

TEARDOWN BOOM: AN ANALYSIS OF REDEVELOPMENT TRENDS
AND THE LOSS OF HISTORIC BUILT FABRIC
IN CHICAGO, 1990 – 2010

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1. Introduction

The context of urban fabric in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has been one of change over time, a ceaseless march felt in waves, and lead by ever-changing demand for ephemeral wants. Buildings form the physical face of a city and reflect this change as structures are built and razed. The city of Chicago grew and evolved through successive building booms, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to fill its prairie borders with mile after mile of common building types. Small utilitarian cottages for workers, houses of several styles, and later apartment flats came to define the very character of Chicago's neighborhoods. As the city grew and matured, development cycles spread farther out into the suburban fringe, leaving the established form and built environment of several older neighborhoods to change little during the twentieth century. It was these neighborhoods that became the subjects of an expanding urban redevelopment trend in the late 1980s through the 2000s – a trend which became known as “teardowns.”

“Teardown,” is a term applied to a development method where an existing building is razed and replaced with a new structure that maximizes the use of land. New development is often larger than the existing structure.

Teardowns became a national phenomenon as investment in older neighborhoods shifted from majority renovation and rehabilitation of older buildings to their complete replacement. Beginning in the 1980s, a series of economic, demographic, and market trends increased interest in urban properties for the purpose of redevelopment. Cities across the country experienced an increase in demolition and new construction in the 1990s through the mid-2000s. In Chicago, neighborhoods that had retained much of their late nineteenth and early twentieth century fabric increasingly felt the spread of redevelopment, as characteristic buildings were razed for new construction.

While redevelopment is common historically, the teardown development of the 1990s and 2000s forms a definable period that reflects a specific style and pattern of redevelopment. What was demolished was often at first the least desirable structures; however, as the trend progressed, razed properties came to include the common, architecturally characteristic but not landmarked buildings in neighborhoods. This loss of historic resources increased in density over time as development spread and

intensified in certain neighborhoods. This type of development has significantly altered the scale and character of the neighborhoods in which it was practiced. This study will focus on the teardown trend in Chicago, Illinois.

The purpose of this research is to understand how teardowns spread through Chicago's older neighborhoods in the 1990s and 2000s, and to assess how future redevelopment trends may be guided so as to reduce the loss of existing characteristic built fabric. In addition, the effect of three policy tools on the teardown trend in Chicago will be examined to better understand how such tools may be implemented to conserve common neighborhood architecture. The three tools are: historic districts, demolition review, and zoning.

This research hypothesizes that the teardown trend in Chicago grew and spread across certain neighborhoods, increasing the spatial density of new construction and replacing thousands of existing buildings. The popularity of new construction over rehabilitation was partially due to a development-oriented zoning plan from 1957, which established a latent development potential in the city's older neighborhoods that was not realized until the 1990s and 2000s. Teardowns started with scattered relatively small properties, but as the trend continued through the 1990s and into the 2000s, redevelopment moved on to replace larger buildings of both frame and masonry. Eventually, in some cases, entire blocks of homes were razed over time and replaced with new construction. As demolition and redevelopment progressed, some existing residents sought to lessen the effects of change in their neighborhoods, and supported policies conducive to conserving neighborhood fabric and character. One such method was the designation of historic districts, which were expected to prevent the demolition of buildings deemed significant. A second tool was demolition review or delay, which is thought to have reduced the loss of potential city landmarks. A final established action was zoning, which was seen as contributing to redevelopment and the vast change in the built fabric of Chicago's neighborhoods.

This research is divided into three main parts: A- context for understanding the environment that lead to the redevelopment boom; B- analysis of the spatial and temporal nature of the teardown trend in Chicago; and C- an assessment of the effects of three primary policies implemented in Chicago in the wake of the teardown trend. Part A first explores in chapter 2 the history of Chicago's physical development, in order to understand the meaning and quality of the city's characteristic neighborhoods. Second, in chapter 3, the regulatory history that shaped the scale and form of the city through the twentieth century is discussed. Part B outlines the spatial organization of

the city in chapter 4, and assesses demolition and construction trends in chapter 5 in order to establish an area of the city where teardowns were most prevalent. Chapter 6 then uses this area of nine contiguous communities to assess the spatial dispersion of teardowns over time. Part C first explores the history of landmarking and the designation of historic districts in Chicago, in chapter 7, and evaluates the protection afforded to neighborhoods by such designation. Chapter 8 appraises the value of historic resource surveys, and their use in conjunction with demolition review processes, to understand the effect of both the review and identification of significant structures on the protection of potential landmarks. Finally, chapter 9 reviews down-zoning as a means to guide new construction and its compatibility with established neighborhood scale.

A. Literature Review

The issue of teardowns has been researched from a few vantage points since the 1990s, but limited scholarly work exists on the subject. As a definable form of urban development, teardowns have been addressed by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the media, and only a handful of researchers. In order to develop a potential list of policies for addressing teardowns, the trend itself must be understood.

The spatial organization and tendencies of the teardown trend have been studied in many contexts, but there has not yet been a comprehensive assessment of the nature of the trend. Over the 1990s, teardowns were mentioned in the media as towns and cities alike attempted to reduce the negative effects of development on their built fabric. In 2002, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Fine and Lindburg, documented over one hundred communities in twenty states that were experiencing increasing numbers of teardown-type redevelopment. Their assessment stated that teardowns, as a development trend, had become a national issue in the late 1990s. Until then, they contended, teardowns had been primarily an activity in wealthier communities. The Chicago metropolitan area was listed as the “epicenter of teardowns.”¹ Yet, in 1991, Philip Langdon noted that the “teardown phenomenon” had not yet been surveyed on a national scale, but that “until the 1980s, they were limited for the most part to city neighborhoods.”² Not until the late 1980s had suburban areas been affected. While the teardown trend is not new, cities are constantly building and rebuilding, this particular

¹ Adrian Fine and Jim Lindberg. *Protecting America's Historic Neighborhoods: Taming the teardown trend*. Washington: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2002. 17.

² Philip Langdon. “In Elite Communities, a Torrent of Teardowns,” *Planning*, 57, 1991. 25.

burst of redevelopment activity was observed in cities in California, Massachusetts, and Texas in the 1980s. Developers in cities – like Chicago – may not have widely adopted the practice of teardowns until the late 1980s/early 1990s.

In the mid-2000s, three studies using demolition permit data assessed the nature of the teardown trend as it occurred in Chicago. The ability to predict where teardowns may occur or what types of properties were susceptible was a common theme in research following the peak in the housing market. Dye and McMillen, 2006, predicted that the sale price of teardown properties in the Chicago area between 1997 and 2003 was similar to their land value.³ By running a regression of multiple housing characteristic variables, the authors found that teardown properties tended to be small older homes, near public transit routes, and close to main commercial corridor hubs. These types of properties are well-located near transit, but are also of lesser desirability due to their size or construction. Their location thus becomes more valuable than their improved property, which makes a teardown more likely. While Dye and McMillen do not offer insight into the spatial dispersion of teardowns over time – defining the trend – they do highlight particular characteristics of teardowns and the reasons why certain buildings are more likely than others to be demolished. The correlation between sale price and chance for demolition is related to gentrification and revaluation of neighborhoods. Spatial analysis can be informed through the assessment of the historic development pattern of building types that, according to Dye and McMillen, tended to become teardowns.

A similar, though more detailed study of the characteristic of teardowns, Weber et al 2006, focused on only three Chicago neighborhoods between the years 2000 and 2003.⁴ Logit analysis affirmed Dye and McMillen’s finding that older, smaller homes tended to be selected for teardowns. Weber also found a significant correlation between demolition permits and existing buildings that were of frame construction, and that covered less of their lot than surrounding properties. The incidence of frame construction is tied to specific historic construction campaigns in Chicago in the late 1800s, which can be spatially analyzed. Finally, both Weber and Langdon also found significant correlations between the incidence of teardowns and areas appreciating in value. By reasoning that small, frame buildings in neighborhoods appreciating in value

3 Richard Dye and Daniel McMillen. “Teardowns and Land Values in the Chicago Metropolitan Area.” Paper presented to the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, received 2005, revised 2006.

4 Rachel Weber, et al. “Tearing the City Down: Understanding Demolition Activity in Gentrifying Neighborhoods,” *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 28 (1), 2006.

were targets for demolition and replacement, a new, spatially-specific predictive model can be developed.

Understanding the growth, change, and spatial distribution of teardowns can inform specific policy decisions aimed at protecting buildings in the everyday landscape. City landmark designation is perhaps the most effective tool for curtailing demolition, but not every building is a landmark. Between 1983 and 1995, the City of Chicago completed a historic resource survey including nearly 17,000 structures of architectural and/or historical significance. While the survey offers no legislative support to protect buildings from wanton demolition, it is the first step in assessing what could potentially become a landmark or should be preserved in the greater urban landscape.

In 2003, *Chicago Tribune* architecture critic Blair Kamin and *Tribune* writer Patrick Reardon wrote a series of articles for the *Chicago Tribune* assessing the status of Chicago's everyday built heritage. Kamin and Reardon uncovered a "litany of ruins" or everyday buildings that range from workers' cottages and apartment flats to corner store buildings and other common buildings. These building types were rapidly vanishing from the City's landscape because of both city ordered demolition and heated development. Their initial trio of articles uncovered a negative correlation between the dispersion of structures identified as significant in the historic resources survey and the median income of area households. This, they suggest, points to bias inherent in the initial survey that may have resulted in missing dozens of significant buildings in otherwise lower-income areas of the city.⁵ More importantly, the main point of the article series was that since the survey (until 2003), nearly 800 of the 17,371 significant buildings had been leveled. Of those, the articles do not indicate how many were teardowns and how many were part of the city's program for demolishing "dangerous" buildings. Such a distinction will be important for understanding the teardown trend's effect on Chicago's significant but non-landmark structures.

When Reardon and Kamin's articles were published in the winter of 2003, the City of Chicago was in the process of passing a new policy tool for protecting the city's non-landmark buildings: a demolition delay. The historic resources survey was color coded with red and orange colors representing buildings of highest importance. The demolition delay policy would postpone the demolition of buildings with these two highest ratings for ninety days to allow more thorough review by the Commission on Chicago Landmarks. However, as Reardon and Kamin described in an article series later

⁵ Patrick Reardon and Blair Kamin. "A Squandered Heritage Part 2: Demolition Machine - The City That Wrecks," *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 14, 2003.

in 2003, the demolition delay recommended approximately one out of every twenty-six buildings for landmark status.⁶ The demolition delay was found to have a limited effect on protecting significant buildings from demolition. In addition to having a potentially incomplete list of significant buildings in the heritage survey, having a policy with limited effect in preserving buildings on the heritage survey resulted in significant losses of buildings from Chicago's everyday landscape.

Beyond heritage surveys and demolition delays, there are dozens of potential policy tools for protecting everyday architecture. In the late 1980s, at the perceived beginning of the nationwide teardown trend, policy suggestions focused on zoning, Floor Area Ratios (FAR), and height limits.⁷ Since then, a series of alternative tools have emerged.

An alternate or extended zoning policy was proposed by the Chicago area grassroots organization Preservation Chicago called Renovation Zoning (RZ). Renovation zoning would provide incentives for housing renovation by providing a set of zoning regulations for existing buildings that is more open than zoning in the same area for new construction. Essentially, new construction would have significant disincentives resulting from the cost of holding a property for an extended period of time.⁸ This proposal is similar to Conservation District legislation, which has not yet been applied in the Chicago area. Incentives for renovation do currently exist in two highly successful programs in Chicago: the Historic Chicago Bungalow Initiative and the Historic Greystone Initiative, both of which provide tax credits and technical support for owners of the two specific building types. Teardown taxes can discourage demolition of historic properties.⁹ Demolition delays and permit reviews are commonly prescribed policy tools; an example of a more extensive program than Chicago's is in Minneapolis, which has instituted the policy of reviewing all demolition permit requests in an attempt to discover all potential unrecorded significant structures.¹⁰ Within each preservation policy there is a goal to either encourage and provide incentives for home rehabilitation/reuse or to create disincentives for new construction.

6 Patrick Reardon and Blair Kamin. "A Squandered Heritage: Epilogue – Going? Going. Gone." *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 13, 2003.

7 Langdon 1991, 26.

8 Preservation Chicago, "Renovation Zoning," Draft Proposal, revised Dec. 1, 2010. Website: www.preservationchicago.com

9 Daniel McMillen, "Teardowns: Costs, Benefits, and Public Policy," *Land Lines*, 18(3), 2008; Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (CMAP), *Teardown Strategy Report*, June 2008. 6.

10 Patrick Reardon and Blair Kamin. "A Squandered Heritage Part 3: The Alternative – Preserve and Protect," *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 15, 2003.

The teardown trend that defined one element of development in Chicago during the 1990s and 2000s was part of a larger nation-wide incidence of redevelopment. In Chicago, it has been established that the trend began in the late 1980s or early 1990s and focused on particular areas of the city, especially areas appreciating in value. Redevelopment often pursued properties that were older, made of wood, and were near public transit. These properties should follow historic patterns of spatial settlement in Chicago. Understanding where teardowns occurred and which types of buildings were most prone to redevelopment informs which future properties may be affected by future redevelopment cycles. Alternative policy tools to zoning and individual landmarks and districts can provide a variety of specialized means for preserving the buildings that define the everyday landscape.

B. Old Buildings of Place and Meaning: Why Mass Redevelopment is a Problem

The built fabric of a city is the surface up which generations of residents ascribe personal meanings, values, and associations. In Chicago, the existing landscape of hundred-year-old buildings lent a sense of place to its residents because of its rich narratives. New residential buildings supplanted existing structures and changed the physical scale of several Chicago community areas, and the neighborhoods within. Residents became detached from the neighborhood as the seemingly stable built environment was rapidly redeveloped. In order to become attached to the neighborhood as a place, there must be three main features. First, the place must have a geographic location. Second, the neighborhood must have physical form, such as defined by its streets, trees, and buildings. Third, these physical spaces facilitate social interaction and form the framework for daily routine, which is perceived and (re) interpreted, or (re)constructed according to circumstance. Over time, the meanings associated with a place vary as those working and living in the neighborhood change.¹¹ With its cache of older buildings, Chicago's established neighborhoods can be described as places of personal meaning and connection.

According to Brown and Perkins, place attachment is required for the experience of everyday life.¹² Places of daily interaction should have positive associations, or a high

¹¹ Thomas Gieryn, "A Space for Place in Sociology," *Annual Review of Sociology*, (26) 2002, 464-5.

¹² Barbara Brown & Douglas Perkins, "Disruptions in Place Attachment," In *Place Attachment: Human Behavior and Environment*, ed. I. Altman and S. Low (New York: Plenum Press, 1992), 279.

degree of satisfaction, in order for residents to develop strong neighborhood ties. Place attachment is a concept that encompasses similar ideas including community identity, community satisfaction, and the sense of connectedness with surroundings. Community identity, according to David Hummon encompasses the relationship that one has to one's self (personal level identification) and the relationship that one shares with the landscape.¹³ Community identity thus forms a community ideology. In this definition, place attachment becomes rooted in spatial terms that have meaning for an individual. As stated by Brown and Perkins, "physical settings and artifacts both reflect and shape peoples' understanding of who they are as individuals."¹⁴ The identities that residents define for themselves illustrate their attachment to their community. Hummon explains that community satisfaction follows, "the macro-social dynamics of social class and urbanization," while community attachment and identity is based on an individual's personal experience in their neighborhood. These together form a definition for sense of place as having an "interpretive perspective *on* the environment and an emotional reaction *to* the environment."¹⁵

Many types of attachment to community, including connection and alienation, can be defined by an individual's mobility and connection to other communities. Residents will be more satisfied and, thus, will exhibit greater attachment to their neighborhood if they ascribe positive interpretations of and narratives to their daily surroundings. Hummon considers many aspects of attachment, emphasizing the varying importance of where individual residents are in life. He suggests that short-term residents, who live in a neighborhood on occasion and live elsewhere for a greater duration of time, will feel less connected to the neighborhood than permanent or long-term residents.¹⁶ In the case of the teardown trend in Chicago, the short-term residents are represented by neighborhood newcomers moving into the newly built condominium buildings and single-family houses. These new residents have less connection to the neighborhood, having been only recently acquainted, and will, thus, not be as attached to the neighborhood as existing residents. Overall, community attachment is multi-faceted and is complicated by the unpredictability of social relationships in the context of place.

13 David Hummon, *Commonplaces: Community Ideology and Identity in American Culture*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990), 141.

14 Brown & Perkins 1992, 280.

15 David Hummon. "Community Attachment: Local Sentiment and Sense of Place," In *Place Attachment: Human Behavior and Environment*, ed. I. Altman and S. Low (New York: Plenum Press, 1992), 262.

16 *Ibid*, 257.

Buildings change out of caprice or necessity, as their occupants change. Over time, buildings are reinterpreted by their occupants. In houses that have stood for a generation or more, a single room can tell dozens of stories. Every new paint color, layer of wallpaper, or change in dimensions represents a reinterpretation of the place – the room. As Thomas Gieryn states, “Places are made endlessly.”¹⁷ People are the acting forces that manipulate the malleable medium of the built environment. An older building is thus layered with a multitude of meanings applied to its physical fabric over time. Buildings stabilize social patterns for residents by lending a durable framework for social interaction, and by grounding daily behavioral patterns in a consistent landscape. In a building, these small-scale frequent changes are due to the ephemeral nature of fashion. “If people fail to make the changes in their environment that provide support for their desired identities and goals, then attachment can erode.”¹⁸ As residents shape their living spaces, so too do buildings shape their behaviors and identity. Thus, gradual changes made to buildings in Chicago’s neighborhoods over time were necessary for residents to feel connected to their neighborhood.

These layers of historical narrative and meaning imbue neighborhoods with a sense of place that further roots current residents in the neighborhood. As Kevin Lynch wrote of the developing historic preservation movement in the United States, “the resistance to the loss of historical environment is today becoming more determined as affluence increases and physical change itself is more rapid. And no wonder, since the past is known, familiar, a possession in which we may feel secure.”¹⁹ The accrued layers of narratives lend a familiar feel to older buildings, which is lost when buildings are cleared – as they extensively were during the teardown trend of the 1990s and 2000s. Existing residents lose a sense of familiarity with the neighborhood as new forms intrude on the known landscape, altering its form and severing individual connections to place. The unfamiliarity of the landscape, as caused by the addition of new buildings combined with the rapid loss of older, known buildings, disconnects residents from the neighborhood. Residents may choose to leave, which allows for even greater change in a neighborhood experiencing development pressure.

¹⁷ Gieryn, 471.

¹⁸ Brown & Perkins 1992, 282.

¹⁹ Kevin Lynch, *What Time is This Place?* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1972), 29.

Part A:

Setting the Context for a Building Boom

2. Shaping Chicago:

The Developmental History of Chicago's Characteristic Built Fabric

Chicago owes its spatial organization and the physical character of its built fabric to the nature of its development. Much attention has been given to the history and innovation of the city's skyscrapers and to a handful of historically and architecturally notable houses scattered across the city. But the true essence of city, the architectural forms and fabric that line the city's streets and boulevards and lend charm and individuality to its neighborhoods, is the modest architecture built for everyday life and found throughout the city. This fabric is a temporal mix of buildings that, when layered through decades of development, creates a veritable catalogue of the city's past. A slice across the city today would reveal an array of architectural tastes and styles that were popularized during past periods of growth. While some of these may have been identified as landmarks or otherwise set aside for protection, the vast majority of common buildings simply reprise the role of transient players in the greater course of history and progress. As such, in the 1990s and 2000s, these common buildings became the subject of a new cycle of extensive redevelopment where new homes and condominium buildings replaced and altered the existing built fabric of the city.

Chicago's growth over the last 150 years has not been smooth. Instead, in its first century, the city evolved through several periods of fits and starts from a village of nearly 5,000 on the prairie to the transportation hub of the nation and the country's second largest metropolis. Each period of development altered the city's fabric as settlers from the east coast moved west, and later as immigrants from Europe and beyond found their home on the shores of Lake Michigan. With each construction boom, new types of buildings were added to the city in rings out from its center, which helped to quell overcrowding and to sate demand for space.

The period between the Great Chicago Fire of 1871 and the Great Depression produced a majority of the everyday architectural fabric that is found in Chicago's neighborhoods. Instead of losing population after the Fire, the city rebuilt and grew, quintupling in size between 1850 and 1880 to over 500,000.¹ It spread deeper into the surrounding prairie. To accommodate waves of new residents, bursts of speculative mass construction across the city during the late 1870s and 1880s added thousands of new residences and affordable cottages to the prairie. At the same time, a new and

¹ Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), 482 [table XCIII]

more affordable alternative to home ownership, the apartment flat, spread across the city – peaking in popularity in the 1900s. It filled lightly developed blocks in the city and covered acres of subdivision land at the periphery. Flats were followed, after a World War I lull in construction, by thousands of masonry bungalows and tall apartment towers. The Bungalows filled even more fringe subdivisions, just beyond the ring of flats, in an arc from the north to the south sides of the city. Apartment towers, aimed at more affluent residents, populated the lakefront for views of newly created parkland and Lake Michigan beyond. By 1930, the Chicago area was largely built up and the population had hit a peak of 3,376,438.²

What open land remained following World War II was quickly built-up as development spread past the inner ring suburbs to the open farmlands beyond. It is important to note the extent to which Urban Renewal, Federal Highway programs, and later the expedited demolition of abandoned or “blighted” properties in the city’s dis-invested neighborhoods reshaped and divided the city during the post-World War II period.

While Chicago’s downtown has been altered and redeveloped repeatedly, many of the city’s neighborhoods of houses and apartment flats, cottages and local commercial centers have remained largely intact. These neighborhoods represent Chicago’s primary growth and spread into the surrounding prairie. It is these neighborhoods, built between the Great Fire and the Great Depression, that are most relevant to the discussion of the “teardown” trend analyzed in this thesis. During the 1990s and 2000s, several neighborhoods characterized by everyday architectural fabric became targets for redevelopment during Chicago’s latest redevelopment boom.

What follows is a history of the growth of Chicago through periods of great construction activity and annexation. The development of a few common and locally popular building types is followed within each period. Included in this discussion are the single family homes of the 1870s through the 1890s, the ubiquitous apartment ‘flats’ of the 1880s through the 1910s, and the bungalows and apartment towers of the 1920s. (See *Figure 2.1: Map of Chicago Annexations.*)

² United States Census, 1930.

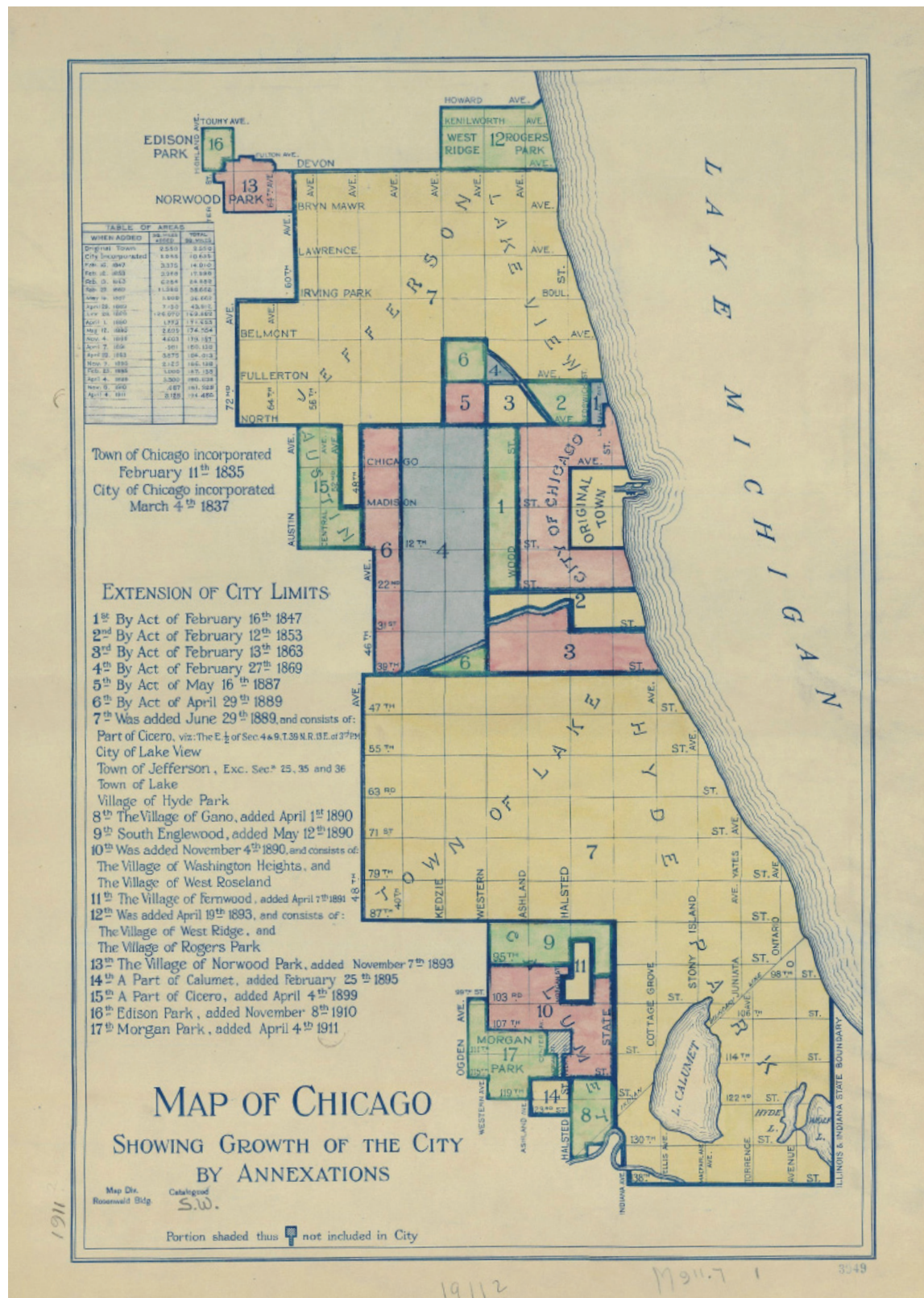


Figure 2.1: Map of Chicago Annexations through 1911

Source: Map of Chicago showing growth of the city by annexations, (Chicago : s.n., 1911); University of Illinois Archives.

A. 1837 – 1871: Early History Between Founding and Fire

Marsh land at the edge of Lake Michigan has proved to not be the most sturdy surface for a metropolis, but with the addition of fill, Chicago's growth over marsh and prairie has been well supported. The city began as a small settlement around Fort Dearborn, an early military outpost on the then western edge of the Nation. Chicago's initial growth in the mid-nineteenth century has been well studied.³ In brief, what started as a town of 4,000 residents at the city's incorporation in 1837 doubled and tripled in both area and population between the 1840s and 1860s; by 1870, nearly 300,000 residents lived in the city.

Immigrants arrived from points across western Europe, settling independent neighborhoods within the city. To the southwest of Chicago's downtown, Bridgeport was subdivided and settled separately from Chicago mainly by Irish workers who were employed in the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal; Bridgeport was annexed to Chicago after the Civil War.⁴ North of downtown, just over the Chicago River, German and Swedish immigrants settled their own communities. About six and seven miles south of downtown, the towns of Englewood and the Village of Hyde Park were founded as suburban real estate ventures in the early 1850s.

The last quarter of the 1860s up to the Great Fire proved most dramatic in Chicago's growth since its founding. After a financial panic in 1857 and the events of the Civil War, real estate was again a strong commodity as land speculators platted acres in and around the city's limits.⁵ At the same time, with the arrival of these European groups, Chicago's population nearly tripled between 1860 and 1870, making it the fifth most populous city in the country after St. Louis, Philadelphia, Boston, and New York (including the five boroughs).⁶ To house the ever-growing immigrant and working-class population, acres of affordable balloon-frame "workers' cottages" were packed into dense subdivisions within two to three miles of downtown along the western periphery.

3 Land economist and real estate appraiser Homer Hoyt's 1933 work, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago*, is one of the most often cited comprehensive economic studies of urban growth in Chicago. Hoyt intended the work to be an example of research that could be completed for other cities in order to better understand the historic relationship between cycles in land values and city growth. Harold M. Mayer and Richard C. Wade's *Chicago: Growth of a Metropolis* of 1969 addresses and balances Hoyt's work with a historical narrative and pictorial essay of Chicago's social and developmental history. Dozens of histories of Chicago and the region have also been published.

4 Harold M. Mayer and Richard C. Wade, *Chicago: Growth of a Metropolis*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 28.

5 Hoyt, 100.

6 US Census, City Population Totals, 1870.

In contrast, wealthy residents maintained large homes south of downtown along the fashionable Wabash and Michigan Avenues.

Beyond the city, passenger rail service and horse and cable cars from Chicago into the surrounding hinterlands spurred the development of several suburban communities and agriculture-based townships. These include: Ravenswood, Lake View, and Irving Park on the north side and several others on the south side; at the same time, the Village of Hyde Park began to see development.⁷ These areas would later be annexed to Chicago. In Ravenswood and Lake View, truck farms and greenhouses belonging to German, Swedish, and Luxembourgian immigrants supplied the city with fresh vegetables; the sandy soil was particularly favorable for celery. The agricultural economy provided entry for secondary markets such as blacksmithing. Stores and other commercial ventures soon appeared in these townships, which helped attract even more residents. As development density increased in Chicago, demand for suburban tracts increased as some well-off residents opted to move to the rail-accessible townships, where they could enjoy uncongested land and proximity to the lake.⁸ Multi-acre tracts of sandy, muddy lakefront lands were quickly subdivided and improved with large frame houses. At the close of the 1860s, the built fabric of the City of Chicago covered an area up to five miles from downtown, with the densest settlement within the first three miles.⁹

B. 1871-1876: Post-Fire Houses and Cottages

By 1871, two decades of urban growth had relied almost exclusively on wood to build everything from buildings to sidewalks and bridges. In October of that year, the Great Chicago Fire erupted and destroyed nearly one sixth of the city's area, or one third of the built fabric. In the burned area lay the ruins of the most built up and most valuable commercial and residential real estate in the city. Despite the incredible loss, Chicago was quickly rebuilt.

New building regulation changed building patterns and briefly added value to the periphery for the construction of cheaper housing. Until the Great Fire, construction in Chicago had followed limited local regulation. Since 1850, a small area of downtown had been identified for special fire-proof construction, but the boundaries had not

7 Lake View was incorporated in 1856. Ravenswood started as land development in the 1860s within the borders of Lake View.

8 Stephen B. Clark, *The Lake View Sage*, (Chicago: Learner Newspapers, 1985), 11.

9 Hoyt, 484 (table XCIV; from 1916: *Report of the Chicago Traction and Subway Commission*, 73).



Image 2.1: Post-fire Italianate frame house at 1817 W. Wrightwood, outside fire limits; 2011

been expanded with the city's growth.¹⁰ Simply, types of construction followed the techniques brought by immigrant builders. It was not until Chicago gained Home Rule powers in 1872 that regulation could be made by city government. That same year, an ordinance was passed to forbid frame construction within newly established fire limits around the city's center. In 1874, the city enacted a set of buildings codes to regulate buildings construction, and prohibited frame construction within city limits.¹¹ However, a significant amount of reconstruction took place in the time between the fire and the ordinance. Even before the last embers of the conflagration were extinguished, new blocks of small wooden fire-relief cottages were densely built to house the newly homeless. At the same time, many homeowners were quick to rebuild their own residences and cottages in the Italianate style, using the balloon-framing technique. Many residents rebuilt from wood before the fire ordinance was created. Today, a cluster of these post-fire frame homes still stand in what is the Old Town Triangle local historic district and neighborhood on the near north side.

10 Caspall & Schwieterman. *The Politics of place: A history of zoning in Chicago*, ed. Jane Heron, (Chicago: Lake Clairmont Press, 2006), 6.

11 M. Flanagan. "Charter Reform in Chicago: political culture and urban progressive reform." *Journal of Urban History*, 12(2), 1986, 116.

During the 1870s, the city's borders were: Fullerton Avenue to the north, Western Avenue and Pulaski Road (40th Avenue) on the west, and 39th Street on the south with Lake Michigan on the eastern front. See *City Annexation Map*.

The new ordinances determined that all new houses built in the fire limits would be of masonry instead of less expensive wood. Lot owners who could not afford to rebuild in brick often chose to move outside the fire limits of the city to the surrounding townships where land was open and cheaper frame construction was still legal (*see Image 2.1*).¹² Similarly, because workers could not afford more expensive masonry housing, there was demand for cheaper homes. Speculative bargain-seekers chased this new demand by buying and subdividing land at the edge of the city outside the fire limit. This briefly heated the housing market. Around 4,025 acres of land were subdivided into parcels in 1872, which was second in scale only to a subdivision frenzy in 1869 when over 5,270 acres were divided.¹³ The new rush of construction brought a dense band of balloon-frame workers' cottages to the city's edge between three to four miles around downtown from north to south.

Balloon-frame workers' cottages are a common form in Chicago, and were popular for their simplicity of design and could be built by ordinary tradesmen (*see Image 2.2*). The average Chicago lot is 25 feet wide by 125 feet deep, which leaves enough room for a house at the front of the lot and a garden in back, with an alley down the middle of most blocks. Of course, in the late nineteenth century, what became the back yard was then more a small center of house-centered industry, with space for piling wood, ash, and garbage; drying linens; and outhouses. These early cottages were generally of one or one and one-half- stories, clad in siding, with a raised garden- or English-style basement, and a peaked roof. Facade decoration was often limited to decorative window trim, with arched or flat top double-hung windows, and bracketed gable. With the first floor raised over the high basement, access was by a steep flight of stairs to a small porch.¹⁴ The front door can feature a transom above to illuminate the vestibule area inside. On the main floor, a parlor and dining room are at the front with a kitchen at the back, together taking up over one third of the level. Bedrooms off of the main rooms fill the rest of the floor. A second level, accessed by a narrow staircase, features two more bedrooms. The basement was used for storage, but could be finished and rented. Cottages were built of simple stud walls, fastened with machine-made nails, that extended from the soleplate to the roof plate. The soleplate generally consisted of an eight by eight inch beam that was jointed with tenoned tongue and groove corners.

12 Andrew J. King. *Law and land use in Chicago: a prehistory of modern zoning*. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1986), 27.

13 Hoyt, 118, 479 (table XC).

14 Cottages were just tall enough to meet street level when Chicago streets were raised for sewers and improved drainage in the late nineteenth century. Many cottage and other early houses remain below grade today .



Image 2.2: Frame Worker's Cottage at 1649 W. Hubbard Street; 2009



Image 2.3: Frame House (left) and later frame two-flat (right) at 1026-1028 W. Montana Street; 2012

Floor joists were notched into and hung from this plate. The entire structure was then supported over either a brick or wood-post foundation. Above all, the structure was simple enough to be built quickly and cheaply to serve those unable to afford land in the city.

Other types of frame houses were also built at the city's edge. The basic form of the cottage was extruded upwards to produce two-and-one-half-story houses (*see Image 2.3: frame house*). These similarly featured raised basements and steep front steps. Only the second floor offered a full floor of bedrooms. A third common type is the Italianate style house, which featured broader bracketed over-hanging eaves and a symmetrical layout. While most frame buildings in the city of this period were completed between the Fire and the ordinance of 1874, several houses appear to have been built of wood within the city without permits.¹⁵

While the new building codes and fire limits made construction more expensive in Chicago, fueling a housing boom, a financial panic in 1873 – peaked in 1877 – depressed land values and greatly slowed the speculative subdivision and construction boom at the edges of the city. Surplus houses and open tracts, with ready infrastructure and utility connections, were left to dot the city's fringe through the 1870s.¹⁶ These surplus properties would have to wait until the market's gradual recovery in the early 1880s, when a new type of construction appeared: the affordable apartment flat.

C. The 1880s - 1910s: Annexation and the Apartment Flat Craze

Apartment flats, or simply "flats," were an affordable housing option that added a substantial layer to Chicago's built fabric. Very little remains from early Chicago, around or before the Great Fire, but the apartment flat is well represented across the city. Rapid development between the 1880s and the outbreak of World War I formed around three nodes of demand: 1. speculation after the 1870s panic; 2. hosting of the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893; and 3. increased demand for housing and buildings in the early 1900s. In 1889, Chicago annexed several surrounding townships, which quadrupled the area of the city. This, coupled with the extension of transportation routes, opened acres of land for subdivision and development. While single family homes were popular throughout the period, a new style of housing gave residents a dignified and affordable alternative to home-ownership: the "flat."

15 Shirley Baugher, *At Home in Our Old Town: every house has a story*, (Chicago: Old Town Triangle Association, 2005), 9.

16 Enough lots were divided between 1868 and 1873 to serve nearly one million residents, at a time when the city's population was little over 400,000. Over half of the plated lots were left vacant. Hoyt, 109.

In the late nineteenth century, apartment living had the stigma of being for lower-class residents, and was equated with the abject conditions of tenements. Up to the early 1880s, the apartment was a rare housing type in Chicago. Indeed it had existed in cities like New York since the 1860s, but single-family houses were what had been built in Chicago. Well-off and working-class residents valued having a house as a home, and saw ownership as an important goal. Living in the same building as other families was almost not an option for those who could afford a home; it was an option that would involve crossing tight social and personal lines, and risking the invasion of privacy. Essentially, the margin between the quasi-public realm of the common corridor and other gathering areas in a rental structure, with the otherwise private living space of individual units was too fine.¹⁷ However, after the economic panic, and the failure of nearly all Chicago savings banks in the 1870s, fewer people had the means to invest in real estate.¹⁸ Also, land values in and around Chicago rose, which made owning land and building a home even less affordable. This posed a problem for the socially conscious who desired to live in a house, but who could not afford the price.

At the same time, apartment living offered new conveniences such as steam heating, bathrooms, a janitor to tend to building systems, and an overall reduction of tasks and maintenance otherwise required of home ownership. Those who could afford to buy or build a home did so along the city's growing system of boulevards and parks.

Those who could not afford a house found the apartment flat to be a reasonable alternative. The design of flats helped to improve their favor and offer some semblance of privacy to its renters. Most flats had two or more units and were about the same size as the ordinary multi-level house. They could be disguised as houses in order to appeal to those opposed to apartment living, and to blend into the larger residential fabric. Larger flat buildings, with more than a few families, could be designed to look like mansions.¹⁹ Other aesthetic elements and distinguishing features such as porches, roof details, and multiple entrances for separate sections of a building all helped to make apartment living more like home. As more flats were built, their design shifted from blending into established residential neighborhoods to offering the latest technological innovations and features.

17 Carroll W. Westfall. "Chicago's Better Tall Apartment Buildings: 1871-1923." *Architectura* 21(2) (1991): 178. ; Hoyt, 136.

18 Daniel Bluestone, "Chicago's Mecca Flat Blues," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 57(4), (1998):382.

19 *Ibid*, 383.

The new apartment flat building came in a few main forms:

1. the majority were single-lot, two- and three-story walk-ups (up to six stories) with one apartment “flat” per floor;
2. three or more story double-lot buildings with two flats per floor;
3. large apartment block buildings that contained many units either in a single voluminous building or in a U-shaped structure around a courtyard.

Hundreds of thousands of apartment flats became a ubiquitous fixture of the ever expanding city. With each boom between 1880 and 1920 came slight revisions in architectural style, design, features, and materials. Generally, two- and three-flat buildings occupied a single standard 25 foot wide by 125 foot deep city lot with a passageway or gangway along the length of the property. Due to fire code restrictions, the vast majority of flats built in the city were of brick. Facades could be of either brick with limestone trim or could be entirely of limestone; brownstone is uncommon in Chicago. The roof line was capped by a decorative pressed metal cornice. Locally quarried limestone supplied the building trades with enough stone for both architectural detail and for foundation walls.²⁰ Similarly, the area’s marshy history produced immense clay deposits, which were extracted and baked into bricks by scores of local brick companies.²¹ As more brick companies opened, the cost of masonry construction fell. Outside the city limits, most new flat buildings continued to be built of wood, resembling frame houses of two- to three-stories with a pitched roof, bracketed gable, and steep front steps.

The layout for both masonry and frame flats was similar. Both commonly featured an English basement, which could be easily converted into an additional unit. The main entrance was reached by a tall flight of steps with wood or wrought iron railings to a small covered wood porch. Immediately inside the front door was a common vestibule off of which one door led to the first-floor unit and a second (closer to the outer wall) opened into a staircase leading to the upper flats. Most flats featured a predictable plan: on one side were the living spaces with a parlor at the front followed

²⁰ Limestone came from many sources, but most used in Chicago came from quarries south and southwest of the city. Limestone used in Chicago during the 1870s and 1880s was mainly supplied by quarries around Joliet, Illinois. Joliet Limestone is characterized by a pale yellow to ochre color that it acquires with age. A second more popular limestone used in the 1890s onward is Indiana Limestone from the area around Bloomington, Indiana. This stone maintains its buff color and is considered to be of high quality and durability.

²¹ Brick companies were established across Chicago in the late nineteenth century, and benefitted from restrictions on “fire-proof” construction. The common Chicago brick is like local bricks made in other cities at the time. Chicago brick is characterized by a range of hues from pale yellow to warm peach.

by a dining room and a kitchen at the back; on the other side, with doors off the living spaces, were the bedrooms. At the back of the building, a wooden porch structure acted as a second means of egress with access through the kitchen. In the basement there would be a washtub and space for storage, if that level was not finished as a rental unit.

