Beyond Body Mixing: Race, Space, and the Meaning of School Integration in a Chicago Suburb

Megan Rigsby Klein

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

BEYOND BODY MIXING:
RACE, SPACE, AND THE MEANING OF
SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN A
CHICAGO SUBURB

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PROGRAM IN SOCIOLOGY

BY
MEGAN R. KLEIN
CHICAGO, IL
MAY 2018
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It's hard to believe that I am actually writing the acknowledgements section of my dissertation. To be honest, I have been looking forward to writing this for many years but for many of those years, I remained unconvinced that I would ever get to this point. In large part, it is because of the many people that I am thankful for that I am writing this at all. As many of my respondents told me in their interviews, "it takes a village." They were referring to raising children and fighting for a neighborhood school but I think this saying is wholly appropriate for my PhD experience as well.

To begin, I am thankful for the many faculty at Loyola University Chicago who so generously gave me their time, attention, and compassion. As a somewhat non-traditional student beginning a PhD program with three young children (ages 1, 2, and 6), I feel fortunate to have worked with people who not only tolerated my situation but embraced it. I am thankful for the two years I worked as Dr. Anne Figert's graduate assistant and for the many visits to Dr. Judy Wittner's office for advice. The guidance provided by members of my committed, Dr. Phil Nyden, Dr. Marilyn Krogh, and Dr. Peter Rosenblatt, is something I will never forget. Dr. Rosenblatt allowed me the freedom to begin the pilot study of this project in his Housing Inequality class back in 2012; Dr. Krogh spent countless hours helping me figure out exactly what I wanted to find out with this study; and Dr. Nyden's extensive work in Evanston as a scholar and a parent was invaluable to my thinking and analysis. I am also indebted to Dr. Jessica Horowitz of the Graduate School whose guidance and support during Dissertation Boot Camp was just what I needed to conquer my fear of writing my dissertation.

Thank-you to the Black Metropolis Research Consortium at the University of Chicago and the Illinois State Historical Association for their generous support of my research. These
grants were not only materially supportive but also validated my work which provided a much-needed mental boost while in the throes of my research.

Thank-you to the archivists and librarians at the Evanston History Center, Northwestern University Archives, and the Chicago History Museum for all of your support for my work. I would especially like to thank Dino Robinson at Shorefront Legacy Center. Dino's work in archiving the experiences of African Americans on Chicago's North Shore is impressive and valuable. I hope to work with him for many years to come!

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Thank-you to the members of the Fifth Ward community who shared their time, their stories, and their insights. I could not have written this dissertation without your willingness to trust me and I am forever grateful.

Finally, to my wonderful family, both nuclear and extended, I couldn't have done this without you. The hours of help in many forms (but mostly helping us manage the daunting amounts of daily domestic labor) have not gone unnoticed. Three weeks before my defense, my children pooled their allowances to buy me a "You can do it!" present filled with my favorite candy. This gesture encapsulates their efforts to support me despite the fact that finishing this project has often pulled me away from their activities. Finally, a huge thanks to Alex who has encouraged and supported me in this endeavor from beginning to end. He never lost hope that I could do it, even when I did, and he validated my work at every point in the process. Going back
to graduate school with three kids and a job is not easy but you did everything you could to facilitate it and for that, I am so appreciative. To my dear family, I love you all and am eternally grateful.
For Alex, Aidan, Maya, and Charlotte.
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ABSTRACT

Integration is often characterized as an effective means of fixing the problems associated with segregation. Whether with respect to residential segregation, education, or to public spaces in general, integration is seen as a way to undo the perils of racial segregation. Yet often times, integration takes a certain reified form with a large white majority and non-white minority. How do lived experiences of Black residents in integrated spaces affect their perceptions of integration? Drawing on data collected from archival research, participant observation, and in-depth interviews with long-term African American residents, this dissertation examines the ways in which race, space, and historical moment intersect with one another and shape the meaning of integration in the city of Evanston, Illinois.

Evanston is an ideal case for understanding how the lived experiences of Black residents in statistically diverse cities affect how they make sense of integration because Evanston has had Black and White residents since its inception in the 1800s. In its early history, Evanston was integrated but went through a period of acute and intentional segregation as the Black population began to increase in the early twentieth century. In the 1960s, Evanston was the first northern city to voluntarily integrate its public-school system, leading to integrated public schools across the district despite persistent residential segregation. After nearly fifty years of city-sanctioned integration, however, many long-term Black residents struggle from "integration fatigue" because they are a minority in all institutions after having had their own thriving, albeit segregated, institutions. This integration fatigue, which many interviewees described as the result
of "integration being done on the backs of our children", has led to the push to build a new school in the majority minority district of Evanston called the Fifth Ward. I argue that the lived experiences of Black residents in the city of Evanston shape their views on integration in the 21st century.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

In September 2015, I attended the National Coalition on School Diversity’s annual conference at Howard University in Washington, DC. My motivation for attending this conference was to learn more about the research on integration as well as to connect with others who, like me, were studying it with a critical eye. What I found at the conference, however, was quite the opposite: the overwhelming majority of speakers and attendees saw integration as the solution for what ails our public education system. In the auditorium of this Historically Black University, this conference brought together big names in the field of education whose primary purpose at the conference was to challenge the status quo in (segregated) public schools and argue the pros of integration.

Many of the speakers raised important issues about the problems associated with segregated schools on the one hand while also touting diversity as our nation’s “greatest strength.” One speaker, David Hinojosa, stated unequivocally that “education is not the great equalizer” and proceeded to argue that the country’s changing demographics are something we should be valuing and embracing rather than fearing. Another speaker, Myron Orfield, discussed many of the challenges in achieving integrated schools today. For example, he argued that charter schools, which are exempted from integration mandates, have devastated Civil Rights-era reforms in public education in Minneapolis-St. Paul where he works as a civil rights attorney.

Nikole Hannah-Jones, a journalist known for her coverage of the events in Ferguson, Missouri
discussed what she called the “psychological wages of integration”. As a young Black\(^1\) student, she was bused out of her neighborhood so that she could attend a higher-quality public school that was majority White. She shared that it was difficult to go to a majority White school but she knew even as a young child, that it was a good education. Similar to the assumptions made by the residential segregation literature (Farley et al. 1994; Massey and Denton 1993), this conference positioned integration as the antithesis of segregation. There was also an explicit recognition that segregated schools were largely the result of segregated neighborhoods (Orfield and Eaton 1996). In other words, like the residential segregation literature does for housing and neighborhoods, the conference saw integration as something capable of solving the problems associated with segregation in education. The argument posed by sociologists of residential segregation as well as the majority of participants at this conference was clear: we need more integration. Yet in Evanston, Illinois, a statistically diverse suburb of Chicago where the public schools have been integrated since the fall of 1967, a large group of residents had spent years organizing around the construction of a new school in the city’s so-called historically Black neighborhood, the Fifth Ward (see Figure 1 for a map of Evanston). This school’s attendance or catchment area would center on the majority-minority neighborhood in which it would be located. Students of color (predominately Black and Latino) would no longer be bused from their neighborhood to attend majority White schools in the north section of the city, rendering those schools nearly entirely White. If, as proponents of integration argued, integration has the capacity to solve the problems of segregation, why then would residents of color in a

\(^1\) In order to be consistent in my treatment of racial categories, I have decided to capitalize Black and White as per the APA guidelines.
statistically-diverse suburb choose to build a school which would seemingly undo the work of segregation?

Integration: Recent Scholarship

Over the past fifty years, integration has been the subject of repeated sociological inquiry (see Sin and Krysan 2015 for a review). Studies have analyzed the benefits and consequences of integrated schools (Diamond 2006; Lewis and Diamond 2015), the erosion of integration mandates in public schools by Supreme Court decisions (Orfield and Eaton 1996), the likelihood of and capacity for sustained residential integration (Ellen 1998; Nyden et al. 1998; Maly 2005), and the potential for sustained social interaction in public spaces (Anderson 2012). Since the 1980s, however, a majority of integration studies have focused on quantitative measures of
integration, often using Census data as opposed to focusing on the lived experiences of integration (Sin and Krysan 2015). As Sin and Krysan (2015) point out in their research synthesis, much is to be gained from returning to qualitative analyses of integration.

In their qualitative study of an integrated space, Riverview, Lewis et al. (2015) found that integration, while perhaps a necessary component of any program that advances racial equity, cannot alone solve the problems of persistent racial segregation. This study, like other studies on integration (e.g. Spitz 2015), makes important contributions to our understanding of how social psychological factors affect the kind of interactions that occur in integrated spaces. Both Lewis et al. and Spitz (2015) also move the integration literature beyond its recent focus on quantitative measures of integration by creating a more multi-faceted approach which includes a social dimension.

However, where these studies fall short is in their lack of accounting for the historical treatment of race in statistically diverse cities like Riverwest and Riverview (the pseudonyms used in Spitz and Lewis et al. respectively). At the end of the introduction to her dissertation, Spitz notes, “After all, it’s often not by looking at the past, but by looking forward and creating change that we can break out of the universal or natural seeming patterns of social segregation” (p. 23). I disagree with this statement and argue instead that it is essential for us to have a clear and present understanding of the ways in which people of color and their spaces have been treated historically in diverse cities. Without an appreciation of the historical treatment of race and space in the city, we cannot create policies that work to undo the legacy effect of previous discrimination. My dissertation seeks to contextualize contemporary attitudes toward integration in Evanston by situating them in the history of the city. As Nikole Hannah-Jones said in her talk at the *National Coalition for School Diversity* conference, “We’ve worked very hard to put this
racial system into place and we’ve made very little effort to dismantle it.” Without a deep understanding of the “hard work” behind Evanston’s residential segregation, and without affirmatively accounting for this “hard work” in public policy, we cannot expect integration to achieve its equity mandate.

_Evanston as a Case Study_

When Evanston incorporated as a town in 1863, the 1860 Census counted a total of two Black residents of the city. Nine years later, when Evanston incorporated as a village, there were 43 Black residents (1870 Census). From the late nineteenth century through the first half of the 20th century, increasing numbers of Black migrants made their way to Evanston from the southern United States and as a result, Evanston's Black population, like that of many northern cities, grew dramatically during this Great Migration (see Appendix A for a timeline of Evanston’s history). Initially, the small Black population was dispersed throughout Evanston, but as their numbers grew, Blacks were increasingly restricted to residences in the Fifth Ward, an area that was on the outskirts of the city, swampy and uninhabited with undeveloped infrastructure. Over time, however, residents repurposed the space and made it into a self-sufficient community complete with Black-owned businesses, cultural and political centers and a neighborhood school.

In the early 20th century, public and private actions concentrated and segregated Black residents on the west side of Evanston. For example, there was the forced movement of Black-owned homes from the north end of the city to the Fifth Ward, a zoning ordinance in 1921 that displaced nearly all Black residents living outside of the Fifth Ward, the formation of neighborhood associations aimed at maintaining neighborhood homogeneity, and restrictive racial covenants, among others (see Chapter 3 for more detail). Moreover, lending agencies
would only make loans available to Black families moving into the Fifth Ward, all clear examples of racist policies happening throughout the United States (Yinger 1998; Squires and Kubrin 2005; Jackson 1987; Rothstein 2017).

Throughout the first half of the 20th century, Black Evanstonians were three times more likely to own their own home than Blacks living in Chicago, yet home ownership in Evanston was almost exclusively in the Fifth Ward (Wiese 1999) (see Table 1 for demographic information of the Fifth Ward compared to Evanston)\(^2\). This neighborhood would come to be known as the historically Black neighborhood which, like other segregated neighborhoods and towns across the United States before the Civil Rights legislation of the 1960s, housed Blacks of all socioeconomic statuses (Wilson 1996). Being Black in Evanston meant regular interactions with White residents given the statistical diversity of the city while simultaneously experiencing racial discrimination. Residents living in the Fifth Ward formed their identity as Black Evanstonians through community-building events and processes such as participating in Friday Family Nights sponsored by the segregated community center, playing on segregated sports teams at the Black YMCA, and starting one of the first all-Black Boy Scout Troops in the country (see Chapter 4 for more detail). These efforts, however, were shaped largely by residents' inability to access space outside of their segregated community. As such, the spatial experience of the city was instrumental in the racial formation of African Americans\(^3\) in

\(^2\) This has changed significantly over time. According to the 2015 American Community Survey (ACS), only 18.1% of Black residents of Evanston live in the Fifth Ward. In Chapter 5, I provide a table which demonstrates the change in racial geography across the city as measured by Census tracts.

\(^3\) Throughout this paper, I will use the terms Black and African-American somewhat interchangeably. I do this only after seeking advice from a number of my respondents about their preferences for how I refer to their racial category. In addition, I take my cues from my respondents who used the terms interchangeably when discussing race.
Evanston, which itself was an experience shaped by structural and systemic racism (Omi and Winant 2015; Bonilla-Silva 1997; Feagin 2006).

A common theme that came out of most interviews was that of being able to walk to “everything.” Jack Thomas, a Black man in his late sixties, had this to say:

When I was growing up, I was born in a Black hospital, I went to a Black school, I went to a Black YMCA, went to Black restaurants and a Black doctor in a Black doctor’s office in Evanston. In the Fifth Ward. Black hospital, in the Fifth Ward. I went to restaurants in the Fifth Ward. Black-owned restaurants, delicatessens, there was a pharmacy, Doc Morris’ pharmacy in the Fifth Ward. There were butchers and bakers and candlestick makers, Black, doing stuff in the Fifth Ward.

Other respondents included similar stories about Black industry in the neighborhood. The fact that Black residences were concentrated in the Fifth Ward coupled with the discrimination faced by Blacks outside of the neighborhood created a market for Black-owned businesses to thrive (Drake and Cayton 1993; Brimmer 1968; Aldrich et al. 1985; Ingham 2003; Boyd 2010).

Brimmer (1968), for example, writes:

Behind the wall of segregation, which cut Negroes off from many public services—the hotels, the restaurants, the transportation services, where they sat in the back of the bus or in separate coaches of the train—there grew up a whole new area of opportunity…Behind this wall of protection emerged the Negro physician, the Negro lawyer, and above all, the Negro businessman.

In fact, W.E.B. DuBois noted in 1899 that it was segregation “that gives the Negro businessman his best chance.” Blacks in cities across the United States were relegated to marginalized spaces, often away from industry; these conditions led to the emergence of Black merchants and small-business owners (Ingham 2003). Ironically it was the harsh conditions under which Blacks were forced to live that Black-owned businesses flourished. “It is a great irony that the evil of Jim Crow, under which black Americans were subject to segregation, humiliation, and persecution, encouraged black capitalism to flourish” (Ingham 2003, p. 665).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographics of the Fifth Ward Compared to the City of Evanston</th>
<th>Fifth Ward</th>
<th>City of Evanston</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>5,175</td>
<td>75,603</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>48.4%</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>51.6%</td>
<td>52.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 18</td>
<td>29.6%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 55</td>
<td>20.2%</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
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<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>28.4%</td>
<td>67.9%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Black or African American</td>
<td>55.3%</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
</tr>
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<td>American Indian or Alaska Native</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some other race</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Two or more races</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>24.7%</td>
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<td>Median family income</td>
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<td>$ 104,904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median household income</td>
<td>$ 50,101</td>
<td>$ 70,041</td>
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Table 1. Demographics of the Fifth Ward Compared to Evanston
Source: ACS 2015
Figure 2. Advertisement for a Fifth Ward grocery store
Source: Shorefront Legacy Archives
During the Civil Rights era, although residents were part of a thriving segregated neighborhood complete with its own neighborhood school, recreation center, hospital and other businesses, residents sought access to the greater city and its resources. After the landmark Brown vs. the Board of Education decision in 1954, a majority of African American Evanstonians continued making demands for educational equity vis-à-vis the integration of the public elementary schools.

Integration in Evanston began with the public elementary schools during the fall of 1967. It was viewed by many residents of the Fifth Ward as a means of achieving educational equality. At the time, there was support in the Black community for integrated schools (see Chapter 4) but residents’ views about integration became more complex over time as residents began to see the associated consequences for their neighborhood institutions and political influence. Civil Rights legislation and the process of integration were part of larger trends such as the expansion of employment opportunities for and increased college attendance for Blacks (Harvey-Wingfield 2008; Bates 1997). Fewer Blacks were interested in going back to the community to run their parents’ shops which were already in decline given that the “wall of segregation” was being dismantled. These changes, coupled with larger economic changes like the consolidation of industries and the rise of the chain store made it more and more difficult to sustain Black-owned businesses (Perry and Waters 2012; Feldman 2017).

Given this history, I believe that Evanston is an appropriate city for conducting my research. The city today is, by all accounts, a racially diverse, socially progressive community for several reasons (see also Ellen 1998). First of all, Evanston’s population of more than 75,000 residents is made up of 67.9% who identify as White, 16.9% as Black or African American, 10.5% as Latino or Hispanic, 9.5% as Asian or Asian American, and 5.6% who identify
## Demographic Data for Evanston Compared to the US

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Evanston</th>
<th>United States</th>
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<td>Total population</td>
<td>75,603</td>
<td>316,515,021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
<td>49.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>52.6%</td>
<td>50.8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aged 55 and over</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>67.9%</td>
<td>73.6%</td>
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<td>Black or African American</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
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<td>American Indian or Alaska Native</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some other race</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two or more races</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avg household size</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bachelor's Degree or above</td>
<td>66.3%</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Household Income</td>
<td>$70,041</td>
<td>$53,889</td>
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<tr>
<td>Median Family Income</td>
<td>$104,904</td>
<td>$66,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median House Value for Owner-Occupied Units</td>
<td>$348,600</td>
<td>$178,600</td>
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</table>

*Table 2. Demographics of Evanston Compared to the US*

*Source: ACS 2015*
as either some other race or two or more races\textsuperscript{4} (see Table 3 for a look at the change in Evanston’s racial geography by Census tract since 1970). Residents of Evanston, as compared with national averages, have a higher level of education. In addition, more recently residents of Evanston are politically liberal; in the 2016 presidential election, 88\% voted for Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton over Republican candidate Donald Trump. Barack Obama carried the community by an overwhelming majority in previous election cycles. Finally, Evanston is a city which takes great pride in its ethos of social justice and tolerance. For example, on the city’s official website, the second sentence of the web page welcoming visitor’s reads, “With a vision to create the most livable city in America, Evanston celebrates the diversity of the City's opportunities and residents.” In previous iterations of this web page, diversity had been listed as something that “delights” both Evanston residents as well as those visiting the city.

These criteria make Evanston a racially diverse, socially progressive community but they do not necessarily make Evanston an integrated community (Charles 2006). Despite a reputation as favorable to diversity, Evanston remains a city with some neighborhoods that are segregated by race.\textsuperscript{5} For example, three of the four northern Census tracts located in Wards 6 and 7 (see

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{4}] Note that these numbers do not add up to 100\% because of the categorization of Hispanic or Latino as an ethnicity.
\item[\textsuperscript{5}] How to define neighborhood is a complicated issue and one that I have struggled with in researching this dissertation. The majority-minority neighborhood is often referred to as the Fifth Ward (as I refer to it throughout this paper) but using ward boundaries is an imperfect tool for capturing the historically Black neighborhood in Evanston. As you can see with Figure 1, the Fifth Ward extends east of Greenbay Road which, in the 1940s and 1950s, was still very much a part of the historically Black neighborhood. It was in this part of the neighborhood, for example, where the Emerson YMCA was located. However, in 2017, this easternmost section of the Fifth Ward is largely White and, according to my respondents, there is a qualitative difference between the two Census tracts that make up the Fifth Ward. This could be seen vis-à-vis the issues that were discussed at monthly Fifth Ward meetings. These meetings brought together residents from all over the ward who had very different concerns about daily life. Most of the police reports focused on crime occurring west of Greenbay Road (and the Metra train tracks); residents to the
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
east had a physical boundary in the train tracks which physically and mentally separated them from the acute concerns of residents who lived on the west side.

Census tracts in the city come closer to capturing what many respondents see as the neighborhood though they too are imperfect as the concentrated Black population has, and continues to, spread into surrounding tracts to the south.

For the purpose of this dissertation, I will refer to the neighborhood as the Fifth Ward but will be using Census tracts as the actual measure of neighborhood. While I recognize this is still problematic, I believe it comes closest to how my respondents talk about and think about their neighborhood.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Tract</th>
<th>% White</th>
<th>% Black</th>
<th>% Other</th>
<th>% White</th>
<th>% Black</th>
<th>% Other</th>
<th>Change in race, 1970-2010</th>
<th>% White</th>
<th>% Black</th>
<th>% Other</th>
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<td>1.6%</td>
<td>66.8%</td>
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<td>-29.3% 2.6% 26.7%</td>
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<td>0.1%</td>
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<td>10.3%</td>
<td>-44.1% 25.1% 7.6%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: US Decennial Census, 1970 and 2010
Figure 1 for a map of Evanston by Ward or Figure 3 for a map of Evanston by Census tract) range from 92% to 94% White.\textsuperscript{1} Further illustrating this fact, in a community where 18% of the population identifies as Black or African American, these three northern Census tracts have between 0% to 4.5% Black residents. In addition, property value data reveal at least one significant consequence of Evanston’s residential segregation: as of the 2010 Census, the four northern Census tracts have average property values ranging from $390,000 to $579,000 while the Fifth Ward, the majority-minority neighborhood which is the focus of this study, has an average property value of $213,000.

Finally, Evanston serves as an important case study given national trends toward increasing diversity in cities and metropolitan areas. Table 5 demonstrates the changes over the past three decades in terms of racial and ethnic composition in major U.S. cities and metropolitan areas as measured by entropy scores.\textsuperscript{2} Entropy scores measure the magnitude of diversity in a given area. In other words, the scores indicate the extent to which different racial and ethnic groups co-exist within a specific city or metropolitan area. Entropy scores range from zero to one hundred; higher scores indicate a more diverse city. This index is useful for demonstrating the

\textsuperscript{1} For this paper, my focus is on the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Wards of the city. The other wards of the city vary in their degree of technical and social integration. Elementary schools that are located in the central and southern parts of the city do have catchment areas which are gerrymandered to ensure diversity at the schools. However, the Census tracts that make up the remaining wards are much more diverse and representative of the overall demographics of the city than are the Census tracts that make up the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh wards. Please see the future research section of Chapter 6 for a discussion of South Evanston.

\textsuperscript{2} The diversity data used in my analysis was assembled as part of a multi-year project entitled "Racial and Ethnic Diversity in American Communities, 1980-2010", funded by the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (R01HD074605; PI Barrett Lee). I obtained the data via a public portal at the 'Diversity and Disparities' website maintained by Brown University's Spatial Structures in the Social Sciences (s4) Initiative. The portal can be accessed at https://s4.ad.brown.edu/projects/diversity/DiversityPages2/Default.aspx
Table 4. Entropy Scores by Decade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>All cities</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Total population (smallest)</td>
<td>10,913</td>
<td>28,701</td>
<td>49,832</td>
<td>55,274</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total population (largest)</td>
<td>16,363,540</td>
<td>16,846,046</td>
<td>18,323,002</td>
<td>18,897,109</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total number of cities with scores over 50%</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of cities with scores over 50%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities with populations between 50,000 and 150,000</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number with entropy scores over 50%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent with entropy scores over 50%</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>21.8%</td>
<td>27.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Brown’s Spatial Structures in the Social Sciences (S4) Initiative (Diversity and Disparities Website)
changes that have taken place over the past three decades. For example, the percentage of cities with entropy scores over 50% (indicating a higher degree of diversity) have gone from 11% in 1980 to 48% in 2010. I have also isolated data for smaller cities with populations between 50,000 and 150,000 to give a sense of the changes happening in these areas. They too have seen dramatic changes in entropy scores, moving from 7.8% of them with entropy scores over 50% in 1980 to 27.7% in 2010.

Institutional Integration Defined

One of the questions raised by recent work is how best to operationalize integration (Sin and Krysan 2015). Studies that are purely quantitative in nature are not able to capture social interactions and their meaning. If integration is defined in purely statistical terms (i.e. there is a threshold over which a neighborhood is considered integrated), there is the possibility to greatly overstate how many integrated neighborhoods there are. Spitz (2015) defines this as technical integration where residents of different racial groups live in close proximity to one another within a given neighborhood. Another question raised by recent studies is what racial compositions are necessary in order to qualify a neighborhood as technically integrated. For example, if a neighborhood is comprised of a mix of Black, Latino, and Asian families, would this classify as an integrated neighborhood even if there are few to no Whites? Most integration research (e.g. Massey and Denton 1993; Ellen 1998) focuses on the proximity between Whites and people of color yet as I will discuss later in this paper, many of my respondents saw a proposed school that would have been less than 10% White as integrated which is in keeping with studies demonstrating that Whites and Blacks have different definitions of what constitutes an integrated neighborhood (Krysan et al. 2009).
Qualitative research on integration is more likely to recognize the importance of including some measurement of social integration. Spitz (2015) defines social integration as opportunities “where residents of different racial groups interact and form meaningful social ties with one another” (p. 6). As she demonstrates, technical integration does not automatically bring about social integration; spaces which are technically integrated (public schools, for example) may not be socially integrated despite regular opportunities for engagement with people of different races. A number of my respondents used the term “body-mixing” when they talked about integration in Evanston. When they discussed their active roles in the push for integration, for example, they said they wanted it to be more than just “body-mixing.” Alderman Ruth Houston talks of a conversation that she had with a woman who helped lead the efforts to integrate the public schools: “I remember her saying to me you know how she [pause] you know regretted some of that because what they were talking about and what they got were two different things. They were just looking for equity, you know, not body-mixing but equity.” This quote captures what many of my respondents felt when discussing integration: their initial desire for social integration ended up much closer to technical integration within the schools.

Many of my respondents captured this chasm when they employed the term desegregated to talk about Evanston’s public schools. I noticed that a number of my interviewees seemed to be using the terms “integrated” and “desegregated” interchangeably but when I asked them to tell me about how they were using these terms, I found that they were quite intentional about when they used them. Martin Luther King Jr. (1986: 116) captured these very different terms eloquently when he said,

Although the terms desegregation and integration are often used interchangeably, there is a great deal of difference between the two…The word segregation represents a system that is prohibitive; it denies the Negro equal access to schools, parks, restaurants, libraries,
and the like. Desegregation is eliminative and negative for it simply removes these legal and social prohibitions. Integration is creative, and is therefore more profound and far-reaching than desegregation. Integration is the positive acceptance of desegregation and the welcomed participation of Negroes in the total range of human activities. Integration is genuine intergroup, interpersonal doing.

For many of the residents I interviewed, the first few years of integration were exactly that: integration as defined by Dr. King. The school superintendent, Gregory Coffin, recognized the importance of focusing on the social-emotional learning of students, faculty and staff, and parents during this time of transition. He devoted time and resources to educational programs aimed at the creative process described by Dr. King. However, when he was replaced as superintendent in 1970, the process of integration quickly changed into one my respondents saw as desegregation.¹

The focus of my paper is on what I call institutional integration. I believe that this term more accurately captures the integration mandate in the city of Evanston. After the landmark Supreme Court (1954) decision in Brown vs. the Board of Education schools, Evanston, like many cities, moved with what Ogletree (2005) ironically calls “all deliberate speed” to integrate its public elementary schools, referring to a line in the decision that was subject to interpretation. With the eventual integration of the public schools came the integration of other public institutions like the Grove Street YMCA and the Evanston Hospital, both of which previously barred Blacks. This process of institutional integration led to the eventual closing of three major anchor institutions in the Fifth Ward: Foster Elementary School, the Emerson Street YMCA, and the Community Hospital. Despite the fact that Evanston’s northern neighborhoods were still largely segregated, institutional integration provided spaces such as elementary schools and the Grove Street YMCA for Black and White residents from different neighborhoods to regularly come to-

¹ For an in-depth discussion of the circumstances of Coffin’s firing by the District 65 Board of Education, see chapter 3 in Barr 2014. I will also discuss this in greater detail in Chapter 4.
together and interact with one another. However, many of my respondents talked about how they do not feel welcome at these formerly all-White institutions and lament the cumulative disadvantages of institutional integration for their neighborhood.

**Research Questions**

My dissertation research is guided by an overarching research question and three sub-questions. First of all, how do lived experiences of Black residents in integrated spaces shape their perceptions of integration? From a policy perspective in Evanston, integration in the public elementary schools has historically involved specific ratios of Black and White students at each neighborhood elementary school regardless of the surrounding community's racial make-up. Integration has also assumed that Blacks would willingly integrate into existing White institutions like the Grove Street YMCA and the Evanston Hospital to which they had previously been denied access. While this model of integration works for some, it continues to be contested by many other Evanston residents, especially those of the Fifth Ward who believe that integration has ultimately been achieved "on the backs" of people of color in the city. Many of these same residents brought forth a different view of integration, one that involves a diverse student body but not a White majority, when they actively fought for the construction of a new neighborhood school. Yet it was precisely the perceived lack of diversity at the proposed new school that was in large part responsible for a majority of Evanston voters rejecting the referendum in 2012. In fact, many residents believed that the construction of the proposed new school would "reseggregate" the district, something they were adamantly opposed to supporting.

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2 There are, however, some school catchment areas that are less gerrymandered, reflecting the fact that some neighborhoods in the city are more representatives of the overall city demographics. See Figure 19 for a map of current school catchment areas.
In order to answer this over-arching research question, this paper will critically examine three distinct periods in Evanston’s history: the construction of the Fifth Ward as a neighborhood from 1870-1950, the fight for integration and the dismantling of the Fifth Ward’s anchor institutions from 1950-1980, and the maintenance of integration from 1980-2012. The social, economic, legal and technological contexts of these eras are dramatically different from one another and yet racial inequalities persist. During the first period, I ask the question: How does the history of the Fifth Ward and its Black-owned businesses and institutions affect the meaning of integration for long-term Black residents? I believe that by exploring the construction of the neighborhood and the public and private acts of discrimination which led to its existence we can begin to understand current attitudes toward integration. During the second period from 1950-1980, I ask in what ways does the experience of segregation in Evanston shape the meaning of integration for long-term Black Evanston residents of the Fifth Ward? My final research question which focuses on the “maintenance” period from 1980-2012, is how are the effects of institutional integration felt differently by neighborhoods? By situating Evanston’s experience with integration in a sociohistorical context, I believe my project will add to the existing discussion about integration.

