

## CHAPTER 4

# *Planning for Chicago: The Changing Politics of Metropolitan Growth and Neighborhood Development*

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Chicago was the premier modern industrial city of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The city, a tiny hamlet in 1830, grew to a population of 5000 in 1840, 1 million in 1890, 2 million in 1910, and 3 million in 1930. Chicago had 300,000 manufacturing jobs in 1900, and 500,000 by 1920. Its rapid growth in population and employment was based on the tremendous expansion of manufacturing activity and related services. The Chicago area economy has been highly diversified in its manufacturing and has offered a wide range of business and personal services, transportation and communications, and wholesale and retail trade as well. Rebuilding after the Chicago fire of 1871 meant accommodating burgeoning increases in population and employment so that the primary role for urban planning was to shape land-use patterns and coordinate public and private investment in real estate and construction for the massive future growth (Chicago Plan Commission 1942b; Hoyt 1933; Mayer and Wade 1969; Weiss 1987).

By the 1930s, however, the city's relentless expansion hit its first major snag. The long cyclical crisis of the Great Depression revealed a structural decline of the inner zone of neighborhoods immediately adjacent to the central business district. These inner areas constantly had been depleted by the movement of people and jobs to the outskirts of the expanding city limits and to suburban communities, but they had always been replenished by new immigrants and business establishments. For the first time, there was no replenishment—inner

zone population and employment opportunities declined, as did real estate values, and physical deterioration increased noticeably. In this context, the role of urban planning became not only the facilitation of overall metropolitan growth by guiding public and private land development but also the promotion of physical reconstruction and redevelopment of the inner areas. Once the Depression ended and World War II began, however, population and employment continued to increase for the next three decades, and the ruling policy assumption of urban planning continued to be that physical development was all that was necessary to accommodate the inevitable growth of the Chicago area economy.

The "inevitable" growth lasted more than a century, but it did not last forever. The city of Chicago lost more than 600,000 people from 1950 to 1980 and, while the suburban population grew rapidly from 1950 to 1970, between 1970 and 1980 the entire metropolitan area essentially stopped growing. Manufacturing jobs in the city of Chicago fell from a 1947 peak of 668,000 to 277,000 in 1982, the lowest number since the 19th century. Suburban manufacturing employment picked up the slack for almost a generation, growing by 315,000 jobs from 1947 to the peak year of 1977. Since then region-wide decline has set in; even the suburbs lost 32,000 manufacturing jobs between 1977 and 1982 (Berry and Cutler 1976; Cutler 1982; McDonald 1984).

This new reality has precipitated a reexamination of the basic assumptions of urban planning. No longer are land-use changes the only strategies and techniques used to accommodate growth. New debates and methods have centered on the issue of stimulating city and metropolitan population and employment growth by promoting business opportunities through financial support, education and training, technical assistance, and other programs. In the new lexicon of "economic development," land planning and development has lost the premier public policy position it occupied for so long in the city of Daniel Burnham. Furthermore, the paramount political position held by the downtown corporate decision makers in the urban planning process is being increasingly challenged by community development organizations, particularly in the inner zone of city neighborhoods. Consequently, new forms of political and economic partnerships are being forged among a wider variety of public and private sector participants than ever before.

## **Chicago History: Three Periods Of Growth, Planning, and Development**

The first major period of modern urban planning in Chicago came with the “City Beautiful” movement, which was spawned by the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition and culminated in the 1909 “Plan of Chicago” written by Daniel Burnham and Edward Bennett and sponsored by the Commercial Club. This period lasted until the early 1930s by which time major portions of the 1909 plan had been completed. The basic thrust of the plan was to establish the modern commercial/corporate downtown area by removing manufacturing, warehousing, rail yards, and other unsightly activities from the central area, and replacing them with parks, boulevards, bridges, and new public and private office buildings. This downtown area was to be linked to expanding middle- and upper-income suburban residential areas by an improved radial system of highways and rail transportation, and suburban housing growth was to be encouraged and protected by a system of regional parks and forest preserves. Finally, Chicago’s “front yard,” the land along Lake Michigan, was to be reclaimed for recreational use and a long corridor of fashionable residential developments (Burnham and Bennett 1909; Moody 1919).

The business executives who sponsored and lobbied for the 1909 Plan of Chicago were not opposed to the growth of manufacturing in the metropolis. Many of them were executives and directors of large industrial corporations headquartered in Chicago. However, they did not want the dirt, grime, and congestion of the blue-collar world to impinge on their home-to-office white-collar lifestyle. The vision of Daniel Burnham, head of the city’s largest architectural firm and well known designer of downtown skyscrapers, and of his fellow members of the Commercial Club was the creation of a “post-industrial” city center. This vision was clearly a part of the 1909 plan and proved to be a remarkably successful concept.

Despite vigorous battles between members of the Commercial Club and central area manufacturers, railroad executives, wholesalers, and other business interests opposed to the Plan, the Commercial Club triumphed. Downtown rail lines were covered over and the air rights were eventually developed for parks, office buildings, and consolidated passenger terminals; the wholesale produce market was relocated to accommodate construction of the bilevel Wacker Drive; the Michigan Avenue Bridge opened up the “Magic Mile” and the “Gold

Coast"; a long and beautiful lakefront park was established; and a vast array of street widening, bridges over the Chicago River, and other improvements were initiated to reconstruct and secure the modern commercial core. Combined with new highways and forest preserves designed to link the downtown to the spreading metropolis, a total of nearly \$300 million in public funds was spent in the two decades after 1909 to make the Chicago Plan a reality (Chicago Plan Commission 1933; Mayer and Wade 1969; Walker 1950).

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the Commercial Club's plan is that it completely ignored the inner zone of working-class industrial and residential neighborhoods that surrounded the downtown and constituted the great bulk of the city's developed land and its population. The corporate vision of the future took these areas for granted and looked both inward to the central business district and outward to the suburbs as the focus of public investment.

During the second period of modern Chicago planning, from the early 1930s to the early 1970s, this attitude changed. The primary causes for this change were, first, the decentralization of employment and population, particularly during the 1920s, and the failure of new immigrants and businesses to move in and revitalize the now increasingly abandoned "zone of transition" surrounding the central area. The result was declining property values, underutilized facilities, and spreading physical deterioration. The second primary cause was the rapid influx of black people into the inner zone precisely at a time when the demand for their labor was drying up. Chicago's black population jumped from 40,000 in 1910 to 250,000 in 1930 to one-half million in 1950 and one million by 1970. The racial fears and hostility of white Chicagoans generated calls for action to block the spread of the black population into white residential areas and to physically remove blacks from neighborhoods near downtown (Hirsch 1983; Philpott 1978).

The response of the Commercial Club, the newly formed Central Area Committee, and their counterparts among other civic organizations and public officials, was to initiate a new round of planning that produced in 1943 a master plan that focused almost entirely on the vast inner zone that the 1909 plan had avoided. The 1943 plan, written mostly by the famous real estate economist Homer Hoyt, proposed that twenty-two square miles of "blighted" inner city land be completely cleared and then rebuilt with low-density, middle-income housing. The suburbs were to be transplanted to the slums of Halsted Street. Neighborhood conservation techniques were to be

applied to many more square miles of inner-zone housing farther from the city's center (Chicago Plan Commission 1941, 1942a; 1942b; 1942c; 1943; Mayer and Wade 1969).