The two- and three-flat in Chicago is similar to other local building forms found in other U.S. cities. In Boston, the triple-decker, wood apartment building offered tenants an affordable place to live. By 1918, it was estimated that nearly half of Boston's housing units were held in triple-deckers.²² Likewise, Philadelphia and Baltimore have their expanses of twins and row-houses. Almost in every city, there is a distinctly local building type, which is both common in form yet unique through many variations. In Chicago, the apartment flat holds the distinction of being common to Chicago and thereby characterizes a significant area of the city. By 1914, over thirty percent of the city's housing units were in flats.²³

1. POST PANIC BOOM

Chicago set out on a new building boom in the 1880s, the first to be focused on development of the apartment flat. In 1879, as the city and nation eased out of a financial crisis, the real estate market was slowly improving as speculators, land associations, and real estate corporations looking for cheap foreclosed land began buying again. In addition, investment from east coast insurance companies helped fuel the market in Chicago. Land owners who had bought property during the preceding boom after the Fire were anxious to rid themselves of their land holdings, which they felt would never appreciate in value. Nearly ten years of deflated land prices had convinced owners to sell off land at any price rather than pay taxes on it.²⁴ The resulting land grab shifted land back into an improving market.

The new apartment flat took hold of the open land as hundreds of the structures were added to the city's street grid. So many flats were built that the phenomena was dubbed the "flat craze" in Chicago's daily newspapers. Flats built in the period

22 Gail Radford, "New Building and Investment Patterns in 1920s Chicago," *Social Science History*, 16(1), (1992), 11. See also: Lloyd Rodwin, *Housing and Economic Progress: A Study of the Housing Experiences of Boston's Middle- Income Families*, (Cambridge, MA: Joint Center for Urban Studies, 1961), 37.

23 Chicago Plan Commission, *The Report of the Chicago Land Use Survey. Vol. I, Residential Chicago*. (Chicago: Chicago Plan Commission, 1942), 16; Radford, 4.; Twenty-five percent of all housing units were in two-flats, of which there were 39,785 built between 1895-1914.

24 "The Craze for Building Cheap Flats Sensibly Subsiding," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, Dec. 3, 1882, 21.



Image 2.4: Two-flat with bracketed wood gable at 2227 N. Magnolia Street, note redevelopment proposal; 2010



Image 2.5: Three-flat with incised lintels at 1950 N. Burling Street, note redevelopment proposal; 2011



Image 2.6: Brick worker's cottage with incised limestone lintels and bracketed wood gable at 2234 N. Magnolia Street; 2012



Image 2.7: Fancy worker's cottage form with stained glass, decorative stonework, and detailed porch at 3527 N. Janssen Street; 2012

of 1879 to 1883 came in a range of styles from Greek Revival forms and Italianate to Romanesque Revival. Masonry buildings in the city often featured pressed brick facades with limestone flat or segmented arches, sills, and bands. Arches and keystones over double-hung windows often featured incised abstracted natural designs. A pressed metal cornice crowned buildings with flat roofs, while bracketed wood gables were featured on peaked roof flats. (see Image 2.4: peaked roof flat and Image 2.5: flat roofed two-flat). The front door was often a double door, with a wide transom, that opened onto a common vestibule. Alternatively, a pair of doors on the exterior each lead to separate units. Inside, rectilinear floor plans clearly delineated living spaces by organizing bedrooms in a row from front to back along one side of the floor, and placing a parlor, dining room, and a kitchen in another row.

Yet, the new buildings were not fully embraced by residents. Many builders at the time hurriedly completed flats in order to return a profit. Flats could offer the builder up to a ten percent net on investment.²⁵ An 1882 *Chicago Daily Tribune* article concluded that the “flat craze” had run its course and that fewer would be built in the future due to the poor quality of the flats already built. Flats were seen as fire traps, and sound could easily reverberate through their thin walls and floors. The article did acknowledge that, “flats are and should be popular, and...[should]... when well built, give, as is intended they should, persons of moderate means an opportunity to live comfortably for a fair amount of money.”²⁶ The year 1883 turned out to be a significant year for construction. A total of 2,684 new buildings were added in and around the city.²⁷ Of those buildings, 1,142 were apartment flats.²⁸ Flats had clearly returned to the market in force and not gone out of favor.

The next major building type added to the city that year was the ever popular single-family, one to one and one-half story workers’ cottage (see Image 2.6: common brick workers’ cottage and Image 2.7: workers’ cottage type house with fancy details).²⁹ Overall, the vast majority of construction between 1879 and 1883 occurred in the west and south

²⁵ Hoyt, 136.

²⁶ “The Craze for Building Cheap Flats Sensibly Subsiding,” 21.

²⁷ “A Year’s Building,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, Dec. 9, 1883, 17.

²⁸ “The Flat Craze: how it has raged during the year,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, Dec. 9, 1883, 17.

²⁹ “A Year’s Building,” 17.

sections of the city. The north side, and townships beyond, grew more slowly due to its limited transit access and position across the Chicago River from the commercial core.³⁰

Lake View Township, north of the city's borders, was extensively subdivided and built up with houses during the boom of the early 1880s. Yet, its limited connection to Chicago was through an aging passenger rail line and two discontinuous horsecar lines. One of the city's notable developers of the period was Samuel Eberly Gross, who established nearly twenty suburban subdivisions around Chicago and built over 4,000 homes. His support of affordable home payment plans instead of foreclosure made him a popular and wealthy developer.³¹ Nearly anyone could buy a home in one of his tracts. The homes that he sold ranged in style from well-decorated frame houses to the modest workers' cottage. The design of workers' cottages had changed little in three decades with the exception of added modern conveniences such as indoor plumbing and later electricity. Their basic design made them easy to build and, like the apartment flat, their high basements avoided excavation costs and could be finished and rented for additional income.³²

Gross built both frame and masonry houses. Within the city, he sold parcels for brick workers' cottages, which were the same as frame cottages except that they were of solid brick construction with limestone trim. Outside the city limits, he proudly advertised his open parcels as being accessible yet beyond the fire limits, where frame houses could be built. In an 1883 ad for his Gross Park subdivision in Lake View, he noted the area's two passenger rail lines as present connections to the city, but he also became a force behind extending horse car lines to his subdivision (*see Figure 2.2: Advertisement for Samuel Gross's Gross Park subdivision*).

As a developer, like many other developers of the period, Samuel Gross was instrumental in influencing the extension and expansion of the traction system. While the passenger rail lines of the Northwestern & Chicago and the Evanston & Chicago connected outlying suburban townships to downtown Chicago, they were insufficient for supporting a great population. However, nearly every developer promised that their development would have either a surface line or an elevated train near it. Of course, not all proposals were acted on, or else the city would have been thick with redundant lines.

30 Hoyt, 137.

31 Robert I. Goler. "Visions of a better Chicago," in *A City Comes of Age: Chicago in the 1890s*, ed. Susan E. Hirsch & Robert I. Goler (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society: 1990), 127.

32 Mayer & Wade, 255.

Once a line was extended to Gross Park, the former cabbage patch became a dense urban neighborhood in only seven years.³³

Talk of annexation filled the city's headlines through the 1880s. Several surrounding townships took notice of Chicago's rapid encroachment on their land and considered joining with the city. Some, such as Oak Park, refused annexation, while others like Lake View actively pursued the benefits of being under city jurisdiction. Being within the city's borders meant an improvement in utilities, the paving of major roads, effective government, and improved police and fire protection.³⁴ With annexation, the introduction of cable cars and later electrified street cars would make real estate far from downtown all the more desirable, and create a new foundation for development.

2. WORLD'S FAIR SPECULATION

On June 29th, 1889, Chicago expanded its borders from 36 square miles to 169 square miles through the annexation of four large townships: the City of Lake View and the Town of Jefferson on the north side, and the Town of Lake and the Village of Hyde Park on the south side.³⁵ The inclusion of this new territory added over 200,000 existing residents to Chicago's population overnight and made Chicago the second largest city in the country in 1890.

To speculators, the annexed land was even more valuable than before, for it could be sold as "city lots" that would have access to future city services and utilities. Over 36,000 buildings were added to the city between 1890 and 1892.³⁶ This explosion of development was mainly speculative and filled a temporary demand for units from people heading to the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. New flats were built near new and existing streetcar and horse car lines. A new elevated train connected downtown to the south side grounds of the Fair, and provided a new form of rapid transportation in the city. Homer Hoyt suggests that the combination of annexation, Chicago's new title as second most populous city, winning the bid to host the 1893 World's Fair, new electric transmission lines, and the extensive redevelopment of

³³ Clark, 35-37.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 155.

³⁵ "Map of Chicago: Showing Growth of the City by Annexations," (1911); Lake View became a city in 1887.

³⁶ "Chicago Builds on Vast Scale," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, Dec. 17, 1905, 1.

downtown brought Chicago to the world's attention and drew a new wave of speculative development.³⁷

In these speculative years, new flats and houses were designed in the latest styles to arrive from the East Coast. Many variations of Queen Anne and Romanesque added new character to neighborhoods. Until the 1880s in Chicago, facades of modest homes had been largely flat, articulated only by fenestration and a cornice. Gradually, what had been a main feature of row houses and homes, bay windows added another dimension to the facades of common buildings. Bay windows could pull more light into a parlor room and offered a wider field of view. A large front window, topped by a decorative leaded stained and beveled glass transom, would have narrower double hung windows on the sides. The material of the facade also began to include more types of brick besides common pressed red brick. Facades entirely of stone could resemble the Romanesque through use of rusticated stone courses and heavy arched front windows. Porches on flats and houses grew too. Most new flats and houses had porches of wood. Where in previous decades a porch had existed simply as a landing at the top of a flight of steep steps, perhaps sheltered by a small over-hanging canopy, porches on late nineteenth century flats and houses came to be fully covered landings.³⁸ Decorative structural posts supported a full sloping roof, making the front stairs and sheltering roof a unified structure of distinct character on the facades of most residential buildings. Porches and bay windows changed the interaction between the street and houses by adding a more pronounced transitional space, and by increasing the view of the street from the private realm.

New development was off to a good start in 1889 and 1890 when the *Chicago Daily Tribune* questioned whether Chicago was overbuilt. That is, the shear rate of development was exceeding demand from new residents. In addition, it was estimated that nearly 10,000 apartment units in the older west side of the city were vacant. These vacancies were identified as being in the older, poorer areas of the city where second generation immigrant families had been leaving for newer developments at the city's edge.³⁹ Now, with over 160 square miles of annexed land, extensive development, and improved transit lines, residents of older congested neighborhoods had more housing options to choose from. Residents could move to the more open tracts in the newly

37 Hoyt, 161-2.

38 Michael Dolan, *The American Porch: An Informal History of an Informal Place*, (NY: Globe Pequot, 2004), 174.

39 "Is Chicago Being Overbuilt?" *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, Sept. 10, 1890, 2.

annexed townships. Before too many acres of land could be divided and sold off as lots, a new panic in 1893 soured the market. Still, in the former townships on the north and south sides, new tracts of flats gradually replaced farms and encircled the old town centers.

3. THE CHICAGO GREYSTONE

The classic Chicago greystone is a type of residential building that was built as both flats and houses in the early twentieth century. Brick flats were also built during this period. However, unlike the speculative boom years before the World's Fair of 1893, the focus of this construction wave was to sate the demand for new houses and commercial structures. New buildings filled open peripheral lands as improved transit connected the city. Of course, not everyone benefitted; residents of established neighborhoods sought to repel the new buildings, while older largely immigrant neighborhoods were overcrowded.

Of the new flats, more and more were built with higher quality materials than in previous decades, as a growing luxury class of apartment dwellers sought more options and conveniences. These flats were given all the best features and were rented for nearly five to ten times the average rent. As the decade progressed, premium features were made standard in nearly all new construction. Many of these new flats were



Image 2.8: New block of greystone two-flats on the 2000 - 2100 blocks of South Harding Avenue, note undeveloped land, recently opened street, and elevated train; c.1910

Source: www.chuckmanchicagonostalgia.wordpress.com



Image 2.9: New block of brick two-flats on the 600 block of North Central Park Avenue, c.1910s
 Source: www.chuckmanchicagonostalgia.wordpress.com

concentrated in the northwest and southwest sections of the city on land that had been subdivided but not built upon in the 1890s (see Image 2.8).⁴⁰

These new flats, of two to three stories, were often designed in the Neo-Classical style with wood or stone porches, bay windows, and occasionally a small pediment at the roof line. The face stone was either honed or rusticated with refined architectural details. As in the preceding style of the World's Fair, bay windows featured large street-facing picture windows with simple patterned, leaded-glass transoms. Inside, the typical aforementioned flat floor layout was maintained, with the addition of a bathroom in each flat. New flats were also built of brick. A smaller number of two-story greystone houses were also developed across Chicago. These, like the flats, had similar floor plans, with the exception of additional bedrooms on the upper floor.

Of particular interest during this time was the popularity of two-flats, which had similar massing and features as greystone houses, but allowed for the owner to live in one unit and rent the second unit. For many, this proved to be a fair source of additional income. Also, because two-flats so closely resembled houses, they created for renters the sense of living in a single-family home, while having the benefits of apartment living. Across the northwest and southwest sections of the city, the two-flat was a staple of construction through the 1910s.⁴¹

⁴⁰ "Spend \$96,000,000 on New Buildings," *The Chicago Sunday Tribune*, Dec. 25, 1910, 4.

⁴¹ "Chicago Breaks Building Record," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, Dec. 26, 1909.

The new greystone flats were built between four and six miles northwest and southwest from downtown. What made units possible in these, then remote, areas of the city was improved transit and an influx of new residents. Early horse and cable car lines were converted early on to electric streetcars, and consolidated into only a few city-wide systems. An added benefit of streetcar line improvements was paved streets, which allowed for farther corners of the city to be effectively reached. In addition, a few traction companies started to build elevated train systems, which joined downtown in a ring of track encircling downtown or the “Loop.” The first “alley L” served the south side and was finished in time for the World’s Columbian Exposition. Subsequent lines were built to serve the southwest, west, northwest, and north sections of the city; each stretched far into the hinterland to establish new stops and points of development.

As transit made flats accessible, gains in population fueled the renewed demand for flats. Nearly seventy percent of the city’s population in 1890 was foreign born, owing to the mass influxes of immigrants from several points in Europe. Companies built new factories across the city to employ the ready labor force, which helped to attract even more residents to Chicago. While many immigrants first arrived on the city’s west side, established groups generally shifted from the old neighborhoods to newer areas of the city.

Redevelopment did occur in the old neighborhood, but often in ways that greatly increased density. The early post-fire frame houses had been maintained through consecutive families over the decades. When a new building could be afforded, the old building was not demolished, but was instead moved to the back of the lot in order to make room for a new structure at the front. The old building in back could then continue to be rented as a rear tenement-like structure for the lowest rent. This creation of back lot, alleyway houses mirrored low-class neighborhoods in other cities at the time. A study in 1900 estimated the densities it created. On average, there were 270 people per acre on Chicago’s west side neighborhoods and nearly 900 per acre in the densest, and often poorest areas.⁴² Chicago was rapidly becoming a city of extremes. However, in terms of preservation, because the oldest buildings were moved to the back of lots early on, they can still be found hidden along alleys today.

The reinvigorated housing boom startled some established communities, and a familiar argument against encroaching new and denser development was heard. Several neighborhoods of single family homes, built before the “flat craze” started,

42 Mayer & Wade, 256.

opposed the density imposed by flats and attempted to keep the buildings away. On the city's south side in the former Village of Hyde park, residents of the Kenwood community bought up open lots in order to keep vulnerable land out of the market and away from developers of flats. A "flat invasion," reasoned the residents, would not improve the area, but rather would lead to the devaluation of their property. The new buildings would be too dense and transient, given the nature of the apartment dweller, to be compatible with the existing neighborhoods of single family homes. If one new flat were built on a block of existing homes, its presence would "...not have been a pleasant thing to contemplate..." and likely would be cause for some residents to leave the area, perhaps selling their home to a developer of flats.⁴³ Despite the localized opposition from surrounding communities, between six and ten thousand flats were built annually between 1901 and 1905.⁴⁴ Soon the airy neighborhood would be like any other dense community in the city, with only pockets of early suburban houses lost amid blocks of flats. This opposition by residents can be found in any time period when a new building form threatens to significantly alter or erase the established character of a neighborhood. A century later, residents of the existing characteristic neighborhoods discussed in this section would again oppose the seeming "invasion" of new condominium and housing developments.

The last of the apartment flat construction ended with the outbreak of World War I, not to resume in the post-war fervor of the 1920s. In place of flats, developers shifted to two very different housing forms: the bungalow and the apartment tower.

D. The 1920s: Bungalows and Apartments

Economic stabilization following the Great War resulted in record construction in Chicago, which came to focus on two different types of construction that reflected the development of the middle class. Between 1920 and 1930, Chicago's population grew by nearly twenty-five percent. The spatial pattern of this population growth reflected patterns of new development. Most of the growth concentrated in a narrow area along the lakefront where tall apartment towers were built, and in areas at the edge of the city where the compact single-family homes were laid out along miles of new streets.⁴⁵ An average of 29,080 housing units was built annually in Chicago between 1920 and

43 "Stores and Flats Barred: Kenwood residents buy lots to ensure privacy," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, Aug. 11, 1901, 3.

44 "Spend \$96,000,000 on New Buildings," 4.

45 Hoyt, 357; Mayer & Wade, 316; By contrast, suburban areas grew by nearly fifty-eight percent between 1920 and 1930.

1929 compared to an average of 17,012 annually between 1885 and 1920.⁴⁶ With this explosion of development came the formation of dozens of neighborhood commercial centers along streetcar lines; each brought a slice of downtown commerce out to the neighborhoods.

Apartments had evolved since the 1880s, and came to fall into two main categories: the ever-popular flat and the multi-family tower, block or courtyard building. The flat craze of the late nineteenth century had flooded the city, leaving the majority of housing stock as rental units. Few of these units were in structures of more than twelve units. With this shift from majority single-family homes to majority apartments there was a gradual acceptance of more dense housing types by middle and upper classes, which – after the Great War – opened demand for well-appointed luxury apartment towers. Economically, apartment towers and other multi-unit apartment buildings also became more popular than flats as real estate investments due to easier construction financing and lower overall cost of maintenance. This directly influenced what was built in the city. At the same time, the rising prosperity of residents and continuing desire for less congestion produced demand for a newly popularized single-family home: the brick bungalow.

One of the largest apartment developments in the nineteenth century was Mecca Flats on the south side, which included ninety-eight apartments in a four-story building. The building was unique in design as the first building in Chicago to include a central courtyard space around which the U-shaped apartment flat would sit. Single entrances to multi-unit buildings force tenants to meet each other and emphasize the density of families in a building. This mixing in public-private space was seen to infringe on domestic privacy. The Mecca resolved this issue by featuring several entrances, each leading to only a few flats within the greater apartment building.⁴⁷ Privacy could thus be introduced through careful design that diffused density and could manifest a sense of single-family living.

The popularity of multi-unit buildings increased as it had with flats, but did not reach its height of popularity and construction until the 1910s and 1920s. Around the city in the early 1910s, more multi-unit apartment buildings began to be built. Instead of the standard narrow-lot, two to three story flat, these new wider buildings

⁴⁶ Radford, 2; *from*: Chicago Plan Commission (1942), 16.

⁴⁷ Bluestone, 384; Bluestone notes that while the Mecca produced one of the first multiple-entrance courtyard spaces that relieved density, it also facilitated interaction and social involvement through its balconied and skylit atria.

were similar in form to the earlier Mecca Flats; but these only held between ten and twenty units. In certain areas of the city, like Lake View, new multi-unit apartment buildings filled remaining undeveloped lots or replaced older single-family houses and homesteads from the 1870s-1880s suburban period of development.

As during the flat craze, concern over neighborhood change and intrusive new building types was again raised in the 1920s. Outside the city limits, the suburb of Riverside attempted to block all apartment construction. The village was designed in 1869 by Frederick Law Olmsted and was incorporated in 1875. Riverside is characterized by wide swaths of parkland and long winding roads lined by rambling picturesque homes. It is a classic nineteenth-century suburb, laid-out by one of the nation's foremost designers. The suburb seemed far enough away from Chicago so as to maintain independence and not be altered by the city. In the 1920s, Riverside officials had begun to consider zoning regulations that would maintain the character of their suburb and guide future development. But in 1922, a new development, Link Manor, an eighteen-unit courtyard apartment building (with eighteen garages), was proposed and built.⁴⁸ Dense apartment housing had finally entered the realm of the suburb. Riverside was quick to enact a zoning plan to prevent the construction of any future apartment buildings or flats, making Link Manor the first and last apartment building in the suburb. Situations like this reveal a longstanding human desire for maintaining the *status quo* when it comes to familiar and personal places like neighborhoods. A neighborhood may change gradually over time, but it seems to be the sudden shifts that elicit the greatest consternation.

1. COURTYARD APARTMENT BUILDINGS

Courtyard apartment buildings with their verdant oases can be found across the city, but especially in the northwest and southwest neighborhoods and along the lakefront. The majority of courtyard apartment buildings appear, based on materials and design, to have been built in the 1910s and 1920s; some were built as late as the 1960s. A wide variety of architectural styles can be found employed among courtyard apartments, from Craftsman and Gothic Revival to Tudor and Spanish Revival. Some are unequivocally plain brick structures with minimal architectural detail, while others clearly reference a style of architecture. The courtyard is the main entrance to the apartment complex, and functions as a pathway from the sidewalk to separate building

⁴⁸ "Riverside locks the stable after the horse is gone," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 28, 1922, 25.



Image 2.10: Courtyard Apartment Building on Cornelia Avenue at Reta Street; 2012

entrances, which in turn lead to private apartments; it is a transition area in a continuum of spaces that gradually progress from public to private. Courtyard spaces themselves may be a plain grassy open lawn or well-kept gardens with flower beds, bushes, and tall trees. Entrance to the semi-private courtyard also depends on the building. Some spaces are clearly open and flow from the public sidewalk; other buildings imply a separation of the courtyard from the sidewalk by a hedge line or a partial fence, while others fully fence off their courtyard behind a locked gateway.

2. CORNER APARTMENT BLOCK BUILDINGS



Image 2.11: Corner apartment block building on Kimbark Avenue at Hyde Park Boulevard; c.1910s

Source: www.chuckmanchicagonostalgia.wordpress.com

The apartment block, or twelve-flat, is similar to the courtyard building, except that in place of a courtyard it takes advantage of a corner lot for entrances on two sides. Most apartment blocks were built to three- or four-stories and often featured stacked porches on the main facade. Others were simply built as brick boxes, decorated with minimal stone trim.

3. APARTMENT TOWERS

The greatest visual change from the 1920s development boom came with the transformation of the lakefront skyline from a low-lying band of homes to a cliff of venerable masonry apartment towers. Apartment towers are not unique to Chicago and can be found from the 1920s in several other US cities. But they played a significant part in the development boom of 1920s Chicago and continue to define lakefront neighborhoods. While a single house could accommodate a single affluent family, the apartment tower could house over forty units. All along the lakefront, within one to two blocks west of Lake Shore Drive, dozens of high rise apartment towers grew as a stand of dense housing where there had previously been single family houses. Before the Great War, only eighty-five towers contained more than forty units, while in the 1920s, 890 large apartment towers were added to the skyline; a jump of around 1,994%.⁴⁹ The ordinary courtyard or corner apartment building type was extruded to new heights in order to bank on vistas of Lake Michigan and the newly expanded Lincoln Park and South Shore park systems. Like the courtyard buildings and the apartment blocks, towers too came in a range of styles. Many featured elaborate terra cotta or limestone details, which made them visually refer to plush club towers or luxury hotels.

The need for domestic privacy was still evident in the 1920s. While the Mecca Flats and subsequent apartment buildings had helped to diffuse density and appeal to families through the use of sectional entrances, the apartment tower primarily offered only a single entrance to all units in the building; a bank of elevators would then reach each floor. In high-end buildings, each floor plate was designed with a semi-private elevator vestibule, shared by one or more units. More modest apartment towers featured common corridors that were shared by several families. The difference, besides appointed finishes, was the density of families and their relative proximity to each other. Domestic privacy was still of concern, especially among the higher-classes, where luxury apartments replaced spacious private mansions.

⁴⁹ Radford, 4.

TYPICAL BUILDINGS IN CHICAGO
UPON WHICH THE
AMERICAN BOND & MORTGAGE CO., Inc.
HAS OFFERED
FIRST MORTGAGE REAL ESTATE BONDS
Thousands of investors thruout the United States have purchased
through us many millions of dollars of First Mortgage Bonds, secured
by improved city properties, and without the loss of one dollar.

American Bond & Mortgage Co.
INCORPORATED
CAPITAL AND SURPLUS OVER \$3,000,000
American Bond and Mortgage Building, 127 North Dearborn Street
CHICAGO

New York Boston Detroit Grand Rapids Rockford Davenport Cleveland Philadelphia

Figure 2.3: Mortgage company ad showing five north side apartment towers; 1923

Source: Real Estate Mortgage Ad, from *The Chicago Architectural Sketch Club* (1923), Art Institute of Chicago archives

Modern apartments reflected gradual changes in domestic life. For the well-off apartment dweller, early luxury towers were designed like cohesive stacks of mansions reaching into the sky. The need for hired service staff continued as luxury units were designed with maids' quarters. However, the efficiency of the modern apartment negated the need for hired help in more modest apartment towers. The compact layout of some apartments and kitchenette-type units minimized the amount of work required to run a home; apartment towers also often provided many services. Modern time-saving conveniences catered to a greater social shift in domestic life that resulted in increasing leisure time and shrinking of family size.⁵⁰ While the apartment flat could offer the space and compact efficiency found in apartment towers, the volume of units in a tower allowed for more and improved services that could benefit modest and affluent apartment dwellers alike.

The apartment tower boom and shift from flats would not have been possible without changes in finance. New international markets and banks shifting to real estate

⁵⁰ Hoyt, 244.

investment produced new forces which favored larger, more profitable development. The decision to build is not necessarily dependent on demand for units, but where that demand is coming from; those who are willing to pay more make for more profitable customers. Most apartment towers were aimed at the middle- and upper-class, as increasing economic inequality had resulted in greater disposable income among the most affluent. While construction may have cost more for finishing luxury residences, the price per unit and the volume of units made towers a profitable model.

During the flat craze, new construction had been financed with equity. The small size flat buildings also meant that individuals could invest a modest amount in their construction or purchase and gain a reasonable return from rent. Large projects required expensive, short-term loans; longer term loans could be secured following construction at a maximum of half the building's value. In the 1910s and 1920s, lines of institutional credit and lending promoted an easier means for financing large projects. Developers shifted from land subdivision and the construction of flats to benefit from new financing options. At the same time, smaller investors who had bought one or two flats for additional income were lured away from their small real estate holdings by a growing national investment market. Also, banks entered into the realm of real estate investment by increasing mortgage holdings, and offering new lines of credit. Developers could now more easily secure financing to build large, expensive buildings like luxury apartment towers. High rents could then pay off loans. Additionally, banks began to offer real estate mortgage bonds, where shares of a single or multiple mortgages could be floated and purchased by investors before construction (*See Figure 2.3*).⁵¹ This significantly increased funds available up-front to developers and closed the gap for otherwise unrealizable projects. The lure of profits from tower construction was such during the 1920s that there was a chance to make a profit even despite lagging overall demand for apartment units.⁵² Thus, diminished demand for units, plus advantageous financing, gave developers all the more reason to cater to the dollar of the affluent renter rather than to the needs of the average resident. The result was the extension of the skyscraper skyline north and southward from downtown along the lakefront.

51 Radford,13; Radford notes that it is commonly believed that Real estate mortgage bonds were first employed in the 1900s in Chicago.

52 Radford, 14.



Image 2.12: New stuccoed bungalows on the 1700 block of West Arthur Avenue; c.1923

www.shorpy.com

4. BUNGALOWS

Detached single-family homes were a staple of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Chicago, despite the popularity of rental housing. In the 1910s, an imported style of home came to Chicago known as the bungalow – the modern cottage for the family of moderate means. The origin of the bungalow is often cited as coming from the form of basic housing built for British traders in India. They were of a single story with a high-ridged, sloping roof, and built primarily of wood. In Chicago, the bungalow shed its wooden frame for walls of brick with limestone accents.⁵³ Modern bungalow-style homes, or large cottages, began appearing in the late-nineteenth century and found their place in Western culture following World War I.

Nearly one hundred thousand bungalows were erected in Chicago after the Great War.⁵⁴ The vast bungalow development came to inhabit a wide swath of land in a concentric arc from north to south directly west of the arc of flats. This area is known today as the “bungalow belt” and has remained fairly intact.

In Chicago, the bungalow form seems to be an adaptation of the older workers’ cottage style home. Bungalows, like those built in California and other cities in the 1910s, were typically on lots wider than twenty-five feet, with ample space for surrounding gardens. The urban lot narrowed the bungalow, stretching it deep into the lot, and condensed its rambling front to a concise vocabulary of steps, enclosed porch and hipped roof.

⁵³ A fraction of bungalows featured frame construction; some even had a wood frame with a brick veneer. In addition, the use of hollow terra cotta block began to be used in residential construction for its fire-proof properties; it was covered by stucco.

⁵⁴ Hoyt, 245.

The interior layout was similar to that of a single apartment flat with a living room (in place of the parlor), dining room, and kitchen lining the length of one side of the building, and with a line of bedrooms on the other length. Typical of Chicago-style bungalow and workers' cottages, the roof is hipped with the gable being perpendicular to the street; most bungalows of the 1910s featured gables that were parallel to the street. A dormer was often included for second-floor rooms. Roof materials ranged from ordinary asphalt shingles to slate or clay tiles. Of all the features of the Chicago Bungalow, the most characteristic is perhaps the use of brick for construction. Brick tones came in a wide variety by the 1920s, such that blocks of bungalows may contrast in shades of buff to deep reddish-brown.

The new homes were not without their own charm. Interior finishes ranged from basic varnished trim in the simplest of homes, to elaborate Craftsman-style woodwork in higher-priced models. The living room often featured a wood-burning brick fireplace, and had either a front bay window or was joined to an enclosed front porch sunroom. Front windows often included leaded geometric art glass designs with mirrored glass accents. Even with simple details, the Chicago bungalow was a modest and easy-to-build housing type that rapidly filled land at the periphery of the city.

Brick was the primary material of the Chicago bungalow. Common brick and face brick were rapidly becoming equal in price to wood, which placed frame and masonry houses in similar cost categories. Because brick is significantly more fire-resistant than wood, it made economic sense to build out of brick. Between 1900 and 1920, the wholesale price of wood had inflated nearly five times to where it was about the same cost as brick.⁵⁵ All across the city, bungalow tracts filled former prairie and farm fields. On the south side in 1926, forty-two bungalows were built and sold to mainly downtown office workers in sixty days, which prompted the builder to develop seventy-two more – all of brick.⁵⁶

The benefits of the bungalow life represented perhaps the best of both apartment and home living. All of the conveniences of an apartment, including heating, electrical features, and automated services, made running the home easier than it had ever been. Unlike an apartment, the bungalow included more closet space than flats for ever-growing modern wardrobes. Overall, the bungalow was a home and offered the domestic privacy and open space so sought after in Western culture. The yard did not have to be shared with a tenant or neighbor, it was a home.

⁵⁵ Radford, 2.

⁵⁶ "72 bungalows to be built on far south side," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 7, 1926, B5.

As mass bungalow development progressed across Chicago, it became one of the most common housing types after apartments. Their construction lasted through the 1940s. Today, over a third of all single-family homes in Chicago are bungalows.⁵⁷ Bungalows saturated the housing market, much as workers' cottages had in the late nineteenth century, but this time the home was designed as an efficient and affordable space for the growing number of middle-class families.

New construction in Chicago dropped dramatically during the Great Depression, continuing through World War II. In a report issued in 1942 by the Chicago Plan Commission, it was estimated that over a quarter of the city's built fabric had been added during the decade of the 1920s, compared to only 1.4% in the four years after 1930.⁵⁸ By the end of the War, new suburban tracts outside the city were capturing the attention and demand of residents; the well studied patterns of decentralization had begun.

Chicago's skyline and outer neighborhoods were significantly altered in the construction boom of the 1920s. Across the city, multi-unit apartment buildings filled remaining lots in the built-up areas of the city. Remaining older houses on large lots were replaced by area-maximizing, profit-generating apartments, while the lakefront blocks of late-nineteenth century homes were replaced by massive masonry towers reaching towards the sky. As with previous periods of development, the uniquely-western desire for a home and parcel of open land to call one's own drove the development of single-family houses on the city's fringe. Adding to the frenzy of construction was the introduction of banks to real estate investment and the maturation of a credit-based market; both helped to close the financing gap for large-scale development. The two extremes of residential development in 1920s Chicago, luxury apartment towers and bungalows, brought about buildings that valued the land and attempted to maximize space with compact and efficient homes: stacks of apartments into the sky and modest detached bungalow homes.

E. Conclusion: The Historic Built Character of Chicago

The character of the Chicago neighborhood cannot be understood by a single definitive description. Instead it must be seen in the context of its historic development cycles. Each neighborhood features its own extant common built fabric, or the buildings

⁵⁷ Risé Sanders, "The Bungalow: Sweet Home Chicago," from the Chicago Public Broadcast Service (PBS) television program: *Chicago Stories*, www.wttw.com, accessed: March 14, 2012.

⁵⁸ Chicago Plan Commission (1942), 16.

that were part of its initial development. Each building represents a period in time, reflecting different economies, attitudes, and tastes, and lends neighborhoods a physical framework of existence. The majority of the city's extant fabric was built between the Great Chicago Fire and the Great Depression, a sixty-year period of real estate booms and expansion. With each period, the city added to its borders in fits and starts new bands of housing and ever-more residents.

In the many unique neighborhoods within the city, there are several building types that appear frequently and relate to a particular period of heated construction. Within a mile or two of downtown, frame homes and cottages from around the time of the Chicago Fire remain in clusters, such as the Old Town Triangle neighborhood. A second ring around the downtown, between two and four miles out, defines the area developed between the 1880s and the 1910s, with detached apartment flats of two to six units. Closer to downtown and within the city's pre-1889 borders, flats are of masonry, while outside those borders both frame and masonry flats exist. Still farther out, between four and six miles from downtown is a wide band of bungalow homes built during the 1920s. The concentrations of these building types in a neighborhood, in addition to architectural styles, help the observer to understand when a neighborhood was developed, but more important, define its physical character and history within the greater city.

Over time, with each period of growth, concerns over development have reappeared, as older established neighborhoods feel the pressure of development. Redevelopment is not a phenomenon only of the aging urban centers of today, but has been a constant force in the growth and evolution of urban fabric. Voiced concerns have tended to reflect issues of a development's compatibility both in physical form and in density. Examples of opposition to new development can be seen in, but is not limited to, land purchases preempting flats in the early 1900s and the zoning out of apartment buildings in Riverside in the 1920s. The development boom of the 1990s and 2000s analyzed in this thesis also produced its own share of opposition and criticism to new construction. Today, similar methods to those used in the past have been employed to contain or lessen the effects of change inherent in redevelopment on older established neighborhoods. Specifically, the use of zoning will be discussed later, in addition to the more recent policy tools established for the preservation of historic structures and sites.

F. Epilogue: Characteristic Buildings Today

Buildings do not remain the same over time. Like cities, they too are ever-changing in the life-cycles of fashion, economy, and occupants. They evolve, with each added layer of history, to a respectable level of maturity that has come to be valued. While the venerable old house in Chicago can be the grand landmark of a Gilded Age baron or the work of an influential architect, the vast majority of extant structures are simply the common framework of the greater city. The loss of any one is not mourned, but their weight as a whole defines the characters of the city and its neighborhoods. The individual derived character is a mix of the past and of the rambling history unique to each structure.

Some buildings are prone to larger changes than others; frame is perhaps the simplest to work and the one requiring most frequent repair. The early frame cottages of the post-Fire decade and the raft of frame flats of the 1880s and 1890s generally maintain their overall form, but many have been altered in their outward appearance through the replacement of siding, the resizing or moving of fenestration, and the construction of additional floors or other changes to the roof line. Lost on many are the scrolled brackets, carved barge-boards, and similar protruding decorative elements. Often these were removed, like other decorative elements, because they were no longer fashionable or were too difficult to keep painted or in good condition. Often, what remains on these homes is the front porch and its rise of steep steps with its cast iron newel posts and hand rails. However, even these were commonly removed entirely in favor of a ground-level entrance to make the building seem taller.⁵⁹ The windows may have been replaced and/or reduced in size, but many retain original windows and the occasional leaded window. Vinyl and aluminum siding reflect the original concept of siding, but simplify details. Beaded siding, milled window and door mouldings, and decorative gable-end shingle patterns have become obscured or removed over time. What remains of these frame structures is their form and massing that define the volume and scale of the street.

Greystone and brick flats have been less prone to significant exterior alteration over time. Changes made are limited to replacement of doors and windows and the occasional removal of a wood or metal cornice. Porches too, especially those of wood,

⁵⁹ DePaul University Archives, archives number: lp.lpca.dur.0001; *A Preliminary Study - Preserving the Architectural Character of a Neighborhood* (Chicago: Department of Urban Renewal, 1962), 17. Conservation programming in Chicago's Lincoln Park community during the 1960s supported the removal of tall flights of stairs. The "improvement" made the building seem taller, thereby making it better fit in among taller apartment flats. Many cottages in Lincoln Park had their porches removed and their entrances lowered to ground-level.

were occasionally replaced with modern equivalent. Stone or brick porches remain on many buildings, but some buildings are clearly lacking this feature. Often the upper masonry forming the roof or second-level balcony of the porch were removed due to poor condition, leaving a shadow of patched stonework in the facade. The interiors of greystones and flats in general are quite flexible due to the narrowness of the building and the few load-bearing walls. Flats, over the years, were thus able to be converted to single-family use and then back to apartments later. Along arterial streets, some were adapted to accommodate commercial space on the ground floor. Above all, the relative difficulty to alter a masonry facade has kept many flats close to their original appearance over a century ago. Complete blocks of two and three flats still define diverse neighborhoods ranging from the Washington Park on the south side, to North Lawndale on the west side, and Logan Square and Lake View on the northwest and north sides, respectively.

The bungalow, a modest urban cottage, has remained as the predominant housing type in the northwest and southwest sections of the city. These solid homes were simple in design and required little effort to remodel and adapt to changing tastes on the interior. However, like the masonry flat, the masonry exterior made alteration of porches and fenestration more costly and uncommon. Some slight changes to bungalows over time has included the enclosure of porches with windows (if they were not originally), replacement of doors and windows, and the occasional second-floor expansion or addition. However, the overall effect and feel of bungalow blocks is retained, despite changes, and continues the brick bungalow as one of Chicago's archetypal buildings.

All together, workers' cottages, apartment flats, single-family homes, and bungalows represent the vast majority of Chicago's built fabric, and remain constant characters in the passage of time. As Chicago entered into a new period of urban growth and redevelopment in the 1990s, the future of these enduring structures was threatened. Older buildings, still standing after nearly a century, were targeted for demolition and replacement. How zoning policy lead to teardown redevelopment is the subject of the next section.

3. Zoning Regulation:

Managing Change in a Maturing City

Zoning regulation can control and shape the future growth a city by establishing standards for land use, setbacks, building heights, and other aspects of the built environment. Like the city, it too bursts forward in waves of innovation, while also pacing along with periods of slow incremental change. The need to steer the city and the chaos of its rapid growth was realized soon after its founding; however, the regulatory power and the policy framework to attain such control was not established until Chicago's first districting or zoning laws were passed in 1923. However, as the city began to lose population after World War Two, it sought to maintain and attract new residents by writing a loose and development-friendly zoning code in 1957. Neighborhoods throughout the city were relieved of their tired classifications as zones of single family homes and flats and opened to the potential of more intensive development. However, the populous future that officials hoped would come did not as the city continued to loose population through the 1980s. But, in the late 1980s and early 1990s a series of events, beyond the scope of this thesis, stirred new demand for the benefits of urban life and unlocked latent development potential inherent in the city's dated 1957 zoning ordinance. The potential for high and better or more profitable land uses turned the attention of the development community, thus beginning two decades of teardown redevelopment in Chicago's characteristic neighborhoods. In 2004, following neighborhood objection to "incompatible" and "out-of-scale" new development, the city's zoning ordinance was completely overhauled, giving precedence to the established character of existing neighborhoods, by zoning at the right scale and massing.

A. Turn-of-the-century: Organizing and improving the growing city

The chaos of rapid development and growth in late nineteenth century Chicago solidified the city's position as one of the country's largest industrial centers and locus of immigration. However, as with other industrialized cities of the time, its rough edges, sharp socioeconomic contrasts, and its envelopment in a sooty haze of industrial prosperity, made it less attractive for more affluent metropolitan investments. The need and desire to remake Chicago into a cleaner and perhaps a more equitable city began with wider popular campaigns addressing nuisances and housing standards.

The privately initiated 1909 Plan of Chicago set a visionary path for the city, while also establishing a planning body that would create the city's first zoning code.

Chicago was effectively compartmentalized into pockets of residential, commercial, and industrial uses by virtue of how land had been subdivided and developed through consecutive real estate booms. Hundreds of purely residential blocks were added to the city's growing borders with each campaign, while commercial located along well-trafficked streets and industrial settled between its workforce and means of transportation. Yet, while additions of virgin prairie and farmland could initially be developed with consistent use and form (such as single family homes or flats), built urban fabric could only be redeveloped with more complex patterns of land use and scale (such as through the conversion of houses into flats, apartments into retail, or complete shifts in building type). Maturing neighborhoods juxtaposed the basics of domestic life with economic objectives of business and industry.