**Literature review**

The racial formation perspective examines the "sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed" (Omi and Winant 2015: 55). Its focus is on the social, economic and political forces that shape the construction of racial catego-

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3 The focus of this paper is on the experiences of long-term Blacks residents of Evanston. In 2015, only about 18% of Evanston’s Black residents were living in the Fifth Ward; today the majority of Evanston’s Black residents live in other neighborhoods throughout the city and their experiences are undoubtedly different from long-term residents of the Fifth Ward as I will discuss in subsequent chapters.

4 An in-depth look at all neighborhoods in the city of Evanston is outside of the scope of this paper but is a suggestion for future research. The comparisons will be between the Fifth Ward and the neighborhoods in the north that make up the Sixth and Seventh Wards of the city.
ries at a given moment in time. This perspective stresses the importance of recognizing and un-
derstanding the historical era in which a racial theory is constructed. What it meant to be Black
in Evanston changed dramatically given the spatial concentration of African American residents
over time. During Evanston’s early years when the number of Black residents was small (see
Appendix A for data on how the Black population changed over time beginning with the 1860
Census), Blacks were not restricted in the city. The location of Black residences and Black-
owned businesses in the center of the city corroborates stories told by respondents of Blacks and
Whites owning businesses “side-by-side”. As the number of Blacks in the city grew with the first
wave of the Great Migration, however, the city felt the need to move to more formal means of
social control (Leonard 1982). Over time, being Black in Evanston meant living in the Fifth
Ward; for Black children, it meant attending Foster Elementary.

Against the national backdrop of the counter cultural movements of the 1960s, race in
Evanston was closely tied to a push for educational equality vis-à-vis integration. Similarly, in
the lead up to the 2012 referendum, an era characterized by colorblind racism nationally and by a
fragmented, dismantled African American community locally, we saw many Black residents
contesting the form that integration has taken in the city over the past fifty years (Bonilla-Silva
2003). In order to understand the disparate framings of integration, it is necessary to investigate
the intersection of race and place with generation in the city of Evanston and the ways that atti-
tudes toward integration have changed over time.

Henri Lefebvre (1991) conceptualized two different types of space: abstract space and
social space. For Lefebvre, abstract space is the space of instrumental rationality and it is in ab-
stract space where commodification occurs because it is disconnected from the social uses of the
space. Abstract space is instrumental to city planning and city organization irrespective of the
sociality of that space (Gottdiener 1985). During the years leading up to the integration of the public elementary schools, the Fifth Ward was seen as an abstract Black space that would become useful to policy makers as they sought to do the impossible: create racially balanced, neighborhood schools despite entrenched segregation in housing. This vision of the Fifth Ward, however, was in direct contrast to how residents saw the space. Social space, on the other hand, is what Lefebvre considers the daily uses of the space by residents. In other words, social space is the way that the people living in it think about it and use it. For Lefebvre, city uses of abstract space often come into conflict with residents' understanding and use of social space. This leads to a clash between community (the use values of living in a social space) and capitalism (exchange values of abstract space).

In his discussion of Lefebvre's notions of space, Soja (1980) writes, “Space itself may be primordially given, but the organization, use, and meaning of space is a social translation, transformation, and experience” (p. 210). As Lefebvre (1991) notes, space is never completely imposed by the state. The city of Evanston played a significant role in the creation of the Fifth Ward by forcing Black residents into it but the residents themselves contested the image of the Fifth Ward as undesirable and made the space into a thriving community complete with a multitude of Black-owned businesses and anchor institutions. Yet as Price (2010) notes, “racialized processes are always and thoroughly spatialized ones” (see also Neely and Samura 2011; Lipsitz 2007). Evanston's Fifth Ward has been instrumental to the city as a means of integrating the public-school system. For the purpose of integrating the schools, the city has used the Fifth Ward as abstract racialized space and employed a model of integration that outsources its diversity each day vis-à-vis the busing of Black children to majority White neighborhoods. The way in which
this has happened and continues to happen reflects the historic social order of the city where power is unequally distributed.

Race and space have a dialectical relationship with one another; race is both shaped by and shaping of space while space is similarly shaped by and shaping of race. It must be remembered that the racial projects of a particular historical era unfold in space. During the 1960s, for example, the Fifth Ward was seen by the city as a racialized abstract space that was valuable in the district’s efforts to integrate the public elementary schools. The manipulation of this space (and the mostly Black children living within it) allowed for the production of neighborhood schools that were racially balanced throughout the district in a way that minimized disruption for a majority of Evanstonians. The fact that a majority of this space’s residents were Black led to policies which eventually undermined its sociality for many residents. At this time, the goal was integration but institutional integration was to take a certain form: formerly White institutions which now allowed access to Black residents.

In the period leading up to the 2012 referendum to build a new neighborhood school, the discussions around the Fifth Ward were different and couched more in the colorblind terms of the current racial project. Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2003) argues that the form of racism that exists in the United States post-Civil Rights era is what he calls color-blind racism. This is comprised of four central tenets: abstract liberalism, naturalization, cultural racism, and minimization of racism. Of these four tenets, Bonilla-Silva suggests that abstract liberalism constitutes the basis of the colorblind ideology (26). According to Bonilla-Silva:

*The frame of abstract liberalism involves using ideas associated with political liberalism (e.g., “equal opportunity,” the idea that force should not be used to achieve social policy) and economic liberalism (e.g., choice, individualism) in an abstract manner to explain racial matters. By framing race-related issues in the language of liberalism, Whites can appear “reasonable” and even “moral,” while opposing almost all practical approaches to*
deal with de facto racial inequality.

In other words, abstract liberalism enables Whites to espouse pro-diversity attitudes (e.g. believing in integrated schools) while at the same time opposing policies designed to ameliorate the enduring effects of past discriminatory policies (e.g. arguing that the proposed new school would “resegregate” the public elementary school system). Because it is based on meritocratic and individual beliefs, abstract liberalism enables Whites to protect the status quo by arguing that no racial group should be singled out for special treatment.

Instead of isolating the Fifth Ward as a separate space as happened in the 1960s, opponents to the new school argued instead that the Fifth Ward should be seen not as a separate and unique space but rather as just another part of the city. Building a new school in the Fifth Ward, opponents argued, would dismantle the nearly fifty years of integration in the city and would be detrimental to everyone.

During both of these historical moments, the racial projects of the time looked quite different. In the late 1960s in the recent wake of the Civil Rights Act, racial discrimination and racism were visible social ills; proponents of integration had to contend with overt acts of racial discrimination. In contrast, the 2012 referendum to build a new school came at a time when many in the city believed that Evanston’s efforts at integration over the past decades had helped the city move beyond race and racism. If one framed racial discrimination as the result of individual prejudices and practices, then a case could be made for Evanston as a success story. In fact, this was central to what I call the “resegregation” argument (discussed in Chapter 5): building a new school in the Fifth Ward would undermine integration and concentrate students qualifying for free and reduced lunch in one place. However, as is clearly proven in the literature, racism and racial discrimination are not just a matter of individual prejudices and practices, though these are
certainly a part of the problem (Bonilla-Silva 2003; Feagin 2006; Doane 2012). Rather racism is embedded within U.S. institutions; these forces exist both inside and outside of the city.

Despite these differences, both the racial projects of the 1960s and 2012 share an underlying commonality: neither considered the historical construction of the Fifth Ward as a space. As Feagin (2006: 49) writes, “One problem with social theory and policy is the failure to link present-day social realities to those of the immediate and distant past.” By not affirmatively accounting for the processes that interconnect race and space in the city, Evanston’s model of integration that was put into place in the late 1960s and reaffirmed with the failure of the 2012 referendum continues to reproduce racial inequality in the city despite its good intentions.

As Crenshaw (1991) notes, there is a need to account for multiple "grounds of identity" when theorizing the social world. An additional dimension to consider is the role of generation and how one’s generational experiences intersect with race and space to shape the meaning of integration. Mannheim (1952) argues that the notion of generation cannot be reduced merely to one’s year of birth; rather generations become salient because of the shared set of experiences that a group undergoes together. “Individuals of the same age, they were and are, however, only united as an actual generation in so far as they participate in the characteristic social and intellectual currents of their society and period, and in so far as they have an active or passive experience of the interactions of the forces which made up the new situation” (p. 304). Mannheim also argues that generational factors shape one’s social location similar to social class.

More recent attempts to incorporate Mannheim’s thinking stress the role that generations play in an individual’s historical consciousness (Pilcher 1994). “Contemporaneity becomes sociologically significant only when it also involves participation in the same social and historical circumstances” (490). One difficulty becomes operationalizing generations in a way that ac-
counts for both the quantitative aspects (e.g. birth years) and the qualitative aspects (the more subjective piece about shared experiences). With the exception of three respondents ranging in age from 45-55, all other respondents (between 55 and 90 years of age) experienced living in the Fifth Ward during the height of segregation. Many attended Foster Elementary and/or had children attend the school; many learned to swim and/or had children who learned to swim at the Emerson YMCA; many were born and/or delivered their children at the Community Hospital. They experienced being able to walk to and from school and patronize one of the many Black-owned businesses nearby. They also experienced racial discrimination throughout the city. These formative experiences of my respondents are rooted in their social position as a generation and ‘coalesce into a natural view of the world’ and continue to influence them throughout their lives (Mannheim 1952). Analyzing the way that generation intersects with race and space in Evanston is key to understanding how my respondents frame integration today.

Organization of the Dissertation

In Chapter 2, I explain my methodological approach to studying integration. More specifically I will discuss my sample and how I came to find residents to interview as well as describe the archival documents I engaged for this study. In Chapters 3-5, I make a case for the role of lived experience in shaping the meaning residents assign to integration. Chapter 3 is an historical exploration of the construction of the Fifth Ward from 1870-1950. Chapter 4 focuses on the integration mandate and how Evanston managed to evenly integrate all neighborhood elementary schools despite highly segregated neighborhoods. In this chapter I focus on the process of institu-

5 It is important to note that the age of my respondents and their experiences in the city shape how they frame other issues related to race in the city. For example, many respondents talked about the changes in demographic make-up of the Fifth Ward as indicative of gentrification; the neighborhood is comprised of a higher number of Hispanic and White residents than it was in the 1960s. I suspect that age plays an important role in how they frame neighborhood change. Bringing in the voices of younger African Americans who are more recent arrivals to the city is an additional suggestion for future research in Chapter 6.
tional integration. Chapter 5, the third chapter detailing Evanston as a case, explores the ways by which the city has managed to maintain integrated neighborhood schools over time despite persistent segregated neighborhoods in the north of the city. Finally, in Chapter 6 I conclude with a discussion of policy recommendations and implications for future research on integration.
CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

Integration is often characterized as part of the solution to the problems associated with segregation. Whether with respect to residential segregation (Krysan et al. 2009; Ellen 1998), education (Orfield and Lee 2005; Orfield and Eaton 1996), or to public spaces in general (Anderson 2012), integration is seen as a way to begin to undo the perils of racial segregation. Yet often times, integration takes a certain reified form with a large white majority and non-white minority, reinforcing white normativity (Pattillo 2014; Burke 2011). In other words, integration does little to challenge the White power structure and bring about racial equity. How do lived experiences of Black residents in integrated spaces shape their perceptions of integration? This study explores and analyzes the lived experiences of segregation and integration in a stable, racially diverse community.

Evanston, Illinois is a particularly valuable case for understanding how the lived experiences of Black residents in technically diverse cities (Spitz 2015) affect how they make sense of integration. Evanston has been diverse since its inception in the 1800s. In its early history, Evanston was both technically and socially integrated but went through a period of acute and intent-
tional segregation as the Black population began to increase in the early 20th century. In the 1960s, Evanston was the first northern city to voluntarily integrate its public-school system, leading to technically integrated public schools across the district despite persistent residential segregation.

According to Nyden et al. (1998), communities that are “diverse by direction” are characterized by the development of organizations and institutions specifically focused on diversity. These communities tend to be more stable long-term than, for example, communities which are “diverse by circumstance” and have not actively created institutions focused on their diversity. Evanston’s racial demographics clearly demonstrate that it is a stable and diverse city. Yet after nearly fifty years of diversity by direction, many long-term Black residents struggle from "integration fatigue" because they are a minority in all institutions after having had their own thriving, albeit segregated, institutions. This integration fatigue, which many interviewees described as the result of "integration being done on the backs of our children", led to the push in 2012 to build a new school in the majority minority Fifth Ward of Evanston.

As stated in the previous chapter, the purpose of this study is to demonstrate the powerful role of lived experiences in shaping how residents make sense of integration. This study addresses how long-term African Americans residents of Evanston make sense of city-mandated integration plans given a history of segregation and discrimination. This study contributes to the litera-

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1 Spitz (2015) discusses two types of integration: technical integration, when racially diverse residents live near each other within a neighborhood and social integration, when racially diverse residents not only live near one another but also form meaningful social ties. In Evanston’s early history, Blacks and Whites often lived in close proximity to one another. In addition, Black and White businesses were next to one another in the city’s early business district and both patronized each other’s stores. Leonard (1982) argues that this level of integration was tolerated because the Black population had not yet begun to grow as it would with the first wave of the Great Migration.
ture by analyzing residents' lived experiences and highlighting the role that these experiences play in their understanding of and approach to integration today. This study also reveals the importance of understanding what C. Wright Mills (1959) calls "the intersection of biography and history" in order to understand the current moment.

In order to do this, I conducted qualitative and archival research exploring the lived histories of African American residents in the city of Evanston. From 2012-2015 I conducted 18 in-depth interviews with residents of Evanston’s Fifth Ward. In addition, during the same time period I conducted archival research supported by fellowships from the Black Metropolis Research Consortium and the Illinois State Historical Society. With support from these fellowships, I gathered data from the Evanston History Center, Shorefront Legacy Center, Northwestern University Archives, and the Chicago History Museum.

*Research Questions*

The impetus for this study, a desire to better understand why so many Black residents supported a new school that would seemingly undo the work of integration, became the overarching research question that has since guided the study. In order to answer this main research question, I have developed and explored several other questions.

1. How do lived experiences of Black residents in integrated spaces shape their perceptions of integration?
2. How does the history of the predominately Black Fifth Ward and its Black-owned businesses and institutions affect the meaning of integration for long-term residents?
3. In what ways does the experience of segregation in Evanston- a city with separate White and Black institutions prior to the 1960s, and a city more recently defining itself as liberal and racially diverse- shape the meaning of integration for long-term Black Evanston residents?
4. How are the effects of institutional integration felt differently by neighborhoods?

Unit of Analysis

Case study research involves “conducting an empirical investigation of a contemporary phenomenon within its natural context using multiple sources of evidence” (Hancock and Algozzine 2006: 15). The unit of analysis for this study is the neighborhood in Evanston known as the Fifth Ward (see Figure 1 in Chapter 1 for a map of Evanston by wards). Conceptually I explored the Fifth Ward through its long-term residents and their relationships to the greater city throughout history. This neighborhood was chosen purposefully as it is the neighborhood which has historically had the highest concentration of Black residents. In addition, it was also the site of a thriving middle-class, segregated neighborhood in the middle of the 20th century. By engaging in "thick description" (Geertz 2000) of the Fifth Ward, I am able to get the neighborhood's "deep story" (Hochschild 2016), one which has been largely invisible to greater Evanston. It is through an understanding of this deep story that I am able to answer my research questions.

Qualitative Methodology

My research questions seek to understand the complicated ways in which race, space and generation intersect with one another and shape the meaning of integration for certain Evanstonians (Mannheim 1952). Ethnographic methods in particular uniquely allowed me to understand the personal stories of residents and consequently the Fifth Ward (Schweder 1996). Spending time getting to know members of the community who are affected by the absence of a neighborhood school allowed me to have a "thicker" more holistic understanding of the context. Current debates about educational equity and race in the city are often not contextualized historically and city residents interpret policies based on an incomplete and therefore flawed understanding. Many residents in the Fifth Ward continue to fight for a new school in their neighborhood de-
spite the fact that it would not conform to the model of integrated schools established by the district in 1967. My project focuses on the processes that have led residents to reject this model of integration despite supporting it in previous historical moments. In order to understand this, I spent time with the residents of the Fifth Ward and listened to their stories. By engaging in ethnography, I obtained a deeper understanding of why residents make the decisions that they do as opposed to "inventing" their perspective (Becker 1996).

One of the major goals of my research is to understand the meaning that residents give to their experiences. Exploring how the process of integration continues to evolve for residents in a diverse city is an important topic for sociological inquiry. The best way to understand how residents frame integration is to get close to the actors themselves and talk with them. Talking with people in their homes or in their community about the ways in which integration has impacted their lives allowed me to get closer to the process itself rather than make inferences about it from a distance (Becker 1996). While this methodology inherently involves potential bias on the part of the researcher and some concerns with memory on the part of the participants, it enabled me to find out what meaning people have given to their experiences of integration in the city.

In order to answer my research questions, I chose to engage in qualitative data collection. Ethnographic research is an approach that “bridges the gap between stories and research” (Taylor et al. 1995). Bogdan and Biklen (2007) describe qualitative research as “an approach to social science research that emphasizes collecting descriptive data in natural settings, uses inductive thinking, and emphasizes understanding the subject’s point of view” (p. 274). Because I am interested in an historical process rather than merely outcomes, qualitative methodology provided me the opportunity to study the how as opposed to the what of integration through the stories of my respondents and the archives. In other words, qualitative data has enabled me to focus on
how residents assign meaning to integration given their historical relationship to the Fifth Ward and greater Evanston. This in turn is valuable in understanding how these African American residents view the city’s history of segregation and integration. It also provides a context allowing observers to better understand current motivations of Fifth Ward political thinking. The analysis of the campaign and referendum for a new school in the predominately Black Fifth Ward in 2012 is a case study of this historically-influenced movement within a larger case study.

The use of a qualitative case study has enabled me to provide rich and descriptive details about how long-term African American residents have come to understand integration in the city of Evanston. In addition, these data are able to provide a rich context that supports and validates some of the quantitative data about integration outcomes (Lewis and Diamond 2015).

In-depth, in-person, semi-structured interviews are a highly effective way to gain a deep understanding of the effects that integration has had on residents of Evanston. Conducting a "person-focused" study allowed me access to the personal subjectivities and meaning behind the outcomes of integration (Jessor 1996). Personal narratives take time to tell; there has to be a relationship between the interviewer and the families sharing the stories. Spending time with residents in their community helped to cultivate a close working relationship in a way that more impersonal methods like phone interviews or surveys cannot. It is this relationship and the resulting narratives shared that enabled me to answer my research questions.

Sample/Sampling Criteria

My research study, it is important to note, was not focused on a sample from which I expected a specific outcome. In other words, I did not seek out research participants nor did I examine documents that I expected would tell a certain story. Rather, I selected the Fifth Ward and consequently individuals living in it because I knew this was the community which was mobiliz-
ing around the construction of a new school. In addition, it was the likeliest neighborhood to have residents who had had experiences with Foster Elementary, either having attended it themselves or having had children attend it. In particular, many residents in this neighborhood were active in efforts to seemingly “undo” the work of integration in the city. Only by getting proximate to the community could I better understand this phenomenon from the residents' perspectives.

As such, my research sample is not a random sample. A random sample makes sense in many different types of research scenarios. However, my research questions required a targeted sample, one that could speak to the history of living through segregation and integration in the city of Evanston over multiple decades. In order to attain this type of sample, I engaged in purposeful snowball sampling. The power of purposeful sampling is in selecting “information-rich cases” which allow me to learn a lot about the issues of interest to this project (Patton 1990). After identifying potential key informants and requesting interviews with them, I would ask them (or they would volunteer) to suggest additional potential informants who I would then contact. I would also seek out opportunities (discussed in more detail below) to present my proposed study and connect with potential participants. This was an iterative process that took place over a period of three years (2012-2015) where I would spend time interviewing an individual or two and then return to the archives to corroborate stories and follow up on questions I had from the interviews. Periodic archival research continued well into 2016.

Access

Part of the value of qualitative methodology lies in the time it takes to cultivate relationships with potential respondents or key informants. While this can be a source of frustration for some, I believe that the time spent in the community allows a researcher to get proximate to the
issues of concern to the community and therefore have a better understanding of how to best ask questions. Gaining access to the Fifth Ward, specifically to older African American residents, did not happen overnight. As a youngish, White woman, I knew that I would face barriers to entry and that I would have to prove both my commitment and worthiness to a community that may be suspicious of my intentions. As Janice Sampson put it, "We've been studied before."

In order to gain initial access, I sought out public figures from the community. The first two I identified from preliminary research were a member of the school board and the alderman of the Fifth Ward. I began by emailing them at their publicly available email addresses and calling their office phone numbers. After a few unsuccessful attempts, I realized I would have to be creative. Given that I had a long history of writing letters with my then 92-year old grandmother, I decided that perhaps a hand-written inquiry would work best. I wrote both Jack Thomas and Ruth Houston hand-written notes explaining who I was and what I was interested in doing and hoped for the best. Within days, I heard from both of them and was able to schedule and conduct my first two interviews later that same week. In phone conversations, both respondents cited my "old school" letter as that which compelled them to follow-up with me.

The two initial interviews proved incredibly useful for a number of reasons. Jack Thomas and Ruth Houston provided me with rich details about the neighborhood, Foster Elementary, and their thoughts on the referendum. They provided rough outlines of the history of the neighborhood and encouraged me to consider questions of which I had previously been unaware. Perhaps equally important, however, was their willingness to "vouch" for me and offer opportunities for me to gain further entree into the community. Mr. Thomas suggested I reach out to the local curator of African American archives Shorefront Legacy which proved to be a pivotal relationship. Ms. Houston connected me with several other long-term residents, encouraged me to attend the
monthly Fifth Ward meetings, and got me in touch with the Fifth Ward newsletter editor who helped me publish an announcement about my study. All of these became important sources of data and relationships. At the monthly meetings, I was able not only to get a better sense of the daily rhythms of the neighborhood as well as important themes that were discussed at every meeting (crime statistics, city projects, etc.) but I was also able to make inroads with residents in the community. There were several meetings where I was one of only a handful of whites present as meeting attendees (sometimes I was the only one) and I believe this helped me become recognized more quickly. Ms. Houston would greet me warmly at these meetings and sometimes introduce me to other community members or allow me to briefly mention my project and solicit participants.

It was after one of these meetings that a woman came up to me and suggested that I give a presentation at the Foster Seniors luncheon the next month. She told me about the group of roughly 35-40 seniors that got together every week to have lunch and a discussion. They were always looking for people to come present and she thought my research project would be a perfect fit. I agreed and structured my presentation as more of a dialogue with the seniors. I told them about what interested me and we asked each other questions. By the end of the 90 minutes I spent with the seniors group, I had seven individuals who signed up to be interviewed. I also saw my neighbor and friend at this luncheon (I had no previous knowledge that she had lived in Evanston her entire life and went to Foster) and while I did not interview her, she too vouched for me to her friends.

The other respondents came from my networking at the monthly meetings, responses to my announcements in the monthly Fifth Ward newsletter or the e-mail blast sent to ward residents by the alderman, or from referrals that were given to me by interviewees themselves. As a
result, my sample grew to 18 participants (see Table 5 for demographic information about the sample). All participants in the study are Black and the overwhelming majority (94%) are fifty-five years or older. According to the 2010 Census, 17,430 residents of the city of Evanston were 55 or older; of these residents, one out of every four is Black. Therefore, the Black over 55 population can be estimated at approximately 6% of the city’s population. As I will argue later in the paper, there are other characteristics which make my sample unique such as their tenure in Evanston. However, these data indicate that the older Black population in Evanston is a substantial one. Below I will discuss the additional data I include in this research project.

**Data Collection Methods**

**Document review/archival research.** In order to understand the complex and nuanced history of the Fifth Ward, I conducted an historical analysis of the Fifth Ward in Evanston. Initially this review began an analysis of the process of integrating the public elementary schools. I gathered archival data at the Evanston History Center on the 1967 integration of the public elementary schools. Documents included extensive minutes both from official school board meetings from 1964-1967 and from the meetings of the Citizens Advisory Committee on Integration (CACI), which was established by the school board to develop a plan for integrating Evanston’s public elementary schools. In addition to meeting minutes, the archives include published and unpublished district reports on integration, plans for preparing teachers to navigate the process of integration, formal and informal communication with local residents and businesses, school area attendance maps with demographic information, and surveys sent to families with elementary school-aged children and other relevant documents.

As the scope of my research widened so too did the documents I reviewed. I spent time reviewing house move permits and zoning ordinances and laws passed in the early part of the
20th century. At Northwestern University's archives, I spent time analyzing unpublished dissertations and theses written on Evanston's Black community in the first half of the 20th century, business directories, copies of the Afro American Budget (a serial published by William Twiggs, an Evanston resident), issues of the Chicago Defender and the Chicago Whip which regularly featured Evanston news, as well as the Evanston Advertiser which claimed to be "A Real Race Paper." At Shorefront Legacy Center, I spent significant time reviewing all copies of the Evanston Newsette, a micro-newspaper chronicling life in the Fifth Ward during the later 1940s and early 1950s printed by Melvin Smith, church and business directories, various editions of This is Evanston, and other papers and clipping files dealing with the Fifth Ward, segregation, and integration in the city.

**Participant observation.** I also conducted participant observation over a period of two years (2012-2014). This consisted of attending monthly Fifth Ward meetings held on the third Thursday of every month, attending numerous city-sponsored Black History Month events, and attending events related to Foster Elementary School, the Emerson Street YMCA, and the Community Hospital. This research was done for several reasons. First, participating in events such as the monthly meetings allowed me informal access to potential research participants. By regularly attending meetings, residents were able to become familiar with my presence and we became something in between strangers and acquaintances. While this does not sound like much, it did provide a starting ground for eventual conversations. Not all of these conversations led to interviews but they enabled me to better understand which residents would have the life experiences that would speak to my research questions. Secondly, my participant observation gave me a better sense of the current issues in the community. I was able to hear from residents about the issues that concerned them at the Ward meetings. By hearing from residents in this way, I was able
Table 5. Demographic data for respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Years in Evanston</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Martin Henslin</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>45 - 55</td>
<td>15+</td>
<td>Active Evanston resident; curator of African American archives Kindergartner in Evanston during first year of integration, fall 1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norah Jefferson</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>Part of the first integrated kindergarten class at Foster Laboratory School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christine Talcott</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>School board member actively involved in push for new school in 2011; attended Foster Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack Thomas</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>40+</td>
<td>Long time Fifth Ward resident; attended Foster Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Wilson</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>65+</td>
<td>Long time Fifth Ward resident; attended Foster Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deborah Greene</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>55+</td>
<td>Active Fifth Ward resident; children attended Foster Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laura Crosby</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>70+</td>
<td>Attended Foster Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom Smith</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>70+</td>
<td>Long time Fifth Ward resident; attended Foster Elementary; family was forced to move from North Evanston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janice Sampson</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>70+</td>
<td>Active Fifth Ward resident; she and her children attended Foster Elementary; family forced out of North Evanston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruth Houston</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>75+</td>
<td>Former Alderman of the Fifth Ward; attended Foster Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilma Robinson</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>60+</td>
<td>Children attended Foster Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eunice Leavenworth</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>80+</td>
<td>Attended Foster Elementary and Lincolnwood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martha Hatfield</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>80+</td>
<td>Long-time Fifth Ward resident; attended Foster and Noyes Elementary schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Montgomery</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>80+</td>
<td>Local NAACP president several times; ran for School Board in 1970; attended Foster and Noyes Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna Fischer</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>75+</td>
<td>Long-time Fifth Ward resident; children attended Foster Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sally McLean</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>65+</td>
<td>65+</td>
<td>Long-time Fifth Ward resident; she and her children attended Foster Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denise Haraway</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>65+</td>
<td>25+</td>
<td>Attended Foster Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Crowley</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>65+</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>Long time Fifth Ward resident</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
dissertations and theses written on Evanston's Black community in the first half of the 20th century, business directories, copies of the *Afro American Budget* (a serial published by William Twiggs, an Evanston resident), issues of the *Chicago Defender* and the *Chicago Whip* which regularly featured Evanston news, as well as the *Evanston Advertiser* which claimed to be "A Real Race Paper." At Shorefront Legacy Center, I spent significant time reviewing all copies of the *Evanston Newsette*, a micro-newspaper chronicling life in the Fifth Ward during the later 1940s and early 1950s printed by Melvin Smith, church and business directories, various editions of *This is Evanston*, and other papers and clipping files dealing with the Fifth Ward, segregation, and integration in the city.

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to better understand their unique context which better informed my questions and consequently research.

**Interviews.** Interviewing is an important source of qualitative, case-study data. The primary purpose of interviewing an individual is to elicit information that cannot be observed directly (Patton 1990). In the case of this research project, a majority of my questions are about historical occurrences, including a focus on a school which has been closed for fifty years.

Interviewing was an important component of this research because it allowed me to learn about key issues that influenced how my respondents conceptualize integration in the 21st century. For example, when I asked respondents about how their families arrived in Evanston, several respondents launched into stories about how their parents and grandparents had been forced out of North Evanston and into the Fifth Ward (discussed in Chapter 3). While there is an historical record of house moves in the city, the ways in which this process affected Black residents is not documented. It is only through semi-structured interviews that I would have been able to obtain this kind of data. In addition, it was through talking with long-term residents that I was better able to understand the goals of the push for integration during the 1960s. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, many respondents spoke of equity as a desired outcome rather than simply “body mixing.” I interviewed residents who have lived in the Fifth Ward for many years and have experience with Foster Elementary, either as former students themselves or as parents of former students. These key individuals include a former alderman, a school board member, a former NAACP leader, two individuals who began elementary school as kindergarteners in 1967 (the first year of integrated public schools), and many other long-term residents.

