of day (Jacobs 164).

With few residents and the tidal wave of humanity experienced as the rock band patrons come and go, the complementary movement of people through the area at different times does not work. The intersection is a wasteland from 6pm until 8am and every weekend unless the Riviera or the Aragon come alive for an evening. *Therefore, it may be concluded that "The everyday, ordinary performance in mixing people, as pools of economic mutual support" fails at the Broadway-Lawrence intersection because of missing residents, missing secondary support uses, and the resulting lack of a mixture of people on the street day and night (Jacobs 164).*

CONDITION II: THE NEED FOR SHORT BLOCKS WHICH CREATE OPPORTUNITIES TO TURN CORNERS is in place at the Broadway-Lawrence intersection within the triangle configuration at the south end of the intersection in front of the Goldblatt's Building. The juxtaposition of the Bridgeview Uptown Bank Building and the Uptown Broadway Building on the southeast corner creates a natural small block configuration. With the projected street level commercial development on the site of the adjacent Bridgeview Uptown Bank parking lot, CONDITION II of Short Blocks and Opportunities to Turn Corners will be in honored with the opening of the Borders Bookstore, and enhanced by the three new street level commercial venues which are available for the development of secondary support services that are so lacking in the area.

As previously discussed, the Broadway-Lawrence Entertainment Area has a substantial number of aged historically significant buildings for CONDITION III: THE NEED FOR AGED BUILDINGS. The National Historic District application material identified only three non-contributing structures in the targeted one block area. All three of them are in poor to fair condition and could be redeveloped or razed in order to make space for secondary support uses which would contribute to the entertainment district and provide services for the residents of the new condos being built as part of the Goldblatt's and the Heilig-Myers condo developments.

CONDITION IV: THE NEED FOR CONCENTRATION, INCLUDING RESIDENTS, has been a missing element in the Broadway-Lawrence mix. But the new condos, each within less than one block will provide residents and may positively affect the need for residential concentration. Though hundreds of people pass through the intersection on foot to board the el, secondary support services to serve residents are completely lacking. The planned residential condo developments will provide the needed residential component with disposable income seeking restaurants and services within the block. An essential part of the Goldblatt's development plan, therefore, is the first floor commercial development including the Border's Bookstore and other desired retail services (Jacobs 164).

THE BROADWAY- WILSON RETAIL CENTER

DESCRIPTION OF THE AREA:

The Broadway Wilson Retail Center encompasses the intersection of Broadway and Wilson and the block south of Wilson on Broadway. The area known as Wilson Yard is the largest undeveloped parcel of land between Chicago Avenue and Evanston. The Wilson Yard development is the nucleus of a second Tax Increment Financing District which has been designed through a series of Community Input Workshops over the past two years. Workshops asked what kinds of goods, services and activities were desired by residents and stakeholders in the Uptown community. Values and ideas were clustered and discussed in small group design teams with professional advisors participating in the teams. Drawings were presented for feedback in three follow-up community meetings (Chicago Department of Planning and Development, The Wilson Yard Workshop Report).

In the Corridors of Vision Workshop on the Broadway-Wilson Retail Center, the current condition of this area was described as:

business-oriented, drive-thru, disconnected, tattered fabric, user unfriendly, opportunity, diversity, changing, rich by-gone history, vacancy and discontinuity needed to change to integrated neighborhood uses, destinations (primary use venues), punctuation nodes with gateways (that delineate the retail area), and a unifying character and continuity (Uptown Community Development Corporation, COV Session II).

The Broadway Wilson Retail Center has a good Mix of Primary Uses according to the definition of CONDITION I. There are three key historical buildings currently in use: the Wilson CTA station, the McJunkin Building, and the TCF Bank of Chicago. The northeast and southeast corners have non-contributing one-story buildings housing retail clothing and secondary services which are not attractive to the residents. The CTA station serves one and one-half million riders per year. Truman College and its current parking lot flank the southwest corner of the intersection. The McJunkin Building houses restaurants, offices, homeless services, a fruit market, a textbook store and other needed neighborhood services. The area is busy most hours of the day and night although there are few primary use attractors during the evening hours outside the college.

CONDITION II: NEED FOR SHORT BLOCKS AND OPPORTUNITIES TO TURN CORNERS is not really in place in the Broadway-Wilson Retail Center. The blocks are long and there are

few obvious breaks as it is presently configured. However, the planned development of the Wilson Yard Project on five acres between Wilson and Montrose will have a tremendous impact. The community input results gave high valences toward affordable housing, theatres, a mid-size grocery, and national chain stores with secondary goods and services that are lacking in the neighborhood. The CTA has committed to renovate the historic Wilson El Station and link the CTA to Truman College and to the Broadway-Wilson retail center. A two thousand car parking lot is hoped for by Truman College; such a parking lot could also serve the needs of the new retail shops in Wilson Yard. The projected development design plan could go a long way toward creating interesting short block intervals and walking passageways that will link the main intersection and the new retail shops.

CONDITION III: THE NEED FOR AGED BUILDINGS is reasonably obvious at the Broadway-Wilson Retail Center. One to three story aged buildings run along Broadway south of Leland all the way to Montrose except in one block. The current retailers appeal to a low-income clientele and the aged buildings look a bit down in the mouth. Cohesive façade signage and window planning could make a big difference in pulling together the retailers and the streetscape appearance of the aged buildings. The Urban Bike Shop, Truman College, the CTA station and the Dunkin Donuts currently create lively primary use nodes for residents and passersby.

CONDITION IV: THE NEED FOR CONCENTRATION OF PEOPLE, INCLUDING RESIDENTS is currently not present at the Broadway-Wilson Retail Center. However, the existence of a number of places to eat and shop, along with the Truman College students, creates a lively concentration of people during the day and early evening hours. The addition of mixed income and affordable housing through the Wilson Yard TIF District plan will have a positive impact. The addition of movie theatres, complementing the existing Pegasus Players, will bring diners and shoppers into the area and keep them before and after the theater through the strategic addition of sit-down restaurants and specialty shops.

THE LAWRENCE AVENUE HISTORIC CORRIDOR

DESCRIPTION OF AREA:

The Lawrence Avenue Historic Corridor runs from the Preston Bradley Center east of Sheridan along Lawrence to Clark. It includes a number of aged historic buildings, a high concentration of residential population, almost no primary use “attractors of people”, and extremely limited secondary support services for residential or primary use venues. There is an interesting mix of low-rise and high-rise aged residential buildings.

However, a number of these residential complexes were divided and subdivided during the 1950’s. The condominium conversion market in Uptown has renovated many of the low-rise buildings to their previous glory, especially west of Broadway in Sheridan Park.

In the Corridors of Vision Workshop on the Lawrence Historic Corridor, the current condition of this area and its aged buildings was described as:

auto-oriented, monumental, congested, scattered, competing interests, ugly, unenhanced, unfriendly, potentially magnificent, challenged thoroughfare, blah, disjointed, no sense of place, currently rundown, potentially vibrant, elongated funnel in need of transformation, bland, dingy, needs lots of work (Uptown Community Development Corporation, COV Session II).

When community leaders and building owners were asked what vision elements were needed to recreate the vitality of the Lawrence Historic Corridor, they stated:

redevelopment of the eight historic landmark buildings, highlighting of the terra cotta facades with illumination, points of reference, create a “stage”, ease of movement for pedestrian traffic, “people pulls” (primary use attractors), reasons to come, reasons to stay, meandering areas, sense of place, Lake Shore gateway, green the long corridor, clear beginning and end points, plants and trees, and historic informational stopping points (Uptown Community Development Corporation, COV Session II).

CONDITION I: THE NEED FOR MIXED PRIMARY USES is completely void along the Lawrence Historic Corridor. It is primarily a densely concentrated residential corridor with “broken teeth” interrupting the “canyon wall” of high-rise 1920s historically significant street frontage buildings. The sidewalks were narrowed so radically that they do not meet the minimum city width to add trees along Lawrence Avenue west of

Sheridan Road. Narrow sidewalks with no natural greenery has created an unfriendly corridor which worships the automobile and leaves no safe space to walk for the hundreds of residents, a high percentage of whom are senior citizens.

CONDITION II: THE NEED FOR SHORT BLOCKS WHICH CREATE OPPORTUNITIES TO TURN CORNERS is almost non-existent along the Lawrence Historic Corridor. The blocks along Lawrence from Marine Drive to Clark are long with limited opportunities to turn corners. The corners that do exist primarily lead to residential areas with no secondary use venues. The two exceptions are the major intersections at Sheridan Road and at Broadway. As Uptown creates its redevelopment design, the Lawrence Historic Corridor needs significant attention. Secondary use services are desperately needed for the large number of residents (including a significant number of senior citizens without automobiles). The Lawrence House and the Institute of Cultural Affairs house some 500 residents. The Loralai House and Heiwa Terrace house approximately 600 seniors. 4848 N. Winthrop houses approximately 450 low-income tenant owners and 920 Lakeside has another 550 moderate- income tenants and seniors. Using Jane Jacobs' third condition, the cross- street corners at Sheridan, Kenmore, Winthrop, Clifton and Magnolia should be prioritized sites for the development of targeted retail shops and restaurants that will serve the huge residential population. In addition, some six hundred people work in the two large office buildings – The Institute of Cultural Affairs and the Bridgeview Uptown Bank Building. The development of secondary use services at the key corners along Lawrence would greatly enhance the ambience and pedestrian friendliness of the Lawrence Historic Corridor.

CONDITION III: THE NEED FOR AGED BUILDINGS is an actuality on the Lawrence Historic Corridor. Existing monumental historic buildings include The Bridgeview Uptown Bank Building – office use and terra cotta clad; the Aragon Ballroom – rock band performances; the Loralai House- senior residential; the Perkins Building – office and some commercial; the Lawrence House - senior & SSI residential; the Institute of Cultural Affairs – non-profit social service agencies with a terra cotta facade; and the Preston Bradley Center - social service and cultural center. Existing vintage low-rise buildings line the Lawrence Historic Corridor as well; they are all residential and many are being redeveloped as

condominiums. The remainder of the Corridor is made up of what is known as “broken teeth” – breaks in the historic building corridor – which actually detract from the historic district. These include several old unattractive parking lots and strip shopping malls that are set back from the street with parking in front. With a bit of pre-planning, there is a real opportunity on the Lawrence Corridor to mingle well-designed new commercial developments that would include much needed parking and secondary services for residents, theatre patrons and office workers.

CONDITION IV: THE NEED FOR CONCENTRATION OF PEOPLE, ESPECIALLY RESIDENTS, is already in place along the Lawrence Historic Corridor. In fact, the number of residents along the Lawrence Corridor is much higher than any of the other blocks in this analysis. It is one of the most densely populated residential strips but the lack of primary and secondary use venues makes the corridor isolated, cold and without necessary needed services. Hundreds of senior citizens are marooned in their buildings with no access to a grocery store, pharmacy or restaurant. Residents with automobiles and disposable income leave Uptown to shop because the basic goods and services are not available within walking distance.

SUMMARY BY BLOCKS

In summary, the three blocks of Uptown analyzed in this paper provide an excellent opportunity for development according to Jane Jacobs’ thesis. Uptown is on the verge of major change. Using Jacobs’ criteria for the elements of a vital urban neighborhood in order to focus and design the projected development, could result in three very vital urban blocks. Because of the close proximity of the three blocks, the projected redevelopment could be the basis for an “exuberant” neighborhood and a revitalized Uptown which would serve the residents, the workers and the hundreds of “strangers” that come to Uptown every weekend but are not drawn to stay.

MIXED PRIMARY USES as defined in CONDITION I exist at the Lawrence-Broadway Entertainment Area and at the Broadway-Wilson Retail Center. However, there are few residents and limited secondary use venues to support the primary use venues. The Lawrence Historic Corridor is almost completely devoid of secondary support venues

though the two large office buildings and the four residential high-rise buildings are anchor primary use venues with significant populations.

Only the Lawrence-Broadway Entertainment area has an existing layout for CONDITION II: SHORT BLOCKS WITH OPPORTUNITIES TO TURN CORNERS. The geography is in place but only with commercial development of secondary support venues would pedestrians have any reason to turn the corners and stay awhile. The other two blocks need major development to design and construct intervals and opportunities to turn corners and meander. Lawrence has some short blocks between Sheridan Road and Broadway but no reasons are present to invite people to turn the corners.

All three blocks in this analysis have existing CONDITION III: AGED BUILDINGS operating and could be redeveloped to serve the needs of the neighborhood more directly. The Broadway-Lawrence Entertainment District and the Lawrence Historic Corridor are both part of the recently designated National Historic Entertainment District. The Broadway-Wilson Retail Center has an opportunity to incorporate the existing low-rise historic commercial buildings along Broadway with the design for the Wilson Yard development. It is hoped that the character of the existing buildings will be maintained and complemented by the new construction at Wilson Yard.

The Lawrence Historic Corridor is preeminently the site of CONDITION IV with its dense numbers of residents. Condominium and affordable housing developments will add some needed residential component to the other two areas in this analysis. However, the projected development of the other two areas with primary and secondary use venues such as theatres, restaurants, and food stores will create a strong draw for the hundreds of residents marooned on the Lawrence Historic Corridor with no place to shop or eat or be entertained.

Uptown has the stage set to become a thriving residential and commercial neighborhood once again. Some of the required elements are already in place in each block/area. As projected development funding becomes available, it is critical to carefully choreograph the addition of the missing elements/conditions as elucidated by Jane Jacobs. The existing 1920s historic character, the unparalleled ethnic diversity and the dense residential population can only help assure an “exuberant” revitalized Uptown if the four conditions for generating Jane Jacobs’ definition of diversity are used as guidelines in all three development areas.

The Lawrence Avenue Historic District includes a number of faith-based institutions, more often than not, owned by non-profits. The next chapter will relate how faith-based institutions and associations are community assets that can provide key human resources or Social Capital for the rebuilding and the redevelopment of the Uptown community.

EXHIBIT A.

SECTION III: EXTERNAL INFLUENCES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF UPTOWN AFFECT INTERNAL CHANGES

CHAPTER 3: FAITH-BASED INSTITUTIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Faith-based Institutions and Associations have helped to define Uptown development since the 1930s. In this chapter, such institutions will be evaluated using the ABCD Community Development approach to assess opportunities for social capital inputs.

Asset-based Community Development describes a community development research process created by John Kretzmann and John McKnight, professors at Northwestern University in Chicago. In Building Communities from the Inside Out: A Path Toward Finding and Mobilizing a Community's Assets, Kretzmann and McKnight designed a research process based on the presumption that identifying the assets of a community, rather than focusing on its deficits, is a key first step in community building (Kretzmann and McKnight). According to Susan Rans and Hilary Altman in Asset-Based Strategies for Faith Communities, five categories of community resources were identified:

- 1) the skills and talents of local people;
- 2) the web of local voluntary associations;
- 3) the strengths of local institutions – public, private, and nonprofit;
- 4) the available land and physical property; and,
- 5) the local economy

This chapter identifies the local institutions and associations which are faith-based or faith-related in the Uptown neighborhood of Chicago. The history of Uptown has affected the origin and mission of the faith-based institutions and organizations. Interview and survey data will be used to extrapolate insights and tentative conclusions about faith-based institutions in Uptown. Potential linkages between these associations and institutions for community building in Uptown will be identified.

