



Racial Residential Segregation and Exclusion in Illinois

Segregation in Chicago is well-documented; what about the rest of Illinois?

Racial Residential Segregation and Exclusion in Illinois

By Maria Krysan

Metropolitan Chicago remains one of the most residentially segregated areas in the United States. According to the 2000 census, black-white segregation in the Chicago metropolitan area was the fifth highest in the nation and Latino-white segregation, although much lower than black-white segregation, was relatively high as well, ranking 11th.

In the case of black-white segregation, the levels in Chicago are what two prominent sociologists call “hyper-segregated” and indicative of an “American Apartheid.”¹ While there is little debate that the levels of segregation in the Chicago metropolitan area are high, there is considerable debate about its causes. And there is virtual silence about how much segregation there is in Illinois places outside the Chicago metropolitan area.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a portrait of racial residential patterns of whites, blacks, and Latinos, throughout the state of Illinois. We find: (1) there are rather few communities with racially/ethnically diverse populations that can be considered integrated; (2) black-white segregation levels are more severe than are Latino-white levels; and (3) there are large swaths of the state of Illinois that lack racial/ethnic diversity of any kind, integrated or segregated.

Thus, inequality among whites, blacks, and Latinos on the dimension of housing is not just a problem in the city of Chicago, but throughout Illinois – in cities and small towns alike. And housing inequality is marked not only by a question of segregation within diverse communities, but also by the near-complete lack of diversity in many communities. After a discussion of

the levels of segregation and exclusion throughout the state, we take up the question of what causes these patterns, what some of the consequences are and, finally, what policy steps might be taken to address them.

Data and Methods

To measure the level of segregation in a location, researchers often rely on something called the index of dissimilarity, which gauges the degree to which two groups are evenly distributed throughout an area. Suppose, for example, that a particular city had an overall population that was 80 percent white and 20 percent African American. A dissimilarity score of 75 would mean that 75 percent of whites (or African Americans) would have to move to a different neighborhood in the city in order to have all neighborhoods be 80 percent white and 20 percent black. The dissimilarity index has a theoretical range from 0 (no segregation) to 100 (complete segregation). In the following section, we provide the dissimilarity index scores for black-white and Latino-white segregation for three different kinds of Illinois places:² (1) metropolitan places within the Chicago metropolitan area; (2) other metropolitan³ places falling outside the Chicago metropolitan area; and (3) non-metropolitan places in the state of Illinois. Because it is not possible to calculate meaningful dissimilarity scores in places that lack diversity, we further restrict our report of segregation scores to include only those places that, according to the 2000 census, had (1) at least 500 residents; (2) at least 10 percent white population; and (3) either at least a 10 percent African American population or at least a 10 percent Latino population. The calcula-

¹ Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998). Underclass. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

² We use the Census geographical designation of “place” throughout this report. Roughly 86 percent of Illinois residents live in one of the 1,315 “places” identified by the 2000 Census. Those not living in places are generally characterized as people living in, “small settlements, in the open countryside, or in the densely settled fringe of large cities in areas that were built-up, but not identifiable as places.” (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Geographic Areas Reference Manual, p. 9-1).

³ We rely on OMB and Census designations to determine what constitutes a “metropolitan statistical area” and note that its definition means that some individual communities that are classified as metropolitan are quite small and rural. According to the Office of Management and Budget, a Metropolitan Statistical Area “ha[s] at least one urbanized area of 50,000 or more population, plus adjacent territory that has a high degree of social and economic integration with the core as measured by commuting ties.” (OMB Bulletin No. 07-01: Update of Statistical Area Definitions and Guidance on Their Uses).

There is virtual silence about how much segregation there is in Illinois places outside the Chicago metropolitan area.

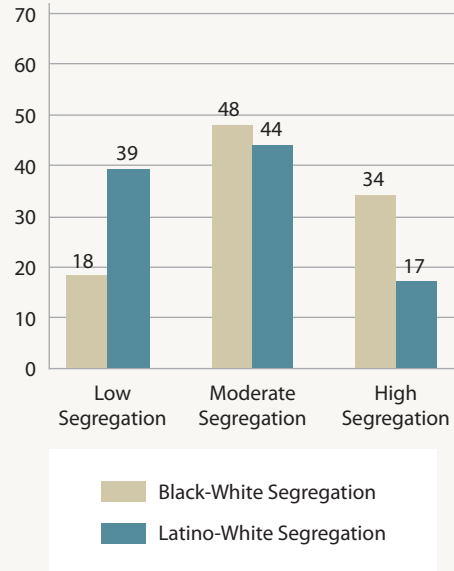
**Table 1
Chicago Metro Places:
Black-White Segregation**

Place Name	Dissimilarity Index, 2000
Hillside	29.3
Willowbrook	31.1
Berkeley	33.1
Bolingbrook	33.3
Dolton	34.0
Forest Park	38.3
South Holland	38.5
Riverdale	39.1
Preston Heights	41.8
Olympia Fields	42.7
University Park	42.8
Park Forest	42.9
Sauk Village	43.8
Oak Park	45.1
Hazel Crest	46.1
Richton Park	46.2
Burnham	48.2
Zion	48.6
Waukegan	50.2
Glenwood	50.7
Flossmoor	50.9
Country Club Hills	50.9
Aurora	50.9
Broadview	52.1
Lynwood	52.4
Homewood	53.4
Crete	55.7
Calumet City	56.2
North Chicago	58.8
East Hazel Crest	60.9
Blue Island	66.9
Alsip	67.9
Chicago Heights	68.2
Matteson	70.7
Evanston	70.8
Crest Hill	72.6
Fairmont	73.0
Joliet	75.0
Lansing	76.5
Markham	79.3
Chicago	88.3
Summit	89.3
Justice	91.0
Dixmoor	92.5

Low Segregation
 Medium Segregation
 High Segregation

Source: Figures derived from calculations based on the 2000 census and provided by Professor Domenico Parisi, Mississippi State University.