The interviews conducted in this study were semi-structured and in-depth. Semi-structured interviews blend the best of both structured and unstructured interviews (see Appendix
B for a list of themes discussed in the interviews): they allow for more flexibility than structured interviews which enables a more natural conversation but they are still guided by a list of themes that explore the topics I wanted to focus on. A semi-structured approach allowed me to spend time on themes that arose during the course of the interview without feeling like I was wasting time or veering off the prescribed course. This type of interview allowed me to access some of the “unknown unknowns” about the Fifth Ward and follow up on them as appropriate. Had I used a more structured approach, I believe my data would not have been as rich. In addition, I believe it was this semi-structured approach that enabled me to more quickly develop a rapport with respondents because the interview was more of a conversation and less of an interrogation. It is possible that this approach led them to feel even more comfortable divulging information to me about their experiences.

Data Analysis Techniques

Since my study involves mixed-methods, data were collected and analyzed in two main stages. I began the study by conducting several pilot interviews, specifically with more public members of the community. At the same time, I began to spend time at the Evanston History Center in order to research the process of integrating Evanston’s public schools during the 1960s. This first stage of data involved significant back and forth between interviews and archival research. It was during this time that I also began to attend the monthly Fifth Ward meetings and take field notes. Over a period of about two years, my interview sample grew to eighteen participants and I logged many hours at the Evanston History Center.

The initial interviews were centered primarily around the respondents’ experiences of Foster Elementary, the period of institutional integration during the 1960s, and their involvement in and perspectives on the proposed new neighborhood school in the Fifth Ward. Interviews were
transcribed and coded which allowed me to find gaps in my interview themes as well as determine what I needed to follow up on at the archives. As I began to have a better understanding of the community, I was able to broaden my interviews to include questions about family history in Evanston and experiences in the neighborhood during the height of segregation. I also broadened my archival sources to include Shorefront Legacy Center and Northwestern University’s archives in addition to the Evanston History Center.

As I analyzed my data in an ongoing fashion, I developed a system to organize and manage my data which allowed me to more easily find specific information from my interviews and archival documents. First of all, I looked for emergent themes arising out of the interviews. I then coded these themes according to their relevance for the study, specifically focusing on family history in early Evanston, the Fifth Ward during segregation, the period of institutional integration, and the current historical moment. Coding refers to the process of assigning “some sort of shorthand designation to various aspects of your data so that you can easily retrieve specific pieces of the data” (Merriam 1998: 64). This allows for easy access to the data in organized form and enabled me to identify patterns across the interviews.

I also kept field notes throughout the data collection process. These notes consisted of thoughts, ideas, questions, and hunches I had while conducting archival research and interview data. They also consisted of notes from my participant observation. I was able to refer back to these field notes while writing and include them in the study, thus adding to the study’s credibility (Merriam 1998).

One of the major benefits of conducting mixed-methods studies is the use of triangulation. This is a method which established validity in a case study by verifying findings across multiple sources of data (Miles and Huberman 1994). While I was unable to corroborate every detail from
my interviews given gaps in the archival record, I was able to document and supplement a majority of the claims made by my respondents either through the materials I found at the archives, Census data, content analysis, or a combination of the three. Relying on various sources of data increases the reliability of my study.

Limitations

There are several limitations to this study which need to be addressed. The first limitation has to do with the demographics of the city of Evanston. Originally Evanston was a Black and White city. This remained the case for quite some time; even as institutions began to integrate in the 1960s, the population was still overwhelmingly Black and white, with just 0.5% of the population identifying as "other." Yet today, in 2017, the city's demographics include many other racial and ethnic categories such as Latinos, Asians, Multiracial, and Native American among others. These groups are important when discussing integration and diversity in the city today. However, I chose to focus this study on African American history within the city because it is the experiences of long-term Black residents that can answer my research questions. Latinos and Asians, for example, began showing up on Census data in larger numbers in the 1970s and 1980s, well after the "official" integration of the public elementary schools. That being said, as Latinos now make up 10.5% of Evanston's population, I do believe that future studies of their experiences of integration in the city are valuable.

A second limitation to my study has to do more generally with conducting an historical analysis. Many of my interview questions asked respondents about events that happened fifty or more years ago. In addition, many of the stories I heard were difficult to corroborate with archival records. However, when I mentioned these gaps in the archival records to the curator of the local African American archives, he said, "You're not going to find that kind of data written
down. It simply does not exist." I have tried to corroborate stories of house moves, for example, with a thorough analysis of all house move permits from 1900-1930 (see Appendix C for a list of house move permits). While these do not explicitly include demographic information, where the house was moved to can be used as a proxy for race given the fact that only African Americans were being concentrated on the west side of the city in the fifth Ward. Furthermore, the fact that these stories of forced house moves came up in multiple separate interviews of unrelated individuals, I am confident as to the validity of the claims made by my respondents. Although there are additional documents that I wish existed in the historical record, I am confident that sufficient information has been obtained in order to answer my research questions.

Finally, I believe that my study is limited by its focus only on long-term African American residents of the city. Both segregation and integration were processes experienced by Blacks and Whites in the city in Evanston. I fear that by focusing only on African American perspectives with this study that I am perpetuating the idea that Whites are not racialized actors which is, of course, not true. I am also not trying to tell the story of "the" African American experience; such an experience does not exist. Rather my goal is to understand the complicated ways by which the intersection of race, space, and generation influence the meaning of integration. To do this, I believe it is necessary to hear from long-term African American residents of the Fifth Ward. However, I also believe that future research should explore similar questions from a racially comparative perspective including the voices of newer and younger Black residents to the city who live outside of the Fifth Ward as well as the voices of other racial groups.

Significance of the Study

Integration is often conceptualized as a set of outcomes, "body mixing" as many of my respondents called it (Anderson 2012). Furthermore, it is also implicitly framed as the opposite
of segregation, that which has the potential to begin to undo the social inequality resulting from a legacy of segregated schools (e.g. Orfield and Eaton 1996) or segregated neighborhoods (Krysan et al. 2009). In this vein, we often see cities with statistically diverse populations described as "integrated", an adjective which indicates a completed action. But this understanding obscures the underlying process associated with integration. It also denies that which has been given up in order to proceed down the path of integration. Through a combination of interview and archival data as well as participant observation, I have been able to document how long-term Black residents of Evanston make sense of integration today. This study could be of help both locally and nationally when thinking about how to create equitable policies in statistically diverse cities. For example, this study speaks to the fact that in order to have equality in a city like Evanston, we must first ensure equity. As many interviewees point out, residents of the Fifth Ward had to give up a lot as part of the process of institutional integration: their neighborhood school, the Emerson Street YMCA, and the Community Hospital. When policies are created that attempt to ensure the maintenance of a quality of life for a majority of residents, they inevitably privilege a majority at the expense of, in Evanston's case, a Black minority. Policies that take the city's sometimes painful history into account will be more likely to be equitable.

The goal of this study is to better understand the meaning of integration from the perspectives of people who fought hard for it and have had years to reflect upon it. Their stories have led me to believe that it is erroneous to call a city “integrated”; instead it makes more sense to think of cities as integrating. This highlights the processual nature of integration and also allows for the possibility of change. By framing cities like Evanston as integrated, we inevitably see integration as a completed action. In reality, as my respondents have indicated in this study, integration is something that is always underway but never fully achieved. If we consider integration
something completed, it becomes reified and impervious to change which has been the case in Evanston according to my respondents. Critiques of integration in an “integrated” city are often met with hostility as was the case with the proposed new neighborhood school in Evanston’s Fifth Ward. In contrast, if integration is seen as an ever-unfolding and evolving process, there is more room for reflection, growth, and the possibility of implementing policies that are equitable for all residents.

The findings of my dissertation contribute to the larger discussion around integration and equity. By shifting the focus from outcomes to process, this research fills important gaps in the literature. Having deeper knowledge of how factors like race, space, and generational experiences shape the meaning of integration could help better inform policy makers. Integration policies cannot be one-size-fits-all; rather they must account for the unique historical context of the city.
CHAPTER THREE

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FIFTH WARD

Both Whites and Blacks inhabited Evanston at its founding, in many cases living and working in close proximity to one another. Many Blacks performed domestic labor in White homes while others started their own small businesses. With Blacks making up such a small percentage of the total population, there was little need for formal mechanisms of social control. Over time, this would change as the migration of African Americans to Evanston increased. Between 1910 and 1940, the racial geography of the city changed dramatically with a majority of African American residents concentrated in one neighborhood now known as the Fifth Ward. This segregated neighborhood provided the space for residents to come together and fight for integration in the 1960s. Yet today in the 21st century, many of these same residents contest Evanston’s vision of integration, in some cases going as far as supporting the construction of a school that many Whites believed would resegregate Evanston’s public elementary schools. In order to make sense of how a group of people fighting for integration just fifty years ago would now support an initiative that seems to undo the success of those efforts, it is critical to understand the story of this community within the broader history of the city. By exploring the construction of the Fifth Ward through archival research and the words of my respondents, I will demonstrate the powerful role of lived experiences in shaping how residents make sense of integration.
To understand how residents (see Table 6 in Chapter 2 for a complete list of respondents) make sense of integration in Evanston in the 21st century, it is critical to go back to the formation of the city itself. Wealthy White families began constructing homes in this idyllic lakefront space north of the city of Chicago in the late 1800s. Initially the city served as a weekend retreat from the city for such families or in some cases women and children would be in Evanston while husbands and fathers were in Chicago. At the same time, African Americans were moving to Evanston in order to work in the homes of wealthy Whites. In some cases, Whites built homes with coach houses for servants or domestic workers. These workers were often, though not entirely, African American. In the lakefront estates, this was especially common. Consequently, at its inception, Evanstonians Black and White lived often in close proximity to one another. Not all African American residents lived in coach houses, however. Many lived in small, single-family homes throughout the city. In some cases, such as along Railroad Avenue, small African American enclaves comprised of a few families developed but in other cases, such as in the Northwest corner of the city near what is now Willard Elementary School, Black and White homeowners lived in organically integrated neighborhoods. Tom Smith, a 66-year lifelong resident of Evanston, explains: "My dad was born in 1917 and he attended Willard School till third grade and then they put the Black people out of North Evanston". Martha Hatfield, another

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1 In the current era, the racial geography of Evanston also includes concentrations of Black residents in the south of the city, especially around Oakton and Dawes Elementary Schools and near the border with Chicago. In addition, the city is home to a growing Latino population as well as other residents of color. Their experiences are important and relevant to current issues facing the city. For the purpose of this project, however, I will be focusing on the unique history and circumstances of the Fifth Ward. For more information on issues affecting residents of color in South Evanston, see Nyden et al.’s 1987 report to the City of Evanston Human Relation Commission entitled *Perceptions of Neighborhood Change in South Evanston*.
lifelong Evanston resident in her 80s, also spoke of the presence of Black residents throughout Evanston during its early history:

You know, and I never forget talking to somebody, and this was in the 1960s, the guy worked for the city, I think. And I was working for Head Start and he was talking about something and he really didn't know Evanston history. And he made a statement, I mean something about it misrepresented where Blacks lived. And I told him 'Blacks used to live all over Evanston.' I said, 'I used to live on the lake, on Milburn and Sheridan.' And he looked at me, I said, 'And they had their own houses.'"

At this time in Evanston's history, similar to other northern cities, Blacks were a relatively small proportion of the total population. The 1870 Census, for example, counted a total of 43 Black residents in Evanston, several of whom were homeowners. Black churches were founded as early as 1882, a Black-owned print shop was established by William Twiggs in 1887, and the Afro-American Budget newspaper began circulation in 1889 (see Appendix A for a complete timeline of relevant dates in Evanston’s history). Black businesses were scattered throughout the city of Evanston and in an early iteration of what would become Evanston's Central Business District, Black and White businesses were side-by-side and patronized by both Whites and Blacks. The migration of most Blacks living in Evanston at this time had resulted from either direct or indirect ties to White families. In other words, Blacks living in Evanston at the time were most likely to either have come at the behest of a White employer or at the urging of kin already established and connected to employment opportunities.

According to This is Evanston (2000), a local publication on the history of Evanston, the fate of Evanston Blacks began to change shortly after the turn of the 20th century as a result
of the first wave of the Great Migration. "Until 1910 the Black community had been dispersed throughout Evanston-- near the lake, downtown, and in the west. By 1930 African Americans constituted 8% of Evanston's population of 63,338. As racially restrictive codes increasingly affected housing in the early 20th century, segregation increased in Evanston." In this quote, the language is passive and leaves out the many public and private agents involved in creating and eventually maintaining segregation in Evanston: the city, private institutions, public-private collaboration, and individual residents and private collectives such as neighborhood organizations like the NWHA. Between 1910 and 1920, Evanston's population growth rate was more than double that of Chicago; between 1920 and 1930, it was more than three times that of Chicago. At this point in the early 20th century, suburban migration is important because approximately 20% of Blacks living outside of the South were living in suburbs. In addition, a
majority of Black migrants to Evanston were coming directly to Evanston as opposed to arriving by means of Chicago (Wiese 1999).

Black migration to Evanston resulted from a combination of push and pull factors. A city like Evanston offered freedom from the oppressive racial persecution that was part and parcel of the Jim Crow South. In addition, the havoc wrought by the boll weevil on cotton in the south diminished the already limited opportunities available to southern Blacks. At the same time, in Evanston there was the promise of employment as domestic help or in one of the many factories located in the city; there was also the perception of racial tolerance that had allowed for the relative prosperity of several early African Americans like William Twiggs (mentioned above) and other small-business owners. For these reasons, the migration of African Americans to Evanston could not be stopped.
Furthermore, the increasing number of Blacks in Evanston benefitted wealthy residents who had access to a large pool of potential inexpensive labor. One respondent, Martha Hatfield, talks about her experience as the child of groundskeeper for one of Evanston's wealthiest families:

Now the house was about 20 rooms, the main house, and they had a ballroom... There was a French maid who I think she, I don't know exactly what she did. But they had a butler, a chauffeur, and my father- that was the three men. Then they had an upstairs maid, a downstairs maid, a cook and I think some of those did double duty. There was one that was considered the laundress, well the laundress and seamstress. She did both of those. They had someone, whenever I went to the back door there was so many people in the kitchen, I couldn't count them all.

In Martha’s case, she and her family lived in the coach house of this wealthy White family.

However, as the number of Black Evanstonians increased, the city began to rely upon segregation for social control. Table 7 provides a chart taken from a 1945 report by the Evanston Council of Social Agencies that illustrates the rapid growth of the overall Black population in Evanston from 1900-1940. Over this same period of time, Black residents of Evanston went from being “scattered all over the city” to being increasingly concentrated in three main districts on the city’s west side.

Table 7. A listing of the ratio of Black residents to total population in Evanston, 1900-1940
Source: Evanston Council of Social Agencies (1945 report)
The Housing Question

William Montgomery, an 88-year old lifelong Evanstonian and former local NAACP chapter president, talked rather pointedly about how Blacks were "all over the place" when the Village of Evanston was incorporated in 1872. They lived in the North and South and everywhere in between and while there were certainly enclaves, they were dispersed throughout the larger city. However, after the turn of the 20th century, there were intentional processes that moved Blacks into what he referred to as the "so-called Fifth Ward."¹

During the first half of the 20th century, there were a number of public and private initiatives that concentrated Black residents on the west side of the city, an area which has come to be known as the Fifth Ward or the more common "historically Black neighborhood."² The creative use of a 1921 zoning ordinance, for example, targeted the specific blocks on which

¹ He did not like to call it the Fifth Ward or the historically Black community and any time he used either of those phrases to describe the neighborhood, he included "so-called".

² Montgomery also had a problem with this label as he felt that it mystified the forces involved in creating the segregated neighborhood.
Blacks lived outside of the west side of the city (Barr 2014). Nearly every block with Black residents was zoned for commercial uses thus forcing Blacks to relocate.

With the passage of the 1921 zoning ordinance, Evanston became the first city in Illinois to use a state law allowing municipalities to regulate land use. This allowed city officials to target African American homeowners vis-a-vis new zoning regulations with near surgical precision. Forced into relocating, Black homeowners often found that despite having the means to pay, very few properties were available to them. Real estate agents engaged in steering, a process whereby they would only show and sell properties to Blacks if they were located on the west side of the city. This was then supported by lending institutions which made no loans available to Blacks looking to purchase a home outside of the Fifth Ward and few loans available even to those looking to buy within the Fifth Ward. (Wiese 1999; see also Rothstein (2017) and Oliver and Shapiro (1995) for examples of how this happened across the United States).

In addition to the city zoning ordinances and the roles of real estate agents and lending institutions in concentrating African Americans in the Fifth Ward, there were also private White citizens who worked individually and collectively to keep African American residents out of their neighborhoods (see DeSena 1994 for more on the informal practices of White gatekeepers). Neighborhood petitions which sought to keep African Americans out due partially to fears of declining property values led to the creation of racially restrictive covenants that barred Blacks from living in specific neighborhoods or buildings. There were documented so-called Gentleman's agreements between homeowners in specific neighborhoods. With these agreements, residents would demand that neighbors not sell their homes to African Americans.

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3 Evanston Zoning Ordinance, 1921
These private actions worked in conjunction with efforts by real estate agents, banks, and city officials to concentrate Blacks in Evanston’s Fifth Ward.

In *Friends Disappear* (2014), author Mary Barr describes an example of a racial covenant prepared by White neighbors when a Black couple tried to purchase a home in 1933 at 1844 Wesley Avenue. A group of White neighbors banded together and hired a lawyer to prepare a covenant to “preserve it [the neighborhood] as a place for White people to live.” After taking it to court, the neighborhood association was successful and the Black couple was forced to buy a house elsewhere in Evanston. In this case, as in many others across the United States, public institutions like the courts sanctioned private discrimination by residents.

While these examples are documented in archives throughout Evanston, what a number of my respondents focused on was the forced relocation of Blacks living outside of the Fifth Ward. Several respondents talked of their grandparents' experiences being told that they could keep their homes but not the land that they occupied. Tom Smith says this of his father:

R: My father went to Willard School. Yeah, so we've been in Evanston, my dad was born in 1917 and he attended Willard School till 3rd grade and then they put the Black people out of North Evanston. And they took his house and moved it so that he wouldn't be north of Central Street. So he was 8 years old then so that must have been 1925...And all of his other relatives were going to Lincolnwood. They lived over on Pineview or Forestview? I think it's Forestview. But there was a substantial Black community in North Evanston at that time.

I: So they were pushed out? Like forcibly?

R: Yeah, they put his house on a truck and moved it. And the actual house is now sitting on Foster Street [in the Fifth Ward]. 2308 Foster. That my grandfather built. Another one of the houses is sitting on Emerson [also in the Fifth Ward]. They told them they could have their homes but they couldn't have their land. So the city of Evanston made them move. In conjunction with current constraints, that's when they were building all those beautiful homes up and down Central Park and Grant Street and Lincoln and what's that other street? Marcy... They were starting to develop that into a high rent area. And they opened that up to develop the retirement home, right across the street from Lincolnwood School. So when they started all that building then, then they decided they didn't want Blacks in that community.
Willard School is located in northwest Evanston in a Census tract that in 2010 was 93% White despite an overall White population of just 67% for the city as a whole. When Tom speaks of his father's attendance at Willard Elementary, he is able to demonstrate the initial incredulity that he felt when finding out for the first time that he relatives attended Willard. He goes on to relay an emotional story about a conversation he had with his father about an old elm tree and his subsequent attempt to corroborate some of his father's and grandfather's stories while teaching at Willard Elementary:

The elm tree, right before Dad died, I asked him to take me up there, and he said, "You see that beautiful elm tree? My grandfather planted that tree right in the backyard." And I said, "What?" And he said, "When I was a little boy, he planted that tree right in our backyard. Right around 1905. So that tree was in our backyard." And I said, "Are you kiddin' me?" And he said, "No." And then he asked me...I was teaching there [at Willard] one time and he said ask if the fireplace and the fishpond are still there. And I said, "What are you talking about?" And he said, "Are the fireplace and the fish tank still there?" And I went to Willard School one day and I asked a couple of teachers about it and they didn't know anything about it. So I went to the library and I said, "It's a beautiful floor, did you ever have a fish pond in here?" She said, "How'd you know about that?" And I said, "What do you mean?" And she said, "How did you know about the fish pond and fireplace?" And I told her. She moved the bookshelf and showed me that the fireplace was still there. The fishpond had been covered up with concrete. And she said, "How did you know about it?" And I told her my Dad saw the fishpond when he was in kindergarten and they used to read stories by the fireplace and he never forgot that. And I had to go back and apologize to him. I said, "Dad, you were right!" That's where you attended school.

For Tom Smith who came of age during the height of segregation in Evanston, the fact that his Black father attended what was then an entirely White, affluent elementary school was impossible to believe. It was only after he had proof from Willard's librarian that he was truly able to believe his father's story.

Other respondents shared similar stories about their families' and friends’ experiences being forced out of the north part of Evanston. Martha Hatfield recounts the painful memories that were stirred recently when the city of Evanston moved a house from the high school:
There was a class at the high school that built a house and that they were moving it to a particular location and somebody was going to live in it. And they were putting it up on jacks. And it just took me back, to when they moved the houses from North Evanston over to the west side. And I can't, I remember these great big wooden wheels, you know that's what they called a jack back then. I'm sure it was more up to date, whatever they moved it with [recently]. I had to walk past that cause it was coming down Foster and I lived at Foster, Dodge and Foster. I had to walk past it to go to Foster School. And it was just hard to do, knowing what they were doing. Cause I was in, I was in fourth grade. And I know there were other people who, other people who grew up with me around that time... And some of the people in our seniors group lived in the houses that were being moved.

Even though Martha and her family had not had their home loaded up on trucks and moved to the Fifth Ward, she experienced the trauma of this happening to her friends and classmates (see Appendix C for a list of all existing house moving permits and see Figure 7 for a graph of house moves in Evanston between 1894 and 1954. Though racial data was not collected on the permit, only Black residents were moving to the west side of the city at this time).

John Wilson similarly mentions his family's experience in passing. While he is either unaware of or chooses not to share details regarding his family's move, he does reference the fact that they lived in North Evanston at one point. "And my family like his [Tom Smith's] family
lived in North Evanston. And then they finally moved, moved, I guess I don't know if they were put out of North Evanston but they moved from North Evanston to the Fifth Ward. Like Martha and Tom, John’s family had lived outside of the Fifth Ward at the turn of the 20th century but eventually moved to the west side.

Another respondent, Laura Crosby, also had family members who were displaced. In her case, the school district purchased her family's land in order to expand Haven Middle School. However, the direction in which this middle school expanded once again targeted a small Black enclave in an otherwise majority White neighborhood.

There were certain covenants in Evanston and on Ridge Avenue there were apartment buildings, Black people didn't live in those apartment buildings until the 1960s. So people may have roomed in a house where someone rented a room or apartment or split up their house or whatever but people didn't live certain areas. Black people did not live, and that's because they were systematically pushed into the Fifth Ward. Because my great aunt and uncle in 1917, 1919, 1920 bought a house on Prairie Ave and owned a half acre of land. And Haven School, well the school district, Evanston School District, bought their property. People lived all over Evanston, Black people lived all over Evanston, all over everywhere but they were systematically pushed because of prejudices and discrimination and people's thick minds that Black people didn't belong in certain areas.

Laura’s story again demonstrates the ways in which city policies targeted African American communities. Often under the guise of eminent domain, African American homeowners were disproportionately forced to give up their land (and sometimes their homes).

Eunice Leavenworth, another longtime African American resident of Evanston, tells the story of her grandfather's properties. Unlike previous respondents who discussed their experiences in North Evanston, Eunice’s grandfather and great uncle owned properties in another small Black enclave along the railroad tracks in Central Evanston. She describes the situation for me with a picture of the properties:

My grandfather moved here because his brother lived here. His brother was working for the city and making very good money. [Pointing to the picture] Okay, this is them in, I'm trying to think, maybe 1915? Okay, my, let's see, my [great] uncle owned this building
and two others. Now that's how good his salary was! And then Northwestern wanted the entire block. Of course, that was moving some Blacks, a lot of Blacks, out.

Eunice then goes on to describe the lengths that her family went to in order to fight Northwestern University's attempt to force them out:

A cousin who had, whose parents had owned these three buildings, who had bought these three buildings when the uncle passed, okay, she was an attorney and she fought them in court and of course being an attorney, she didn't have to pay herself. So they finally relented and well they did take these two houses [points to photograph] but they relented and let her keep this building.

Even despite access to free legal services vis-a-vis her cousin, the pressure from Northwestern was too strong and the family was only able to retain one of the three properties. At the time of the interview, the fate of that property was unclear as Eunice’s cousin had recently died.

Eunice’s family went on to buy a home in the Fifth Ward and she spent her early years attending Foster Elementary like the other respondents.

Jack Thomas also describes the forced relocation of Black residents in Evanston's early history. He does not mince words when he discusses what happened to Blacks living near the lakefront and central business district, an area where three of the oldest Black churches in Evanston are still located:

It was, they banished us to the community. 100 years ago, they physically moved Black people, you know like Mt. Zion church, and Ebeneezer church and Second Baptist Church, Black folks lived over there. Black folks lived along the lakefront. They physically moved Black folks to that smelly, swampy land by the canal. Across Greenbay, in the Fifth Ward. That's what happened. And then those people thrived over there. And built a whole life, a whole community.

**West Side expansion: 1910-1940**

Between 1910 and 1940, there was not a single area of Black expansion outside of the Fifth Ward. By 1940, the Index of Dissimilarity, which measures how evenly two groups (e.g. Whites and Blacks in this case) are distributed across an area, was 87.2 in Evanston which was
only marginally lower than Chicago's score of 92.6. A score of 87.2 means that roughly 87% of African Americans in Evanston would have to move in order to even out the city’s neighborhoods racially. Yet despite an Index of Dissimilarity score so close to Chicago's (which was notorious for its highly-racialized neighborhoods and institutions and race riots in the early 20th century), Evanston saw itself as different from other communities which actively worked to keep Blacks out or force them out after they had already arrived. Some have described Evanston's managed approach to segregation as "paternalistic" because it was premised upon the development of separate institutions for Blacks (Leonard 1982). White elites in the city engaged in fundraising and philanthropic work to ensure that Evanston's Black population had access to "separate but equal" resources. In 1912, for example, Evanston began the first Boy Scout troop (Troop #7) for Black boys in the country. In 1914, the segregated Emerson Street YMCA (also known as the Black Y) opened and began offering programming for residents of the segregated Fifth Ward who were not permitted entry into the Whites-only Grove Street YMCA.

In 1914, two Black doctors, Arthur Butler and Isabella Garnett, founded the Evanston Sanitarium which would later become the Evanston Community Hospital. This served some of the health needs of Black Evanstonians, especially by providing access to local childbirth. Many

Figure 8. The Emerson Street YMCA
Source: Shorefront Legacy Center
respondents told stories of their mothers commuting down to Cook County Hospital in order to deliver a baby because Black residents, many of whom worked in the larger and better-resourced Evanston Hospital, were not permitted to deliver babies there. Martha Hatfield who was born in 1931 spoke of her mother’s experience:

I say that I was born in Evanston because at the time that my mother gave birth to me, I lived at 1930 Dodge. However, two weeks prior to my birth, she got on the El with a childhood friend of hers and they rode down to University of Illinois to be admitted so she could have, you know, deliver me at University of Illinois. Cause, I don't know if she had prenatal care there or what, I never did get that part of it. They said they didn't have any beds so she had to go right across the street to County. And County admitted her so I was born at Cook County hospital. So technically I was born in Chicago but I say Evanston because that was my first address.

Here Martha demonstrates the fact that Blacks who were born in Evanston may not have actually been born within the city limits due to racial discrimination at Evanston Hospital. Instead of being able to say she was born in Evanston (since she has lived her entire life in the city), Martha instead feels compelled to clarify the actual circumstances of her birth. I received a similar response from Tom Smith. When I asked him if he had been born in Evanston, he responded matter-of-factly, "No, I couldn't be born in Evanston because there was no hospital. So I had to be born in Cook County."

Figure 9. Evanston Community Hospital
Source: Shorefront Legacy Center
Even as late as the late 1950s, wealthy White families were philanthropically engaged with the Fifth Ward. Here Tom Smith comments about his memories of White support for his community:

The other thing that I remember about that [Fifth Ward] community in Evanston is that it had a lot of support from outside the community. We had what we would call the drill team. And the drill team was supported by a wealthy White woman in Evanston. But it was all Black. That was like around 1959, 1958. It was the first time an all-Black drill team won the national championship. And some of the largest supporters of that in Evanston were major wealthy White families in Evanston.

His discussion of this is tinged with appreciation; he sees these opportunities as existing precisely because Whites cared enough to invest in the community. However, when painted against a backdrop of institutionalized discrimination and segregation brought about by a combination of public and private actors, it does lend support to the possibility of paternalism.