A new method was needed to regulate the growth and organization of Chicago's changing urban environment. The issue of aesthetics and the regulation of disparate or nonconforming building types became a litigious subject in Chicago during the late 1890s and 1900s. State legislation had long recognized the need for protection of private property from direct invasion, but protection from noise, pollution, and odors of industry in domestic areas had not been fully addressed by the courts. In the 1880s, legislation against nuisances was enacted, commencing a period where private inter-neighbor conflicts and municipal support for public welfare were enforced through police power and arbitrated in local courts. However, the outcomes of these decisions in state courts were irregular, and decided on a case-by-case basis that tended to ignore local regulations and favor the interests of businesses over residents.¹ Instead of addressing issues individually, a more efficient system for protecting the public was devised in the 1890s, using building codes to establish scale, materials, and setbacks for future construction. The height of downtown skyscrapers was capped at 130 feet, followed by height limits and setbacks for multi-family flats.² These measures ensured that the city would develop more predicably and improve the city's appearance.

Daniel Burnham is often heralded as the first modern urban planner following the success of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, and the subsequent popularity

1 Caspall & Schwieterman. *The Politics of Place: A history of zoning in Chicago*, Jane Heron ed, (Chicago: Lake Clairmont Press 2006), 8-9. **See also:** Andrew J. King, *Law and land use in Chicago: a prehistory of modern zoning*, (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc, 1986).

2 Andrew J. King. *Law and Land Use in Chicago: a prehistory of modern zoning*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1986., 218.

of the City Beautiful Movement. The “White City” of the World’s Fair showed visitors what a city of civic aspirations could look like if the entirety of its layout were planned instead of left to economic chance. Just behind the gleaming skyline of commerce was the clear reality of urban life for many of Chicago’s citizens.

Turn of the century Chicago was still a provincial and unruly place that was uncertain of its direction except towards greater growth. Industry laced the city in soot and bordered downtown in patches of factories and marginal worker homes. Railroad tracks divided downtown from its lake front and surrounding neighborhoods, while miles of unpaved streets offered a muddy surplus of health hazards. Contemporary writers and reformers sought to understand why and how the city had arrived at such a state, and questioned whether the whole could not be improved. Reformer Jane Addams worked for over twenty years to improve the lives of immigrants when she published her assessment of the city, *Twenty Years at Hull House*, in 1907. Upton Sinclair’s well-known *The Jungle* appeared only a year earlier. Was it possible to bring order to the growing city, to make it more humane and beautiful without impairing the economic engine that drove it? How and would a new vision for what the city could become be accepted by the people, the businesses, or the city government? Such a rethinking of the city would have to reconcile diverse public and economic interests in order to chart a path and a means to improve the city as a whole.

The role of the private sector in remaking Chicago was far more influential than any municipal program. A group of business executives belonging to the private Commercial Club of Chicago began meeting in the early 1900s to discuss potential directions for the city; how best to modernize the downtown and how to more efficiently connect the city to its neighborhoods were primary concerns. They selected Daniel Burnham for his like-minded concern for the city, to design a future that Chicago could achieve. The result was the 1909 Plan of Chicago.

The Plan – at least in its published form – did not exclusively cater to residents beyond the city’s business elite. Instead, it came to emphasize Chicago’s need for a cultural and economic identity. Jules Guerin’s impressionist illustrations of the proposed city often placed figures in sharp contrast to a monumental city scale, if people were included at all. However, this was not the intention of Daniel Burnham, who instead had suggested new progressive systems for addressing some of the city’s most pressing social issues. His plan was to make the city public domain. Burnham addressed domestic issues such as: the need for state-sponsored child care centers for working women, the urgent need for public health and fitness facilities, the need for safe places

for children to play, the improvement of the police force, and the expectations of public safety.³ Beautification was but his ribbon and guiding vision that wrapped a much deeper and more social cause – the provision of human services and the creation of a human environment. Yet, these sections of the 1909 Plan were not included in the final published tome, leaving the Plan in an elusive void of aesthetic postulation.

The ultimate deciding force behind the Plan's final form would be the heads of the Commercial Club and their newly created municipal planning body: the Chicago Plan Commission. Planning was to come from the business sector and would therefore advance the goals and objectives of the city's business leaders. There was little room for public input. Instead of addressing living conditions in slums or improving the built nature of the city across the board, the Commission highlighted a series of policy and infrastructure projects that would produce returns on investment. Streets were widened, transportation made more efficient, and the lake front was transformed from a barren wasteland of industrial refuse to a verdant strip that was sure to lure investors to the city. The language of Plan Commission reports highlighted the efficiency and profitability of the Plan. Policies like restricting the scale of new construction could, "prevent the depreciation of property by the advent of undesirable classes of structures, or the erection of towering apartment houses which keep light and air from adjoining property and from the street."⁴ Physical improvements to thoroughfares and street frontage would also improve land values. New Investment in property following street improvements was measured in millions of dollars.

"City planning is a profitable investment, both to property owners and to the city... Values in the immediate zone of the Michigan Avenue improvement... have increased \$35,000,000.00, with the improvement unfinished. Due to this improvement, \$10,000,000.00 of buildings are under construction or planned in this zone."⁵

The Commission and the Commercial Club saw the success of projects in their ability to raise land values. Wider streets, and greater regional connectivity would only help to reduce congestion in the downtown, making business more efficient. If a project did not seem like a profitable venture, then it likely was not implemented.

3 Kristen Schaffer, "Fabric of City Life: The Social Agenda in Burnham's Draft of the Plan of Chicago." Introduction to *Daniel H. Burnham and Edward H. Bennett, Plan of Chicago*, ed. Charles Moore. (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1993), v - xiii.

4 Daniel Burnham, Edward Bennett, and Charles Moore, ed. *Plan of Chicago*. (Chicago: The Commercial Club of Chicago, 1909), 35.

5 Chicago Plan Commission, *Ten Years Work of the Chicago Plan Commission 1909-1919: A Resume of the Work on the Plan of Chicago*. (Chicago: Chicago Plan Commission, April, 1920), 6.

Mid-century critics of the 1909 Plan argued that it proposed massive development that not human in scale and had little benefit to the city's residents. Louis Mumford asserted that it was simply a grand "Baroque Plan," interested solely in investment potential and profits from rising land values.⁶ Jane Jacobs argued more generally that the City Beautiful Movement failed cities because it was not designed for the people. She asserted that the role of the civic center, a government building on a plaza or in a park setting, caused the downfall of many urban neighborhoods that were so unfortunate as to be nearby.⁷ Perhaps fortunately for Chicago, the Plan's proposed civic center was not seen as enough of a profitable venture to be carried out in its grand form.

While the 1909 Plan of Chicago helped to transform the city from a chaotic post-Fire boom town into a model of civic planning, the vast majority of the city's neighborhoods from its slums to its varied middle-class neighborhoods were little-changed. Beyond downtown, visionary change existed only on paper as a guide for what could be. The congestion and clamor of urban life continued to afflict older, working-class neighborhoods, while commercial activity intensified and spread deeper into communities. The 1909 Plan was visionary goal, but the Planning Commission created to steer it had the power to advanced a more definitive plan: Chicago's first zoning code in 1923.

B. Zoning Chicago for the Future: Chicago's first zoning code

Chicago followed the steps of other cities in the 1920s by adopting zoning as a means to organize the centralized city. In 1920, the strong City Council formed a twenty-two member Zoning Commission to draft a zoning ordinance similar to one passed in New York in 1916. Chicago first zoning ordinance was then approved, following much deliberation, by City Council in March of 1923. The Chicago Plan Commission determined that zoning would best alleviate the perceived strain of mixed development in the city.⁸ After a careful study of existing land use was published in the early 1920s, the Plan Commission was able to establish a programmed layout for the city. The zoning plan created districts for uses and zones for limiting volume, and outlined an ideal dispersal of use zones across the city that could be accomplished over time. However,

⁶ Louis Mumford, *The City in History: Its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*. (NY: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1961), 401.

⁷ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. (NY: Vintage Books, [1961] 1989), 24-25.

⁸ King, 70.

despite the intentions of the zoning code, city officials, supporters and critics alike found the code to be too restrictive for both present and future growth and ill-defined for the complexities of urban real estate. Yet, it was the city's first foray into the scientific shaping of cities.

Zoning was seen as the ultimate means for correcting the chaos of urban development and to protect residents. The code itself was relatively simple. Uses were divided into four classes: Residential, which consisted predominantly of single-family houses; apartments, referring to the larger rental structures that were beginning to appear across the city; commercial; and manufacturing. Within each of these use categories were permissible uses, that for example in "residential" permitted single-family homes, churches, schools, parks, and small community businesses. Apartments were regulated by type and size. Separately, the city was drawn into five volume categories defining the height, the percent lot area coverage, and the allowable proportion of lot area to the cubical area of the building.⁹ The highest volume district was nearly exclusively in the downtown, while the next highest volume defined the lakefront and its expanding cliff of apartment towers. Because the city could not be expected to change overnight, non-conforming strictures and uses were grand-fathered in with restrictions. Manufacturing plants located in the middle of residential districts could remain, but were prevented from expanding. The use would have to be removed upon change of ownership.

The established zoning code was not as strong or influential as officials had intended it to be. Nearly as soon as the code was enacted, residents and entire neighborhoods sought to alter their districts with special provisions and localized complexity. Fortunately, the Zoning Board of Appeals (ZBA) was established soon after the zoning code to hear cases and consider revisions to the code. A separate Board of Appeals courted hardship cases. Thousands of amendment cases came to the ZBA during the 1920s, testifying to the limiting nature of the code. At the same time, the code was too broad. Neighborhoods were assigned use and density based on both a comprehensive study of existing land uses and on ideal future use and density; the city was to be slowly molded over time into the framework of the zoning code.

One of the lasting assumptions in planning for the city's future was population growth. In the 1920s, Chicago was growing rapidly during a period of prosperity. The city was likely to grow. New apartment zones were drawn across the city for lower

⁹ Caspall & Schwieterman, 22.

volumes of development, such as flats. At the time, flats covered approximately 15.66 square miles of the city, while the 1923 zoning code identified 38.55 square miles for present and future apartment developments.¹⁰ Homer Hoyt, in his 1933 study of Chicago's land value history, exclaimed that the, "zoning law does not impose a very serious limit on the use of land, for if all the land in Chicago were built to the limit allowed by the zoning law, the entire population of the United States could be housed in the city."¹¹ Even if zoned land could be built up with densities as planned, Hoyt concluded the code was an otiose waste considering the ease of obtaining amendments. Private agreements, such as the notorious restrictive covenant, were perhaps more effective because of their site-specific objectiveness. The 1923 zoning code simplified the complex nature of the city while trying to balance existing conditions with perceived future growth. How the city could be organized and shaped through policy needed to be informed by the specific and human character that drove the city.

C. A Worn City: Wartime Neighborhood Visions

The 1923 zoning code had organized a simple framework in which Chicago's neighborhoods could grow substantially; however, with the Great Depression and a lull in construction during World War II, the reality of the city and the ideal of the zoning code gradually became very distinct. During the Depression, as property owners had less money for repairs, some opted to further divide their buildings into smaller units. Across the city, land values fell and the neighborhoods surrounding downtown, those that had been built up in the 1870s-1900s, declined.

The Chicago Plan Commission saw an opportunity to reevaluate the city and its development during World War II, and to help plan for the city's anticipated growth in the post-war period. A survey of every property in the city was directed to understand the true range of land uses, property conditions, and levels of existing density. It revealed a city that was slowly eroding from within from expanding areas of "blight." The Commission, in their 1942 *Master Plan of Residential Land Use of Chicago*, concluded that:

A century of haphazard building has left Chicago with a heritage of thousands of obsolete and physically decayed structures arranged in monotonous rows in badly planned neighborhoods. The blighted condition of many central areas has been the natural result of extreme

¹⁰ Gail Radford, "New Building and Investment Patterns in 1920s Chicago," *Social Science History*, 16(1), (1992), 11.

¹¹ Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), 440.

age and poor maintenance of the buildings and of the out-of-date street and block patterns of these communities.

The Commission indicated that modern development patterns could improve the city, by breaking from the existing street grid pattern and replacing it with a neighborhood model featuring a “more livable community model.”¹² A booklet published by the Commission in 1943 illustrated how new subdivisions in the city could be defined by circular, winding roads lined with rows of fair-sized and well-spaced homes.¹³ It was the manifestation of the old “American Dream” of a home with space outside the congested city; the dream that had led the demand for houses on Chicago’s periphery for much of the late nineteenth century.

This residential plan was partly introduced in a new zoning ordinance in 1942, which both attempted to reduce potential building densities outlined in the 1923 ordinance and worked to make war-time industry easier in the city. The Commission’s main concern was to plan for the city’s future and to avoid the unregulated development that had come to define the city. With the end of the War, the city would have to accommodate a larger population, and the only way to do this, according to the Commission, was to clear worn neighborhoods and replace them with a planned land use pattern that a new population would want to live in. While the mass redevelopment of neighborhoods across the city was not executed, many of the redevelopment principals were reexamined following the 1949 Housing Act and applied to Urban Renewal Projects in the 1950s.

D. Latent Development Potential: The 1957 zoning code rewrite

By the 1950s, Chicago’s zoning code was outdated and in need of a rewrite. A new committee was formed in the early 1950s to develop a new comprehensive zoning plan for the city; the work would entirely rewrite the existing zoning code and present Chicago with a more appropriate code. The zoning committee predicted the city would grow by over 300,000 by 1965 and would continue to grow in subsequent decades as the city modernized.¹⁴ The population of Chicago and its surrounding ring of satellite communities and suburbs had been growing steadily since the end of World War Two.

12 Chicago Plan Commission, *Master plan of residential land use of Chicago*, (Chicago: Chicago Plan Commission, 1943), 11.

13 See: Chicago Planning Commission, *Building New Neighborhoods: subdivision design and standards*, (Chicago: Chicago Plan Commission, 1943).

14 Caspall & Schwieterman, 39.

Between 1940 and 1950, Chicago proper gained nearly 250,000 residents, reaching 3,620,962 in 1950, the city's peak population.¹⁵

However, during the 1950s, Chicago's population reached a peak and began to fall as its suburbs grew faster than the city. Mayor Richard J. Daley unveiled the new zoning ordinance in May of 1957. Its main purpose had shifted from allowing for future growth to making the city more attractive to development that would attract or keep residents in the city.¹⁶ In place of a hierarchical system used in the 1923 ordinance, the 1957 ordinance imposed exclusive zoning, which allowed only one use and density per district. In addition, the grandfather clause was dropped and all residential districts were required to comply within eight years. Districts were also no longer defined by both use and volume. Instead, the concept of Floor Area Ratios (FAR) was borrowed from New York. FAR determines the allowable height of a building based on floor area compared to lot area. Under FAR 1, a building that covers its entire lot can only be a single story. If it covers half of its lot, then it can rise two stories. Thus, while the 1957 zoning code revolutionized the zoning system and improved the relationship of zones to existing neighborhoods, it ultimately did not have the intended effect of mending the city's poor housing stock. Instead, it attempted to save the city by giving incentives for dense development.

With suburban development pulling residents and businesses out of the city, zoning for higher density was seen as a means to keep the city competitive by redeveloping its old neighborhoods for the future.¹⁷ Chairman of the City Council and the Committee of Buildings and Zoning, Alderman Emil Pacini, extolled the 1957 zoning ordinance as one of "the greatest tools to stop the flight of people from Chicago to the suburbs. The Ordinance is a positive preventative measure that will implement the conservation program and greatly increase the redevelopment of our old neighborhoods." Pacini believed that the new Ordinance would prevent old housing from being converted into rooming houses and that it would promote the construction of denser housing to capture the departing city population.¹⁸ The 1957 ordinance

15 United States Census, 1940 , 1950; The city's population steadily declined over the following three decades – through the 1980s.

16 Clarion Associates. *The Social, economic, and legal basis for Chicago's proposed new zoning ordinance and zoning plan – draft outline*. Mayor's Zoning Reform Commission. 2003. 2.

17 Caspall & Schwieterman, 43.

18 "Special meeting – Wednesday, May 29, 1957 – official record." *Journal of the Proceedings of the City Council of the City of Chicago, Illinois*. Chicago: Authority of the City Council of the City of Chicago. 1957. 5010; Alderman Pacini's address was made to the City Council prior to the presenting and subsequent passing of the revised city zoning ordinance.

places emphasis on the need to redevelop the city's old neighborhoods in order to attract and maintain population and preserve the city's strength. While a few areas of the city were downzoned, the majority of the city's neighborhoods, including many along the lakefront, were zoned up from R4 to R5 districts. This changed FAR ratios from 1.2 to 2.2, effectively doubling the potential size of a building. In addition, R4 has requirements for both front and back yards while R5 requires only a front yard. In the 1990s developers of new condominium buildings took advantage of this mid-century allowance to develop lots from front to back without any green space.

E. 1970s Downzoning

Residents just north of the Loop in the 1970s saw a rise in apartment tower construction and reacted by fighting against the changes in zoning densities. Along the lakefront, because of existing towers from the early 1920s, densities were allowed to be much greater than those a few blocks west away from the lake. Residents in the Lincoln Park and Lake View communities worked with their aldermen in order to pass downzoning amendments for several blocks. Dozens of new apartment buildings had begun to choke the lakefront, and were eating away at the area's stock of older housing, which residents had worked hard to maintain. Since the late 1940s, new residents had entered Lincoln Park and renovated much of its late nineteenth-century housing stock. By the 1970s, as private development pressure increased following two decades of aggressive Urban Renewal proposals, residents who had invested in their neighborhoods wanted a means to stabilize development and preserve what they had established.¹⁹

Despite mid-century predictions that the city's population would continue to grow, Chicago lost 898,000 residents, or about a quarter of its population, between 1950 and 1985.²⁰ From the early 1970s through 2000, there were five amendments to the 1957 ordinance resulting in downzoning.²¹ According to Edwin Mills, most residents fought for downzoning because of concerns over issues of traffic and pollution from increased density.²² Mills argues that because each alderman forms a part of the city's

¹⁹ See: Chapter 7 for a discussion on development in Lincoln Park

²⁰ Edwin S. Mills. *Effects of downzoning on Chicago's north lakefront community areas*, Mimeo. Northwestern University: Evanston, IL. Mills, E. and W. Oates, eds. 2000. 9.

²¹ Clarion Associates. *The Social, economic, and legal basis for Chicago's proposed new zoning ordinance and zoning plan – draft outline*. Mayor's Zoning Reform Commission, 2003. 2.

²² Mills 2000, 25.

legislative body and has control over his or her representative ward, zoning can easily change in favor of residents' concerns. This, though, results in illusory gains that benefit only a few. Mills argues that by providing density limits, Chicago effectively promoted suburbanization between 1960 and 1990.²³ Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the lakefront communities north of the loop remained areas of middle to upper-middle income, which prevented more residents from moving in because excessive downzoning policies reduced the potential number of available new units.²⁴ This reduction in new units, through spot zoning, resulted in a reduction in overall land values while protecting the land values of a few.²⁵ Despite the implicated negative effects of downzoning in the 1970s, including land value depreciation, Chicago's north side communities experienced a new construction boom in the 1990s: the teardown trend.

F. Condominiums Everywhere

In the 1990s, the real estate market in Chicago expanded as the city's population started to grow for the first time in forty years. Thousands of property owners suddenly found their property to be quite valuable. A renewed interest in an urban lifestyle from empty nesters and baby boomers fueled a market for upscale condominiums.²⁶ The density provisions that were built into the 1957 ordinance, to accommodate a population that was projected to grow, permitted denser construction than existed in north side neighborhoods. Masonry and frame two- and three-flats became the targets for developers seeking to profit from a heating housing market. In the Lake View community alone, according to data supplied by the Cook County Assessor's office, between 1993 and 2004, 1099 individual buildings were replaced with new residential construction. On some blocks, by 2004, over three-quarters of the existing housing stock had been demolished and replaced with new structures.

According to a statistical study of housing attributes by Dye and McMillen, houses nearest public transportation that were older and smaller were significantly more likely to be selected as tear-downs.²⁷ Residents across the north side greatly

23 Edwin S. Mills. "Why do we have urban density controls?" *Real Estate Economics*, 33 (3), 2005. 575.

24 Mills 2000, 24.

25 Cannon and McHaffie. *Downzoning and development: analysis of forty years of rezoning the lakefront neighborhoods by Chicago's aldermen*, 2000. 4.

26 Caspall & Schwieterman 2006, 119.

27 Richard F. Dye and Daniel P. McMillen, "Teardowns and land values in the Chicago metropolitan area," *Journal of Urban Economics*. 61, 2007, 47.

objected to such changes in density and appearance to their neighborhoods and attempted to persuade their aldermen to grant zoning variances. Between 300 and 600 zoning variance requests were handled every year between 1993 and 2000.²⁸ On many of the city's tree-lined streets, tall, incongruous buildings sprouted quickly to cast shadows on their neighbors. Once a condominium building or new single-family house was built on a block, other new buildings were sure to follow. Residents who chose to sell their homes were often offered more money from developers than from perspective home buyers. As objecting residents left, more condominium buildings took root in a way reminiscent of block-busting.

The central problem that led to out-of-context construction that dwarfed neighboring buildings was the 1957 FAR system.²⁹ In addition to allowing for comparatively large buildings with near sky's-the-limit policy, FAR lacked any specific size or height restrictions. Developers found that potential condominium buyers were interested in higher ceiling heights than was available in many older buildings.³⁰ This enabled a developer to build a three-story building many feet taller than an existing three-story house or flat. New buildings would appear to be an entire story taller than an older building because of differences in ceiling heights. Most of these larger condominium buildings were built in neighborhoods zoned with three-story (R4) and four-story (R5) densities. Following community concerns regarding the size of new buildings, the City Council amended the zoning ordinance in 2000 to set height limits of 38 feet and 45 feet for R4 and R5, respectively. These height limits, though, forced developers to lose even more yard space to building footprint. Backyards that had been a part of Chicago's characteristic neighborhood layout were reduced to minor patches of concrete. Furthermore, off-street parking requirements dictated the need to convert the last remaining feet of yard space into parking space. Within ten years, the zoning regulations from 1957 had finally achieved the goal of new construction, greater density, and increased population. However, by 2000, the ordinance seemed archaic and was rapidly transforming the character of the old blocks of flats and houses. A new ordinance was needed.³¹

28 Caspall & Schwieterman 2006, 119.

29 *Principals for Chicago's new zoning ordinance: recommendations for preserving, protecting, and strengthening Chicago's neighborhoods*, Progress Report of the Mayor's Zoning Reform Committee; May, 2002, 4.

30 12-14 foot ceilings became popular over typical 8 to 10 foot ceilings. Lower ceilings keep warm air closer to the floor.

31 See Chapter 9: Downzoning and the 2004 Rewrite for a discussion on the passing of the new zoning ordinance and its effect on new construction and the teardown trend.



Image 3.1: 2736 North Kenmore Avenue; four-unit condominium building stands tall amid one and a half story cottages, 2012

Part B

Spatial Analysis: The Teardown Trend

4. Introduction: Context for Spatial Analysis

Chicago is like other cities; new development fills in fringe lands and expands farther outward, connecting older communities in a greater, regional built fabric. At the same time, older neighborhoods within the city and older suburbs continue to evolve and change with redevelopment. Depending on the situation of the neighborhood and on the type of investment, redevelopment can be seen as a factor of gentrification, where higher-income households displace established residents of lower-income. Redevelopment can also occur in existing neighborhoods of higher income where residences and other structures are replaced by new and more expensive development. In both cases, redevelopment attempts to maximize land value, by replacing older or “obsolete” buildings. The replacement of older structures with new has come to be referred to as “teardowns.” Other more colorful pejorative terms have been used across the country to refer to the redevelopment trend.

As discussed in *Chapter two*, Chicago’s neighborhoods maintain a wealth of common architecture from a period between the Great Chicago Fire and the Great Depression. During this time, much of the city’s built fabric was developed, nearly reaching current city boundaries. During the mid-twentieth century, revisions to the city’s zoning opened hundreds of older blocks to be redeveloped with higher density to accommodate population growth in the post-War period; however, growth was instead focused in suburban townships, while the city lost population. The high-density zoning persisted into the 1990s, carrying with it latent development potential, which supported a new period of development. Both in the city and in some surrounding suburbs, older buildings were torn down for newer, value-maximizing properties that pushed the limits of local zoning and building regulations.

This chapter will examine the spatial-temporal nature of the teardown trend in Chicago for the period between 1993 and 2010. First, an analysis of demolition and new construction across the city will reveal a contiguous set of communities with the highest concentrations of teardown redevelopment; these communities will establish a geographic focus area for analysis in subsequent discussions. Second, a spatial-temporal study will assess the spread of teardowns through communities and across the city between 1990 and 2010. Third and finally, the type of new construction, whether single-family or condominium building, will be studied spatially.

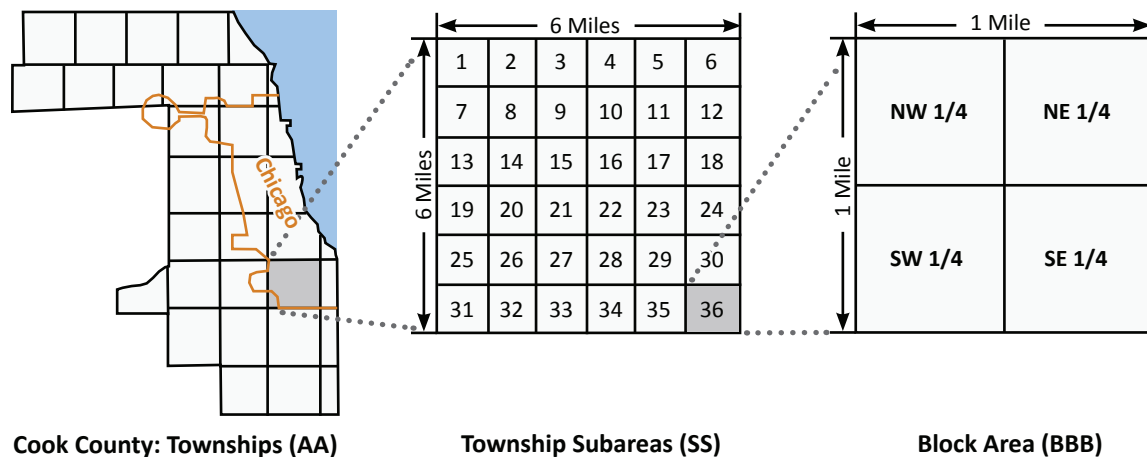
Chicago's Spatial Organization

Before delving into the detail of teardown redeployment trends, it is important to understand the spatial layout and organization of the city. Chicago is located at the northeastern corner of Illinois on the shore of Lake Michigan. The entirety of the city proper is within Cook County and today covers approximately 2,122 square-miles.

As the city grew it annexed eight whole surrounding townships and parts of others; these townships remain today to define land areas for tax and other governmental purposes. The original townships now part of Chicago included: South, West, North, Jefferson, Lake, Hyde Park, Lake View, and Rogers Park.

Each township was plated in roughly equal area, following the Public Land Survey System (PLSS); thirty-six square miles was a common size. Each township was further divided into square mile sections or sub-areas, which today define Chicago's orthogonal street network. Primary arterial streets are spaced every mile, starting from the city's original settlement area south of the mouth of the Chicago River. Each square-mile section is further divided into quarter-mile square blocks, which are divided by secondary streets. A late-nineteenth century city code required that new streets should be plated eight to a mile east to west and sixteen to a mile north to south. Generally, side-streets are sixty-six feet from curb to curb and main arterial streets are over eighty feet wide. The smallest division within the block layout is the alleyway or public service road that cuts down the middle of most blocks. While the layout of streets was not perfectly followed, much of the city's street grid follows this predictable organization. Several diagonal streets cut across the grid emanating from downtown out along former Indian trails and plank roads that connected to other cities. Many more diagonals were proposed in the 1909 Plan of Chicago, but only Ogden Avenue was ever completed.

Blocks created by streets spaced every eighth and sixteenth miles comprise the majority of Chicago's residential areas. These blocks are commonly divided into the standard-sized Chicago parcel of twenty-five feet wide and one-hundred and twenty-five feet deep. There were over 606,000 parcels in Chicago in the year 2011; the figure varies annually as parcels are combined or divided. Each parcel is assigned a Parcel Identification Number (PIN) by the county Assessor's Office based on its location within the organization of townships, sections/sub-areas, blocks, and sub-blocks. Each PIN is ten digits in length with an additional four digits for condominium units within a single parcel. Newly created parcels from combined or divided parcels are given a new PIN identifier (*see Figure 4.1: Spatial breakdown of PIN*).



The PIN structure is as follows:

PIN = AA-SS-BBB-PPP-UUUU

AA = Township; **SS** = Section/Sub-Area; **BBB** = Block; **PPP** = Parcel; **UUUU** = Condo

Figure 4.1: Spatial Breakdown of Parcel Identification Number (PIN)

Source: Cook County Clerk's Office, 2009, www.cookcountyclerk.com

For the purposes of this study, only the ten-digit PIN parcel-level will be used as a base measure for existing structures and not the fourteen-digit parcel/condo-level totaling all owned units including individual condominiums. Parcels will be used as proxy for individual main structures, even though parcels often contain more than one structure, such as a house and an auto-garage – the house is the “main” structure of interest. Counting individually owned units at the fourteen-digit PIN level would potentially lead to the over-counting of main structures.

Townships, sub-areas, and sub-block numbers are obscure nomenclature to the individual unfamiliar with tax-assessment and organizational area definitions within Cook County. Another structure for understanding the layout of the city and its individual parcels is through the system of historical land sub-divisions; however, the details of this system too are known primarily to those who work with real estate. For this reason, more common divisions will be used in referring to areas of Chicago.

Chicago is a city of neighborhoods. There are around 228 defined neighborhoods in the city depending on the source. Each is essentially defined by the perceptions of residents and thus maintain ambiguous boundaries. At a slightly larger scale, there are seventy-seven official community areas in the city. The boundaries of community areas were officially designated by the city around the 1930s and remain clearly defined, unlike those of neighborhoods. This study will refer to these seventy-seven community areas as a base level of study. *(A map of community areas can be found in Chapter 5 - Map 5.1).*

5. Selecting a Study Area:

Demolition and Redevelopment Across Chicago (1993-2010)



Image 5.1: A hydraulic excavator vanquishes a brick three-flat in the Lake View community area at 936 West Fletcher Street; 2005

A hydraulic excavator, which has been the machinery of choice for razing small structures since the 1980s, is blind to the reasons for demolition; it destroys equally.¹ However, the act of tearing down can reflect a spectrum of conditions across a city, and can be a threat to any building. At one end, ample demand for housing units, commercial space, or other uses in a location creates development pressure, where appreciating land values exceed the value of existing structures. In contrast, at the other end, the lack of a market can lead to abandonment and neglect, which in turn may result in private or city-initiated demolition. Over time, the threat of demolition changes in each neighborhood and each block. This study, concentrates predominantly on the redevelopment of residential parcels.

¹ Hydraulic excavators look a bit like backhoes and can be fitted with a range of various tools for pulling, crushing, digging, and otherwise tearing apart a building. They appeared in the world of demolition and wrecking beginning in the 1980s as a new and substantially more precise heavy machinery. Previous demolition methods involved simple machinery, a wrecking ball for larger buildings, or even just a crew of "house wreckers" with the right pry bars. The Hydraulic excavator is also expensive compared to earlier machinery, requiring significant investment from the demolition company.

Jeff Byles, *Rubble: Unearthing the History of Demolition*, (New York: Harmony Books, 2005), 185-6.

In Chicago in the 1990s and 2000s, redevelopment activity in the form of teardowns was limited to several community areas, mainly on the city's north and northwest sides. However, demolitions occurred across the city, representing both ends of a demolition spectrum. Two neighborhoods representing the extreme ends are West Town and Englewood; these areas had the highest total number of demolitions, but for very different reasons.

Chicago's 77 community areas fall into three main categories – communities that have experienced: 1. decline and abandonment; 2. little demolition or new construction; 3. or reached a relative balance between demolition and new construction. As the latter condition is the subject of this study, nine communities were chosen for further analysis of demolition and redevelopment – teardowns.

West Town and Englewood are two very different extremes at the ends of the demolition spectrum. West Town is a community area northwest of downtown that encompasses the neighborhoods of Wicker Park, Bucktown, Ukrainian Village, and Noble Square. Between 1993 and 2010, a total of 1,543 structures were demolished, while 1,089 new residential buildings were developed in the area. That is, over the seventeen-year period of 1993 to 2010, West Town both demolished buildings and built new. Some years more parcels were cleared than were built new, while other in years more were built new than were demolished.

In contrast, a neighborhood which continued to lose parcels to demolition with little new construction was Englewood on the city's southwest side. Englewood was one of several early subdivision communities annexed to Chicago in 1889. However, Englewood has experienced nearly four decades of disinvestment and neglect. While one or two new residential buildings were built annually, dozens and hundreds were demolished at the same time, peaking in 1996 at 163 demolitions to only two new residential buildings. Between 1993 and 2010, Englewood gained 151 new residential buildings, but these were eclipsed by a total of 1,494 demolitions. The overall ratio of demolition permits to new construction was 99:10 (9.894).

Englewood is the most extreme example of demolition coupled with limited redevelopment. Its story is similar in the surrounding communities of West Englewood, New City, Washington Park, Auburn-Gresham, Greater Grand Crossing, and Austin on the far west side. The Near West Side, West Garfield Park and Humboldt Park also experienced significant demolition with limited redevelopment in the 1980s and early 1990s. In each of these communities, the threat of demolition to the older built fabric came mainly from disinvestment and abandonment. Fire, vandalism, and general

neglect can wreck havoc on a building and render it unsalvageable. In these cases, the City of Chicago often extended its emergency demolition orders to clear immanently dangerous buildings and buildings of perceived danger.

During the period of 1993 to 2010, the majority of demolitions in these communities occurred in the early to mid-1990s, peaking in 1996 with over 100 demolitions in each community that year alone. However, by 2006, Englewood and surrounding communities saw less than five demolitions, a sharp decline from ten years prior. The effects of an expanding housing market in the rest of the city were beginning to be felt in these communities. However, demolitions resumed in 2007 as an ensuing mortgage and foreclosure crisis spread. More and more homes were left abandoned or repossessed by banks, and subsequently demolished over time due to neglect. The longer that property is left vacant and unsecured, the more susceptible they become to acts of vandalism and natural decay, which reduces the value of the property.

In some cases, homes had become so devalued that banks terminated foreclosure proceedings, instead leaving homes to decay with their owners long gone. Blocks of homes and other structures ranging from brick bungalows and frame workers' cottages to greystone flats were left abandoned by both owner and lender. According to a 2011 *Chicago Tribune* article, between September 2008 and July 2011, the city spent \$500,000 securing around 400 properties and around \$5.8 million demolishing 901 abandoned homes across the city. In Englewood, 116 vacant structures were razed by the city.² Between 1993 and 2010, 13% of all residential parcels in Englewood were razed. The communities of Englewood and West Englewood were at the center of two devastating rounds of demolition in the 1990s and 2000s, that greatly reduced the older built fabric.

In order to focus on teardown redevelopment activity and not on demolitions due to neglect, a spatially contiguous set of communities was selected representing the greatest number of both demolitions and new construction. These communities will be the focus of analysis in the following section on spatial-temporal redevelopment trends in Chicago during the 1990s and 2000s.

A. Data: selecting a study area

A list of demolition permits was collected from two sources representing two periods of time. The first was a list of archived demolition permits from 1993

² "Englewood Abandoned," *The Chicago Tribune*, July 22, 2011; 1,8.

through 2004 from the former Chicago Area Housing Website, which is now part of the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (CMAP). The second set of demolition permits covered the period from 2006 to the present (2012), and is from the Chicago Department of Buildings. A 2011 list of parcels and parcel attributes, including age and building type, was acquired from the Cook County Assessor's Office.

Teardowns are not readily identified as they are the result of a two-part process: demolition and new construction. Demolition alone only reveals an instance of destruction and not the intent; the result may be a vacant lot. Similarly, new construction may occur on a vacant lot or other open land and not require demolition. At the same time, permits for demolition and new construction are imperfect for assessing actual activity because a permit may be issued but never used, or a structure may be built or demolished illegally. Furthermore, in some cases, a parcel may be cleared but there may be a lag time of a year or more before new construction. Merging these two permit types together to identify teardowns can also be difficult and inaccurate due to changes in address, parcel number, or to the combining or dividing of parcels.

Instead, current parcel descriptions were used to estimate new construction. The Assessor's Office annually assigns each parcel an age value and describes the current building type. Using the most recent parcel data set (2011) can approximate current types of buildings and when they were built. Following an on-the-ground survey of Assessor parcel topologies, a set of relevant parcel types was selected to represent new structures built between 1993 and 2010:

Table 5.1: Parcel Uses relevant to this study from Cook County Assessor parcel data, 2011

1. Residential Condominium Buildings	- Multi-unit, owner residential
2. Commercial Condominium Buildings	- Mixed-use, ground floor commercial condominiums with residential condominiums above, found along main commercial corridors
3. 2-6 Story Apartment Buildings	- Multi-unit, rental residential
4. Single Family Home (all sizes)	- Individual homes, townhouses

In surveying the parcels, instances of miss-calculation of age or miss-classification were noted. Overall, these descriptions were correct, allowing for new parcels to be quantified. However, because these are only new parcels, they do not represent

instances where parcels were combined to form a single parcel; in observation, this occurred in both residential condominium buildings and single-family houses (one building on two or more parcels). Thus, analysis using Assessor parcel descriptions underestimates the number of parcels that may have been cleared for new construction. Combining demolition permits with selected parcel types yields a proxy for estimating teardowns across the city.

B. Methodology: selecting a study area

Teardowns occurred across Chicago in dozens of neighborhoods, but the majority of the activity in the 1990s and 2000s was focused in several community areas on the north and northwest sides. In order to establish a study area for analyzing teardowns specifically, rather than demolition activity in general, a base set of communities was selected according to:

1. The percent of parcels with new residential construction relative to all new residential construction citywide;
2. The ratio of demolitions to parcels with new construction.

Table 5.2: Definitions of key terms

•	Demolitions Permits: Lists of permits issued for demolition of residential, commercial, and mixed-use structures between 1993 and 2010 (excludes missing 2005 permits and excludes industrial and other lesser demolitions such as private auto-garage removal). Total permits issued in Chicago between 1993 and 2010 equals 24,793.
•	New Residential Construction: Year 2011 parcels identified as having a residential or mixed-use building built on it between 1993 and 2010 (<i>specific use types listed in Table 5.1</i>).
•	Ratio: Total Demolition to New Residential Construction: Total number of demolitions to total number of new parcels identified with a residential use for the period 1993 to 2010.

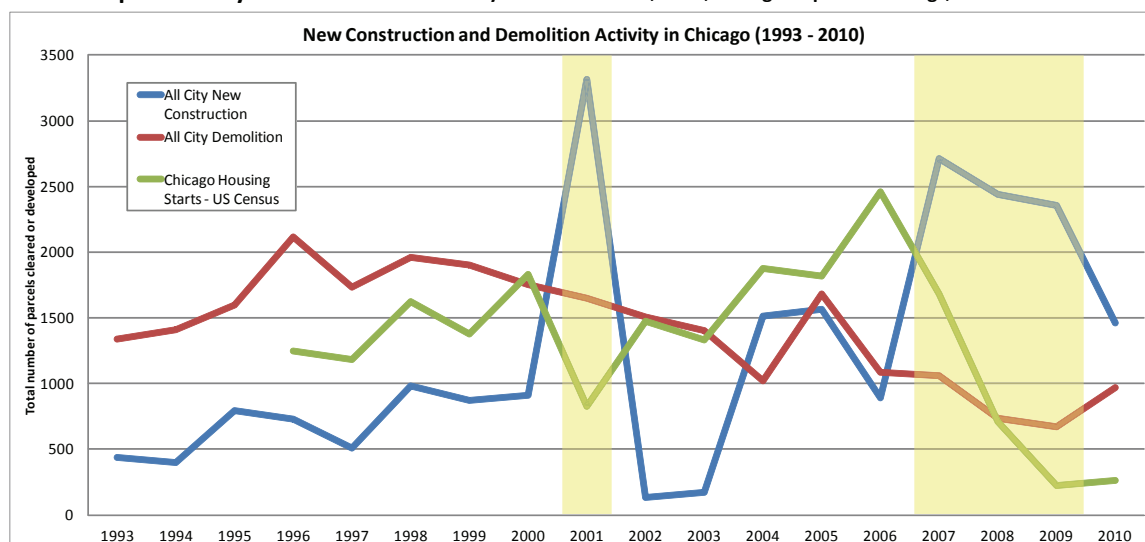
Defining a period of redevelopment is as much based on hard figures as it is on physical observation. The two decades chosen, 1990s and 2000s, were based on observations of teardowns over time, and the more specific date range 1993 to 2010 was based on trends in and the availability of demolition and construction data. In

any city there are bound to be multiple trends, vacillating economies, and other more nuance factors that influence change in the built fabric. Highlighting the period of 1993 to 2010 captures many individual trends, which have undoubtedly exacted influence differently across the city and over time. Narrowing the focus to only several community areas reduces the complexity of analysis and allows for a focus on just teardowns.

Demolition and construction trends in the 1990s and 2000s have been different across the city. In Chicago, some communities such as Englewood or Grand Boulevard experienced peaks in demolition activity in the early 1990s. This demolition followed long-term trends of disinvestment in those and other surrounding communities. Only in the mid-2000s, before the mortgage and foreclosure crisis, did communities like these begin to rebuild. Other communities like Lincoln Square or Irving Park had peak demolition activity in the mid-2000s, but new construction activity balanced demolition. These communities peaked in both demolition and new construction after neighboring communities of North Center and Lake View had undergone redevelopment. Still other communities, mainly at the far edges of the city, changed only modestly over the seventeen-year period.