**Figure 1
Chicago Metropolitan Communities:
Percent Distribution of Low,
Moderate and High Segregation
Levels**



Source: Figures derived from calculations based on the 2000 census and provided by Professor Domenico Parisi, Mississippi State University.

tions are based on the 2000 census and use data at the block level, thus providing a finer grained measure of segregation than is typical (most studies of metropolitan areas use the larger geographical unit of the census tract).⁴

What Is Segregation Like in the Chicago Metropolitan Area?

In Table 1, we show a rank order of the black-white dissimilarity scores for all places within the Chicago metropolitan area that meet the criteria outlined above. As a rule of thumb for interpreting the dissimilarity scores, researchers typically classify places with scores below 40 as “low,” between 40-60 as “moderate,” and 60 or above as “high.” The table has been color-coded as tan, blue and pink, respectively, to reflect these three levels of segregation.

There are quite a range of segregation levels in metropolitan Chicago, from a low of 29 in Hillside to a high of 92 in Dixmoor. The city of Chicago itself is among the most seg-

⁴ All index of dissimilarity calculations reported in this chapter were graciously provided to the author by Professor Domenico Parisi, Mississippi State University.

regated of the Chicago metropolitan area places, with a score of 88. Eighty-two percent of communities are either highly (34 percent) or moderately (48 percent) segregated; with 18 percent falling into the “low” category. Figure 1 shows the distribution of communities across these three categories.

The levels of segregation for whites and Latinos in the Chicago metropolitan area are quite different from the overall patterns reported for segregation between blacks and whites. Table 2 shows that Latino-white segregation levels range from 28 in Lyons, Berwyn and Elmwood Park to 80 in Hodgkins. Although the range is somewhat similar to that observed for blacks and whites, the distribution of places across the three categories of low, moderate and high are strikingly different. Figure 1 illustrates this quite clearly. For example, there are twice as many communities where black-white segregation falls into the “high” category (34 percent) as compared to communities where Latino-white segregation is classified as “high” (17 percent). At the other extreme, about two in 10 communities had black-white segregation levels that were considered “low,” while almost four in 10 communities had Latino-white segregation levels that were considered low.

What Is Segregation Like in Metropolitan Areas Outside of Chicagoland?

For metropolitan areas that lie outside the Chicago metropolitan area, the story is not much different from that inside the Chicago metropolitan area. First, the black-white segregation levels shown in Table 3 (pg. 38) reveal that there are far fewer (just 20) communities that meet the criteria for calculating segregation scores.

But in terms of the distribution of communities across the three levels of segregation, they are quite similar to those in the Chicago metropolitan area. As Figure 2 (pg. 38) shows, the vast majority of com-

Table 2
Chicago Metro Places: Latino-White Segregation

Place Name	Dissimilarity Index, 2000	Place Name	Dissimilarity Index, 2000
Lyons	27.6	Hainesville	42.2
Berwyn	27.6	Round Lake Beach	42.3
Elmwood Park	27.7	Highwood	42.8
Romeoville	28.7	Bensenville	44.0
Stone Park	28.8	Burnham	45.2
Round Lake Heights	29.5	Melrose Park	45.7
Schiller Park	29.8	Hanover Park	45.8
Boulder Hill	30.6	Wood Dale	46.1
Ingalls Park	30.8	Carol Stream	47.2
Berkeley	31.1	Woodstock	47.4
Cicero	31.6	Harvard	48.1
Sauk Village	32.0	Marengo	49.3
River Grove	32.6	North Aurora	49.6
Park City	33.0	Waukegan	50.4
Bridgeview	33.0	Des Plaines	50.7
Burbank	33.4	Addison	50.8
Glendale Heights	33.5	Genoa	51.0
Dixmoor	33.6	Fairmont	51.1
Posen	34.5	Warrenville	52.3
Beach Park	34.8	Wheeling	52.3
Summit	35.9	Hoffman Estates	53.7
South Elgin	36.0	Elgin	53.9
Forest View	36.1	Wauconda	53.9
Hillside	36.3	Long Lake	55.8
Blue Island	36.4	North Chicago	58.4
Streamwood	36.8		
Bolingbrook	36.9	Villa Park	61.0
Rockdale	37.8	West Chicago	61.3
Round Lake	38.1	Mundelein	61.5
Northlake	39.7	Joliet	62.0
		Aurora	63.0
Franklin Park	40.0	Chicago Heights	63.3
South Chicago Heights	40.2	Chicago	63.5
Plano	40.9	Rolling Meadows	65.1
Round Lake Park	41.4	Prospect Heights	66.0
Stickney	41.6	Palatine	67.8
Montgomery	41.7	Mount Prospect	68.8
Carpentersville	41.9	Rosemont	72.9
Zion	42.0	Hodgkins	80.4
Calumet City	42.1		

Low Segregation Medium Segregation High Segregation

Source: Figures derived from calculations based on the 2000 census and provided by Professor Domenico Parisi, Mississippi State University.

munities (90 percent) have black-white levels of segregation that are either “high” (40 percent) or “moderate” (50 percent). And, as was the case in metropolitan Chicago, as Table 4 (pg. 38) shows, the 10 places where white-Latino segregation levels could be calculated have generally lower levels of segregation – just two of the 10 fall into the “highly” segregated level, with one (Momence) just barely making it into this category with a segregation score of 60.



Table 3
Metro Places Outside Chicago Metro Area: Black-White Segregation

Place Name	Dissimilarity Index, 2000
Cahokia	33.2
Fairview Heights	37.9
O'Fallon	41.6
Rantoul	43.0
Shiloh	51.6
Belleville	52.8
Madison	57.7
Urbana	58.0
Champaign	58.2
Lebanon	58.9
Peoria	59.8
Danville	59.9
Decatur	61.2
Springfield	64.2
Rockford	66.1
Rock Island	66.2
Kankakee	66.5
Alton	67.0
Pontoon Beach	72.2
Centralia	74.0

Low Segregation
 Medium Segregation
 High Segregation

Source: Figures derived from calculations based on the 2000 census and provided by Professor Domenico Parisi, Mississippi State University.