Blacks had access to home ownership in Evanston; in fact, as mentioned previously, Evanston Blacks owned homes at a rate three times that of Chicago Blacks (Wiese 1999). However, such access was limited to the Fifth Ward by collaborative efforts between public and private agents. As the Black population continued to become more highly concentrated in the Fifth Ward, the neighborhood elementary school, Foster Elementary, went from an almost entirely White student body to a nearly 100% Black student body over a short period of time. Table 8 provides information about the change in racial demographics at Foster Elementary from 1905 when it first opened through the first year of integration in 1967. This was in part because Foster’s catchment area (i.e. the neighborhood surrounding the school) included within it the three main districts in which a majority of Evanston’s Black population lived. However, several respondents also claimed that this was because White families living in the school catchment
area were able to get permissive transfers in order to send their children to alternative majority White schools outside of the immediate neighborhood.⁴

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Table 8. Foster Elementary School's demographic changes over time

According to several respondents, permissive transfers were rarely given to Black residents who wanted their children to attend a school other than Foster Elementary. Eunice Leavenworth, like many other respondents, recounts how the demographics of Foster Elementary did not reflect the school's catchment area. "Well I know that when the White enrollment went down at Foster, that White families were given the option of going to Haven. They didn't have to go to Foster, they could go to Haven if they wanted to, but you know, they were the only ones." While the neighborhood was becoming more and more segregated, there were still some White families living there. Yet Foster Elementary was almost entirely Black because White families were able to get permissive transfers to send their children to other Evanston schools such as Haven Elementary. However, as Eunice notes, "they were the only ones" as this privilege was not

⁴ Documenting the history of the permissive transfer program in then District 75 (now District 65) schools has proven elusive and will be the subject of future research.
extended to Black families living in the Fifth Ward who wanted to send their children to schools other than Foster.

In fact, Eunice goes on to describe a more glaring example of this double standard. She recounts how her mother worked as a nursing aide at an upscale retirement and assisted living facility in northwest Evanston. Her father, a Pullman Porter, had sustained a significant work-related injury and was hospitalized and going through rehabilitation on the west coast so Eunice’s mother decided to rent a room available to employees at the Presbyterian Home in order to facilitate her new situation as a temporarily single parent. She took Eunice to the Evanston school district's office in order to enroll her at Willard Elementary, the closest school to her new legal residence. Eunice describes how the meeting played out:

"I remember so clearly us going to Superintendent's office to ask for a transfer to Willard. I mean no, to ask for a transfer to Lincolnwood [another all White elementary school nearby] because Lincolnwood was on the bus route and if it was bad weather, I could take the bus. And she was told well you're not in the Lincolnwood neighborhood. And she was. And he said, "You're in the Willard district" and that little corner, that little corner of Evanston is in the Willard district. And so she said, "Okay, Willard." "Oh well why don't you send her to Haven?" She said, "It'd be the same thing. I'd still be having to pay bus fare." And he says, "Well they have a lunchroom" and she said, "Why should I keep paying bus fare and pay for lunches when she can come and get meals at no cost [at Presbyterian]?" And we sat there in the waiting room for, I don't know how long. I think it was hours. He, the superintendent, he did not want to...give her the transfer for me to go to Willard. My mother was a not a loud person but she was a determined person and we just sat there and I remember every time he came out of his office, he would look over there and give her the dirtiest look. If looks could kill! And they named the school, they ended up naming a school after him. But anyway, after a number of hours, I guess he realized she wasn't going anywhere. And from a legal standpoint, I had a right to go to Willard because we were staying there. We were living there at the [Presbyterian] Homes. So finally I did get the transfer.

In this example, Eunice’s mother is attempting to enroll her in a school that, according to school catchment areas at the time, she is legally entitled to attend. Yet she experiences discrimination when the superintendent does everything in his power to deny her access to Willard Elementary. This is in stark contrast to the apparent ease with which White families were able to obtain
permissive transfers for their children to attend schools other than their neighborhood school when that permissive transfer sought to get their children out of Foster Elementary.

By 1940, the segregated Fifth Ward had three major anchor institutions: Foster Elementary School, the Community Hospital, and the Emerson Street YMCA. By most of my respondents' accounts, it was a thriving, middle-class Black neighborhood. Jack Thomas, who is slightly younger than many of the other respondents, beams with pride when he describes the Fifth Ward of his childhood:

When I was growing up, I was born in a Black hospital, I went to a Black school, I went to a Black YMCA, went to Black restaurants and a Black doctor in a Black doctor's office in Evanston. In the Fifth Ward. Black hospital, in the Fifth Ward. I went to restaurants in the Fifth Ward. Black-owned restaurants, delicatessens, there was a pharmacy, Doc Morris' pharmacy in the Fifth Ward. There were butchers and bakers and candlestick makers, Black, doing stuff in the Fifth Ward.

Others corroborated Jack’s stories of Black-owned businesses and industry in the neighborhood. Martha Hatfield, for example, recounts some of the specific businesses and business people who were well known in the community:

We had every kind of business there was. Okay at the corner of Emerson and Dodge, the building is still there, right now there is a cleaners and a beauty shop and a snack shop... Oh and then across the street in the basement of the house that's there, it's a gray stucco house with White trim windows and there was, it was a cab stand, I don't remember the name of the cab company, but they ran a cab stand in the basement... On the right side [of a building at Simpson and Foster] was a grocery store, Mr. Watkins owned that, and on the left side was a beauty shop. And my mother used to work for Mr. Watkins, she as a store clerk. And I mean, and that's just in my immediate area but there were all kind of Black businesses. Let me go back to the Emerson and Dodge building. On the second floor, there were doctors up there... One time when I was cutting out paper dolls and I was in a little rickety chair and I leaned back and the scissors went through my lip. My mother took me up to the corner for the doctor to sew my lip up... But anyway there were two or three offices up there... but we had all kinds of doctors gynecologists, dentists, several medical doctors. And basically they lived right [in the Fifth Ward], they were supported by the Black community. And there were gas stations and barbershops, cleaners. Down there on Greenbay Road, there was a guy... he made hats and stuff. He was a haberdasher.
For many respondents, the neighborhood was a source of pride. It was clear to them that Blacks had been relegated to a second-class citizenship status within the city of Evanston but despite the many obstacles they faced, they were able to build a community of homeowners and businesses largely through their own resourcefulness and determination. Melvin Smith, a lifelong Evanston resident, published a weekly Fifth Ward newspaper, *The Newsette*, from 1941 – 1942 and then again from 1946 - 1950. In this publication, one can see the variety of local businesses which paid for advertising as well as a documentation of social events and gatherings all happening within the Fifth Ward (see Figure 10 for an example of the content of this publication).

![Sample page from the Evanston Newsette](image)

**Figure 10.** Sample page from the Evanston Newsette, a weekly newspaper published by Melvin Smith from 1941-1942 and again from 1946-1950. The four-year hiatus was due to his service during World War II.
Source: Shorefront Legacy Center

At least in part due to the businesses, anchor institutions like Foster Elementary, the Community Hospital and the Emerson YMCA, and high levels of home ownership, the
overwhelming majority of respondents talked about the sense of community that pervaded the Fifth Ward. When I asked respondents to talk about what the neighborhood was like during this period of acute segregation, I heard many recount similar things about community and relationships. When asked about the neighborhood while he attended Foster Elementary, Tom Smith says, "Everybody walked to school. You knew where everybody lived. Basically, it was a very tight-knit community." When pressed to provide a specific example about interacting with his neighbors, Tom goes on to say:

We knew every house where every family lived in the neighborhood. We knew the residents over every home. Especially if they were kids. Secondly, we also had a strong support system as far as businesses. We had two Black grocery stores, a Black restaurant. In fact, the only integrated restaurant in Evanston at that time was Fanny's, on the corner of Ashland, right across from what is now Foster Field.

Sally McLean also describes this familiarity with her neighborhood. "I knew everybody on my block. I, as a child, I knew everybody. Everybody was a homeowner, on our block they were all homes, everybody owned their own homes." It was this feeling of connectedness and community that stemmed from being able to accomplish one's needs within the community. Sally elaborates on this, "I mean that was my comfort zone of living there. I didn't have to venture out as a little girl further than there... Part of Evanston's park district [was at the Foster Community Center] and so that was recreation after school so I would come over there... My father owned a business, a radio-television business that I would walk there to my father's business." Denise Haraway also describes a similar memory of the neighborhood:

Everybody knew everybody. I mean like across the street was just like people that grew vegetables 'cause it was just all open field so they, you know, would go out and plant stuff in the fields over there. And we were like right along the canal, like it is now, and oh gosh, I remember everybody... Well we, all the kids, we all went to Foster, you know we all went there and you know we all played together, we went to each other's homes... Yeah, everybody helped you if you needed help, everybody helped everybody. Even with the kids. You know you couldn't do anything because everybody the adults would go
back and tell your parents and of course you'd get a spanking and everything. And back then they didn't you know our parents didn't care if our neighbors disciplined us.

When asked about her memories of the Fifth Ward, Alderman Houston talked about the role that anchor institutions played in cultivating and maintaining the community. Of Foster Elementary, for example, she says:

[Foster Elementary] was the hub. The church and the school that was in the African American community, you know, that was it, basically what you had. I mean, there were a few institutions, we had the Y, the Emerson Street Y, you know, things like that, but the school and the church was where you spent the majority of your life. So you know it was your hub.

Wilma Robinson, a longtime resident of the Fifth Ward who moved to Evanston when she was eighteen, expresses similar sentiments about the neighborhood during the height of segregation, "Well, this, this area, I been over here about fifty years, I think it is. And this area has always been a quiet area. They're people that owns the property. And we really had a village. And at that time, when we were bringing our kids up, everybody supported us." Many respondents evoked images of a "village" of people who shared in the challenges of working and raising children. Whether it was shared disciplining, mentoring, or help with childcare, most respondents espoused views that described the community as a collective entity. One of my favorite recollections of this came from Janice Sampson and her discussion of the “baby-sitters”:

Black people…basically they all knew each other, they looked out for each other and their children. My mother told us that the baby-sitters would tell her if we did something wrong and I asked her "What baby-sitters?" I didn't know that we ever had any baby-sitters and she named the people from Foster Avenue which is the block that turns to Emerson Street to here. And she had someone who knew and we knew all along the way.

Like previous examples, Janice’s story about the baby-sitters she didn’t know she had encapsulates the ways in which residents of the Fifth Ward created community and cared for one another.
At the same time, several respondents articulate a more nuanced and complicated view of the neighborhood. William Montgomery, for example, described Foster Elementary as "both a source of pride and oppression" for many members of the community. The building provided a space in which residents were brought together on an almost daily basis, thus strengthening the ties within the community. At the same time, its physical structure encapsulated the racial inequality that residents endured in Evanston. On the one hand, he recounts positive stories of Foster Elementary as "the center of the Black community":

Well, Foster School, Foster Field was the center of the Black community. Period. Meaning that education, recreation, sports. We used to have what's called "neighborhood nights" which are in the summer time where everybody would come out to Foster Field and there'd be amateur singing, all this sort of stuff. The baseball team, the primary activity for every kid was athletics. And that's what everybody wanted to do. We would play football, basketball, we didn't have much of a track but some of the guys ran track. And the [Foster] PTA was strong and active, mainly in the community.

Almost immediately after the aforementioned quote, William goes on to tell me about two of his old friends, both of whom are now deceased, who started a group in Evanston in the 1960s called Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) which used force and violence to achieve its goals. This was very against segregation in Evanston and believed in change "by any means necessary". Because this group saw Foster as an impediment to achieving integration, William claims, they set fire to it in 1958. Foster Elementary did have a fire on October 28, 1958 which lead to the busing of Black students to surrounding White neighborhood schools. However, I have not been able to corroborate this story of arson as the cause of the Foster fire. Nevertheless, the fact that William, someone who was actively involved in his community and described Foster as the "center of the Black community", was a part of a group that considered setting fire to Foster Elementary demonstrates the complicated relationship that many respondents had with Foster and other Black institutions in the Fifth Ward.
The interview notes from my talk with Wilma Robinson demonstrate her ambivalence toward Foster Elementary. In contrast to a majority of my respondents who could remember the names of their teachers from the 1930s and 1940s, Wilma had to ask her son, "Hey Tommy, where'd you go to elementary school?" to which he replied, "Foster Mom." This was after she told me that her children did not go to Foster so she did not seem to recall much about the school nor did she have much to say about it as an important community institution. When pressed to tell me about an experience she had while her son was at Foster, she recounts: "Well, I wasn't active but see I had just got here, I didn't know too much about Foster School. And me bein' no money and everything like that, I had to really work, do day work to feed my family. You know. So, but to me Foster was a good place." What is interesting about this quote is that it is the only time I heard a respondent talk explicitly about his or her struggles with poverty. Some respondents mentioned falling on harder times because of a divorce or a work-related accident, but most focused much more on markers of middle-class status such as homeownership. Though I did not ask explicit questions about socioeconomic status, it appears that a majority of my respondents hailed from middle class families. In contrast, Wilma Robinson, a single and working parent was unable to participate in the neighborhood community to the degree that other residents were.

Eunice Leavenworth, who attended Willard Elementary after doing just two years at Foster Elementary, was the only respondent who had negative things to say about Foster. "Foster was a bore. My mother was on the PTA, she was secretary of the PTA. It was a bore. Well, see I left and went to the [Presbyterian] Home after school." Similar to Wilma's ambivalence toward Foster owing at least in part to her being a low-income single mother, Eunice’s situation spread her across two neighborhoods: the Fifth Ward and the Presbyterian Home. These accounts are
important because they demonstrate that not all of my respondents feel the same way about Foster Elementary. While there is some dissension about the role of Foster in the neighborhood, all respondents did share stories demonstrating the close-knit nature of the Fifth Ward during segregation.

For many of these residents, Foster was described as a place where kids got a good education and parents were highly involved. Some respondents painted a more complicated picture of Foster, with several mentioning its nickname: Red Rock Prison. John Wilson told me that a lot of kids called Foster the "Red Rock Prison" because they didn't really like it. He said they didn't like it because they felt "they wasn't getting treated right." He also mentioned that there were always a lot of fights between people. "I even got beat up, not really beat but hit", he commented. Alderman Houston also mentioned this nickname, "Red Rock Prison", in her interview and there were others who talked about discrimination based on skin tone that happened within Foster. For example, Sally McLean talked about her experiences as a lighter-skinned African American student at Foster. In this exchange where I asked her about memorable teachers she had at Foster, she discussed the following:

Sally: They all liked me and treated me well. My first-grade teacher, her name was Ms. Hanlon, often times I think, sometimes to be the teacher's pet, you know they like you a lot and so forth. Didn't really know why. But now as I get older I understand the dynamics of what things were all about.

Interviewer: What do you mean?

Sally: I think it had to do a lot with complexion. How you looked, personality probably also.

Interviewer: Meaning if you were lighter skinned, you were treated differently?

Sally: Yes.

Interviewer: So you noticed-
R: I didn't notice it, no I didn't, I'm only noticing it and only noticed it years later when talking with friends about various things that happened to them that didn't happen to me in certain situations.

Although there was a majority Black population at Foster beginning in the 1930s, there were few Black teachers employed at the school. This began to change when neighborhood parents organized to put pressure on the district to hire more Black teachers. However, despite these stories of some of the problems within Foster, the overwhelming majority of my respondents talked about Foster as a source of community pride, a place where despite lacking the resources of other Evanston elementary schools, neighborhood children were prepared for junior high and were operating at the same levels as White children.

Martha Hatfield initially attended Noyes Elementary School, a school located in the central part of Evanston that was more organically integrated⁵. She talked about the differences in treatment between the two schools, speaking here about the teachers at Foster:

They just stuck with you in anything they taught you. They taught us how to read music and I can still read music today. And I'm really grateful for that cause in church they have this hymnal with songs in it and half of them I didn't know. I knew some, I knew quite a bit but they'd bring 'em out, I mean they'd say such and such a page and I'd look at it and I could read it! And they just stuck with you till you learned it whereas at Noyes they didn't hardly call on you. You know you would just, if you raised your hand, you had to keep raising it and I'd be like this [holds up the arm of her raised hand with her hand as if it were tired of being raised].

Alderman Houston echoes these sentiments where she said:

But the teachers cared about the kids. It didn't make any difference about the color. At least in my mind it didn't. I never remember there being a difference and maybe that's because we were all African American, the majority of us, except the, what was it, the Buckley family? There was one White family. Vicky. The Vicky family. Um, I do remember that. But it was just, they just taught us and everyone that went to Foster School, in my era, we all learned how to read, do math.

⁵ Noyes, like other schools located in the central part of the city, drew from more diverse neighborhoods. When I say “organically integrated”, I mean that the school’s catchment areas included neighborhoods occupied by both White and Black families.
These examples encapsulate the memories that many respondents have of Foster Elementary School. The teachers “just taught” and students for the most part did not have to deal with the institutionalized racism that was part of their educational careers after Foster. Though Foster was a physical reminder of the oppression of the community, it was also a source of pride for many residents and served important social functions within the community like the other segregated institutions.

These lived experiences of Foster and the segregated Fifth Ward powerfully shape how my respondents frame integration today. It is not something that has been accomplished but rather an ever-evolving battle for equity. When respondents talk about integration being about more than “body mixing”, they are critiquing the form that integration has taken in Evanston. A strict focus on the racial demographics of each school, especially a one-size-fits-all model with a White majority, is not advancing equity for Black students and therefore many of them believe integration, when taken as such, is not working for this community.

Discrimination in White spaces

The Fifth Ward functioned as a kind of involuntary bubble for Black residents of Evanston. They could meet their needs, for the most part, within the confines of their segregated community. This bubble nature of the Fifth Ward was reinforced for many residents when they ventured into greater Evanston for various reasons. Martha Hatfield recounted a number of stories of discrimination that she experienced, often times with her brother and sister, while living outside of the Fifth Ward. Here she discusses how Blacks could not eat in restaurants in downtown Evanston:

We couldn't eat in any restaurants in downtown Evanston. We couldn't eat there. We had a sit-in in the 1940s… On Sunday afternoons we had the Methodist church, we was called First Methodist then, and the Presbyterian church and it was called First
Presbyterian. And those two ministers got together and...they would meet with the high-
school aged kids and have different activities for us. And one week we'd be over here and
the next we'd be over there. Well they decided to have a sit-in. And it was Black and
White kids. And there was this place called Coolie's Cupboard...And we went to this
restaurant and they sat us in the middle of the, it was about maybe 12 of us maybe and I
could be wrong because like I said I'm only maybe 11 or 12. But you know the table was
like this [long and rectangular] and people was on the end and people clearly along the
sides. We waited and the ministers of course were with us. And so we're waiting to get
waited on and so we wait and we wait and we wait and we wait and finally, they were
standing in the doorway of the kitchen leanin' against the frame, you know, lookin' at us.
And finally they decided to bring us some menus and everybody ordered fountain kind of
stuff, sundaes and sodas and things like that. And we musta waited another 45 minutes or
more before they finally brought the food out. And when they did, the milkshake had so
much salt and pepper in it, you couldn't eat it. The sundae, same thing. We couldn't eat it.
So we left and of course didn't pay. I think we went back but I don't remember how that
turned out. But that was the first sit in in Evanston.

She continues with a story about her cousin, Alan, who worked in a downtown dime store as a
stock boy. Like many dime stores, this one was known for its long counter and soda fountain
which was a frequent stop for movie-goers. After going to the movies, they decided to go to get a
soda at his urging.

So there were people in there eating and we came in and we decided, we jumped up on
the stools and decided we were gonna order something. And one of the ladies that works
said, "Alan, now you know you can't do that." And Alan said, "What do you mean? We
want something to eat." "Well, you can't have any" and then she talked to him and so he
got mad. He got off the stool and the rest of us sat there cause we didn't know what to do.
He went to the end of the counter, climbed up on the counter, he said, "Well, if I can't eat,
nobody else can eat." And he walked on kickin' the plates and stuff from everybody.

Martha chuckled as she recounted this story though it is clear that the memory brought back pain
and fear when she added, "Well, you know that was the end of his job but they didn't do anything
to him. In the South, he'd probably have been arrested but they didn't do anything to him, they
just fired him you know. But that was one of the experiences we had."

For many White Evanston residents, even those that lived through the city’s explicit
segregation, the experience of racial discrimination is invisible. For many of my respondents,
however, the cumulative effect of experiencing racial discrimination in the city is that certain
parts of the city feel more hostile toward them. Despite technically being open to all, institutions like the Grove Street YMCA and public schools in the north part of the city do not feel welcoming to them because of their lived experiences of discrimination in Evanston. As Lynch (1960) writes in *The Image of the City*, “At every instant there is more than the eye can see, more than the ear can hear, a setting or view waiting to be explored. Nothing is experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surroundings, the sequences of events leading up to it, the memory of past experiences…Every citizen has had long associations with some part of his city, and his image is soaked in memories and meanings” (p. 1). Experiences of racial discrimination are carried with my respondents and shape their daily life. As such, they act as a lens through which residents view city policies.

Martha Hatfield also recounted experiencing discrimination at the downtown movie theater though it was less overt and explicit than her experiences in restaurants and at soda counters. She compared her experience learning racial norms in Evanston to experiences she had had in the South. The youngest of three, Martha discussed the first time she became aware that Blacks were expected to sit in the movie theater balcony:

> Ironically even without the sign, we knew [in Evanston]. Now, we did and we didn't. One time we went to the Varsity [movie theater] and we walked from home and so by the time we got there, I was tired. And so I said, "I'm gon' sit on the first floor" and I headed toward the first floor and there was an usher there and he was a little nervous. In the meantime, Edie and William are going up to the balcony. "No you come on with us!" I said, "No, I'm gon' sit down here. You all can come down here!" And we argued for a little bit and they didn't know what to do and the usher didn't know what to do. And I could tell, 'cause they kept lookin' at the usher, and I could tell from the expressions on their faces that somethin' wasn't right and so I gave in and I went on upstairs. And later on figured out, they never told me, but later on figured out we couldn't sit on the first floor of the theater. You know, fortunately we could buy the tickets at the ticket window and come in the front door but when we went to Missouri and visited my aunt there, my uncle took us to the movies, he told us to wait on the side and he went up to the ticket window and bought the tickets. And he came back and we walked around to the back and went up some rickety steps up to the balcony. And, I was about 12 or 13 then. And when we sat in the seats, mind you I'm just 12 or 13, my knees were hitting the backs of
the balcony railing so I don't know what William and my uncle did 'cause I know their knees, they had to sit sideways.

Other respondents recalled the discrimination they faced in school when in more mixed settings. Junior high schools, for example, had larger catchment areas and were not nearly as segregated as Foster Elementary. Many respondents talked about the discrimination they faced in junior high. Of junior high school, Alderman Houston commented, "Much more integrated. Much more so. And then you could see the difference in terms of, for me, anyway, then I saw a difference in terms of treatment, I want to say. Because, um, your hand got held up longer, you got called on less, you know, that kind of stuff." Jack Thomas remembers being treated differently by a teacher in junior high school, treatment he feels was a consequence of his race. "I remember going to seventh grade, at Haven, and I had a teacher Ms. Henson. Spanish class. And I got an A. Well, she didn't put me in any advanced Spanish. And I said, 'The other kids that got As went to advanced Spanish. How come I'm not in it? 'Well, if you get another A or B, I will put you in.' Okay, fine, I got another A. She still didn't put me in."

Denise Haraway recalls her shock when she found out that Foster Elementary had been closed:

Yeah, I was surprised because I said, "That's where half the Blacks in Evanston went to school!!" And then just to let it close like that. I wasn't really in to reading what's going on in the area. I know I had moved away, I moved...So I don't know if something was going on between that time...I didn't think that that would be a place that would ever close. Because I know that there are kids in the community and if they could bus us places, why can't you bus them in over here? You know? So that I didn't understand.

Eunice Leavenworth remembers her experience as the only Black child at Willard Elementary.

Interviewer: There were no other Black students at Willard?

Eunice: No, NO! There wasn't a Black student at either Lincolnwood or Willard. And I was totally accepted. In fact, occasionally they put on the weekend, some of the kids in the class might put on a little magic show and charge a nickel to come and they'd invite me and say, "But Eunice you don't have to pay." Well, they knew the situation. So yeah.
Very very open. Of course, with the birthday parties, the parents arranged that, and I wasn't invited to any birthday parties.

Initially this anecdote seems like a positive experience for Eunice; her classmates are aware of her differences but they accept them and create largely inclusive situations. However, Eunice’s race serves as the basis for the parents to discriminate against her by excluding her from birthday parties and any other adult-organized social events.

Finally, both Alderman Houston and Tom Smith discuss the way the city of Evanston handled the logistics of the Foster Elementary fire in October 1958. The fire did significant damage to the south wing of the school; consequently, students were unable to attend classes there until it was rebuilt. The displaced children were bused to neighboring all White schools like Willard and Noyes (which was more diverse at the time). Instead of integrating Foster students into the school, however, they were segregated within the building. Alderman Houston recalls, "When Foster burned and they had to go to different schools, I think it was fourth grade, she went to Noyes and she said you know we were in a separate room and we played on the playground and everything. It was still like being at Foster School but in this White environment." Tom Smith also recalls a similar situation: "Yes, they [the displaced children] could go to Willard but they had to stay in their own room all day long, their lunches brought to them in their rooms and they could only get off that bus, go to class and get back on that bus and come home."

William Montgomery, who lived with his family in the coach-house of a lakefront estate, remembered being forced to attend Noyes Elementary School despite living "just across the green" from Orrington Elementary. Instead of walking two blocks, he and his siblings had to walk forty blocks round-trip to Noyes Elementary.
When I was around 6 or 7 years old, my father tried to get us in to Orrington which was about three blocks away. They wouldn't let my sister and I, two black kids, go there. Mr. Bridges [the wealthy White man who employed William’s father], tried to get us in there but they wouldn't. So we had to walk from Melbourne and Sheridan all the way to Noyes School. And at the time there was no express way so Sheridan Road and Sherman Avenue were heavy traffic streets which we had to cross. And we would walk and white kids who were going to Orrington would walk by the other way, they would tease us.

Many respondents had stories about how their race impeded their ability to access White institutions.

**Conclusion**

As the anecdotes in this chapter demonstrate, being Black in Evanston during the first half of the 20th century was closely tied to living in the Fifth Ward. Blacks who wanted to purchase a home were unable to do so in other parts of the city; similarly, Blacks moving to Evanston from the south tended to settle on the expanding west side of the city. Black identity in Evanston at this time was also in part tied to participation in Black-owned businesses and institutions, from Foster to the Emerson YMCA to the Black Boy Scout Troop and Fifth Ward “neighborhood nights.” The Black community was by all accounts socioeconomically diverse and thriving, in part because of segregation and the limits placed on Blacks’ freedom to move throughout the city. For long-term Black residents of the Fifth Ward, the memories of these formative racial and spatial experiences shape their understanding of the city today.

In the next chapter, I will explore the ways in which the shift from explicitly segregated to initially integrated institutions affects the meaning of integration for long-term Black residents. Many residents’ stories of this period speak to the trauma brought about by Fullilove’s concept of “root shock” because one effect of institutional integration was the disintegration of the Fifth Ward’s social cohesion, economic market for Black-owned businesses, and political base. These
effects of integration are very on the minds of my respondents when they discuss integration in the city today.
CHAPTER 4

INSTITUTIONAL INTEGRATION

In Evanston, the 1960s began a period of institutional integration. During this era, we saw the formal implementation of the 1954 Supreme Court decision in the Brown vs. the Board of Education case leading to fully integrated public elementary schools; integration of other institutions like the hospital and YMCA happened shortly thereafter. At the time, a majority of African Americans living in the city championed the cause of institutional integration; with respect to the public-school system, it was seen as a means of achieving access to better educational resources. Yet in 2012, many of these same residents who fought for integration supported a referendum to build a new school in the Fifth Ward, despite concerns by others that this proposed school would undo the work of integration by resegregating many of Evanston’s public elementary schools. This apparent reversal in attitude toward integration indicates that the current form of integration is not working for everyone and that the work of integration is unevenly distributed. A deep understanding of the period leading up to the failed 2012 school referendum is critical to the success of integration moving forward. In this chapter, I will use a combination of archival research and interview data to tell the story of institutional integration in Evanston and how it shapes attitudes toward integration nearly half a century later.

The impetus for this research came out of my personal experience with the Evanston public-school system leading up to the 2012 referendum. My son’s school was overcrowded and slated to be redistricted had the Board of Education not approved funding for a large addition.
We would have had to send him to a different elementary school or move in order to stay in the current school. Because moving was not an option, we would have had to switch schools despite the fact that he was thriving socially and emotionally at his current school. I began doing research on the history of redistricting in the city and found the case of Foster Elementary School which closed during the period of institutional integration. I felt pangs of empathy for the many families who had to give up their neighborhood school, a school I would come to find was the center of a close-knit community. I knew I had to engage the residents who went through this process and hear their deep stories (Hochschild 2016) in order to better understand the current moment. Only through connecting the history of segregation to the history of integration are we able to make sense of attitudes toward integration today.

In the previous chapter, I documented the concentration of African Americans in the Fifth Ward through a combination of public and private agents. This chapter builds off of that foundation by exploring how the lived experience of segregation shaped residents’ efforts to integrate the city. Focusing on the public elementary schools as my unit of analysis, I demonstrate how the form that integration took in the city of Evanston in the 1960s and 1970s ironically did not affirmatively account for the legacy of discrimination against African Americans and consequently led to an outcome that unevenly distributed the work of integration.

**Institutional integration: The public elementary schools**

At the time of the 1960 Census, Evanston was still a White and Black city with roughly 88.5% of the population counted as White and 11% counted as Black (the other 0.5% was labeled “Other”) and in the northern half of the city, the two races lived in separate neighborhoods that were clearly demarcated by major roads and a canal (see Figure 11 for a map of the racial distribution of school-aged children in the city in 1965). Public schools throughout
the city were highly segregated with one majority Black school (Foster Elementary which was 99% Black) and several schools in the north that were overwhelmingly White (Orrington which was 100% White, Lincolnwood which was 100% White, and Willard which was 99% White during the 1962-1963 school year). In 1954, the Supreme Court voted to integrate public-school systems by declaring "separate but equal" schools for Black and White children unconstitutional. The decision in the landmark case, *Brown vs. the Board of Education*, required all public-school systems to make the necessary changes to ensure that Black and White children were attending the same schools.