Faith-based institutions in Uptown include: A) CHURCHES which are institutions and the associations directly related to those church institutions; B) 501©3 ORGANIZATIONS which are mission or faith-based in their primary financial resources and in their mission

and purpose; C) NEW IMMIGRANT CHURCHES with origins based on tribal or national affinity with a religious purpose; and, D) FAITH-BASED ORGANIZATIONS which are supported by a particular denomination or religious community. All four types of faith-based institutions and associations can be identified in Uptown.

A. CHURCHES —

There are surprisingly few independent church buildings in Uptown considering the current population of 63,551. Four of the historic institutional church buildings were built before 1925 and are affiliated with mainline denominations:

1) THE PEOPLES CHURCH OF CHICAGO was built in 1924 under the leadership of Preston Bradley who presided over a congregation of 1700 in Sunday services which were broadcast nationwide over the radio. In an unsuccessful effort to reach out to an even wider audience, Dr. Bradley included a 4,000 square foot Masonic Hall and a 2,000 square foot hall for the (female) Order of the Eastern Star in the design of the building. Neither of the groups ever moved to the building and the valuable twenty by twelve foot WPA murals have stood in silent testimony since 1924. Today the congregation numbers only sixty; few members still live in Uptown. The original Preston Bradley congregation has died and there is no endowment left to pay for the upkeep of the historic church building. The present Peoples Church is affiliated with the United Church of Christ and the Unitarian-Universalist Church. The Church incorporated the Preston Bradley Center as a 501©3 in 1988 with a broad mission to provide community cultural event venues and social services for the people of Uptown. The Preston Bradley Center has been designated as a neighborhood Cultural Center by the City of Chicago Department of Cultural Affairs. The building houses REST offices and an overnight emergency shelter for homeless men. In addition, Women in the Directors Chair and local arts and theater groups use the three auditorium spaces to hold rehearsals and events for the larger Uptown community. The 1700 seat auditorium of the Preston Bradley Center is also used to hold community-wide citizen input meetings by both local aldermen and by the Organization of the Northeast.

2) THE UPTOWN BAPTIST CHURCH at 1011 W. Wilson was established in 1981. The building was erected in 1906 by members of the North Shore Congregational Church

(Pasyga, D. 112). During the 1970s and 1980s, Uptown Baptist was well known as a national Baptist urban mission training center under the leadership of the Bakke family. Some 4,000 youth from across the US spent several weeks of their summer teaching Bible school to children in the poorest areas of Uptown. They were housed at the Ecumenical Institute's International Conference Center just two blocks away. Currently, an average of 400 people worship weekly though only 180 are pledged members. Uptown Baptist houses four other congregations, including Bulgarian, Russian, Vietnamese and African. Uptown Baptist has a substantial evangelical mission presence in the neighborhood with outreach ministries to youth and mothers, to the large homeless population of Uptown and even to a specially targeted demographic group, members of Generation X.

3) TEMPLE AGUDA ACHIM at 5029 N. Kenmore has had a continuous presence in Uptown since the early part of the twentieth century. Though many younger members have moved north to the newer temples, the Temple continues to serve long-standing members who, for the most part, have moved out of the area but still attend the synagogue in Uptown.

4) ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY CATHOLIC CHURCH at 4815 N. Kenmore houses a church and a school for Kindergarten to eighth grade. It was built in 1916 and was known as one of the most "American" parishes in the Chicago Catholic Archdiocese. The architecture of St. Thomas is in the colonial style which differs markedly from the other historical buildings built before 1930 in what is now the Uptown Square Historic District (Pacyga 112). The congregation and the school continue to serve a large Vietnamese Catholic community which arrived in the early 1970s, as well as a large number of the elderly residents housed in the numerous senior rental buildings in Uptown. According to Cindy Anderson, a homeowner on Lakeside, Vietnamese homeowners on Lakeside and Leland attend the Vietnamese language service at St. Thomas weekly.

5) THE BUDDHIST TEMPLE at 1415 W. Leland is the fifth free-standing Church building in Uptown. The temple was built to serve the Japanese concentration camp refugees who were resettled in Uptown after World War II (Linton 115). The congregation today numbers around 110 and is mixed in origin. The Buddhist Temple hosts a culturally unique and popular neighborhood festival once each year.

6) NEW HOPE CHURCH was organized in the 1990s and is housed in a commercial storefront at 4838 N. Sheridan Road. The congregation consists, primarily, of African-

Americans living in rental housing along Sheridan Road, Eastwood, and Sunnyside. The theological basis of the Church is evangelical and characterized by Bible fundamentalism. The New Hope Church hosts a large outdoor festival each summer for the children of the neighborhood.

B. 501©3 SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS-

Uptown is home to some seventy-seven 501©3 social service organizations (CURL). At least one-half are faith-related in their current fiscal support or in their original inception. The past six decades of Uptown's history sheds light on the large number of 501©3 organizations. During the 1950s and 1960s, Uptown's once luxurious housing stock was divided into numerous smaller units as the economy of Uptown changed from wealthy members of the film and entertainment industry to poor immigrants and low-income migrants. Uptown became a transition neighborhood for Appalachian and Southeast Asian immigrants and low income people seeking affordable housing. When the state mental health system was deinstitutionalized in the 1970s, many former clients were resettled in Uptown. By the 1980s, Uptown had become a well-known "gateway community for immigrants and refugees" from all over the world. Travelers & Immigrants Aid and the Interchurch Refugee Ministry played major roles in resettling "asylum refugees" in Uptown's abundant low-income housing. By 1984, federally subsidized housing units in Uptown numbered 5300 (Pacyga 112). It was common knowledge that social service agencies in abundance and a majority of their client populations were housed in Uptown. The historic church buildings with space to share followed the trend of mission to the glaring needs of Uptown with social services to the poorest citizens of Uptown. Even today, most of the churches directly sponsor or house a significant number of social services to the low-income and homeless people of Uptown. In addition, "The welfare reform legislation of the 1990s devolved significant responsibilities to state and to local communities, and provided new impetus for faith-based organizations to engage with local communities in even more compelling and effective ways" (Rans and Altman p.1). Notable faith-related, or church-supported, social service organizations are the Night Ministry, Chicago Religious Leadership Network, REST, Cornerstone Shelter, Salvation Army, Empti-Spoon Job Club and all of the homeless shelters and feeding programs. A significant number of well-known 501©3 social service agencies in Uptown

are headed by seminary-trained directors including Sarah's Circle Homeless Support Center for Women (Gail Russell – University of Chicago Theological Seminary), Heartland Alliance, with its large subsidiary, Heartland Health Outreach, (Sid Mohn – United Church of Christ), The Institute of Cultural Affairs (George Packard – United Methodist), The Ecumenical Institute (Robert Hawley - Methodist), The Preston Bradley Center (Robert Ford – University of Chicago Theological Seminary), The Uptown Ministry (Reverend Robert Leshner- Lutheran) and O.N.E. past presidents (Randall Doubet-King- United Church of Christ and Paul Koch- Lutheran).

C. NATION-BASED IMMIGRANT CHURCHES-

The Nation-based Immigrant Churches are primarily African and have proliferated in the last five years since US immigration policy expanded the quotas for students and family members from African countries. There are two thriving Ghanaian churches in Uptown; two Nigerian churches; four smaller evangelical African church groups and, one each of Bulgarian, Russian, Vietnamese and Spanish. The nation-based congregations are housed in rental space in the mainline church buildings, in park facilities and in commercial storefronts. A number of nation-based immigrant churches have started in Uptown since 1970. However, as their members seek to buy their own homes, they tend to move out of Uptown, even as far as the western suburbs. By the time their members have achieved home ownership and economic self-sufficiency, the members generally tend to build a church building in their new community, not in Uptown. Examples of this migration westward of the nation-based churches are the Ethiopian Coptic Church headed by Father Michael Taffessee, the Ugandan Church headed by George Lubaga, and numerous Korean Methodist churches now established along Lawrence Avenue west of Western Avenue. However, Reverend Lubaga returns to Uptown every Saturday to preach and talk to homeless individuals in the shelters of Uptown. Father Taffessee and Reverend Lubaga reside in Uptown where some of their members still live.

D. DENOMINATION-SUPPORTED MISSIONS-

The denomination-supported missions include: the Anawim Native American Center of the Catholic Archdiocese, the Uptown Ministry of the Chicago Lutheran Synod,

the Interfaith Refugee & Immigration Ministry, the Episcopal Migration Ministry, and the Catholic Workers. The Jesus People fit most logically in this category though they differ in that they are a self-sufficient religious service group which lives in community and self-supports their members and their mission to the homeless citizens of Uptown. The membership of the Jesus People congregation has stayed around 450 since the 1970s, according to Scott Ingerson. However, according to Sister Peggy Desjarlaist of the Anawim Indian Center, of their congregation of sixty, only 5% still live in Uptown due to the rising rents.

The insights and conclusions below are based on the interviews conducted for this project and survey data using the ABCD survey instrument entitled “Sample Church Field Questionnaire”. Individuals from faith-based institutions and associations were interviewed. The insights and conclusions are the result of reviewing the interviews, the Field Inventory data, the Chart of Association Numbers by Activity and the Chart of Potential Community Linkages. An ICA reflection process was used to extrapolate insights from a group of Uptown residents.

Insights related to the History of Uptown:

1. The faith-based institutions and associations in Uptown are linked with the history of Uptown in their inception, make-up of members and in their current mission. The membership of the faith-based institutions has changed over time. Members of the once large congregations have, for the most part, moved out of the community. Some long-standing members have continued to support the older mainline denomination churches. But, unfortunately, many members have moved on and left the historical church buildings with little or no support. Endowments from the early wealthy congregations before 1950 have run out, leaving key historical church buildings with untold amounts of deferred maintenance. It has been suggested that the roof of the Buena Park Presbyterian Church, at the south end of Uptown, collapsed due to this exact scenario.

2. The social service phenomenon in Uptown is related to its economic history in the fifties, sixties and seventies. Uptown progressed, in fifty years, from a fashionable affluent area to become one of the poorest areas in Chicago. The social service agencies

originated in or came to Uptown to serve the poor. Now, the poor come to Uptown to be near the numerous social services which are available. The older faith-based institutions and associations are deeply involved in social mission service to the community.

Insights related to the Newest Immigrants:

3. Immigrants tend to locate in Uptown as a Gateway community and to set up nation-based churches within the boundaries of Uptown. However, when the immigrants become established, they tend to purchase or build a building in the neighborhood to which their immigrant group has relocated. This trend has resulted in no new church buildings erected in Uptown since 1955.

4. The newer nation-based churches have culturally-based self-help structures in addition to a religious purpose. According to Pastor Foster Agbehia of the Narrow Way Ministry, each member of his growing church tithes on a yearly basis. Because many of his members have no health insurance, the tithe can be returned to the member in a health emergency. Additionally, Pastor Agbehia conducts weekly groups for both the adult men and the women. The discussions are based on Bible illustrations that teach members how to relate within a family structure. The men are to be the head of the family, like Jesus is to the church. He states that his congregation has very few problems within the families of the church due to these teachings.

5. The newer churches are predominantly evangelistic and have growing congregations. The focus of their associations is outreach to individuals and target groups in order to gain new members. According to Phillip Jenkins in “The Next Christianity” in the October 2002 issue of Atlantic Monthly, evangelism in Africa and Latin America is the key trend which will affect Christianity in the next ten years. The predominantly African-based new churches in Uptown are true to Jenkins’ prediction. J.P. Paulus also named a very high percentage of evangelism-driven associations related to Uptown Baptist Church.

6. A development pattern can be discerned as immigrant, nation-based churches move from living room meetings to storefronts to renting community space in an institutional

church to purchase or building their own church (usually outside the neighborhood where they started). The Narrow Way Ministry has purchased a building in Rogers Park but, according to Pastor Agbehia, the Alderman will not allow the congregation to occupy the property as a church. So, they will stay in Uptown and rent 4,000 square feet in the ICA Community Resource Center building.

7. The newer faith-based associations are not networked with other organizations in Uptown. According to the Field Inventory data and person interviews, they are internally focused toward building their own church membership; and/or, toward efforts to preserve a national or tribal culture, where applicable.

Established Faith-based Institutions and Associations:

8. Condo buyers with disposable income, who have moved into Uptown in the past eight years, tend not to join the local churches in the neighborhood. According to David Rowe, Executive Director of the Uptown Chicago Commission, there is no attraction for new homeowners to join a church in Uptown. Reasons mentioned included loyalty to former church in previous neighborhood, churches unattractive in appearance and lack of programs that appeal to the new residents. Mr. Rowe cited a similar experience for lower income renters and African-Americans who travel weekly to the South and West Sides for a more vibrant faith community experience. Judy Yblonski, President of the Lakeside Block Club, stated that the block club meets on Sunday mornings because “the members stated that they don’t go to church”. Several people interviewed commented that a number of newer residents in Uptown attend the Episcopal Church in Ravenswood because it has a strong gay and lesbian membership and good programming.

9. The older churches are primarily mission-based, serving the needs of their immediate neighborhood. Their congregations are shrinking in members and their leadership is burned out. According to Reverend Robert Ford at Peoples Church, the leadership tends to be seminary graduates who understand their church membership as sharing talents, not as seeking spiritual refreshment. The associations related to Peoples Church are strong and well-defined as serving the homeless and needy of Uptown. However, they are constantly short of money to perform their mission service and this

further drains the monetary resources of the older churches. Kenneth Otto, a local building engineer who works with several of the local historic church buildings, has stated that deferred maintenance on old church buildings in Uptown could easily run into the tens of millions. The older churches do little outreach toward potential new members from the gentrifying population who might be visited or attracted by target niche programming aimed to their interests.

10. The 501©3 social service associations have moved far afield from their faith-based inception. The social service agencies have grown and changed in response to federal mandates and changing sources of funding. They are well-networked in Uptown to participate in any community building effort. They tend to network around critical issues related to their mission, ie. homeless issues, safety, youth, health, low-income housing and mental health or substance abuse. According to George Packard of the ICA, the service agencies are particularly networked around issues of welfare and social justice. Both of these arenas fall in the political triangle of the Social Process Analysis tool developed by the ICA in 1971 to discern dynamics in society. Strategies were then developed to rebalance society based on the research of 1,000 people. Uptown is particularly interesting because it has had fifty years of a weak local economy, strong ethnic and cultural activity based on the immigrant diversity and strong political activity based on neighborhood organizing and enormous social service agency activity. Uptown's profile, based on the ICA's analysis tool, is almost diametrically opposed to the national profile in the social process analysis which revealed a strong economic dynamic, a supporting political dynamic and an extremely weak cultural dynamic.

11. There is a glaring absence of recreational associations in Uptown involved with social activities or sports activities. According to the survey data, there are no external social or sports activities associated with any of the faith-based associations. Debra Drown, a new local resident, attributed the absence of recreational activities to the still glaring economic stratification in Uptown. Uptown still consists of a large subsistence population of low-moderate income citizens, including the largest number of homeless individuals of any neighborhood in the City of Chicago. There is little energy or leisure

time for sports and recreational activity within the traditional demographic make-up of the area.