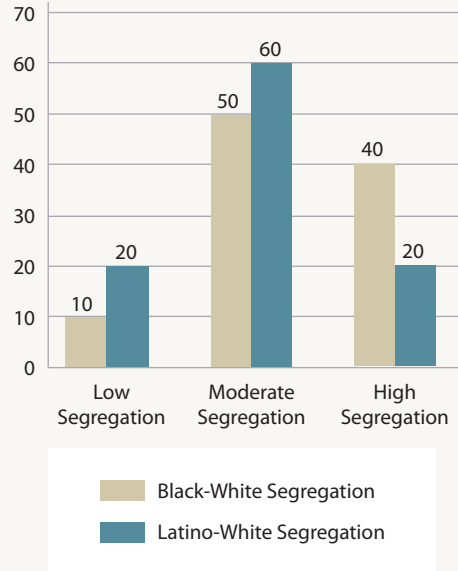
Table 4
Metro places outside Chicago Metro Area: Latino-White Segregation

Place Name	Dissimilarity Index, 2000
Fairmont City	33.0
Silvis	39.8
East Moline	47.9
St. Anne	48.0
Belvidere	48.3
Capron	52.5
Moline	54.2
Rockford	57.0
Momence	60.4
Rankin	81.4

Low Segregation
 Medium Segregation
 High Segregation

Source: Figures derived from calculations based on the 2000 census and provided by Professor Domenico Parisi, Mississippi State University.

Figure 2
Non-Chicago Metropolitan Communities: Percent Distribution of Low, Moderate and High Segregation Levels



Source: Figures derived from calculations based on the 2000 census and provided by Professor Domenico Parisi, Mississippi State University.

Figure 2 shows further evidence that black-white segregation levels are high, relative to Latino-white segregation levels.

What is Segregation Like In Non-Metropolitan Areas?

There has been very little analysis of rural and small-town America’s residential segregation patterns. In a 2007 study of national levels of segregation in non-metropolitan areas, demographer Daniel Lichter and his colleagues⁵ concluded that, despite very different histories, the patterns of segregation in small-town America were surprisingly similar to those in metropolitan areas. The results for Illinois lead to a similar conclusion. Table 5 shows the 12 non-metropolitan places in the state where there were sufficient African Americans for black-white segregation scores to be meaningfully calculated. Well over half

⁵ Daniel T. Lichter et al. “National Estimates of Racial Segregation in Rural and Small-Town America,” *Demography* 44(3) (2007): 563-581.

**Table 5
Nonmetropolitan Places: Black-White Segregation**

Place Name	Dissimilarity Index, 2000
Baldwin	34.9
Mounds	49.7
Ullin	52.7
Carbondale	53.9
Tamms	56.4
Sparta	60.9
Cairo	61.0
Carrier Mills	61.8
Freeport	62.3
Mount Vernon	65.7
Mound City	70.0
Clayton	88.6

Low Segregation
 Medium Segregation
 High Segregation

Source: Figures derived from calculations based on the 2000 census and provided by Professor Domenico Parisi, Mississippi State University.

**Table 6
Nonmetropolitan Places: Latino-White Segregation**

Place Name	Dissimilarity Index, 2000
Hillcrest	31.1
De Pue	38.4
Cobden	38.5
Rock Falls	41.2
Onarga	44.6
Sterling	44.7
Mendota	49.4
Rochelle	49.7
Arcola	54.6
Beardstown	59.4

Low Segregation
 Medium Segregation
 High Segregation

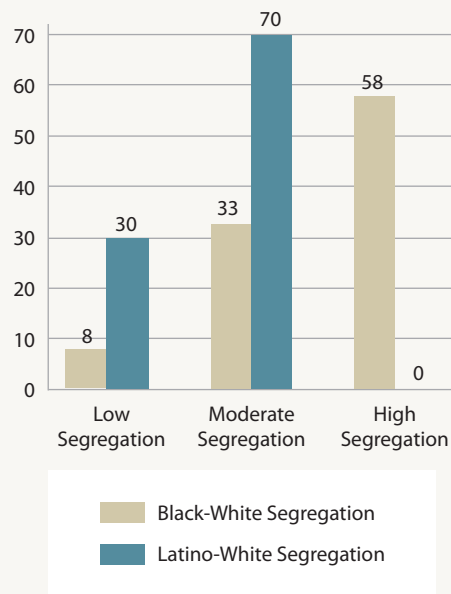
Source: Figures derived from calculations based on the 2000 census and provided by Professor Domenico Parisi, Mississippi State University.

There has been very little analysis of rural and small-town America's residential segregation patterns.

of these communities score “high” in their segregation levels; and just one – Baldwin – scores in the “low” category. And the pattern that Lichter calls “black exceptionalism” pertains to non-metropolitan segregation scores as well: of the 10 non-metropolitan places for which we could calculate Latino-white segregation scores, shown in Table 6, there are none that are “highly” segregated, seven that are “moderately” segregated, and three that fall in the “low” segregation category. Figure 3 shows this pattern quite clearly.