Evanston is described as the first Northern city to voluntarily integrate its public schools but as Martin Henslin, a longtime African American resident and curator of African American archives in Evanston notes of the segregated Foster Elementary school:

Figure 11. Map of the racial distribution of school-aged children in the city in 1965
Source: Evanston History Center
Here it is, a *de facto* segregated school. The nation is mandating that it become desegregated. How can we beat them to the punch and manage our own desegregation process? So it's kind of funny to me sometimes when I hear people, proponents of education say, "Evanston was the first city to desegregate its school system!" Yeah, but you saw it coming. You had no choice. You didn't want it to be mandated how it’s done so you did your own thing so you could say "no, no, no, we're already doing it. We've already did it."

In this quote, Martin demonstrates that he does not buy into this claim that Evanston was the first northern city to voluntarily desegregate its public schools. For him this is a specious claim given that Evanston began the initial process to desegregate ten years after the Supreme Court mandated it, clearly taking advantage of the “all deliberate speed” addition to the Court’s mandate (Bell 2009; Ogletree 2004). Instead of taking pride in living in a city which desegregated more quickly relative to other northern cities, he sees Evanston’s motivation as a means to control and manipulate integration so that it is done in a way that is palatable for a White majority.

In 1964, Evanston’s elected Board of Education in conjunction with a series of pro-integration superintendents formed a commission to engage the problem of segregation in Evanston's elementary schools. The Citizens Advisory Committee on Integration (CACI), a seventeen-member group of Evanston residents (12 men and 5 women) formed in December of 1964 in part as the result of pressure from the local chapter of the NAACP (headed by William Montgomery\(^1\)) and parent activists at Foster Elementary. CACI was tasked with the challenge of figuring out how to best integrate the school system. Because Evanston's school system had always been predicated on the "neighborhood school concept" where children attended the school closest to their homes, integrating the school system would require the CACI to be

\(^1\) William Montgomery served as the President of Evanston’s local NAACP several times including during the Civil Rights era as well as in the 1980s and early 2000s.
creative given the hypersegregation of African Americans (Massey and Denton 1993). The goal of CACI was to come up with a workable method for implementing desegregation. This task proved difficult because it attempted to reconcile a paradoxical aim: creating a plan that would allow Evanston children to attend the school closest to their legal residence and have that school be reflective of the greater Evanston demographics. Armed with $5,000 (roughly $37,000 in 2012 dollars), CACI set out to determine the walkability of different school boundaries, what the ratios at each school would be, and how parents felt about the process. CACI engaged in data collection (document analysis, survey collection and analysis, interviews) from October of 1964 until May of 1965.

It is evident from the records that the commission was interested in going about data collection and analysis in the most "objective" way possible since the topics of integration and race were highly sensitive in Evanston and around the country. It was also the case that the school district wanted to keep ahead of potential forced integration mandates as Martin Henslin mentioned. Using a “scientific” approach to the conundrum of integrating elementary schools across segregated neighborhoods helped to add credibility and legitimacy to a charged process. CACI created a survey which sought to gauge Black and White parents' willingness to voluntarily transfer their children in order to integrate the school system. They also used innovative quantitative technologies like a computer-based quota and mapping system in order to effectively come up with acceptable re-drawn attendance areas for each of Evanston's elementary schools. In a study exploring Evanston's integration in the five years following the fall of 1967, there is mention of the use of technology in determining school catchment areas. "Computer assistance from Illinois Institute of Technology was used in determining pupil assignments within the constraints of school capacities, racial balance of about 22% Black pupils in each
school, minimal displacement, optimal walking distance to new schools, safety and traffic factors, and future flexibility of boundaries in order to maintain racial balance."

As evidenced, many factors were considered and controlled for in determining how the boundaries would be drawn and who would be bused, but no mention was made of the fact that de facto housing segregation was forced on Black residents by restrictive housing regulations (see Chapter 3 for a history of the construction of the Fifth Ward). In other words, the structural forces of segregation were made invisible by their lack of inclusion in the computer-based models and subsequent omission by CACI. This is ironic given the fact that the opening line from CACI's charter is: CACI's charter begins with the following point: "Whereas the Board of Education deplores the condition of de facto segregation that has come into being because of housing patterns that have developed over the years." Yet the forces creating these segregated housing patterns were not factored into the quantitative analysis done by CACI and were therefore rendered meaningless for the purpose of creating a model of integration. For an example of one of these forces, see Figure 12 which documents the redlining of Evanston’s Fifth Ward by the Homeowner’s Loan Corporation.

As mentioned in their meeting minutes, CACI members wanted levels of Black children to be "appropriate" at all Evanston schools. Appropriate as defined by CACI included a Black minority and a White majority at every school. In conjunction with these tasks, CACI was also responsible for creating a working group that engaged teachers, parents and other community members. This working group, known as Higher Horizons in Human Relations, had the single goal of dealing with "the heart of the matter, the underlying Negro-White attitudes in matters of race relations" (Evanston History Center Archives, Collection #11).
Upon completion of seven months of research, data analysis and open community meetings, CACI presented two possible plans for integration to the Board of Education. It is clear that CACI members were working under constrained conditions: Black families and the local NAACP, rightly so, were impatient for the process of integration to begin and did not want CACI to "drag its feet"; after all, more than a decade had passed since the *Brown* decision. On the other hand, however, is the belief by White residents that the magnitude and contentious nature of the changes happening merit a thoughtful process and careful collection of data. The first plan (Plan I) presented to the Board would involve the *voluntary* transfer of White students to Foster School and the transfer of Black students out of Foster and in to surrounding all-White elementary schools. This plan would involve the busing of both Black and White children as Black students would be going to schools outside of their "walkable neighborhood" and White students coming to Foster would be outside their own neighborhoods. However, the numbers of White children and Black children being bused would be relatively equal (though still

![Image](image.png)

Figure 12. The Homeowner’s Loan Corporation map of Evanston with a red-lined Fifth Ward, 1940
Source: Mapping Inequality Project
disproportionate as a percentage of the total population of students) as one White student would be bused in to Foster Elementary for each Black student bused out.

CACI’s objective, to create a workable plan for integrating the city’s public elementary schools, required members to navigate choppy and previously uncharted waters. It is easy to look back at the way they went about the process with a critical 21st century eye, it must be remembered that ideas about integration at the time were nascent. Correspondence between the Northwest Homeowners Association (NWHA) and the Board of Education, for example, detail some of the fears of White residents of northern Evanston. For example, residents of Northern Evanston voice concern about the “lacking moral standards” of Foster families as well as discipline problems and education aptitude of the Black children attending Foster (see Appendix D for a list of all of the questions sent to the Board of Education from this organization). The campaign to “Save Our Schools”2- from racial integration- held meetings at Orrington Elementary school and held views similar to those expressed in the correspondence between the NWHA and the Board of Education (see Appendix E for a list of fears that the “Save Our Schools” campaign had about racial integration).

Nevertheless, the decisions that CACI made at this time have had lasting effects on integration today and therefore it is essential to spend time examining them critically. There were several assumptions made by the commission which demonstrate common ways of thinking about integration at the time. The first assumption that CACI made was that it would be easy to get Black families to voluntarily participate in any plan. After all, the local NAACP and Black

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2 It is interesting to note that “Save Our Schools” was the slogan of a recent (2017) funding referendum in District 65. The organizers of this campaign to support increased taxes for District 65 were no doubt unaware that some fifty years ago, parents in northern Evanston had rallied around a campaign of the same title but about the perils of integration.
Evanston families were central in the fight for integration. There are no clear indications that CACI had any concerns over Black participation in the voluntary transfer plan despite the fact that kids from the same neighborhood would be split up into a number of groups and bused to many majority White elementary schools. Yet interview data suggests that Blacks did in fact have concerns about integrating White institutions. On the push for integration, Tom Smith reflects on his family’s concerns: “Well, my Dad said he knew it was the end of an era. And that you would no longer be able to participate effectively as a parent and there was just some things you couldn’t control. My particular family did not want integration.” While Martha Hatfield does not say she personally was against integration and in fact goes on the eventually make a case for the positive aspects of integration, she does speak poignantly about her experiences of discrimination in White institutions and how they have shaped her behaviors. This conversation about predominately White spaces in north Evanston, a part of the city less than a mile from her home, demonstrates how her experiences of the city have been shaped by past encounters with discriminatory Whites:

I: Have you ever been to the Central Street library?

Martha Hatfield: No, I just recently found out where it was. To give you my, well, let me say this right quick. I don’t know when they built the new Chandler Center, I don’t know when they built that but the other night was the first time I went there.

I: Really?

Martha Hatfield: Yeah, ‘cause I had gone to the old one but I have no reason to go up there because basically it’s not welcoming. Go back to Milburn [her address in North Evanston as a child]. I don’t recall exactly when or where or why we were, we had crossed Greenbay Road on Central Street and we were walkin’ down the street and we were just lookin’ to see what we could see, we didn’t have anything else to do and firey William, he was always the leader. We were walkin’ down the street and the next thing we know police man comes up and, “Where you goin’?” “No where.” And he, “What are you doin’ here?” “We’re just lookin’.” And he, “Oh, well where do you live?” And when we told him, he didn’t want to believe it. You know, “570 Milburn, you can’t live there.” “Yes we do.” And he called and checked and found out that we did live there. And I must
have been maybe seven. And once he confirmed that that’s where we lived, it was, “okay, go home.” So I haven’t gone over there since. When something happens to you under ten, it *sticks* with you.

In Martha’s example, she explicitly states that this experience of discrimination in a White space as a young child has stayed with her and affects her daily life in and around Evanston. Much like the stories in Chapter 3, this example clearly ties race and space together. Martha’s experiences of racial discrimination are inherently connected to particular spaces in the city (e.g. North Evanston) while her positive experiences of social cohesion and community are linked to the Fifth Ward. While White residents likely also have closer connections to their particular neighborhood within the city, what is unique for Black residents are the experiences of discrimination they routinely encountered in White spaces.

The assumption that CACI made, that Blacks would willingly integrate White institutions, neither considered nor accounted for the legacy and cumulative effects of a history of segregation and discrimination. As Martha Hatfield indicates in her statement, her mental mapping of Evanston sees North Evanston as off-limits based on her experiences of discrimination in that part of the city as a child. Being told by a police officer that she doesn’t belong or having a teacher force her to walk home in the opposite direction because she couldn’t possibly live east of the school are just two examples of discrimination that have led to her discomfort with North Evanston. CACI’s model of integration, whereby White institutions subsume Black residents, fails to consider the way that such lived experiences of discrimination in the city affect how Blacks engage with White institutions.

As part of the problematic assumption by CACI that Blacks would willingly attend and embrace White institutions, CACI’s treatment of Foster families and non-Foster families is distinct. This can be seen in the surveys that were sent to families in February 1966 in an attempt
to gauge interest in the integration plans the commission was considering. Implicit in the survey tools that were developed is the assumption that access to majority White schools such as Willard, Lincolnwood, Haven, and Orrington would be enough incentive for Black families to voluntarily transfer their children out of Foster Elementary. Appendix F is a copy of the survey instrument that was sent to Black families in the Foster area which simply asked parents whether or not they would be willing to send have their children transferred out of Foster to an alternative District 65 school.

On the other hand, the survey instrument that was developed and sent to White families with children primarily attending Willard, Lincolnwood, Haven, and Orrington looked quite different. Like the survey sent to Foster families, this survey asked parents if they would be willing to voluntarily transfer their child or children to Foster Elementary. However, before it asked this question, it listed all of the improvements that would be made at Foster including smaller class sizes, foreign language offered at all grade levels including kindergarten, free transportation to and from school, lunch privileges either at Foster or the neighboring community center, and the option to lengthen the school day to include additional enrichment such as art, music, physical education, and field trips. Appendix G provides an original copy of the survey instrument sent home to White families in 1966. It is evident both from meeting minutes as well as the two survey instruments developed that CACI believed that it would be more difficult to get White families to voluntarily send their children to Foster. As a result, they tried to incentivize White families to transfer their children to Foster Elementary voluntarily with all of the abovementioned enrichments (Rossell 1990).

The survey results seemed to indicate that there would be sufficient White parents willing to voluntarily send their children to Foster Laboratory School and sufficient Black parents
willing to have their children bused to schools outside of their immediate neighborhood for the overarching goal of district integration. However, CACI also decided to present Plan II, a more controversial approach to integration, at the Board of Education meeting. Plan II called for the complete redrawing of school attendance areas on an involuntary basis. As with Plan I, the goals of this plan were to maintain neighborhood schools for a “majority” of Evanston children while at the same time integrating all of the elementary schools. Based on the segregation of the Black community, this was a tall order and boundaries had to be creatively redrawn to create racially balanced schools (see Figure 13 for a map of proposed school boundaries). CACI used a computer-based mapping system in order to come up with school catchment areas that would be as objective as possible given the contentious nature of school redistricting, especially as it related to integration.

Figure 13. District 65 School Revised School Boundaries, 1967
Source: Evanston History Center
This approach to redistricting, however, would lead to school catchment areas which benefited a White majority at the expense of a Black minority. For example, Appendix H is from a CACI working paper from 1966 which details the movement of students under the proposed plan for integration. Overall this plan allows for 76% of students to remain in their present schools.\(^3\) When this percentage is disaggregated, however, it becomes clear that the effects of the proposal are not distributed equally. At Foster Elementary School, more than 75% of students would be required to move to a new school compared with only 5.6% of students at Lincolnwood and 8.5% of students at Willard. The majority of the 75% of Foster pupils who would be required to switch to a new school would also be bused to that new school leading to disproportionate numbers of Black students bused to achieve integration.

Saito’s (2015; 2009) work examines the racialized outcomes of purportedly race-neutral policies. He writes, “Development policies may be depicted as race neutral, but the results are often racialized because of the tendency of routine, institutional processes to favor Whites” (2015: 43). CACI’s redistricting efforts are entirely based on race but they do not recognize the city’s legacy of racial discrimination and therefore do not get at the root causes of \textit{de facto} segregated schools. According to the 1960 Census, Whites made up over 88% of Evanston population. Any policy designed to minimize the adverse effects for the majority will inherently favor Whites. When coupled with Black residential segregation, CACI’s new school catchment areas had deleterious consequences for the Fifth Ward. Focusing on the (White) majority and what is best for them inherently means that, intended or not, the Black minority will be

\(^3\) Also, it is important to note that the approximate percentages for Foster Elementary, 75% moving and 25% remaining, are not included in the overall district numbers. I could not find data that clearly stated why these numbers were not included. It is clear that if they had been included, the overall percentage of pupils remaining in present school would have been much lower.
disadvantaged. For example, that it made sense to CACI to keep the northern all White schools fully operational as neighborhood schools and make Foster a laboratory school because this decision would negatively affect fewer families is a perfect example of Bonilla-Silva’s (2003) principle of abstract liberalism. In other words, by not recognizing and affirmatively accounting for the role that race played in the construction of Evanston’s segregated neighborhoods, such an approach to redistricting would inevitably end up benefiting the city’s White majority.

Boundaries drawn from an abstract, computer-generated model that assumes the racial geography of the city to be naturally occurring and not the result of decades of intentional actions are unlikely to be equal let alone equitable.

In addition, Plan II (like Plan I) defined integrated schools as schools which would consist of a White majority and a Black minority. According to Plan II, all schools would reflect, to some degree, the overall demographics of the city which was majority White with a Black minority. In fact, they were very clear that their definition of “appropriate” racial demographics would include between 15-25% Black students at each elementary school. A school with a Black majority and White minority would not meet CACI’s understanding of an “integrated” school because their definition of integration was a one-size-fits-all model.

Similar to Plan I, Plan II included the transformation of Foster Elementary into an experimental laboratory school serving kindergarten through fifth grade. As part of this plan, Foster School would be eliminated as a classic neighborhood school and would instead be converted into an experimental K-5 laboratory school that would eventually by 75% White and 25% Black. Similarly, as a result of this plan, all Black children that did not attend Foster Laboratory School would be bused out of the Fifth Ward to the all-White schools in the north. At its May 1965 meeting, the Board of Education voted to try Plan I beginning with the 1967 school
year. In September of 1967 with the beginning of the new school year, nearly thirteen years after the Supreme Court decision that made separate but equal schools unconstitutional, Evanston became the first northern city to integrate its public-school system.

Many of my respondents expressed satisfaction with this plan because the work of integration was evenly distributed between Black and White children. Though some felt frustrated by the fact that Foster would now be the home of innovative curricula and extensive enrichment programming, something that Black parents had been demanding for many decades, overwhelmingly respondents expressed support for this plan. This initial phase of integration, according to Jack Thomas, “seemed to work very well. For the first time in my life, White people put their precious five and six year olds on a bus into the heart of a Black community.” Similar to Jack, Alderman Houston notes that the initial integration of Foster Laboratory School (later renamed Martin Luther King Jr. Laboratory School) was working. “It was Foster Lab School and they would bring the White kids in and busing and all of that. And by the time my kids got there, it was very integrated. And it was, it was fine.” Eunice Leavenworth goes even further in expressing her pleasure with the conversion of Foster Elementary into a laboratory school. “From the quality of the education, from that side, it needed to be closed. I was excited when they said, when my mother wrote and told me that they were going to make it a magnet school and I thought that was a perfect solution. Because at a magnet school, you’re gonna have quality teachers.” For many of my respondents, this early period of integration with the Foster School building operation and a superintendent committed to an ideal of integration that transcended “body mixing” was a success.
Maintaining integration

Once the Board of Education decided to temporarily adopt Plan I, the district began the process of converting Foster Elementary into a laboratory school. In 1967, White kindergarteners were bused in from outside of the Fifth Ward to attend Foster Lab School and an equal number of Black children were bused out to neighboring schools in the north: Willard, Lincolnwood, and Orrington. As mentioned before, many respondents were happy with the process in these early years. Then superintendent Gregory Coffin was committed to integration, not just desegregation. He actively recruited and hired many Black teachers and Black principals. He also recognized the need for training and implemented workshops designed to foster integration in the schools. However, there were constituencies in the city that were not happy with his work and organized around his replacement. As June Shagaloff, the National Director of the NAACP, noted, “Evanston’s star, it seemed, had never been higher. But then, a not-so-funny thing happened on the way to integration. The community—or a sizeable element of it—got off the bandwagon” (cited in Barr 2014: 105). The conservative Northwest Homeowners Association (NWHA) was one of several groups that believed Coffin’s changes were detrimental for the District (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of the NWHA and the construction of the Fifth Ward). The Board of Education, in a narrow 4-3 vote, agreed with these groups; citing “personality clashes” among other issues, they fired Gregory Coffin.

Widespread revolt ensued as many Black residents referred to Coffin as the “hero” of the Black community (Barr 2014). Blacks boycotted businesses and kept their children home from school in coordinated efforts to demand the reinstatement of Coffin as superintendent. A contentious school board election pitted two slates of candidates, one which included representatives from the NWHA and another which included William Montgomery, against each
other. The NWHA slate narrowly won the election and the new school board refused to reinstate Coffin. The school board election was a referendum on Coffin’s tenure as District 65 superintendent and his ideological commitment to integration as opposed to desegregation. His replacement placed the district on a desegregation trajectory, ultimately leading to the closure of Foster Elementary.

Another factor complicating integration was the major decrease in Evanston's student body in the 1970s, due in part to the baby-boom generation getting older. Enrollment in Evanston's elementary schools dropped by approximately 35%, going from 10,860 students in 1967 to 7,061 students in 1979. The Board of Education had to make difficult choices about how to close schools within an integrated system. Several District 65 schools were closed as a result; the Foster Elementary building was among those shuttered during this era. The lab school, which had begun in 1967 and was renamed King Laboratory School following the death of Martin Luther King Jr., continued to operate but its physical location was moved one and a half miles away, outside the "neighborhood" boundaries of the Fifth Ward. Most of the closed schools were located in the central part of the city; ironically these were the schools that were located in more racially heterogeneous neighborhoods and would have been able to meet the racial demographic guidelines without busing. In contrast, none of the all-White northern schools was closed during this tumultuous period. All children living in the Fifth Ward were now

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4 Integration and school boundaries again became a controversial topic when the school-age population increased in the 1980s.
5 Interestingly the renaming of Foster Lab School to Martin Luther King Jr. Laboratory School was done after Coffin was fired. Many saw this gesture as an underwhelming attempt by the Board to demonstrate a commitment to integration despite the firing of Coffin. See Barr (2014) for an in-depth look at the “Coffin affair.”
6 There was a proposal in 1974 by then Superintendent Porter to close Orrington Elementary among other elementary schools but this was abandoned when Porter resigned.
bused to surrounding schools that had stayed open, similar to what was proposed by CACI in Plan II (refer to Figure 16 for the school catchment areas).

The paper trail documenting why certain schools were closed while others were left operational is not great but one might speculate that the schools in the northern part of the city remained open in part because of the strength of organizations like the NWHA and a Board which was sympathetic to the concerns of such organizations. Many of my respondents expressed outrage at the fact that the Foster Elementary building had been rebuilt following the fire in October 1958 only to be closed less than two decades later. In addition, some argued that because Foster was a much larger school, it could have been left open and served the needs of a far greater number of students. If the district was worried about the costs of operating its many schools, leaving Foster open, according to residents, could have allowed the district to close two smaller schools. One respondent speculated that White residents living outside of the Fifth Ward perceived the area surrounding Foster as unsafe. While we don’t have direct evidence of their decision-making process, it seems plausible to assume that the board would be highly reluctant to close a white school and transfer some of the responsibility of integrated schools to white students. These decisions also speak to Pattillo’s (2014) argument that an implicit assumption of integration is the valorization of White institutions.

For residents of the Fifth Ward, Foster Elementary was more than a school: it was the heart of the Black community. When asked to talk about the closure of Foster, Jack Thomas said: “Let me tell you something about Foster School. It was, when they closed the school, they took away the political voice of a community. Because that was the place where you’d go to rally. That’s where all the parents knew each other. That’s the place where if you had an issue, you
could work it out right there…It took away a voice of our whole community.” For Jack, Foster School provided a function for the community that went beyond educating children.

Foster School also served to bring people from the community together in ways that few other institutions could. Speaking of its closure (and the subsequent closure of the Emerson YMCA), Tom Smith exclaims, “Yes! Foster and the Y were the hub and you could just see the whole community almost disappear right in front of your eyes.” Alderman Houston similarly noted, “[Foster] was the hub. The church and the school that was in the African American community, you know, that was it, basically what you had. I mean, there were a few institutions, we had the Y, the Emerson Street Y, you know, things like that, but the school and the church was where you spent the majority of your life. So you know it was your hub.” Foster was one of three major anchor institutions in the community; its role in the community went beyond its formal capacity as a school because it also served as a space where residents regularly interacted with one another. During this period, Foster’s student body was nearly 100% Black and, according to residents, many families were actively involved in the school. Tom Smith’s aunt was a teacher, Ms. Fischer was “always at the school,” and other respondents talked about their and their parents’ work on the Foster PTA. For these residents, Foster was the Black school in Evanston but it was also a social space imbued with meaning and significance for Black residents.

Orfield and Eaton (1996) point out that neighborhoods are dynamic and changing because Americans are constantly moving from one residence to another. This was clearly the case in Evanston in the decades following the integration of the school system as the racial make-up of some Evanston neighborhoods (as defined by Census tracts) changed dramatically (see Table 4 in Chapter 1; see also Appendix I for a series of maps demonstrating Evanston’s
racial change over time). Schools, on the other hand, are brick and mortar institutions and cannot move or shift with neighborhood change. Evanston's Board of Education remained committed to both the neighborhood school concept as well as elementary schools that maintained a White majority and a Black minority. As previously discussed, these two ideals remained in direct opposition to each other when set against the back drop of segregated neighborhoods. School catchment areas that were drawn in 1965 before the start of integration were no longer able to maintain the desired racial make-up of Evanston schools because of residential mobility.

In 1971, the Illinois State Board of Education had adopted the 15% guideline which required that districts limit the racial variance of schools to within 15% of the racial demographics of the district. By 1977, District 65 was more than 33% African American; roughly 675 African American children and 1,100 White children were being bused at this time. By 1979, the District’s enrollment had declined further and four more elementary schools were closed along with the movement of Foster Lab School to the former Skiles Middle School.
building outside of the Fifth Ward. Foster parents pushed hard to re-open the Foster building as a neighborhood school going so far as to sue the District in conjunction with the NAACP to prevent the sale of the building. Their claim was that closing Foster as a neighborhood school was discriminatory because it led to an unfair busing burden for Black families. By the early 1980s, the Foster building had been sold and the Illinois Supreme Court had struck down the 15% guideline.

The Board of Education decided that it would review school catchment areas annually in order to ensure that they were maintaining an even distribution of races at each elementary school. As a result, school catchment areas were redrawn in the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. For Evanston families, the threat of redistricting schools is near constant, especially when compared with neighboring "outer ring" suburbs, many of which are nearly homogenous racially. For example, in Wilmette (Evanston's neighbor to the north), an affluent, largely White suburb, there was one redistricting in the 1990s that met with almost no opposition and was done as a result of space constraints from an increasing population. In Evanston, redistricting is emotional and contentious; each discussion of redistricting has been met with vociferous opposition.

With the 1985 redistricting, the Board of Education implemented what is known as the 60/40 guideline. This guideline stated that, "No one racial group shall exceed 60% of a school population" which more or less formalized the idea initially brought forth by CACI that there must be “appropriate” numbers of racial groups at each school. Subsequent efforts at redistricting operated within this 60/40 framework which, like previous recommendations to the Board of Education, assumed a White majority and a Black minority at each elementary school. In 1987, for example, the District established a math and science corridor at Oakton and Dawes Elementary Schools in an attempt to attract White students to these schools. In 1990, the Board
of Education released a reorganization plan that would shift attendance areas and reopen Kingsley Elementary in order to comply with the 60/40 guideline. Some White parents in the north were angry that their children would be bused to schools outside of the immediate neighborhood. At the same time, some African American parents called for abandoning the 60/40 guideline and reopening Foster Elementary as a neighborhood school.

By 1992, after a year and a half of work, the Board decided to adopt a plan that would achieve racially balanced schools within the 60/40 guideline by giving new students attendance options. However, almost immediately the Board was told by school administration that this would not in fact lead to racially balanced schools. Over the next two years the Board worked through options; in 1994, they proposed a mandated district redistricting but within a week backed away from that plan. Finally, in 1995, the Board of Education adopted a plan by a 4-3 vote (with all African American Board members voting against the plan) which called for a number of new initiatives. First of all, this plan called for the reassignment of nearly 650 children of color and 235 White children; over 300 of the children of color were moved from Oakton Elementary to reduce the African American percentage there from 71% to 54%. In addition, Timber Ridge (now Bessie Rhodes), a former neighborhood school which had been closed, was reopened as a second magnet school. Finally, students were given the option to attend any school in the district provided that the racial balance fell within the 60/40 guideline. This new plan meant that more than 500 additional students would be bused, bringing the total number of students bused to 2,200.

In conjunction with redistricting efforts, the Board of Education also strategically includes enrichment opportunities to entice parents to voluntarily send their children to a non-neighborhood school, similar to the first plan for integration. One such example is the Two-Way
Immersion program (TWI) which teaches children in Spanish and English. TWI classrooms are generally evenly comprised of native Spanish speakers and native English speakers and are also racially balanced with the ideal classroom consisting of 33% White children, 33% Black children, and 33% Hispanic children. TWI programs are attractive and often have more applications than spaces. As such, the school district can use them to help maintain integrated schools.

Despite clear examples of policies which have reproduced racial inequality in the city because they have not accounted for the city’s historical treatment of race, it is important to note that maintaining integrated schools in a city where neighborhoods are still segregated is a difficult task (Orfield and Eaton 1996). In addition to residential segregation, there have been Supreme Court cases that further complicate the task of maintaining integration. The Milliken decision of 1974 held that segregation was okay as long as it was not the result of an explicit policy. The 1982 decision by the Illinois State Supreme Court to strike down the 15% guideline is another example of legislation that further complicated the District’s efforts to maintain racially balanced schools.

There is also the issue of Whites’ educational preferences. Saporito and Lareau (1999) found that White families would rather send their children to majority White schools with lower overall test scores, worse safety records, and higher concentrations of poverty than to schools with high percentages of African American students. Their analysis found that African American families do not factor race into school decisions to the same extent; rather poverty is more salient in the decision-making processes of Black families. Johnson and Shapiro (2003) found that school quality is a major factor in White families’ decision to purchase a home in a certain neighborhood. When taken together, these mutually-enforcing factors encapsulate the difficult
task of maintaining integrated schools. If racial demographics factor significantly in the quality of a public school for Whites and the quality of the public-school system factors strongly in their decisions about where to purchase a home, it is unlikely that there will be much residential integration in the city without intervention.

It is also important to consider the role of socioeconomic status in reproducing racial inequality in the city of Evanston. Today, groups like Organization for Positive Action and Leadership (OPAL) have organized around issues of racial equity in the district, specifically focusing on the Black-White achievement gap in Evanston’s schools. OPAL cites concerns over disparate academic outcomes between White and Black students as well as unequal levels of surveillance by school officials and police. For example, in Figure 15 (taken from OPAL’s website), the organization highlights the fact that a greater percentage of Black students were suspended than met or exceeded state standards on the PARCC test. One of the main goals of OPAL is to cultivate and strengthen Black political leadership in the city as a means of challenging the status quo.

Sean Reardon, a professor at Stanford University, argues that the achievement gap has less to do with Black under performance than with White over performance (Gavin 2017). He argues, for example, that the racial achievement gap is due in part to the high socioeconomic status of Whites leading to unusually high performance on tests. “Evanston has one of the largest achievement gaps in the country. But it’s a large achievement gap, not because the black students are failing, but because the white and affluent students are being enriched by so much opportunity” (cited from Gavin 2017). Though he does recognize race as a factor in and of itself that shapes academic outcomes (e.g. pointing to discrimination and unequal treatment in
schools), his argument is that there is a “very strong relationship” between socioeconomic status and academic outcomes (cited in Gavin 2017).