The strategy of urban redevelopment, later embodied in a host of federal programs that included urban renewal, public housing, and the interstate highways, succeeded in saving and expanding Chicago's downtown, rebuilding a few neighborhoods and reviving several others, and further facilitating suburban population and employment growth (Weiss 1981). By the 1970s, Chicago had become the corporate city that the Commercial Club and the Central Area Committee had envisioned, with a great concentration of service and retail jobs in the central area surrounded by pockets of high-income housing, and healthy expansion of housing and jobs on the city's periphery. Despite three decades of rebuilding under the 1943 plan and extensive investment in construction programs by Mayor Richard J. Daley, large portions of the inner zone continued to deteriorate (Berry and Cutler 1976; Berry 1979; Chicago Plan Commission 1958; 1966; Cutler 1982).

The third period of Chicago planning, beginning in 1973 with the Central Area Committee's "Chicago 21 Plan" and widespread neighborhood opposition to the plan's implementation, was characterized by the end of nearly one and one-half centuries of employment growth. By then, even the downtown and the suburbs stopped generating enough new jobs to stem the overall metropolitan stagnation (Chicago Central Area Committee 1973). The loss in manufacturing employment was severe and particularly devastating to the older industrial areas of the city. At the same time, the emergence of neighborhood activism in the political area went far beyond any previous independent efforts to mobilize communities.

The Commercial Club responded to the new economic reality by sponsoring a plan in 1984, "Jobs for Metropolitan Chicago". The significance of plan is that it essentially abandoned the hallowed tradition of Daniel Burnham, Homer Hoyt, and Richard Daley, which stressed physical development and redevelopment to accommodate what was assumed to be continued metropolitan employment and population growth. The 1984 Plan was not a land use plan but an economic development plan that emphasized financial tools, job training, research and education, and other methods to stimulate the growth of private businesses and jobs (Peltz and Weiss 1984). Growth was no longer assumed; it had to be generated. Infrastructure and

land planning still had an important role to play, though no longer a preeminent role (Commercial Club of Chicago 1984).

True to tradition, however, the Commercial Club's 1984 plan continued to largely ignore the inner zone. The emergence of a powerful movement of neighborhood-based advocacy and development organizations forced a change in the Commercial Club's position by 1987. Mayor Harold Washington's election in 1983 and reelection in 1987, his control of the Chicago City Council in 1986, and increased dominance in the Cook County Democratic Party after his successful reelection campaign, galvanized a new constituency for "balanced growth," economic development policies designed to promote better jobs and housing for the inner zone (City of Chicago 1984; Mier, Moe, and Sherr 1986). Black and Hispanic groups became increasingly well organized, often joining forces with working-class and middle-class white community organizations to oppose inner city "redlining" by financial institutions; to campaign for neighborhood lending through the Chicago Reinvestment Alliance; to block the prospective money-losing and downtown-oriented World's Fair through the Chicago 1992 Committee; and to support linkage programs and a variety of other strategies to promote housing rehabilitation and industrial and commercial development (McClory 1986; Metzger and Weiss 1988; Squires et al. 1987).

During this period, the problems of the inner zone had extended to many suburban communities, particularly in Cook County, while other parts of the outer ring, most notably DuPage County, the North Shore, and the area near O'Hare International Airport, continued to thrive economically. The suburban periphery was now more divided than ever before between haves and have-nots, along both class and racial lines. Economic development truly became a metropolitan-wide issue, and neighborhood organization and advocacy emerged as a notable feature of regional politics and planning.

The effect of all these initiatives is that both land planning and economic development planning in metropolitan Chicago are slowly changing from the old downtown-suburban partnership to a three-way affair with greater participation by neighborhood organizations from a now greatly expanded inner zone that includes many older suburbs. For the first time, there now exists the genuine possibility that targeted investment programs could actually benefit existing inner zone residents. Such an outcome would contrast sharply with past attempts at private-public rebuilding of these communities through population displacement and racial segregation. Since this

third period of Chicago planning is only in the fifteenth year of what should be approximately a 40-year cycle, the full results will not be visible until early in the 21st century.

### **The Changing Structure of the Chicago Metropolitan Economy**

The rapid growth of Chicago during the 19th century was unmatched by that of any other large city in the world up to that time. Chicago's access to the Great Lakes trade through Lake Michigan provided it with a key economic advantage. The development of the Erie and Illinois-Michigan canals, along with lake commerce and railroad construction, facilitated the import of labor and raw materials and the export of finished products. Nearly one-half of the railway mileage in the United States entered Chicago, making the city a major transportation hub and further enhancing its industrial development.

Initially, Chicago developed as a commercial city dependent upon the lakes and railroads, with an economy primarily oriented to serving local needs. After the Civil War, with changes in industrial technology and business organization, Chicago became a national manufacturing center. Several industries emerged during this period and remained prominent through the early 20th century: meat packing, agricultural machinery, men's clothing, and furniture manufacture. Through the import of iron ore and coal, the Chicago region also became a leading center for the iron and steel industry. By the turn of the century, the number of people employed in Chicago's manufacturing industries had reached nearly 300,000 (Chicago Plan Commission 1942b; Hoyt 1933; Mayer and Wade 1969).

The growth of manufacturing in Chicago continued through World War I, as factories spread west and along the branches of the Chicago River, and as a large iron and steel complex developed on the city's south side in the Lake Calumet region (see Figure 4.1). After 1919, manufacturing firms began to locate farther from the central city. The process of decentralization continued to the beginning of World War II and resulted in the creation of industrial districts on the city's outskirts and in suburbs like Cicero (*ibid.*; Buder 1967; Monchow 1939). Iron and steel and printing and publishing became the dominant industries, while electrical equipment, chemicals, and allied products advanced as important production sectors. During this period of industrial development, the work force of earlier Irish and