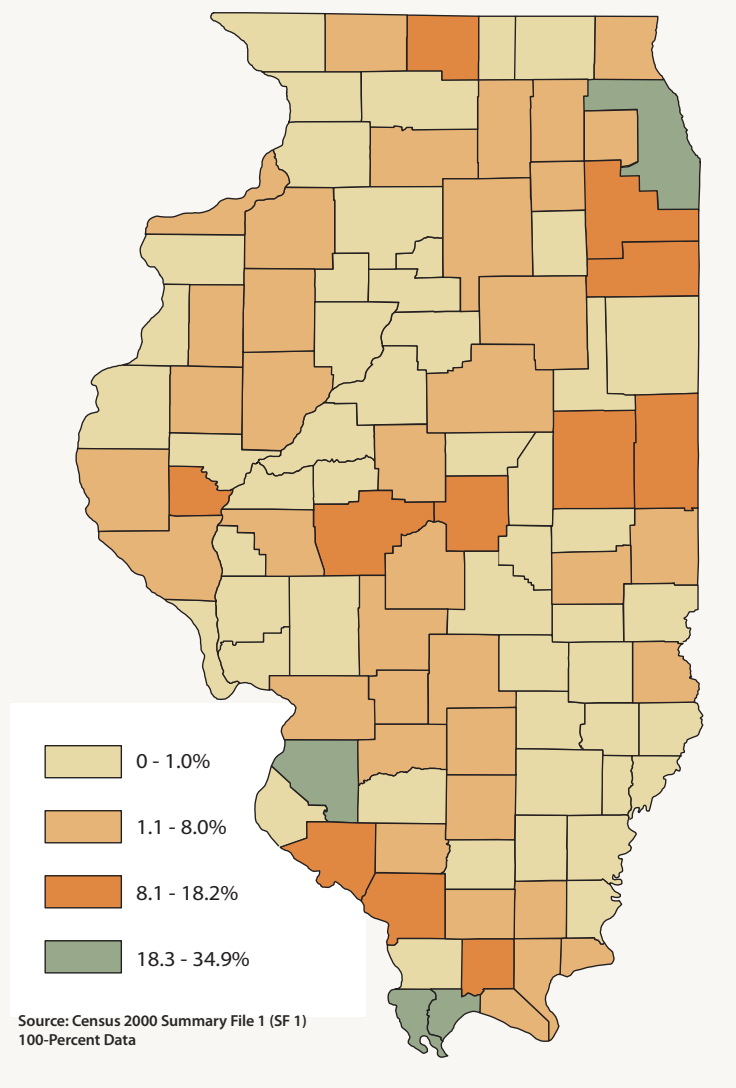
In summary, across the state we find that in all three types of places – Chicago metropolitan, non-Chicago metropolitan, and non-metropolitan areas – the vast majority of communities are segregated at moderate to high levels. This is particularly the case for black-white segregation; roughly twice as many communities, across all three types, have “low” levels of Latino-white segregation as compared to black-white segregation. Segregation is not just a problem in the state’s largest metropolitan region of Chicago.

**Figure 3
Non-Metropolitan Communities:
Percent Distribution of Low, Moderate and High Segregation Levels**



Source: Figures derived from calculations based on the 2000 census and provided by Professor Domenico Parisi, Mississippi State University.

Figure 4
**Percent of Persons Who Are Black/African American Alone
 in Illinois by County**



tion of Figures 4 and 5, which provide the percentage black and percentage Latino by county, reveals that African Americans and Latinos are not evenly distributed throughout the state of Illinois. Indeed, there are large swaths of the state where blacks and Latinos simply do not reside.

Looked at another way, we can calculate the percentage of Illinois residents who live in places with more than 500 residents and are either 10 percent or more African American or 10 percent or more Latino and are at least 10 percent white (the set of places for which we present dissimilarity scores in Tables 1 through 6). Approximately 40 percent of Illinoisans who live in census-defined places live in communities that do not meet these criteria. In other words, they live in places with very little racial/ethnic diversity. To a great extent, these are white Illinois residents living in overwhelmingly white communities.

The absence of African Americans from many places throughout Illinois is the topic of a recent major study by sociologist James Loewen (2005).⁶ He argues that the reason there are few, if any, African Americans in any particular community is often not due to “natural” causes of demography, migration, or market forces. Rather, in many cases, the absence of African Americans in a community is the result of formal and informal policies, particularly during the nadir of race relations: 1890-1940. These practices and policies drove out existing black residents and/or kept others from moving into the town. Sundown Towns, as Loewen defines them, are “any organized jurisdiction that for decades kept out African Americans (or others)”⁷ and are so-named for the policy of such communities: “No coloreds after dark.” In his meticulous research, Loewen used historical census data to identify suspected Sundown Towns, based on the presence and then absence of African Americans among their residents, and then conducted additional research through oral history,

⁶ This chapter does not discuss exclusionary policies applied to Latinos because Loewen’s analysis focuses on the more common kind of Sundown Town in the State of Illinois – those targeted specifically at African Americans.

⁷ James W. Loewen. *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005): 213-214.

Equally striking, though, is that there are few non-metropolitan places that are at least 10 percent African American or 10 percent Latino. This highlights an important observation about housing patterns in Illinois: there are many communities (metropolitan and non-metropolitan alike) that have so few African American and Latino residents that it makes little sense to calculate levels of segregation within them.

What About Places That Are Not Diverse?

Overall, according to the 2000 census, the state of Illinois is about 15 percent African American and 12 percent Latino. Inspec-