Integration from outside versus integration from within

Throughout the period of institutional integration, from the grassroots movement to integrate by Evanston residents to CACI’s data collection to the Board of Education’s decision to close Foster Elementary in 1979, the meaning of the Fifth Ward as a community has varied depending on the parties involved. Henri Lefebvre (1991) conceptualized two different types of space: "abstract" space and "social" space. The way that a space is understood depends entirely upon one’s relationship to that space. For Lefebvre, abstract space is the space of instrumental rationality and it is in abstract space where commodification occurs because it is disconnected from the social uses of the space. Thinking in Marxist terms, the idea of abstract space is

Figure 15. Comparison of test scores to suspensions at Evanston Township High School by race, 2015-2016
Source: Organization for Positive Action and Leadership (OPAL)
equivalent to the exchange value of a space. In other words, those that see a space in abstract terms are often those that have the most social distance from that space and are concerned with how it can be used to accomplish an end goal. This type of space is instrumental to city planning and city organization irrespective of the sociality of that space (Gottdiener 1985: xiv).

In the case of Evanston’s institutional integration, the Fifth Ward is seen as highly valuable for the Board of Education and CACI in an abstract sense because it has historically housed a majority of the city’s African American residents. For CACI, the commission charged with the near impossible task of creating a workable plan for integration given two oppositional demands (e.g. 15-25% Black students at all schools and the ability for a majority of Evanston children to attend their neighborhood school), the Fifth Ward’s exchange value is quite high in that it can be manipulated to achieve the goals of integration with the fewest total students having to change schools and be bused. Dividing up the Fifth Ward into many smaller units allowed the Board of Education to meet the goal of integration despite seeming irreconcilable aims. This spatial view of the Fifth Ward is purely instrumental; it frames the Fifth Ward as a means of achieving the desired outcome of integrated schools.

The Fifth Ward embodies both elements of abstract and social space depending on perspective. Social space, in contrast to abstract space, is what Lefebvre considers the product of the daily uses of a space by people. In other words, social space is the way that the people living in it think about it and use it. Thinking in Marxist terms once again, social space is equivalent to the use value of the space and is the view of a space held by those that are most closely connected to it (i.e. residents of the space). For many residents, Foster Elementary encapsulates the lived experiences of segregation and integration. It is complicated and paradoxical, symbolizing both pride and oppression as William Montgomery notes in his interview. But it is
simultaneously imbued with history as it’s mere existence is the direct result of the determination of an oppressed community. In Chapter 3, for example, I outlined the many ways in which Black residents created community out of, as Jack Thomas put it, “that smelly, swampy land by the canal.” Through anchor institutions like Foster Elementary, the Emerson YMCA, and the Community Hospital, residents of the Fifth Ward saw the neighborhood as a social space.

According to Lefebvre, city uses of "abstract space" often come into conflict with residents' understanding of and use of "social space." This leads to a clash between community (the use values of living in a social space) and capitalism (exchange values of abstract space). The Fifth Ward has been instrumental to Evanston as a means of integrating the public-school system. The manipulation of the Fifth Ward has enabled neighboring, largely White and affluent neighborhoods to maintain their neighborhood schools while also achieving a mandated "appropriate" racial balance. At the same time, the process of integration has had the ironic effect of disintegrating and fragmenting the social space of the Fifth Ward by eroding the anchor institutions that helped to maintain neighborhood cohesion. The ultimate closure of three anchor institutions has also served to keep residents separated from one another, an effective way of preventing them from connecting with each other and building solidarity and efficacy (Vitale 2005). Through its view of the Fifth Ward as an abstract racialized space, the city has effectively commodified the children living in it by allowing for a model of integration that is in the best interest of a majority of Evanstonians. Such a model has the unintended consequence of reproducing racial inequality in the city rather than ameliorating it.

As I will discuss in the next chapter, many of my respondents spoke at length about how this model of integration has been problematic for the Fifth Ward. Many respondents recognize the fact that access to integrated schools is beneficial. Norah Jefferson, a kindergarten student
As I will discuss in the next chapter, many of my respondents spoke at length about how this model of integration has been problematic for the Fifth Ward. Many respondents recognize the fact that access to integrated schools is beneficial. Norah Jefferson, a kindergarten student during the 1967-1968 school year, made this statement about her experience attending Dawes Elementary as part of the first integrated class:

But I do think it was a good thing, growing up, to be honest with you, integrated because I can't, now that I'm in the real world, I don't have a problem with, you know, talking to Caucasians. Or selling to them cause that's what I do. And I think my background prepared me for that. And I think a lot of Black people realize that you have to be integrated in order to deal with people. They just, they just wanted things to be fair.

Martha Hatfield also commented on some of the positive aspects of integration:

See my thing is I'm for integration because when kids stay in an all-Black environment and then they graduate from high school, college, whatever and get a job, and the job is in an integrated environment, they're at square one. And they are at a real disadvantage not knowing white people and how they are and how to relate to them. And the same for a white person.

In both of these examples, Norah and Martha recognize the benefits of integrated schools. Yet despite the recognition of these benefits that come from access to diverse schools, the toll that integration has taken on the Fifth Ward was the primary focus of most interviews. Many respondents wondered aloud about whether these benefits of integration outweighed the costs borne by the neighborhood. In addition, many believed that the city had to do something to address the uneven effects of integration policies.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE CURRENT ERA

March 20, 2012 marks an important moment in the history of integration in Evanston. On this day, residents voted on a public referendum to build a new neighborhood school in the Fifth Ward. Despite nearly fifty years of integrated public schools, many Black residents in the Fifth Ward pushed for the construction of this new school, which many Evanstonians (White and Black) argued would "resegregate" the schools. This referendum served as a lightning rod for greater awareness of issues of equity versus equality in the city and its failure to pass left the city deeply divided. For many long-term African American residents of the Fifth Ward who have lived through periods of segregation and integration in the city, there is a pervasive belief that integration has been done "on the backs" of Black children. The purpose of this chapter is to situate this claim in an historical context in order to better understand how such a claim is made. Through an analysis of interviews and archives, I will demonstrate how race and lived experience or generation in Evanston shapes how residents frame integration.

_Foster’s closure_

When I asked residents how long they have been working to build a new school in the Fifth Ward, I was told that this work began almost immediately after Foster closed. Though it may seem obvious, I quickly learned that determining what Foster closed in the minds of my respondents was no small task. Interestingly many respondents conflated the date of Foster’s
fire as the moment of closure, others referred to September 1967 or the beginning of Foster Laboratory School as the moment of closure, and still others referred to 1979 and the shuddering of the building as the moment of closure. After much confusion on my part, I began to explicitly ask residents “When did Foster Elementary close?” in order to better understand where they were coming from and why they felt it happened when it did.

For some, the 1958 fire was the beginning of the end; kids were bused out, the school was rebuilt, and it became obvious that when the school reopened, things would be different. Consider this exchange with Tom Smith:

I: When you think about Foster closing, do you think about it closing in 1967 with the start of integration when it became the lab school or do you think about it closing when the lab school moved?

Tom Smith: I think about it closing when it had the big fire.

Tom goes on to talk about how, in his memory, Foster was rebuilt after the fire but it was not rebuilt as Foster. Although Foster did in fact re-open as a neighborhood school for a few years after the fire, it quickly changed to Foster Lab School and eventually Martin Luther King Jr. Lab School. For Tom, the fire of 1958 is synonymous with Foster’s metamorphosis into a magnet school.

Ruth Houston also saw the fire as a pivotal moment in Foster’s history. “Well, what happened was Foster had a fire in 1959\(^1\), I think it was, and I think that was the planting of the seed in terms of making some changes there.” For Ruth, like Tom, the 1958 fire is connected to Foster’s closure despite happening nearly a decade before the public schools officially integrated in 1967 and more than two decades before the actual shuddering of the building in 1979.

\(^1\) I have left her quote verbatim despite the fact that she remembers the fire happening in 1959. In reality, the fire happened in October 1958.
Other respondents saw Foster's closure as happening in the fall of 1967. Despite many residents expressing satisfaction with the form of integration in this early phase, they still believed that the presence of a significant number of White children at Foster qualitatively changed the school. Sally McLean’s son was accepted into Foster Laboratory School and attended it for elementary school while it was still in the Fifth Ward. However, her comments indicate a belief that Foster’s character changed dramatically with integration:

And so all these wonderful innovative programs and so they started the first year this plan and it was called the laboratory school [i.e. Foster Laboratory School, fall 1967]. Foster School had kind of lost its name. Foster School was kind of, Foster School was phasing out at this time. It didn't close but phasing, Foster School and integration, kids were being and then they started busing children. Children within the neighborhood were bused to the various [schools], the guidelines were written up how the children were gonna be dispersed to different schools and the kids in this area were gonna go here and that and you know wherever they were gonna go.

For many respondents, Foster no longer felt like a neighborhood school, in part because of the presence of White children but also because nearly 75% of the neighborhood children were not attending Foster and were instead bused out of the neighborhood. Deborah Greene articulated a similar understanding of Foster’s closure. “But at least when the lab school came, I expected my children to be there. But they redistricted, busing and all of that came in and I was very frustrated, I was very upset and I thought that in a way this school, the neighborhood school had closed for me. And it did in a way.” Though Deborah clearly recognizes that Foster was still operational, she also notes that Foster does not serve the same purpose for the community.

Finally, there were several respondents who saw the closure as something which happened in 1979 when the school was officially shuddered and the laboratory school moved to a former junior high school building a mile and a half away. For example, in the following exchange, I asked Laura Crosby when she thought Foster closed:
I: Do you see the closure of Foster as the time when it became the Lab school or do you see it as when the building stopped having people in it for school?

R: I see it, the closing of it, when they stopped using it and then they sold it to Family Focus for $1. And the sad thing about it is the way I view it, maybe not at that time, is the subtlety about not giving a shit about Black culture or the needs of Black people. That's what I see.²

Her comments encapsulate the frustrations of many respondents: the Lab School moved out of the neighborhood and they were left without a school. Jack Thomas is more equivocal in his comments but despite frustrations at how the school changed once Whites began attending it in 1967, he too sees the closure as happening in 1979. In this longer exchange, he talks about some of the hardships experienced by Blacks in the community once Foster integrated but also concludes that the closure truly happened in 1979.

Let me tell you something else about Foster School. It was, when they closed the school, they took away the political voice of a community. Because that was the place where you'd go to rally. That's where all the parents knew each other. That's the place where if you had an issue, you could work it out right there. But then when you had all those white people coming in, it wasn't like that anymore. It took away a voice of our whole community. Then they closed it. Because, understand, a promise was made. That one, your kids would be able to go to school there, yeah, you'd bus some out but after a while it was like 75% of the kids were White. Also, that education would always remain in the

² The Foster Building closed in 1979. According to Tom Smith and John Wilson, Revered Moody from Rev. Moody’s Faith Temple Church (located just across the street) who was well-established and known in the surrounding Black community offered to buy the Foster School building from District 65 for market value. The School Board refused his offer, instead opting to hold onto the building for years before selling it for $1 to the Family Focus organization. Mr. Wilson emphatically said he actually believed it was racist to do this. For him, it was racist to sell this building to an outside entity when you had a group within the community who would use the facility for needs community needsgiven their first-hand knowledge of the community. Consider this quote by Mr. Wilson about the sale of the building: “And I don't think that they shoulda gave it to the people that hav[en]t got it now [Family Focus]. I think Reverend Moody and his church shoulda gotten that school and because they was already in the Black community. It woulda did the community well.” Though I was not able to find written records supporting Mr. Wilson’s and Mr. Smith’s perceptions, this explanation does fit the general story of a lack of listening to this community even in the disposition of the closed school.
Fifth Ward. In 1979 [with the relocating of King Lab housed in the former Foster School and the closing of the building], they broke that promise. It was bait and switch.

David Harvey’s (1973) notion of “geographic imagination” is a useful concept when thinking through the varied responses to the closure of Foster Elementary School. The geographic imagination enables respondents to recognize the role of Foster Elementary (and the Fifth Ward more broadly) in their own biographies, how they related to its presence in the community, and how transactions related to Foster were affected by the space that separates them. For some respondents who were students at Foster during this time period, their perception of when it closed might be more closely connected to the actual shuddering of the building. In contrast, for older residents who had attended an all-Black Foster, its closure was tied to the presence of White students being bused in from outside of the Fifth Ward. What these residents all have in common is their perception that the loss of Foster as an anchor institution along with the subsequent closures of the Emerson YMCA in 1969 and the Community Hospital in 1980 devastated the neighborhood.

_Push for a new school_

In the early 2000s, residents once again began discussing in earnest the possibility of creating a new neighborhood school in the Fifth Ward. As the former Alderman of the Fifth Ward pointed out in her interview, it takes time for members of a community to recognize the loss sustained because of integration:

Not so much, the cons don't come, maybe for some of us, until later. Because they don't begin to see...you know, you have to think about, what was the price? You know, and I think that takes growing and watching and seeing over the years in terms of the damage of not having...and I think that comes later in, what was it? ’79? And it closed. That comes not so much in having it integrated but in having a neighborhood school. And a school that's in your community.
Some residents, such as Tom Smith whose father was opposed to integration, foresaw the damage that integration would do to the tight-knit community. Others, as Ruth Houston pointed out, made connections over time between the closure of Foster and negative outcomes for the community and the children's educational experiences (see Chapter 4).

Residents' perceptions of the effects of integration on students' experiences in school are supported by data linking integrated classrooms with negative consequences for Black students. One longitudinal study which looked at the first five years of integrated elementary schools in Evanston found, for example, that "black students in segregated schools and white students attained higher academic self-concept scores than black students who were already in integrated classrooms" (Hsia 1971). The study also points out that the frequency of teacher referrals of students to school social workers or psychologists increased dramatically for Black children in the year after integration with the frequency for Black boys more than doubling from 6.2% before integration to 12.9% in the year following integration and that of Black girls going from 3.3% to 5.9%. At the same time, the frequency of referrals for White students only slightly increased from 4.8% to 5.4% for White boys and 1.6% to 1.8% for White girls. This is in keeping with the findings of studies that look at disparities in school discipline related to race, gender, and disability (Losen & Gillespie 2012; Skiba et al. 2011; Monroe 2006; Raffaele-Mendez & Knoff 2003). More recent work on integration similarly questions the implicit assumptions of the process (see Pattillo 2014 for more on this).

In addition to problems in the classroom, many of my respondents talked about not feeling welcome at the new schools. When I asked respondents about how active they or their parents were at Foster Elementary, overwhelmingly I heard stories about parents who were at the school “all the time.” One respondent talked about how Foster mothers worked together to resist
curricula they considered problematic or even racist. Christine Talcott told a story about a PTA activist at Foster in the 1920s who organized parents to resist an attempt by the school to purchase washing machines to teach Black girls how to properly launder clothes. Nearly all respondents had a story to share about their or their parents’ engagement with the school.

When the discussion turned to participation at Evanston’s integrated schools, however, the tone was quite different. Many respondents indicated that there were a number of constraints that kept them from participating. Most notably was a perception that they were not welcome nor invited to PTA meetings and other volunteer opportunities. In her analysis of before and after desegregation, Patricia Edwards (1993) found that Black parents were left feeling uninvited in the new schools as they did not have to be formally invited to participate beforehand. These findings are in line with what many of my respondents described in their interviews. Whether it was the proximity of Foster or the feeling of welcome that came from a majority-Black neighborhood school, my respondents perceived parental participation to be much lower at schools like Willard, Lincolnwood, Orrington, and Kingsley than they were at Foster.

In 2001, not including students being bused for special educational needs, 635 Black students were bused daily compared with 416 white students and 65 "other" students (Gavin 2002). These numbers indicate that Black children are disproportionately bused as Black children make up close to 60% of the busing despite only being approximately 23% of the total school-aged population of Evanston. The new school discussions were the result of efforts by Fifth Ward community members and parents as well as school officials (namely then Superintendent Dr. Hardy Murphy); the proposed new school was framed as something that would fulfill both a need for more classrooms in the district as well as an example of restorative social justice given the closure of Foster.
In December 2000, a survey was disseminated to Fifth Ward residents which showed that they overwhelmingly supported a neighborhood school in the community so that children did not have to be bused out. At the same time the Board of Education was considering the toll that the 60/40 guideline had had on African American students in the district. In June 2002, the District released their strategic plan which included the goal of evaluating the 60/40 guideline, implementing policies to foster equity in the academic experience of all children in Evanston, to review the feasibility of establishing a new school in the Fifth Ward, and to analyze achievement before and after integration. Then Superintendent Hardy Murphy presented various options for the proposed new school in the Fifth Ward and in November 2002, the Board of Education approved the concept of a new school in the Fifth Ward with a projected opening date of September 2004. Discussions included a charter school which would be exempt from the 60/40 guideline. However, in 2003 the negotiations between the District and Family Focus (the owners of the Foster School Building) were stopped due to financial concerns, thus halting the plans for the new school.

After years of grassroots organization regarding this issue, the District 65 Board of Education once again commissioned a committee to explore the possibility of constructing a new school in the Fifth Ward. The New School Committee (NSC) was responsible for looking into the Board’s options with respect to the proposed school. The NSC had open meetings where residents were encouraged to comment. According to the report issued by the NSC, at one representative meeting, nine citizens spoke in favor of the new school, a position that was supported by the Evanston NAACP. Five additional residents spoke in favor of the new school but with caveats such as no forced redistricting of current students, a demand for an Africa-centered curriculum, and a desire not to have the new school located on Foster Field. Only one
resident spoke against the proposed new school at this meeting though other residents did express concerns about the possibility of a referendum. The NSC also had a more widely marketed public forum in July 2011 to discuss the proposed school. Sixty residents attended the forum and fifteen of the sixteen who spoke publicly argued in favor of the proposed school.

The NSC’s final report also contained email communications between then superintendent Hardy Murphy and the District’s lawyers which attempted to understand the feasibility of the building the proposed school without putting it up for a public referendum. For example, in an email conversation dated August 9, 2011, Murphy asks the District’s law firm to detail the various funding scenarios for the proposed school and whether or not they could be done without a referendum. The law firm’s response, written by Darryl Davidson, outlines a total of eight scenarios, three of which can be accomplished without putting the school up for referendum. One of the scenarios which did not require a referendum did stipulate that the District be gifted a school building; the other two required that the District lease a property as opposed to purchase a property. One of the two rent-based scenarios suggested that the District could enter into a long-term lease on a property, use it as a school, and then purchase said building, all without requiring a public referendum.\(^3\)

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\(^3\) In recent history, the District has had mixed results in passing referenda. In 1978, a referendum to raise the amount the District could capture from property taxes failed leading to the elimination of drama, music and arts from the elementary school curriculum. In 1980, the District tried again to raise the rate they could access from property taxes, this time more modestly despite drastic projected budget shortfalls. In 1988, the District was finally successful in raising the capture rate from $2.50 per assessed $100 in property value to $3.50 per assessed $100 in property value. This referendum passed by a 3-2 margin. Since 1998, District 65 has had three funding referenda on the ballot including the 2012 referendum for $48.2 million. In 2000, the District asked for permission to issue $27.5 million in bonds; this referendum was passed with 74% of the vote. In 2017, the District asked for permission to increase the rate at which it could capture property taxes thus providing it with additional annual operating revenue. This referendum also passed with more than 80% of voters supporting the property tax increase.
The NSC’s final report also included the data from a survey, “Fifth Ward Parent Survey on New School Support”, sent to residents of the Fifth Ward in 2011. This survey was sent to 263 of the 569 households in the new school’s proposed catchment area; 94% of the contacted households completed the survey. A majority (71%) of those that responded to the survey indicated that they had lived at their current address in the Fifth Ward between one and ten years. Only 6% of respondents had lived at their current address for more than 20 years. One of the key findings from this survey, that 92% of participants expressed satisfaction in their current school situation, was used widely by those that did not support the proposed new school. The survey also found that families were not against the proposed new school but many felt they did not know enough about what was being proposed. In addition, families with school-aged children already enrolled in a District 65 school did not want to be forced to withdraw their child from his or her school because of the proposed new school (New School Committee Final Report).

After the NSC’s final report was submitted, the Board of Education voted to put the issue up for referendum in March 2012. According to many residents who had worked for this new school, this decision was "cowardly" and "destined to fail." 4 Ruth Houston, for example, questioned the Board of Education on its decision to put the new school up for a referendum:

But at one of the meetings, I want to say the second meeting, I said to them, you didn't need a referendum to close Foster School, it didn't take that. So why would you need a referendum? Why do you need a referendum to open a new school? And of course the answer is no, they didn't. But they wanted the community to decide. So why would the overall community decide, the overall community didn't decide to close the school.

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4 It is important to note that the referendum came at a time when the district was dealing with funding issues given the broader context of tight and declining government budgets in general as well as a significant decline in the tax base because of the drop in real estate values given the backdrop of the Great Recession of 2008.
Janice Sampson, a long-term African American resident who has three generations of Foster Elementary attendees in her family, similarly commented:

Well I don't know why it needed to go to a referendum. There was no referendum for the additions on the other schools in the other wards and they were large additions. Not this you know. So that was to me that was a racial thing. And I don't think it should have gone even to, this shouldn't have gone unless all went [to referendum]. But the City of Evanston was not given the opportunity to vote yes or no on the other ones for Lincoln, Dewey, Willard. They just went. That was racial.  

Another resident, Christine Talcott, expressed similar frustrations about the decision to put the school's construction up for referendum:

I was disgusted that it even went to a referendum… Because I think that of course we deserve the school, I mean you ask any real estate agent they'll sell you houses based upon people's walkability to a school. You know the school is part of your conversation right along with the structure. When it comes to Black people, you can't do that. You gonna sell a bus stop?  

In fact, many interviewees expressed frustration that it seemed like a double standard for spending money. In the cases of other already-existing elementary schools, large additions to the tune of $11 million were decided on by the Board of Education. In some cases, schools (e.g.  

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5 While this is Janice Sampson’s perception, it is based on a number of large additions that were carried out by the Board of Education without public referenda. For example, at the Board of Education meeting in October 2011, the school decided to move forward with a $10 million addition at Lincoln Elementary moments before deciding to put the proposed new school up for public referendum. However, at this meeting, several members of the Board of Education made it clear that they did not want to put issue of a new school in the Fifth Ward up for referendum but they felt their hands were tied by rules governing the Board’s decisions.

6 In my experience campaigning for the most recent District 65 referendum (“Save Our Schools”, April 2017), real estate agents were actively promoting the referendum. This referendum included an increased in the amount of revenue District 65 has access to from local property taxes and was framed as essential to the financial viability of the district moving forward. Real estate agents across the city were involved in disseminating information supporting the referendum in clear recognition of the effect of quality public schools on property values and demand in a city. In addition, a March 17, 1988 article in the Skokie Life notes that the celebration after the passage of a District 65 referendum to raise the effective tax rate for the schools took place in a local realty office.
Dewey) had two separate additions authorized by the Board without the need to go to referendum. Yet the construction of a new school in the Fifth Ward prompted the decision to put the matter up for referendum in order to secure the necessary financing. In fact, according to the NSC’s Final Report, legally any new school construction must go up for public referendum while maintenance to existing structures does not. Yet this still bothered residents who argued that the Board had closed Foster instead of other schools in the North; had they not elected to close Foster, the community would not find itself in this position. For many respondents, there was a belief that this decision by the nearly all-White school board was racially motivated and would not have happened had the school been proposed for a White neighborhood. Tom Smith’s public comment at a Black History Month event reflected these concerns: “I’ll tell you when the Fifth Ward will get a school, just watch. When it is fifty percent White, that’s when there will be a school constructed here.”

The referendum asked voters of Evanston to weigh in not just on the abstract idea of building a new school in the Fifth Ward but also if they would be willing to pay for it through increased property taxes. Many Evanstonians balked at this given the timing: housing values were down given the recent sub-prime mortgage crisis and many residents had homes whose tax burden seemed to outweigh the current market value of the home. However, another concern was also at the forefront of any discussion about the referendum: the perception that the school’s very existence would "resegregate" Evanston's public schools. Some opponents argued vociferously that this new school would undo the work of nearly fifty years of integrated schools because its natural (i.e. not-gerrymandered) catchment area would be the surrounding majority-minority neighborhood. These opponents saw the construction of the new school as antithetical to integration in the city.
What these opponents concerned about resegregation did not focus on, however, is the role that segregated neighborhoods play in complicating integration. As discussed in Chapter 3, Evanston's Black population was systematically concentrated and confined to the Fifth Ward. In addition to the processes that segregated a majority of African Americans in Evanston's Fifth Ward (and, since the mid-1970s, south Evanston as well), long-term Black residents have experienced discrimination in both public and private spaces throughout the city (see Chapter 4). Many residents have created their own "mental maps" of hostile spaces in the city as evidenced by Martha Hatfield’s experience with the North Branch library (Wood 2014). Norah Jefferson also spoke about experiences of discrimination in North Evanston. Before our interview began, she told me of a story where her 16-year old son, an honors student at Evanston Township High School, was in the Orrington neighborhood in Northeast Evanston to work on a group project for school. While walking to his classmate's house, he was stopped by the police and questioned about where he was going and what he was doing. She shared this story with me as an example of why she doesn’t feel comfortable in North Evanston.

These experiences of Evanston in part shape how long-term African Americans frame the success or failure of the city's integration. While the city is often described as integrated and has been given the nickname "Heavenston", many long-term African American residents see things quite differently. Despite respondents recognizing the utility of integrated schools, nearly all expressed frustration as to the form integration has taken in the city. Furthermore, many disagreed with labeling Evanston an integrated city. Instead their comments closer reflect the idea that Evanston is an integrating city which recognizes the ongoing and ever-evolving process

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7 It is important to reiterate that there are some neighborhoods in Evanston which are integrated. Not all of Evanston has neighborhoods which are as homogenous as the four northern Census tracts.
involved. Discussions surrounding the proposed new school as potentially responsible for "resegregating" the city not only masked the role that Whites played but also implied that integration was already complete. Such discussions also implied that integration is about moving Black students around as needed and not necessarily about moving White students. For many respondents, this contradicted their lived experiences in the city.

The referendum fails

As many respondents had predicted, the referendum failed with only three of the city’s nine wards supporting the proposed new school (See Table 8 for a breakdown of the vote by Ward). Exit polls and articles after the referendum cited concerns over the cost of the new school as well as the fear that it would “resegregate” Evanston’s public schools. Although voters in the Fifth Ward supported the referendum by 2-to-1 margin, voter turnout was lower than expected. Many of my respondents who supported the idea of a new school in theory were unhappy with the fact that the decision went to referendum as well as the fact that the footprint of the new school would largely eliminate one of the few remaining greenspaces in the community. Janice Sampson, for example, had this to say of the referendum:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>Registered voters</th>
<th>Total votes</th>
<th>Voter turnout</th>
<th>Yes votes</th>
<th>% Yes</th>
<th>No votes</th>
<th>% No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>4433</td>
<td>997</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>49.8%</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>50.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>4843</td>
<td>1287</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>52.2%</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>47.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>5676</td>
<td>1638</td>
<td>28.9%</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>47.2%</td>
<td>865</td>
<td>52.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>4919</td>
<td>1428</td>
<td>29.0%</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>44.7%</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>55.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>3526</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>67.3%</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>32.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth</td>
<td>6500</td>
<td>2645</td>
<td>40.7%</td>
<td>909</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
<td>1736</td>
<td>65.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh</td>
<td>5086</td>
<td>1784</td>
<td>35.1%</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>36.3%</td>
<td>1137</td>
<td>63.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eighth</td>
<td>4625</td>
<td>1160</td>
<td>25.1%</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>52.0%</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>48.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninth</td>
<td>4779</td>
<td>1456</td>
<td>30.5%</td>
<td>715</td>
<td>49.1%</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>50.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Citywide totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>44387</strong></td>
<td><strong>13197</strong></td>
<td><strong>29.7%</strong></td>
<td><strong>5994</strong></td>
<td><strong>45.4%</strong></td>
<td><strong>7203</strong></td>
<td><strong>54.6%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. Referendum Results by Ward, 2012
I was in favor of a new school but not being built. I want, because they were going to use part of the field and I felt like we should keep that green space… I would be in favor of using this present building [former Foster Elementary School building now owned and operated by Family Focus] and they said that there was no way that we could get this building back. I don't believe that but that was what they said.

As some respondents mentioned in their interviews, they blamed both the Board of Education and Fifth Ward residents for the results. In reflecting on the failed referendum, Laura Crosby said:

Laura: I just believe they played a game with those people and then I also blame our people who didn't fight harder.

I: In what sense? Because of the actual voting totals?

Laura: That. And also your voice. I mean there's a few people that will constantly be the voice of everybody. I think that more people shoulda been voices, more people shoulda been forceful. That's what I believe. Cause I believe in many cases when things are made equal for blacks, it has to be forceful.

Laura then goes on to discuss her thoughts on the “resegregation” argument that had gained traction leading up to the referendum:

I just think that those people are narrow-minded. I heard that too and I just sort of shook my head. So, here's the thing. Yes, the schools in Evanston are segregated, I mean integrated. But is it bringing the Black students' grade point up up up? … Until you clean up what you have created and kids are learning and coming out smart and coming out enthusiastic and you read reports like the reading scores for the black kids, the math scores are that way, they’re not taking science, well your integration has not helped shit.