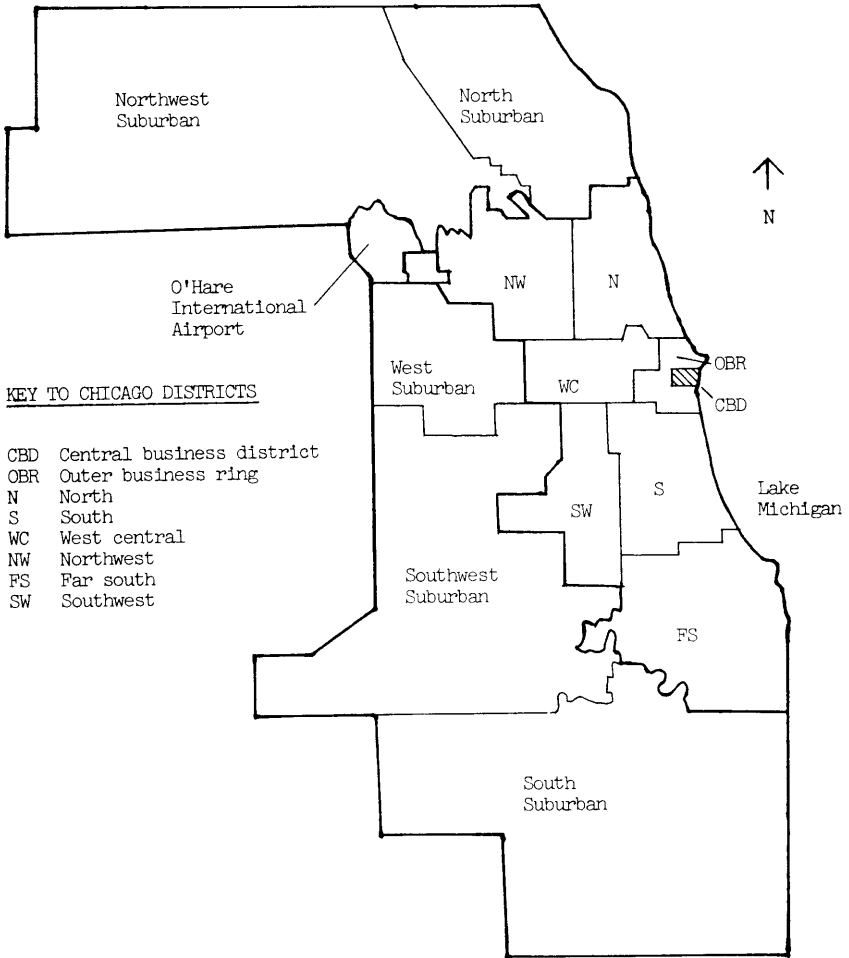


Figure 4.1 Geographic Districts of Cook County.

German immigrants was supplanted by new immigrants from southern and eastern Europe and, after World War I, by blacks from the South and immigrants from Mexico (Abbott 1936; Holli and Jones 1984; Philpott 1978; Spear 1967). By 1940, the city's population exceeded 3 million, and another million persons resided in the region's suburbs.

The impetus of wartime production rejuvenated Chicago's manufacturing base in the years during and shortly after World War II. In the following three decades, the decentralization of population and manufacturing that had begun prior to the war took off. A regional system of expressways, radiating northwest, west, southwest, and south from Chicago's central area, was completed by 1964 and opened up new areas for residential, commercial, and industrial development. The city of Chicago annexed land on its outer northwest limits and opened O'Hare International Airport in 1955. The airport replaced Midway Airport on the city's southwest side, in an already developed area that could not be used to meet the growing commercial air traffic. By 1974, O'Hare had become the world's busiest airport and an important transportation and communications hub for the regional economy (Berry and Cutler 1976; Cutler 1982; Getis 1985; Mayer and Wade 1969; McDonald 1984).

Table 4.1 shows the historic patterns of population and manufacturing employment. With the 1970 census, the suburban share of the metropolitan population was, for the first time, greater than the central-city share. The region's population grew slightly to 7 million persons by 1980, with 4 million located in the suburbs. The central-city population fell by more than 600,000 between 1950 and 1980, a loss of 17 percent. In the same span, postwar migration nearly tripled the city's black population to 1.2 million, which accounted for 40 percent of the shrinking city-wide total by 1980. The rate of black population growth has slowed somewhat since 1970, but Chicago's Hispanic population has doubled to more than 400,000 in the last decade, amounting to 14 percent of the city's total. Chicago's Hispanic community is roughly 43 percent Mexican, 32 percent Puerto Rican, and 7 percent Cuban, with the remainder coming from other Latin American countries. The Hispanic population is projected to reach 600,000 by 1990, which would be 20 percent of Chicago's total.

With these demographic changes has come a drastic change in the central-city economy. Manufacturing employment within the city limits in 1982 was at a lower level than at any other point in the 20th century. By 1972, a majority of manufacturing jobs were concentrated in the suburbs. Growth in financial and service employment has

*Table 4.1* Population and Manufacturing Employment in the Chicago SMSA, 1940–1982

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Chicago City</u>	<u>Balance of SMSA</u>
<b>Population</b>			
1940	4,569,643	3,396,808	1,172,835
1950	5,177,868	3,620,962	1,556,906
1960	6,220,913	3,550,404	2,670,509
1970	6,978,947	3,366,957	3,611,990
1980	7,103,624	3,005,072	4,098,552
<b>Manufacturing Employment</b>			
1947	825,840	668,056	184,784
1954	842,641	614,847	227,794
1958	846,943	569,356	277,587
1963	848,097	508,797	339,300
1967	966,500	546,500	420,000
1972	892,100	430,100	462,000
1977	865,900	366,000	499,900
1982	744,600	277,000	467,600

*Source:* U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population, 1940–1980; Census of Manufactures, 1947–1982.*

*Note:* The Chicago SMSA contains Cook, DuPage, Kane, Lake, McHenry and Will counties.

picked up some of the slack, but these jobs have been concentrated either in the central business district or in outlying suburban growth nodes, and are often inaccessible to inner-city and minority residents.

Table 4.2 illustrates the changing sectoral distribution of employment in the Chicago metropolitan area since 1950. Manufacturing, as measured by employment shares, fell from 38 percent to 26 percent of the economic base between 1950 and 1980 and is no longer the largest sector. The service sector has become the largest, growing from 17 percent to 27 percent of the local economy during the 30-year span.

This economic transformation has changed the nature and quality of employment for inner-zone residents and has produced new patterns of development in the downtown core and suburban ring. In the following sections of this chapter, we will explore the political conflicts and planning responses that have occurred within the different areas of the Chicago region by examining the roles and activities

Table 4.2 Employment Shares by Industry in the Chicago SMSA, 1950–1980

	1950	1960	1970	1980
Agriculture	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.6
Mining	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Construction	4.6	4.7	4.8	4.2
Manufacturing	37.5	34.2	31.7	26.5
Transportation, communication and public utilities	10.2	8.5	8.1	8.5
Wholesale trade	4.1	3.9	4.8	5.1
Retail trade	16.0	14.1	16.0	15.9
Finance, insurance and real estate	4.6	5.1	6.0	7.7
Services	16.9	18.2	23.5	27.3
Government	3.9	4.0	4.4	4.1
Industry not reported	1.2	6.5	—	—
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total employment (in thousands)	2,361.8	2,511.6	2,852.0	3,238.9

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population, 1950–1980*

of various public and private actors in stimulating physical and economic growth and in shaping the built environment.

### The Central Business District

The “Loop,” Chicago’s central business district (CBD), is the economic anchor for the entire metropolitan area and is as well the functional center for government, business, commerce, culture, and entertainment. Downtown Chicago is also a prime site for corporate service activities, solidifying the city’s position as a node for national and international business. Throughout the century, public and private planning for this central area has been preoccupied with two goals: expanding downtown growth and development and then preserving it from the encroachment of impoverished inner-city neighborhoods.

The establishment and preservation of the CBD can be traced to two historical periods of planning in Chicago. The first was shaped by Daniel Burnham’s 1909 plan for the Commercial Club of Chicago. The Burnham plan facilitated the exit of manufacturing from the

urban core by transforming the downtown area into a regional base for financial and professional services. The second era was influenced by the Chicago Plan Commission's comprehensive efforts of the 1940s. The CBD spawned by the Burnham Plan was redeveloped, and surrounding slum neighborhoods were acquired and cleared for urban renewal during the 1950s and 1960s. This redevelopment strategy pushed the physical boundaries of the Loop outward and produced a land-use barrier to the "blighted" inner residential zone situated between the "new" downtown and the decentralized manufacturing district.