In all, general trends of new construction and demolition follow the context of larger economic patterns of recession and expansion. The selected period 1993 to 2010 is based loosely on long-term observation of teardowns in Chicago, and more significantly on greater economic patterns. The year 1993 begins the time period with expansion following a recession from 1990 through 1991, and 2010 ends the period two years after a recession from 2007 through 2009. Additionally, some data were

Graph 5.1: Trends in new construction and demolition activity in Chicago between 1993 and 2010; recession periods in yellow *source: Cook County Assessor's Office, 2011; Chicago Dept. of Buildings; U.S. Census*



only available through 2010, which sets a clear end period. A recession in 2001 also correlates with a decline in both numbers of demolition permits and in housing starts; however, buildings new residential construction completed peaked due to lag times.

A total of nine-community areas were selected as representative of the teardown trend. These were chosen based on two main metrics: 1. percent of new residential construction relative to the city; 2. a ratio of demolitions to new residential construction. However, for assessing spatial dispersion over an area, in *Chapter 6*, only contiguous communities will be analyzed. Raw demolition permit data was consolidated to entries for residential or commercial property demolition; all industrial-related demolition, demolition of residential garages, redundant addresses or parcels, and other miscellaneous demolitions were excluded, leaving a total of 24,793 individual permits issued for demolition between 1993 and 2011 (excluding a gap in permit data for the year 2005). The Chicago Department of Buildings estimates that a total of 1,603 demolition permits, which includes all types of demolition, were issued for the year 2005. Using ESRI's ArcMap Version 10, Geographic Information System (GIS) software, demolition permits were mapped by address to generate counts of demolitions by community area.

Communities were compared by percent of all new residential construction in the city. This highlighted communities that had contributed the most new structures to the city's housing stock. Again, counting new residential construction by parcel does not indicate numbers of new units or density of housing, but simply identifies new construction. In addition, because community areas contain different numbers of parcels and proportions of residential to other parcel uses, it is important to consider the new residential construction relative to a community's size. However, this over-emphasizes the importance of communities with relatively few parcels where only a few demolitions or new constructions were needed to make great change.

In order to identify teardown communities, where new construction was greater than or equal to demolition activity, a ratio of total demolition in the community to total new residential construction in the community was used. The ratio was applied after considering the total percent of new residential construction. Communities with a 1:1 ratio or less were identified as teardown communities. A 1:1 ratio indicates that demolition and new construction activity were equal, while a ratio of 5:10 would suggest that half as many demolition permits were issued as new construction was built. It is possible that some larger individual parcels were divided into small parcels such as with industrial land. Because demolition addresses were not perfectly matched

Map 5.1: Chicago's 77 community areas



Table 5.3: Comparison of top 20 community areas for new residential construction and demolition (1993 - 2010);

Communities highlighted in light green selected for nine-community study area, communities in red not selected due to greater demolition than new construction

Source: Cook County Assessor's Office Parcel Data, 2011; Chicago Area Housing Website (defunct 2012), 2006; Chicago Dept. of Buildings, 2012.

Community Area	Total Parcels	% of Parcels in community: Residential	Total New Residential Parcels	% New Residential Parcels in Community	% New Residential Parcels of All New Residential in City
WEST TOWN	17696	71%	2513	20%	12.08%
LAKE VIEW	10581	84%	1598	18%	7.68%
LINCOLN PARK	9888	79%	1400	18%	6.73%
NORTH CENTER	7756	86%	1288	19%	6.19%
BRIDGEPORT	8600	78%	972	15%	4.67%
LOGAN SQUARE	13656	81%	956	9%	4.59%
NEAR WEST SIDE	12911	31%	860	22%	4.13%
NORTH LAWNDALE	9858	55%	606	11%	2.91%
EAST GARFIELD PARK	6834	44%	440	15%	2.11%
GRAND BOULEVARD	4998	44%	434	20%	2.09%
DUNNING	12636	94%	425	4%	2.04%
NEW CITY	12853	60%	396	5%	1.90%
IRVING PARK	11043	85%	386	4%	1.85%
NEAR NORTH SIDE	5876	36%	368	18%	1.77%
GARFIELD RIDGE	12617	88%	307	3%	1.48%
LINCOLN SQUARE	6559	86%	294	5%	1.41%
AUSTIN	21844	80%	274	2%	1.32%
HUMBOLDT PARK	11912	74%	247	3%	1.19%
WOODLAWN	4789	61%	247	9%	1.19%
UPTOWN	3796	72%	235	9%	1.13%

Community Area	Total New Condominium Buildings	% Condo	Total New Single-Family Houses	%Condo+SFH	Ratio: Demo to New Residential	Total Demolition	Ratio: Demo to All Community Parcels	% of All City Demolition
WEST TOWN	1418	56%	843	18%	0.614	1543	8.7%	6.2%
LAKE VIEW	805	50%	702	17%	0.937	1497	14.1%	6.0%
LINCOLN PARK	410	29%	924	17%	0.927	1298	13.1%	5.2%
NORTH CENTER	304	24%	967	19%	0.779	1003	12.9%	4.0%
BRIDGEPORT	42	4%	847	13%	0.405	394	4.6%	1.6%
LOGAN SQUARE	289	30%	629	8%	0.849	812	5.9%	3.3%
NEAR WEST SIDE	459	53%	166	16%	1.169	1005	7.8%	4.1%
NORTH LAWNDALE	63	10%	353	8%	1.394	845	8.6%	3.4%
EAST GARFIELD PARK	132	30%	183	10%	1.311	577	8.4%	2.3%
GRAND BOULEVARD	176	41%	123	13%	0.986	428	8.6%	1.7%
DUNNING	44	10%	348	3%	0.555	236	1.9%	1.0%
NEW CITY	1	0%	363	5%	3.477	1377	10.7%	5.6%
IRVING PARK	68	18%	313	4%	0.575	222	2.0%	0.9%
NEAR NORTH SIDE	226	61%	131	17%	1.149	423	7.2%	1.7%
GARFIELD RIDGE	6	2%	275	3%	0.681	209	1.7%	0.8%
LINCOLN SQUARE	101	34%	185	5%	0.918	270	4.1%	1.1%
AUSTIN	28	10%	209	1%	2.358	646	3.0%	2.6%
HUMBOLDT PARK	21	9%	173	2%	2.223	549	4.6%	2.2%
WOODLAWN	88	36%	93	6%	1.474	364	7.6%	1.5%
UPTOWN	157	67%	67	8%	0.655	154	4.1%	0.6%

with new construction, it is not possible to say whether new construction was built on demolition parcels or on new parcels. However, given the built-up nature of the selected communities, it is likely that the majority of new construction was built on land cleared during the same time period as the new construction. A ratio greater than 1:1 indicates that more demolition permits were issued than new construction was built.

C. Selecting Communities for Analysis

In *Table 5.3*, twenty of Chicago's 77 communities are listed according to percent of citywide new residential construction. At the top of the list is West Town, a community just northwest of downtown, with 12% of all new residential construction. West Town has both the highest count of demolitions and new construction. It is also the largest community, containing 17,696 parcels in 2011. The ratio of demolition to new residential construction is 6:10 (0.614) or six demolitions for every ten parcels with a new residential building, which indicates more construction activity than demolition. Similarly, Lake View, which is second on the list and is on the city's north side, captured 7.7% of citywide new residential construction. It had nearly equal demolition to new construction with a ratio of 9:10 (0.937). However, it is only 22nd in total number of parcels. Lincoln Park is between Lake View and downtown and captured 7.6% of new residential construction with a demolition to construction ratio of 9:10 (0.927).

Rounding off the top six communities for citywide residential construction are: North Center, which lies northwest of Lake View; Bridgeport, which is southwest of downtown; and Logan Square, which is west of Lincoln Park. Bridgeport is notable for its comparatively low ratio of demolition to new construction, which is 4:10 (0.405). It is possible that some of the new construction in this community was built on previously vacant land, or land that was cleared prior to 1993. Additionally, new construction in Bridgeport was primarily of single-family houses (87%), as opposed to condominium buildings (4%), which is different from West Town, Lake View Lincoln Park, North Center, and Logan Square where condominium construction was greater than or equal to single-family home construction. While Bridgeport is here identified as a community that experienced a teardown trend in the 1990s and 2000s, it will not be included in later spatial analysis because it is discontinuous with the selected (*see Map 5.1: Chicago Community Areas*).³ (*See Appendix Table A: Complete table of figures for comparison of community areas*)

Looking back at *Table 5.3*, the three communities listed after Logan Square are the Near West Side, North Lawndale, and East Garfield Park. These were not selected

³ Bridgeport is cited as Chicago's oldest neighborhood, being one of the first population centers to be annexed by Chicago. Additionally, Bridgeport has been home to five of Chicago's mayors.

because their ratio of demolition to new construction was greater than 1:1, suggesting more demolitions than new construction. The latter communities have, over the last few decades, been primarily lower-income areas with limited new investment. The ratio for the Near West Side is close to 1:1 with a ratio of 12:10 (1.169). The majority of demolitions occurred in the early to mid 1990s, with limited new construction, and possibly carried over from a demolition trend in the 1980s. The Near West Side had undergone great disinvestment and population loss in the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s, which may account for demolition in the 1990s. New Construction increased in the 2000s, and is possibly attributable to expansion in the greater housing market. (See Appendix Table B & C: Table of demolitions and new residential construction by community area by year)

Grand Boulevard and Dunning also were not selected. Grand Boulevard, which is on the city's south side, had its peak demolition in 1993, which probably continued from a trend prior to 1993. Similar to the Near West Side, Grand Boulevard had also experienced great disinvestment and also loss of built fabric to abandonment and neglect. New construction, as seen in *Appendix Table C*, peaked in 2007, which suggests that parcels demolished in the 1990s and earlier were redeveloped over a decade later. This does not meet the definition of a teardown, which is a property razed for the construction of a new property; lag time between demolition and actual construction should be less than two years unless economic forces constrain construction. In Grand Boulevard, it appears that new construction was primarily built on vacant land. Dunning is located on the city's far west side, and like Bridgeport featured mainly (82%) single-family home construction. This community was not selected due to its removed location, but it is an example of a community that experienced teardown redevelopment in the 1990s and 2000s.

Next in *Table 5.3*, both New City and the Near North Side were not selected due to demolition to new construction ratios that were greater than 1:1. While the Near North Side experienced a great amount of new construction, the community's density varies greatly from slightly less than that of downtown to that of surrounding communities. Its inconsistency makes it very different from communities of primarily one to four story buildings. The community of Irving Park was selected due to its low demolition to new construction ratio of 6:10 (0.575) and due to its position next to North Center. It is possible that Irving Park's peak of construction and demolition in the mid-2000s was the result of teardowns spreading from the adjacent North Center and Lake View communities. This spread will be analyzed in the following section.

Lastly, Garfield Ridge was not selected due to its location at the far western edge of the city. Austin, Humboldt Park, and Woodlawn were not selected because of their greater than equal demolition to new construction ratios. The last three selected communities were Lincoln Square, Uptown, and Avondale for their proximity to other selected communities and for the potential to explore the spread of teardowns. The community of Avondale, farther down *Table 5.3*, will be included for its demolition to new residential ratio of 8:10 (0.827). Avondale sits between Irving Park to the north, Logan Square to the south, and North Center to east; its ratio suggests that it did experience teardown redevelopment, and its proximity to communities with the highest redevelopment should reveal some correlation over time. While other neighborhoods, such as Bridgeport and Dunning, indicate some degree of teardown redevelopment, they were not selected so as to focus on the smaller contiguous area of the nine communities identified above and highlighted in green in *Table 5.3*. In *Chapter 6*, the spatial dispersion of demolitions and new construction for the selected communities (see *Table 5.4*) will be analyzed over the seventeen year period of 1993 to 2010.

Table 5.4: Statistics for nine selected community areas

Source: Cook County Assessor's Office, 2011; Chicago Area Housing Website (defunct), 2005; Chicago Dept. of Buildings, 2012.

New Residential Construction:

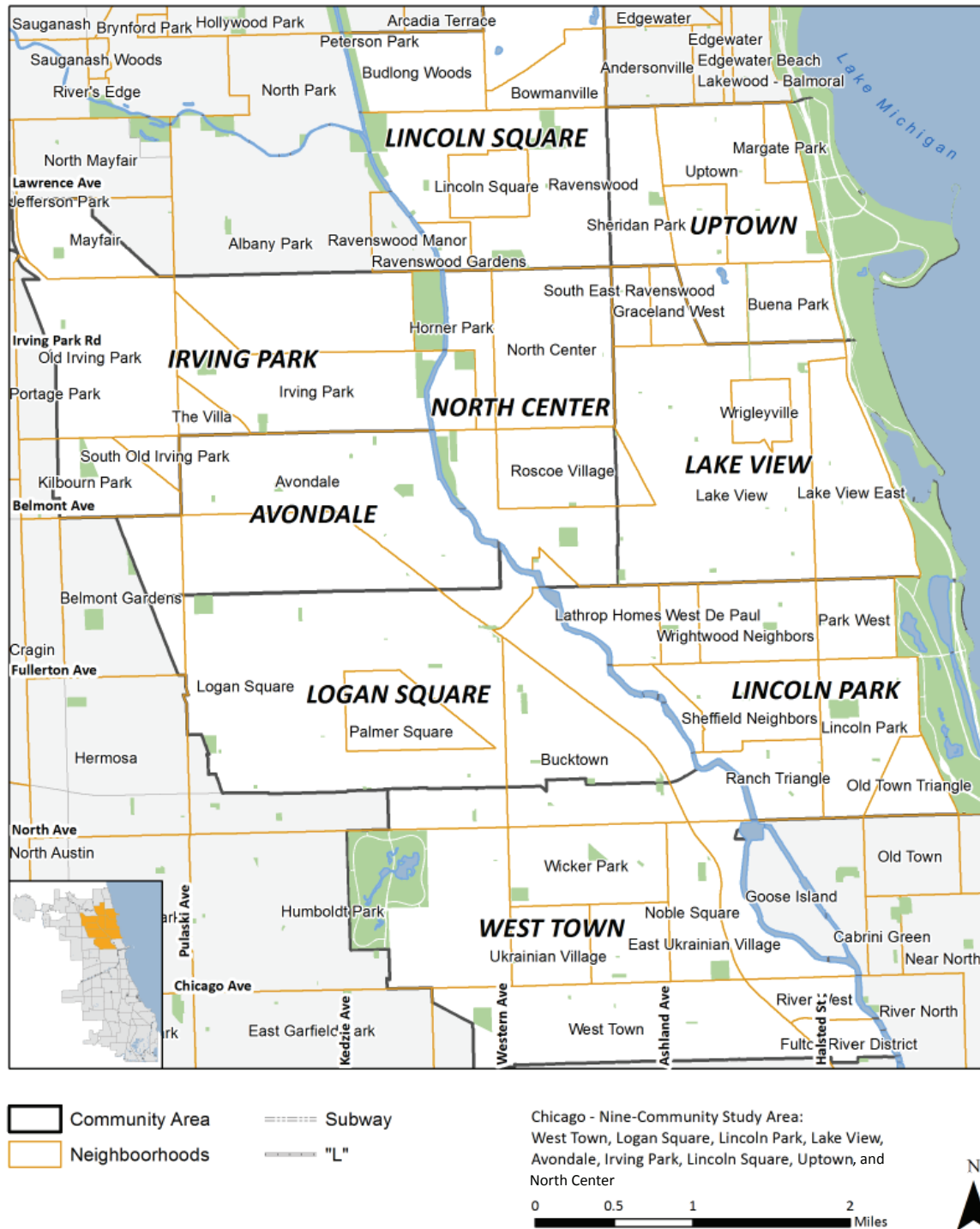
Community Area	Total Parcels	% Residential	Total New Residential Parcels	% New Residential Parcels	% New Residential of All City
WEST TOWN	17696	71%	2513	20%	12.08%
LAKE VIEW	10581	84%	1598	18%	7.68%
LINCOLN PARK	9888	79%	1400	18%	6.73%
NORTH CENTER	7756	86%	1288	19%	6.19%
BRIDGEPORT	8600	78%	972	15%	4.67%
LOGAN SQUARE	13656	81%	956	9%	4.59%
IRVING PARK	11043	85%	386	4%	1.85%
LINCOLN SQUARE	6559	86%	294	5%	1.41%
UPTOWN	3796	72%	235	9%	1.13%

Demolition:

Community Area	Demolition to New Residential	Total Demolition	% Demolition of All Community Parcels	% All City Demolition
WEST TOWN	0.61	1543	8.7%	6.2%
LAKE VIEW	0.94	1497	14.1%	6.0%
LINCOLN PARK	0.93	1298	13.1%	5.2%
NORTH CENTER	0.78	1003	12.9%	4.0%
BRIDGEPORT	0.41	394	4.6%	1.6%
LOGAN SQUARE	0.85	812	5.9%	3.3%
IRVING PARK	0.58	222	2.0%	0.9%
LINCOLN SQUARE	0.92	270	4.1%	1.1%
UPTOWN	0.66	154	4.1%	0.6%

Map 5.2: Nine-community study area

Study Area: Community Areas and Neighborhoods



Matthew Wicklund, 2012; Source: City of Chicago GIS Office

6. How Big? How Fast?:

Spatially Defining Teardowns in Nine Chicago Communities

Teardown redevelopment significantly altered the physical fabric of neighborhoods on the north and northwest sides of Chicago between 1993 and 2010. Teardowns gradually spread annually across hundreds of blocks, completely redeveloping some, while leaving others untouched. Overall, they appear to have concentrated on certain blocks within the nine-community study area. Teardowns have been likened to the domino effect where if one house on a block is razed others on that block soon follow as existing residents sell their buildings. Neighborhood change affects existing residents differently, but there are a few common reasons why residents leave a building or area. Rising land values from new construction can price-out existing residents through market-driven, exclusionary displacement; owners may sell due to higher assessed property taxes; and renters may leave due to increased rents. The sale price of newly constructed units between 2000 and 2010 was found to be generally at least three times that of the original teardown property.⁴ Similarly, the potential for profit on real estate that is rapidly improving in value may give existing residents a reason to sell their building. At the same time, changing neighborhood aesthetics can also influence the decision of an existing resident to leave an area. In the Chicago teardown trend, new construction was often built taller and deeper in the parcel due to the allowances of the 1957 zoning ordinance. The contrast in scale between new buildings and the older neighborhood character gave reason for some residents to move to more stable areas of the city, areas with less construction.

Over the period of 1993 to 2010, what becomes apparent is a tendency for new construction to cluster near previously redeveloped sites. On one block in a given year a single building could be demolished, which would then be followed in the next year by more teardowns as both the market in the area grew and as existing residents sold their buildings and left. Similarly, developers may also play a role in directing annual redevelopment patterns. A developer may opt to undertake a project in an area because others have already entered the market, or a developer may choose to work in a particular area due to the convenience of proximity between multiple projects or familiarity with local regulations or regulators. Over time, the domino effect, however characterized, can greatly alter a single block or a whole community.

⁴ Suzzane L. Charles, *Suburban Gentrification: Residential Redevelopment and Neighborhood Change, A case study of the inner-ring suburbs of Chicago, IL, 2000 – 2010*, PH.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2010. 20.

In this section, the annual spread and dispersion of new residential construction will be analyzed to understand pattern and rate of redevelopment over time and to assess whether teardowns clustered in certain areas or whether they were spread more evenly. In addition, the type of buildings demolished and the types buildings built will be analyzed for the study area.

A. Characteristics of Teardowns

There are a few primary reasons why patterns of new construction would affect blocks differently. Zoning or existing land uses may preclude or deter residential redevelopment by making the construction of residential buildings difficult or impossible. Similarly, the scale of existing buildings, such as tall apartment towers, may render demolition and redevelopment an irrational alternative relative to potential profit. Scale can also affect the amount of redevelopment possible; blocks of apartment towers tend to have larger parcels, which would reduce the quantity of redevelopments per block relative to a lower density block with more and smaller parcels. Other potential reasons for why teardowns may concentrate in one set of blocks and not another have been identified in previous studies.

For redevelopment, the easiest entry into a new neighborhood or block is often via the cheapest property. Dye and McMillen, 2007, find that the realized sales prices of teardown properties were found to be approximately equal to land values.⁵ That is, the lowest valued property was often selected to for redevelopment because market value was close to that of land value. This makes the construction of a value-maximizing development profitable, especially when zoning allows for a larger project. Over time, the effect of new development raises land values, both assessed and realized, which opens other properties to redevelopment; the value of existing improvements on a property, such as a workers' cottage or an apartment flat, becomes less than the increased land value.

The characteristics of structures that have the highest correlation with the incidence of a teardown are essentially what would be expected of a lesser-valued property amid comparatively higher-valued properties. Namely, some studies have found that comparatively smaller and older structures were significantly more likely to

⁵ Richard F. Dye & Daniel P. McMillen, "Teardowns and Land Values in the Chicago Metropolitan Area," *Journal of Urban Economics*, 61(2007). 45-6.

be demolished than newer and larger properties.⁶ Compared to new construction of the 1990s and 2000s, especially in suburban communities, older properties also tended to be smaller than newer buildings. The age of a structure is easier to quantify than its condition; while the condition of a structure is likely to be correlated with age, it is a characteristic that is difficult to assess retroactively. Age is therefore used as a measure for the useful life or functional obsolescence of a structure, which is often a factor in valuing property. While a structure may be older or past its useful life, reinvestment, such as in rehabilitation, renews the building's useful life. However, in a strong housing market, a smaller building, to an owner or developer, may not be worth rehabilitating because the property may be too small to fully capitalize on the land value. The virtues of profit-maximization render smaller, older buildings more likely to be razed for new development.

Additionally, amenities and the fabric of the existing structure also explain teardown patterns. Proximity to public transportation, natural amenities such as Lake Michigan, and commercial centers increased the chances of a teardown.⁷ This is likely due to higher demand for properties located near transportation and commercial areas. The construction material of a building also influences the probability of its being razed for new development. Frame buildings are significantly correlated with teardown activity, as are buildings with low floor to parcel area coverage.⁸ A low relative ratio of floor area to parcel area reflects the tendency for teardown properties to be smaller than surrounding properties or than allowable size. Frame buildings are easier and less expensive to raze than are masonry buildings. Buildings with basements were also identified as being inversely related with the likelihood of a teardown.⁹ However, in Chicago the majority of buildings have half or full basements. The finding that buildings without basements are more likely to be demolished possibly reflects the prevalence of demolition among small and basement-less suburban ranch houses, which were identified as strong candidates for teardowns.

Collectively, these characteristics seem to follow a logical course where teardowns occur in the areas of least resistance and highest potential profit, which are not mutually exclusive. A small, older frame workers' cottage or a frame house with side

6 Dye & McMillen, 56; Rachel Weber, *et al*, "Tearing the City Down: Understanding Demolition Activity in Gentrifying Neighborhoods," *Journal of Urban Affairs* (28) 2006, 29.

7 Dye & McMillen, 55-56.

8 Dye & McMillen, 56; Rachel Weber, 29.

9 Dye & McMillen, 56.

yards in a community with commercial corridors, transportation access, and land values nearly equaling the property is cheaper to buy and demolish and offers potential profit from redevelopment. A developer can build a new structure that capitalizes on the location, the influence of surrounding properties and amenities, by maximizing floor to parcel area and promoting all of the above plus the fact that it is *new*.

The passage of time meddles with static patterns and with correlations applied over a time period. Each year, while the above findings hold true in a general sense, a closer look at a community or block may reveal more nuanced findings about which types of properties were targeted as teardowns. Dye and McMillen note that in areas where redevelopment is strongest, as measured by the number of redeveloped and soon-to-be redeveloped properties, developers may speculate on property, holding it until the right moment for redevelopment. In these cases, well located properties of nearly any type (frame, housing type, age, or size) are potential redevelopment opportunities.¹⁰ It follows that if potential returns are high enough, then masonry buildings and other more expensive structures to demolish become viable teardowns. On several blocks within the study area, the existing stock of smaller, frame structures rapidly declined as redevelopment pressed onward. Masonry and larger apartment flat buildings remained, becoming the next targets of redevelopment. While some properties were rehabilitated, as had been done in the 1980s and early 1990s in many of the study area communities, hundreds more were razed and redeveloped in the late 1990s and 2000s.

Understanding the distribution of existing building types in the context of communities can inform both how teardown trends may progress in future expansions of the housing market and how they may be addressed.

B. Dominos in Time: assessing the spatial-temporal advance of teardowns

The spread of teardowns over the period of 1993 to 2010 concentrated within the nine-community study area. Over time, new residential construction increasingly clustered near previous new residential construction instead of dispersing more uniformly over the area. For each year, relative clustering was calculated using the Nearest Neighbor Distance (NND) and compared to a series of Monte Carlo simulations of possible point distributions in the study area.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 57.

1. DATA

For this analysis, new residential construction was used as a proxy for teardowns in place of demolition permit addresses. The new residential construction is from 2011 parcel data from the Cook County Assessor's Office, which describes the age and use of parcels. This data set was used to assess ratios of new construction to demolitions across Chicago. In addition, for specific measurements such as distances between points, new residential construction is preferred because its (X, Y) position is more accurate when mapped than are the coordinate points of demolition permit addresses. Demolition permits were found to be accurate, when geo-code in GIS software, only to the block-level.¹¹

In the nine-community study area, new residential construction was greater than or equal to the total number of demolition permits issued for the same period of 1993 to 2010. Because not all demolition permits issued led to demolitions and because the Assessor's Office has an obligation to accurately describe parcels for tax purposes, this analysis will focus on new residential construction. While it is possible that some new residential construction was not built on a freshly razed parcel, and therefore not teardowns, a low ratio of demolition permits to new construction suggests otherwise. Such low ratios indicate that the majority of new construction was built on lots cleared before new development, which therefore makes them teardowns. In all, for the study area, new residential construction data represents the location of actual new construction. Demolition permits represent demolitions that probably occurred.

2. METHODS

To measure the clustering of points of new construction, the average nearest distance in feet from one point to another is calculated and compared to the average nearest distance between truly random points in an equal-sized area. This produces a relative measure of dispersion and is the basis of Nearest Neighbor Analysis. However, for the analysis of new construction over time a slightly different method was employed.

Instead of comparing points within the same point cloud, points all of the same year of construction, the Nearest Neighbor Distance (NND) of new construction points was calculated as the distance between number *N1* points of one year and the number of all previous *N2* points of new residential construction in preceding years. That is, neighboring points were from all previous years. For example, the NNDs for a point in

¹¹ Geo-coding is the process of assigning a latitude and longitude coordinate to an address point on an established street grid. ESRI ArcMap 10 was used for this process.

year 1995 was the shortest Euclidian distance between a point in 1995 and a point from either 1994 or 1993. For 2010, it was the shortest distance between a point in 2010 and the nearest point from a year between 1993 and 2009.

The nearest neighbor distances are compared in two ways. First, NND was organized into twelve distance categories in order to show the annual frequency of nearest point distance distribution (*see Table 6.1-A*). Second, the annual degree of clustering of observed new construction points was compared to the random samples of points generated by Monte Carlo experiments (*see Table 6.1-B*). Comparing observed distance with the distance between random points reveals the degree to which points are dispersed or clustered.

In a general Nearest Neighbor Analysis, observed points are compared to a single random distribution of points. A Monte Carlo model generates a series of random points in an (X, Y) coordinate grid that is the same size as the study area. The nine-community study area covers 605,797,632 square feet in an irregular shape. For simplicity, the Monte Carlo experiment models an equal-sized area as a basic square with 24,613 feet on a side. Two versions of the model were tested. First, Model A produced a series of random points anywhere in the study area for each given year. This assumes a featureless plain free from the Chicago River, industrial zones, and other urban features where new residential construction would not occur. Second, Model B attempted to account for these features by random discrete placing of points into a grid of roughly parcel-sized boxes. This second model also attempted to reflect the number of available residential parcels, which is roughly 70,000 rather than the 190,000 that could perfectly fill the study area. Both models produced similar results for the mean distances between randomly distributed points. More specifically, both models produced two sets of random (X, Y) points for a given year:

1. for a given year, there were $N1$ points given for a random point distribution. The number of $N1$ points is the same as the number of observed points for the given year.
2. for all previous years to the given year, there was a separate random distribution of $N2$ entries summed over all of the years. The number of $N2$ points was the same as the number of observed points for all previous years.

Table 6.1-A: Percent of Annual New Residential Construction by Nearest Neighbor Distance from Previous New Residential Construction (Units = feet)

Distance Category (ft)	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
25	0%	1%	2%	2%	4%	3%	4%	5%	14%	7%	10%	9%	5%	8%	9%	10%	10%
50	0%	2%	6%	6%	9%	9%	8%	7%	14%	16%	16%	15%	17%	18%	16%	22%	27%
100	0%	4%	3%	4%	8%	13%	11%	11%	29%	16%	15%	17%	21%	20%	18%	22%	22%
200	7%	6%	13%	17%	28%	27%	29%	32%	29%	23%	29%	30%	35%	28%	30%	31%	28%
300	4%	2%	12%	13%	19%	14%	17%	17%	14%	14%	12%	11%	10%	11%	10%	8%	7%
400	5%	6%	11%	17%	16%	12%	11%	11%	0%	13%	7%	8%	6%	5%	8%	2%	4%
500	7%	5%	7%	9%	5%	8%	4%	5%	0%	2%	4%	3%	2%	3%	4%	2%	1%
1000	25%	29%	25%	21%	7%	11%	11%	8%	0%	9%	5%	7%	4%	6%	6%	2%	1%
2500	31%	30%	22%	4%	3%	2%	5%	4%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%
5000	19%	8%	0%	7%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
10000	4%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
12000	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Annual maximum circled																	

Count of Annual Demolitions by Shortest Euclidian Distance to Demolitions in Preceding Years

Distance Category (ft)	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
25	0	3	4	5	14	14	12	14	76	1	4	68	18	84	85	75	65
50	0	5	15	12	35	34	34	31	121	1	9	118	107	178	145	172	177
100	0	9	8	8	32	46	41	41	183	2	9	115	121	201	163	167	144
200	6	12	31	37	105	97	107	523	523	2	13	222	215	283	281	236	183
300	3	5	29	27	71	51	63	285	285	1	8	89	81	114	94	65	43
400	4	13	28	36	62	42	41	183	183	0	7	54	59	22	50	74	23
500	6	10	16	20	18	30	15	78	78	0	1	30	18	9	32	34	7
1000	21	63	61	45	25	39	40	124	124	0	5	40	15	58	54	19	9
2500	26	66	53	8	13	8	17	60	60	0	0	15	1	9	1	0	0
5000	16	17	0	16	4	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10000	3	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12000	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Residential Annual Total	85	217	245	214	379	359	369	1636	1636	7	56	759	720	1009	931	769	651
New Residential Cumulative Total	165	382	627	841	1220	1579	1948	3583	3583	3590	3646	4405	5125	6514	7445	8214	8865

Source: Statistics derived from data collected from the Cook County Assessor's Office, 2011.

Table 6.1-B: Comparison of Observed and Random New Residential Construction Point Distributions (Units = feet)

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
<i>(Revised mean, distance < 500')</i>																	
Mean	1666.4	1499.6	577.5	593.5	300.3	-	155	168	103	139	125	138	123	121	133	109	100
Standard Error	169.3	127.6	27.6	52.3	18.8	13.6	16.6	7.6	27.7	25.3	7.7	7.0	7.0	5.9	5.4	4.3	4.2
Standard Deviation	1560.9	1879.1	431.9	765.0	366.4	258.5	318.2	308.4	73.3	189.0	212.9	186.6	136.2	186.4	164.3	118.0	108.1
Median	1044.0	921.6	451.5	350.5	201.9	190.0	192.5	188.4	80.5	140.6	137.5	136.6	125.0	117.4	128.6	94.0	75.0
Sample Variance	2436452	3530924	186536	585300	134240	66798	101248	95080	5369	35719	45307	34831	18557	34753	26992	13934	11688
Kurtosis	3.7	9.3	-0.4	4.9	20.8	6.5	10.9	17.2	-1.3	3.6	10.6	4.4	6.1	8.1	3.8	5.5	8.2
Skewness	1.8	2.9	0.7	2.4	4.0	2.1	2.9	3.6	0.7	1.8	2.8	2.1	2.1	2.5	1.8	2.1	2.5
Range	7777.0	11098.5	2065.1	3290.0	2774.8	1892.6	2140.2	2707.2	187.4	897.7	1577.9	1065.6	1001.3	1365.5	1049.9	740.8	678.2
Minimum	128.2	0.0	24.0	24.0	21.7	23.0	24.0	16.7	24.5	24.1	22.7	17.3	23.4	17.2	0.0	22.6	21.1
Maximum	7905.2	11098.5	2089.1	3314.0	2796.4	1915.6	2164.2	2723.9	211.9	921.7	1600.6	1082.9	1024.6	1382.7	1049.9	763.5	699.2
Level(95.0%)	336.68	251.42	54.35	103.09	37.01	26.83	32.57	14.95	67.77	50.61	15.17	13.66	13.74	11.52	10.57	8.36	8.32

Monte Carlo Simulation (average random distribution of new construction in study area - calculated from 15 random point distributions by year)

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
<i>Annual Observations</i>																	
(n)	85	217	245	214	379	359	369	1636	7	56	759	720	380	1009	931	769	651
<i>Observations (nprev)</i>																	
Mean	165	382	627	841	1220	1579	1948	3583	3590	3646	4405	5125	5505	6514	7445	8214	8865
Standard Error	995.37	651.7	498.14	423.04	355.64	315.46	281.41	210.65	206.11	202.93	185.83	171.99	166.18	152.99	142.36	136.22	136.22
Standard Deviation	35.98	22.03	18.07	11.57	9.94	8.56	3.69	34.06	14.19	3.86	3.68	4.67	4.67	2.74	2.63	2.69	2.8
Significance (sigma) σ	529.97	344.8	264.32	225.28	188.32	164.39	149.07	90.13	106.19	106.36	98.63	90.97	86.91	80.18	74.65	71.49	71.49
	-3.95	2.69	-1.82	6.52	6.02	1.37	1.47	3.86	0.49	1.66	0.49	2.83	-0.96	-3.29	4.14	6.35	6.35

Monte Carlo Simulation II (average random distribution of new construction in study area - calculated from 15 random point distributions by year)

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
<i>Annual Observations</i>																	
(n)	85	217	245	214	379	359	369	1636	7	56	759	720	380	1009	931	769	651
<i>Cumulative Observations (nprev)</i>																	
Mean	1399.37	980.27	644.9	509.93	437.89	361.53	315.26	283.31	199.69	214.93	207.97	190.05	175.05	169.7	156.41	145.71	140.25
Standard Error	84.28	35.6	22.45	18.75	11.84	10.19	8.61	3.65	31.17	14.78	3.88	3.6	4.57	2.73	2.58	2.66	2.78
Standard Deviation	776.99	524.36	351.34	274.31	230.56	193.11	165.34	147.68	82.46	110.6	106.86	96.69	89.18	86.62	78.86	73.66	70.89
Significance (sigma) σ	-1.58	-4.07	2.44	-1.60	7.31	6.45	1.35	1.72	3.47	0.84	2.32	1.10	3.27	-0.37	-2.65	4.92	7.30

Source: Statistics derived from data collected from the Cook County Assessor's Office, 2011.

For any given year, the model produced the distribution of the nearest neighbor distance between points for that year and points of all preceding years. The distribution has a total of N1 points. For each year, and for both models, a Monte Carlo experiment produced the average nearest neighbor distance for a given year, the standard deviation, and the standard error of a random point distribution. Running the same Monte Carlo experiment more than once reveals fluctuation in the results due to slight differences between random point distributions. Thus, a series of fifteen Monte Carlo experiments was run for each year to establish an average standard deviation and standard error for random point distributions of each given year.

3. ANALYSIS

In *Table 6.1-A*, the nearest neighbor distances for each point in a given year are organized into twelve distance categories, each one representing the upper limit of a distance range. The year 1994 reveals that 31% of new construction in 1994 was between 1001 and 2500 feet from new construction sites in the previous year of 1993. The majority of new construction in 1994 was between 501 and 5000 feet from new construction sites in 1993. None were closer than 100 feet, which is the equivalent width of four common-sized parcels together. In other words, the majority of new construction in 1994 took place not in the same block as, but in adjacent blocks as construction from 1993.

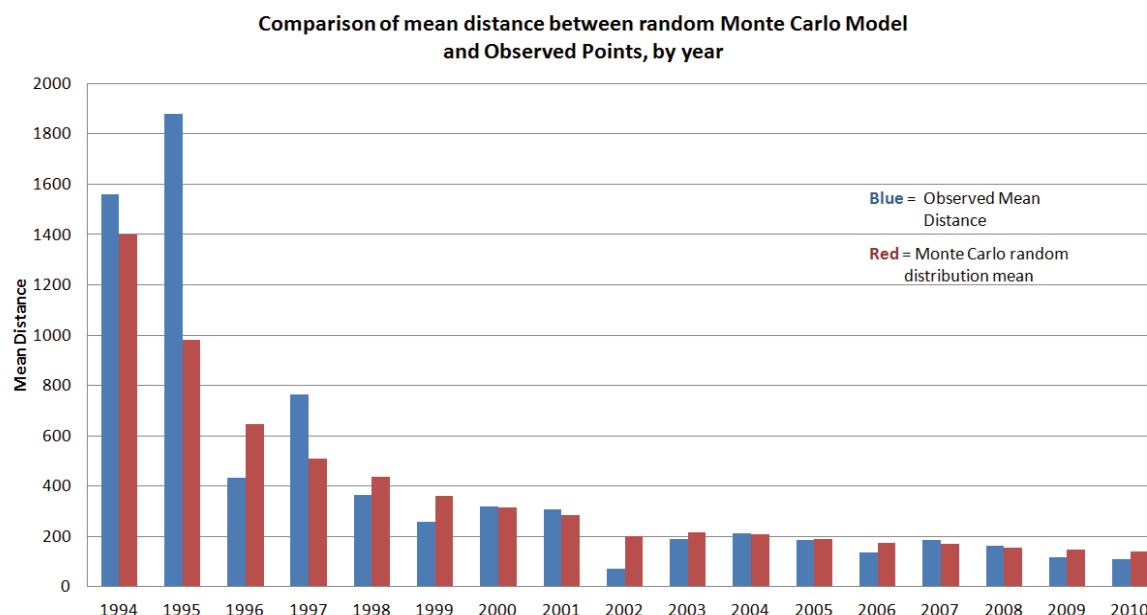
In the year 1998, 28% of new construction was within 101 and 200 feet from new construction built between 1993 and 1998. In this year there were 379 new residential buildings, which is compared to 841 built between 1993 and 1997. In the year 2006, 35% of observed new construction was between 101 and 200 feet from new construction built between 1993 and 2005. The annual increase in the total number of buildings with which to compare in any given year naturally reduces the possible shortest distance between points. The density over the nine-community study area should thus increase as more points of new construction are added annually. However, there is a minimum distance that is reached, which is approximately that between the centers of two parcels; for the most common parcel of 25 foot width and 125 foot depth that minimum is 25 feet. *Table 6.1-A* shows that parcels approached this minimum distance in 1998 when the majority of new parcels that year were within 101 and 200 feet of previous new construction. In 2010, 49% of new construction fell between 26 and 100 feet of all previous new construction.

What this reveals is not simply an increasing density of new construction in the study area, but rather that as construction was added annually it located nearer to previous new construction. The years 1999 through 2001 suggest a possible bimodal distribution, where the majority of new construction was located near other new construction, but where a smaller set of outliers were built in more removed locations (1000 – 2500 feet away). In 1999, 27% of new construction was developed between 101 and 200 feet from previous years, while 11% fell within 501 and 1000 feet, which is nearly two standard deviations greater than the mean. While most development was nearer to previous construction, some also developed farther away. In 1994, new construction was relatively dispersed among several neighborhoods within the study area. Over time, more new construction developed in these various neighborhoods, producing several clusters of new construction. By the housing market peak in 2007, some clusters of new construction had begun to merge into larger clusters.

In 2002 and 2003, following a brief recession in 2001, few new projects were developed. Only fifty-six, as identified in assessor's data, were completed in 2003; 32% were developed within 26 and 100 feet or less than one block of previous development.

While the frequency of distances may hint at a clustering effect, comparison of observed new construction with a truly random distribution does not demonstrate significant clustering of new construction. In *Table 6.1-B*, the mean, standard deviation, and standard error of both observed and random Monte Carlo point distribution distances are shown. Between 1995 and 2010, the mean distance of the observed points approaches that of the Monte Carlo model. In 1995, the observed mean was 1500 feet, while the Monte Carlo mean is 995 feet; the significance of this is nearly -4σ . Essentially, the Monte Carlo model, in both models run, produced a smaller range of distances for each year than was actually observed in the data. The model tends to find maximum distances of around 500 feet, as compared to the outliers found in the observed data. The observed outliers raise the mean and skew the data. However, these outliers are part of the development landscape. They suggest that while, in most years after 1998, the majority of new construction may have been near previous new development, there were also developments that were relatively far from other sites.