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8 It should be noted that ironically charges of racism were leveled at public supporters of the referendum. In anonymous comments sections of Facebook groups both supporting and opposing the proposed new school, people who expressed support for the new school were sometimes labeled “racist” because they were framed as supporting an institution which would undo the work of integration. Doane’s (2006) article “What is Racism?” speaks about the ways groups can use the label “racist” to describe two seemingly opposite positions. In the case of the referendum to build the new school, many Black residents felt that the Fifth Ward’s lack of a neighborhood school was racist while many Whites (and some Blacks) argued it would be racist to build the school. This is similar to studies which have looked at the word diversity as an empty signifier because it means different things to different people (Berrey 2015; Ahmed 2007).
Laura’s quote encapsulates the concerns that many residents expressed: what does it mean to have integrated schools if we continue to see disparities in achievement and outcomes for Black students?

Integration itself emerged from this campaign as a contested topic meaning different things to different people. Doane (2006) frames racism as a contested topic by claiming that on the one hand, the color-blind understanding of racism is about prejudice and is located in the individual realm. On the other hand, a structural or systemic understanding recognizes that racism is embedded within and reproduced by our social institutions. In much the same way, the 2012 referendum in Evanston revealed the very disparate understandings that residents have of integration given their social locations with respect to race and generation. For many White residents, especially those in the north of the city whose school demographics would be the most impacted by the construction of the new school, integrated public schools are the lynchpin of the city’s managed diversity. The schools and their gerrymandered catchment areas have existed largely intact since integration began (see Figures 16 and 17 for a comparison of school catchment areas from 1967 and 2012) and therefore the proposed new school was seen as a direct threat to integration itself. The "resegregation" argument came out of this belief. In fact, polling data demonstrated that residents in the northern wards overwhelmingly voted against the referendum (see Table 8). Jack Thomas, who actively campaigned in favor of the new school, saw these data as indicative of White residents’ desire to keep schools integrated on their terms: “Actually it was the people in the 6th and 7th wards, on the other side of the canal, they’re the ones that killed this thing. But across the canal, when you have a 90+% white affluent community flat close the door, I mean slam it shut on a 90%+ Black and Latino community, I got a problem with that.”
On the other hand, for long-term African American residents, many of whom personally lived through the systematic concentration and segregation of Black Evanstonians as well as the Fifth Ward's golden age as a thriving middle-class Black community, integration in its current form is unjust and uneven; it is the reason they are without a neighborhood school today. They see this form of integration as one which cumulatively advantages the mostly White neighborhoods in the north by building community and wealth vis-à-vis a thriving, diverse neighborhood school. In other words, the existence of quality, racially diverse neighborhood schools at least maintain but more likely increases property values for the mostly White homeowners. While this model subsidizes the accumulation of wealth in northern White neighborhoods, it simultaneously divests Black residents of the Fifth Ward in the production of wealth by not investing in a quality local institutions but rather busing students out of the neighborhood (powell and Cardwell 2013). Residents whose families moved to the Fifth Ward in the first half of the 20th century talked about the anchor institutions as key factors in their or their parents’ decision to buy a home. For example, Anna Fischer, a 90-year old resident who moved to Evanston when she was eighteen, said: “When we purchased our house at 2000 Foster, we wanted to be near the school, the hospital, and our church and we got all three.” Today those institutions are long gone with the Community Hospital being the last to close in 1980 because Blacks were no longer officially discriminated against at Evanston hospitals. Respondents were

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9 The lack of capitalization for powell is intentional.
10 Many of these changes are in part the result of macro-level structural changes in the U.S. economy. For example, small mom and pop grocery stores struggle to compete with chain grocery stores and big-box stores like Wal-Mart and Target that sell inexpensive groceries. In addition, many small Black merchants struggled to stay in business once the original owners retired. Owners’ children had increased access to college educations and jobs outside of the Black community as a result of the Civil Rights movement and subsequent legislation. The consolidation of hospitals into larger conglomerates (e.g. Evanston Hospital is now a part of the
also critical of the "resegregation" argument because it did not take into consideration the legacy of residential segregation in the city.

In discussing the current form of integration, Jack Thomas said: “But understand, there's this 60/40 kind of guideline...but it is 60/40, it's just not White kids. 60% Black, 30% Latino, 10% other. It's just not White kids, you understand?” Here Thomas is offering a critique about a guideline, the 60/40 guideline, implemented in Evanston in order to maintain integration. This guideline, enacted in 1985, states that no one racial group shall be more than 60% of any one school. However, as Thomas points out in his comment, this statement has been taken to mean *prima facie* that Whites would be the majority in every school. Similar concerns have manifested in Evanston with another school in the southern part of the city, Oakton Elementary, whose demographics have not been in line with the underlying assumption that all schools would have a much larger NorthShore University Health System) has led to improved care for Blacks and Whites in the city.

Figure 16. Revised school catchment areas, 1967
Source: Evanston History Center
White majority. For example, in 2010, Oakton's student body was 22% White, 44% Black, and 34% Hispanic and clearly in accordance with the 60/40 guideline. At the same time, the four northern elementary schools were technically in violation of the guideline with White students comprising 61% of Kingsley's population, 64% of Lincolnwood's, 69% of Willard's, and 78% of Orrington's (see Table 9 for recent school racial compositions).

Yet discussions were about how to ensure compliance at Oakton Elementary. Both of these examples, Oakton and the proposed new school in the Fifth Ward, support the idea that the form of integration in Evanston must look a certain way (i.e. a White majority) in order for it to be seen as legitimate or palatable (Lentin and Titley 2011).

Figure 17. Current District 65 school catchment areas
Source: District 65 website
One thing that was made clear by the failure of the March 2012 referendum is that residents of Evanston hold competing understandings of integration as a concept. In the 1960s, integration was thought to be achieved when Blacks were admitted into White institutions. In the case of the public elementary schools and CACI, the best way to integrate the schools would be for all schools to have a White majority and a Black minority irrespective of the surrounding neighborhood racial composition. Similarly, for other local institutions like the YMCA and the hospital, it was expected that Blacks would naturally attend White institutions once they were allowed to do so. While there was awareness by the pro-integration superintendent Gregory Coffin that schools would need support during the process of integration, institutional integration for the most part was seen across the city as an outcome to achieve. In other words, once Blacks were admitted to White institutions, those institutions were considered integrated. Overtime this
form of integration, where Whites are a majority and Blacks are a minority, has been reified and any attempt to change it is seen as a direct threat to its very existence

On the other hand, many of my respondents framed integration as more than “body mixing” and were in fact critical of efforts that only focused on what they considered aesthetic diversity. Jack Thomas, for example, has this to say of the diverse schools in North Evanston:

“What happens is, especially on the Northside, they love their diversity as long as it gets delivered to them and it's gone by 3:30.” Ruth Houston also discusses what she considers Evanston’s shallow approach to diversity:

There's this pastor at St. Nick's. He talked about Evanston's diversity and he called it ‘drive by diversity.’ You know, it's really interesting. I love that term because it is so real in so many ways. Because we really do think that we are a very diverse community. And we are! In many ways. But in many ways, we really are. You know, there is social and economic...all of that, it's all there. But in terms of real diversity, you know, meaningful interactions, it's kind of surfacy.

For these residents, integration was not achieved once the number of Blacks in a White space crossed a numeric threshold but rather was about access to equal resources. When asked about why she supported integrating the public elementary schools, for example, Martha Hatfield spoke directly about the perceived differences between Whites and Blacks:

Blacks wanted equality and the Whites were focusing on mixing the bodies and giving, when you looked in classrooms, give the impression that it was integrated and when it, it was but it wasn't. It was the same kind of thing that I told you how they would ignore you, the Black kid mixed in with the, and that still kind of goes on. Today. You know and uh in fact at Haven and I'm not sure if it's still going on, people were talking about how they have uh a teacher who basically has an all-White room and everybody wants to get into this one particular teacher's class.

Tom Smith, whose family was largely against the push for integration, talked about what an integrated classroom looked like when he got to middle school after attending Foster Elementary.

“I was the only Black kid in my homeroom [at Haven] from Foster. So that was the first thing; they dispersed us. And they dispersed us even further because half the kids at Foster went to
Haven and the other half went to Nichols.” Unlike other elementary schools which fed into a single middle school, Foster Elementary had three possible trajectories for its sixth-grade students: some would stay at Foster for seventh and eighth grade, some would go to Nichols Middle School and yet others would go to Haven Middle School. This small but meaningful difference between life after Foster versus life after all other elementary schools in Evanston is another example of integration means different things to different residents in Evanston. For Foster students, integrated middle schools meant being dispersed across the various homerooms and having few or no other Black students in your classes.

Janice Sampson also spoke about her experience in an integrated middle school. “I was there, but I wasn't part of being there.” Here Janice’s words echo the concerns of many residents about integration. When asked about her family’s involvement in the movement to integrate Evanston’s public schools, Laura Crosby said, “Like my father he had this term about integration. He was like, I want to get it right. In other words, he didn't see integration as a plus for us. Because he didn't feel like it was gonna change anybody's mind.” Laura’s words capture this idea that integration is about more than just access to the same facilities or body mixing; rather it’s about efforts to change the historical racial order of the city through actions which work to undo the legacy of that order.

All of my respondents experienced integrated education at one point in their lives or another; for some respondents like Norah Jefferson and Christine Talcott who were a part of the first integrated kindergarten class in 1967, integrated education was all they knew as children. For others like Janice and Laura who experienced segregation at Foster, integration happened at the middle and high school levels. Many expressed a sense of loss as they upon entering an
integrated space - a loss of community, sense of belonging, and face time with their Foster peers during the day - which continues to shape their current understanding of integration decades later.

William Montgomery talked at length about his experience transitioning to an integrated middle school after spending his elementary years at Foster and Noyes. Despite a few years at Noyes which had both Black and White students, it was when he entered Haven that he first noticed racial discrimination in school. Like other respondents, William believed that the school intentionally dispersed the Black students throughout many classrooms such that he was always either the only Black kid in his classes or one of two Black kids. He believed that there was what he called a "token Black kid in each track"; many other respondents have stated that they believed there were racist intentions to split up the black kids to avoid any "trouble". Speaking of his experience with tracking in seventh grade, William says: “No the reason that they [the school], there were no Blacks in 7B-2. See they had Blacks in every track except 7B-2 because Cloteel and I were in 7A-1. And so they moved me to 7B-2 so in every classroom they had a Black.” These experiences of loss as a result of institutional integration which White residents did not have play a role in the meaning of integration for long-term Black residents in the 21st century.

For most interviewees, integration is framed as a process that evolves over time and requires routine maintenance to ensure that it is being done equitably across the city. The proposed new school, had it been done right, was seen as one way of getting closer to equity according to many respondents.\textsuperscript{11} Far from “resegregating” the city’s public elementary schools,

\textsuperscript{11} While many of my respondents were in favor of a new school in theory, several of them did disclose that they voted “No” on the March 20, 2012 ballot. The reason that they cited was their dissatisfaction with the location of the proposed new school. Not only did they specifically want the new school to be in the old Foster building but they also felt that the proposed new school, which would have been built on Foster Field, would take up most of their greenspace in the
the proposed new school had the potential to update the model of integration to reflect the city’s increasing multiculturalism (see Table 1 for recent racial demographic information in Evanston). Integration, according to this understanding, is not easy to quantify or operationalize because it is based on more than just racial composition. Along these lines, Evanston would be classified as a statistically diverse city that is integrating as opposed to integrated.

**Conclusion**

The failure of this referendum highlights two important themes from Evanston's history of integration. First of all, as my interviewees made clear, what integration means to an Evanstonian is heavily influenced by race and generation. Integration emerged from the referendum as a contested topic, leaving the city divided on how best to achieve it. For many long-term African American residents, a new school in the Fifth Ward is one step toward ensuring equity for Black residents, a key component of integration. This means changing the form of integration that has existed since the beginning, a form which is based on all elementary schools having a similar racial composition with a White majority and a non-White minority. On the other hand, as evidenced by the referendum results, any push for a new school in the Fifth Ward is seen by those outside of the Ward (especially by residents of the sixth and seventh wards) as a direct threat to integration itself. Integration for these residents is framed as something that has already been accomplished, thus the new school would be a step toward resegregating elementary schools.

Secondly, integration is not working the same way for all Evanstonians. A majority of my respondents expressed a desire to have a neighborhood school in the Fifth Ward. For these neighborhood. Others said that they were so dissatisfied with the process in general that they did not vote on March 20, perhaps providing insight into the low voter turnout in the Fifth Ward.
residents, integration is difficult to decouple from a perceived loss of community and neighborhood institutions. Residents believe that integration in its current form has benefitted some Evanstonians at the expense of others; local grassroots organizations that look at racial equity in District 65 and at the high school level support these frustrations (see discussion of the Organization for Positive Action and Leadership). The form of integration is based on an antiquated model which has not evolved with the needs of the city and the result is that a proposed new school in the Fifth Ward could be blamed for potentially “resegregating” the schools without any mention of the underlying persistent neighborhood segregation.
CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

As stated, this dissertation is an analysis of the lived experiences of long-term Black Evanstonians and how these experiences shape their understanding of integration in the city. It is difficult to make sense of a movement to build a new school in the Fifth Ward some forty-five years after Foster Elementary School closed as part of the district’s integration plan. After all, many of these same residents were actively involved in the push to integrate Evanston’s public elementary schools.

After analyzing the three distinct periods essential to the history of integration in the city, I have come to a number of conclusions about the relationship between lived experiences and perceptions of integration. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to explore these conclusions. In addition, I will discuss policy implications and recommendations, limitations of the study, and suggestions for future research.

Segregation mattered

During the first half of the 20th century when the Fifth Ward was becoming firmly entrenched as Evanston’s Black community, Black-owned businesses thrived. The segregated community, referred in earlier works as the “Black colony” (Bruner 1924) provided a market for the goods and services offered by local Black merchants. Some institutions like Fanny’s, a Black-owned and staffed restaurant catering to local Whites, did not last, but restaurants that catered to local Black folks like the Dew Drop Inn, famous for their friend baloney sandwiches,
survived and thrived. While there is some debate, most of the literature on Black-owned enterprises suggests that residential segregation facilitated Black self-employment and the rise of Black capitalism (Boyd 2010; Fairchild 2008; Brimmer 1968). Integration, however, made it easier for Blacks to access businesses throughout the city, slowly eroding the market created by segregation. Black-owned businesses in the Fifth Ward were vulnerable because of their dependence on Black patrons. This dependence, coupled with macroeconomic trends such as the consolidation of industries and the rise of the chain store, placed the Black-owned businesses of the Fifth Ward in what Collins (2007) refers to as “double jeopardy”: in this case, the effects of broader economic trends are magnified for Black-owned businesses because of the already small market supporting them. As a result, many of the previously thriving Black-owned businesses failed in the years following integration.

In addition to the presence of Black-owned businesses and Black anchor institutions like Foster, the Emerson YMCA and the Community Hospital, my respondents also spoke at length about themes of community and solidarity. In many ways, the Fifth Ward resembled what Ferdinand Tönnies (1957) called *gemeinschaft* or a set of bonds based on common ways of life, common beliefs, concentrated social ties amongst a small number of people, familiarity, and continuity. Although the time period explored in this dissertation is post-industrial and Tönnies’ ideas about *gemeinschaft* were drawn from pre-industrial communities, the Fifth Ward in many ways functioned as an island of *gemeinschaft* in a city otherwise characterized by *gesellschaft*. For Tönnies, the bonds of *gemeinschaft* were replaced by *gesellschaft*, a situation where relationships in industrialized cities were characterized by dissimilar ways of life, dissimilar beliefs, dispersed ties, infrequent and temporary interactions among larger numbers of people.
In the case of the Fifth Ward, most of the commonality comes residents’ experiences of race and space in the city. Being Black in Evanston at this time meant living in the Fifth Ward; race and space were intimately coupled for Black residents. Because the Fifth Ward was spatially and socially cut off from greater Evanston by segregation, residents looked inward for recreation, production, and consumption. Many respondents talked not only about their ability to walk to anything they could possibly need but also about the way that neighborhood institutions created and sustained social ties. Foster and the Emerson YMCA were repeatedly described as the “hubs” of the community because they regularly brought people together. Residents of the Fifth Ward described themselves as close-knit and participated in activities together in part because they had few other options. This is evidenced by examples like Martha Hatfield’s experiences of discrimination at the Evanston movie theater and downtown restaurants, William Montgomery’s experiences of discrimination by Orrington Elementary, and Tom Smith’s family’s forced relocation to the Fifth Ward from North Evanston. These are but a few of the many experiences of discrimination faced by Black residents in the city; these experiences, coupled with residential segregation, held residents together in part because of their shared racial experiences.

One ironic effect of institutional integration was the erosion of the Fifth Ward community. As the process of institutional integration unfolded, the three anchor institutions of the Fifth Ward closed within a period of 11 years and a majority of the neighborhood children were bused out to several schools in the north. This meant that Fifth Ward residents were no longer participating in frequent and regular interactions with other local parents vis-à-vis school drop off and pick up. The Grove Street YMCA’s acceptance of Black members, which eventually led to the closing of the Emerson YMCA in 1969, meant that Fifth Ward residents were no longer interacting just with each other but rather were dispersed in a much larger
institution, if they joined it at all. Over time, Black-owned businesses declined in part because they no longer enjoyed the “wall of protection” that segregation afforded them but also because of larger economic trends including market consolidation and the rise of the chain store (see Feldman 2017 for a discussion of the harms associated with market consolidation on Black-owned businesses). The Fifth Ward was no longer an isolated island of *gemeinschaft* in a sea of *gesellschaft*; instead residents now had greater access to the city. The inward orientation during the first half of the 20th century served as a means for residents to not only survive segregation but to thrive as a community.

Another contradiction of integration was that the creation of newly integrated institutions, which were integrated largely on White terms, led to competition with Black institutions. For every Black resident of the Fifth Ward who patronized businesses and institutions outside of the Fifth Ward, there was not an equal number of White residents coming into the Fifth Ward and patronizing Black-owned businesses. As William Montgomery pointed out, integration was a double-edged sword: on the one hand, residents wanted access to city-wide institutions but on the other hand, this increased access led to community erosion and changed the relationships between Blacks and city institutions. In the segregated Fifth Ward, institutions were owned and managed by Blacks; with the newly integrated institutions, control remained largely in the hands of the White power structure. This in turn affected how Blacks participated with integrated institutions. Many residents, for example, talked about not feeling comfortable participating in the PTA at their children’s school, something that no respondent ever said about their interactions with Foster Elementary.

How residents perceived the Fifth Ward at this time was quite different from how those operating on the outside saw it. My respondents overwhelmingly remember the Fifth Ward as a
community with anchor institutions where neighbors looked out for one another and worked
together for the good of the group. There was a clear sense of pride with being self-sufficient in
the face of racial adversity. Though the majority of respondents supported and pushed for
integration, overall the memories and descriptions of the neighborhood give one a sense that it
was in fact thriving. For residents, the Fifth Ward was a social space according to Lefebvre’s
definition.

In contrast, from the outside, the neighborhood was seen as dilapidated and unkempt.
Leonard’s (1982) thesis, for example, documents White concerns about the effect of the Fifth
Ward on property values across the city. Whites engaged in philanthropic efforts designed to
encourage Fifth Ward residents to take better care of their homes (Leonard 1982). The Fifth
Ward was zoned to allow for crowding; there were a disproportionate number of multi-family
homes allowed relative to other neighborhoods (Hinman 1931). At the same time, zoning laws
did not allow for any apartment buildings in the Fifth Ward forcing families to crowd into multi-
family and single-family homes due to an increasing Black population and insufficient housing
stock (see Hirsch 1983 for a look at these processes in Chicago). According to today’s zoning
map of the city (see Figure 6.1), the Fifth Ward, unlike most other neighborhoods in the city, is
zoned primarily for multi-family units. In contrast, the neighborhoods in North Evanston are
primarily zoned for single-family homes. Black institutions such as the Emerson YMCA, Foster
Elementary, and the Community Hospital were seen as far inferior to the sister White institutions
in terms of the physical structures but also in terms of the services they offered and how they
were managed. Looking at the Fifth Ward through this lens, it is clear how the city (vis-à-vis
CACI) could see the Fifth Ward as a piece of abstract space, useful in its potential for helping the
city to achieve a "manageable" racial balance at all elementary schools despite highly segregated neighborhoods.

Figure 18. City of Evanston zoning map, 2017
Source: City of Evanston website
Generation matters

For my respondents, all but one of whom are over fifty-five years old and have spent more than twenty years in Evanston, race intersects with generation in a way that creates a distinct set of experiences. Mindy Fullilove’s (2004) “root shock” is a term which recognizes the traumatic stress for people associated with the loss of their community. In the case of Evanston’s Fifth Ward, these changes happened slowly over time as institutional integration had the ironic effect of disintegrating the community that Black residents had created. Place attachment is another term that captures the connections that people, especially long-term residents, have with a given space. In his study of rural all-Black towns of Oklahoma, McAuley (1998) found that sociohistorical factors played an important role in the level of place attachment felt by residents. In other words, he found that experiences of racial discrimination outside of the community influenced how attached an individual was to a community. Martha Hatfield’s reflections on her experiences of racial discrimination as a child in north Evanston demonstrate a high degree of place attachment to the Fifth Ward. Nearly all respondents spoke of specific experiences of discrimination in other parts of the city; juxtaposed against the positive stories of belonging at Foster Elementary and the Emerson YMCA, it is clear that the loss of the institutions would be stressful for residents who depended on them.

Griffin (2004) nuances Mannheim’s (1952) theory of generational identity by adding in the role of space and race. He focuses on places where “highly charged events” happened such as the Civil Rights Movement being largely centered in the South and finds that race, region, and generation intersect with one another in shaping participants’ experiences of the movement. Similar to these findings, my analysis demonstrates that for long-term Black residents of the
Fifth Ward, the intersection of race, generation, and space lead to a very different perception of integration in the city.

Space matters

In their article connecting race and space, Neely and Samura (2011) write: “In other words, racial interactions and processes (e.g. identities, inequalities, conflicts, and so on) are also about how we collectively make and remake, over time and through ongoing contestation, the spaces we inhabit. In turn, the making and remaking of space is also about the making and remaking of race” (p. 1934). The case of the Fifth Ward clearly demonstrates the dialectic relationship between race and space. The space was racialized early in Evanston’s history when Blacks were forced to settle on the “swampy, smelly” land near the sanitary canal, land without the same level of infrastructure as the rest of the city. Despite this adversity, Black residents worked to build community during an era of de facto segregation, creating thriving Black-owned businesses and anchor institutions.

Yet it became clear that race and racism were embedded within the space when the District 65 Board of Education decided to use the Fifth Ward and its residents to integrate the public schools. Not only were Black children disproportionately bused but the process of institutional integration provided the grounds upon which the city could legitimately disinvest in the neighborhood under the guise of providing access to “better” institutions. As Pattillo argues, “Promoting integration as the means to improve the lives of Blacks stigmatizes Black people and Black spaces and valorizes Whiteness as both the symbol of opportunity and the measuring stick for equality.” The implicit assumption in Evanston’s model of integration, the model which led to the eventual closing of Foster Elementary, the Community Hospital, and the Emerson YMCA, is that White spaces are better than Black spaces. This valorization can also be seen in how the
primary measure of racial segregation, the Index of Dissimilarity, is constructed. The Index of Dissimilarity measures the percentage of people of color who would have to move in order for a city to be integrated. By measuring the number of minorities who would have to move as opposed to the number of Whites, there is the implicit assumption that Whites spaces are the spaces to which one would want to move and not the other way around.

Neely and Samura (2011) also argue that space is contested, fluid, and historical as are racial projects (Omi and Winant 2015). The emergence of grassroots organizing to bring a neighborhood school back to the Fifth Ward began soon after the closure of Foster Elementary in 1979. Some residents recognized quickly that integration was leading to the disintegration of their community. For these residents and the others that arrived at similar conclusions over time, the unevenness of integration and its effects on the Fifth Ward needed to be resisted. Reclaiming the space vis-à-vis a new neighborhood school was seen as an important step toward combatting what Delaney (2001) calls the ‘local geographies of race’ and would empower residents to push back against “how groups of colour are systematically organized in ways that undermine their well-being” (cited in Neely and Samura 2011:1945).

Perceptions matter

In recent history, Northwestern business students would advise incoming students to seek housing “east of Ridge Road”, a north-south street that separates the west and east sides of the city. There was also a large settlement paid out by a real estate company for attempting to steer Whites out of the city in favor of suburbs further north.¹ In addition a map is easily accessible on the Internet which divides the city into “acceptable” neighborhoods and neighborhoods to avoid.

¹ These examples came out of conversations with Nyden (2017).
Though the source of this map is unclear, it has been circulated in anonymous online in an attempt to shape perceptions of the city and its many neighborhoods. Perceptions that people have about a city matter; they shape their decisions about which spaces to interact with, campaign for, and protect. In the case of the Fifth Ward, residents’ perceptions of the neighborhood and its value as a Black space differ dramatically from the perceptions of outsiders (both racial outsiders as well as other Black residents who live outside of the Fifth Ward).

As this dissertation illustrates, perceptions matter. Whether demonstrated by word of mouth, images, or policy, the perceptions that people have of the Fifth Ward and its residents are dramatically different from the perceptions that long-term Black residents have of the neighborhood. The perceptions of those living outside of the Fifth Ward were a critical factor in the failure to pass the referendum necessary to build a new neighborhood school in 2012. And the perceptions of my respondents, older long-term Black residents of the city, are key to determining how to move forward with integration in an equitable way for all residents.

In his article exploring the city of San Antonio, Daniel Arreola (1995) writes, “The identity of a city is not necessarily the same as the image that individuals perceive” (p. 518). He is writing about the linkages between San Antonio’s identity and its’ Hispanic heritage, one which he argues is largely rooted in consumption and has been socially constructed by residents of the city who are not Hispanic. In the case of Evanston, which is often described as an integrated city, there are many residents, especially residents of color, who disagree with the term “integrated” in describing Evanston. Though the city is statistically diverse, they argue that it is far from integrated. Simply because a city is statistically diverse, they argue that it does not mean a city can be assumed to be integrated (Pinto-Coelho and Zuberi 2015; Logan and Stults 2011) nor can schools which are comprised of different racial groups be assumed to be
integrated (Diamond 2006). For many of my respondents, the perception that Evanston and its public schools are integrated comes from outside their neighborhood.

Perceptions are also important in terms of the form that integration has taken in the city. As mentioned earlier, the 2012 failure to pass the referendum and more specifically the role that the Sixth and Seventh Wards played in this referendum’s failure demonstrate that for the residents of these wards, integration in its current form is working. Furthermore, any challenge to the status quo could be characterized as an attempt to undo the work of integration or “resegregate” the public schools. In 1940, W.E.B. DuBois wrote, “No idea is perfect and forever valid. Always to be living and apposite and timely, it must be modified and adapted to changing facts” (p. 303). This very idea is part of what many respondents said about their perceptions of integration in Evanston: it is not working in its current form. For these long-term residents, the way they understand integration is the result of their experiences of both segregation and integration in the city. As a result, their perceptions both of the Fifth Ward and of citywide integration look dramatically different from those of residents who have not experienced this history in the city.

Limitations

As with any research study, there are a number of limitations with this dissertation. Given my focus on the role of lived experiences of Evanston residents, my project focused on depth rather than breadth. Qualitative research is time-consuming and involves an inherently smaller sample size. Because of the limitations of qualitative data collection, I had to make decisions about which perspectives would be included and which would be left out.
“And Latinos, too”

At a recent panel discussion of race in the United States, a constitutional law professor discussed the racial implications of historical policies. His analysis centered on Blacks and Whites and at one point in his presentation, sensing future questions, he quickly added, “And Latinos, too” in attempt to account for what is quickly becoming the United States’ majority minority population. My research similarly neglects a number of important racial perspectives in the city, especially that of Latinos. Because my project is focused on the racialized history of the city and how this history shapes perceptions of integration, I chose to focus on long-term Black Evanstonians. The Census considers Hispanic or Latino an ethnicity\(^2\) and therefore it is difficult to accurately measure how many individuals of Hispanic origin were living in the city before the 1980 Census. However, as can be seen in Table 1, the number of individuals identifying as Hispanic today is a sizable and growing minority in the city. This will be addressed more in the section on future research.

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<td>3.7%</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. Spanish Origin as a Percentage of Total Population, 1980-2015

This research is also limited because it focuses solely on the experiences of long-term African American residents and intentionally leaves out the perspective of those newer to the city. The purpose of this project is to better understand the ways in which race, space, and

\(^2\) The Census defines Hispanic or Latino as an ethnicity, not as a racial category. In Evanston, however, Hispanicity is used more as a racial category. For example, for the purposes of adhering to the 60/40 guideline, Hispanic or Latino students would be considered a racial group.
generation shape perceptions of integration so it was necessary to focus on one generation.

Because I wanted to hear from individuals who had experiences with Foster Elementary School while it was still operational, I chose to focus on older Black residents. One of my residents in particular was adamant that I engage “the White perspective”; she wanted to know how Whites in the city were affected by the closure of Foster and other institutions in the Fifth Ward. Other respondents encouraged me to talk with Black families whose children were bused to school. Both of these speak to limitations of my project as neither is a part of the final project. However, I believe that the data that I have collected and analyzed is the best possible for answering my research questions (see Chapter 2 for more on methods).

Last but not least is the limitation of variables I focused on for this project. As I conducted my interviews and analyzed the archival data, I did see indicators that socioeconomic status in the segregated Fifth Ward played a role in the experiences respondents had of the community. Wilma Robertson, for example, mentioned on several occasions that she was limited in her engagement in the community because she was a single mother struggling to provide for her children. Denise Haraway also mentioned living with various relatives and moving from place to place when her parents divorced. The segregated Fifth Ward was not monolithic with respect to socioeconomic status and I think there would be some interesting findings if a study were to account for class. Similar to what Wilson (1996) notes about other cities in the United States, the Fifth Ward in the 1940s and 1950s was quite socioeconomically diverse despite its racial segregation. There were successful businessmen like George Robinson, smaller entrepreneurs like Sally McLean’s father who owned a radio and television shop, and there were also individuals like Wilma Robertson and Denise Haraway whose financial struggles were palpable. Unlike Wilson’s (1996) findings, however, the fate of the Fifth Ward is less the result
of work disappearing from the Fifth Ward and more about opportunities opening elsewhere for Black residents in conjunction with changes to the racial make-up of the neighborhood vis-à-vis an influx of White and Latino residents.