12. There is an ongoing pattern of newcomer renters, who join the newer congregations, that follows the journey of low-income housing in Uptown and may have ramifications for the future. If condo conversion continues at the present rate, very few rental units will remain, and rents (due to increased property taxes) will be too high for the members of the new congregations. According to Jay Bomberg, owner of Wilson-Windsor rental apartments, the definition of “affordable housing” has changed in the City of Chicago over the past decade. “Affordable housing” now describes the proportion of units set aside for people who earn \$55,000. per year making them eligible to buy a unit for one-half price (due to City subsidies) in the new condo developments. Jay states that the correct term must be “low-income or homeless housing” because the term “affordable” has been co-opted by the gentrifying condo developers as a marketing gimmick. A purchase price of \$130,000. is not affordable for low-income or homeless people.

POTENTIAL LINKAGES FOR COMMUNITY BUILDING

Potential linkages for community building are illuminated by studying the Chart of Faith-based Associations' Numbers by Activity and the related Potential Community Linkages chart. The associations are divided into three large gestalt groups (based on Institute of Cultural Affairs' 1971 Research Assembly which focused on communities and social process dynamics that might be leveraged for positive change in communities): 1) Cultural associations including educational, religious, and target populations, such as, youth or seniors; 2) Political associations including welfare and social services; and, 3) Economic associations dealing with businesses and jobs. The strength of Uptown is clearly indicated in the large number of cultural associations related to ethnic groups and services. The political associations are the second most numerous with an emphasis on social service and, especially, services to the homeless population. The economic associations are the weakest; this reflects the low-moderate income population which remains in Uptown, according to the 2000 census.

The ABCD strategy of interviewing individuals in the associations to find their skills, strengths and interests toward community building could be very effective in Uptown if it was executed through the faith-based institutions and associations. Some effort would need to be made to ascertain issues of interest to the ethnic populations and associations because of their strong presence. Then strategies could be developed for working on the issues together.

Further analysis of the Conclusions and Insights section of this paper has revealed three additional approaches toward building stronger linkages among faith-based associations in Uptown:

A. Linkages based on New Immigrants –

Current linkages among the new immigrant churches are scarce. However, the Pan-African Association on N. Broadway is an excellent recent effort to bridge the gap. In interviewing the various clergy of the nation-based churches, it was apparent that they were all well aware of each other. They did not seem to be competitive and I believe that is because they are all recruiting members from a particular home nation or region. Therefore, the Pan-African Association is an excellent strategy for inter-church links.

Interfaith Refugee & Immigration Ministries played a part in forming the group and is supporting it. This linkage is an excellent example of a long-standing 501©3 organization supporting the new immigrant churches. None of the new churches are members of ONE so an immediate link to the issues of the community would be ONE membership.

B. Linkages based on Established Faith-based Associations –

Current linkages include ONE membership, an Uptown-Edgewater Clergy Association and social service agency issue networks including the Homeless Services Coalition of ONE, the Partnership to End Homelessness, the Safety Task Force, the Leadership Coalition and many more. But none of these issue task groups are comprehensive. And some agencies or churches do not belong to any of the community networks. Therefore, a potential linkage could be made forming a faith-based task force group which would design inclusive community-building efforts and invite the new churches to participate. In addition, Uptown has always been an issue-based community so existing issue associations could be expanded with a focus based on recognized needs discerned from the ABCD individual interviews.

C. Linkages related to Economic Stratification –

Current linkages to deal with economic stratification are almost nonexistent in Uptown. Many agencies are focusing on the effects of stratification but there is no community-wide effort for focusing all the efforts into a concerted strategy to deal with economic stratification. ONE is in the best position to deal with the whole community but even ONE is hard-pressed to pull together an umbrella strategy to deal with such a complex issue. There are, however, task forces dealing with pieces of the economic stratification issue including the Low-Income Housing Task Force of ONE. So, that task force could be expanded significantly if the new immigrant churches were recruited.

Another potential linkage could be created by applying the findings of this survey to recreational activities. Various segments of the community could be involved in recreational or sports activities by blocks. Or, the faith-based associations could initiate a sports strategy toward bridging the economic gaps. Such a linkage effort would build links across the economic gulfs of Uptown. Another angle of approach, according to the research interviews, would be to target population niches by age group. Most faith-based

organizations in Uptown have programs targeted to age groups. There is additional potential in linking the various association efforts by age group constituencies across the community.

Uptown is known for its outspoken political character. Groups and individuals in Uptown can never be called apathetic. Therefore, another approach might be topics of interest or concern to the majority of citizens and associations, such as, safety, commercial development, politics and block club concerns. Many of these concerns also cross economic lines; this approach could help mitigate economic stratification.

A third strategy for community building in Uptown would need to involve the strong Leadership Core Groups shown at the top of the Potential Community Linkages Chart. Uptown has a long history of community organizing and it would be well to leverage the support of the key organizations toward designing a community-building strategy for Uptown.

Potential for using the ABCD Approach in Redevelopment

The potential for using the asset-based community development approach in Uptown is endless. Even in Uptown's rapidly changing demographic topography, "capitalizing on organizational and institutional strengths by involving (the congregations and associations) in congregation-based community organizing and community economic development" would build upon the strength of Uptown's faith-based organizations and focus collective effort toward community building (Rans & Altman, 4). Greg Wangerin, Executive Director of the InterChurch Refugee & Immigration Ministries stated that our faith-based associations must create new ways to work together across organizational lines in the face of decreased funding and world uncertainty affecting immigration. The future of faith-based organizations and populations at risk could well depend on how Uptown designs and implements new linkages for community building.

The history of local institutions and associations has also been linked to the waves of immigrants that have come to Uptown in the past six decades. The future of Uptown's redevelopment will, most assuredly, be linked to the new social capital provided by the waves of new immigrants who have made Uptown their home. Exhibit B on the next three pages shows the numerous faith-based institutions and related associations that

might be linked according to services provided, similarity in mission or consensus of vision for the future of Uptown.

EXHIBIT B.

FIELD SURVEY INVENTORY

FAITH-BASED INSTITUTIONS	ASSOCIATIONS	ADDRESS	TELEPHONE	CONTACT
Peoples Church	Preston Bradley Center	941 W. Lawrence Ave	773 784-6633	Rev. Robert Ford
	REST			Kathy Ahler
	Empti-Spoon Job Service			Dianna Briscoe
	Lakeside Pride Marching Band			
	Women in Director's Chair			Rebekah Gee
	REST Men's Shelter			
	Playing Out Productions			
	Homeless Feeding Program			Geraldo Pilarski
	Christ Pentecostal Church			
	Organization of the Northeast			773 769-3232
	Prologue High School			
	Broadway Terrace Coalition			
	Japanese UCC Church			
	Pintig Cultural Center			
48th Ward Community meetings		Lewis Ald. Mary Anne Smith		
Anawim Native American Center	of the Catholic Archdiocese	4750 N. Sheridan Road	773 561-6155	Peggy DesJarlaist
	Seniors' Group Luncheon			Sr. Patricia Harris
	Choctaw & Sioux Clubs			
	Youth Group			
Uptown Baptist Church	Native American Speakers'Bureau			Sister Peggy
	REST Women's Shelter	1011 W. Wilson Avenue	773 784-2922	J.P. Paulus
	Vacation Bible School			Kathy Ahler
	Kids Club Bible School			
	Russian & Spanish Congregation			847 318-0496
	Vietnamese Congregation			
	Good News Evangelical			773 761-8302
	Young at Heart			
	Narcotics Anonymous			
	Monday Men's Group			
	Junior High Ministry			
	Mom's Bible Study			
	GenX Plant Cell Group			847 674-3220
	Senior High Youth Ministry			
	Friday Nite Book Study			
	Uptown Health & Care			773 275-9383
	Family Place			
	Missions Fellowship			
	Tutoring			
Mentoring Program				
College Students Ministry				
	Bulgarian Congregation		312 642-7913	Greg Snell
Narrow Way Ministries	Men's Group	4750 N. Sheridan Road	773 973-3775	Pastor Foster Agbehia

Women's Group
 Wednesday Night Bible Study
 Friday Night Prayer Meeting
 Easter Convention Revival
 Choir
 Elementary Youth Group
 High School Youth Group

St. Augustine College	Hispanic College	1411 W. Argyle		
Catholic Workers New Hope Church		4652 N. Kenmore 4838 N. Sheridan Road		Pastor David Robinson
Christ Pentecostal Christ Oasis		941 W. Lawrence Ave. N. Clarendon		Daniel Iboye
Ugandan Church Nigerian Ministry Fresh Fire Church Ethiopian Coptic Church		4750 N. Sheridan Road Marine Drive Clarendon Park 4750 N. Sheridan Road		George Lubaga Pastor Amos Father Michael Taffessee
Interfaith Refugee&Immig.Ministries	Lutheran & Episcopal Mission Programs Mentor Program Senior Program Youth Program Pan African Association	4753 N. Broadway 6163 N. Broadway	773 989-5647	Gregory J. Wangerin Mileneh Kano Andre Patrick Augustin
The Ecumenical Institute	Non-denominational INTERNATIONAL CONF. CTR. National Church Groups University Study Groups Warriors Ghanian Cab Drivers Assn. Reevaluation Counseling Scrap Mettle Soul COMMUNITY RESOURCE CTR. Ethiopian Community Assn. Bosnian Association Laotian Community Association Chicago Religious Leadership Pintig Cultural Group	4750 N. Sheridan Road 4750 N. Sheridan Road 4750 N. Sheridan Road	773 769-6363 773 769-6363 773 769-6363	Robert Hawley Marge Philbrook Ed Feldmanis Richard Geer Mary Laura Bushman Erku Yimer Pei Sister Patricia&Peggy
Jesus People	Cornerstone Shelter	930 W. Wilson Racine Avenue	773 561 2450	Scott Ingerson Chris Ramsey

Sylvia Center Shelter
 Cornerstone Music Festival
 Roofing Supply Company
 Cabinet-making Industry
 School K-12th grade
 Seniors Housing & Support Services
 Youth Midnight Basketball
 Neighborhood Night Patrol
 Friars Printing
 T-Shirt Printing Business
 Record Company
 Gift Shop
 Music Ministry

Lida Jackson

Buddhist Temple

1415 W. Leland

Uptown Ministry

Lutheran Mission Church
 Bible Classes
 Individual Counseling
 Food Pantry
 Alcoholics Anonymous & NA
 Mothers' Group
 Vacation Bible School
 Teen Group
 Adult Christian Programs
 Urban Ministry Internships
 Community Health

4720 N. Sheridan Road

773 271-3760

Pastor Bob Leshner

St Thomas of
 Canterbury

Catholic Church
 Parochial Elementary School

4715 N. Kenmore

773 878-5507

Father Simon

CHAPTER 4. THE HISTORY OF MIGRATION IN UPTOWN CHICAGO

Migration has been one of the key external influences on the development of Uptown over the past six decades. By 1951, Uptown was “in serious trouble”, according to Alderman Robert O’Rourke. (Gitlin, T. xviii) The Kemper Insurance Company national headquarters’ building turned away from the community and filled in its street level retail windows with limestone in 1951. The fur salon, the luxury shoe store and the Walgreen’s Drug Store were gone from the “outstanding shopping area” at the corner of Lawrence and Sheridan. By 1961, statistical signs of decline revealed a very different neighborhood. Uptown claimed the dubious distinction as the second densest area of the city of Chicago with sixty thousand residents.

Twenty-one percent of all residents were over sixty years old, and over half the housing units were one or two rooms. Thirty-eight percent of all units were deteriorated in some respect...X-ray statistics showed the second highest rate of tuberculosis in the city....11 percent of store spaces were vacant, 21 percent in “marginal uses” (pawn and secondhand shops, missionary churches, fly-by-night businesses), and 17 percent in taverns. The faces were, for the most part, white except two black blocks, Kenmore and Winthrop, which had served for forty years as the servants’ quarters for Marine Drive (Gitlin, T. xix).

Uptown had become one of the poorest white communities in the nation, known as “hillbilly heaven”, formerly “Chicago’s Bohemia”, and the home of the silent movie industry before Uptown was abandoned in favor of the reliable sun in Hollywood. In 1961, Uptown was officially designated “a Conservation Area under the Urban Renewal Act” (Gitlin xviii).

As Uptown declined, a number of factors were instrumental in creating a new role for Uptown as “a gateway community” for migrants, immigrants and refugees.

FIVE KEY FACTORS

Why did so many groups of migrants, immigrants and refugees come to Uptown as their port of entry to Chicago and to the United States? Research indicates that five key

factors shaped Uptown to be a port of entry community during the last half of the twentieth century. Through a series of oral interviews with members of various immigrant communities and staffs of Uptown social service organizations instrumental in bringing the immigrants here, the following primary factors have been discerned:

1) AFFORDABLE HOUSING AVAILABILITY - Over half the housing units in Uptown in 1961 were one or two units (Gitlin xix). The large number of one room units included large historic structures, such as the Lawrence House Residential Hotel, originally designed as studio apartments to house members of the entertainment industry who came to Uptown for long-term stays in the 1920s in order to work at the Aragon, Riviera and the Uptown Theatre (Gergen interview). The luxurious six-flats, built in the 1910s and 1920s east of Sheridan Road to house the wealthy, were cut up into twelve flats during the 1940s as the community began to decline. The numerous studio apartments along the Kenmore and Winthrop corridors made it possible to find low-cost housing in Uptown. In addition, following the trend of urban renewal, a large number of hi-rise government-subsidized buildings were erected on vacant land in Uptown to house the poor and the people who were deinstitutionalized when the mental health facilities were closed in the 1970s.

2) EASE OF PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION – Uptown has been adjacent to major public transportation arteries radiating outward from the center city of Chicago to the northern suburbs since the railroads came in 1873 (Jackson, K. 93). The El bisects Uptown from south to north with six stops, three of which are only two blocks apart. The trolley lines and, eventually, the bus lines traversed the area on Sheridan, Broadway and Clark, never more than four blocks apart. Moving east to west, the bus lines still intersect Uptown at Foster, Lawrence, Wilson, Montrose and Irving Park. Even today, Lake Shore Drive still delivers buses and automobiles to the job market in the downtown Loop.

3) SOCIAL SERVICES AND HEALTH CARE AVAILABILITY – Catholic Charities, Interchurch Refugee Service and Travelers & Immigrants Aid opened offices in Uptown, in part, due to the availability of low-cost housing for singles and large families of refugees, according to

Virginia Koch, Associate Director of Refugee and Immigrant Community Services for Travelers & Immigrants Aid since 1975 (Koch interview). In 1971, the local Uptown bank advertised that banking services were available in 73 languages. The newly opened Uptown Health Clinic of the City of Chicago on Wilson Avenue provided free health screenings which were required for every new immigrant and refugee. Some seventy social service organizations were operating in Uptown by 1970. A number of these agencies provided legal assistance, housing and job services for the new arrivals to the US. The Adult Education Program of the City Colleges opened Hilliard School in Uptown to provide classes in English as a Second Language for thousands of immigrants and refugees. Uptown had truly become a “Gateway Community” for immigrants.