Looking at Graph 6.1, the mean for the observed data and for the Monte Carlo model remain close in value between 1993 and 2010. Points can be seen as clustering when the range of observed distances is narrow (fewer outliers). Fewer outliers makes for more spatially compact data points. The years between 2000 and 2006 show a



Graph 6.1: Comparison of mean distance between new residential construction points random and observed (1994 - 2010)

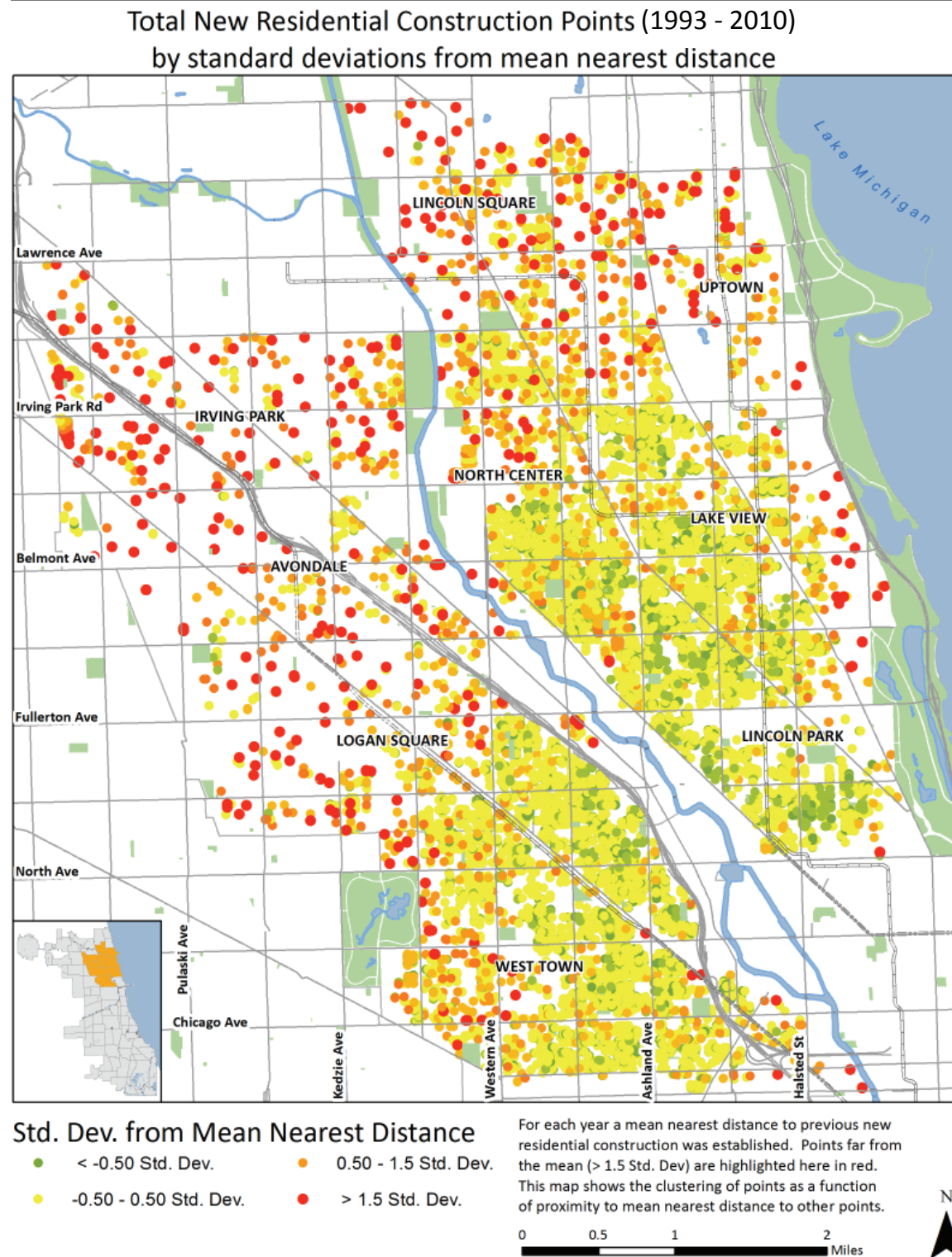
Source: Statistics calculated from data collected from the Cook County Assessor's Office, 2011.

random dispersion of points, while the year 2009 shows significant clustering with a significance of 4.13σ .

Looking back at *Table 6.1-B*, under the *Revised mean, distance < 500 feet*, if outlier points are removed that are greater than 500 feet, the mean for the observed range of distances are reduced to less than the mean for the random distribution produced by the Monte Carlo model. Including this 500 foot cutoff in the Monte Carlo simulations does not significantly affect the Monte Carlo means. Thus, if only observed new construction points that are within 500 feet are considered, then clustering is observed for the years after 2001. The cut-off of 500 feet is impractical for the years 1994 through 2001 due to the greater range and clear dispersion of points.

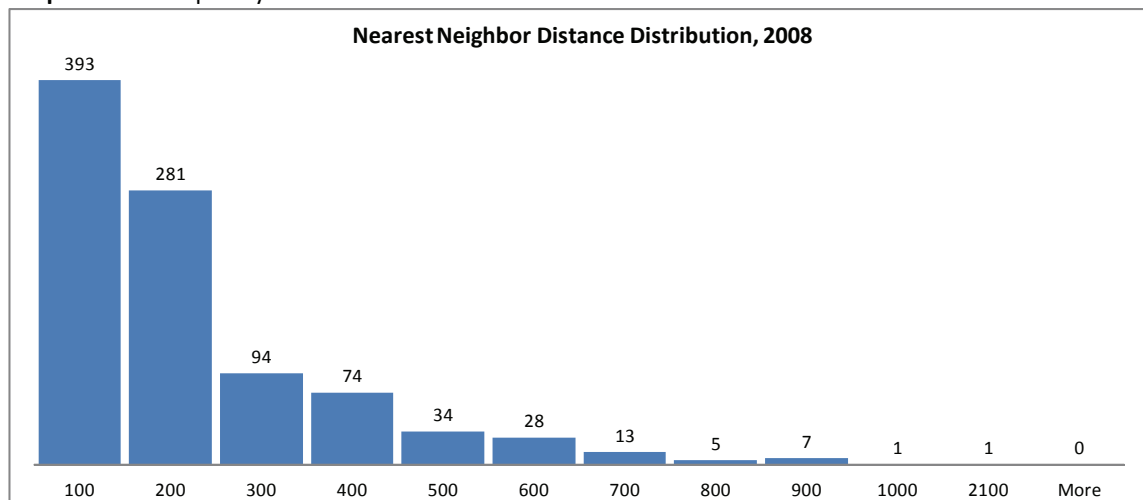
Map 6.1 plots all of the locations of new residential construction by year for the entire study period of 1993 to 2010. For each year, the points are color coded according to how many standard deviations away from the mean nearest distance they are. The points are scaled according to distances of points for their given year. Points in yellow are between -0.5 and 0.5 and green points are less than -0.5 standard deviations from the mean, which reveals clustering among the majority of points. However, the locations of new residential construction that were greater than 1.5 standard deviations from the mean nearest distance are shown in larger red points. These more distant points are the outlying points from every year between 1993 and 2010. They are all well spaced when compared to the dense yellow points. In terms of the community areas,

Map 6.1: Locations of new residential construction 1994 - 2010 in the nine-community study area; points are identified by the number of standard deviations from the mean distance, for a given year, to new residential construction of previous years. Yellow and green points are within a half standard deviation and are relatively clustered compared to red points, which pose as outliers in the nearest neighbor analysis and make the data seem more dispersed.

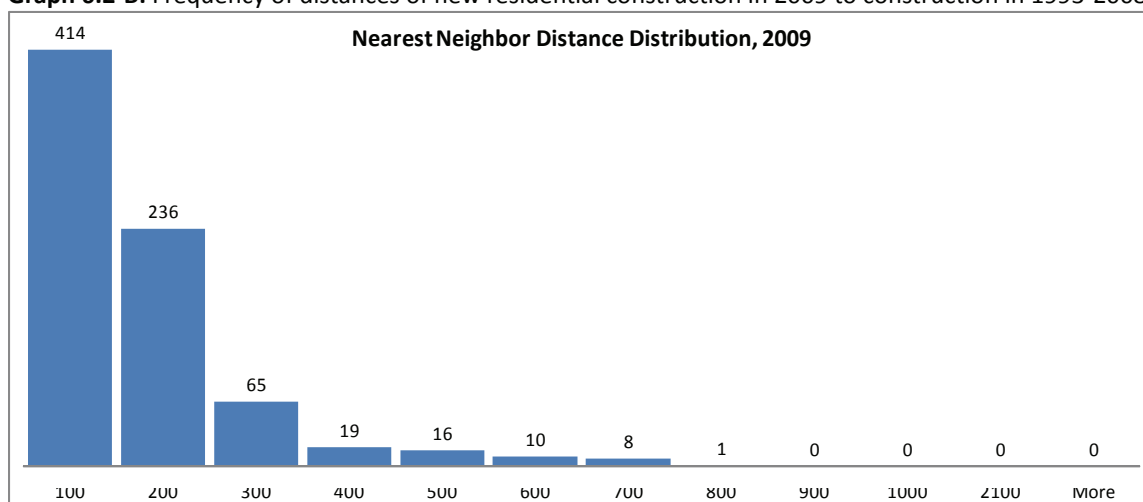


the majority of closely spaced new residential construction occurred in Lincoln Park, Lake View, the eastern half of West Town, the southern half of North Center, and the southeastern corner of Logan Square. The communities of Avondale, Irving Park, Lincoln Park, and Uptown all have lower densities of new residential construction from the period of 1993 to 2010. As the teardown trend continued over the 1990s and 2000s, the majority of projects took place in Lake View, North Center, Lincoln Park, and West Town, while relatively fewer projects were located in the surrounding communities. Thus, clustering is statistically observable if the study area is confined to only Lake View, Lincoln Park, North Center, and West Town. Including points from other, less densely

Graph 6.2-A: Frequency of distances of new residential construction in 2008 to construction in 1993-2007



Graph 6.2-B: Frequency of distances of new residential construction in 2009 to construction in 1993-2008



Source: Derived from data collected from the Cook County Assessor's Office, 2011.

redeveloped communities adds externalities of distance that skew the data and suggest a more random distribution of new construction.

In *Graph 6.2-A* And *6.2-B*, the frequency of nearest distances is observed. In 2008, a year that revealed no significant clustering when compared to the Monte Carlo model 1, shows the majority of points had nearest distances in the ranges of 100 - 300 feet, with several outlying points falling in the 2500 foot range (*see table 6.1-B*). In comparison, the 2009 points were found to have significant clustering (4.13σ) compared to the Monte Carlo model 1. The histogram for 2009 (*see Graph 6.2-B*) shows a similar frequency of points in distances 100 to 300 feet, but with only a few outliers to 800 feet and none beyond. The year 2009 thus has a small range of points and therefore has a lower mean nearest distance, which is closer to the distance produced by the Monte Carlo model – confirming significant clustering for all points in 2009.

Overall, the Monte Carlo models place points more closely to the mean than were observed. The range of distances observed is greater for most years than those produced by the model. This is likely due to how the model places increasing data points in the study area. As there are more points in an area, density increases and so the nearest distance between points naturally decreases. Besides significant clustering in the year 2009, which was part of a recession period, the comparison of the Monte Carlo models with observed data does not show significant clustering. This is clearly due to the presence of outliers.

C. Parcel Change: Annual New Construction and Demolition – Mapped

The teardown trend can be seen dramatically over time at any level, from the city to the block. Within the nine-community study area it becomes clear that while new construction and demolition occurred in nearly every neighborhood, the majority concentrated in only a few areas. Specifically, the greatest concentrations or clusters were in the community areas of West Town, Lincoln Park, Lake View, and North Center, with some spilling from West Town north into the southeastern corner of Logan Square. The community areas of Avondale, Irving Park, Lincoln Square, and Uptown all featured fewer demolitions over 1993 to 2010 that were visually more dispersed.¹² Instead of calculating the specific densities of these community areas, the following

¹² For totals of demolition and new residential construction, and for percent new construction by community area, *please see Appendix Table A*

section shows the expansion and spread of teardowns (as defined by new construction and demolitions) across the selected community areas, and at the smaller scales of neighborhoods and blocks. In addition, the types of buildings demolished over time will be explored.

1. PRELUDE TO TEARDOWNS: DEVELOPMENT IN LINCOLN PARK AND LAKE VIEW BEFORE 1993

In 1993, “teardowns” were still relatively new among north side communities, but already dozens of smaller homes and frame two-flats had been replaced by new houses and condominium buildings. The teardowns were scattered and hidden within blocks in Lincoln Park and Lake View. Redevelopment, however, was not new to Lincoln Park or Lake View, and had been ceaselessly reshaping several concentrated blocks in Lincoln Park since the 1960s. Over the 1970s and 1980s, new development expanded westward from more affluent lakefront blocks of the 1960s to the greater Lincoln Park community by the 1970s. *(see nine-community study area communities and neighborhoods map in Chapter 5, Map 5.1).*

The Old Town neighborhood of Lincoln Park became an artist community in the 1920s, with the creative conversion of older houses into studios. At the same time, the extension of Ogden Boulevard, the only realized diagonal street from Burnham’s 1909 plan, was sliced through the old neighborhood, separating the growing Bohemian enclave from poorer neighborhoods to the north and west. East of the new street, in the late 1940s, Old Town evolved into the Old Town Triangle neighborhood, and embraced its stock of post-fire 1871 houses. As Urban Renewal encroached in the 1950s, due to the city’s push for increased capacity through zoning for projected population growth, area residents opposed tower development and mass destruction, which helped to refine the values behind revitalization.

Lincoln Park had long attracted energetic and enterprising residents to its wealth of brick and frame houses and flats. Throughout the 1950s, houses were purchased and rehabilitated, showing how an inner-city neighborhood could be transformed with a little determination. The key, however was its lead by residents and not from action by the city. In 1963, the Lincoln Park Conservation Association (LPCA) published a glossy booklet highlighting the efforts of fifteen years and thousands of people in remaking Lincoln Park. The focus was not only on Old Town, which had begun to change in the late 1940s, but encompassed examples of reinvestment from across the community,

even from areas still deemed blighted by the city.¹³ The booklet highlights the buildings of greatest interest, their architectural features, and their relationship to the community. Each was seen as a local community landmark and the result of significant community investment. The architecture was a mixture of high-styles, popular across the country, and the more prosaic or perhaps vernacular forms that were adapted to Chicago's narrow lots. This period of rediscovery of "old Chicago" came at the heels of a burgeoning movement in favor of preservation.

Early 1960s Urban Renewal efforts helped to shape the future of development in Lincoln Park and set initiatives that would lead to waves of investment and redevelopment. The early efforts were supported by a resident organization, the Lincoln Park Conservation Community Council (LPCCC), which sought to revitalize the community area by establishing a community character. In 1962, the LPCCC approved of the city's Department of Urban Renewal Plans for the community, which proposed both the elimination of hazardous buildings and the rehabilitation of older buildings, while also attempting to create larger collections of parcels for new construction that would be in keeping with the area's scale.¹⁴ The plan was not to be realized as a complete land clearance project, but more as a careful trim in order to reinvent an area that had been in decline since the Great Depression. Gradually, through the 1960s, sections of Lincoln Park began to change as new investment entered; low-density apartment complexes and pocket parks dotting several blocks replaced some aging houses. While areas like Old Town Triangle maintained a significant portion of their historic housing stock, other parts of Lincoln Park that were deemed hazardous and also happened to be largely African-American were cleared for new middle-class townhouses. Minority displacement was a stated objective of the urban renewal of Lincoln Park in the 1960s, but the process was destructive in its seemingly wanton destruction of perfectly serviceable buildings – buildings that elsewhere in the community were being renovated as part of the greater reestablishment of the Lincoln Park community.¹⁵

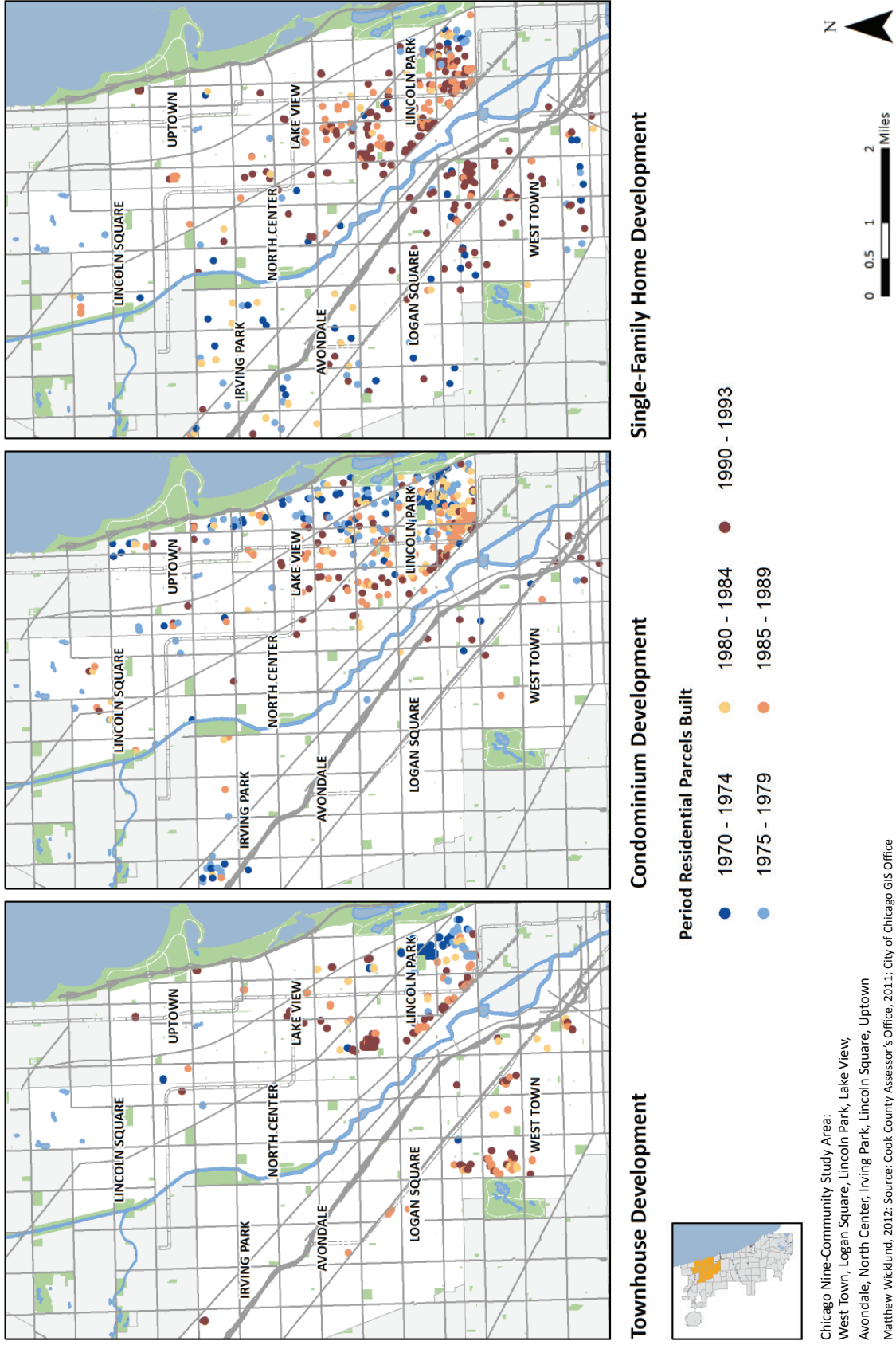
New development in Lincoln Park in the 1970s was focused in the neighborhoods of eastern Lincoln Park, Park West, and Lake View East, within blocks between Halstead Street and the lakefront wall of high-rises (*see Map 6.2: New Residential Construction by Type*,

13 Paula Angle, ed, *City in a Garden: Homes in the Lincoln Park Community* (Chicago: Lincoln Park Conservation Association, 1963), Introduction.

14 Vincent L. Michael, "Preserving the Future: Historic Districts in New York City and Chicago in the Late 20th Century" (Ph. D. Diss., University of Illinois at Chicago, 2007), 158.

15 *Ibid*, 163-4.

Map 6.2: New Residential Construction by Type, 1970 - 1993



1970-1993). In the blocks closest to the lake, older frame houses that had escaped redevelopment in the 1920s apartment tower boom were razed for “four-plus-ones” or four-story apartment buildings of concrete over a first-story open-parking area. The extensive development of these properties led to several down-zoning campaigns described in *Chapter 3*. Away from the lakefront, large-scale townhouse developments claimed large tracts of land, covering between several parcels and entire blocks. These developments tended to be of two- to three-stories, built in the latest architectural style. Some townhouses rejected the uniformity of the street grid and were built at odd angles to the street. Other developments formed gated communities with main entrances facing inward toward a common green space or circle driveway. Smaller townhouses covering only several standard parcels (25 feet wide by 125 feet deep) were often characterized by flat brick fronts and large picture-windows or frame rectilinear bay windows; some featured a slight two-foot cantilever of the second-floor, shadowing the first. Finally, many of these developments had a strained connection with the streetscape, as the sidewalk presence was usually marked by a tall brick wall that enclosed a front patio area. In addition, main entrances tended to be off narrow common walkways between buildings or down gated corridors. These early structures evoke distrust for the changing neighborhood in which they were built. *Image 6.1* is an example of this type of architecture.

Not all new residential investment was in new development in the 1970s; during the same period new residents continued purchasing and renovating existing houses and flats in the area, reinvesting in the urban community. House renovation had become a major activity in these neighborhoods in the 1960s. By the late 1970s, the majority of houses worth renovating had been completed, and land values had jumped. As fewer houses remained in Park West and in Old Town Triangle, home renovators moved west and north to Sheffield Neighbors and to R.A.N.C.H. Triangle. There they renovated the existing housing stock as developers of townhouses gradually entered the area as well. While Park West and other neighborhoods nearer the lake front had experienced limited disinvestment, neighborhoods on the western edge of the Lincoln Park community area had marginally deteriorated. The R.A.N.C.H. neighborhood, named not for its houses, but for the streets that bound it (Racine, North Avenue, Clybourn, and Halstead), was the last neighborhood in Lincoln Park to be reached by both renovators and developers in the 1970s.¹⁶

¹⁶ Ed Sharp, *The Old House Handbook: for Chicago & Suburbs*, Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1979, 26-9.



Image 6.1: 1815 North Howe Street in the R.A.N.C.H neighborhood of Lincoln Park was built in 1982. It is an example of a townhouse-type development that was popular in the 1970s and 1980s. Stylistically, note the height relative to the 1880s flat at the end, the narrow street-facing windows, the wall, and the entrance hidden between the buildings.

Source: www.maps.google.com, 2011.

Lake View had become increasingly popular for real estate investment and house renovation given its ample stands of frame houses and masonry flats. A lot of this early investment was in renovation. New development did not reach Lake View until the late 1980s. Until then, Lake View became the next frontier for those priced out of Lincoln Park looking for a home to renovate. While the community as a whole had not deteriorated or experienced significant abandonment, areas of the community had been neglected by the mid-1960s, especially at the southern and northern edges. However, with development pressure encroaching from both the more affluent East Lake View high rise blocks and from Lincoln Park, neighborhoods in Lake View began to turn in the 1970s. Dozens of apartment buildings and even whole blocks of flats were renovated, especially between the diagonal streets of Broadway and Clark, reaching Addison Street as a northern boundary by the mid-1970s.¹⁷

New residential development continued in Lincoln Park and Lake View through the 1980s, despite a recession in 1981-1982, gradually moving westward towards the North Branch of the Chicago River. There is a clear progression that is noticeable in (*see Map 6.2: New Residential Construction by Type, 1970-1993*). Where 1970s development remained largely in the neighborhoods of Lincoln Park, Park West, and East Lake View, development in the 1980s clearly spread west into the neighborhoods of R.A.N.C.H.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 30.

Triangle, Sheffield Neighbors, Wrightwood Neighbors, and west Lake View. During this decade, dozens of new townhouse developments were built on newly cleared parcels. Clybourn Avenue, which runs diagonally northwest on the north side of the North Branch of the Chicago River, became a border to development in Lincoln Park, forcing development to move north. The southern boundary for development became the widened thoroughfare North Avenue and the public housing of Cabrini Green just beyond to the south and west. The neighborhood of Old Town, outside the study area in the Near North community area south of Lincoln Park, also experienced redevelopment in the 1970s and 1980s. As available development sites decreased in the heart of Lincoln Park, development drifted north and west, following Clybourn Avenue. By 1993, the majority of new development had reached Belmont Avenue to the north and Ashland to the west in Lake View. Dozens of other scattered developments were also completed in the surrounding communities of West Town, Logan Square, and North Center, but the bulk of new residential construction in the 1980s fell within Lincoln Park and Lake View. The general north and westward trajectory of development pushed farther out as the teardown trend flourished in the 1990s and 2000s.

2. A NEW TYPE OF DEVELOPMENT

Following a recession in 1990, the new term “teardowns” was applied to a growing trend that was unique from the development of four-plus-ones and townhouse clusters in previous decades. Teardowns for single-family houses, single- and double-lot condominium buildings, and even small apartment buildings increased in Lincoln Park, spreading north and west into Lake View and beyond.

The first redevelopment projects that could be termed “teardowns” were built in the late 1980s at the western edge of Lincoln Park in the R.A.N.C.H. Triangle neighborhood, near the diagonal Clybourn Avenue. There, in the late 1980s, market prices for property had not yet reached that of Lincoln Park neighborhoods to the east. As a result, speculative development appeared as available lots in eastern Lincoln Park diminished. Neighborhoods to the west, like R.A.N.C.H. Triangle and Sheffield Neighbors, became the next sources of redevelopable property.

Up to the late 1980s, development had followed a certain architecture that, as described above, was generally in contrast to the existing stock of frame workers’ cottages and masonry flats. Such buildings generally consisted of several small units packed together into a wide, low-slung two-story brick box. Sometime in the mid- to late-1980s, a new type of building emerged, following strongly in the period’s Post-

Modern kick, which echoed the form and style of existing buildings. The echo only went as far as to employ brick and small stone details on facades, but the new building types were distinct from earlier new construction. Instead of shying away from the street, like earlier construction, behind tall brick walls, or concealing the main entrance down gated walkways or off private courtyards, or by ignoring the street with narrow front windows, new buildings in the 1980s almost welcomed the streetscape and connected to it. Main entrances were moved from the side to become front doors, windows were to view the street, and details in brick and stone added minimal character to the facade. In addition, the size of these new buildings increased with a growing demand for larger units. This was especially true following economic expansion after the recession of 1990. Images 6.2 and 6.3 are of condominium buildings built in 1985 at 1936 N. Halstead Street and in 1987 at 1815 N. Bissell Street. They resemble the development pictured in *Image 6.2* at 1815 N. Howe, maintaining a solid brick wall out front, but rise taller and feature larger windows with abbreviated stone trim. These represent a form of construction that spanned between the enclosed development of the 1970s and 1980s and the



Image 6.2: 1936 North Halstead Street in the Lincoln Park community, built in 1985, is similar to the townhouse in Image 6.1, but has larger windows and greater visibility of the front yard. Also, this building is in keeping with the scale of the block, a characteristic of new residential construction in this community in the 1980s. Note the surrounding buildings: a brick two-flat and a two-story frame house, both 1880s.
source: www.maps.google.com, 2011



Image 6.3: 1815 North Bissell Street, built in 1987

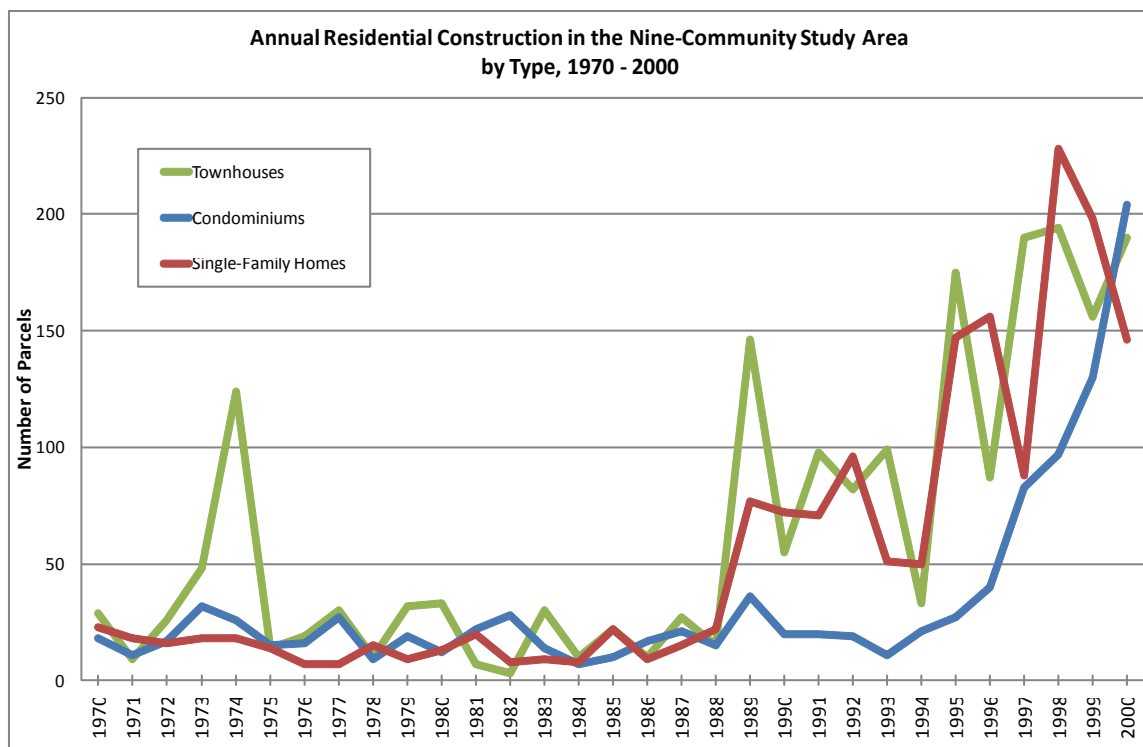
This simple structure retains the front wall as a design element, while also featuring larger windows than townhouse designs of the 1970s and early 1980s. Overall, the building is a predecessor of the condominium building designs executed in the 1990s and 2000s.

Source: www.maps.google.com, 2011

prototypical street-facing structures that would be built in the 1990s and 2000s. It was not until at least 1992 that new development omitted brick front walls and fully moved the main entrance to the front, fully embracing the street and neighborhood.

3. 1993 - 2010: DISPERSION

Where Lincoln Park represented the epitome of neighborhood conservation in the 1960s, waves of demolition in the 1990s would quickly erode that image. In 1993, two years after an economic recession, redevelopment commenced on a longer period of new construction that wholly transformed dozens of blocks from their humble, century-old homes and flats to new houses, condominiums, and apartments fitted to meet the living styles of a new generation. Beginning in approximately 1993, construction of these housing types flourished (*see Graph 6.3: showing new construction totals 1970-2000; this graph links the two development periods of 1970s-1980s and the 1990s-2000s discussed in this chapter*). What follows is a discussion of a series of maps of the nine-community study area comparing demolition on the left and new residential construction on the right. Each map represents an aggregated cumulative total number of demolitions or new construction parcels by block, with counts starting in 1993.



Graph 6.3: Annual new construction of townhouses, condominiums, and single-family homes in the nine-community area, 1970 - 2000.

Source: derived from Cook County Assessor's Office parcel data, 2011.

The first map pair, *Map 6.3-A* compares demolitions from 1993 through 1996 and new construction from 1993 through 1996. The second pair, *Map: 6.3-B*, compares a longer period from 1993 to 2001, the third pair (*Map 6.3-C*) compares 1993 through 2006, and finally the fourth pair (*Map 6.3-D*) compares 1993 through 2010. Comparing the two activities central to teardowns allows one to identify which blocks or parts of the study area had the greatest number of both demolitions and new construction. Because teardowns are not always perfect one to one redevelopments of parcels, specific counts cannot be used to identify in a block how many teardowns occurred relative to infilling or the creation of open lots. Instead, relative ratios of new construction to demolition can indicate the presence of teardowns. In the first map, 1993 to 1996, one particular block stands out in the new construction map, between Belmont and Fullerton Avenues near Ashland Avenue, as having had more than thirty new residential developments. It is a block on formerly industrial land that was re-zoned for residential use. A Planned Development (PD) erected forty-one new single-family houses in 1996 on newly platted parcels. Compared to the same block in the demolitions map, there appears to have been no activity. This block therefore did not feature any teardowns as no non-industrial structures were demolished to make way for the development. In contrast, there are

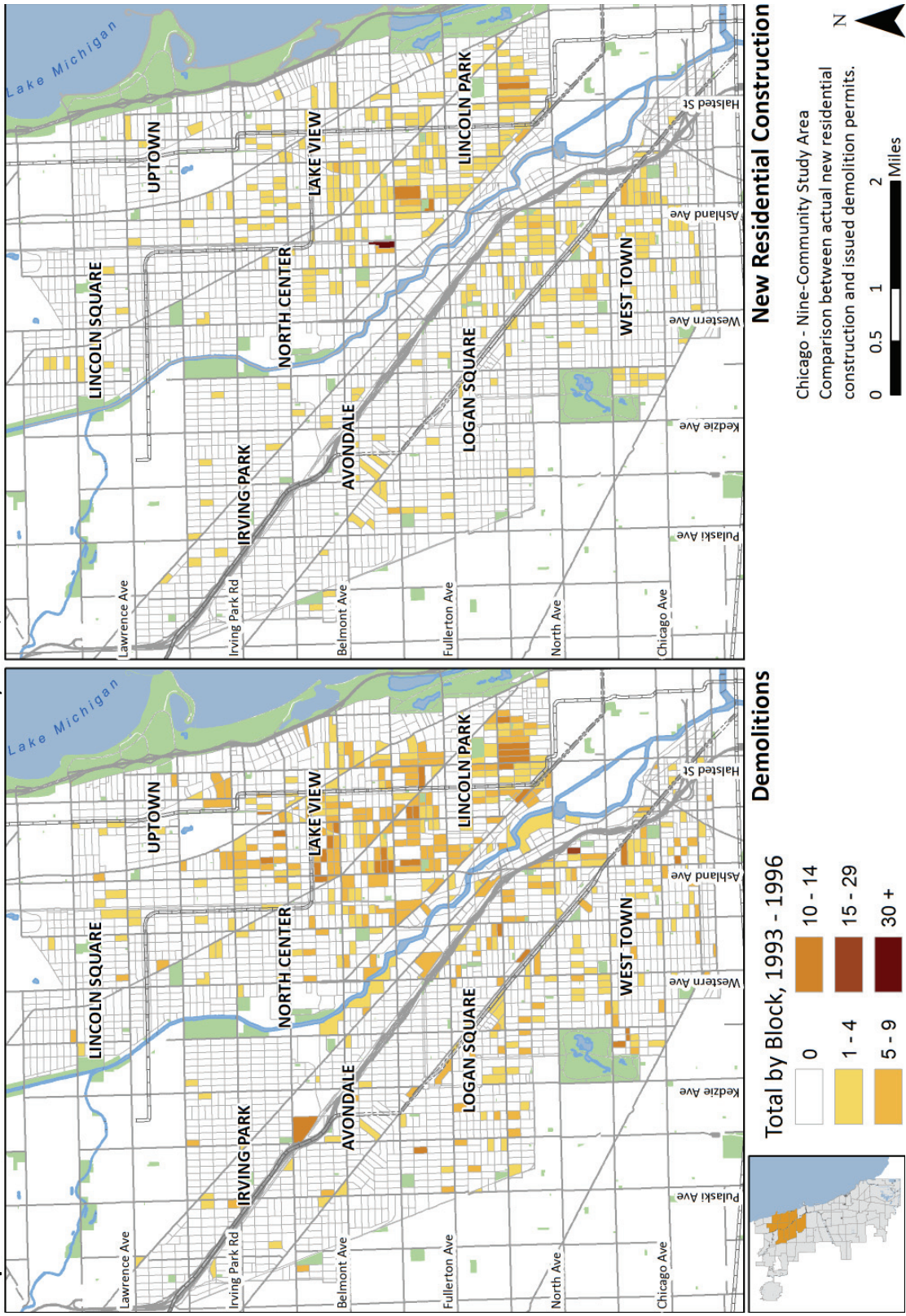


Image 6.4: 3124 North Sheffield, Lake View; a house that was part of a block-long row, stands alone between two large condominium developments; 2006

several blocks on the demolitions map that indicate having had a demolition or two that, in the new construction map, appear not to have had any redevelopment. This apparent demolition without new construction may be due to lag times between the clearing of a site and new construction.