By the end of the 1950s, the Chicago Central Area Committee, a key private downtown planning organization, had joined Mayor Richard Daley to form a "pro-growth" coalition of real estate developers, trade unions, and Loop property interests that mobilized the necessary public support and private investment to further transform and reconstruct the CBD. The Chicago Plan Commission's 1958 "Development Plan for the Central Area of Chicago" outlined the agenda for the next two decades. By the 1980s, its objectives had essentially been accomplished: the expansion of regional and administrative functions; the development of new government buildings (the Daley and Dirksen buildings), a university campus (the University of Illinois-Chicago Circle), an exposition center (McCormick Place), and residential neighborhoods (the South, West, and North Loop) in the CBD; the elimination of blight; the selective reconstruction of Loop retail areas (the State Street Mall); and transportation development through added mass transit, parking, and rail lines (Chicago Plan Commission 1958).

The "Chicago 21 Plan" of 1973, the last of the 16 area plans from the city's 1966 Comprehensive Plan, focused on middle- and upper-income residential development to preserve the economic viability of downtown and enhance the local property tax base. The goal of the Central Area Committee was to avoid the complete surrounding of the Loop by low- and moderate-income residential areas by constructing new housing in the South Loop and gentrifying the neighborhoods of Pilsen, Chinatown, Humboldt Park, and Cabrini-Green adjacent to the CBD (Chicago Central Area Committee 1973; Chicago Plan Commission 1966).

The plan did result in the construction of self-enclosed, self-sustaining middle-class housing projects in the CBD. The 939-unit Dearborn Park complex was the first "new town-in-town" arising from the Chicago 21 Plan, and was soon followed in the South Loop by the

River City development (South Side Planning Board 1983). The gentrification strategy was blocked by neighborhood opposition, but residential re-use of light industrial districts in the CBD has occurred in the Printer's Row and River North areas of the Loop.

The redevelopment of the West Loop is anchored by the new \$200 million Presidential Towers residential complex, which sits on land cleared by the city's Madison Street Urban Renewal Plan of 1959 (Chicago Plan Commission 1951). Presidential Towers consists of 2,346 rental apartments in four, 49-story towers, with 100,000 square feet of commercial space, a parking garage, and indoor athletic facilities. Overall, the annual production of downtown rental housing has grown sharply, from 499 units in 1979 to 1,388 in 1984. In addition, 2,742 condominium units were added to the downtown housing stock between 1979 and 1984, of which 1,944 were new units and 798 were part of re-use or renovation projects (Ludgin and Masotti 1985).

On the face of it, public-private planning has been successful in preserving the continued growth of the CBD. Chicago's Loop has emerged as one of the "hottest" real estate development locations in the nation. Between 1962 and 1977, 32 million square feet of office space was added to the CBD, bringing the total amount of downtown office space at that time to 80 million square feet. Most of this new space was for corporate headquarters and offices and professional service firms. More recently, commercial and residential real estate development has expanded outward, spreading south to Roosevelt Road, west to Halsted Street, and north to North Avenue. A study by Northwestern University's Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research found that from 1979 to 1984, this enlarged downtown zone gained 36.4 million square feet of new or upgraded office space, 14,670 residential units, 2.5 million square feet of retail space, and 6600 hotel rooms (Ludgin and Masotti 1985). Table 4.3 shows the annual growth in total projects and investment during this period.

The redevelopment of Chicago's CBD in the three decades following World War II was accomplished by an injection of private investment supported and guided by public sector actions in the form of writing-down the costs of acquiring and clearing land, providing construction and development subsidies and capital improvements, and implementing the necessary land-use controls. Public plans represented the coalescing of interests, goals and strategies among private groups like the Central Area Committee and the various constituencies in Mayor Richard Daley's coalition. Since the announcement

*Table 4.3* Completed Commercial and Residential Development Projects and Annual Investment in Downtown Chicago, 1979–1984

	Projects	Investment (in millions)
1979	11	\$ 99.6
1980	17	336.3
1981	26	466.5
1982	34	552.8
1983	47	1,019.9
1984	32	857.9

*Source:* Mary K. Ludgin and Louis H. Masotti, *Downtown Development: Chicago 1987–1984* (Evanston: Northwestern Press, 1985), pp. 39, 42.

of the “Chicago 21 Plan” in 1973, however, the full implementation of a central-area strategy has been slowed by political conflict over downtown land use and development. The Daley coalition of machine Democrats, trade unions, real estate developers, and downtown businessmen was unified by a common political and economic platform of downtown redevelopment (Banfield 1961; Hirsch 1983; Holli and Green 1984; Rakove 1975; Royko 1971). This coalition began to dissolve amidst the neighborhood displacement and racial transition that accompanied postwar urban renewal, thereby weakening the machine’s control over municipal government.

Low-income and working class blacks and whites in the inner-zone neighborhoods of the city formed the political base of the Chicago Democratic machine during the 1950s, the beginning of the Daley era (Allswang 1986). These constituencies were “demobilized” and dissipated by the urban renewal programs of the 1960s. Many of the ethnic whites in the central area, with rising personal incomes and mobilized by fears of neighborhood racial transition, moved to the city’s periphery and became the new electoral base of the Democratic political machine. Daley’s vote among middle-class whites between 1955 and his last election in 1975 grew from 38 percent to 74 percent. At the same time, the overall voter turnout in four uncontested Democratic mayoral primaries between 1959 and 1971 fell from 471,674 to 375,219 (Allswang 1986).

The blacks, lower-income ethnic whites, and the new groups of Hispanics that were left in the central neighborhoods and adjacent areas became the target of community organizing and neighborhood

development efforts during the 1960s and 1970s. Voter turnout doubled in 1975 when Daley faced three primary opponents—a black, a white liberal, and an ethnic conservative.

In 1979, black mobilization was key to the defeat of Daley's incumbent successor, Michael Bilandic, and the election of Jane Byrne. Mayor Byrne aligned herself with machine factions of the Democratic Party after her election, however, and alienated blacks with her stances on issues relating to the city schools, the police, and public housing. A massive voter registration drive between 1979 and 1983, which added 150,000 new and mostly black voters to the rolls, propelled Congressman Harold Washington to victory over Jane Byrne and another machine candidate, Cook County State's Attorney Richard Daley, the son of the former mayor, in the 1983 Democratic mayoral primary. A record black turnout pushed Washington to his narrow general election victory over Republican Bernard Epton, whose campaign was buttressed by defecting white Democrats. Washington's status as the leading black independent politician in the city, along with the links he forged with Hispanics and with white liberals in neighborhoods such as Hyde Park near the University of Chicago, was critical to his success (Holli and Green 1984; Joravsky and Camacho 1987; Kleppner 1985; Travis 1987).

Washington's election, along with the victory of several of his supporters to the city council on a platform of neighborhood development and racial equity, signified the decline of the old downtown planning consensus in Chicago. Neighborhood groups from communities adjacent to the CBD opposed downtown planning on two fronts: fear of gentrification and displacement, and lack of access to the private planning process. These interests had accumulated power since the "Chicago 21 Plan" was introduced, and became the base of Harold Washington's electoral coalition (Squires, et al. 1987).