4) KINSHIP AND PATTERNS OF FAMILIARITY – Similar to growing immigrant communities across the US, Uptown became the destination of choice for relatives and family members who followed the first wave of immigrants from a particular country or region. During the Southeast Asian wave of migration in the 1970s, many immigrants who were not refugees also settled in Uptown. These legal immigrants came to the US under the INS quota system based on having skills, family already living in the US or access to money to guarantee their self-sufficiency. It is said that as soon as the first Asian grocery store opened in the 1970’s, Southeast Asian immigrants and refugees chose to resettle in Uptown, partly due to the availability of Asian food products (Koch, V. interview). During the 1970s, Chinatown, east and south of the Loop, was desperately overcrowded with no room to expand. A second Chinatown was established on Argyle Street in Uptown. Vietnamese and Chinese immigrants moved quickly to open new businesses and restaurants in the rapidly growing Asian business area on Argyle. Almost overnight, the Jewish merchants along Argyle relocated northwest to Devon and then to Skokie and Lincolnwood. The role religious institutions played in the migration of Southeast Asians to Uptown has not been documented. However, two Buddhist congregations still exist which support the Southeast Asian community.

5) GOVERNMENTAL POLICY AT HOME AND ABROAD – External US government policy has consistently been the key factor in the number of immigrants and political asylum refugees entering the United States each year. In the offices of Travelers & Immigrants

Aid in Uptown, it is often quoted that “what you read of trouble in the world on the front page of the newspaper today, TIA will be processing asylum refugees from that country within eighteen months” (Nguyen Interview). An “asylum refugee” is defined as a person who is “persecuted or in danger of loss of life because of race, religion, political beliefs or ethnic origins” (Koch, V. interview). Governmental policies within the US have also affected the influx of migrants to Uptown during the twentieth century. Examples include the Bureau of Indian Affairs urban relocation of Native Americans starting in the 1950s, the large number of hi-rises built for low-income residents in Uptown during Urban Renewal in the 1960s, and the Mental Health deinstitutionalization policies of the 1970s.

External and internal US governmental policies both helped set the stage for thousands of migrants, immigrants and refugees to resettle in Uptown. The following section describes each immigrant group which came to Uptown and the period when they arrived.

I. APPALACHIAN WHITES -

The first wave of migration into Uptown was the Appalachian Whites. The numbers were of epic proportions beginning in the 1940s following WWII. According to the census of 1960, there were sixty thousand residents in Uptown; more than half were born in the South, mostly in Appalachian states. In reference to Uptown, Chicago’s official Plan under the Urban Renewal Act in the early 1960s stated: “Parts of the area....have become ports of entry for newcomers to the city. Many of these persons are low-income, rural Appalachian whites for whom adjustment to an urban environment is difficult....Poor property maintenance standards of large numbers of families in the overcrowded and densely developed Uptown neighborhood often lead to rapid deterioration of housing....Serving to compound this problem of inadequate maintenance,” says the Plan, “is the unwillingness of many landlords to improve properties that have begun to deteriorate” (Gitlin xix). Much of the rhetoric in Uptown today continues to reflect the struggle of the early Appalachian migrants for jobs and housing. The Appalachians did not have job skills, money or established family members to support them in the urban Chicago environment like the later waves of immigrants who came to the US possessing the qualifications required under the INS quota system. Nor did the Appalachian migrants have the protection of the refugee service agencies to assist them with housing,

money, or employment training and placement. Though the large-scale Appalachian migration took place in the late 1940s, it was not until 1964 that a support organization, JOIN (Jobs or Income Now), opened an office to assist the Appalachian migrant community with jobs and housing. Almost twenty years had passed producing a whole generation brought up in substandard housing conditions with inadequate schooling and job skill preparation.

II. NATIVE AMERICANS -

The Native Americans were the second major wave of migration into Uptown. In the 1950s and 1960s, US governmental policy dictated that numbers of Native Americans were to be relocated from reservations to urban centers such as Minneapolis, Los Angeles and Chicago. According to Nancy Bonvillain, author of Native Nations: “Bureau of Indian Affairs programs....encouraged Indians to relocate from reservations to cities supposedly in order to relieve reservation poverty but also to disperse the Native population in the context of Congressional ‘termination’ policies” (Bonvillain 585). Uptown was a major site of relocation for Native Americans in Illinois (Freesma Interview). The difficult adjustment of Native Americans to urban life in Chicago was documented by Elaine Neils in 1973 in Native Nations (Bonvillain 587). In 1998, Susan Lobo described “the urban Indian ‘community’ as a ‘widely scattered and frequently shifting network of relationships with location nodes found in organizations and activity sites of special significance (that) answer needs for affirming and activating Indian identity’” (Bonvillain 586). Though the Native American population in Uptown has diminished since the 1960s, two activity nodes still serve the urban Native American community in Uptown. The American Indian Center is located on W. Wilson and the Anawim Native American Center sponsored by the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago is located at Lawrence and Sheridan in the Institute of Cultural Affairs Community Resource Center. Cardinal George blessed the Anawim Center and its services to the Native American community in Uptown in April 2003. The relocation of Native Americans to Uptown is a prime example of US government policy affecting migration to Uptown.

III. CUBANS -

During the 1960s, a smaller third wave of immigration was Hispanic, particularly Cubans. According to the INS Statistical Yearbook 2000, Cuban prisoners known as “Marielitos” were rejected by Castro and paroled between 1959 and 1980. Some 200,000 Cubans came to the US in 1980; many arrived on boats and rafts. The three major refugee agencies in Uptown at that time participated in resettling the Cuban parolees in Chicago. Many of the refugees had family in Chicago who had fled Cuba after the Bay of Pigs. The Cuban refugees joined their relatives in Hispanic neighborhoods of Chicago (Gonzalez interview).

IV. KOREANS -

During the 1960s and into the 1970s, a substantial influx of Korean immigrants settled in Uptown and westward along Lawrence Avenue. It has been postulated that the Korean influx may have been related, in part, to the kinship pattern of family members following Korean War Brides who had married US soldiers and come to the US in the 1950s following the War in Korea (Koch, Virginia interview). The Korean business strip continues to thrive. The Heiwa Retirement Home at the northeast corner of Lawrence and Sheridan is largely populated by Korean and Japanese elderly. The Korean Senior American Center was located at the ICA Center for ten years and served the large population of Korean elderly residing in Uptown. In 1997, the center was moved west of Western, closer to the thriving Korean business and residential community.

V. SOUTHEAST ASIANS -

The fourth major wave of migration to Uptown was from Southeast Asia during the 1970s. Though the Indochinese Refugee Adjustment Act was not passed until 1978, single military men from Vietnam began to arrive in Uptown immediately following the fall of Saigon on April 30, 1975 (Koch, V. interview). These early refugees had little English language skills and encountered great prejudice. However, they eventually found jobs in manufacturing and in the growing Asian restaurant district on Argyle. The INS Statistical Yearbook of 2000 shows a huge spike in the Refugee & Asylee Adjustment Chart for the year 1980. This spike can be explained, in part, by the large number of Vietnamese “Boat People” who entered the US as asylum refugees in 1980. The “Boat people” were

processed and resettled in Uptown through TIA, Catholic Charities and the Interchurch Refugee Center. They were first housed in the building at the northwest corner of Kenmore and Lawrence because large, low-cost apartments were available for the refugee families. The congregation of St. Thomas of Canterbury Catholic Church on Kenmore is still predominantly Vietnamese; and, the Catholic elementary school is also largely Vietnamese. Between 1976 and 1979, the Laotian and Hmong refugees who had fought on the side of the US in the Vietnam War arrived in Uptown. More than 700 Hmong were resettled in Uptown by Travelers and Immigrants Aid. Many were housed at 5250 N. Sheridan and 920 Lakeside. During 1981 and 1982, the Cambodian War produced hundreds of political refugees who were resettled in Uptown and Albany Park (Freesma interview). The buildings at 5050 N. Sheridan and 901 W. Argyle became home to the Cambodian refugees upon arrival in Uptown. In 1998, the Cambodian Center moved from Lawrence Avenue in Uptown to Lawrence Avenue in Albany Park where many Cambodian families have relocated. Chicago Health Outreach's Kovler Center for victims of torture served substantial numbers of Cambodians during the 1980s and 1990s. The traditional family structure of the Cambodian refugees was deeply stressed due to experiences like "the Killing Fields" which accelerated the Cambodian migration to the US based on political asylum status.

VI. AFRICAN MIGRATION -

The fifth wave of migration began in the 1980s with the Ethiopians following the internal rebellion and overthrow of Haile Selassie (Taffessee interview). The Ethiopian migration consisted of various disparate ethnic groups, including the Eritreans. The Ethiopian refugees were settled in Uptown and Edgewater and supported by the Ethiopian Mutual Aid Association which is still located at the ICA Center at Lawrence and Sheridan. The Ethiopian Center is an activity node which encompasses job training, after-school programs, and assistance with legal immigration issues. Ethiopians were also housed in three low-income buildings on Sunnyside. The Ethiopian Coptic Church has moved west out of Uptown but the church remains a significant activity node for the Ethiopian community.

In addition to the Ethiopians, the Refugee Aid Associations resettled asylum refugees from other African countries experiencing unrest during the 1980s. Members of the

Ogoni tribe were asylum refugees from tribal wars in Nigeria during the 1980s. Few were housed in Uptown as the housing stock had gentrified leaving less affordable housing available for refugees. A Pan-African Association was established in the 1990s to assist the Nigerians and the Ghanaians; most of whom had come to the US on student visas following the expansion of INS quotas for Africans during the Clinton Administration. Many of the Ghanaians are employed as taxicab drivers. They have formed a Ghanaian Taxi Drivers Association which meets monthly at the ICA Center. The Ghanaians live in the 4900 block of N. Sheridan Road in hi-rise moderate income housing. Civil War among the clans in Somalia and the Sudan also produced numbers of asylum refugees in the 1990s. A group of Sudanese orphans known as the "Lost Boys" were sponsored and supported by Travelers & Immigrants Aid in Uptown. The tall, slender young men are now in their twenties and have benefited from education and job skill training which had prepared them for self-sufficiency (Koch, Virginia interview).

Though the US Immigration and Naturalization Service quotas were expanded for immigrants from Africa in the 1990s, the trend was short-lived. Nineteen thousand Africans were allowed to immigrate to the US in the year 2000. By 2002, only 1700 Africans were processed for resettlement. Since October 2002, only 800 have arrived in the United States. Of the 800, just 40 were asylum refugees. According to Hussein Affey of TIA, the events of September 11, 2001 have slowed African migration to a trickle (Affey interview).

VII. BOSNIANS

The 1990s was a decade of upheaval around the world. Asylum refugees came from Russia as a result of the break-up of the Soviet Union. War in the Balkans, including genocide in Bosnia, produced thousands of asylum refugees. Many Russians and Bosnians eventually came to Uptown.

A small number of Bosnians had preceded and settled in Edgewater as early as 1985. Many of the later arrivals came in the mid-1990s. They had been held and tortured in concentration camps during the Bosnian War. The United Nations brokered their release from the camps if they left Bosnia. Numbers of skilled workers fled Bosnia to Germany and other European countries. They had left their homes and businesses with no remuneration and fled for their lives. All of them had lost family members; ten percent of

the Bosnian population had been killed. Although the Bosnians worked in Europe for five years, most were refused citizenship at the end of the five year "guest worker" visa period. They applied to New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the US to emigrate. Uptown was a port of entry for many reunited Bosnian families who were accepted by the US. The Bosnian Mosque in Northbrook drew some Bosnian Muslims to choose Chicago as their destination. But the vast majority chose Chicago for its diversity. They felt they could assimilate more easily in a large city that was accustomed to people from many countries (Denic interview). Chicago and Uptown fit their criteria very well. The most difficult problem for the Bosnians was the English language, particularly for the seniors. The Bosnian Mutual Aid Association has provided English classes and job placement assistance. The Bosnian Center is now located on Devon, although it was first located in Uptown for five years under the sponsorship of TIA. Numbers of Bosnian restaurants have been established in neighborhoods of Chicago and they serve as social activity nodes for the Bosnian community. Most families have purchased homes due to their advanced job skills, facility in the English language and strong work ethic. There are now 50,000 Bosnians in Chicago. Several years later, thousands of Kosovar refugees fled the war-torn former Yugoslavia. They settled primarily in Edgewater.

VIII. RUSSIANS

The 1990s wave of migration to Uptown also included thousands of immigrants and refugees from the former Soviet Union. They were resettled in Uptown through the efforts of the Hebrew Immigration Society and the Methodist Church. These asylum refugees were older and numbers of them were ill. Though some of them were resettled in the suburbs of Chicago, a substantial number of older Russians now live at 920 W. Lakeside, a hi-rise subsidized private building in Uptown. The Russian Support Center is located across Sheridan Road in the ICA Community Resource Center. During the summer, the Russian seniors can be seen walking outside or along the lakefront two blocks away. They have limited English language skills and are regular patrons of the food pantries set up for low-income and homeless residents of Uptown.

IX. TIBETANS

In 1993, many years after the Chinese takeover of Tibet, ninety Tibetan single men were resettled in Uptown through efforts of the Pritzger family and others concerned for the plight of exiled Tibetans. They were all housed at 5200 N. Sheridan Road and they had a small community room which served as an activity node there. The Tibetan Center was located in the ICA Center at Lawrence and Sheridan. The men were required to be self-sufficient before their families would be allowed to join them. In 2001, the 5200 N. Sheridan building was sold and the Tibetan Center was moved north to consolidate all activities in one node building north of Uptown.

X. CURRENT DECADE -

What migration can be expected for Uptown in the current decade of 2000- 2010? There are presently twelve agencies directly serving migrants, asylum refugees and immigrants in Uptown. Even at this date, thousands of Kurds and Iraqis displaced by the 1991 Iraqi War are still being held in camps on the border of Iraq. According to Virginia Koch, only 35 asylum refugees were processed by Heartland- TIA's Refugee Center during 2002 due to changed US government immigration policies following September 11, 2001. Only one asylum refugee was resettled in the first months of 2003 (Koch, V. interview). A chilling sign on the wall in the TIA offices states: "War with Iraq is war on immigrants".