I also noticed that men and women seemed to reflect upon the push for integration differently. The role of gender was not a variable that I focused on in my interviews but I did notice when coding and analyzing that many women remembered the push for integration as one which sought access to equality with or without the “body mixing.” In contrast, men were more likely to focus on body mixing as key to moving forward. My project seeks to understand the relationship between race, space, and generation; by focusing on these variables, I had to make difficult decisions about what other important variables I would leave out of my analysis. I will discuss this more in the section on future research.

Suggestions for future research

Many of my suggestions for future research come out of the limitations of my study. As mentioned previously, one of the major limitations of my study has to do with the variables I included and importantly those that I excluded. I believe any discussions of race and integration in the 21st century must recognize that Evanston has moved beyond a Black-White dichotomy. The city is much more multicultural today than it was just forty years ago; its diversity, like that of the United States, continues to grow (See Tables 2 and 3 for Evanston’s current racial make-up). The Latino population in Evanston is affected by different barriers to equity including language and, in some cases, citizenship status. These issues, like those raised by my respondents, are critical to understand in order to move forward with policies that are equitable for all residents.
In addition, there are other areas of this story which deserve attention. For example, I would like to do future research that engages younger and more recent Black and multi-racial families, especially those living in Evanston who plan to enroll their children in the public schools when they are of age. I also believe it is critical to hear from White residents of the city, especially long-term White residents who lived through the same periods in Evanston’s history. Two of my respondents, Janie Sampson and Martha Hatfield, were adamant that I include the voices of White residents. They wanted to know how the closure of Foster affected Whites in the city. I agree that hearing from long-term White residents would add an important dimension to this project.

Finally, I would like to explore something I came across during my many hours at the Shorefront Legacy Center. A committee, Preserving Integrity Through Culture and History (PITCH), was formed in the 1990s in order to plan the creation of a Conservation District in the Fifth Ward. This was an attempt to officially recognize the contributions of Fifth Ward residents to the city of Evanston. I was unable to gather much data on this at the time as it was outside of the scope of my research questions. However, one thing that I did find out is that there is a difference between historical landmarks and architectural landmarks. It will require additional research but from what several of my respondents speculated in their interviews, architectural landmark status which is disproportionately in predominately White neighborhoods, has a much stronger enforcement mechanism than does historical landmark status. Eunice Leavenworth, for example, talked about how she believed that Northwestern University was able to get around the historical landmark status on several buildings important to Black history in the city in order to build Research Park. If true, this would be another example of how seemingly race-neutral policies in the city reproduce racial inequality.
Policy Recommendations

This dissertation presents the story of the Fifth Ward, a majority-minority neighborhood in a statistically diverse city committed to institutional integration. As shown throughout the paper, the Fifth Ward was constructed through public and private efforts to segregate the growing Black population in the city. As a result, Black residents created a thriving community complete with anchor institutions, local publications, and a wealth of Black-owned businesses. The move to integrate the city vis-à-vis its public institutions brought with it increased city access for Black residents. At the same time, however, White residents were not supporting Black-owned businesses to the degree necessary to offset the number of Blacks opting to shop elsewhere (Perry and Waters 2012). In addition, the three anchor institutions—Foster Elementary, the Community Hospital, and the Emerson YMCA—were eventually closed as the city opted to keep and maintain the historically White sister institutions. For many long-term residents of the Fifth Ward today, the neighborhood is a shell of what it once was; their perception of the neighborhood’s decline finds its origins in the decision to integrate the city. Though many of the concerns they have about the neighborhood such as disinvestment and crime can in part be traced to larger structural economic changes in the US, for long-term residents the way the city integrated the public institutions is to blame for the decline of their community. As Pattillo (2014) points out, the implicit assumptions in the form that integration has widely taken valorize White space while simultaneously denigrating and devaluing Black space. How can Evanston do integration in a way that valorizes both White and Black institutions and evenly distributes the necessary work across all communities?

My first and overarching policy recommendation is that the city has to actively recognize that integration has affected communities differently. Like Coates (2014) details in “The Case for
Reparations”, part of the reparations process is a reckoning with the past and an admission of guilt as a means of moving forward honestly. In Evanston, this reckoning with the city’s racially discriminatory past was not part of the CACI report in the late 1960s and its absence has led to a form of integration that reproduces racial inequality in the city. In her discussion of the five faces of oppression, Young (1990) defines cultural imperialism as “the dominant meanings of a society render the particular perspective of one's own group invisible at the same time as they stereotype one's group and mark it out as the Other” (p. 599). When discussing the ‘new urban sociology’, Squires and Kubrin (2005) argue that such a paradigm must examine “how land use practices, urban policy, the dynamics of race and class, and other social forces determine who gets what and why” (p. 48). When synthesizing these two ideas and applying them to Evanston’s integration, the imperative becomes clear: the city must create policies which account for the disparate historical treatment of residents and communities on the basis of race. Evanston in many ways serves as a microcosm for the larger often contentious discussions surrounding race and privilege in the United States. Without a deep understanding of and an accounting for how the legacy of past racist policies and practices shape the present moment, the city (and the U.S., for that matter) cannot move forward. As former Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun said in 1978, “In order to get beyond racism, we must first take account of race. There is no other way.” Evanston’s racial history needs to be an ongoing and active part of the discussion of future policies.

In order to ensure that the racial history of the city is widely known, I believe that we need to strengthen local institutions (ideally Black-owned or Black-managed) that engage in work around the city’s racial history and incorporate them into the district’s curriculum. For example, Shorefront Legacy Center is a local, Black-owned non-profit organization whose
mission is to “collect, preserve and educate people about Black history on Chicago’s suburban North Shore.” In addition, the Fleetwood-Jourdain Center (formerly Foster Center) provides unique opportunities for city residents to engage in activities that highlight the city’s racial history. Strengthening opportunities for all Evanstonians to engage the history of the city is an essential component to moving forward in a way that works toward equity for all residents.

Hayden’s (1995) work recognizes the importance of the built environment as a means of preserving the people's history and a people's experiences of a given space. In Evanston, as in most places in the United States, most "landmarks" commemorate the wealthy and powerful. Evanston as a city needs to ensure that the history of all groups is preserved and commemorated. At a time when the nation is having critical conversations about statues and landmarks, we in Evanston should do the same and find ways to more prominently commemorate and disseminate aspects of our history that are painful but necessary to confront.

I also believe that the city and its residents must recognize that integration is a process that is always ongoing and evolving. When we think of the city as “integrated”, this implies a completed action: the actions necessary to integrate the city have been completed and it is now integrated. Changing how we think of Evanston from “integrated” to “integrating” is a small but meaningful change that recognizes the processual nature of integration. Martin Luther King Junior (1986) recognized the complicated nature of integration when he wrote, “Desegregation is enforceable…integration is not.” Processes need to be revisited, critiqued, and sometimes overhauled if they are not achieving the intended results. Policymakers need to build into the process regular and required moments of reflection and dialogue where integration is critically examined.
In order to begin to account for the historical disparities in the city, policymakers must also recognize the interconnections between social justice and spatial justice. Marcuse (2009) notes that social injustice always has a spatial element and that spatial element cannot be divorced from the "historical, social and political economic context in which it exists" (p. 4).

Similar to Orfield and Eaton (1996), I believe that integrated neighborhoods are crucial to maintaining integrated schools. Changing the racial make-up of segregated neighborhoods will not happen overnight but I do believe that there are ways to incentivize integrated neighborhoods. While I have not investigated affordable housing policy in Evanston in depth, I do believe that having affordable housing ordinances that require each Census tract to have a specific percentage of units available would be one way to maintain the diverse character of the city.\(^3\) In addition, financial incentives in the form of a tax credit or rebate could be another way to promote neighborhood integration. This too is a difficult issue and would have to be vetted by residents but could be another innovative way to encourage diverse neighborhoods.

One thing that I have learned from this research is that if I want to better understand an issue, I have to go to the source. A few years ago, in honor of Evanston’s 150\(^{th}\) anniversary, the mayor and other leaders in the city put forth a challenge to residents of the city. They asked that residents submit their wildest ideas for what they would like the city to look like in the future; no idea should be seen as impossible. This shifted part of the responsibility for envisioning the city’s future to the residents themselves and many residents submitted ideas ranging from building public pools to establishing a city community college and everything in between. I

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\(^3\) I do not intend for affordable housing to be used entirely as a proxy for race. However, given the racialized nature of socioeconomic status in the United States as a result of past racist policies and practices, increasing affordable housing in the city would likely increase access to the city for people of color.
would like to see a similar city-wide discussion and brainstorm session about how we can do integration in the city in a way that works for everyone. There are groups with experience dealing with equity issues such as OPAL and the YWCA; there are others, concerned citizens like many of my respondents, who want to see integration done in a way that benefits all Evanstonians. In order to do this, however, we as a city would first have to recognize that the current form of integration has benefitted White neighborhoods at the expense of the Fifth Ward.

Evanston prides itself on its diversity and that it was the first northern city to voluntarily integrate its public schools after the Brown decision in 1954. And there is certainly much to be proud about for residents of the city. But given the stories of my respondents, it is clear that Evanston is not on the cutting edge of integration today. Integration has happened imperfectly in Evanston; the public schools demonstrate “body mixing” when the overall racial make-up of schools is considered. Yet as my respondents point out, integration is more than just body mixing. In order to achieve the ideals of integration, the city must critically reflect on watershed moments in history where integration could have taken a different path. This is an important lesson not just for Evanston but for other towns and cities that are grappling with similar issues. As the United States continues to become more and more diverse, these issues will only become more salient.

As Bryan Stevenson (2006), a Civil Rights attorney and founder of the Equal Justice Initiative in Montgomery, Alabama, notes, humans operate within a broken system. There is no perfect solution to mitigate the many problems resulting from the cumulative effects of

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4 At this moment, Highland Park, a suburb located about 15 miles north of Evanston, is dealing with impending school closures and a need for redistricting. The school district which is roughly 70% White and 23% Hispanic is grappling with how to close schools and redistrict in a way that is equitable to all residents. Over the past five years, the percent of White students in the district has decreased by 5% while the percent of Hispanic students has increased by 4%. 
government-sanctioned racist policies and practices of the past. But by getting proximate to the problem and listening to the voices of those most affected, we can begin to see the problem from their perspective.
APPENDIX A

IMPORTANT DATES IN EVANSTON’S HISTORY
• 1854: Evanston founded
• 1863: Town of Evanston Incorporated (1860 Census counts 2 Blacks in Evanston)
• 1872 Village of Evanston Incorporated (1870 Census counts 43 Blacks in Evanston)
• 1882 Ebeneezer A.M.E. Church established as first Black church (1880 Census counts 124 Blacks in Evanston)
• 1889 First Black newspaper Afro-American Budget published
• 1905 Foster Elementary School opens; nearly 100% of students are White (1900 Census counts 737 Blacks in Evanston)
• 1912 First Black Boy Scout Troop, Troop #7 (1910 Census counts 1,160 Blacks in Evanston)
• 1914 Segregated Emerson YMCA opens
• 1914 Evanston Sanitarium (later the Community Hospital) opens
• 1921 Zoning Ordinance which affected Black housing patterns (1920 Census counts 2,522 Blacks in Evanston)
• 1931 Edwin B. Jourdain becomes the first Black elected alderman (1930 Census counts 4,938 Blacks in Evanston)
• 1941 First issue of Evanston Newsette published by Melvin Smith (1940 Census counts 6,026 Blacks in Evanston)
• 1957 Foster Community Center (now Fleetwood-Jourdain Center) opens (1950 Census counts 6,994 Blacks in Evanston)
• 1958 Foster School fire
• 1960 Foster School reopens after sustaining more than $500,000 in damages (1960 Census counts 9,126 Blacks in Evanston)
• 1963 Grove Street YMCA integrates facilities
• 1967 Busing begins in order to integrate District 65 schools
• 1969 Emerson YMCA closes
• 1980 Emerson YMCA demolished (1980 Census counts 15,791 Blacks in Evanston)
• 1980 Community Hospital closes
• 1985 District 65 adopts the 60/40 guideline
• 1993 Lorraine Morton becomes first African American mayor of Evanston (1990 Census counts 16,604 Blacks in Evanston)
• 2011 District 65 votes to put the construction of a new neighborhood school in the Fifth Ward on a March 2012 referendum (2010 Census counts 13,474 Blacks in Evanston)
• 2012 District 65 referendum fails

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS/THEMES
**Life in the Fifth Ward neighborhood**

- When did your family move to Evanston? What were the major reasons for moving to Evanston?
- What is the earliest memory you have of your neighborhood?
- Did you live in the Fifth Ward when Foster Elementary was operational as a neighborhood school?
  - Can you tell me about a story of Foster that sticks out in your memory?
  - Can you tell me about Foster’s closure?
- When people say Fifth Ward, what does that mean to you? (socially, geographically)
- Can you tell me about a time you remember spending with your family in your neighborhood?
- Can you tell me about a memory you have of being with/hanging out with neighbors?
- How often do you interact with/socialize with your neighbors?
- In your opinion, what is the biggest problem facing this neighborhood?

**School experience**

- Do you (or did you) have children that attend the public elementary schools?
- Can you tell me about an experience (or experiences) you had where you felt really satisfied with your child's school?
- Can you tell me about a specific experience or experiences when you felt dissatisfied or frustrated with your child's school?
- Can you tell me about a teacher you remember fondly from your child's elementary school experiences? Can you give an example of why you remember her/him this way? And a teacher who you did not like?
- Has your family been active in the school? Tell me about a memory you have of your participation at the school. Has there ever been a time when you wanted to volunteer but did not? Please explain.
- Did you or your family go to your child's school for events that were not school related? Can you tell me about one of these events that you remember?
- How did your child get to school?

**Integration and the New School Referendum of 2012**

- What is your opinion of the 2012 referendum to build a new school in the Fifth Ward? How did you arrive at that opinion?
- Many Evanston residents suggested that a new school in the Fifth Ward would "resegregate" Evanston's public schools. Do you agree with this? Why or why not?
- Do you think having a neighborhood school in the Fifth Ward is a good idea? Why or why not?
• Can you tell me about a conversation with someone about the referendum that you remember?
• How did you feel when the referendum did not pass?

*How and where have things changed/not changed*

• Do you believe that Evanston is integrated? How so or how not? When you hear that Evanston is a diverse or integrated city, how do you feel?

• Can you tell me about an experience you had where you felt like integration was working well? And can you tell me about an experience you had where you felt like it was not working?

• What, in your opinion, needs to change for Evanston to achieve integration?
APPENDIX C

HOUSE MOVES IN EVANSTON (1908 - 1953)
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<thead>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
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<td>1124 Chicago</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1909</td>
<td>1410 Ashland</td>
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<td>1909</td>
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<td>2311 Prairie</td>
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<td>1829 Dodge</td>
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<td>324 Dempster</td>
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<td>1911</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Elmwood and Dempster</td>
<td>1924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Emerson and City Limits</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>817 Judson</td>
<td>1924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>1919 Lake</td>
<td>1924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>911 Elmwood</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1927</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
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<tr>
<td>1929</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1731 Ridge</td>
<td>1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1612 Central</td>
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APPENDIX D

LIST OF QUESTIONS FROM NWHA TO

THE DISTRICT 65 BOARD OF EDUCATION
1. What is the difference between: a) a segregated school? b) an integrated school? c) a neighborhood school?

2. How can the superintendent and the board assume that racial integration is an educational objective any more than, say, religious integration or economic integration?

3. In several places, the report indicates differences between white and Negro cultures. What are these differences?

4. If the students at Foster School are not disadvantaged in terms of scholastic achievement, class discipline, quality of staff, etc., what, then, is the objective for its desegregation?

5. What is being done to control the influx of Negroes from Chicago and elsewhere who live with relatives in Evanston during the school year for the sole purpose of attending Evanston schools?

6. How many Negro pupils who do not live with a parent or legal guardian attend District 65 schools? How many pay tuition?

7. Why is the percentage of Negro pupils in District 65 twenty percent and only 11 percent in District 202?

8. Do you feel that the desegregation of Foster School will alleviate the existing housing patterns and how do you propose to prevent a situation such as Washington, D.C. where schools were desegregated in 1954 and are now almost 100% Negro?

9. As stated in the report on page 10- “Any successful school board policy must have over a period of time general support of the citizens. Without a voters’ referendum, how did the board arrive at the decision that these recommendations concerning de facto segregation and integration of District 65 schools were what the majority of Evanston citizens wanted?

10. If a trial of open enrollment fails to bring about the desired large interchange of students, wouldn’t this show that the majority of people do not want forced integration but rather that they favor the neighborhood school policy?

11. What figure is considered classroom capacity? How do classroom sizes at Lincolnwood, Willard, and Haven compare with classrooms at Foster and others in the district?

12. Last winter, Mr. Doberstein stated that no tax payers’ dollars would be spent to bus students to other schools for the purpose of school integration. Where is the money coming from for the busing of Negro pupils from Foster School (4 trips per day amounts to approximately $70 per pupil per semester)? How long will this busing continue and to what extent do you expect it to grow?
13. If new boundaries are drawn, will parents have any choice as to which school their children will attend? Specifically, if Foster School boundaries are enlarged to include portions of Lincolnwood and Haven, could these parents refuse to send their children to Foster?

14. Many questions have been raised by parents concerning the proposal for 6-7-8 grade junior high schools. There seems to be a general feeling that to do so requires a 6th grader to be pushed into maturity at too early an age. Could you give an explanation as to the necessity for this change?

15. With reference to the Citizen’s Advisory Commission: Do you not feel that this committee leads to a lessening of the effect of the school board’s elected authority?

Second set of questions

1. Can you guarantee, for those of us who are contemplating this transfer, that the children in Lincolnwood School will receive the same quality education as they have received in the past with the sudden addition of the 40-80 Foster children?

2. My second question involves the mixing, at far too young and impressionable an age, of different home and moral standards, and when you bring children from one entirely different type of neighborhood into that of another, this is going to happen. I feel very strongly that children tend to pick up on ideas bordering on the negative much faster than positive ones. Isn’t this change more likely to break down our standards that we have tried to help our children set for themselves than it is to improve the standards of others?

3. Some of us as parents are making sacrifices, monetary and otherwise, in an effort to keep our children in the Evanston School system, because of our faith in the high standard and quality of education. We are also trying to set home and moral standards, which we feel are important in these times. While some Foster parents seek the same kind of standards, it is very obvious to anyone who has lived in Evanston for any length of time that a great many Negroes do not have the same goals and standards for their children nor themselves. It is a well-known fact that some more highly cultured Negroes in the Foster area prefer to send their children away to school rather than to send them to Foster. If they recognize that problems exist, why must we be forced to accept the same problems and situations which they feel to be substandard to their beliefs? Why must we, who desire more for our children, be forced to have our children mixed with those who do not?

4. Reports of incidents at Foster, Walker, Lincolnwood, and Skiles have sifted back to some of us in this area. In each case I have tried to track these down to get to the source of the issue in an effort to find out how much truth or falsehood is involved. In each case it has been a situation in which I do not, and would not, want my child involved. If there is this
much trouble in certain Evanston schools, why not clean up the existing problems in some other way instead of spreading them to schools where these problems do not now exist?

5. If the children at Foster and Dewey are educationally farther behind than children at other schools because of too much teacher time being spent ironing out discipline problems, why should these same children be allowed to transfer their unsolved problems to the other schools, thereby lowering our present quality of education?

6. Many parents do not desire integration in social groups. By this proposed action, aren’t you forcing integration into the scouting, dancing, and playground activities? Those of us who do not believe in mixed dating (which comes at a later step) believe this is a dangerous step, and would feel forced to eliminate these programs from our children’s schedules.

7. Why were the Negro transfers at Lincolnwood allowed to remain on the playground after school until 4:00 and even 4:30 PM?

8. I do not believe in integration solely for the sake of integration. Why do social problems constantly have to be unloaded onto the schools and the educational system? Education itself will not solve some of the existing problems in the Foster area.

9. While there may be some parents who desire “early age” integration in schools, there is a much greater majority of parents who are today afraid to speak out against it, but who are totally against it. With the fate of Evanston as a city in a slightly precarious, if not dangerous position today, isn’t it possible that many valuable residents will be so disturbed by this proposed integration, that they will move from Evanston, and thereby further hurt Evanston as a result?

10. Even though the overcrowding of Foster children may be alleviated for a year or so by transferring some of these children to Lincolnwood now, and others to Haven later, isn’t the same kind of overcrowding going to take place again within a year or so, which will demand more shuffling?

11. Why not instead build another neighborhood school in this Foster area to take care of children within their own area as has been the accepted procedure in the past in Evanston?

12. Aren’t you fearful that many who are opposed to this kind of integration will turn against the future bond issues, as the Negroes threatened to do, if this is forced?

13. How many transfers from Foster are attending Lincolnwood during the school year 1965-1966?
APPENDIX E

FEARS EXPRESSED BY THE “SAVE OUR SCHOOLS” CAMPAIGN, 1966
NOTE: This sheet was distributed at a meeting held in the Orrington School on
Wednesday, October 19, 1966.

"SAVE OUR SCHOOLS"

Some facts and thoughts are offered below for your consideration in the
belief that they will convince you to oppose the proposed school integration plan.
The initials of Save Our Schools are appropriately S.O.S. We solicit your help.

1. Redraws school boundaries to achieve so-called racial balance rather than
   for safety and convenience of pupils.

2. Involves compulsory bussing of 450 Negro pupils, and Dr. Coffin opposes
   giving the parents of these pupils a choice as to whether or not their
   children should be bussed.

3. Recommends annual boundary changes as racial balance changes. This
   destroys school stability and will face the school system, the pupils and
   the administration with annual turmoil.

4. With so-called "flexible boundaries", annual boundary changes and compulsory
   bussing, the neighborhood school system is in fact destroyed.

5. No clear explanation has ever been given of the "alleged" benefits from this
   plan.

6. No reliable estimate of the costs of this program has been furnished.

7. It spends our tax dollars for integration rather than education.

8. Is the job of the Board to educate our children or achieve racial balance?

9. Breaks faith with the citizens. The supporters of recent school bond issues
   claimed their passage would prevent compulsory bussing and alteration
   of the neighborhood school system.

10. Evanston is not a segregated community. If bussing and realignment of
    boundaries were eliminated every student would still be in a fully
    integrated school by the sixth grade. By the sixth grade the children are
    more mature and adjust to departure from the association with neighbor-
    hood friends and schools. Every child in Evanston gets plenty of integrated
    education in the 6th through the 12th grade.

11. This will affect property values and neighborhoods and is important to residents
    whether or not they have children in school. Any impairment of the neigh-
    borhood school system or reduction in the quality of Evanston education
    must reduce property values. If the schools are churned up, the neighbor-
    hoods will also begin to churn.
12. Evanston will follow Chicago - as residents once fled to the suburbs to escape the Chicago school system, they will begin to flee this suburb as its school system deteriorates. Ultimately this will make the question of racial balance in the schools academic. You can't integrate without whites.

13. There is no requirement of either Federal law or of the Federal constitution that our school boundaries be altered in any way. In the Gary School Board case (Bell v. School Board of the City of Gary, Indiana, 324 Fed. 2d 209) decided in 1963, the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals which includes Illinois affirmed the District Judges' decision that the Gary neighborhood schools were lawful and proper. Two of the three judges were from Illinois, one of them being the former State Attorney General.

The Supreme Court of the United States refused to reverse this decision. The Court said: "We approve also of the statement in the District Court's opinion. 'Nevertheless, I have seen nothing in the many cases dealing with the segregation problem which leads me to believe that the law requires that a school system developed on the neighborhood school plan, honestly and conscientiously constructed with no intention or purpose to segregate the races, must be destroyed or abandoned because the resulting effect is to have a racial imbalance in certain schools where the district is populated almost entirely by Negroes or whites ....'"

14. Dr. Coffin said at the Monday night meeting that this was a matter for consideration and decision by the Board of Education and not for consideration by the public nor should the Board be concerned with public opinion according to Coffin. One Board member suggested a survey of the parents of Negro children who would be bussed. Dr. Coffin arrogantly and derogatorily referred to this proposal as calling for a "plebiscite" (a word of unfortunate connotation) and said the Board would abdicate its responsibility if it surveyed parental views even to this limited extent. It seems our new Superintendent should be more tolerant of the public and of the public viewpoint. The fact that he is not clearly indicates his arbitrary, closed-minded viewpoint on community and school problems where integration is concerned. We urge every resident to object to their Board of Education members and to their Alderman if they concur in opposing this plan and Dr. Coffin's viewpoint.

Save Our Schools Association

S.O.S.

The following questions were brought out:

1. Can an injunction be used to stop the boundary proposal?

2. Does the Board of Education have to pass on the Commission Report before action by outside groups can be taken?

3. We don't want publicity around the country because it might attract undesirable action people to our community.

4. Could we ask the school board to poll the citizens as to their feelings? I told them that I hadn't ever heard of a school board asking people how they wanted decisions to be made.
APPENDIX F

SURVEY INSTRUMENT SENT TO FOSTER PARENTS, 1966
DISTRICT 65 CITIZENS ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INTEGRATION

On May 17, 1965, Dr. O. M. Chute, Superintendent of Schools, addressed a memorandum to the Board of Education, District 65, on the subject of "De Facto Segregation and Integration of Our School District." One of his many suggestions follows. Will you please read this paragraph and indicate your response to such a plan? Your reply is in no way a commitment to enroll your child or children in such a program if it were to be implemented.

"Beginning in September, 1966, a one-year trial plan--a voluntary one--would be instituted to offer parents in all-white and nearly all-white schools the opportunity to have their children transported to Foster, with lunch privileges, provided an equal number of Foster parents would be willing to have their children occupy the seats vacated by white children. This service could be offered at several grade levels or at all grade levels. Assurance should be given that educational programs at Foster and those in receiving schools would be maintained at the traditionally high level of quality. Indeed, enrichment for children would be a goal."


I am a parent of a child(ren) in Foster School.

I would consider transferring my present Foster School child(ren) to another school. Yes____ No____

I would consider enrolling my pre-school child(ren) when he/she/they reach kindergarten or pre-kindergarten age. Yes____ No____

My child(ren) is/are now ____________________ years old.

Name _______________________________________

Address _______________________________________

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

February 21, 1966
APPENDIX G

SURVEY INSTRUMENT SENT TO

NON-FOSTER PARENTS, 1966
To District 65 Citizens Advisory Commission on Integration:

February 18, 1966

I am the parent of a child(ren) in District 65 schools:

If the program at Foster School were enriched by the addition of
advantages such as:

1. Smaller classes (15-20) students,
2. Foreign languages in every grade including kindergarten,
3. Transportation to and from home blocks,
4. Lunch privileges at school or the adjacent Community Center,
5. An optional longer school day with increased opportunities for music and art, supervised physical education and field trips,

I would consider transferring my present school age child(ren)

to Foster Yes___________ No___________

or I would consider enrolling my pre-school child(ren) when
he/she/they reach kindergarten or pre-kindergarten age? Yes_________ No_________

My child(ren) is/are now________________________ years old.

Name________________________________________

Address______________________________________

Additional comments:
APPENDIX H

NUMBER OF STUDENTS TO BE DISPLACED

BY CACI’S DESEGREGATION PLAN, 1966
District 65 Citizens' Advisory Commission on Integration

PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS WHO WILL BE MOVED UNDER PROPOSED REVISED BOUNDARIES

(Displacement)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>23.45%</td>
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<tr>
<td>College Hill</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dawes</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dewey</td>
<td>59.1% [or 61.04%]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster</td>
<td>.100%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Haven Elem.</td>
<td>6.98%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincolnwood</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miller</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noyes</td>
<td>.03%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oakton</td>
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<td>Orrington</td>
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<td>Walker</td>
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<td>Washington</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willard</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
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Pupils moved from Foster School - 597 or 9.7% of District 65 pupil population
Pupils moved from other schools - 955 or 15.5% of District 65 pupil population
Total pupils moved - 1552 or 25.2% of District 65 pupil population

Under the proposed revised attendance areas, 444 pupils will be bussed. This is 7.2% of the total District 65 1-5 school population.

9/6/66
emt
APPENDIX I

EVANSTON’S RACIAL CHANGE

OVER TIME (1960 – 2000)


Evanston Skokie District 65 New School Committee Report to the Board of Education. September 5, 2011.


Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. 2015. Racial Formation in the United States. New York:


VITA

Megan Klein was born in Evanston, Illinois and raised in Evanston and Wilmette, Illinois. Before attending Loyola University Chicago, she attended the University of Iowa, Iowa City, where she earned a Bachelor of Arts in Spanish, a Bachelor of Business Administration and a certificate in International Business. She graduated with honors. From 2002-2004, she attended Loyola University Chicago where were received a Master of Arts in Spanish. From 2006-2008, she attended the University of Illinois at Chicago where she received a Master of Arts in Anthropology.

While at Loyola, Megan was awarded the 2016 President’s Medallion for leadership, scholarship, and service. She was also inducted into Alpha Sigma Nu, the Jesuit Honors Society. Her dissertation research was awarded fellowships from the Black Metropolis Research Consortium at the University of Chicago and from the Illinois State Historical Society.

Currently, Megan is an Assistant Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at Oakton Community College in Des Plaines, Illinois. She lives in Evanston, Illinois with her family.