The changing structure of power in Chicago was highlighted further by the demise of the proposed 1992 World's Fair. Chicago's corporate elite designed the plan for the fair as a tool to expand the boundaries of the CBD southward. The physical and transportation improvements proposed in the plan attempted to build upon the recommendations of the "Chicago 21 Plan", by providing public infrastructure for the development of a new "city within the city" on the near south lakefront (Little 1985). The Chicago 1992 Committee, a community-based research and advocacy group, was formed by neighborhood activists to raise opposition to the "top-down" planning process for the Fair and prevent displacement of low-income resi-

dents. The efforts of the committee were key as public fears grew over the large, tax-supported subsidies being targeted to a shaky World's Fair that was projecting a budget deficit without showing clear civic benefits. Political support for the fair dwindled, and it died in 1985 (McClory 1986).

In response to this growing constituency of neighborhood interests, Mayor Washington initiated the Linked Development Task Force, which issued a report exploring ways to link neighborhood-based development with burgeoning downtown growth through exaction fees on new office construction in the Loop (Bennett 1986; City of Chicago 1985 ). In 1987, the city negotiated its first linked development agreement with the developers of the luxury high-rise Presidential Towers on the near West Side. The Byrne administration had earlier provided over \$100 million in public subsidies of land and financing costs for the project. In the linkage agreement, the Washington administration refinanced the original bond sale for the project and issued an additional \$55 million of debt for the final phase. In return, the private developers agreed to establish a \$17 million Low Income Housing Trust Fund, and to develop 120 units of senior and handicapped housing.

These initiatives caused strains in Washington's relations with downtown-oriented business constituencies who, for the first time, did not have an aggressive "partner" and advocate for their interests in City Hall. Washington sought alliances with business in his battles over political reform issues with the City Council, which until 1986 was controlled by a majority bloc of machine aldermen. During his first term, Washington courted business support for reforming the local distribution of federal Community Development Block Grant funds, speeding up the planned renovation and expansion of O'Hare International Airport, and passing a municipal bond issue to fund neighborhood infrastructure improvements. A coalition of interests around city-wide planning and development, however, has not yet emerged between the business community and Chicago's minority and neighborhood constituencies. Mayor Washington's 1987 re-election, following endorsements by Chicago's two major daily newspapers and by the business press, suggested that he had developed a working relationship with downtown business elites equal to that of black mayoral administrations in Detroit and Atlanta without alienating his electoral base. After Harold Washington's sudden death in late 1987, black Adleman Eugene Sawyer was elected Mayor by a City Council coalition of white and black machine politicians. Mayor Saw-

yer's ascension will probably not weaken the downtown support cultivated by Washington, but it has divided and confused neighborhood constituencies, which remain highly mobilized.

A proposal for a new \$170 million football stadium and health complex on the near west side adjacent to the CBD will be one test of City Hall bridge-building between downtown and neighborhood constituencies. The plan is spearheaded by the Illinois Medical Center Commission, the urban renewal arm of a multi-hospital complex located on the near west side. The plan includes a new stadium for the Chicago Bears and an adjoining sports medical facility sponsored by the Medical Center. Housing values are expected to increase in middle-income residential neighborhoods near the University of Illinois campus, but these development projects will also displace up to 1500 mostly low-income black residents.

Harold Washington endorsed the proposal, as did the Midwest Community Council (MCC), a long-standing neighborhood-based organization on the west side. MCC is sponsoring a ten block low- and moderate-income housing and commercial redevelopment in the community and has won the support of the Medical Center for the project. Other community organizations, particularly the Interfaith Organizing Project (IOP), have opposed the stadium plan. The IOP, a coalition of twelve west-side churches, blocked the Illinois Legislature from expanding and reconfiguring the Medical Center Commission into a "West Side Development Commission" during 1986, and has protested the lack of community participation in developing the stadium proposal.

In addition to the political question, the economic prospects for continued residential development in and near Chicago's CBD are somewhat unclear. The market may not exist for all the new housing being developed downtown, particularly if young, white-collar professionals begin to move out of the city after forming families. This decision will probably be influenced by the quality of city services and the public schools, and housing costs in the CBD. Mayor Washington, School Board President George Munoz, and corporate leaders had worked to forge a business-school "compact" for educational reform. Efforts in this direction, however, have been stalled by labor disputes, fiscal crises, and conflicting proposals for school decentralization.

Strategies to improve city services and stabilize the finances and curriculum of the public schools may become more prominent in future plans and development for the CBD. The allocation of educational resources as part of a narrow, downtown-oriented strategy,

however, will only intensify patterns of uneven development in the city. This was illustrated in 1984 when the School Board purchased five townhouses in Dearborn Park to operate as a school for 30 to 55 students who lived in the Loop middle-class residential project. Twelve blocks to the south, 139 students from the low-income Hilliard Homes public housing project attended school in eight dilapidated trailers. The high level of neighborhood mobilization in Chicago during the 1980s has altered the public-private downtown coalition to such an extent that any public spending targeted to the central business district must be packaged as a "partnership" that includes the city's low- and moderate-income residents.

### **The Inner Zone**

Since the industrial decentralization of the early 20th century, the inner zone of land that surrounds Chicago's central business district and spreads out to the older suburbs on the city's border has been developed as the location for both manufacturing firms and working-class neighborhoods. Plant closings and the drop in manufacturing employment over the last few decades have devastated many of these areas, particularly the west and southeast sides of the city. In the wake of this job loss, older neighborhoods like Lawndale and South Chicago have deteriorated, and historic patterns of racial discrimination and disinvestment in businesses and housing have continued. The ability of local government to deal with these problems has diminished in the last twenty years due to fiscal crises brought on by a declining tax base and federal spending cutbacks in urban housing and economic development programs.

The impact of this upheaval in the inner industrial and working-class zone has been harsh. Between 1972 and 1983, nearly 200,000 manufacturing jobs left the city, a decline of 41 percent. Table 4.4 indicates that this drop was heaviest in the southern and western sectors of the city. In the same period, suburban Cook County lost over 50,000 manufacturing jobs. Again, Table 4.4 shows that the suburban loss was most extreme in the county's southern and western sectors because of the presence of older industrial suburbs such as Cicero, Harvey, and Chicago Heights.