SUMMARY AND REVIEW OF KEY FACTORS

In summary, Uptown has been a port of entry for migration for more than half a century. Services and structures are in place to assist immigrants and refugees. A climate of tolerance and appreciation of diversity characterize the neighborhood. At the same time, economic and political factors have changed. It is informative to reevaluate the key factors that led to Uptown's role as a port of entry for fifty years in the light of current realities:

- 1) AFFORDABLE HOUSING AVAILABILITY has been drastically reduced in the path of gentrification. Hundreds of units have been lost to condos and the pressure of higher real estate taxes has influenced building owners to raise the rents;

- 2) EASE OF PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION continues to make Uptown accessible to downtown Chicago and the suburbs. However, parking is at a premium and routes to the western job markets by automobile are crowded and slow;
- 3) SOCIAL SERVICES AND HEALTH CARE AVAILABILITY are abundant. Heartland Health Outreach established a state of the art health clinic for the homeless and low income people in 1992 in the ICA Center. There are at least seven Mutual Aid Associations (State funded agencies to assist the process of immigrant assimilation) in addition to the three major refugee service centers which offer legal and job assistance to new arrivals. The associations include the Ethiopian Association, the Laotian Association, the Chinese Mutual Aid Association, the Southeast Asian Center, the Vietnamese Association, the Russian Support Center and the Filipino American Senior Association;
- 4) KINSHIP AND PATTERNS OF FAMILIARITY continue to drive the choice of housing and businesses of newcomers to Uptown and Chicago. The Vietnamese, Koreans and Bosnians have already moved west out of Uptown toward available home ownership. But the newest arrivals continue to settle in Uptown close to activity nodes and services for refugees;
- 5) GOVERNMENTAL POLICY AT HOME AND ABROAD continues to influence migration to Uptown. At this time, US foreign policy, the War in Iraq and INS immigration policy in the wake of September 11, 2001 have severely restricted the inflow of immigrants and asylum refugees to the US, and consequently, to Uptown.

The process of migration and immigration has truly become a global issue in a way that could hardly be foreseen fifty years ago. Uptown has been forever changed and expanded in its diversity, tolerance and economic and cultural life.

The waves of diversity since 1970 have also included a substantial influx of homeless citizens, moving to Uptown from other areas of Chicago. The numbers of homeless persons in Uptown and the attendant homeless service organizations has irrevocably altered the tapestry of the Uptown community. The chapter on homelessness and access to healthcare examines the historical pattern of homelessness in Uptown and the growing socio-economic gap between the haves and the have-nots.

CHAPTER 5. THE COMPLEXITY OF HEALTH CARE AND THE HOMELESS IN UPTOWN

Over the past ten years, the homeless population of Uptown has increased exponentially to become one of the largest concentrations of people living on the street in the City of Chicago. Uptown is also the home of a substantial number of innovative non-profit agencies offering state of the art comprehensive services to the homeless population. Due to funding shortages, the ratio between the overwhelming needs of the large homeless population, the inadequate units of affordable housing, and the inadequate hours of support services, and gentrification, the effort to reduce homelessness is losing ground even in Uptown where the services are available. This is a tragedy because the awareness, expertise and the comprehensive range of services needed is in place in Uptown. Exemplary cooperation between agencies is also in place in Uptown. However, the existing bed capacity and the limited hours of service are not adequate to cope with the exponential leap in the raw need of the increasing numbers of homeless persons.

I. BACKGROUND CONTEXT AND OVERVIEW

A. ROOT CAUSES:

The primary causes of homelessness are lack of affordable housing, lack of a living wage job or sufficient income, and the lack of adequate health and supportive services. Local and national efforts to address homelessness often focus on emergency services, temporary shelter, food, clothing, and emergency healthcare rather than on the root causes (Homelessness Fact Sheet Online).

The homeless circle of complexity is staggering. Only with serious attention and funding devoted to the root causes of homelessness in the context of a comprehensive coordinated plan with consistent implementation can ground be gained against the flood of human need. A background survey of the current root

causes indicates the complexity and the interrelationship between the root causes of homelessness listed below:

1. LACK OF AFFORDABLE HOUSING in Uptown, in Chicago and across the United States contributes profoundly to the numbers of individuals falling into homelessness at any one period. Nationally, 10.5 million renters compete for 6.1 million low-rental units. This gap leaves 4.4 million people unable to find an affordable place to live. In Chicago, 245,000 potential low-income renters (households making less than \$12,000. per year) compete for 115,000 affordable rental units (Homelessness Fact Sheet Online).

2. SHORTAGE OF LIVING WAGE JOBS puts individuals in jeopardy and contributes to the inability of families to pay for housing. Chicago lost 400,000 manufacturing jobs between 1971 and 1999. The lost jobs usually paid a living wage, whereas the service sector jobs that replaced them do not provide sufficient income to pay for even Low-Income housing (if it were available in sufficient supply). According to the Chicago Department of Human Services (CDHS) report, 52.6% of the 15,446 homeless individuals reporting had no source of income while 20.8% reported a monthly income of \$251 to \$500. Current strategies of homeless service providers have a strong emphasis on prevention of homelessness through supportive services for job retraining and job development. The incredible cost of bringing individuals back from a homeless status and assisting them onto a job track while living in a shelter is clearly more costly and much more difficult.

3. LACK OF ADEQUATE HEALTH CARE and supportive services has been identified as a third root cause of homelessness. "The medical disorders of the homeless are all the ills to which flesh is heir, magnified by disordered living conditions, exposure to extremes of heat and cold, lack of protection from rain and snow, bizarre sleeping accommodations and overcrowding in shelters" (Brickner). Current thinking channels prevention of homelessness through programs in hospitals that discharge individuals directly into adequate housing. A large proportion of newly homeless persons originate from hospitals without adequate resources to take care of oneself or to afford housing on their own. CDHS has identified extensive health care needs among the sheltered homeless in

Chicago. Of the 15,446 homeless persons, 41% report substance abuse issues, with 52% being men and 27% of women. In addition, 9% report severe mental illness, 2.4% report HIV/AIDS, and 7.5% report having either a physical disability or a chronic health problem. Approximately 10% of homeless persons are HIV positive, 30% to 60% have a mental illness, 40% use drugs in a problematic manner, and 12% to 39% suffer from both a mental illness and an addictive disorder. According to CDHS, substance abuse is the most common primary reason cited for homelessness among men while women and families cite domestic violence (City of Chicago Department of Human Services, Shelter Plan: 1998-2002).

II. CURRENT SITUATION IN UPTOWN

In Uptown, there is a substantial framework of Homeless Shelter Services, primarily funded by the City of Chicago Department of Human Services. There are both all Night Shelters and Day Support Programs serving the large homeless population in Uptown. Every shelter bed is filled on the northside every single night. The day programs are not open to everyone and have limited hours. Some homeless citizens prefer to walk the streets than subscribe to agency rules or strict routines. Sarah's Circle for Women is open at 12 noon every day and serves a meal at 4pm. However, gaps in hours and services cause major logistical problems for a population which is already struggling to survive. It is difficult to imagine conducting a job search or regular attendance at AA/NA meetings under homeless conditions. The serious complications of HIV / AIDS and mental health problems add to the complexity of health service delivery to homeless persons. Due to the gaps in service, the housing unit shortage and the complications of a doubly diagnosed homeless population needing to be found and to be served, a continuum of care for each transient individual is difficult to establish and maintain.

DISEASE AND MENTAL HEALTH DISABILITIES

The serious complications of HIV/AIDS and mental health disabilities add to the complexity of health service delivery to homeless persons. Serious disease and mental health treatment requires stable housing for regular medications,

consistent nutrition and supportive nursing/medical care. Substance Abuse programs for drugs and alcohol also require stability and consistency over time so that the clients can commit to a program that might change their lifestyle. Uptown can be viewed as a mini-laboratory for examining the frustrating complexity of serving homeless persons who also are struggling with HIV/AIDS and often doubly diagnosed with substance abuse issues and/or mental health disabilities.

ARE WE MAKING HEADWAY?

The comprehensive array of homeless services in Uptown is a great resource. Several agencies receive government funding for the demonstration of the most advanced practices in homeless services, including health care, mental health care and housing. Cooperation among the service providers is high including planning and strategy building through the Access Systems Integration Project, the Northside Homeless Providers Council and the Ad Hoc Homeless Task Force of Service Agency Directors. However, consistent funding targeted to implement solutions to root causes, especially creation of new housing units (which directly affects health and employment stability), is woefully inadequate. The Federal Continuum of Care funding administered by HUD is making a difference but not fast enough or in a large enough volume to address the increasing number of requests for housing assistance. When a successful homeless client is ready to move to an independent housing unit, will the unit be there?

STATUS OF THE CURRENT CITYWIDE PLAN

The Chicago Homeless Services Coordinating Council was established in January 1998 to insure broad-based input into the citywide planning process to improve the system of services for homeless individuals and families in Chicago. The Coordinating Council Vision and Action Plan was, in part, a response to the "Shelter Plan: 1998-2002 produced in 1997 by the CDHS. Though the two plans shared many values and priorities, the Council strongly disagreed with the concept of centralized intake/assessment centers which "would result in dislocation and isolation from communities of origin, and therefore, from culturally appropriate community support systems" (Chicago Homeless Services Coordinating Council).

III. STATISTICAL OVERVIEW

CHICAGO STATISTICS:

According to the Chicago Coalition for the Homeless, approximately 15,446 people are estimated to be homeless on any given night, with about 80,000 homeless throughout the course of a year in Chicago. Families with children is the fastest growing subgroup of homeless people. According to the Chicago Department of Human Services (CDHS) 1999 Continuum of Care application to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, CDHS experienced a 4.6% increase in overall requests for shelter and a 10.3% increase in requests from families from the previous year of 1998. In addition, CHDS estimates approximately 2,000 unsheltered homeless individuals in the City of Chicago (City of Chicago Department of Human Services, 1999 Continuum of Care Application to HUD).

UPTOWN STATISTICS:

The City of Chicago Department of Public Health Epidemiology Program Report in 1998 indicated that 19,153 persons in Uptown were below the poverty level. This is 31.3% of the population of Uptown (City of Chicago Public Health Department). According to the most recent census, the service area of Uptown, Edgewater and Rogers Park (known as Quadrant 1 of Chicago) has the following characteristics:

- 55% minority population,
- 57% increase in minority population between 1980 and 1990; one-third born in a foreign country
- 20% live below the poverty line
- 45% live below 200% of the poverty line
- 81% of housing units are renter-occupied
- 40,000 persons are uninsured
- 20% receive Medicaid benefits

Uptown, with 31.3% of the population below the poverty level stands out as an area of real need even in comparison with the remainder of Quadrant 1. It is not clear that all the homeless residents of Uptown are included in the city's poverty figures. According to the service providers, it is clear that Uptown is dealing with

an increasing number of homeless individuals and families (Jackson, Sam interview). Reasons for the marked increase in the homeless population of Uptown include low-income rental unit evictions resulting from conversions of rental units into condo units. Additional reasons for an increase in the homeless population in Uptown include the 1998 relocation of hundreds of homeless persons from the area beneath Wacker Drive; and, the availability of dozens of homeless service providers located in Uptown. A survey administered by the DHS Outreach Unit in October of 2000 along North Sheridan Road indicated that even though many of the homeless individuals had originated on the south and west sides, they have permanently relocated in Uptown because of the large number of services available for their needs, including health services, shelters and meals (Vargas, Carmelo).

DISEASE STATISTICS

Ten percent of homeless persons in Chicago are HIV positive, thirty to sixty percent have a mental illness and forty percent use drugs in a problematic manner. As the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Chicago continues to evolve, the north side of the city continues to experience the highest average annual incidence rates. According to AIDS Chicago, the average annual case rate for 1998-1999 in Uptown was 82.2, which was the highest annual case rate of any neighborhood in the city of Chicago. The Uptown service area currently exhibits three times the city rate for TB. The reason for the high TB rate in Uptown is not known without further research. STD rates for Syphilis, Gonorrhea and Chlamydia are more in line with other city neighborhoods (Northside HIV Coalition). The City of Chicago Department of Public Health Epidemiology Program Report indicates that 19,153 persons in Uptown are below the poverty level. This is 31.3% of the population of Uptown (City of Chicago Department of Public Health). The statistics on homeless persons in Uptown indicate a very large transient population. Interviews conducted with homeless service providers in 2001 estimated a homeless population of 2800 but there is no data base that can reliably substantiate that number.

IV. SPECIAL NEEDS POPULATIONS CONTRIBUTE TO THE COMPLEXITY

MENTAL DISABILITIES AMONG THE HOMELESS

According to the Report of the Federal Task Force on Homelessness and Severe Mental Illness published by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services in 1992, 1/20 of the four million people in the United States with severe mental illnesses are homeless and of the estimated 600,000 homeless people in the United States, 1/3 of the single adults are believed to be severely mentally ill (US Department of Health and Human Services).

HISTORY OF SAMHSA

On October 1, 1992, the ADAMHA Reorganization Act (Public Law 102-321) went into effect, which created the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA), the newest agency of the U.S. Public Health Service, Department of Health and Human Services. SAMHSA was created to address the serious health problems of addictive and mental disorders. Its mission is to provide national leadership to ensure the best use of knowledge, based on science and state-of-the-art practice, in the prevention and treatment of addictive and mental disorders; and to improve access and reduce barriers to high quality, effective programs and services for individuals who suffer from, or are at risk of, these disorders, their families, and communities (US Department of Health and Human Services). Out of the above referenced legislation and the creation of SAMHSA, landmark demonstration programs to work with the homeless severely mentally ill population have been funded. The Access Federal Research Demonstration Program of Heartland Health Outreach in Uptown is one of these nine national demonstration programs of SAMHSA.

US MENTAL HEALTH POLICY DEVELOPMENT

In the 1950s, mental health policy changed radically in the United States. The Community Mental Health Act of 1955 established funding for community-based mental health treatment centers, one clinic per fifty thousand area (Stubbs, P.). By the 1980s, one of the clear results of the deinstitutionalization of mental health is that "in the psychiatric ghettos of the major cities, tens of thousands of ex-patients could be found in nursing homes, boarding homes, SROs and on the street" (Brown).

EFFECT ON UPTOWN

Uptown received hundreds of the discharged mental patients in the 1960s and 1970s. The largest concentration of Halfway Houses for Mental Disabilities for any neighborhood in the City of Chicago is still in Uptown. According to the Illinois Department of Human Services, use of outpatient mental health services in Uptown is three times the state rate, while mental health hospitalization is twice the state rate. In addition, fourteen percent of those treated for mental health issues are in need of long-term addictions treatment, while only two percent are receiving treatment. According to the Heartland Alliance Environmental Scan 2000, mentally ill persons are increasingly marginalized and stigmatized as violent and dangerous, thereby enjoying minimal public support relative to their housing needs (Chicago Health Outreach). It is not only difficult to house such clients, but it is difficult to stabilize such clients in currently available homeless programs. The Ad Hoc Homeless Services Task Force has repeatedly discussed the problem of “doubly diagnosed” homeless clients resident in Uptown, those suffering simultaneously from mental illness and substance addiction. The Hope Center of Heartland Health Outreach opened in November 2003 to receive doubly diagnosed clients who have been kicked out of the homeless service programs currently available in Uptown. Without stabilization, maintaining housing is almost impossible for such clients.