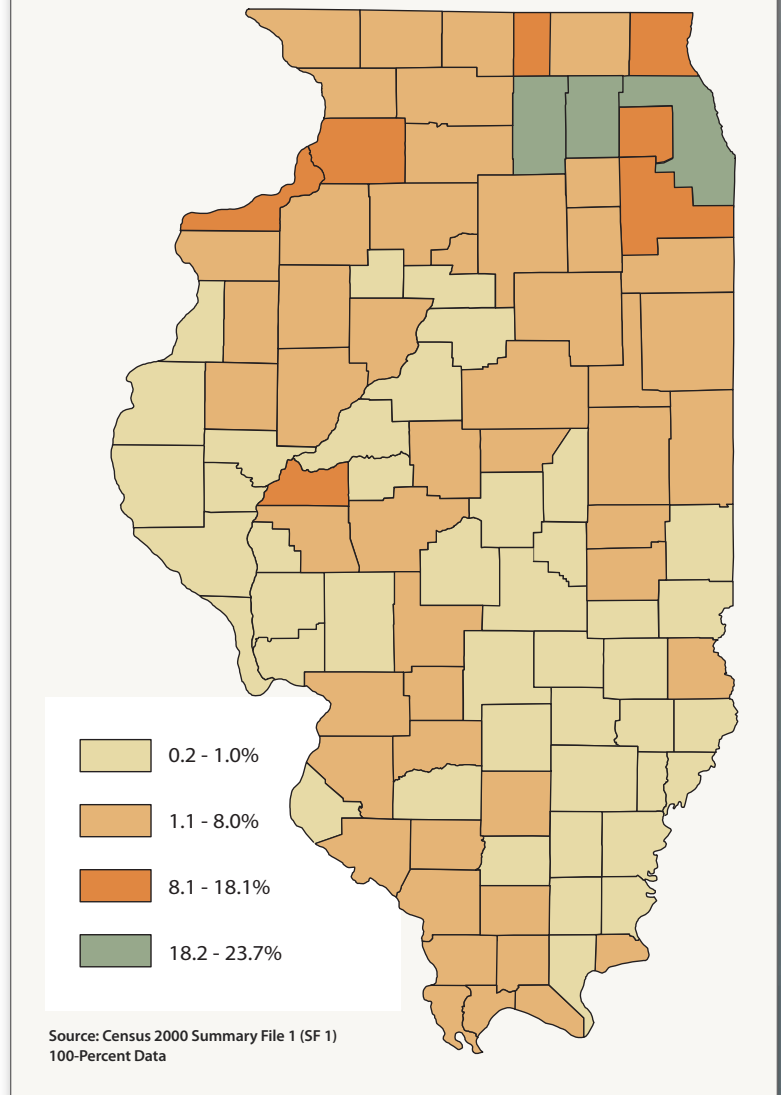
newspapers of the past and present, local histories, and other sources. This was done to determine if towns with an all-white past were all-white on purpose. Loewen estimates that roughly 75 percent of Illinois towns were “Sundown” at some point in their history.

Based on census-data research, Loewen identified about 500 communities in Illinois as probable Sundown Towns. To date, he has done more detailed research into 219 of these 500 and concluded that 218 could be confirmed as Sundown Towns. Sundown Towns, he finds, used a variety of tactics to secure their status as a white-only community. Perhaps the most visible of these tactics was violence.

The 1908 riot in Springfield is one such example. Ultimately this riot was unsuccessful at expelling its black population, likely owing to at least three factors: the large black population; Springfield’s status as the state capital; and that it was Abraham Lincoln’s hometown. But the riot nevertheless had an effect on other communities in Illinois. As Loewen explains,

“The Springfield riot stands as a prototype for the many smaller riots that left communities all-white between 1890 and 1940, most of which have never been written about by any historian. Indeed, the Springfield riot itself spawned a host of imitators: whites shouted “Give ‘em Springfield!” during attacks on African Americans...the Illinois State Register reported, ‘At Auburn, Thayer, Virden, Girard, Pawnee, Spaulding, Buffalo, Riverton, Pana, Edinburg, Taylorville, Pleasant Plains and a score of other places in central Illinois a Negro is an unwelcome visitor and is soon informed he must not remain in the town.’ Buffalo, a little town twelve miles east of Springfield, became all-white on August 17, 1908, two days after the National Guard ended the Springfield riot. Not to be outdone by Springfield,

Figure 5
Percent of Persons Who Are Latino (of Any Race): 2000



whites in Buffalo posted the following ultimatum at the train station: ‘All N - - - - - are warned out of town by Monday, 12m, sharp. Buffalo Sharp Shooters.’”⁸

Springfield itself remained highly segregated as of 2000. With an index of dissimilarity score of 64, it ranked seventh highest among non-Chicago area metropolitan communities.

Some Sundown Towns that used violence to remain all-white have overcome their past. To take one example, Oak Park was a Sundown Suburb in 1950, as is clear from the response to the arrival of the renowned

⁸ James W. Loewen. *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005): 94-95.



⁹ James W. Loewen. *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005): 128.

¹⁰ James W. Loewen. *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005): 410.

¹¹ James W. Loewen. Personal communication with the author, 2008.

chemist Percy Julian and his wife, Anna Roselle Johnson, the first African American woman to earn a PhD in sociology. The water commissioner refused to turn on the water in their newly purchased 15-room house, they received threatening phone calls, and there was an attempt to burn their house down.⁹ Today, Oak Park is a stably integrated community with a reputation for its commitment to diversity and a range of housing-related programs instituted to ensure its openness. In 2000, it was 22 percent African American and its index of dissimilarity reveals that it is “moderately” segregated; as of the 2000 census, it ranked 33rd out of the 44 Chicago metropolitan communities included in Table 1.

Violence was not the only strategy for creating and then maintaining Sundown Towns. It is perhaps just the most visible – but no more or less successful than a myriad of other tactics that communities undertook to keep their towns white. Communities threatened violence on an entire group by lynching one of its members, thus encouraging the departure of the group. Local ordinances were passed prohibiting African Americans from being in town after sundown and whistles blew from places like the town’s water tower each day at 6 p.m. to warn blacks out of town. Police chiefs escorted the wayward black traveler or would-be resident out of town. Citizens used “freeze out” tactics, such as refusing service to blacks in public settings, not allowing their children to play with black children, and not hiring blacks as employees. African Americans who were living in Sundown Towns would be bought out, or individuals wishing to develop new suburbs would buy out black property owners in rural areas where they were locating their new – all white by design – communities. Suburbs in particular used restrictive deed covenants prohibiting the sale of property to blacks and established private associations to permit exclusion of certain group members.

Loewen’s detailed analysis gives countless examples of these tactics used throughout Sundown Towns in Illinois and the rest of the nation.

While explicit Sundown Town policies have faded into the past, informal policies and persistent reputations of communities as unwelcoming of African Americans mean that the consequences of these earlier policies and practices continue. Although it is difficult to know for sure, Loewen estimates that about one-half of confirmed Sundown Towns are no longer so, based on census data analysis and other research indicating that the communities have shed their past status.¹⁰ This means, of course, that about one-half of them still are.