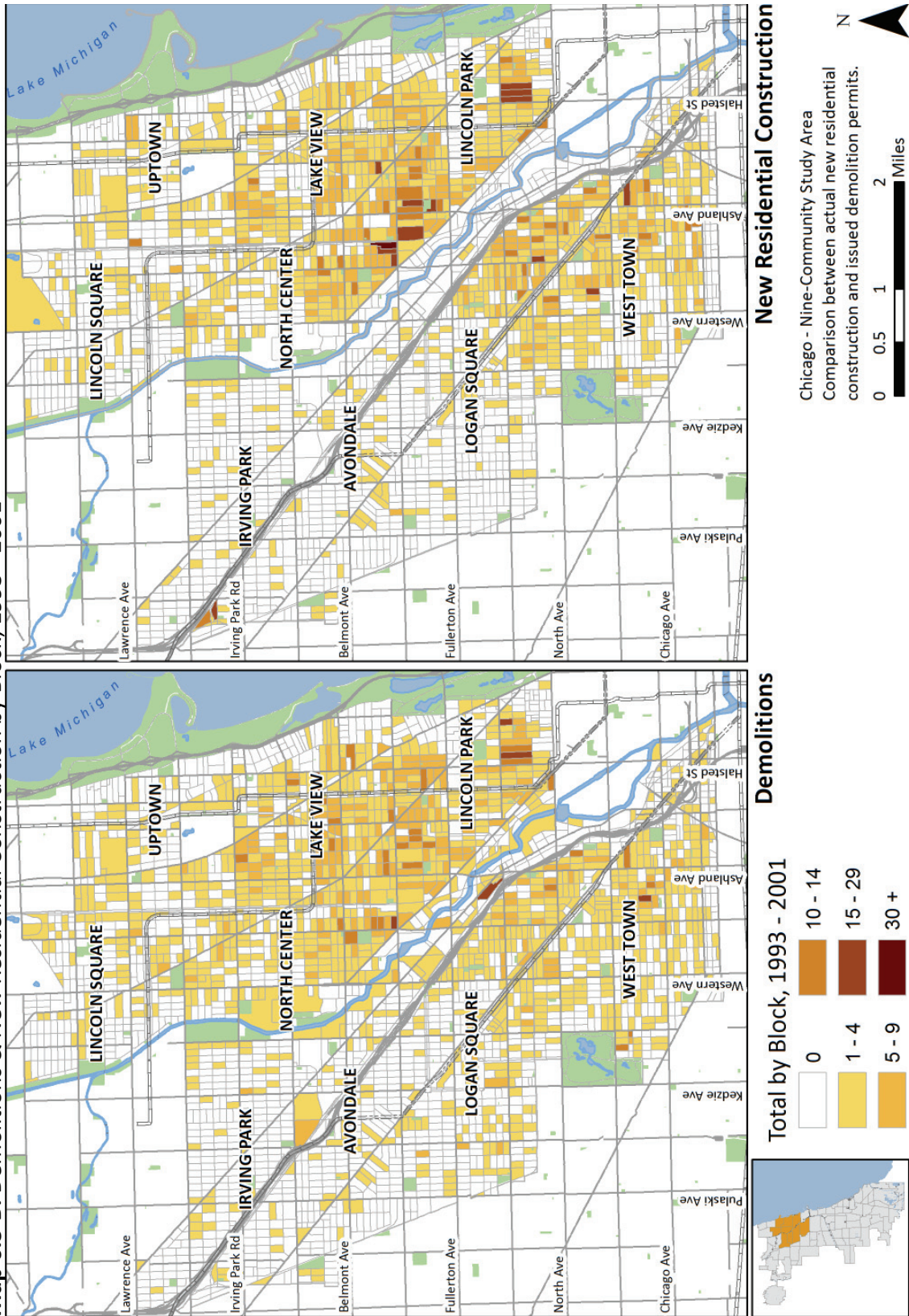
Over the series of four maps (*Map 6.3-A,B,C,D*), a general progression north and west can be seen as new construction and demolitions spread. The constraining barrier created by the commercial corridor and former industrial area along Clybourn Avenue forced development northward into western Lake View and North Center by 2006. However, while development and demolitions did grow to cover a larger area between 1996 and 2010, they also remained largely in the same areas, redeveloping more and more parcels and saturating the area with new development. Along the lakefront, blocks tended to be of high-density, with many larger apartment towers from the 1920s and

Map 6.3-A: Demolitions & New Residential Construction by Block, 1993 - 1996



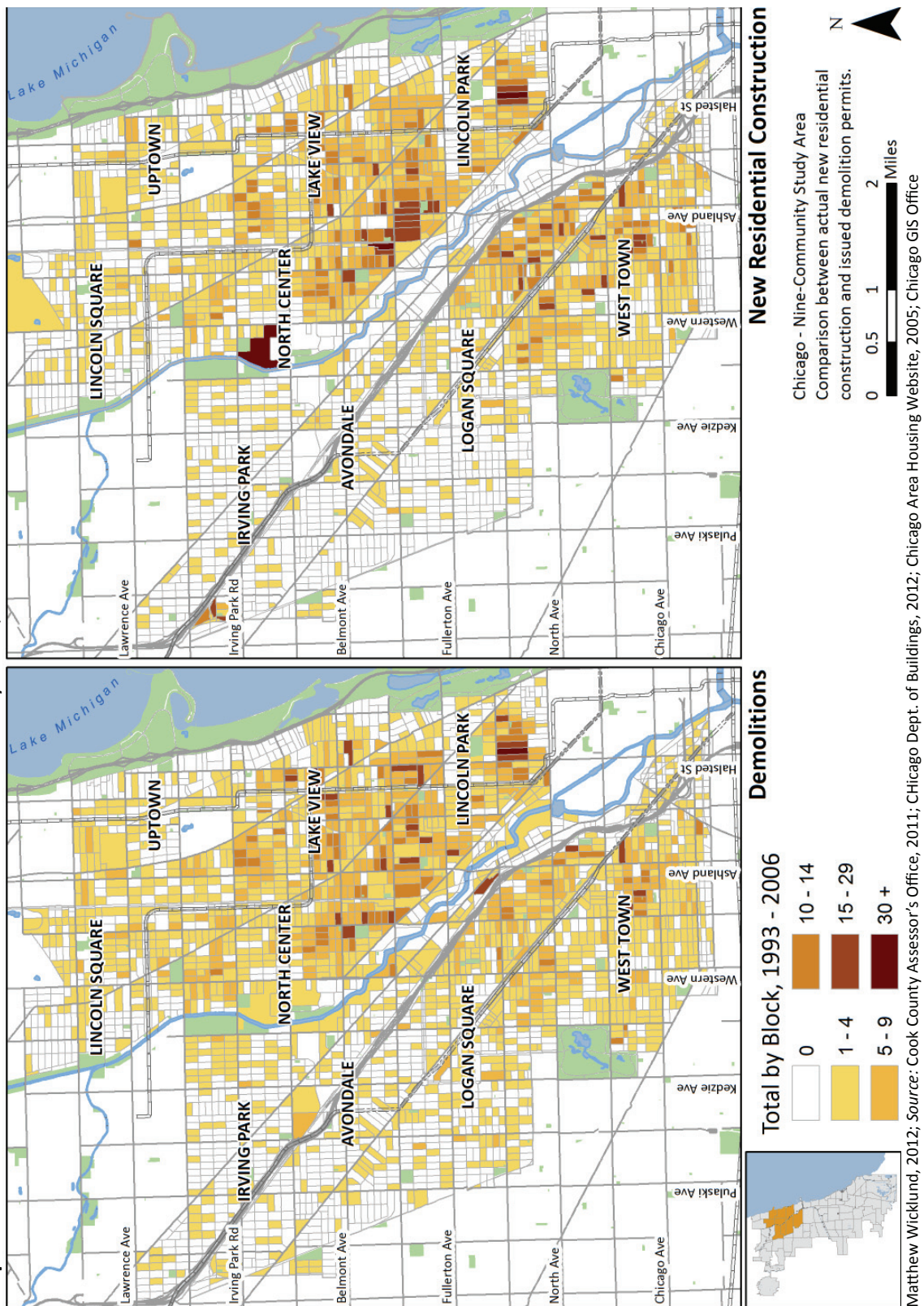
Matthew Wicklund, 2012; Source: Cook County Assessor's Office, 2011; Chicago Area Housing Website, 2005; Chicago GIS Office

Map 6.3-B: Demolitions & New Residential Construction by Block, 1993 - 2001

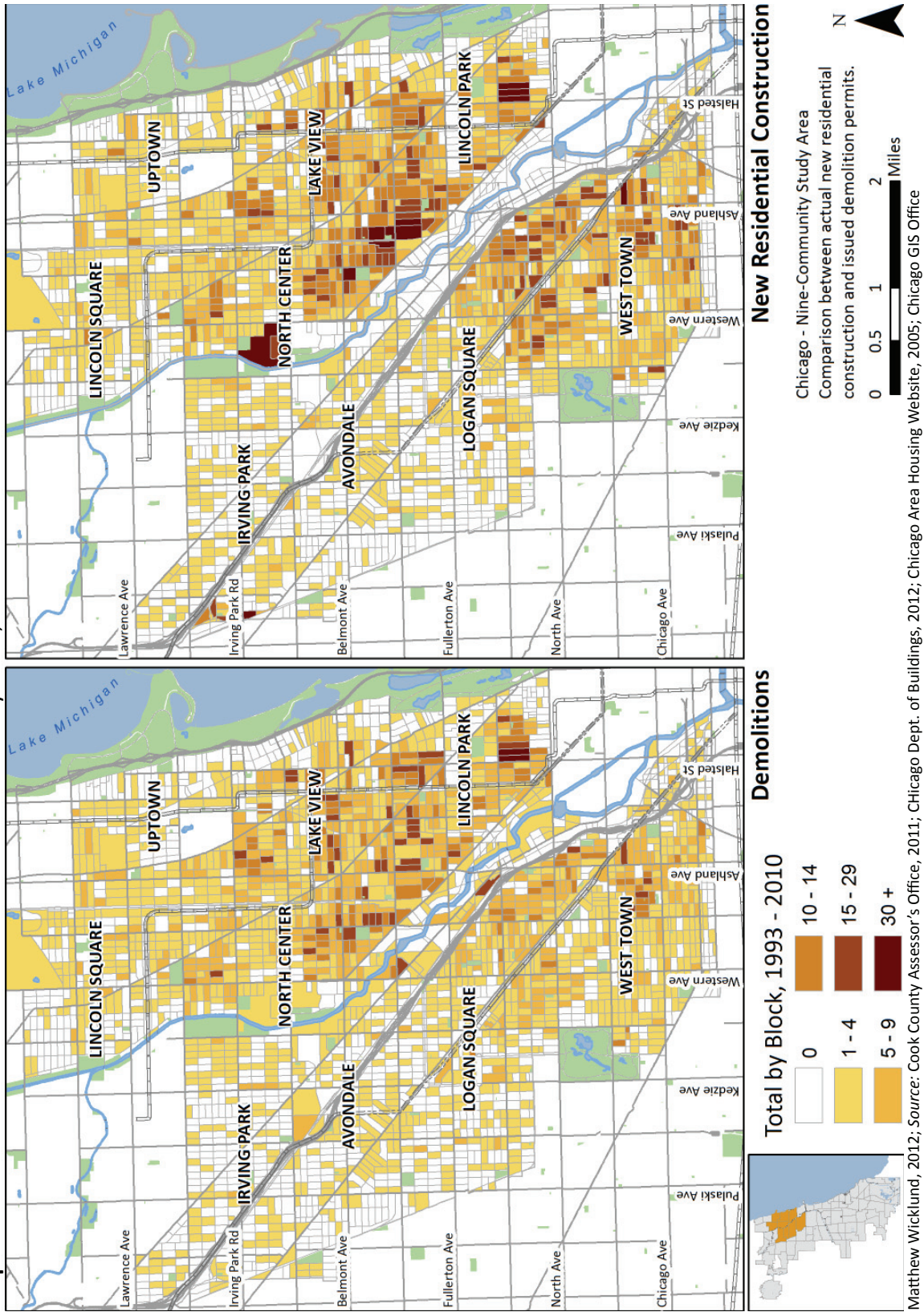


Matthew Wicklund, 2012; Source: Cook County Assessor's Office, 2011; Chicago Area Housing Website, 2005; Chicago GIS Office

Map 6.3-C: Demolitions & New Residential Construction by Block, 1993 - 2006



Map 6.3-D: Demolitions & New Residential Construction by Block, 1993 - 2010



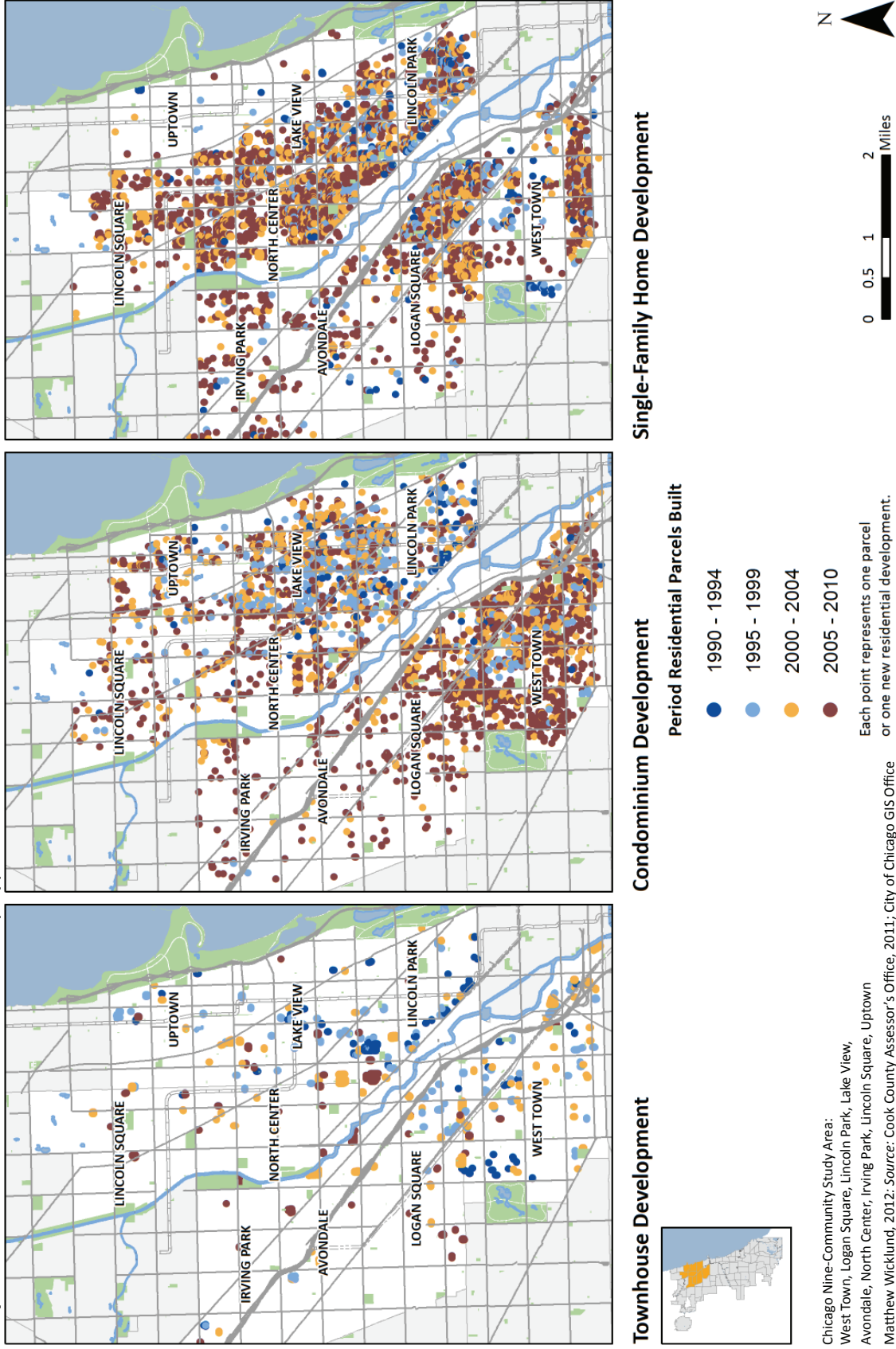
1950s-70s. The number of demolitions and new construction projects in these blocks was therefore less than in lower density blocks because of fewer small redevelopable parcels. In total, the redevelopment seen in the following maps grew to cover the nine-community study area and beyond, which is significantly larger than the several blocks covered between 1972 and 1993 (see *Map 6.2: New Residential Construction by Type, 1970-1993*).

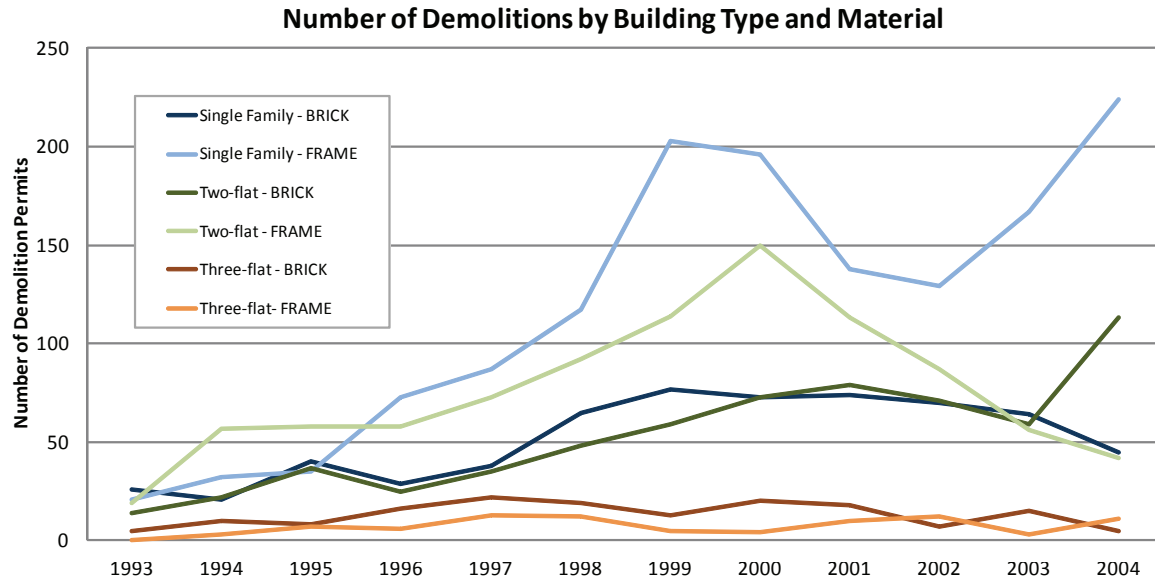
There were a few primary types of residential construction built in the 1990s and 2000s. In *Map 6.4*, townhouses, condominiums, and single-family homes are arranged on three maps for the period 1990 through 2010; this is similar to *Map 6.2: New Residential Construction by Type, 1970-1993*. Townhouse development did not expand as much as compared to condominiums or single-family homes. By the 1990s, the single- or double-parcel condominium building was the multi-family structure of choice for developers to build. In the map, a progression over time can be seen as condominium buildings were built primarily in Lincoln park and Lake View through the late 1990s. Between 2000 and 2004, increasing numbers of condominium buildings were built in West Town. Looking above the name “West Town” in the condominium development map, there is an apparent gap in the development, a void surrounded by higher density. This was the result of a series of combative landmark districts in the neighborhood of Ukrainian Village in the mid-2000s, which will be discussed in greater depth in *Chapter 7*. Lastly, new single-family house construction has a very clear spatial pattern. Following the existing patterns of houses and denser housing types, new single-



Image 6.5: 1527-31 W. Wolfram, Lake View; one 1890s frame two-flat and two new single-family houses; 2012

Map 6.4: New Residential Construction by Type, 1990 - 2010





Graph 6.4: Annual building demolitions by construction material and type of building for the nine-community study area; see Table 6.2

family houses were built in areas that featured mainly such houses. The vast majority of existing houses, as will be discussed, were of wood frame and for that reason easier to demolish than masonry structures. Of the three types of residential construction, houses pressed the farthest north, reaching Lincoln Square and beyond by the mid-2000s.

4. FOR TEARDOWNS, THERE MUST BE DEMOLITION

The pattern of redevelopment can be interpreted by the types of buildings available for demolition. As described earlier, smaller frame houses and flats were found by other studies to be significantly correlated with teardown activity. A frame building is cheaper and easier to wreck than a masonry building. The areas with the greatest numbers of demolition and new construction sites in *Maps 6.3 A-D* align with locations of majority frame structures, as seen in *Map 6.5: Map of exterior construction: frame/masonry*. Between 1993 and 2004, over 63% of houses and flats that were razed were of wood frame (see Table 6.2: annual demolition totals by building type and community area).¹⁸ Wood can be easily splintered and packed into dumpster trucks, whereas dense

¹⁸ Demolition permit data for the period 1993 to 2004 features attributes for demolished structures. These datum, originally from the Chicago Department of Buildings, were collected from the now defunct Chicago Area Housing Website; the data from this site are now held by the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (CMAP). Demolition permit data that are available from the Chicago Department of Buildings via the City's website data connection only covers the years 2005 through the present (2012). These permit data do not have discrete attributes, but rather all structure descriptions are non-standardized and amassed in a single entry; it is difficult to parse out this attribute field or to standardize terminology for analysis.

This analysis excludes other residential demolitions that accounted for less than 3% of all permits issued for the period, such as 4-5-6 unit apartment buildings, four-flats, and other larger apartment buildings.

Map 6.5: Map of exterior construction material (frame/masonry); note that frame structures concentrate outside the former post-1871 fire limits (blue line)

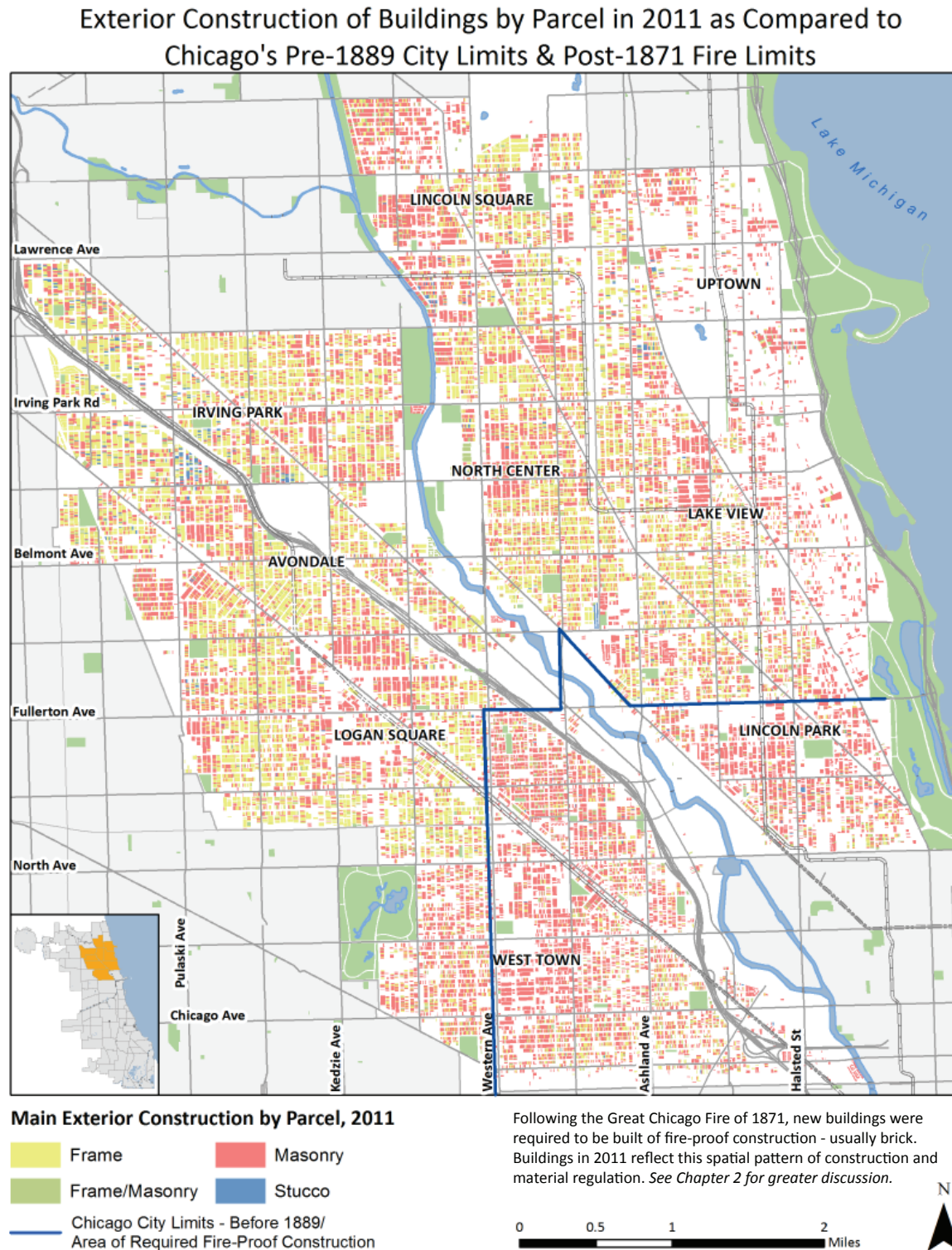


Table 6.2: Annual Residential Demolition Permits by Building Type Demolished and by Community Area

Building Type [Brick / Frame]	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	Total	% of All Demolition
Single Family - BRICK	26	21	40	29	38	65	77	73	74	70	64	45	622	16.2%
Avondale	3	0	2	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	12	0.3%
Irving Park	2	1	2	1	0	1	2	3	2	1	0	1	16	0.4%
Lakeview	7	4	11	5	8	8	21	10	12	19	10	8	123	3.2%
Lincoln Park	6	6	11	4	10	17	10	10	14	14	8	6	116	3.0%
Lincoln Square	0	0	0	0	1	8	1	2	4	2	7	2	27	0.7%
Logan Square	4	4	3	3	4	8	13	19	10	9	9	6	92	2.4%
North Center	2	0	3	2	9	6	7	8	10	13	9	8	77	2.0%
Uptown	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	1	0	6	0.2%
West Town	2	6	8	13	6	16	20	19	20	11	19	13	153	4.0%
Single Family - FRAME	21	32	35	73	87	117	203	196	138	129	167	224	1422	37.0%
Avondale	0	0	0	2	2	1	3	2	2	0	1	3	16	0.4%
Irving Park	0	0	1	2	3	0	9	5	2	5	9	10	46	1.2%
Lakeview	11	14	17	25	18	34	51	55	34	19	39	50	367	9.6%
Lincoln Park	4	7	8	17	19	27	32	34	16	21	28	33	246	6.4%
Lincoln Square	0	1	0	0	5	2	9	5	5	9	5	12	53	1.4%
Logan Square	4	3	4	11	5	6	15	18	26	11	20	20	143	3.7%
North Center	2	2	3	6	18	31	59	44	22	20	34	54	295	7.7%
Uptown	0	1	0	0	0	1	7	1	3	5	3	4	25	0.7%
West Town	0	4	2	10	17	15	18	32	28	39	28	38	231	6.0%
Two-flat - BRICK	14	22	37	25	35	48	59	73	79	71	59	113	635	16.5%
Avondale	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	6	0.2%
Irving Park	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	1	1	2	1	2	12	0.3%
Lakeview	1	4	6	3	11	17	8	16	11	14	16	17	124	3.2%
Lincoln Park	6	7	14	6	7	8	12	16	21	13	11	24	145	3.8%
Lincoln Square	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	3	1	2	2	1	13	0.3%
Logan Square	3	5	2	4	2	5	14	10	13	5	3	16	82	2.1%
North Center	1	1	3	1	2	4	5	7	4	6	2	11	47	1.2%
Uptown	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	5	2	1	2	14	0.4%
West Town	2	5	7	10	11	13	14	20	23	27	22	38	192	5.0%
Two-flat - FRAME	19	57	58	58	73	92	114	150	113	87	56	42	919	23.9%
Avondale	0	0	1	0	2	1	5	1	1	0	0	1	12	0.3%
Irving Park	0	0	0	3	2	2	3	3	1	0	2	2	18	0.5%
Lakeview	5	24	25	17	19	33	35	56	26	23	19	7	289	7.5%
Lincoln Park	7	17	20	17	21	20	27	26	31	19	11	3	219	5.7%
Lincoln Square	0	0	3	0	3	2	3	4	4	3	1	3	26	0.7%
Logan Square	3	5	0	10	5	11	7	19	15	6	4	3	88	2.3%
North Center	0	4	1	3	9	12	9	17	12	11	9	5	92	2.4%
Uptown	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	3	0	2	1	2	18	0.5%
West Town	3	6	7	7	11	8	23	21	23	23	9	16	157	4.1%
Three-flat - BRICK	5	10	8	16	22	19	13	20	18	7	15	5	158	4.1%
Avondale	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0%
Irving Park	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	4	0.1%
Lakeview	1	0	2	5	4	5	5	6	4	3	7	3	45	1.2%
Lincoln Park	0	2	1	1	7	5	4	3	3	3	2	0	31	0.8%
Lincoln Square	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	4	0.1%
Logan Square	0	1	1	2	2	2	0	3	3	0	1	0	15	0.4%
North Center	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	2	1	1	0	0	8	0.2%
Uptown	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	5	0.1%
West Town	4	6	3	7	6	4	2	4	5	0	3	1	45	1.2%
Three-flat - FRAME	0	3	7	6	13	12	5	4	10	12	3	11	86	2.2%
Avondale	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0.1%
Irving Park	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0%
Lakeview	0	0	4	1	4	6	0	1	4	6	0	4	30	0.8%
Lincoln Park	0	1	2	3	1	4	2	2	3	3	0	4	25	0.7%
Lincoln Square	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
Logan Square	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	5	0.1%
North Center	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	1	0	1	1	7	0.2%
Uptown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
West Town	0	1	1	0	5	1	1	0	2	2	2	1	16	0.4%
Total	85	145	185	207	268	353	471	516	432	376	364	440	3842	
Percent Demolished by Year	2%	4%	5%	5%	7%	9%	12%	13%	11%	10%	9%	11%		

Source: Chicago Area Housing Website, 2005 (defunct)

brick must either be dumped and take up space or laboriously cleaned and resold.¹⁹ Between 1993 and 1995, Lincoln Park saw more brick buildings demolished than other communities; this was because the community had more masonry buildings as a result of being within the city's post-1871 Fire limits. In addition, dozens of the community's smallest frame houses, in the Old Town Triangle neighborhood, were protected within a landmark district and were therefore not available for demolition. While many brick worker's cottages and flats were torn down in other parts of Lincoln Park, even greater numbers of frame houses and flats were plowed under. In Lincoln Park, these demolished houses were the very homes that forty years earlier had been renovated, thus initiating the community's resurgence. Between Lincoln Park and Lake View, these communities alone accounted for nearly 46% of all house and flat demolition between 1993 and 2004.

Over this period, in both communities, demolitions increased annually. In Lake View, around eleven frame houses were issued demolition permits in 1993. These houses would likely have been smaller one- to one-and-a-half story structures from the earliest period of development following the annexation of the Township of Lake View to Chicago in 1889. Being outside the City's fire limits, frame houses could be built legally prior to annexation. Demolition of frame houses in Lake View peaked in 2000 with fifty-five permits issued, and again in 2004 with fifty permits issued (after the 2001 recession but before the 2004 zoning rewrite was passed). During the same period, teardowns spread to the community area of North Center, which is characterized by blocks of one-and-a-half- to two-story frame houses and clusters of masonry two-flats. In 1993, only five demolition permits were issued: two for brick houses, two for frame houses, and one for a brick two-flat. Between 1993 and 1999, demolition permits in North Center grew exponentially to 73; of these, seven were for brick houses, 59 were for frame houses, five for brick two-flats, nine for frame two-flats, one for a brick three-flat, and finally two for frame three-flats. North Center peaked in demolition activity a second time in 2004, following the greater market trends and 2001 recession.

The community area of West Town, like North Center, had only a low hum of development in 1993, which turned to a roar by the late 1990s. West Town is comprised

¹⁹ Prices for cleaned "common" bricks (having all mortar picked away) rose through the 1990s, adding incentive to wreckers to sell waste materials. Masonry would be stripped of all wood lathing and trim and then tumbled into a pile for brick-pickers to clean. Brick-pickers were often paid by the pallet (a pallet generally holds 500 bricks) rather than by the hour, which made them one of the lowest wage earner groups. In the 2000s, prices for used common brick were so high that abandoned buildings in cities like St. Louis were pulled down by looters in order to obtain brick to sell. Most bricks were sold to Southern states for use in brick patios, while some was used to blend new construction.

Malcolm Gay, "Thieves Cart Off St. Louis Bricks," *The New York Times*, Sept. 19, 2010.

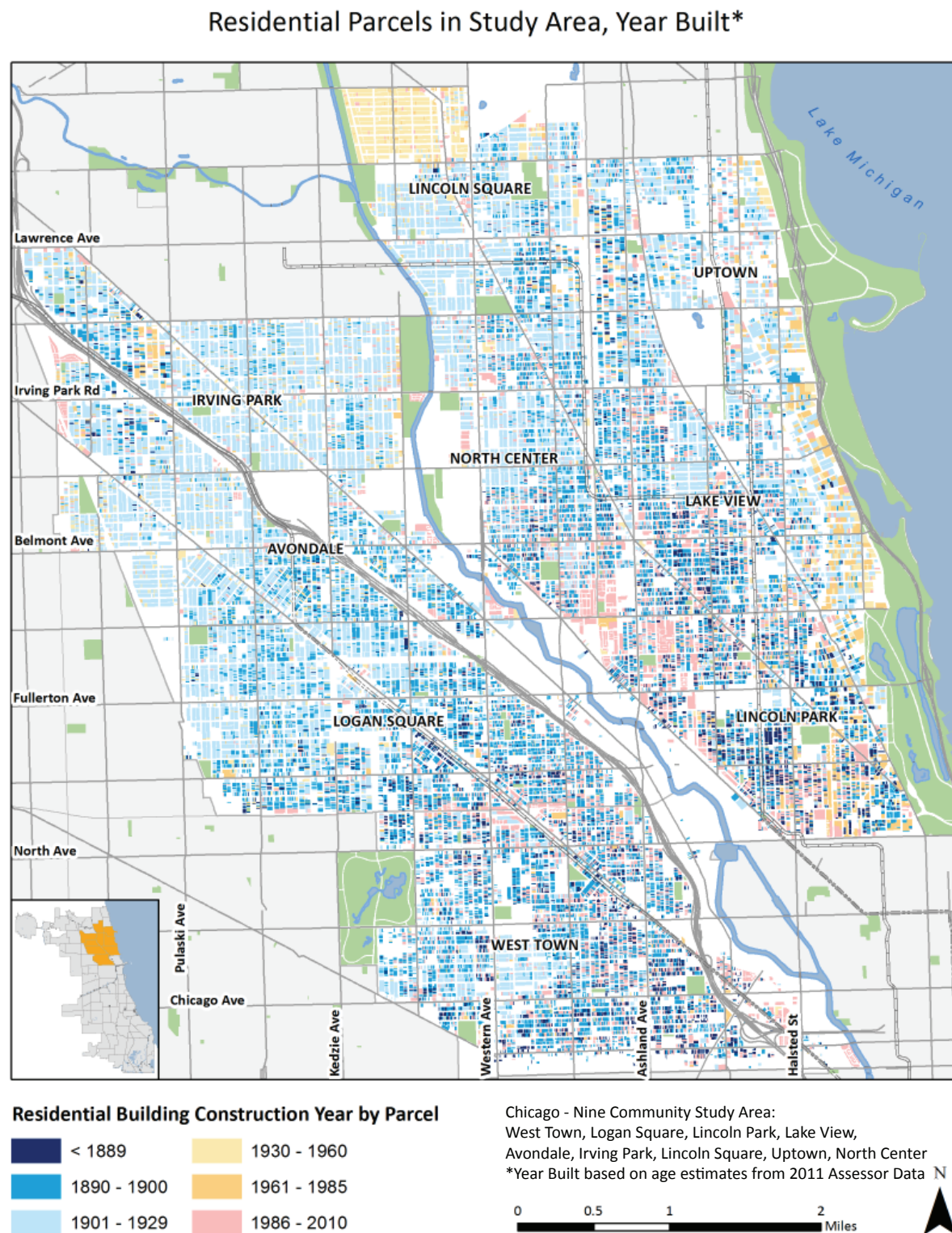
mainly of solid brick two- and three-flats, with the occasional cluster or lone workers' cottages. Frame structures are indeed rarer in this community than in Lake View or North Center because of the area's inclusion within the City's post-1871 fire limits. Much of the demolition here was focused on brick structures. As development in Lincoln Park heated in the 1970s, the West Town neighborhoods of Wicker Park, Buck Town, and Ukrainian Village were strong working-class neighborhoods, characterized colorfully in works by Nelson Algren in the 1950s. Redevelopment for "city-living" townhouses or even condominiums was only attempted by a few developers. It was not until the late 1980s and early 1990s that redevelopment drifted from north side neighborhoods across the North Branch of the Chicago River. Until then, house renovators had established pockets of new investment focusing on some of the area's more opulent and larger 1880s and 1890s houses. Critics in the late 1970s concluded that West Town neighborhoods, while filled with housing stock ready for renovation, were not likely to attract the same successful level of investment as the lakeside communities of Lincoln Park and Lake View had. It seemed that for urban redevelopment to work there needed to be some vast natural amenity for an anchor.²⁰ However, they would be proved wrong as, with time, renovation and redevelopment spilled across West Town.

In 1993, only eleven demolition permits for flats and houses were issued; these were mainly for brick and frame two- and three-flats. Demolition permits increased exponentially annually, with limited interruption from the 2001 recession. In 2004, 107 permits were issued, half for brick and half for frame houses and flats. Past 2004, demolition in West Town continued to grow as hundreds of houses were razed annually. By 2011, the total demolition activity in West Town exceeded the total demolition in either Lincoln Park or Lake View for the period 1993 to 2011.

The teardown trend was a clear progression of redevelopment and demolition that has marched north and west from early Urban Renewal and urban revitalization projects in Near North and Lincoln Park in the 1960s. Over time, two waves of redevelopment extended outward, first one of primarily house renovation, followed later by a second wave of redevelopment. Teardowns in the 1990s and 2000s were part of this second wave of investment that cleared away existing housing stock instead of renovating it. Between 1993 and 2004, demolition activity and new residential construction of houses and condominiums spread northward and then crossed the river

²⁰ Sharp, 37. Of note, Ed Sharp, who describes Wicker Park's critics, was in the process of renovating a two-flat in Wicker Park (West Town community area) at the time of his writing.

Map 6.6: Map of parcels by year of construction



Matthew Wicklund, 2012; Source: Cook County Assessor's Office, 2011; City of Chicago GIS Office, 2012.

to descend into west and northwest communities. Much of this activity was focused in the communities of Lincoln Park, Lake View, North Center, and West Town.

The loss created by excessive redevelopment can be framed in terms of what made an area popular in the first place. In Lincoln Park in the 1960s, what attracted residents was the area's mixture of housing stock from high-architectural styles to the most prosaic forms. Each was historic in the sense that its preservation and renovation provided the community with an assurance of stability. Neighborhoods do change, and as the decades passed, Lincoln Park and all of the neighborhoods in the study area experienced multiple waves of development. However, it was during the teardown trend that the built fabric, which had defined the community of a previous generation, was cleared. The very homes lauded in 1963 as colorful examples of community conservation, and the homes that defined Lincoln Park's architectural splendor became the targets of teardown redevelopment in the 1990s and 2000s. The same can be said of the other communities.

Since 2004, teardowns spread even farther afield, transforming, with lower density, the communities of Logan Square, Avondale, Irving Park, Lincoln Square, and Uptown. Avondale and Irving Park were the last to experience increases in demolition and new construction. Redevelopment in these areas tends to be more dispersed than in Lincoln Park or Lake View, which may be due to the nature of the housing stock. While housing in Lincoln Park, Lake View, and West Town date to between 1870 and 1910s, houses and flats in Avondale and Irving Park are primarily from the 1910s -1920s (*see Map 6.6: housing age in study area*). Being of more recent vintage, these structures are perhaps still viable economically for renovation rather than for demolition. If the teardown trend continues, now following the recession of 2008-9, these communities may become prime locations for teardown redevelopment.

5. BLOCK-LEVEL ANALYSIS: LOCAL EXAMPLES OF THE TEARDOWN TREND

Teardown redevelopment had a particularly pronounced effect on the fabric of several neighborhoods across the nine-community study area. While early redevelopment projects of the 1970s and 1980s significantly redefined several blocks in Lincoln Park and Lake View, the teardown trend gathered momentum through the 1990s and 2000s and redeveloped hundreds of blocks across the city's north and northwest sides. By 2010, some of these blocks were but mere palimpsests of neighborhoods long gone, with only the city's street grid remaining. What follows is an analysis of a few examples of blocks in the study area that were nearly fully redeveloped between 1990 and 2010.

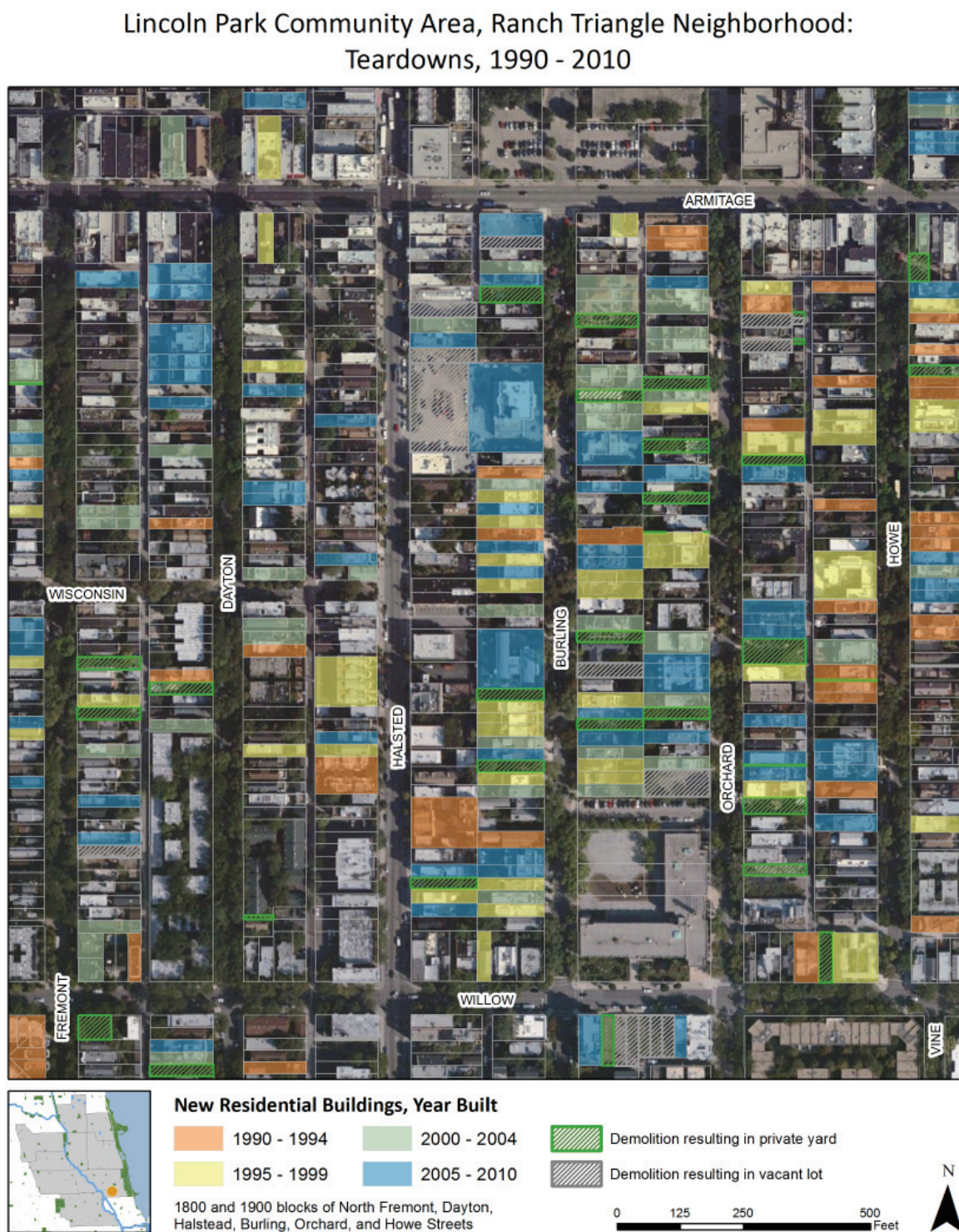
a. Lincoln Park: R.A.N.C.H. Triangle – Burling Street

The first example comes from Lincoln Park, the epicenter of redevelopment from the 1970s onward. Near its southern border in the R.A.N.C.H. Neighborhood, a group of blocks were transformed from the typical dense Chicago collections of humble one-and-a-half- to three-story frame houses and brick flats to an aristocratic row of urban mansions and condominium buildings. The area in particular represents some of the most expensive real estate in the city outside of the Near North and Loop (downtown) areas. A small section of this area lies between Armitage Avenue on the north, Willow Street on the south and focuses on the blocks on either side of Halstead street. The teardown trend here was slightly different from that in surrounding communities. Here, builders staked out lone or even pairs or trios of standard parcels and built and sold custom homes to individual clients. At once, where there stood three brick flats, likely renewed during the house renovation boom of the 1980s, there was rebuilt a single sprawling house. Similarly, some buyers opted to add a vein of green space to their new property. A pair of houses could be torn down for a single house, while still a third house could be cleared for a grassy side yard (*see Map 6.7: Block-Level analysis of Burling Street teardown trends*).

In the map, new houses and condominium buildings built between 1990 and 2010 are color coded in five-year increments. In addition, parcels that were cleared for private side yards are also noted. Halstead Street, one of the city's main arterial streets and featuring dozens of shops and restaurants in this area, cuts through the heart of a changed neighborhood. In the six blocks shown: Fremont, Dayton, Halstead, Burling, Orchard, and Howe; between Armitage Avenue and Willows Street, around 40% of the 540 parcels were redeveloped between 1990 and 2010. The most redevelopment occurred between 2005 and 2010; the 2008 recession and housing bubble had only a small effect on this neighborhood. However, a few projects in the midst of construction in 2008 did enter foreclosure before completion. These new houses stood vacant, weathering until a new buyer finished them.