DRUG AND ALCOHOL ADDICTION IN THE HOMELESS POPULATION

Of the 38% of homeless people who suffer from an alcohol or drug addiction, less than half receive proper treatment. The National Association of State Alcohol and Drug Abuse Directors has identified homeless people as a group with specific needs they are unable to meet, but little is done to improve access to treatment for homeless people. The reason little is done is that doubly diagnosed homeless clients are difficult to stabilize in current homeless service programs. The treatment for addictions often conflicts with the instability of the homeless client’s lifestyle on the street and in the parks. It is difficult to maintain a schedule of medications or meetings if you are homeless and doubly diagnosed. This is unfortunate in light of a national study that found, following treatment, clients who reported being homeless dropped by forty-three percent, while the

employment rate of the clients studied increased by 19%. In an oral interview with Sam Jackson, former Program Director of Harper House which was known for its 26 year track record of AA and 12 Step Recovery Programs, Sam stated that the current homeless client population under 40 is particularly susceptible to drug addiction and resistant to recovery programs (Jackson, S. interview).

V. SHELTER AND SUPPORT SERVICE PROVIDERS IN UPTOWN

OVERNIGHT SHELTERS FOR THE HOMELESS

The Overnight Shelters include REST and some Warming Centers in churches used during the winter months. The beds in the shelters on the northside are consistently full. In addition, there is a clear effort, when funding is available, by the Shelter programs to provide comprehensive social services support including job development and links to SRO housing provided the client is drug-free and stabilized. The statistics on individuals who are unable to qualify for these criteria are not available. The Shelter programs are funded by churches, foundations and by the Chicago Department of Human Services which provides guidelines and oversight.

HOMELESS DAY SUPPORT PROGRAMS

The Homeless Day Support Programs in Uptown include Sarah's Circle, REST, the Salvation Army, and the Uptown Lutheran Ministry. Each of these programs provides a safe refuge, some meals and ancillary support services during daytime hours. None of these programs is open all day. In fact, there is no 24 hour homeless service provider in the Uptown area. Therefore, people wander from 6am in the morning from program to program, building to building, and meal to meal until the shelters open again at 9:30pm. This is particularly unacceptable in cold weather and allows little provision for job development, stable health care or recovery programs which require day to day stability. Recently, the Hope Center of Heartland Health Outreach has opened from 4-8pm daily to work with any and all homeless individuals, even those who have been barred from other homeless program services.

SECOND-STAGE SRO HOUSING

The Second Stage Shelter Programs provide comprehensive case management

in conjunction with residential accommodations for a period not to exceed one year. Clientele of these programs are encouraged to become self-sufficient and to seek permanent housing within a one year period (City of Chicago Department of Human Services). Lakefront SRO, the Rafael Aids Support Center and the Access Mental Health Program of Heartland Health Outreach provide SRO rooms for their clients who have reached a certain level of self-sufficiency. All these agencies have a thorough intake process with various requirements in order to be eligible for an SRO housing placement.

VI. HEALTH SERVICE PROVIDERS IN UPTOWN

DIRECT HEALTH SERVICES AND CULTURAL COHERENCE

Heartland Health Outreach and the City of Chicago's Uptown Health Clinic provide direct services to the homeless population of Uptown. There is still a high percentage of hospital emergency room visits by homeless persons in the Uptown area. Weiss Hospital has opened a non-emergency multi-cultural clinic at the northwest corner of Sheridan and Lawrence which is targeted toward the immigrant and refugee population of Uptown. Cultural coherence is critical in understanding the medical needs of the non-indigenous population. Both Weiss and Heartland Health Outreach have cultural and language access programs for non-English speakers. Heartland Alliance has native speakers and trained translators from many countries trained through the Health Interpreters Program to translate in medical emergencies. A federal law exists which extends the right to a translator in the case of surgery or emergency room procedures. Similarly, cultural coherence is a highly important overlooked value in dealing with the homeless population. Understanding across economic and racial boundaries of homeless U.S. born clients can be as difficult as translation from a foreign language or culture.

THE UPTOWN INTERNATIONAL CLINIC FOR THE HOMELESS

The Uptown International Clinic of Heartland Health Outreach was initiated with a federal grant in 1991 in order to serve the large homeless and uninsured population in Uptown. There are two distinct clinical service avenues within the clinic itself; one series of exam rooms serves those with contagious diseases and

has special arrangements for negative air intake to prevent the spread of tuberculosis; the other series of exam rooms is dedicated to family medicine and non-contagious diseases. The HHO Clinic also has a large outreach program to homeless persons living in the park and beneath the viaducts. Teams of doctors and nurses from the clinic go out around Uptown in two shifts per day; they make contact with homeless persons on the streets and in the park, treat them there if necessary, and invite them to come to the clinic for a thorough health evaluation. The Clinic Outreach Teams are linked to all of the homeless shelters which they visit regularly and offer outpatient treatment while creating a connection to the clinic for follow-up or future health needs.

VII. TARGETED MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES

THE ACCESS MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAM

The Access Mental Health Program of Chicago Health Outreach also has a direct Outreach component. Many persons suffering from long-term homelessness are double-diagnosed with substance abuse and/or serious mental health issues. Access provides an outreach component of diagnostic teams as well as a day support program with meals and intake counselors who can refer the clients to the HHO Health Clinic in the same building or to ongoing professional mental health support programs onsite within Access or the related Hope Center for the clients who are too out of control on drugs or alcohol to be allowed to participate in the other homeless programs.

COMMUNITY COUNSELING CENTERS (C4) OF CHICAGO

The Community Counseling Centers of Chicago (C4) has a full-range of mental health support services including counseling, substance abuse treatment programs and sliding scale fees. C4 manages the intake and referral system for mental health services in Uptown and for the northside of Chicago. C4 is the northside area mental health triage screening center for individuals and the conduit for services and funding. C4 is closely involved in coordination with the homeless service providers and they are active in the Uptown community planning groups involved with youth delinquency prevention services and mental health service coordination.

VIII. FUTURE DIRECTIONS

SYSTEMS INTEGRATION AS A GOAL AND AN OPERATING POLICY

The concept of Systems Integration for homeless people with severe mental illness began in 1984 when it became common knowledge that federal cutbacks in SSI and in the Community Mental Health Centers were resulting in more and more homeless mentally ill on the streets. The American Psychiatric Association's Task Force on the Homeless Mentally Ill described the ideal service system as "a comprehensive and integrated system of care with designated responsibility, with accountability, and with adequate fiscal resources" (Lamb, H.R.). The vision of a successful national systems integration model includes:

- 1) integration at the client level (such as case management models);
- 2) the local level (such as the creation of public mental health authorities and service coalitions, managed care, and "one-stop-shopping" models);
- 3) the State level (such as coordination of housing and human service planning and financing, and application and use of special waiver authorities); as well as,
- 4) the Federal level (such as the Task Force on Homelessness and Severe Mental Illness).

Requirements for such a national systems integration model would include a common data system that links clients to services and homeless service providers to each other. It was recognized and recommended that creative use of Federal, State, local and private funds would have to be targeted and coordinated in order to make an impact on the problem of the homeless mentally ill. Demonstration programs such as Access Systems Integration came into being in 1993 to fulfill this vision and to implement the goals (US Department of Health and Human Services).

THE ACCESS FEDERAL DEMONSTRATION PROJECT IN UPTOWN

The Access Systems Integration component of Heartland Health Outreach was funded in 1993 as a targeted effort to make a difference in the client outcome of homeless persons with serious mental illness. The Uptown Demonstration site is one of nine demonstrations nationwide. The impetus for the federal demonstration project came from task forces of mental health professionals meeting at the federal level in the 1980s. The homeless problem in the US was growing exponentially and it was clear that new models and new ideas were

needed. In the Systems Integration Project, service providers meet monthly for training, work groups, best practices review and to discuss issues and needs. Currently, the providers have discerned the need for a 24-hour crisis center to be used by all the homeless service providers. Access Systems Integration, through funding from the Centers for Disease Control, is also a key coordination agency in the Northside HIV Coalition which serves individuals with or at high risk of HIV/AIDS with a co-morbid factor, such as substance abuse, homelessness, or mental illness. The Coalition members are health service providers who serve the homeless population suffering from HIV/AIDS. It is an excellent example of integrating systems and services to focus on a targeted “problem....which is how to change AIDS-related behaviors” in the homeless population (Bayer, Ronald 3).

IX. OTHER COORDINATION EFFORTS

CITYWIDE LEVEL

Coordination of efforts to address homelessness is having a positive impact at the neighborhood, city and national levels. In Chicago, the Department of Human Services hosts the Northside Homeless Service Providers group which meets monthly to coordinate numbers of beds, supportive services and meals available. The Partnership to End Homelessness, which grew out of the Chicago Homeless Services Coordinating Council and the Community Emergency Shelters Organization, is made up of partnership member agencies whose goal is informal lobbying and leveraging to end homelessness. They have developed provider reactions, recommendations and ongoing Action Plans in response to the City of Chicago Department of Human Services Plan published in 1998.

NATIONAL LEVEL

At the national level, the McKinney Act of 1987 was designed to target homelessness by providing policy direction and direct resources from the federal government to state and local nonprofit agencies and organizations to meet the needs of those most desperate in society. The McKinney Act provided for more than twenty grant assistance programs which funded activities to provide emergency food and shelter, surplus goods and property, transitional housing, supportive housing, primary healthcare services, mental healthcare, alcohol and

drug abuse treatment, education, and job training. The programs have been administered by five different departments of the federal government. These departments include: Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Health and Human Services, Veterans Affairs, Labor, Education, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). HUD administered approximately 70% of McKinney Act funds (Leavitt, Judith Walzer 426). Though the McKinney Act was a major effort to coordinate the delivery of services to the homeless through the national level, and though it was a significant step in recognizing the complexity of the homeless problem in the United States, homelessness has increased significantly since 1987 which points to the need for a new analysis.

NEW LEVELS OF COORDINATION EFFORT

At the regional level, the Regional Roundtable, which is made up of government and private funding sources, has been commissioned to do a thorough Analysis of Gaps in Homeless Services for the total six county area. Most recently, the U.S. Conference of Mayors surveyed 25 major cities on the subject of Hunger and Homelessness in the Year 2000. The findings included major increases in the past year for emergency food assistance (plus 17%), food assistance for families with children (plus 16%), emergency food assistance for elderly persons (plus 75%). The Survey also reported that the Federal Government's Continuum of Care policy has made a difference in their communities' efforts to deal with homelessness, and that the increase in HUD funding for housing units has resulted in placing more families and individuals into transitional and permanent housing in the past year (Leavitt, Judith Walzer 426).

X. SUMMARY OF HEALTH SERVICES AND THE HOMELESS IN UPTOWN

Uptown is an excellent example of the complexity of homelessness in the United States. The number of requests for housing assistance from individuals and families without shelter is growing in Uptown and in the US in spite of the best efforts by service providers, government agencies, and funding sources to turn the trend around. Foundations in Chicago have recognized the new populations of homeless persons and are targeting programs of prevention in order to catch the rising number of women and youth "falling toward permanent homelessness" (US

Department of Housing and Urban Development). Service practitioners and government have done an excellent job of matching services to needs. Recognition and awareness of the complexity of the homeless issue is abundantly clear. The Access Federal Research Demonstration Program has shown that targeted interventions make a difference in client outcomes of homeless with severe mental illness. Uptown's Access and the Systems Integration programs have been extended beyond the demonstration phase. However, the raw numbers of people in need of shelter has grown exponentially with continued loss of affordable housing units due to gentrification and the stratification at the lower ends of the US economy which make it more and more difficult for minimum wage earners to find housing. The rising number of homeless individuals and families has reached a critical level that is calling for a new systemic level of analysis and planning. Beyond the root causes of lack of housing, income and health care, beyond successful system integration programs, beyond cooperation among homeless service providers and beyond the continuum of care funding model, a new comprehensive national plan to end homelessness is needed.

The problem of the homeless in Uptown will not be solved in a vacuum. It will require cooperation among agencies and organizations at the national, regional and neighborhood level. The next chapter will examine the existing political spectrum by comparing and contrasting the Organization of the Northeast with the Uptown Chicago Commission. Through personal interviews and comparison of platforms and strategies, Uptown's current dilemmas will be revealed.

SECTION III. WHERE ARE WE NOW AND THE CASE FOR REDEVELOPMENT AND RENEWAL

CHAPTER 6. LEADERSHIP AND POLITICS IN UPTOWN

The shared vision of Uptown is held and articulated by members of the community and by key organizations that operate locally. The Uptown community articulates a unique shared vision, based on a history of balance and diversity, which has allowed the neighborhood to rehearse its leadership story through a consensual balance of independent associations and an uneasy balance of interest groups with vocal opinions, divergent members and different methodology.

This chapter investigates the topic of Leadership and Politics in Uptown through an analysis of two organizations that are recognized as holding diametrically opposed views on most issues but who share a common vision of a future of diversity and balance in Uptown. This analysis will compare and contrast the Organization of the Northeast (ONE) and the Uptown Chicago Commission (UCC) using the original research questions in the next section. Supported by the Analytical Framework, the Results Section will support or contradict the thesis as stated above. The data of the Results section will be used to make final conclusions.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What is the make-up of the membership of each organization and how many people are involved?
2. What is their methodology and what is their process?
3. What are the strategies and tactics used?
4. What is the Mission and Vision of each organization?
5. What are the core interest areas of each organization?
6. What are the two organizations divergent on?
7. What are the two organizations convergent on?
8. How do they work together?
9. What segment of the community is left out?

RATIONALE

The above questions are important to ask because Uptown is known to have historically strong organizations with divergent opinions, strategies and tactics. Conversely, the articulated future vision for Uptown is a Shared Vision at the macro level of public materials and public speeches. However, close examination reveals fundamental differences among organizations in goals and objectives which are vocalized and acted out in the form of public tactics demonstrating for or against each community issue. Therefore, an important, but less obvious, question for examination is whether the dialectical balance of strong divergent organizations with large vocal constituencies actually enables Uptown to continue to struggle positively toward a shared future. Documentation of Uptown's ability to maintain balance amidst diversity could be a significant demonstration as the population across the US becomes more and more heterogeneous (Nyden, Philip speech).

The research questions are based on several sources including: my knowledge of living and working in Uptown for 21 years, public statements from organizations and elected officials and my outside text research for this paper. In The Fifth Discipline, Peter Senge explicates ***“the positive versus the negative vision” as the difference between the questions “What do we want?” versus “What do we want to avoid?”*** (Senge 225). In Community of the Future, published by The Drucker Foundation in 1998, the successful community of the future is described as one which:

has, by a process of dialogue and deliberation, discovered for itself the basic elements required to find common ground. The framework for successful communities for the next century and beyond will have five key elements: mechanisms for deciding, organization of community work, accessible community life, creation of broad avenues for civic leadership, and action for the next generation (Hesselbein 231).