The decline of the steel industry, at one time an integral part of the region's economic base, has been dramatic. Between 1972 and 1983, Cook County lost nearly 27,000 jobs in primary metal indus-

Table 4.4 Location of Manufacturing Employment in Cook County, 1972–1983

	1972	1983	Percent Change 1972–1983
<i>Chicago, total</i>	435,425	258,012	- 40.7
Central business district	14,421	9,727	- 32.5
Outer business ring	81,910	53,703	- 34.4
North	68,348	41,819	- 38.8
South	57,608	30,937	- 46.3
West Central	58,980	30,954	- 47.5
Northwest	60,733	39,776	- 34.5
Far south	48,347	25,261	- 47.8
Southwest	44,787	25,628	- 42.8
Unclassified	291	206	- 29.2
<i>Suburban Cook, total</i>	293,779	241,063	- 17.9
Northwest	64,017	76,888	+ 20.1
Southwest	84,039	50,622	- 39.8
West	63,365	48,771	- 23.0
North	45,585	40,394	- 11.4
South	34,057	22,547	- 32.2
Unclassified	2,716	1,841	- 32.2
Total	729,204	499,075	- 31.6

Source: Illinois Department of Employment Security, *Where Workers Work in the Chicago SMSA*, 1983 edition, Table 8, pp. 33–34. Table 2, pp. 9–10; 1972 edition, Table 8, pp. 30–31, Table 2, p. 8.

tries, a drop of more than 50 percent. Empty steel mills on Chicago's south side highlight these changes. The southeast side was formerly the home of three large integrated mills—Republic Steel, International Harvester's Wisconsin Steel, and U.S. Steel's South Works. In 1980, Wisconsin Steel was abruptly shut down, leaving 3500 steelworkers jobless. South Works, which had a post-World War II employment peak of 15,000, has been gradually phased out, while layoffs have also reduced the workforce at the Republic Steel plant. A 1982 survey found 22,450 persons unemployed on Chicago's southeast side and a massive unemployment rate of 35 percent (City of Chicago 1986; Markusen 1985b).

Other industries in the inner zone have also been hurt by changes in the local and national economy. In 1984 Hasbro Industries pur-

chased the Milton Bradley Company. Milton Bradley was the owner of a Playskool Toys plant that had been a fixture on Chicago's west side for fifty years. Two weeks after its purchase of Bradley, Hasbro announced that it would close the Playskool plant, leaving 700 workers—two-thirds of whom were black or Hispanic and many of whom were women—unemployed. In 1980, the city of Chicago had sponsored a \$1 million Industrial Revenue Bond (IRB) to finance the plant's expansion. The closing of the plant prompted the city to file a lawsuit against Hasbro/Bradley for breaching the IRB agreement. The lawsuit was dropped in early 1985 when Hasbro agreed to keep the plant running temporarily and assist the laid-off workers with job placement. However, few of the Playskool workers were able to find comparable employment. The case of the Playskool shutdown illustrates the inability of local employment sectors to absorb effectively manufacturing job loss and the disproportionate impacts of unemployment on women and minorities.

The residential neighborhoods within the inner zone have been hard hit by industrial decline. Chicago lost 5 percent of its rental housing stock, or 40,145 units, between 1970 and 1980, and many other aging units not demolished or abandoned have fallen into decay and disrepair. In addition, an analysis of 1982 mortgage lending data by the National Training and Information Center revealed that the city of Chicago received only 23 percent of all conventional home mortgages in the metropolitan area. The total dollar amount of housing lending activity in the city fell by 73 percent between 1980 and 1982. This lower amount was concentrated in areas adjacent to the CBD at the expense of white working-class and minority neighborhoods (National Training and Information Center 1983).

Changes in the inner zone have had profound implications for blacks. The residential neighborhoods that surrounded declining industrial districts became areas of rapid racial transition (Berry and Cutler 1976; Berry 1979). Declining neighborhoods inherited by blacks have promised little in the way of employment opportunities (Greenberg 1981). An example of economic decline on Chicago's west side is the empty International Harvester factory. Sitting on a huge 53-acre site, it once employed 14,000 workers before closing in the late 1960s.

As a result of these economic changes, areas of the city's south and west sides have become wastelands of abandoned factories, burned-out housing, and rampant criminal violence (Brune and Camacho 1983). These neighborhoods have the most extreme concentrations

of poverty in Chicago. In the Oakland community on the south side, three-fifths of the residents were living below the poverty line in 1980; the unemployment rate was 30 percent; one-fifth of the residents lived in overcrowded housing; and the median family income of \$6000 was the lowest of any community in the city. In East Garfield Park on the west side, an area devastated by riots following the assassination of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968, the population declined by 53 percent between 1960 and 1980; 43 percent of the residents lived below the poverty line in 1980; and 55 percent of the rental housing stock was abandoned between 1950 and 1980. In addition, black working-class neighborhoods have suffered from disinvestment in small businesses and housing. In 1982, census tracts with a minority population of 40 percent or more received only 8 percent of the total housing lending in the Chicago SMSA, despite accounting for nearly 40 percent of the SMSA's census tracts.

Conflicts over land-use within the inner zone can be traced to the political conflict described earlier over urban renewal in the CBD. The displacement of low-income minorities from the central area by postwar redevelopment plans intensified the competition for residential land in the inner zone. Due to the existing patterns of racial segregation, land-use conflict emerged between a growing black population that was dispersed by urban renewal but constrained by residential racism, and working-class whites unable to escape the central city for the suburbs (Berry 1979). The construction of high-rise public housing ghettos, such as the Robert Taylor Homes that stretched for miles on the south side, was the local political machine's strategy to resolve the racial land-use conflict (Hirsch 1983; Meyerson and Banfield 1955).

Community-based advocacy organizations proliferated in the inner zone during the 1960s and 1970s with the support of the Industrial Areas Foundation, created by Chicago organizing theorist Saul Alinsky, and the grassroots-oriented programs of the federal government's "War on Poverty" effort. These neighborhood organizations emerged as the most significant opposition and alternative to the Daley machine when it controlled and dominated local elections in the 1960s and early 1970s. Richard Daley was suspicious and distrustful of the "neighborhood movement," thinking it was unnecessary and subversive. This hostility from the entrenched machine forced community organizations into local electoral politics. Mayor Daley's percentage of the black vote between the 1955 and 1975 Democratic mayoral primaries fell from 80 percent to 48 percent. The election of

independent Democrat Harold Washington as mayor in 1983 on a neighborhood and reform platform signalled the growing mobilization of the inner zone. Mayor Washington consolidated this new political base in the 1986 special Aldermanic elections, when four of his allies won in remapped black and Hispanic wards, giving him control of the City Council. By 1988, independent Hispanic politicians had wrested control of the city's four Hispanic-majority wards from the Democratic Party machine, completing another aspect of the political transformation of Chicago's inner zone.

In addition to their accomplishments in altering the city's political climate, community-based organizations (CBOs) play a vital role by organizing residents, providing services, and undertaking development projects. These groups have grown in sophistication and capacity, serving as a base for community action and development that often proves to be more accountable and flexible in meeting local needs than government and business efforts. Across the country, state and local governments are designing a greater number of programs that include and build upon the existing capacity of CBOs. Banks, corporations, and foundations are targeting inner-city CBOs for grants, technical assistance, and loans (Weiss and Metzger 1987, 1988).

The recognition of CBOs by the Washington administration is illustrated in the city of Chicago's 1984 Development Plan, "Chicago Works Together." The plan cited increased job opportunities, balanced growth, and neighborhood-based planning and development as its primary goals. Under Mayor Washington's leadership, the city stepped up its efforts in neighborhood business revitalization and housing rehabilitation, often using CBOs as vehicles for public policy implementation (City of Chicago 1984; Mier, Moe, and Sherr 1986). The Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization estimates that the Washington administration funnelled \$10 million in job training and housing funds into the south side neighborhood in four-and-a-half years. The city's "delegate agency" program allocated \$2.7 million to 108 community groups for economic development activities during 1988.