Burling Street has seen the most redevelopment of all the blocks shown in the map. Mansion-ization is often used derisively to describe the often larger scale of new construction developed in the 1990s and 2000s; however, on these blocks teardowns did in fact lead to urban mansions. Over a period of twenty years, the area became the place in the city for some of the wealthiest and most influential Chicagoans to call

Map 6.7: Block-Level analysis of Burling Street teardown trends



Matthew Wicklund, 2012; Source: Cook County Assessor's Office, 2011; City of Chicago GIS Office; ESRI Aerial Imagery, 2010.



Image 6.6: New mansion at 1955 North Burling Street, built in 2000; replaced three older houses and flats; 2012

home.²¹ Existing residences, three-flats and frame cottages, did not provide the ample space need for the luxury finishes and enhances now ladled into each new property. Already in 2011, smaller townhouses built in the 1980s and even substantial homes built in the 2000s (themselves teardown developments) were being purchased as new teardowns for even newer mansions.²² Not only were individual buildings razed, but so too were entire rows of buildings. Development of this type was not always the case on these blocks. As described earlier, blocks in this area of Lincoln Park were just out of reach of 1970s redevelopment. Instead, houses were rehabilitated in the 1980s, as these blocks maintained nearly all of its late nineteenth century flats and houses.

The single largest new structure is a mansion completed sometime after 2010 for one of the city's wealthiest families; it covers seven cleared lots on Burling Street. Just north of the seven-lot mansion and across the street at 1955 N. Burling another mansion was completed in the year 2000, sprawling across three lots with a fourth for a side yard. What the mansion replaced is now lost to history, but the current edifice suggests a far

21 Forbes named Burling and Orchard Streets between Armitage Avenue to the north and Willow Street to the south as one of the most expensive blocks in the country in a 2007 article.

Matt Woolsey, "The Most Expensive Blocks in the U.S.," *Forbes*, Aug. 31, 2007.

22 A double-lot townhouse of two stories and four units was purchased in October 2011 on the 1800 block of Orchard Street was to be demolished in 2012 for a new and larger home. A large single-family home built in the early 2000s at 1957 N. Orchard was packaged with an historic but non-landmark house from 1885 at 1951 N. Orchard for demolition in 2012. These two properties were to be combined for the construction of a substantial new mansion.



Image 6.7: Two three-flats at 1948 - 1950 North Burling Street, purchased as teardowns for a new wide single-family home, **note the clay roof mock-up for the future Mediterranean-esque palazzo;** 2012



Image 6.8: Advertisement for a future mansion that will cover 1948 - 1950 North Burling Street, **note the incised lintel detail on the existing flat's windows -** 1950 North Burling Street; 2011

off Mediterranean shore with its clay-tile roof and other features that, until recently, were rather rare in Chicago (*see Image 6.6 - 1955 N. Burling Street - near Armitage Avenue*). Back on the west side of Burling, at 1948-50 N. Burling, there are currently three three-flats awaiting demolition. In 2010, the flats, shown in *Image 6.7: 1948-1950 N. Burling*, became part of an area real estate company's offerings. The proposed new home was to offer over 11,000 square feet of space over three floors, and was marketed at over \$8 million. While waiting for a buyer, the builder maintained the existing rental flats, touting the apartments as both clean and occupied by good tenants.²³ A roof mock-up of a variety of red-clay roof tiles can be seen in *Image 6.7*, adding immediacy to the fate of the flats. The properties were sold together and both flats were set for a demolition date in mid-2012.

Two doors to the north, in 2007, another three-flat with pressed-brick details, jeweled leaded-glass windows, and an elaborate oak doorway, became the site for a grassy lot. A new home at 1960 North Burling was completed in 2005. The following year, the adjacent lot at 1958 N. Burling was purchased and a demolition permit was issued (*see Image 6.9-A, B - 1958 N. Burling, former three-flat*). The building to be razed, built in 1891, was awarded the second highest rating for historic or architectural merit in Chicago's Historic Resources Survey (*this survey will be discussed in Chapter 8*). For over a year the flat stood vacant, collecting debris in back from a neighboring construction site to the west. Finally in late 2007, the building came down and the ground was graded and covered with fresh soil. In the spring of 2008, a new grassy lawn covered the parcel, hidden partially from the sidewalk by a hedge and a wrought iron fence (*see Image 6.10 - 1958 N. Burling, three-flat razed for a yard*). In the block-level map for Lincoln Park, shown earlier, each of the "demolitions resulting in private yard" follows a similar theme to 1958 N. Burling: demolition for a garden, not for new construction.

Burling Street and its surrounding blocks in the R.A.N.C.H. neighborhood of Lincoln Park show but one end of the pervasive teardown redevelopment trend. They are the extreme of urban redevelopment and the epitome of vanity and fleeting fashion, where residents change and buildings are replaced even faster. These blocks were perhaps the most desirable in the city in the 2000s, becoming the prime location for new urban mansions. A lack of local historic districts and an accommodating zoning, allowing for a new building's floor area to cover over twice its lot area (FAR), facilitated new construction and allowed for the monumental change that occurred in less than two decades.

23 1950 N. Burling, www.urbanrealestate.com, accessed: April 4, 2012.



Image 6.9-A: 1958 North Burling Street (*before*), a three flat with pressed brick details, pressed metal cornice, and an intricate frame porch; the flat was razed in 2007, 2007 - left



Image 6.9-B: Leaded glass window, pressed brick, and reflection of 1955 N. Burling "palazzo" (see Image 6.6), 2007 - above

Image 6.10: 1958 North Burling Street (after), razed in 2007 for a side yard for 1960 North Burling Street, 2007 - below



In contrast, several blocks in the Lake View community are representative of the more common forms of redevelopment. Three- to eight-unit condominium buildings replaced two- and three-story houses and flats, replacing hundreds of structures over the 1990s and 2000s.

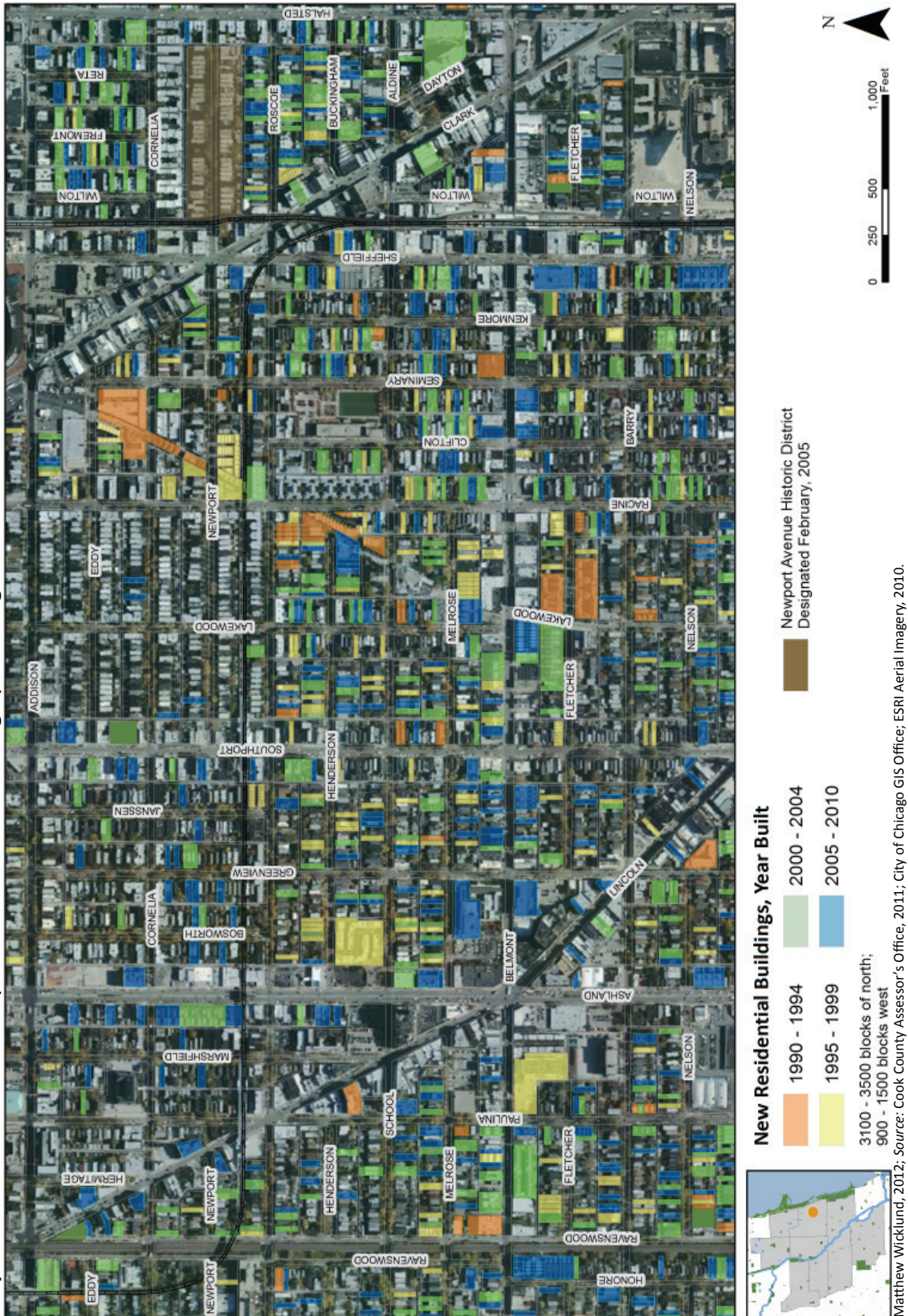
b. Lake View

On Chicago's north side, approximately three miles north of the R.A.N.C.H. Triangle and Burling Street area, a similar teardown trend has reshaped dozens of blocks. The area, in *Map 6.8*, covers the center of Lake View and captures portions of Roscoe Village on the left edge and Wrigleyville, named for Wrigley Field, which is partly visible in the upper right center. The Lake View community area is named after the township that was annexed to Chicago in 1889. By the 1880s, the Township of Lake View had become a prime location for mobile city dwellers seeking escape from the crowded urban neighborhoods. Nearly all of the blocks, south of Addison Street, were already plated and lined by handsome yet humble frame houses. On the center left edge of the map is visible a portion of Samuel Eberly Gross's Gross Park subdivision, which was described in *Chapter 2* (also see: *Graphic 2.2: Advertisement for Gross Park subdivision*). North of Addison Street there were dozens of large truck farms that were not subdivided until the late 1890s. This early development was facilitated by a passenger train line to the northern Town of Evanston from Chicago. A palimpsest of this former line, which was in operation as a freight line through the 1970s, can be seen as a sinuous interruption in the otherwise rectilinear parcel grid. Beginning along Lakewood Avenue at the bottom, the line gradually curves eastward and north again, highlighted by parcels in orange.

Lake View's city hall and center, prior to annexation, was on the northwest corner of Addison and Halstead Streets, in the upper right portion of the map. In the 1890s, following annexation, new masonry two- and three-story flats faced in brick and limestone were built. New flats tended to be built at the front of the parcel, pushing the existing frame houses to the back of the parcel for additional rental income. Mostly, flats were erected en masse on Lake View's ample undeveloped land. In the 1910s, dozens of greystone two-flats were erected on open land along the eight blocks on either side of Lakewood Avenue, visible at the top and center of the map. By the 1920s, the majority of parcels had been developed, and a light industrial zone had grown around the former passenger railroad line.

Area development began with infilling the former rail corridor. In the late 1970s, home rehabbers started arriving in the area once Lincoln Park to the south became too

Map 6.8: Lake View Community Area, Lake View and Wrigleyville Neighborhoods: Teardowns, 1990 - 2010



expensive. Very little new housing was built until the 1980s when former industrial properties along the rail corridor were sold off following the closure of the line. One of the first residential projects to be built was the X-shaped set of buildings along Racine Avenue at the center of the map. These were followed in the early 1990s by the various sets of frame townhouses on oddly shaped parcels built on the former rail right-of-way, these are highlighted in orange across from the x-shaped structures. In 1993, condominiums came to the area, filling a few vacant lots and initiating the first “teardowns” in the heart of Lake View. Between 1990 and 1994, just over 30 properties were redeveloped.

Teardowns raced across Lake View in the late 1990s. Highlighted in yellow, these properties, mainly three- to six-unit condominium buildings, started by replacing some of the cheaper and smaller properties. However, by 1999, masonry flats that had been remodeled as recently as the early 1990s, were already becoming targets for demolition. Land values had risen enough to make demolition of sound structures an economically feasible and profitable model. Over one-hundred houses and flats were leveled between 1995 and 2000 in the mapped area alone. Construction was so densely packed in the area that a single block may have had two or more construction sites underway during the summer months. Redevelopment had clearly shifted away from infill.

The year 2001 brought a spike in demolition permit activity for most of the communities in the study area, including Lake View. Between 2000 and 2004, despite recession, construction activity in Lake View continued nearly unabated, razing over 150 buildings for new development. The activity was widespread, but especially focused on the area’s earliest frame houses.²⁴ In the upper right-hand corner of *Map 6.8* are the 3500 north blocks of Wilton, Fremont, and Reta Streets. Two blocks south of them are the 800 and 900 west blocks of Roscoe Street, Buckingham Place, and Aldine Street. These blocks exploded in new development in the early 2000s. Nearly one third of all parcels on Buckingham Place were redeveloped, replacing frame and masonry flats alike. On Fremont Street, the first building to be torn down was a single-story frame cottage in 1997. Of the Twenty-eight buildings on the block, ten were demolished between 1997 and 2004. Two of the houses were listed on the City’s historic resources survey, including 3530 N. Fremont, a one-and-a-half-story brick cottage built in the late 1880s, which was leveled in 2001 (*3530 N. Fremont will be discussed in Chapter 8*). A stand of

²⁴ Many of these early houses were converted to flats in the early 1900s.



Image 6.11: A rehabilitated three-flat at 837 West Newport Avenue in the Newport Avenue Historic District; converted from apartments into condominiums, 2009

Image 6.12: Board advertising a rehabilitated three-flat at 837 West Newport Avenue, 2009



condominium buildings came to replace nearly half of one side of the 3500 block of North Fremont Street.

Newport Avenue, a long block lined by 67 buildings, mostly greystone three-flats, had evaded teardowns due to its solid stock of valuable, non-frame buildings. However, the impending demolition of a brick three-flat at 823 West Newport in 2003 roused support from residents of the block and from the local neighborhood group Newport Neighbors for prevention of the flat's destruction. They worked with a grassroots preservation organization named Preservation Chicago to help work with the city and the developer to find alternatives to demolition. In the process, Preservation Chicago pushed for landmarking the block, which was passed with support from the alderman and residents in 2005. The flat at 823 was preserved through a last-minute land swap, where a preservation developer offered a similar though nondescript property to the developer.²⁵ The property switch resulted in maintaining the intact 800-900 block of west Newport Street, and pushed the effects of redevelopment to another block farther west where teardowns had already occurred. All subsequent development activity on the block was in the rehabilitation of the existing greystones.

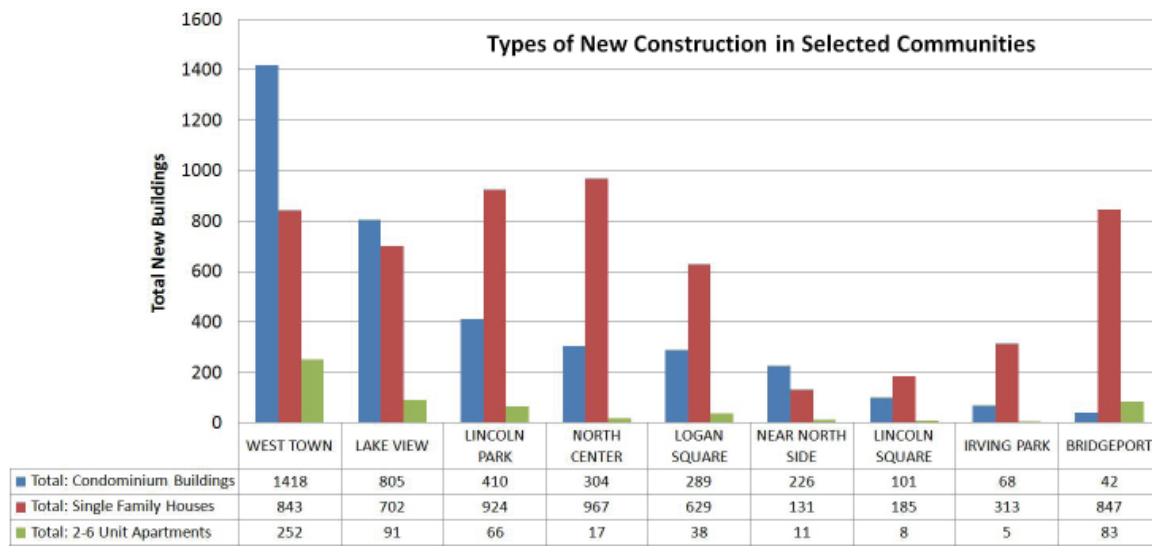
²⁵ "Preservation Chicago Citizens advocating for the Preservation of Chicago's historic architecture," website: www.preservationchicago.org, accessed: February 2012.



Image 6.13: 3500 block of North Wilton Street in the Wrigleyville neighborhood of Lake View; four new condominium buildings built in the 2000s stand in this image with one being built, 2005

In *Image 6.11*, a greystone three-flat at 837 West Newport Avenue was converted from apartments into three condominiums in 2009. The structure received an “historic gut rehab” according to the promotional board in front of the property, and a large addition was tacked onto the back for additional floor space. Every interior element was hastened away and replaced with the predictable finishes that trim the majority of new construction. High-end appliances, granite counter tops, and new hardwood floors belied the age of the greystone, now reduced to a mere shell in the surrounding historic district. The former flat is evidence that not all buildings required complete demolition, and that they could be adapted to fit the building scheme adopted by developers during Chicago’s teardown trend.

While Newport Avenue was assured a future free from encroaching redevelopment, surrounding blocks were targeted with even more teardowns. Teardowns continued with increasing frequency in Lake View, peaking in 2006-7 with the addition of 156 new residential structures or nearly ten percent of all new residential construction activity between 1993 and 2010. Even the blocks of two-flat greystones around Lakewood Avenue, which had been mainly selected for complete gut-rehabs, were no longer out of reach from teardowns. Four of these homes were razed in the



Graph 6.5: Three primary types of new residential construction built in the nine-community study area between 1993 and 2010

Source: Cook County Assessor's Office parcel data, 2011

three years after 2005 alone, where none had been demolished since their construction in the 1910s – according to Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps from 1924 (*in Map 6.8, buildings demolished between 2005 and 2010 are highlighted in blue*).²⁶

Frame houses and flats were selected more often than masonry for teardowns in the 1990s and early 2000s. However, between 2005 and 2010 more brick flats were torn down as the stock of available frame structures dwindled in the center and eastern areas of Lake View. In addition, rising land values made masonry as economically feasible to redevelop as frame. Across Lake View, building faced in brick, greystone, granite, or terra cotta fell in the wake of new residential construction. At the same time, as is evident from the dispersion of 2005 – 2010 new construction, highlighted in blue, teardowns also spread farther north and west. Blocks in west Lake View and in North Center that were yet untouched by teardowns, became new sources for redevelopable land. Consider the blocks of Marshfeld and Bosworth in the upper left corner of the map. Like the blocks of greystones, these blocks had seen little redevelopment change during the twentieth century. Many of the houses in these blocks are of frame and are from the area's earliest period of development.

By the close of the period 1993 to 2010, over 1500 new houses and condominium buildings were built in Lake View, which accounts for nearly 8% of all of

²⁶ Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of Lake View, Chicago for the year 1923 show the full coverage of two-flat greystone development around Lakewood Avenue. Comparing this historical record with the buildings extant today, reveals that the blocks remained intact until they were reached by the teardown trend of the 2000s. Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps show building-level detail from structure surveys intended for the insurance industry. See: Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Chicago, Illinois; Volume 9, 1923, sheets 97- 99.

the city's new residential buildings for the same period. While Lincoln Park was primarily redeveloped with large new single-family houses (66% SFH, 29% Condominiums), Lake View was saddled with scores of new condominium units (50% condominium).²⁷ Most of the condominium construction took place in the central and eastern areas of Lake View, compared to single family houses (44%), which were predominantly built in the central and western areas of the community area (*see Graph 6.5: Housing types built in the nine-community study area*). This pattern of development was due to the nature of the existing housing stock (frame houses versus masonry flats), and also to existing densities allowed by zoning. The two example areas are representative of teardown redevelopment in countless blocks within the study area and of other communities in other parts of the city, such as Bridgeport, that were not assessed in this section.

D. Torn Down: A Conclusion

The teardown trend in Chicago developed and spread in a clear spatial pattern across several community areas. Thousands of common buildings, from the city's late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century periods of expansion, were demolished between 1993 and 2010. While demolition activity occurred across the city, only those communities that experienced near equal numbers of new residential construction can be interpreted as experiencing teardown redevelopment.

On the city's north side, Urban Renewal initiatives of the 1950s and 1960s gave way to the gradual progression of new housing construction in the 1970s and 1980s. While redevelopment in these decades was focused primarily within the Lincoln Park community, the succeeding teardown trend built on this early redevelopment and progressed ever farther north and west across Lake View and several other community areas.

The redevelopment energy of the early 1990s, spurred by an expanding post-recession economy, transformed the housing market as the annual construction of houses, townhouses, and condominium buildings doubled and tripled through the 2000s. Condominiums and single-family homes in particular were the primary subjects of new construction.

In order to accommodate this wave of new construction, hundreds of structures, which had come to define the very character and fabric of Chicago neighborhoods, had to be razed, cleared away forever. At first, development targeted the smaller frame

²⁷ Percentages are the percent of all new residential construction in the described community area.

houses and flats, built in the late decades of the nineteenth century as the belt of developed land grew ever wider around Chicago. Masonry structures, that are more expensive to demolish, were targeted more frequently once the stock of frame buildings diminished. Consequently, nearly all types of buildings from the area's first periods of development were cleared away, which has in turn altered the scale and character of dozens of residential blocks. While this change progressed steadily through the 1990s and 2000s, it was not left unchallenged by residents. Over the same period, several tools were implemented to control and curb the teardown trend; three will be discussed in the Part C.

Image 6.14: 1014 West Belden, One of six three-flats razed together for expansion of DePaul University in the Lincoln Park community area, 2010



Part C:

Challenging the Teardown Trend

**...Wrecking,
Planning,
Building, breaking, rebuilding...¹**

- Carl Sandburg, 1916

Carl Sandburg's enduring image of *Chicago* in 1916 reveals the essence of the city in its almost constant throws of re-invention and change. The built fabric of neighborhoods and commerce is patched and re-stitched overtime to the liking of economic motives, grounded in the ephemeral. Throughout the history of Chicago, and nearly any urban place for that matter, there has been a running narrative of growth in fits and starts, repeatedly evolving built fabric over short periods of time. In each period, while new buildings, infrastructure, or growth at the fringe were seen as progress and the strength of the urban economy, those who experienced change firsthand often expressed discontentedness or even opposition to it. David Lowenthal asserts that the recognition of change, that the present is somehow different from the past, is a relatively recent state of awareness made possible, since the late nineteenth century, by the hastening of change both physical and social.² What once took generations has come to grace only decades or years. Quick, noticeable change over a period of years, especially in places with great social investment and historical narrative, such as in neighborhoods, is often perceived by those with connection to the place as the erasure of an existing way of life and the inception of something new and unfamiliar. Unfamiliarity changes the experience of place and alters the narratives that a place has to tell.

In 1890s Chicago, the "flat craze" added a dense band of new housing to Chicago's seemingly endless urban fringe. However, there were existing communities that had grown alongside Chicago, just beyond its borders, which were suddenly surrounded by the city's dense development. As described in *Chapter 2*, residents in the post-annexation community of Hyde Park defended their established neighborhoods of single-family homes and verdant yards from the density and transient nature of encroaching flats, by buying undeveloped parcels. Similarly, in the former railroad suburb of Riverside, the development of a dense apartment building in 1922, near the suburb's picturesque homes, led to a reactionary plan for zoning-out unwanted, dense buildings.

1 From the poem "Chicago," Carl Sandburg, *Chicago Poems* (New York: Henry Holt and Company: 1916), 4.

2 David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 389-90.

Built fabric may be in constant flux through waves of development, but a neighborhood can, assuming positive change and not disinvestment, reestablish itself once change is supplanted by physical stability. Over time residents, both new and existing, develop connections to place and socially invest in its future, writing a new narrative of place, which ensures the stability of the community. They stabilize the market by investing in their homes and living in the community.³ As a neighborhood matures, it is the interests of existing residents, those who have invested in both their home and community, that are most strongly reflected in the historical narrative of the community. Residents develop their own history on top of the neighborhood's existing history. Mature, long-established neighborhoods can have a variety of styles of architecture from various periods, but the housing stock forms a cohesive character identifiable in the set-backs and street-walls, the heights and roof lines, and even the general forms and materials. These types of neighborhoods often have little recent infill.

Existing, longer-term residents become the body that contests changes that may alter or erase their established way of life, or that conflict with their perceptions of the community's future. This reaction to change is due to the personal investment long-term residents made in both the community and its future. In contrast, transient residents tend to have less social investment in their community than longer-term residents, while new residents are generally unfamiliar with a community's historical narrative and are thus more flexible in their acceptance of change.

The teardown trend, which is less a function of infill than it is of redevelopment, echoes past conflicts between the conservation of established familiar *place* and the alteration of place. Conflict, arising from a contested vision for the future, is most strongly expressed by those experiencing change. In terms of teardowns, it was the existing residents of communities who experienced firsthand the swell of the housing market in the 1990s and the resulting instability of place, as houses and other pieces of the built fabric were sundered by the sudden profitability of redevelopment. The perceived negative effects of new construction, as identified primarily by immediate neighbors, centered on issues of the process of demolition/ construction and the end

3 Vincent L. Michael, "For Richer or Poorer," TimeTells Blog, May 29, 2010, www.vincemichael.wordpress.com, accessed: April 11, 2012.

See also, Vincent L. Michael, "Preserving the Future: Historic Districts in New York City and Chicago in the Late 20th Century" (Ph. D. Diss., University of Illinois at Chicago, 2007).

result in size, scale, massing, and aesthetic compatibility.⁴ Over the 1990s, the average size of homes grew, sometimes doubling and tripling, which accounts for the observed tendency of new construction to be out-of-scale with older, smaller homes.⁵ In Chicago, neighborhood opposition to new construction erupted in the 1990s as the frequency of teardowns increased. Residents turned to local ward aldermen and to others in city government to help guide the development and to curb its perceived detrimental effects on established neighborhoods.

What follows is an analysis of three main tools applied in Chicago and an assessment of their effectiveness. First, the role of local historic districts and their use as defensive policy will be examined with a focus on official city historic districts in the community areas of West Town and Lincoln Park. Second, the compilation of an historic resources survey helped identify buildings of historic and/or architectural “importance;” the potency of this list as a tool for identifying potential landmarks and for preventing the unrecorded loss of potentially significant buildings will be considered. Third and finally, Chicago’s zoning code from another era was rewritten in 2004 to better conform to the established scale of neighborhoods. The new code eliminated years of individual zoning rewrites and overlays, codifying it into a simplified system. The effect of the new codes on the resulting new construction will be assessed through comparison of construction before and after the release of the city’s renewed zoning.

4 Terry S. Szold, “Mansionization and Its Discontents: Planners and the challenge of regulating monster homes,” *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 71(2) 2005, 189. This article features a lengthy discussion on the specific objections to new construction in the 1990s and 2000s and the tools used to curb teardowns.

5 In the study area discussed in **Part B** the size of new home construction rose from 1700 square feet in the late 1980s to nearly 3000 square feet by the year 2000.

7. Historic Districts

The historic district, as a policy tool, has been implemented throughout Chicago to emphasize and delineate discrete collections of properties of historic and architectural merit. In 1968, Chicago's existing Commission on Chicago Historical and Architectural Landmarks (1957) was given a voice by the City Council in the form of a landmarks ordinance. Where the Commission before had acted as an advisory board, the ordinance gave it the ability to recommend potential landmarks for protection. The city's first historic districts, designated in the early 1970s, were architecturally cohesive collections of buildings representing a single development and architectural style, which reflected the city's then more sparing use of its new policy tool. More complex and heterogeneous assemblages of buildings were harder to establish as cohesive districts with a unified identity and narrative.

Implementing the historic district tool to identify and protect collections of seemingly dissimilar buildings became the task of neighborhood residents seeking to preserve their community from unguided, market-driven change. The creation of city historic districts thus follows a general trajectory spatially and temporally that is similar to the spread of redevelopment pressure. As neighborhoods were increasingly targeted with demolition and new construction, historic districts were created with significant input from residents to prevent the complete redevelopment of their neighborhoods. However, because landmarking every building would dilute the significance of designation, there are properties that are left unprotected. In areas experiencing pressure from redevelopment, the creation of a restrictive historic district effectively shifts the burden of redevelopment to other areas. While historic districts are delineated with a certain degree of historical precision, as based on a researched narrative, areas outside of districts also tend to incorporate many of the same features. Overtime, the importance of architectural resources outside of an established district become apparent, as redevelopment continues unabated, and the district is extended. As of 2011, Chicago had 53 historic districts and seven district extensions.

A. Broadening Preservation Discourse

Achieving a broad perspective on landmarking, beyond narrowly defined narratives, took time to develop. Chicago's first historic district, Alta Vista Terrace, was a neat block of London-esque row-homes, with each street wall a copy of the other (*see Image 7.1*). It was developed between 1900 and 1904 in the Lake View area by Samuel



Image 7.1: Alta Vista Street, developed by Samuel E. Gross in 1905, was Chicago's first historic district — designated in 1971, 2007

E. Gross, who had added acres of housing to Chicago's growing periphery in the 1880s and 1890s. The block was designated an historic district in 1971, two years after the city's landmarks ordinance was passed. Two years later, at the far southern end of the city, the former industrial town of Pullman, designed by Solon S. Beman in the 1880s, was added to the city's roster of districts. Both Alta Vista and Pullman share the quality of having been designed and built from singular planned visions; they were not the aggregate result of several periods of construction as in many other neighborhoods. At the same time, the districts were devised by professional preservationists working from a limited vision of what was worth preserving.⁶

These early districts reflect the City's and the Commission's gradually broadening yet focused assessment of Chicago's architectural history. The city's 1968 landmark ordinance greatly expanded on the 1957 creation of the Commission on Chicago Historical and Architectural Landmarks. During the 1950s, the growing preservation movement in Chicago came to be organized according to a uniquely Modern narrative. Buildings of "importance," those that were worth preserving, were structures that

⁶ Michael 2007, 142.

exhibited a series of refined features that could be classified as part of an evolution of design that led to the Modern. The Chicago School became the unifying name applied to this carefully selected collection of buildings, which were predominantly downtown.⁷ Other structures that were more eclectic in style or that simply did not resemble the form of the Chicago School were left to be remembered in the pages of history. The preoccupation on preserving the physical ontogeny of Modern architecture seems almost a backlash against the Beaux Arts nature of Daniel Burnham's 1909 Plan for Chicago and of the entire City Beautiful Movement. The remains of the past that are emphasized as most important often are the ones that are cloaked in a narrative extolling their connection to the present. Over time, values change and new narratives of the past are written. The narrowly construed narrative contrived during the 1950s influenced the decisions regarding what types of buildings and districts would be considered for landmark status. For Chicago's historic districts of mixed vernacular architecture to be created, a narrative stressing their collective importance had to be written.

On Chicago's north side, in the aforementioned Old Town Triangle Neighborhood of Lincoln Park, residents invested in their community and organized to protect its architectural legacy. Their campaign was mounted in the 1950s, as Urban Renewal plans proposed the near complete redevelopment of the area. Since the late 1940s, residents had moved into the area and actively renovated the existing post-Chicago-Fire housing stock; their work constituted a great investment in both their property and in the future of the neighborhood. At first, an Urban Renewal plan was developed that combined elements of land clearance with neighborhood conservation. Only select buildings that were deemed "hazardous" or "non-historic" were to be razed for new middle-class housing. However, through the 1960s, house renovation progressed at a faster pace than Urban Renewal, resulting in intensified calls to protect "hazardous" buildings from demolition. Along the western edge of Old Town Triangle, opposition was raised to this wanton destruction of serviceable buildings – buildings which were occupied by lower-income and/or non-white residents.⁸ Private redevelopment also posed a threat to the preservation of the Old Town neighborhood, as new residential towers took advantage of ample zoning requirements along lakefront blocks.

⁷ Daniel Bluestone, "Preservation and Renewal in Post-World War II Chicago," *Journal of Architectural Education*, 47(4) 1994, 215.

⁸ Michael 2007, 159, 164.

The combination of Renewal and private redevelopment rallied community members to support the designation of historic districts. Each neighborhood within Lincoln Park worked towards designation. Professionals were hesitant to define the Old Town Triangle's prosaic mix of styles as "historic;" academic theory at the time questioned the area's disparate architectural mix and the altered condition of many of its buildings.⁹ Consequently, residents became the professionals and researched their buildings, the history of the community, and developed a narrative case for why their buildings should be landmarked.

A collection of row house and single-family homes along Astor Street in the Gold Coast neighborhood were landmarked as exemplars of Gilded Age architecture in 1975. Unlike the first two districts, Astor Street represented a shift away from single developments and rare architectural masterpieces, towards a broader and more heterogeneous definition of landmark districts. While Astor Street represented the best in upper-class architecture, Old Town Triangle exhibited working-class Chicago. With extensive research and persistence, residents of Lincoln Park garnered support for a landmark district from the city's Commission on Historical and Architectural Landmarks. The Old Town Triangle neighborhood was designated in 1977, along with a similar collection of structures in the Lincoln Park neighborhood of Mid-North. With the landmark ordinance, demolition for either city or private purposes was allayed.¹⁰

Building types and styles located within the districts also existed outside the districts, beyond their contrived boundaries. In Old Town Triangle, the boundaries selected were drawn following existing municipal plans and reflected less the

⁹ *Ibid*, 171.

¹⁰ In February 1979, Chicago held its first of several Old House Fairs for residents interested in the growing trends of renovation and rehabilitation. The then Mayor Jane Byrne expressed the optimism and promise that renovation was to have in reshaping Chicago. She wrote in a prefacing letter to a book based on the fair, that "through the efforts of people like yourselves... we will be able to truly revitalize all Chicago Neighborhoods and consequently improve the quality of life for everyone in the city." The book, published by Commission on Chicago Landmarks, gave direct and detailed information on how to care for and rehabilitate older homes in the city. The work shows how the City, under Mayor Byrne, gradually shifted the city's focus towards its neighborhoods and their improvement. The establishment of historic districts during the same time period was part of a greater movement in the city towards an appreciation of its neighborhood architecture and the valuation of its built fabric.

See: Linda Legener, *City House: A Guide to Renovating Older Chicago-Area Houses*, (Chicago: Commission on Chicago Landmarks, 1979), preface.

A significant support for increase housing rehabilitation and renovation activity in the 1970s was due to the creation of Conservation Districts in Lincoln Park and Hyde Park. These districts were created once funds for Urban Renewal were allowed by law to be reallocated towards rehabilitation. At the same time, banks began making rehabilitation loans across the city, fueling a trend that would spread through Lake View and enter West Town in the 1970s and early 1980s.

See: Caspall & Schwieterman. *The Politics of place: A history of zoning in Chicago*, Jane Heron ed, (Chicago: Lake Clairmont Press 2006), 57.

architecture and history of the area and more the ease of established boundaries.¹¹ Blocks that were not included in either Old Town Triangle or in Mid-North had as much architectural and historical merit as those within the two districts. These non-landmarked blocks were left unprotected by the city's landmark ordinance and were consequently prone to demolition from private developers. However, this threat was not lost on residents of Lincoln Park, who worked to down-zone allowable densities, written in 1957, so as to deter redevelopment from unprotected blocks.¹² By the late 1970s, Lincoln Park residents had facilitated the establishment of three historic districts to protect both the varied yet prosaic architectural fabric of the area and their investment in the community's future stability.

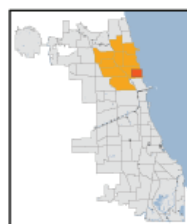
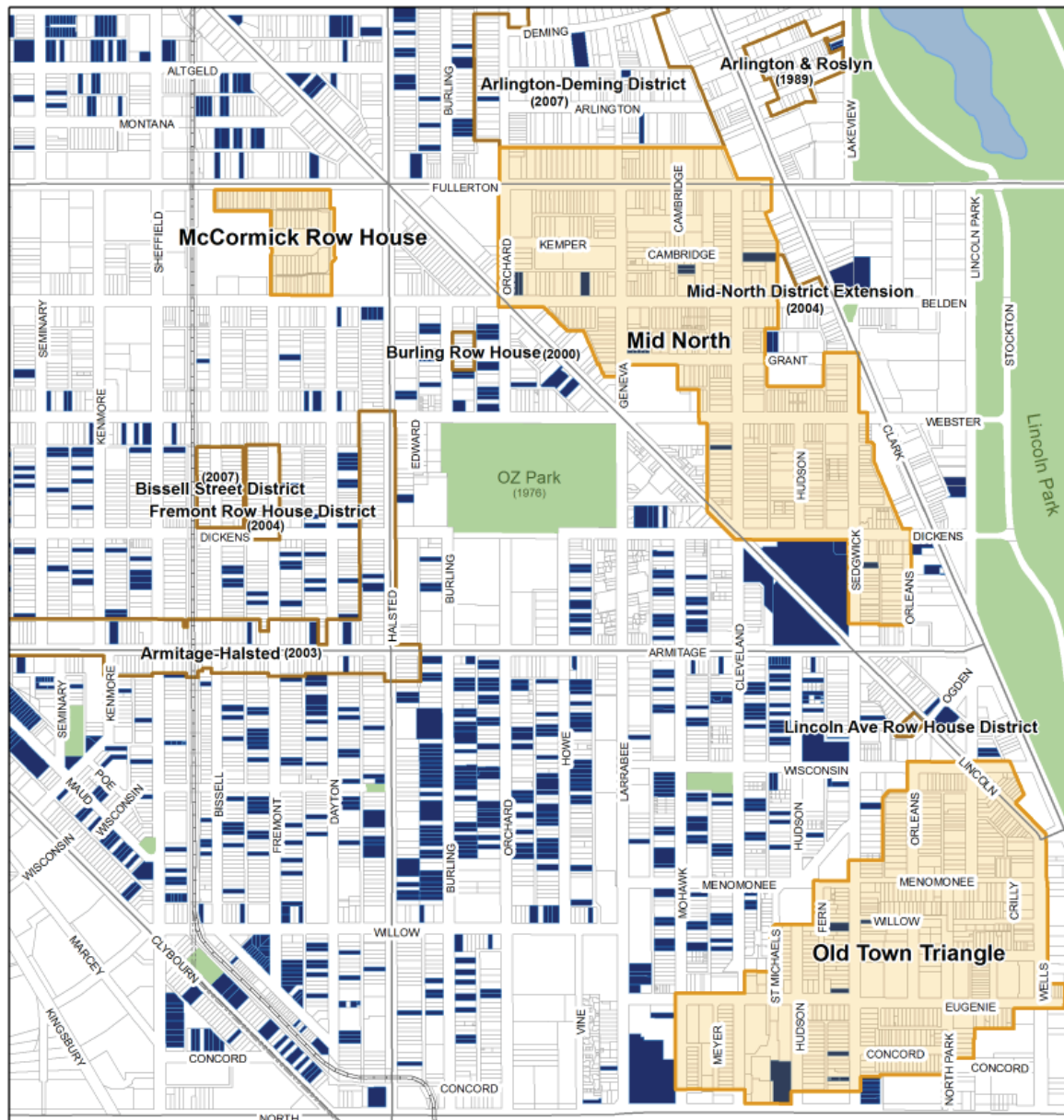
As discussed in *Chapter 6*, a new wave of redevelopment came to Lincoln Park in the late 1970s in the form of low-rise townhouses. With the downzoning of several lakefront blocks in 1977 and in the 1980s, development pressure shifted from high rise towers along the lakefront to smaller developments away from the lake. However, for much of Lincoln Park the zoning from the 1957 ordinance was left unchanged. Most instances of downzoning took place south of Lincoln Park or in Lake View. Thus, development was able to move into the community and build within the ample limits of existing zoning on blocks that had not been protected through landmarking.




Map 7.1 Shows the Mid-Town, Old Town Triangle, and the McCormick Row House historic districts, all designated in 1977, and the subsequent new construction built after 1990. The blocks not covered by the historic districts arguably had the same types of structures and the same level of preservation; however, the pre-defined boundaries for the districts simply left out these blocks. Larrabee Street did form a border in the 1960s and 1970s and was targeted for the most extensive Urban Renewal development. The blocks to the west, described in *Chapter 6*, of Howe, Orchard, Burling, Dayton, Fremont, and Bissell all featured solid blocks of brick flats and houses interspersed with frame gable-fronted cottages. House renovators had moved into many of these homes, some of which were featured as early as 1963 in a book on the successes of revitalizing the

¹¹ *Ibid*, 178.

¹² The greatest threat to the Lincoln Park's architectural and community preservation came in the form of private residential apartment and condominium tower development and in Urban Renewal. Since the 1920s, Chicago's population had increasingly either left the inner city for the fringe or moved into lakefront towers. The 1957 zoning ordinance allowed for the erection of more and larger towers to house the city's projected population boom in the 1960s and 1970s. While the population did not grow as expected, development along the lakefront had increased and begun to replace the older urban fabric. Historic Districts protected some of the area, but down-zoning helped to deter extensive redevelopment of unprotected blocks. Down-zoning produced a backlash from developers in the late 1970s, but as was seen in the 1980s-2000s, teardown redevelopment potential remained.