“Mechanisms for deciding” is the first key element and relates directly to the core of this research analysis. Uptown currently has unarticulated community-wide mechanisms for deciding. This chapter will show that the UCC and ONE, representing very different segments of the community, assist the decision-making by posturing dialectically opposed positions based on lack of trust and promotion of “negative vision” aspects. In the book titled Trust – The Social Virtues & The Creation of Prosperity, Francis Fukuyama points out

that trust and “egalitarianism.....in societies is often restricted to the homogeneous cultural groups that tend to comprise them and does not extend to other human beings” (Fukuyama 252). The lack of trust in Uptown tends to block dialogue and understanding at the community-wide level. The growing economic disparity in Uptown severely affects the trust level among opposing segments of the community. The UCC and ONE are helping to damage much-needed potential social capital (human resources) through the extremist vocalization of their positions. Conversely, a way to enhance social capital in Uptown would be to encourage dialogue across groups, cultures and economic divides. ***Dialogue, including “conversation and story”.....which “communicates values, behaviors, understandings, and aims” must be enabled across Uptown to allow “people in organizations (to) come to trust and understand one another*** (Cohen and Pruzak 104). As Jane Mansbridge states in Beyond Self-Interest, “social dilemmas occur when outcomes that are good for each group.....acting individually are bad for the (community) as a whole” (Mansbridge 97). Mansbridge points to “cooperation for the benefit of us” as a way toward resolving social dilemmas. Additionally, Howard Gardner bases his book, Leading Minds, “on the assumptions that there are individuals called leaders, who have stories and goals, who strive to achieve them, and who are sometimes successful in this pursuit.” His cognitive approach asks: ***What are the ideas (or stories) of the leader? How have they developed? How are they communicated, understood, and misunderstood? How do they interact with other stories, especially competing counterstories, that have already drenched the consciousness of audience members? How do key ideas (or stories) affect the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of other individuals?*** (Gardner 16).

This research analysis will examine some of these questions at the organizational level of the UCC and ONE as they play a role in the development of the vision and story of the Uptown community.

CASE STUDY SELECTION

Uptown is the location selected for this case study because it is one of the most unique and interesting neighborhoods in Chicago in regard to the topic of Leadership and Politics. Uptown is also unique in its large number of strong non-profit organizations which play an anchor role in the leadership and politics of the community.

The Organization of the Northeast and the Uptown Chicago Commission will be the two sites for the case study because they hold diametrically opposing views and have extremely active and vocal but oppositional constituencies. The two organizations are comparable in their longevity, membership numbers, vocal opinions, confrontational style, key arenas of interest, strong leadership, committed membership, accomplishments and tactics. The critical criteria for selection of sites included:

1. the continuing strength of each organization's agenda
2. the documentation and the vocalization of each organization's agenda
3. the depth and breadth of membership and strong ties to current political figures
4. the strong representation in each organization of opinions held by a significant segment of the community
5. differences in methodology, philosophy and tactics
6. positions on key Uptown issues including both Tax Increment Financing Districts, the Goldblatt's commercial and residential development, the Asuza Building, Homeless Shelters, CAPS meetings and streetscaping.

DATA GATHERING STRATEGIES

Three methods of data gathering strategies were employed:

A. The first strategy was Personal Interviews including:

O.N.E. Interviews = 1. Sarah Jane Knoy, Executive Director; 2. Past Presidents:

Randall Doubet-King and Paul Koch; and, 3. Members – Joyce Dugan, UpCorp;

Uptown Chicago Commission Interviews =1. Executive Director, David Rowe;

2. Past President – Cindy Anderson; and, 3. Community resident – Judy Yblonski

B. The second strategy was to review public and historical materials.

C. The third strategy was review of materials published by each of the groups.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The ABCD Analytical Framework will be used to analyze the data for both organizations as follows:

1. The Vision of both organizations as expressed in interviews, public materials and organizational publications.
2. The Alignment Strategy of both organizations.
3. The Resource Discovery Tactics of both organizations; and,
4. The Mobilization Modes of both organizations.

Each organization will be analyzed using the above Analytical Framework based on the Asset Based Community Development method outlined by John Kretzmann and John McKnight in Building Communities from the Inside Out. Finally, the data will be analyzed from the perspective of Storytelling as a method of Leadership both internally in each organization and externally in the public forum as demonstrated in Uptown. Both the Dialogue Form and the Dialectical Form will be considered.

RESULTS

I. UPTOWN SITE LOCATION

Uptown is the Site Location for this research study due to its make-up and unique history. It is a northside neighborhood in Chicago bounded by Irving Park, Ravenswood, Foster and Lake Michigan. The population is approximately 90,000 made up of many immigrant ethnic groups, along with Caucasian, African-American and Hispanic. Transportation includes ten bus lines, four elevated stations and direct access to Lake Shore Drive. The Historic Entertainment District includes the Aragon Ballroom, the Riviera Theater and the Uptown Theater. Some 15-22 hi-rise buildings house low-income residents and mentally challenged individuals on SSI. Uptown struggles with most of the problems and possibilities of urban neighborhoods.

II. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NORTHEAST

A. DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY SITE:

ONE evolved in the 1970s based on the Saul Alinsky theory of organizing communities. The ONE organization is made up of many community organizations including religious institutions, ethnic associations, businesses and non-profit organizations. The polity system includes a Board of Directors, a staff headed by an Executive Director, Action Committees, the Action Council which includes all members and Conventions which are open to all members, their constituencies and the public-at-large. Current Action Committees which meet monthly are Land Use & Housing, Immigration Rights, Jobs, Homeless Issues and Education. "ONE believes the best solutions to problems facing the community are drawn from the insights, **creativity** and energy of the people who constitute the community.....ONE provides a common forum for direct action on those

issues which block the building of a strong and healthy NorthEast community.....ONE analyzes problems in the community; coordinates research and resources, and helps individuals and groups organize to enable change” (ONE brochure- Exhibit A). The yearly Convention includes voting and ranking of Key Issues in the community to be addressed in the coming year. Individuals are recruited for involvement on committees and for issue collaboration through a community organizing method known as “one on one” interviews conducted by ONE staff, committee and Board members (Koch, P. interview).

B. CASE ANALYSIS:

The stated **Vision** of the Organization of the Northeast is to create “a successful multi-ethnic mixed economic community” in Uptown and Edgewater. This vision is stated in all public materials and consistently articulated in interviews (Knoy, S.J. interview). The ONE brochure states that *“The mission of the Organization of the NorthEast is to ensure the survival and growth of a diverse and caring community. ONE advocates for the community institutions of family, faith and culture. ONE works to achieve a society that is both socially and economically just”* (ONE brochure- Exhibit A).

The **Alignment** Strategy of ONE is “Organizing”. The strategy is described as “ONE organizes strong constituencies from the diverse population of the community. ONE provides staff assistance to groups and helps them define their priorities, build strong leadership and form appropriate organizations for their own development. The formation and development of Comite Latino, a multinational, ecumenical coalition of the diverse Latino community of the NorthEast side is an example of such work. Today, after four years of ONE staff and board support, the Comite stands as a self-governing coalition working on problems of the Latino community” (ONE brochure- Exhibit A).

The **Resource Discovery** Tactic is the “One on One” personal interview conducted by ONE staff, committee and Board members. The purpose of the interviews is to discern the areas of interest of an individual toward future engagement, collaboration and mobilization.

The **Mobilization** mode of ONE is varied according to the source of the issue and the desired result. The ONE brochure states, “Action takes the form of negotiation, persuasion or confrontation with institutions which need to change the way they view the community. Typically, ONE staff assist individuals and organizations to form actions, which may be as simple as confronting a landlord who mismanages a building, or as

complex as negotiating with financial institutions for additional residential and commercial loans” (ONE brochure- Exhibit A).

II. THE UPTOWN CHICAGO COMMISSION –

A. DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY SITE:

The Uptown Chicago Commission (UCC) evolved in the 1950s as a neighborhood Community Council made up of residents and businesses. The business membership predominantly consists of owners of apartment buildings and condo developers. The core constituency of the UCC is residential block clubs in Uptown and Edgewater. The polity system includes a Board of Directors, an Executive Director, Block Clubs, and Block Club Presidents serving as Board members of the umbrella UCC. The Executive Director is described as a “connector” within the UCC structure (Anderson, Cindy interview). There are individual business and residential members but most individuals are tied into a block club group. Each block club has a different mission and purpose, although there are key arenas of similar interest that tie the block clubs together. Current committees include: Court Advocacy, Zoning, TIFs, Wilson Yard and the Safety Committee. The UCC encourages and supports Special Issue Task Forces which are time-limited and deal with particular problems/issues until the issues are resolved. The Uptown Chicago Commission is a representational voice for the block clubs but the UCC has no umbrella control over the individual block clubs. Additionally, the UCC takes no organizational responsibility for the actions or statements of individual block clubs or their members.

B. CASE ANALYSIS OF THE UPTOWN CHICAGO COMMISSION:

The stated **Vision** of the Uptown Chicago Commission is to create “a balanced, healthy, diverse, contained and attractive community” in Uptown and Edgewater (Anderson, Cindy interview). The UCC newsletter describes the UCC as “a non-profit group dedicated to improving the quality of life for all residents in Chicago’s Uptown community” (UCC). The website describes the UCC mission as “*seeks to improve the quality of life for all residents living in Uptown*. Membership includes renters” and it is defined as “the umbrella group for neighborhood block clubs” (UCC website).

The **Alignment** Strategy of the UCC is to choose individuals to serve on the Board of Directors from the elected presidents of the member block clubs. Issues and concerns

are shared in both directions; from the member Block Clubs to the Board of Directors, and back from the Board to the residential Block Clubs through the elected presidents.

The **Resource** Discovery Tactic is Informal Issue-oriented Position Statements. The UCC produces Position Statements on the issues that are of concern to their membership. Before a Position Statement is produced, a Special Committee is formed of member volunteers concerned about particular issues. These Ad Hoc Committees meet for a time-limited period. They are charged with researching the issue and recommending an organization-wide position for the Board of Directors to consider. Committee work is detailed and can take many months of research and meetings. At the end, a position statement is written and recommended to the Board of Directors. In the process of becoming involved with an issue arena, individuals are solicited to become more involved in standing committees and in the work of the whole organization.

The **Mobilization** mode of the UCC is the Block Club structure which exists throughout Uptown and Edgewater. Historically, communication between groups has been through newsletters and special issue committees. However, over the last few years, the UCC has developed a powerful E-mail Tree which can communicate directly with every individual resident in less than 24 hours (Yblonski, Judy interview).

III. RESEARCH RESULTS based on the Research Questions

A. RESEARCH QUESTIONS 1-3 (refer back to page 68):

The **Make-up** of ONE's membership is community institutions in Uptown and Edgewater including ethnic associations, businesses, non-profit organizations, schools and religious institutions. One hundred institutions are dues-paying members of ONE. Approximately two people per institution are directly involved for an active membership of 200. Another 20 persons per institution are actively involved in at least one organizational event or activity per year for a membership totaling 2000 which can be called upon for specific "community action". The **Methodology and Process** of ONE is directly descended from and based upon the Saul Alinsky tradition of community organizing. Local Uptown publisher, Greg Pierce, elaborates by stating that this "brand of community organization can trace its heritage to 1941 when Saul Alinsky started the Back-of-the-Yards Neighborhood Council in my Southwest Side neighborhood of Chicago. Some writers have debated the 'Alinsky method' and more recently some have written

‘how-to’ manuals based on Alinsky practice” (Pierce, Greg 1). The ONE Annual Conventions are used to rehearse storytelling related to the Core Interest Issues through testimonials by members. Personal storytelling (often of a negative nature) is also used in “Community Actions”, which are public demonstrations against the status quo stating clear demands for what needs to change and how. The **Strategies** are designed around the prioritized Key Issues and **Tactics** are designed in relation to what will best publicize the issue and create a stronger demand for a constructive response from the powers that be. “Relational Organizing” is used to align and recruit members (Doubet-King, Randall interview). Mobilization is activated through member organizations which can turn out hundreds of individuals in order to call public attention to an issue.

The **Make-up** of the Uptown Chicago Commission is block clubs in the Uptown-Edgewater area consisting of individual residents of the blocks. An average of 30 residents per block are members of twenty active block clubs resulting in an active membership of 600. However, due to effective use of email technology through email trees, each individual member of every block club is individually kept informed of all activities weekly. (Anderson interview). The **Methodology and Process** of the UCC is based on affinity groups of home owners and residents located on a specific block in the community. Geographical affinity presupposes some similarity in economic status and a likelihood of agreement in regard to local issues. Each block club operates autonomously, meeting according to its own needs and objectives. Some of the block clubs are primarily social networks. Whereas, others are focused around block club concerns including community safety, beautification, tax increases and retail/commercial development. If a single block club brings a specific concern to the UCC Board, all member block clubs could be, and often are, solicited to be involved as a show of support for a particular direction in a public hearing or demonstration. **Strategies and Tactics** are designed following special task force recommendations and position statements about the issue, if the issue is an UCC-wide issue. The UCC is extremely effective at tapping individual block club members to multiply resources in a community dispute or concern. When a UCC concern is on the docket, drafts of UCC supporting letters are sent out by email to the individual membership in order to produce 200-300 resident letters for or against a particular issue.

B. RESEARCH QUESTIONS 4-9 (refer to page 68):

4. The **Mission and Vision Statements** of the two organizations appear similar but it is clear that, at the strategy and tactical level, the two organizations differ markedly in their picture of what a successful, mixed, balanced, healthy, diverse community would actually look like and be comprised of. The test of the vision statements can be seen in their differing perspectives on core issue arenas. The ONE mission statement was created in the early 1990's under the strong leadership of Josh Hoyt (Koch, P. interview).

The mission and vision of ONE is *"a successful multi-ethnic mixed economic community"*. Subtly different is the mission statement of the UCC which envisions *"a balanced, healthy, diverse, contained and attractive community"*.

5. The **Core Interest Areas** of ONE and the UCC are again similar but their perspectives, strategies and tactics differ. ONE's core interest areas include Land Use & Housing, Immigration Rights, Jobs, Homeless Issues, Commercial Business and Education. Current UCC interest areas are Safety, Court Advocacy, Zoning, TIFs and Commercial Development.

6. The **Two Organizations are Divergent** in that ONE is made up of resident institutions and the UCC is made up of resident individuals, primarily homeowners and very few renters. The UCC agenda tends toward protection of personal property and block through involvement in issues of Zoning, Street Loitering, Safety, and Commercial Development. ONE, in contrast, is aligned with its institutional members, religious groups and social service organizations, which tend to represent renters and low-income citizens of Uptown. The ONE agenda includes advocacy for Mixed Income Housing, Jobs, Education, Justice and Immigrant Rights. The chart that follows indicates the similarity of issue arenas for both organizations contrasted with the differing objectives and strategies of ONE and the UCC. The obvious differences are in the words used to describe the issues and the objectives, as well as in the strategies and tactics employed.

	ISSUES/COMMITTEES	OBJECTIVES	LEVERAGE POINTS
ONE	Land Use/Housing	10-30% affordable	City & Aldermen
UCC	Zoning	Limit subsidized housing	City & Ward Comms.
ONE	Homeless Issues	Defense of individual rights	Strengthen Homeless Servs
UCC	Safety	No standing or public drinking	Building Court & Police
ONE	Jobs	Jobs for local residents	Developers & TIFs
UCC	Commercial Dev.	Upgrade retail	TIFs & Developers
ONE	Education	Quality Improvement	Elementary & Comm.Coll.
UCC	Beautification	Attractive, clean community	Residents/ Streets & San.