CBOs have also been able to successfully negotiate and implement urban development programs for the inner zone in conjunction with private corporations and financial institutions, aided by certain government regulatory and funding support. Between 1984 and 1986, the Chicago Reinvestment Alliance, a city-wide neighborhood development coalition, utilized the provisions of the federal Community

Reinvestment Act to leverage neighborhood lending agreements totalling nearly \$200 million from Chicago's four largest banks. First National, Harris, and Northern Trust Banks agreed to create a five-year lending pool for housing, commercial, and industrial development in inner-zone neighborhoods. Continental Illinois Bank agreed to create a home improvement loan partnership with funding support from the city and state governments. The Continental program is being administered by a consortium of CBOs in conjunction with the Chicago Energy Savers Fund, a \$15 million energy conservation loan program financed by the city and Peoples Gas, a major local utility company. The Community Reinvestment Act and its companion legislation, the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act, enable citizens groups to document lending patterns in their communities and to challenge merger and branching applications of banks and savings institutions for failing to meet community credit needs. These agreements are perhaps the most successful use of federal community reinvestment regulations to date, due to the size and scope of the programs—which include increased grant commitments from each bank foundation for community development—as well as the role played by CBOs in loan packaging and program review (Metzger and Weiss 1988).

The city of Chicago has targeted its community development funding to support these neighborhood lending programs, and local corporations have organized the Chicago Equity Fund to raise syndication proceeds for corporate equity injections into low-income multifamily housing projects financed under the programs. CBOs have expanded their activities and added staff and resources in utilizing the loan programs to implement redevelopment projects in the inner zone. For example, the City-Wide Development Corporation of the Chicago Association of Neighborhood Development Organizations packaged 43 real estate and small business development projects totalling \$13.9 million between 1984 and 1986. The Chicago Rehab Network and Neighborhood Housing Services, two non-profit housing developers operating in neighborhoods across the city, have been instrumental in implementing single- and multi-family housing projects through the bank programs. All this activity has generated additional resources for CBOs in Chicago. In 1988, the Local Initiatives Support Corporation and the MacArthur Foundation established an \$11.3 million Fund for Community Development to support the operations of 30 neighborhood organizations over the next eight

years, with the goal of leveraging \$150 million in new private investment for the development of \$85 million in housing projects.

In addition to the strategy of recognizing and strengthening CBOs as vehicles for inner-zone revitalization, a variety of public-private initiatives have emerged since the 1970s under the heading of "economic development" to rebuild declining industrial districts and create jobs for inner-zone residents. Under Daley's administration, inner-zone economic development was not a major policy. The 1966 Comprehensive Plan called for the creation of urban industrial parks, along with transportation development, to spur economic growth on the far south (Dan Ryan Expressway), southwest (Crosstown Expressway), and northwest (O'Hare public transit line) sides of the city (Chicago Plan Commission 1966). Chicago's first economic development agency, the Mayor's Council of Manpower and Economic Advisors, was created in 1972 and later became known as the Economic Development Commission, a private blue-ribbon panel tied to the Central Area Committee that prepared overall economic development plans for the city government through funding from the federal Economic Development Administration. The Chicago Department of Economic Development was created in 1980 and initiated business development and assistance programs and task forces for industrial revitalization.

The Economic Development Commission was reorganized by the Washington administration to take a more aggressive role in land assembly and financing for industrial development. The Commission has embarked on a strategy of building new industrial parks in the inner zone that, through energy efficiency, landscaping improvements and effective marketing, can compete with comparable suburban facilities. One of these parks is slated for the site of the closed Wisconsin Steel mill. The city has worked with local development corporations on these and other projects, such as the re-use of the closed Playskool Toys site, to redevelop vacant manufacturing plants for new industrial and commercial uses. The city is also creating "protected manufacturing districts" in industrial areas of the inner zone that are competing for land and space with residential and commercial development that is spreading outward from the expanding CBD. Perhaps the most significant economic development accomplishment of the Washington administration was the stimulation of minority business growth through city contracting policies. Between 1985 and 1987, the city government awarded \$74 million in city

contracts to minority-owned firms, most of which were either located in the inner zone or owned and operated by inner-zone residents.

The combined efforts of CBOs, economic development agencies, banks, corporations, and small businesses in forging partnerships to rebuild Chicago's inner industrial zone have been unable to match the rapid economic expansion and growth generated by private investment in the CBD and in the "boom" corridors of the suburban ring. In some areas, inner-zone redevelopment has, at best, only arrested the decline triggered by forces of national and international economic restructuring beyond the control of local public-private planning (Bluestone and Harrison 1982; Checkoway and Patton 1985; Fainstein et al. 1983; Markusen 1985a; Noyelle and Stanback 1984). The key change has been in the growing political mobilization of inner-zone residents and the creation of new development entities that can now broker with public and private sector actors to target resources toward disinvested areas and monitor the outcomes so that some of the benefits actually accrue to inner-zone residents. Harold Washington cultivated this theme as the core element of his electoral strategy and attempted to redirect city government to support it. On issues such as linked development, neighborhood reinvestment, and plant closings, coalitions were established between blacks, Hispanics, and working-class whites in the inner zone (Bennett 1986; Squires et al. 1987; Metzger and Weiss 1988).

These constituencies became divided in the immediate aftermath of Mayor Washington's death in late 1987. His slim Council majority was splintered when six of the city's 18 black aldermen joined with the 23 members of the white ethnic opposition bloc to elect Eugene Sawyer as mayor. He was elected over Alderman Timothy Evans, a close ally of Mayor Washington who was supported for mayor by 12 black, four Hispanic, and three liberal white aldermen. Mayor Sawyer's election split the black community. In the first city elections following his victory, four of the six black aldermen who supported him were defeated in Cook County Democratic ward committeeman races. The new mayor faces the challenge of reuniting minority and neighborhood groups. A divided black vote would hamper his reelection prospects and could lead to the election of a white, and possibly Republican, mayor for Chicago.

### **The Suburban Ring**

The suburban ring of the Chicago region encompasses suburban Cook County, along with all of DuPage, Kane, Lake, McHenry, and

Will counties. The area west of the inner zone has experienced rapid growth in population and employment over the last two decades, benefiting from the location of new industries, corporate headquarters, and office-financial-service-hotel complexes. The development of the suburban ring from farm hinterlands to a new regional zone of economic development has been catalyzed by a sprawling network of highways and the presence of O'Hare International Airport (see Figure 4.2).

Growth has been concentrated into three areas: the suburbs of north and northwest Cook County near O'Hare Airport, the suburbs in the northwest "corridor" formed by the Tri-State and Northwest Tollways, and the western suburbs of DuPage County adjacent to the East-West Tollway. The north and northwestern suburban communities of Schaumburg, Des Plaines, Elk Grove Village, and Northbrook experienced large increases in population and private sector employment during the 1970s, which more than doubled in some areas. Woodfield Mall in Schaumburg is the retail base for the area and is Chicago's largest regional shopping center in both sales and size (Cutler 1982).

In DuPage County, where private sector employment grew by 83 percent between 1972 and 1983, the East-West Tollway "corridor" of growth is anchored on the east by Oak Brook and on the west by Naperville. Oak Brook is the site of many corporate headquarters, including McDonald's Corp. and Waste Management Inc., and the Oak Brook Mall, the region's second-largest shopping center. Argonne National Laboratory and Fermi Lab have stimulated high-technology development in the county. Naperville is one of the fastest-growing municipalities in the nation with private research parks, laboratories, and office buildings locating in its vicinity. Naperville's population is projected to rise from 1984's 56,000 to 100,000 by the end of the century. Between 1980 and 2005, DuPage County's population is projected to grow from 658,858 to 930,000, and its employment is predicted to rise from 274,600 to 444,000.