A Side Note

We take a brief detour at this point to identify a particularly troubling kind of residential segregation; a situation where the black population in a community is literally confined. Loewen has identified a number of communities in Illinois that have Sundown Town pasts (and perhaps presents) that now house state correctional institutions.¹¹ There are many instances where the census reports a sizeable black population in a particular community, but closer inspection reveals that only a small number of householders are black. Instead, the vast majority of the black population enumerated in the census is actually housed in a prison. For example, the town of Ina, according to the 2000 census, had 1,027 black residents; but all except two were living in the Big Muddy River Correctional Facility. According to Loewen, there are nine federal or state correctional facilities in confirmed Sundown Towns and Counties in Illinois, and another four in suspected Sundown Towns. As Loewen argues, the kind of black-white contact created in such settings is hardly conducive to building trust between blacks and whites, and the geographic and sociological dis-

tance between home and the prison makes it hard for prisoners to maintain ties with their families and makes it harder for families to visit. Loewen describes the thoughts of a resident of a Sundown Town that got a prison in 1970, as an illustration of how such a situation fosters stereotypes and negative racial attitudes: “Since that time, you get constant remarks about black people and how bad they are. Of course, [prisoners] are the only black people they know.”

Contemporary Causes of Racial Residential Segregation

The very existence of Sundown Towns, as Loewen notes, is a feature of Illinois and American history that is “hidden in plain sight.” Citizens and researchers often fail to recognize how and why all-white communities have come to pass. If they notice them at all, they are often viewed as a “natural” outcome of market forces and personal choices about where different racial groups “prefer” to live. Loewen’s analysis is a reminder of how this history of creating all-white communities sets the stage for patterns of segregation across the state of Illinois. It is against this historical backdrop that we turn now to the question of how and why racial residential segregation persists into the contemporary era – 40 years after the 1968 Fair Housing Act declared discrimination on the basis of race in the sale and rental of housing to be illegal.

Much of the scholarly research on segregation until recently has focused on metropolitan areas – places where blacks and Latinos are not excluded from so much as they are segregated within. The historical role of local, state and federal governments in creating segregation within any particular community or region is undeniable – from restrictive zoning ordinances to the federal government’s policies on public housing, transportation, and redlining in home loan programs¹² – public policies ex-

acerbated the private actions of white residents, neighborhood associations, and the real estate industry who engaged in tactics ranging from intimidation to protests to restrictive covenants.¹³

Set against this historical backdrop, there are generally three explanations offered for the persistence of racial residential segregation: discrimination, economics, and preferences. The first is that despite being made illegal in 1968, racial discrimination in housing continues to exist, and has the effect of barring racial minorities from accessing some neighborhoods. The best evidence available indicates that discrimination in the housing market persists, although often in more subtle and complex ways than in the past. In the current era, it may often be the case that victims are not even aware that they have been discriminated against. It is less that the door is slammed in the face of minority homeseekers and more that phone calls are not returned, fewer options are offered, less help is given, less enthusiastic follow-up is provided, more hurdles are placed in their path, they are given fewer options, and they are steered to communities where their own group dominates.¹⁴ In the most recent nationwide audit-study¹⁵ of housing discrimination, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development found that African Americans and Latinos face significant discrimination in housing,



The best evidence available indicates that discrimination in the housing market persists, although often in more subtle and complex ways than in the past.

¹² James H. Carr and Nandinee K. Kutty, eds. *Segregation: The Rising Costs for America* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

¹³ Stephen Grant Meyer. *As Long as They Don't Move Next Door: Segregation and Racial Conflict in American Neighborhoods* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000).

¹⁴ Margery Turner and Stephen L. Ross. “How Racial Discrimination Affects the Search for Housing,” in Xavier de Souza Briggs, ed., *The Geography of Opportunity: Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2005).

¹⁵ An audit study is conducted by matching two homeseekers on a range of characteristics, with the only difference being their race/ethnicity. Each of the homeseekers approaches a real estate agent/landlord, expressing an interest in renting/purchasing a home. Detailed records are taken on how the auditors are treated by the real estate professionals. In cases where the white auditor is treated more favorably than the black and/or Latino auditor, discrimination on the basis of race/ethnicity is in evidence.

¹⁶ Kathleen C. Engel and Patricia McCoy. "From Credit Denial to Predatory Lending: The Challenge of Sustaining Minority Homeownership," in James H. Carr and Nandinee K. Kutty, eds., *Segregation: The Rising Costs for America* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Gregory D. Squires and Charis E. Kubrin. *Privileged Places: Race, Residence, and the Structure of Opportunity* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reimer Publishers, 2006).

¹⁷ Tyrone Forman and Maria Krysan. "Racial Segregation in Metropolitan Chicago Housing," *Policy Forum* 20(3), (Institute of Government and Public Affairs, 2008).

¹⁸ Ingrid Gould Ellen. *Sharing America's Neighborhoods: The Prospects for Stable Racial Integration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); Camille Zubrinsky Charles. *Won't You Be My Neighbor? Race, Class, and Residence in Los Angeles* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006); and Reynolds Farley et al. "Stereotypes and Segregation: Neighborhoods in the Detroit Area." *American Journal of Sociology* 100(3) (1994): 750-780.