“Affordable Housing” is an issue that well illustrates the divergent philosophies of the UCC and ONE. ONE has lobbied hard for 10-30% of new condo development be “set-aside” as affordable in line with the median income standards of the neighborhood. Alderman Helen Shiller has supported this effort in her meetings with developers who seek her approval to build condos in the 46th Ward of Uptown. Alderman Mary Ann Smith is against mandatory set-asides in Uptown because of the numerous low-income buildings (the highest number of such buildings in one ward in the City of Chicago) already in Uptown and Edgewater. The UCC has publicly backed Alderman Smith on this issue (Smith speech). ONE drafted a sample letter encouraging constituents to urge Alderman Smith to support mandatory set-asides. The draft letter distributed by ONE to all voters is a typical example of public tactics used by both organizations to influence a decision or direction.

7. **The two organizations are convergent** on the Shared Vision of a diverse, successful community. Both organizations receive City of Chicago CDBG funding in

recognition of their service to their representative constituencies. Both organizations have strong relationships with the local politicians, including State Representatives, Larry McKeon and Harry Osterman. The block clubs, individually and through the UCC, are aligned with Alderman Mary Ann Smith of the 48th Ward on issues of beautification and safety. The block clubs are also strongly represented on the 48th Ward Zoning Committee. At the same time, ONE and Alderman Smith have strong convergent interests in education and school improvement, with successful collaborative efforts on the redevelopment of the Goudy Elementary School. However, ONE tends to be aligned with Alderman Helen Shiller of the 46th Ward on issues of affordable housing. Both organizations have large, loyal grassroots constituencies that can be quickly rallied for a demonstration, a city hearing or any issue that represents the core agenda of ONE or UCC. Both organizations have a tendency to use “in your face” vocal protest tactics, whether it is for a public confrontation of a politician or an institution or a hearing within City government on an issue that affects Uptown. However, their style and tactics do differ. ONE tends to be upfront and publicly demanding in their tactics. ONE has forced many a politician to respond to ONE’s demands on-the-spot, in front of large public crowds. The UCC tends to work through existing city structures, such as the Police CAPS Beat meetings or the City Building Court, to achieve its agenda. The UCC has numbers of volunteer residents available and willing to be present as Court Advocates to speak against an arrested individual or targeted building that they have successfully targeted for arrest or building court action.

Both organizations use individual storytelling to further their own agenda. Examples are taken from actual personal incidents in the community which relate to the core interest areas of each of the organizations. Unfortunately, usually a negative spin is put on the incident. The negative storytelling tends to use fear and urgency to substantiate a targeted issue. These negative stories are passed throughout the community, thus creating a climate of fear and escalating distrust.

8. ONE and the UCC work together in several capacities.

a. The Uptown Leadership Coalition consists of the Presidents and Executive Directors of ONE, UCC, the Uptown Chamber of Commerce, UpCorp Economic Development Association and the Aldermanic offices of the 46th and the 48th Wards. The

coalition was started by the Uptown Chamber of Commerce to create a place of monthly dialogue on issues among the divergent umbrella groups in Uptown.

b. Both ONE and UCC have taken a strong interest in the two Tax-Increment Financing Districts in Uptown. It is generally recognized that the Broadway-Lawrence TIF is an initiative of Alderman Mary Ann Smith of the 48th Ward. The Wilson Yard TIF was initiated by Alderman Helen Shiller of the 46th Ward. ONE and UCC have attended community-wide workshops on both TIFs and have contributed ideas, suggestions and volunteer assistance. The TIFs are widely recognized across the community as positive instruments to improve the stagnating commercial areas. However, as might be expected, the details of exactly “what kind of development” is where ONE and UCC have diverged. The ONE position includes advocating low-income affordable housing to be included in the TIF incremental-financed projects. The UCC position has consistently been to support market-rate condo development while discouraging any more “affordable” projects in a community that boasts more subsidized housing than any other neighborhood in Chicago.

c. The opportunity to apply for a Special Service Area has also attracted the attention of both ONE and UCC. Uptown is one of the last communities on the Northside to apply for an SSA. An SSA allows a community to pay for needed services by pooling a portion of increased property taxes for pre-designated public use within the community. The SSA would provide auxiliary street cleaning and marketing for the commercial areas of the neighborhood. The Uptown Chamber and the Uptown Community Development Corporation will be the lead agencies on the SSA (Dugan interview). Both ONE and UCC seem to be supportive of this unifying structure for the area. However, when the increased tax implications become clearer, it is possible that the UCC’s property-tax paying members may lobby against the SSA because an SSA will raise taxes for all property owners. It needs a 51% approval majority of the Tax IDs identified within the SSA boundaries. At this time, no clear positions have been taken.

9. The segments of the community that are left out:

The segments of the community not included in formal or informal decision-making in Uptown include **Youth, Seniors, Small businesses, the Asians on Argyle, the Homeless**, and, to some extent, the **Immigrants** (unless affiliated with a mutual aid association which is actively involved in ONE). Although there are organizations and

structures to provide services to these groups, the absence of their voices, opinions and presence is obvious in most community events and forums. The reasons for their absence are diverse but similar. There is a clear absence of cross-community dialogue or cross-community forums where unaligned factions might have an opportunity to speak. The Small Businesses are one- and two-person owners who will not leave their stores. The Youth are in school and working (although there is some participation in youth organizations). The Argyle Asian community is an enclave onto itself. Few Asian businessmen are involved in community structures of the wider Uptown community such as ONE or UCC. Some Asian businesses are members of the Uptown Chamber of Commerce. However, Argyle Street's traditional isolation mitigates against active participation in building a viable Uptown neighborhood where diverse groups participate in decision-making and community-building. Some of the 70-odd language groups in Uptown are represented through Ethnic Mutual Aid Associations and ONE. But most are not. The newer African immigrant groups are not represented at all in the wider community dialogue. The Homeless citizens of Uptown are not represented at all while a major public controversy swirls around their loitering on the sidewalks, the continued existence of homeless shelters in Uptown and the individual rights of citizens who live in the streets and parks. Alderman Helen Shiller stated on November 7, 2003 in a speech at the ICA building that dignified services for the homeless and low-income people of Uptown remain a top priority of her administration (Shiller speech).

IV. DISCUSSION SECTION

A. RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

The research limitations of this project are most evident in an evaluation of the time frame since the 2000 census. New development is only now visible with the Goldblatt's renovation project coming on-line and two large condo developments preparing to open. The thesis of this chapter is based on an "uneasy balance" between the existing opposing forces in Uptown represented by ONE and UCC and their respective constituencies. It is not yet possible to evaluate the long-term impact of large numbers of new condo owners upon the dialectical balance in the community although the recent Uptown Housing Study indicates that a shift toward home ownership is occurring (CURL). It is predictable that most new condo buyers will join the UCC and that will affect the power balance in

the community. Condo conversions mean loss of rental housing at a time when little new rental housing is being added in Uptown. The growing income disparity among residents may seriously impact the articulated Shared Vision of a successful diverse community. The Shared Vision may also be impacted when it is considered in conjunction with the increasing loss of multi-ethnic residents. Uptown's cherished shared vision of "diversity" is severely endangered by the current economic unavailability of rental housing at a reasonable price. Sister Patricia, Executive Director of the Anawim Native American Center, stated in March 2003 that only 5% (down from 40%) of the Native American community still lives in Uptown due to the increasingly high rents (Mulkey interview). In spite of the above limitations, the results of this research study are valid and serve as a solid foundation for further research and analysis of Uptown's leadership and political dynamics.

B. MAJOR CONCLUSIONS:

1. **Uptown's leadership story of a "successful, diverse community" is broadly articulated by the UCC, ONE, both Aldermen, the State Representatives and most Uptown organizations**, including the Uptown Chamber of Commerce and the UpCorp Development Corporation. There is no one individual who is singularly identified with the Shared Vision.

2. **There is some evidence, at the strategic and tactical level, that the opposing dialectical postures of the UCC and ONE are an essential part of a unique Uptown method of "consensus building by confrontation"**. In other words, the dialectical mode of articulation is alive and well in Uptown and, perhaps, even a key element, in the way Uptown organizations jockey opposing views and constituencies which then somehow allows a middle ground consensus to eventually emerge. Each organization takes a point of view on a core interest area, creates issue study groups, and designs tactics to bring public attention to their point of view. In doing so, the whole community is presented with opposing points of view which are usually at the extreme opposite of each other. As the strategies and tactics on a particular issue are played out, the larger community is presented with two very different viewpoints. This allows the community to work slowly toward a compromised consensus.

3. **The Alderman and State Representative from Edgewater and the north end of Uptown tend to align with the Edgewater Community Council and the Uptown Chicago Commission, both block club organizations.**

4. **The Alderman and State Representative from the south end of Uptown tend to align with ONE on a majority of issues.**

5. **There has been substantial cooperation between the two aldermen over the past five years in order to further the development of Uptown with the TIFs and the potential SSA.**

6. **The historical multi-cultural population of Uptown is choosing to move westward, out of Uptown.** This is due, in part, to rising rental costs resulting from rapidly rising property taxes. However, Uptown remains a port of entry for new immigrants to Chicago. Currently, the inflow of migration is primarily from Africa, including Ghana, Nigeria and the Ivory Coast.

7. **Homeless citizens in Uptown and the plan for their future is the most critical issue driving current confrontations of opposing forces in Uptown.** Neither the UCC, ONE, nor any other faction, has a viable, compassionate, forward-looking plan to solve the myriad of problems Uptown is experiencing with the largest resident number of homeless individuals of any neighborhood in Chicago (Shiller speech).

8. **It is not yet clear how the nascent commercial and retail development planned for Uptown will shape and affect the future confrontations over Uptown's destiny.** None of the new projects is open and operating at this time though some will be completed in 2004. The Asuza Building at Broadway and Montrose will likely be the first test of the organizational positions on commercial redevelopment in Wilson Yard.

9. **The dialogue method of creating a community-wide leadership story is rarely used in Uptown.** Examples of community-wide dialogue events are the two TIF Workshops (250 people each), the monthly meeting of the Leadership Coalition, the yearly ONE Community Convocation and the UpCorp Corridors of Vision project which elicits community input and dialogue in a workshop process.

10. **The Police Districts (20th and 23rd) are unfairly caught in the crossfire of the nonexistent plan for the Homeless population of Uptown.** The police are pushed back and forth to respond to the opposing requests of the block clubs versus the homeless service agencies and churches. The homeless people are victims to the community's

inability to create a humane dialogue or a successful plan to house each individual who lives in Uptown.

11. Leadership Storytelling is used by both the UCC and ONE, primarily as a negative vision of what could happen if the organizational position is not pursued on a particular issue.

12. The large, private corporations in Uptown, including Weiss Hospital, the Bridgeview Bank of Uptown, and the Aon Corporation, support some activities of both groups but tend to choose the middle position on most issues.

13. The Chamber of Commerce and UpCorp are related corporations which represent the business community and are in dialogue with both ONE and the UCC. The Chamber and UpCorp tend to agree or disagree with the UCC and ONE on an issue by issue basis related to the interests of their business constituents or their members.

14. The public institutions, such as Truman College, and the non-profit agencies tend toward alliances of interest that support their clients or their mission. However, the institutions are generally dues paying members of ONE.

15. The Churches in Uptown are closely identified with their social service mission to serve the homeless and low-income people of Uptown. The Churches are institutional members of ONE and tend to be in conflict with the block clubs over the clients they serve.

16. The uneasy balance of interest groups still dominates Uptown's leadership and politics. But changes in the multi-ethnic population, the rising number of condo owners and major new commercial redevelopment will require new ways of insuring community-wide dialogue.

C. IMPLICATIONS:

1. THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

This research study contradicts Howard Gardner's thesis in Leading Minds because the leadership story of Uptown is vested, primarily, in a community-wide mantra, rather than modeled by any one particular individual. The often articulated macro-statement of the shared vision continues to represent the highest point of consensus about the future of Uptown. The study has revealed that the divergence and need for dialogue across contradictory points of view needs to be at the sub-level of objectives, strategies and tactics so that a community-wide process can be created to dialogue over the tough

issues that need community-wide solutions. The study has also revealed that the dialectical method practiced by the UCC and ONE is losing its capacity to lead the community toward a truly shared vision of the future.

2. PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS:

A glaring implication unearthed by this research study is that many more opportunities for use of the dialogue method are needed to help shape the community consensus on difficult issues. An implication for the UCC and ONE is that sponsorship of Public Forums would help encourage and inform the public dialogue in Uptown. In addition, the UCC and ONE need to create a forum for dialogue at the issue level so that mutual understanding might lead to mutual solutions to community problems. The overemphasis on the dialectical method needs to be tempered with the dialogue method at all levels of the community. A further implication is that all elements of the community should work to posit positive storytelling elements in all public communications so that a positive shared vision can be created for all the citizens of Uptown. An implication for the elected officials is to encourage Public Question and Answer Forums where individuals who are not linked to the UCC or ONE might have an opportunity to dialogue on community issues. An implication for community groups is to create a cross-organizational dialogue in Uptown on a myriad of issues so that community dialogue and listening skills are enhanced.

3. FUTURE RESEARCH NEEDED

a. The 2000 Census and the 2001 CURL Housing and Land Use Study could serve as a basis to discern future trends in population and residential make-up. An element that needs to be researched is the actual number of government-mandated low-income housing units in Uptown, taking into account all Section 8, non-profit owned low-income housing and HUD/CHA buildings that are unlikely to ever revert to private ownership.

b. Research could be done with the UCC and ONE to come up with positive storytelling elements and community-wide opportunities to dialogue over core issue arenas. Then those results could serve as a foundation for cross-community Problem-Solving Task Forces.

c. There is a need for a Trends Research Study which would examine the historical positions of both Aldermen, the population changes and trends, and the issue positions of all the major organizations in Uptown. Such a study would be helpful in predicting the

future of Uptown. Historical analysis could be added to try to discern why Uptown, one of the three premier shopping areas in Chicago in 1915, has languished since 1941 with very little residential or commercial redevelopment until very recently.

CONCLUSION

How Uptown manages the problems and opportunities of redevelopment will be singularly informative for other US urban neighborhood communities. Uptown has an outstanding location and a history of glory and distinction. Yet Uptown has weathered six decades of the pressures of twentieth century urbanization. Uptown has grappled with significant immigration, homelessness and socio-economic disparity. As Phil Nyden stated, the diversity and problems of Uptown Chicago will be the problems and opportunities of most communities in the United States within the next decade (Nyden speech). Uptown is positioned to continue to create Peter Senge's positive vision by continuing to ask the question "What do we want?" through community-wide workshops like Corridors of Vision. Uptown is also positioned with historically strong organizations and faith-based institutions which can provide skilled social capital for the redevelopment of Uptown. As shown in the previous chapters, Uptown has in place foundations of the five key elements for successful communities for the next century as described by Hesselbein: 1) mechanisms for deciding; 2) organization of community work; 3) accessible community life; 4) creation of broad avenues for civic leadership; and, 5) action for the next generation (Hesselbein). Deepening the five key elements and capitalizing on Uptown's community-wide vision consensus provides a map for Uptown's successful redevelopment. And Uptown's experience provides a vision for other urban communities grappling with the dilemmas of the new millenium. Uptown's vision of diversity and dialogue provides a model that can be instructive to any US urban community.

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