State and local governments have responded to this explosion of growth by improving infrastructure and transportation in order to rationalize existing development and sustain continued expansion. The construction of the DuPage County Tollway will link the East-West Tollway office corridor between Naperville and Oak Brook to O'Hare Airport and the commercial, office, and light industrial development adjacent to the airport in northwest Cook County. This project, along with the completion of the Thorndale Avenue highway

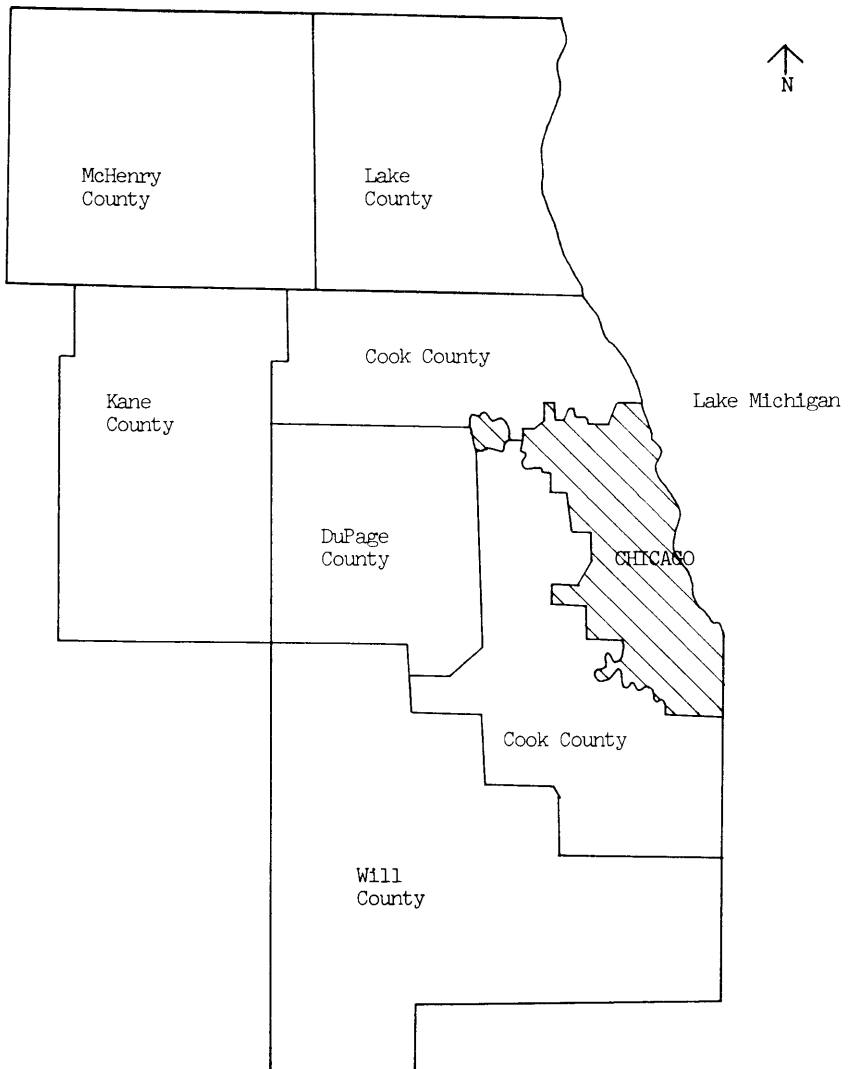


Figure 4.2 Chicago Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA).

extension in DuPage County, is being financed primarily by the state of Illinois. The suburban, white-collar constituencies of northwest Cook and DuPage counties form an important part of Governor James Thompson's statewide electoral base.

The Illinois Department of Commerce and Community Affairs (DCCA) is the key economic development agency for Governor Thompson, who has been in office since 1976. DCCA, along with Governor Thompson's "Build Illinois" initiative announced in 1985, have been critical of the development of Chicago's suburban ring. Between 1981 and 1988, DCCA's appropriations in the state budget grew by 462 percent, far outpacing the state's General Revenue Fund, which grew by only 33 percent. During 1987, McHenry County was the largest per capita recipient of DCCA project spending, with a per capita amount over four times larger than of Chicago and Cook County combined.

The western and southern sectors of Cook County have not shared in the growth experienced by the other outlying areas of the suburban ring. Communities such as Cicero, Berwyn, Blue Island, and Maywood experienced declines in population and manufacturing employment during the 1970s similar to those of the inner-zone neighborhoods of Chicago. In addition, some of these communities have growing proportions of minority and low-income residents, establishing yet another link to the inner zone. Before his death, Harold Washington's growing involvement in Cook County Democratic Party politics was an attempt to build bridges to these constituencies and develop a broader coalition and agenda for inner-zone redevelopment. Washington became involved in supporting candidates for county-wide races, particularly for the Cook County Board of Commissioners, the governmental coordinating body of the county's suburbs. The growing suburbs of northwest Cook County attempting to align with the other expanding outlying areas, view their interests as diverging from those of the declining districts of suburban Cook County. This northern tier of Cook County townships successfully lobbied the Thompson administration to create a separate service district and Private Industry Council to administer the Job Training Partnership Act program in their area.

In addition to the political conflicts over economic development in suburban Cook County, land-use conflicts within the suburban ring have arisen over the environmental disruption caused by the rapid pace of development. The initial plans for the DuPage County Tollway called for the demolition of the Morton Arboretum, but the efforts

of suburban environmentalists have preserved the site. Residential growth in Naperville has placed stress on that city's provision of water and sewers, as well as on transportation and other services, prompting local planners to consider a moratorium on new building permits. Overlapping political jurisdictions have slowed the resolution of these and other conflicts over development in the suburban ring. Private investment has continued to generate commercial, industrial, and office expansion in the outlying growth corridors. While office development in the suburban ring is nowhere near the level of that in the CBD, overall growth in this outer zone should sustain itself into the near future, existing side-by-side with the decline in the inner zone and the "inner zone" suburbs, and the continued development in Chicago's central area.

## **Conclusion**

For more than a century, Chicago was a city of destiny. Growth was its watchword, and massive public and private works were undertaken to facilitate and accommodate relentless physical expansion. This was the essence of urban planning.

In the 1980s, planning has come to mean not just growth, but balanced growth; not just expansion, but revitalization. The policy implications of this meaning are currently being debated by many competing factions. Powerful constituencies for downtown and suburban development are facing new participants at the negotiating table—representatives from low- and moderate-income inner zone neighborhoods. Community organizations are battling for a larger share of regional economic benefits and new methods of allocating resources. Electing Harold Washington as Chicago's mayor was their greatest triumph, and now they are fighting to maintain hard-won political gains in the wake of his death. For the Commercial Club, the Central Area Committee, and suburban promoters, finding ways of including these newly-mobilized community groups and addressing their problems may be essential to the future success of planning for metropolitan Chicago.

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