¹⁹ Ingrid Gould Ellen. *Sharing America's Neighborhoods: The Prospects for Stable Racial Integration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

²⁰ James W. Loewen. Personal communication with the author, 2008.

although levels had declined somewhat since 1989. But they also reported that racial steering – the act of showing minority clients neighborhoods where their group predominates, while showing white clients only predominately white neighborhoods – had increased. Studies of the mortgage industry also suggest that minorities are more likely to be denied a home loan and also more likely to be offered only sub-prime loan products, to be the victims of predatory lending practices, and to face more difficulties and more expense in securing property insurance.¹⁶

A second explanation for the persistence of racial residential segregation is that people prefer it that way; put simply, if blacks, whites and Latinos live in different areas, it is because they want it that way. Studies generally show that whites and African Americans hold incompatible preferences about the racial composition of the neighborhoods they would like to live in. Whites want relatively few African Americans in their neighborhood while African Americans prefer a more even mix of whites and blacks. But it is problematic to construe these kinds of preferences as reflections of "personal choices" that are benign and neutral. Indeed, much research demonstrates that preferences are not "neutral" and "unproblematic" but rather constrained and complicated. For example, one study shows that to describe African American racial residential preferences as for "50-50" or majority-minority neighborhoods and to then conclude, as some have, that segregation is caused by minority preferences, is problematic. Indeed, if we look more in-depth at African American preferences using different methods, we find that they are far from "segregation promoting." In a recent study in the Chicago metropolitan area,¹⁷ we find that 81 percent of African Americans who have searched for housing in the last 10 years had among their search locations at least one community where blacks were in the minority. This is compared to just 25 per-

cent of whites who searched in a community where whites were in the minority. And, by asking *why* African Americans hold the preferences they do, we discover that it is less because of a "neutral" in-group preference and more because of a desire to avoid discrimination in largely white communities. Furthermore, white preferences for white communities are not shaped by neutral forces but instead by racial stereotypes about blacks and neighborhoods that have black residents in them.¹⁸

The third explanation for segregation is arguably the one that most citizens prescribe to: money talks and so the reason blacks, whites and Latinos live in different neighborhoods is because people live where they can afford to live. Owing to the economic segregation of many American cities, it is "natural" that we have racial residential segregation so long as we continue to have racial economic inequality. But despite the intuitive appeal of this argument, as Ingrid Ellen concludes, "virtually every study that has examined the role of income differences in driving segregation has found that income differences between blacks and whites account for only a modest share of segregation patterns."¹⁹

Apart from these three main explanations for segregation, we also include in this discussion some attempt to understand why Sundown Towns continue to be all white – even in those cases where the policies, practices and tactics are a thing of the past. Loewen suggests that the persistence of racial exclusion in these communities comes from the "upstream" and the "downstream."²⁰ From the upstream, while there may be willingness on the part of a community to rent or sell to African Americans,

"... precisely owing to that racial past, few African Americans may seek housing in the community. The town or county has built a reputation as an entity, based on policies and incidents

stretching back for decades. It is not easy for acts by individuals to undo this corporate character. Indeed, the town's actions as an entity, along with the reputations that have built up, may preclude the possibility of nondiscriminatory acts by individual would-be sellers or renters."

In other words, communities have reputations, and the degree to which the reputation – and possibly the reality – of a community is unwelcoming to certain groups of people raises a barrier to members of that group even attempting to search for housing. Related to this, communities may simply be unknown among certain racial/ethnic groups. If the knowledge residents of different backgrounds have about a community is shaped by the composition of that community, then these patterns of knowledge – or the lack of knowledge – may constitute an important barrier to integrated living. It is difficult to move into a neighborhood if you don't know anything about it.

In a survey of Chicago residents, we found that whites, blacks and Latinos all tend to know more about communities in which their co-ethnics live.²¹ But African Americans and Latinos, relative to whites, know about a broader range of communities – racially mixed and racially segregated alike. For African Americans and Latinos, the few "blind spots" are communities that are both predominately white and geographically distant from the city, thus creating a barrier to the possible integration of communities like this. But there are plenty of predominately white communities about which African Americans do not have a blind spot relative to whites; as such, there are clearly other barriers, perhaps discrimination or perhaps "negative" knowledge about how African Americans are treated in these communities. For their part, whites are far less likely than Latinos or African Americans to know about heavily African American communities. And

what is troubling for the encouragement of integration is that whites' blind spots also include communities that are racially mixed (either with Latinos or African Americans) – even those where whites are in the majority.

From the "downstream," once a minority person decides to make a home in a former Sundown Town, there may be acts of harassment and unwelcoming behavior that make life difficult; and again, owing to its past, there may be unstated policies that black newcomers should be challenged by authorities because they "don't belong."²² This kind of harassment may result in the first black pioneers not staying in the community. Thus discrimination and preferences are inextricably linked: blacks' reluctance to enter communities or neighborhoods that have a reputation for hostility toward blacks can hardly be constructed as a free choice. And it is the choices of whites to continue to move into all-white communities that must be equally understood as problematic. The most recent research shows that it is less the case that whites move out of neighborhoods that become diverse, which was more common in the heyday of "white flight," but it is the case that when they choose where to move, they choose to move into whiter neighborhoods.²³ Given the regularly high levels of mobility, these individual choices, in the aggregate, mean that whites do little to overcome the persistence of overwhelmingly white communities.

Finally, as noted previously, there has been little research that examines the causes of segregation in rural and small-town America. In the most detailed analysis on this topic, Daniel Lichter and his colleagues conclude that there are substantial parallels between patterns in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas:

"Racial residential segregation in rural places increases with growing minority percentage shares and is typically lower in "newer" places (as measured by



²¹ Maria Krysan. "Racial Blind Spots: A Barrier to Integrated Communities in Chicago." *Critical Issues Paper*, (Institute of Government and Public Affairs, 2008).

²² James W. Loewen. Personal communication with the author, 2008.

²³ Ingrid Gould Ellen. "Continuing Isolation: Segregation in America Today" in James H. Carr and Nandinee K. Kutty, eds., *Segregation: The Rising Costs for America* (New York: Routledge, 2008).



Segregation also takes its toll on the political, economic, and social vitality of entire regions.

growth in the housing stock), while racially selective annexation and the implied “racial threat” at the periphery exacerbate racial segregation in rural places.”²⁴

We focus our discussion on the causes and consequences of segregation more heavily on African Americans than Latinos because there is substantially less research that examines Latino-white segregation. A few patterns are noteworthy. First, although there is some evidence that Latino-white segregation may be increasing, it is still the case that Latino-white segregation is far lower than black-white segregation. Second, while racial/ethnic differences in economic background explain only a small fraction of black-white segregation patterns, the same is not true for Latino-white segregation. As Latinos climb the economic ladder they become more residentially integrated with whites, to a much greater degree than is true of blacks. It is also the case that the longer Latinos have been in the United States, the less segregated they are.²⁵ From the standpoint of preferences, it is generally reported that white attitudes toward living with African Americans are more negative than toward living with Latinos. In other words, black “exceptionalism” holds for preferences for racial inte-

gration; from the standpoint of whites, blacks are the least desirable neighbors followed by Latinos and then Asians.²⁶

Consequences of Segregation

Racial residential segregation has been described as the “structural lynchpin” of racial inequality in America. Because so much of what happens to a person is driven by where they live – things like where they go to school, what services they receive, and their access to transportation, medical services and employment opportunities – racial residential segregation is implicated in persistent racial inequalities. Numerous studies have documented the deleterious consequences of residential segregation for outcomes among blacks including infant and adult mortality, educational attainment, employment, death rates from homicide, rates of single motherhood, and the accumulation of equity in homes. Others have pointed out the effects of segregation on the quality of schools, employment opportunities, health and personal networks, and access to social resources.²⁷

Recently, attention has been paid not only to how economics influence where people live, but also how where people live shapes their economic outcome. Researchers Melvin Oliver and Thomas Shapiro make the point that while income inequality between blacks and whites may have reduced somewhat, there are tremendous disparities in black-white wealth: for every \$1 in wealth held by a black household, white households have \$12.²⁸ Because homeownership is the most common form of wealth accumulation in the United States, the discrimination faced by blacks in terms of access to homeownership and the consequences of segregation on the value of properties that blacks do own, there have been deep inequities in the accumulation of wealth between whites and blacks. Wealth, in turn, affects a range of outcomes for minorities, for example, a family’s ability to fund their children’s college education.²⁹

²⁴ Daniel T. Lichter et al. “National Estimates of Racial Segregation in Rural and Small-Town America.” *Demography* 44(3) (2007): 563.

²⁵ Richard Alba, John R. Logan, and Brian Stults. “The Changing Neighborhood Context of the Immigrant Metropolis,” *Social Forces* 79 (2000): 587-621.

²⁶ Camille Zubrinsky Charles. *Won't You Be My Neighbor? Race, Class, and Residence in Los Angeles* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation (2006).

²⁷ For examples of many of these, see the recent edited volume, *Segregation: The Rising Costs for America* (Carr and Kutty, 2008).

²⁸ Melvin L. Oliver and Thomas M. Shapiro. *Black Wealth/White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

²⁹ James H. Carr and Nandinee K. Kutty, eds. *Segregation: The Rising Costs for America* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Melvin L. Oliver and Thomas M. Shapiro. *Black Wealth/White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

From the standpoint of race relations, segregated neighborhoods do little to help break down racial tensions and negative attitudes.³⁰ Social scientists have shown that contact between groups is an important way to reduce negative inter-group attitudes. But this contact must feature (1) equal group status; (2) common goals; (3) inter-group cooperation; (4) authority support; and (5) friendship potential.³¹ Living side-by-side and working to solve neighborhood problems and build community is one context in which these conditions could be met. And failure to do so means that there are few opportunities for people of all races and ethnicities to interact in a way that breaks down negative stereotypes.³² By living in segregated neighborhoods and Sundown Towns, we are missing an opportunity to cultivate more positive race/ethnic relations. Segregation also takes its toll on the political, economic, and social vitality of entire regions.³³

Dismantling Patterns of Segregation and Exclusion

There is no panacea for reducing the levels of segregation and exclusion that exist throughout communities in Illinois. The causes of segregation, as outlined above, are complex and inter-related, making it difficult to point a finger at one cause and imagine solving the problem with a single remedy. Based on the discussion above, however, several areas are worthy of attention.

Despite the passage of the Fair Housing Act of 1968, there remains substantial evidence of persistent housing discrimination. As Carr and Kutty observe, "HUD's enforcement powers have for various reasons largely remained underutilized. In 2003, HUD brought only four racial discrimination cases, although it had received more than 2,700 complaints that year." Support for testing and prosecuting cases of discrimination in the buying and renting of housing and in the securing of mortgages



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and property insurance are necessary tools for addressing inequities in the housing system.

Altering preferences that work against integration is a far more complicated policy goal. In the abstract, individuals of all races generally profess an interest in more inte-



³⁰ Camille Zubrinsky Charles. *Won't You Be My Neighbor? Race, Class, and Residence in Los Angeles* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation (2006).

³¹ Gordon W. Allport. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1954); Thomas F. Pettigrew. "Intergroup Contact Theory," *Annual Review of Psychology* 49 (1998): 65-85.

³² James W. Loewen. *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005).

³³ Gregory D. Squires. "Prospects and Pitfalls of Fair Housing Enforcement Efforts" in James H. Carr and Nandinee K. Kutty, eds., *Segregation: The Rising Costs for America* (New York: Routledge, 2008).



grated neighborhoods than those where they actually live. The challenge is to create situations where those abstract preferences can be translated into behavior. The affirmative marketing component of fair housing legislation is consistent with this need. Affirmative marketing refers to the active promotion of racially diverse, majority black, and majority Latino neighborhoods to whites and the encouraging of Asians, blacks, and Latinos to consider moving into majority-white neighborhoods. Programs that seek to overcome the informational biases that lead people to avoid certain neighborhoods, or to have little knowledge of them, should be supported. Policies that provide resources to community-based organizations that work with real estate agents, landlords and civic leaders to mar-

ket their communities in a way that makes them attractive and accessible to people of all races and ethnicities would speak to this issue.

For Sundown Towns in particular, Loewen identifies three things a community can do: “(a) Admit it (‘We did this’); (b) Apologize for it (‘We did this, and it was wrong’) and (c) Proclaim they now welcome residents of all races (‘We did this, it was wrong, and we don’t do it anymore’).” But he also argues that there are state and federal responses that can be taken to penalize Sundown Towns – in the form of denying federal and state tax dollars for programs and projects until they take action to make up for their past practices.