Development Patterns 1990 - 2010 and Lincoln Park Historic Districts



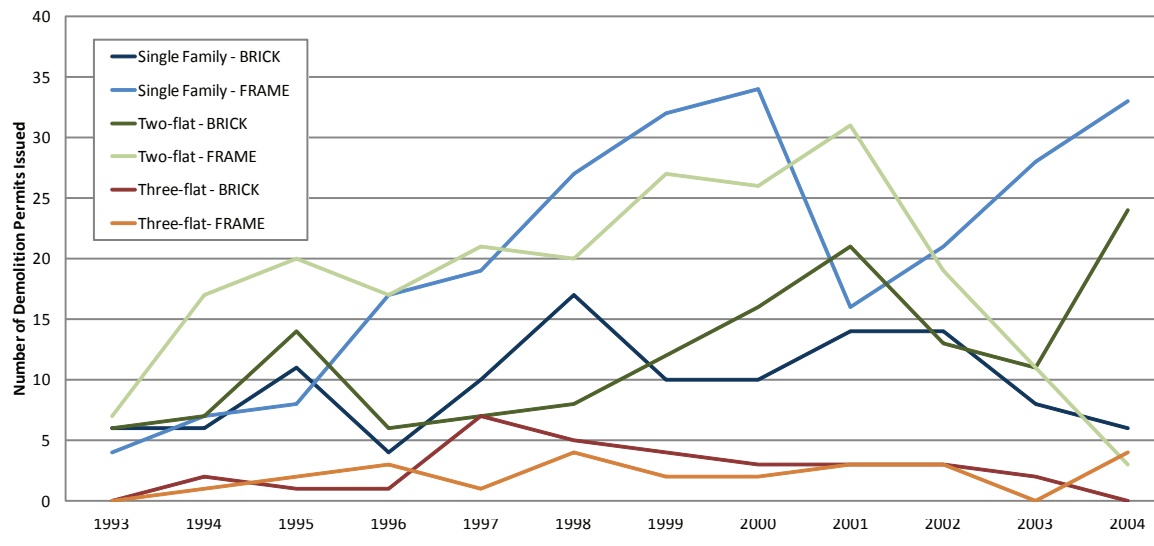
-  Historic Districts, designated 1977
 Historic Districts, designated after 1980
 New Construction, built after 1990

Old Town Triangle and Mid-North were designated as historic districts in 1977 as a means to control private and city (Renewal) redevelopment pressure. 1990s - 2000s teardowns have rarely breached these districts.



Matthew Wicklund. 2012: source: Cook County Assessor's Office. 2011: Chicago GIS Office. 2012

Lincoln Park Community: Number of Demolitions by Building Type and Material



Graph 7.1: Annual demolition of buildings in Lincoln Park by building type and exterior material

Source: Cook County Assessor's Office parcel data, 2011

Lincoln Park	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	Total
Single Family - BRICK	6	6	11	4	10	17	10	10	14	14	8	6	116
Single Family - FRAME	4	7	8	17	19	27	32	34	16	21	28	33	246
Two-flat - BRICK	6	7	14	6	7	8	12	16	21	13	11	24	145
Two-flat - FRAME	7	17	20	17	21	20	27	26	31	19	11	3	219
Three-flat - BRICK	0	2	1	1	7	5	4	3	3	3	2	0	31
Three-flat - FRAME	0	1	2	3	1	4	2	2	3	3	0	4	25
Total demolitions by year	23	40	56	48	65	81	87	91	88	73	60	70	782
% of total study area demolitions	3%	5%	7%	6%	8%	10%	11%	12%	11%	9%	8%	9%	

Table 7.1: Annual demolition in Lincoln Park (1993 - 2004) showing three primary historic building types, built of either brick or frame

Source: Cook County Assessor's Office parcel data, 2011

"inner city neighborhood of Lincoln Park."¹³ Some of the book's hailed architectural examples, such as an 1880s corner lot frame house on Altgeld and Seminary, were torn down for new construction. Development will occur under the right market conditions and in the places of least resistance. Likewise, the act of valuing and preserving some buildings works to devalue others, which in the case of historic districts and new construction in Lincoln Park, has led to the redevelopment of 13% of the community's total parcels.¹⁴ See *Table 7.1* and *Graph 7.1* for the most common building types razed between 1993 and 2004.

¹³ See: Paula Angle, ed, *City in a Garden: Homes in the Lincoln Park Community* (Chicago: Lincoln Park Conservation Association, 1963).

¹⁴ Percentage based on parcel datum from the Cook County Assessor's office and from the Chicago Department of Buildings.

The location of historic districts acted to constrain where redevelopment could occur in Lincoln Park. Once land values in neighborhoods west of Old Town Triangle had risen, redevelopment followed and established a strong local market for new construction within the bounds of an expanding housing market.¹⁵ In the 2000s, six new historic districts were created along with the expansion of the Mid-North district. These additions were established primarily to protect the wealth of architectural examples, left out of the 1977 districts, from ensuing redevelopment.¹⁶ Along Armitage in 2003, the Armitage-Halsted district was created to preserve the commercial corridor of 1890s masonry flats, which feature fine examples of pressed metal decoration. However, by the time of designation a few examples of new construction had been built.

In Lincoln Park, historic designation has effectively preserved a select collection of representative buildings while simultaneously leaving hundreds of other structures of potentially equal value unprotected and ripe for redevelopment. What remains is a limited record of the area's built fabric, outlined by the rude borders of 1960s Urban Renewal and reactionary preservation of the 2000s. Five decades of redevelopment in a single community area can certainly create significant changes to the built fabric, but without the community leadership and initiative, it is likely that the historic districts created would not have existed and a significant chapter in Chicago's working-class and post-Great-Chicago-Fire history would have been lost.

B. Guarding Against a Flood of Change:

The historic district versus the teardown trend

Historic districts are virtually entirely based on community support, requiring final approval from the ward alderman and from the Commission on Chicago Landmarks.¹⁷ While an historic district can be the product of a community's desire to acknowledge and protect their historic built fabric, many districts have been created out of a more visceral and reactionary defense against change. In the history of historic district designation in Chicago, more districts were created in the late 1990s and 2000s than in all the preceding years since the city's 1968 landmarks ordinance.

15 According to research by Vincent Michael, 2007 (167), median home sales prices jumped in the 1970s in Old Town Triangle and in Mid-North from \$19,500 to over \$180,000. In comparison, median monthly rents in Old Town Triangle were around \$160, while R.A.N.C.H Triangle units rented for around \$84.

16 The 1977 Lincoln Park districts feature a few parcels of new construction, which were either developed on open parcels or replaced non-contributing structures.

17 The Commission on Historical and Architectural Landmarks was renamed the Commission on Chicago Landmark's in 1987.

In the West Town community area, teardowns increased steadily to over one-hundred per year by the year 2000. During the spring and fall months demolition activity is typically at its highest. In West Town, brick flats in the Bucktown neighborhood, masonry houses in Wicker Park, and brick workers' cottages in Ukrainian Village would fall beneath the wrecker's excavator.¹⁸ Within six to eight months of demolition, a new three- to five-story condominium building or large home would fill the cleared lot. All across West Town longtime residents found their homes hidden in canyons of concrete-block new construction. Residents rallied in 2002 for the creation of an historic district to protect several blocks from the rapid change. As development pressure increased, the historic district was extended twice and a second one designated to capture even more blocks that had not been included in the initial district. As was seen in Lincoln Park, historic districts in West Town were successful at protecting large numbers of properties from market-driven destruction. However, their use as deterrents of redevelopment was contested in the community.

West Town followed a similar ontogeny as Lincoln Park, except that redevelopment took longer to become established. In the 1960s, parts of West Town were proposed for Urban Renewal as the area had lost investment and population; financing for buying a home in the area became difficult to acquire. In addition, the Kennedy Expressway was built, cutting off the eastern edge of the community. However, in the mid-1970s, home renovators and "urban pioneers" entered the community, buying first the larger mansions in Wicker Park before slowly spreading out into the rest of the neighborhoods. West Town had a long and tumultuous period of "gentrification" where existing residents, house renovators, the city, developers, and real estate agents all fought to keep or gain their claim in the community. Residents triumphed over the city's larger urban renewal plans in the 1970s. However, real estate offices opened in the community in the 1980s, focusing efforts on gaining a critical mass of new residents to rehabilitate homes and shift the direction of the community towards higher home values. At first, this activity represented only a fraction of community activity, as much of the West Town area continued to decline through the mid-1980s. However, with the growth of the housing market in the late 1980s and high housing prices in Lincoln Park and Lake View, development that had been building at West Town's eastern edge had an impetus to move deeper into the community. Between 1980 and 1990, the median

¹⁸ See nine-community study area map of neighborhood areas in *Chapter 5*

home price increased by 211% in West Town, which was the fifth largest increase for a community in Chicago for the decade.¹⁹ While this price increase arose from the work of renovators, a new and extended housing boom beginning in the 1990s would fully transform the community.

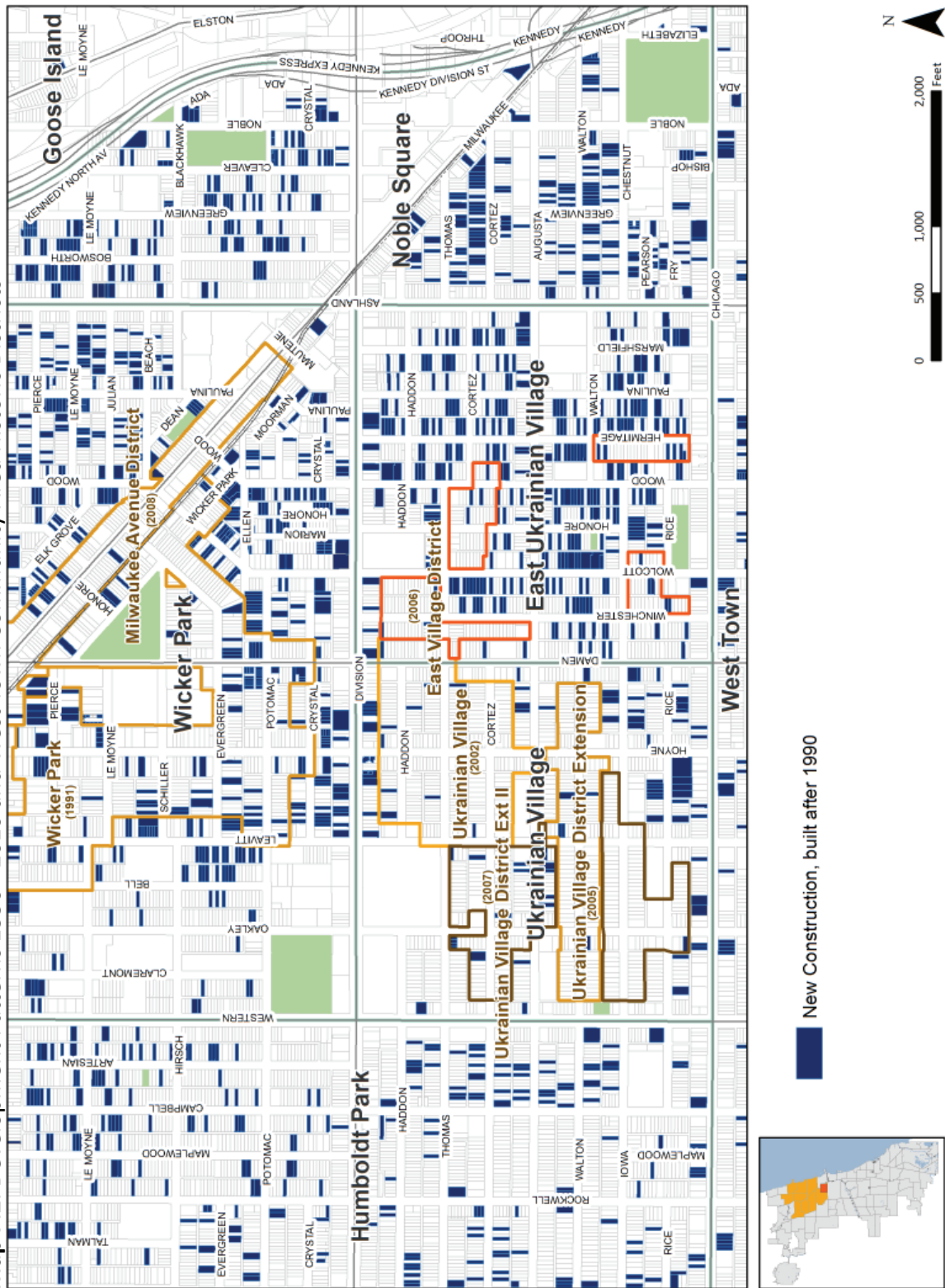
West Town's first city historic district was designated in 1991 as the Wicker Park district. Its period of significance covered a wide range from 1870 to 1930, which essentially captured the main periods of development and urban growth in the area. The city's historic district roughly covers the similar Wicker Park National Register Historic District, which was designated in 1979. The National Register designation came as new homeowners were moving into Wicker Park and renovating the area's larger homes. The Federal Historic Preservation Tax Incentives program, revised under the Tax Reform Act of 1986, helped push forward several of the area's rehabilitation projects. However, it was the city's historic district that protected the housing stock from demolition. In *Map 7.2*, the Wicker park historic district is at the top center of the map. In it appear a few instances of new construction. These were often built as infill on existing vacant lots.

West Town's teardown trend began later than in Lincoln Park or Lake View. First the empty parcels and truly deteriorated buildings were redeveloped, but once all of these lots were taken, redevelopment, now entrenched in the community, began to replace the more substantial and maintained buildings. As redevelopment accelerated, the very structures that had come to define the character of the community were being torn down for substantially different new development. In 1993, eleven demolition permits were issued, accounting for 13% of the demolition permits in the nine-community study area for that year. Given the community's historical development within the city's fire limits, the majority of the housing stock is of masonry. Four three-flats and three two-flats were issued permits in 1993. Three-flats are often much larger and more expensive to demolish than other structures. In other communities, three-flats were not razed until the teardown trend had advanced to the point where such demolitions were economically justifiable. Considering that these early demolitions took place in the western neighborhood of Humboldt Park, an area that continued to decline through the mid-1990s, it is likely that these buildings were in an advanced state of deterioration requiring demolition. Redevelopment activity edged in from the

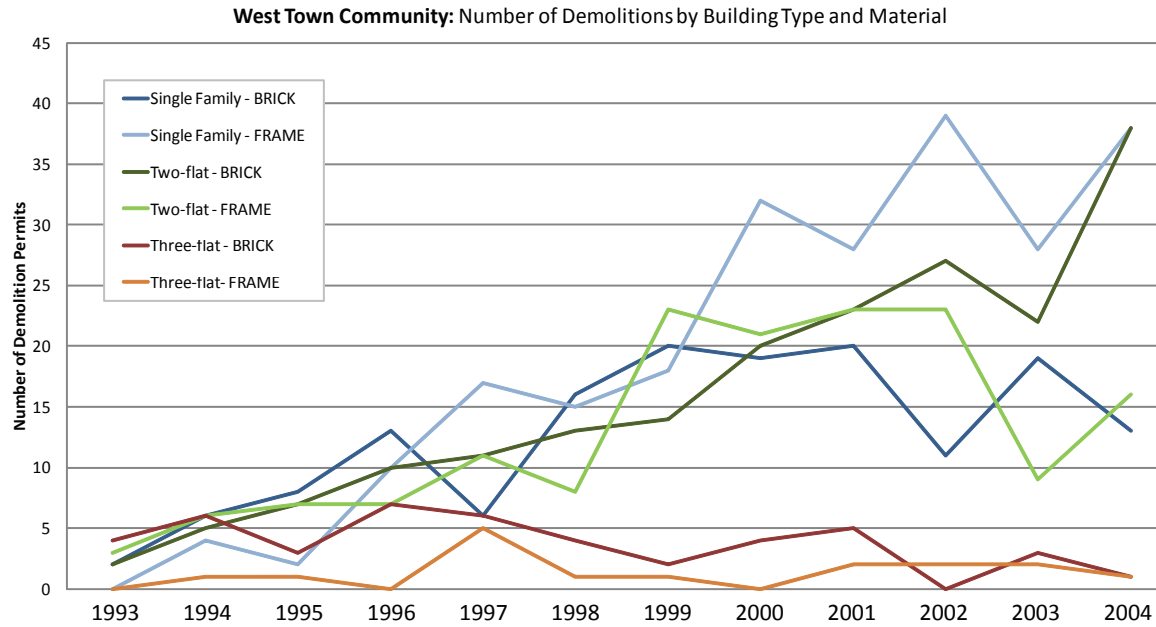
19 John J. Betancur, "The Politics of Gentrification: The Case of West Town in Chicago," *Urban Affairs Review*, 37 (2002), 788.

Figures from: Chicago Rehab Network, *The Chicago affordable housing fact book: Visions for change*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: Chicago Rehab Network, 1993), table 3.

Map 7.2: Development Patterns 1990 - 2010 and West Town Community Area Historic Districts



Matthew Wicklund, 2012; Source: Cook Assessor's Office, 2011; Chicago GIS Office, 2012



Graph 7.2: Annual demolition of buildings in West Town by building type and exterior material

Source: Cook County Assessor's Office parcel data, 2011

West Town	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	Total
Single Family - BRICK	2	6	8	13	6	16	20	19	20	11	19	13	153
Single Family - FRAME	0	4	2	10	17	15	18	32	28	39	28	38	231
Two-flat - BRICK	2	5	7	10	11	13	14	20	23	27	22	38	192
Two-flat - FRAME	3	6	7	7	11	8	23	21	23	23	9	16	157
Three-flat - BRICK	4	6	3	7	6	4	2	4	5	0	3	1	45
Three-flat - FRAME	0	1	1	0	5	1	1	0	2	2	2	1	16
Total demolitions by year	11	28	28	47	56	57	78	96	101	102	83	107	794
% of total study area demolitions	1%	4%	4%	6%	7%	7%	10%	12%	13%	13%	10%	13%	

Table 7.2: Annual demolition in West Town (1993 - 2004) showing three primary historic building types, built of either brick or frame

Source: Cook County Assessor's Office parcel data, 2011

established and renovated areas on the eastern edge of the community. As in other communities, development first favored empty parcels followed by frame single-family houses and two-flats because they were the cheapest and easiest to demolish. The annual increase in the demolition of these types of buildings is indicative of the spread of teardowns, rather than of simply demolition (*see Graph 7.2 and Table 7.2 for types of buildings demolished*). By the year 2000, dozens of frame buildings were being leveled, in addition to increasing numbers of brick houses and flats. As in other communities, once the supply of available frame buildings decreased, developers moved on to the next profitable option, which would have been masonry buildings. These include brick versions of the common gable-front cottage and brick two flats. West Town soon exceeded Lincoln Park and Lake View in the sheer number of annual demolitions and new construction projects.



Image 7.2: The 2100 block of West Walton Place; a three-unit condominium building was completed at 2127 West Walton amid cottages prior to the block becoming part of first extension of the Ukrainian Village historic district; 2012

West Town acquired three new districts and two district extensions between 2002 and 2008. The following series of maps illustrate the spread of development as areas were designated historic districts (*see Maps 7.3-A, B, C, D*). The first historic district in the Ukrainian Village neighborhood was the Ukrainian Village District designated in 2002 (*see Map 7.3-A*). Residents of the area in the late 1990s voiced objections to new construction and the change that came more quickly every year. In an effort to curb teardowns, the district was proposed and refined in a series of public meetings organized by 32nd Ward Alderman Theodore Matlak in 2000.²⁰ While not every resident was in support of the district, the designation passed with a majority vote in favor. The new district covered six blocks and nearly 260 parcels. Most of the buildings are houses

20 Aldermanic support in Chicago has helped in the preservation of neighborhood architecture. However, aldermen can also use their influence to pursue projects that result in the demolition of potentially significant structures. In 2005, a variance for new construction was issued for a condominium building that would replace an 1880s Queen Anne corner flat at Wabansia and Hermitage Streets in the Bucktown neighborhood of West Town. The corner building was given the second highest rating for significance (orange) in the city's historic resources survey. Long-term residents sought to preserve the building for its historic character and for its existing ground-floor establishment - a pub. New residents and the alderman favored demolition of the structure, citing its pub occupant as a negative presence in the gentrifying community. The greatest consternation came from the need for an increase in zoning allowances for the new construction to follow, which residents and critics derided as "spot-zoning." Counter arguments by residents and preservation organizations were ineffectual in influencing the alderman's decision and the building was demolished. A single large house was built, filling the lot. Aldermanic influence in Chicago can significantly sway preservation initiatives.

Ben Joravsky, "What They Don't Know Won't Enrage Them: The Artful Dodger and what's wrong with our system of neighbor notification," *The Chicago Reader*, Feb. 3, 2006, 8-9;

Libby Sander, "Preservationists in Chicago Fear Losing Ground to Condos," *The New York Times*, Nov. 6, 2006.

This map illustrates the West Town and Ukrainian Village neighborhoods in Chicago, highlighting areas of historic residential construction and subsequent historic district designations. The map is divided into several color-coded zones representing different construction periods:

- 1990 - 2002:** Red solid areas and red outlines.
- 2003 - 2005:** Orange solid areas and orange outlines.
- 2006:** Green solid areas and green outlines.
- 2007:** Blue solid areas and blue outlines.

The map also shows the boundaries of several historic districts, including:

- Ukrainian Village District (2002):** Outlined in red.
- Ukrainian Village Ext I (2005):** Outlined in orange.
- Ukrainian Village Ext II (2007):** Outlined in blue.
- East Ukrainian Village:** Labeled in the center.
- West Town:** Labeled on the right side.
- Noble Square:** Labeled at the top left.
- Humboldt Park:** Labeled at the bottom left.
- Wicker Park District (1991):** Labeled on the far left.

Major streets shown include Division, Western, Chicago, and Milwaukee. The map includes a scale bar (0 to 1,000 feet) and a north arrow. An inset map in the bottom right corner shows the location of the study area within the city of Chicago.

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Period of New Residential Construction and Subsequent Historic District Designation

1990 - 2002 Ukrainian Village District (2002)

2003 - 2005 Ukrainian Village Ext I (2005)

2006 East Village (2006)

2007 Ukrainian Village Ext II (2007)

Neighborhoods

2007 Ukrainian Village Ext II (2007)

West Town

Ukrainian Village

East Ukrainian Village

Wicker Park District (1991)

Humboldt Park

Noble Square

Map of Chicago

Legend:

- 1990 - 2002: Ukrainian Village District (2002)
- 2003 - 2005: Ukrainian Village Ext I (2005)
- 2006: East Village (2006)
- 2007: Ukrainian Village Ext II (2007)
- Neighborhoods

Scale: 0 250 500 1,000 Feet

North Arrow

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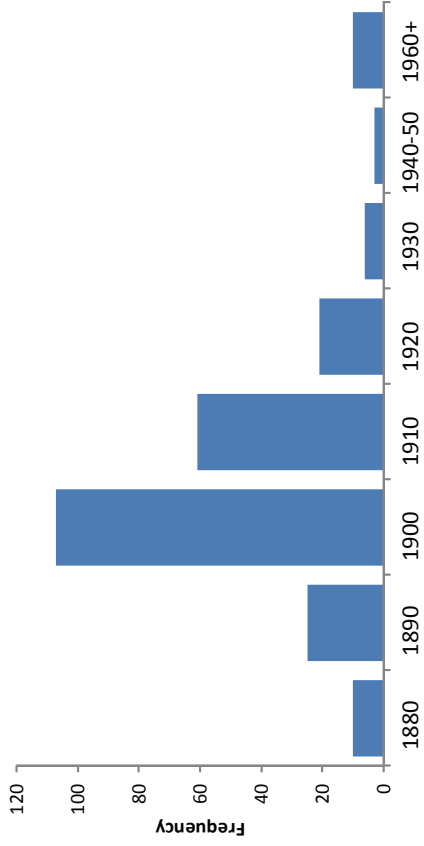
and flats built between 1890 and 1920 (*see Graph 7.3*). By the time of designation six new condominium buildings and two single-family houses had been built; these were enveloped as non-contributing structures.

In 2003 and 2004, teardowns continued around the historic district, prompting support by both residents and the alderman for an expansion of the 2002 district (*see Map 7.3-B*). In 2005, the Ukrainian Village Extension was designated. It covered a four-block long stretch of the 2000 through 2300 blocks of West Walton Place, which added nearly 140 buildings to the district. The character of the area is defined almost entirely by a single type of building: brick two- and three-flats with dark brick facades, brick detail, and frequently a brick porch. Sixty percent of the flats were built in the 1910s and another quarter date to the 1920s (*see Graph 7.4*). The easternmost block (2000 block) in the extension was developed as a collection of 1.5-story brick cottages. By the time of designation, already four cottages had been leveled for three-story condominium buildings, which today stand tall over the compact cottages.

The Ukrainian Village district was extended yet again in 2007 to cover two separate sets of blocks to the north and south of the first extension (*see Map 7.3-D*). This additional area captured another 230 buildings, including four post-1990 townhouses, eight condominium buildings, and a single-family home. More importantly, the district adds a greater body of early twentieth century architecture to the district; over 80% of the structures are flats built in the 1910s and 1920s (*see Graph 7.5*). Overall, the Ukrainian Village District is particularly cohesive in its architectural style and period of significance. The great majority of working- and middle-class buildings date to the 1900s through the 1920s, and constitute a part of Chicago's industrial-era growth. The collective effort of residents (both owners and renters) helped to sway the ward alderman into supporting the creation of the district and its extensions. Additional influence came from area resident and outspoken grassroots preservation leader Jonathan Fine, who was President of Preservation Chicago, an organization that works on many preservation initiatives in the city.

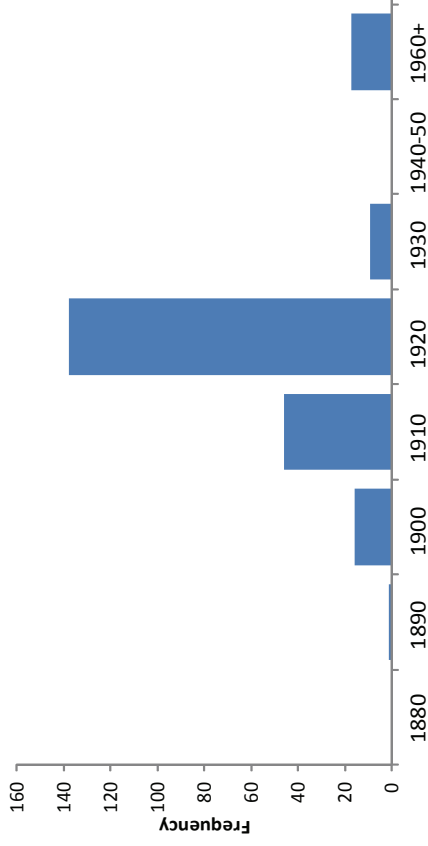
In contrast to the Ukrainian Village district and extensions, the East Village district, also known as East Ukrainian Village, was designated once development had significantly advanced (*see Map 7.3-C*). East Village experienced almost three times as many teardowns as Ukrainian Village by 2006, yet had not formalized a policy for the protection of any of its buildings. Preservation Chicago selected the neighborhood for its 2004 list of most endangered Chicago buildings, citing the neighborhood's importance to the city and the unprecedented speed of redevelopment.

Building Ages - Ukrainian Village Historic District



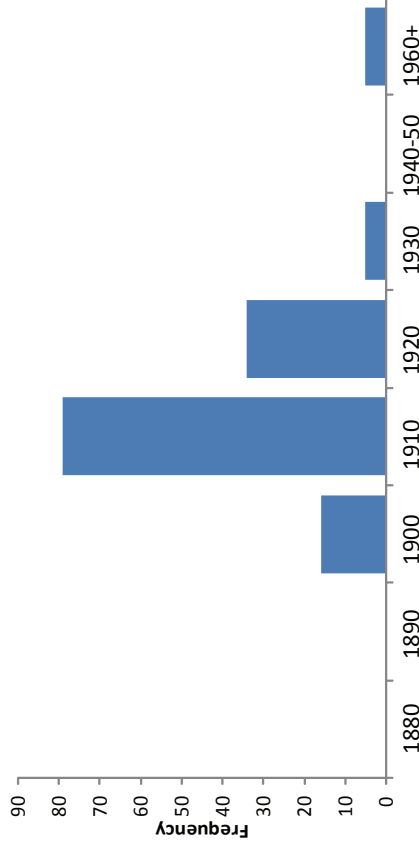
Graph 7.3: Frequency of building construction dates in the Ukrainian Village Historic District (2002) in 2011

Building Ages - Ukrainian Village District Extension II



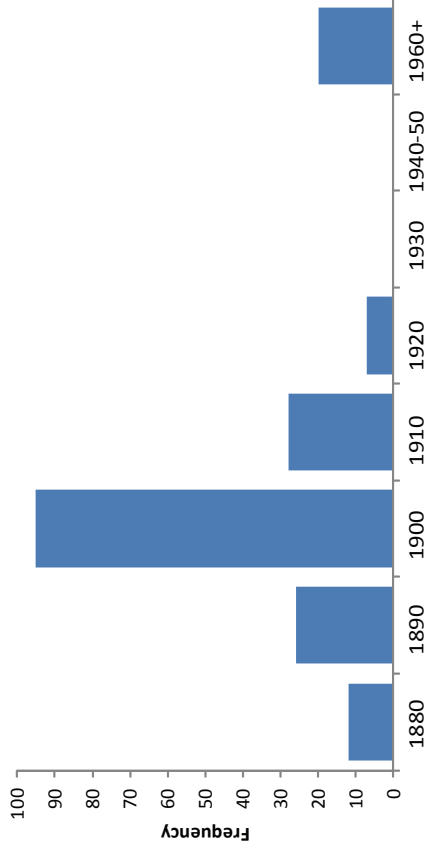
Graph 7.5: Frequency of building construction dates in the Ukrainian Village District Extension II (2007) in 2011

Building Ages - Ukrainian Village District Extension I



Graph 7.4: Frequency of building construction dates in the Ukrainian Village District Extension I (2005) in 2011

Building Ages - East Village



Graph 7.6: Frequency of building construction dates in the East Village District (2006) in 2011

Source: Cook County Assessor's Office parcel data, 2011



Image 7.2: East side of the 800 - 900 block of North Hermitage Street in the East Village District; only one side of the street was included due to the near complete redevelopment of the opposing side of the street; 2012

“In the case of East Village, property values have risen so dramatically, the neighborhood is now choking on its own success. The once unthinkable demolition of charmingly detailed brick cottages and two flats is now commonplace, their intact leaded windows, wooden cornices, and cast-iron railings notwithstanding. Compounding the problem of lost neighborhood character is what invariably replaces these historic and human-scaled buildings.”²¹

Compared to the Ukrainian Village neighborhood, East Village tends to have slightly older housing due to being slightly closer to downtown, the city’s post-fire borders, and the major commercial corridor and former northwest plank road Milwaukee Avenue. The buildings are a mix of frame and brick cottages and flats; 6% date to the 1880s, which represent some of the oldest buildings of the two districts. The majority, around 50%, were built in the 1900s (*see Graph 7.6*). East Village was designated as four distinct sections in 2006, after the first extension and before the second extension to the Ukrainian Village district. Since the mid-1990s, development had concentrated in the East Village area, tearing down its late-nineteenth century brick workers’ cottages and flats.

Discussions on landmarking the area began as the Ukrainian Village district was designated in 2002, following the demolition of one of the oldest pre-fire houses in the city. The Nathan W. Huntley house at 836 N. Paulina Street, an Italianate farm

²¹ Preservation Chicago, *Chicago’s East Village Neighborhood*, 2003, www.preservationchicago.org, accessed: April 2012.

house, was built around 1858 in what at the time was outside the city's boundaries in the agricultural fringe. The house had been listed as very significant in the city's historic resources survey, which will be discussed in *Chapter 8*, but failed to garner official Chicago landmark status after officials determined its exterior had been too altered. Early in 2002, the Landmarks Preservation Council of Illinois, the state's leading preservation advocacy group, added the house to its annual ten most Endangered List. The East Village Association, a neighborhood group, worked to prevent the home's demolition; however, the developer countered that the home was not worth saving due to its deteriorated condition. Residents and representatives of the preservation field focused on the building's history and the fact that it belonged to a very small collection of extant city-wide pre-fire and pre-Civil War buildings.²² Despite increased awareness of the home's history and attempts to either swap with the developer a city-owned parcel or to move it, the structure was demolished in late 2002.

The loss of the Huntley house galvanized support for a wider preservation initiative in the neighborhood, and influenced the aldermanic race in 2003. Manny Flores was elected, asserting his vow to curb the extensive redevelopment. Over the next year he worked with residents to designate the East Village historic district. However, the road to designation was long and contentious as residents were divided over the benefits of landmarking. In January 2006, the East Village district was designated with the majority of resident votes being in favor of the district. The district encompasses remaining blocks that had little to no redevelopment and that include nearly 200 buildings from the 1880s through the 1920s.

C. Challenging Historic Districts

The significance of modest working-class architecture is not always appreciated or understood. Chicago's development and growth in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries centered on industry and the proximity of workers, largely immigrant, and their place of work. Across the city, as described in *Chapter 2*, blocks of simple frame and brick homes and flats were built for and by workers in the city's many factories and production plants. The opulent and high-style houses of the wealthy were only built on the city's edges, near the lakefront, or along the clean and verdant boulevard system. Typical examples of renowned architects are thus predominantly

²² Barbara B. Buchholz, "Residential Rescue – Fight for pre-Fire house raises the question: What buildings should be saved and why?" *The Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 13, 2002; David Mendell, "Future dims for 1858 house: City fails to reach deal to keep pair from leveling it," *The Chicago Tribune*, May 26, 2002.

absent from the vastness of inner neighborhoods, where buildings were utilitarian and often built in great numbers. There are of course many fine examples of buildings from the city's well-known architectural offices dispersed throughout the city, but the more prosaic structures make up the character of neighborhoods and define the scale and feel of blocks; buildings like Louis Sullivan's Holy Trinity Orthodox Cathedral simply stud the greater urban fabric rather than define it.²³ The canon of the Chicago School, developed in the 1950s as Daniel Bluestone notes, remains true in twenty-first century Chicago, as the most common perception of a landmark is of one of the city's restored Loop (downtown) skyscrapers.²⁴ The idea that a humble cottage or brick three-flat can be a landmark or part of an historic district often challenges the notions that many have of what can be landmarked or can be considered historically important. At the same time, landmarking and the perceived unwarranted regulation raises questions of property rights. The Lincoln Park community had faced similar questions in the 1960s and 1970s when seeking landmark district status. The city's then firm hold on the Chicago School narrative and on landmarking only masterpieces of architecture had to be altered in order for Lincoln Park's formerly working-class, non-Chicago School, and architecturally mixed proposed historic districts to be designated. While the recognition of "neighborhood architecture" as a resource worth preserving helped to redefine preservation in the last decades of the twentieth-century, some remain skeptical.

In 2005, Carol C. Mrowka, a resident of and real estate agent in East Village, filed a complaint against the City of Chicago and the Commission on Chicago Landmarks for the designation regarding the then proposed East Village historic district. Mrowka contended that, "the basic style of the buildings is pretty, but this is not a landmark."²⁵ For her the rows of brick homes were simply ordinary and not worthy of landmark

23 Louis Henri Sullivan's buildings are some of the most revered in the city. His best-known designs inhabit Chicago's downtown, while dozens of his other buildings were largely forgotten except by devoted historians such as the ill-fated photographer Richard Nickle. Holy Trinity Orthodox Cathedral, built in 1903 for an expanding largely Ukrainian congregation, was designated a Chicago Landmark in 1979. Works by Sullivan and other famous architects have not always been protected, especially when development pressure is building. In Lake View in 2006, at 600 W. Stratford Place, one of the last surviving frame houses designed by Adler & Sullivan was nearly demolished for a new development. However, as debate over the house and its redevelopment ensued, the house burned to the ground and remains a vacant lot. Originally, the house was considered for landmark status as part of an historic district to the south (Hawthorn District), but was rejected. Once a building is rejected, later reconsideration requires more stringent criteria for designation.

24 Bluestone, 1994. He argues that the Chicago School rhetoric evolved as an evolutionary narrative highlighting the history and development of Modernism. Buildings of certain style that expressed their structural quality were combined into a category of buildings that appeared as precursors to the Modern.

25 Monica Davey, "Challenge to Landmark Law Worries Preservationists," *The New York Times*, Mar. 23, 2009.

designation; they were not the city's masterpieces or even unique in a city that was full of them.

Mrowka joined in a suit with an attorney and longtime resident of Lincoln Park, Albert C. Hanna. Hanna owned property on West Demming Place, which he had bought in 1965, and was being proposed as part of a new Lincoln Park historic district in 2006. Hanna had vigorously fought attempts at downzoning the area in 1998; this downzoning case will be further explored in *Chapter 9*. The new case was brought against the City of Chicago and the Commission on Chicago Landmarks in 2006 on the grounds that the Chicago Landmarks Ordinance was invalid on its face, as it applied to the plaintiffs' respective properties in landmark districts, that the language of the Ordinance was "vague," and finally that the Ordinance was unconstitutional. Both Mrowka and Hanna saw the landmarks ordinance and the landmarking of their properties as unconstitutionally restricting their ability to enjoy their property. Specifically, they could no longer sell their properties to a developer in the heating housing market or redevelop their properties themselves. Hanna, as a longtime resident of Lincoln Park, and Mrowka, a relatively recent arrival to the East Village neighborhood, saw the freedom of redevelopment as part of their bundle of property rights. Simply, they argued,



Image 7.3: Two-flats on the east side of the 1100 block of North Winchester in the East Village District; 2012 "The basic style of the buildings is pretty, but this is not a landmark." - Carol Mrowka, plaintiff in a case challenging the validity of the East Village historic district ²⁵

landmarking constituted a taking. The City of Chicago voted to dismiss the case and the Trial Court found in favor of the City and dropped the case.²⁶

Hanna and Mrowka, ever persistent, appealed and brought their case to the Cook County Circuit Court in 2009. In a turn of events, the Appellate Court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs, finding Chicago's landmark law "vague, ambiguous, and overly broad" which meant that the City Council of Chicago had been unconstitutionally delegating discretionary authority to the Commission on Chicago Landmarks.²⁷ The Commission had designated hundreds of landmarks and dozens of historic districts, with the Council's approval, since 1968, which were now in danger of being overturned. Landmarks ranging from the masterpieces downtown, identified in the 1950s and landmarked in the 1960s, to dozens of properties and sites across the city, were vulnerable to losing their protection from facade alteration and demolition.

History is full of similar cases challenging the validity of landmarks laws, and each case always seemed to restate the famous findings of the 1978 case *Penn Central Transportation Co. v. New York City*, which found that New York City's landmarking of the station was not considered a "taking."²⁸ This is the heart of the property rights issue, the notion that municipal regulation of property essentially acts as eminent domain, but without "just compensation" per the Fifth Amendment. However, just compensation is often misconstrued as fair-market value, which in the case of Hanna and Mrowka would likely be interpreted as the potential value of their properties that could be obtained through redevelopment. However, as landmarking does not prevent them from selling their home and influences the value of their properties no more than any other market factor, the law does not constitute a "taking." The arguments made by Hanna and by Mrowka thus shifted away from takings to "vagueness" in order to tackle the structure of the law rather than the law itself. Finding the law invalid in its language would render the issue of "takings" moot.

The language of the Ordinance had changed little since the Illinois General Assembly authorized municipalities to designate landmarks in 1963.²⁹ This finding was cast in the face of over forty preceding cases upholding landmarks laws in challenges of

²⁶ *Albert C. Hanna and Carol C. Mrowka v. City of Chicago*, 06 CH 19422 (2009)

²⁷ *Ibid*

²⁸ *Penn Central Transportation Co. v. New York City*, 438 U.S. 104 (1978)

²⁹ Amended and codified as 65 ILCS 5/11-48.2-2; the language set forth in 1963 described a landmark as having "special historical, community, or aesthetic interest." The city's landmarks law language also follows the designation criteria of the Illinois Register of Historic Places, which is part of the Illinois Historic Preservation Act, 20 ILSC 3410/6.

“vagueness.” Chicago’s ordinance was essentially the same in language and specificity as landmarks laws in nearly every other city in the country, including the Department of the Interior, and to declare the law as “vague” could have set a precedent for other cases to challenge landmarks laws in other cities.³⁰ In 2009, no landmark seemed safe.

The leaders of preservation organizations in Chicago and across the country felt the gravity of the situation and filed an *amicus*, or “friends of the court,” brief in support of the City of Chicago’s appeal.³¹ The City appealed the Appellate Court’s reversal of the Trial Court’s initial favorable finding, and took the case to the Illinois Supreme Court. However, the case was not taken and was remanded to the Cook County Circuit Court, where in May of 2012 the presiding judge Sophia Hall ruled in favor of the City. She cited that language from any ordinance can be take out of context and seen as vague; however, the landmarks ordinance is clear when read in context of preservation goals.³² The plaintiffs intend to appeal the decision to state Appellate Court, which leaves the landmarks ordinance somewhat vulnerable in the near future.³³ Both the East Village and Arlington-Demming districts designated in 2006 remain along with the rest of the city’s landmarks for the time being.

D. Historic District Conclusions

Chicago is a city of neighborhoods. Its verdant blocks of streets, lined by a variety of seemingly ordinary structures, define the city and create an atmosphere that is both attractive and valuable as representative of Chicago’s growth and development.

30 In Seattle, Washington a similar case was raised in 2009, citing the Hanna and Mrowka case as a precedent. The plaintiffs sought to develop the protected yard area of a landmark house. See: *Connor v. The City of Seattle*, 153 Wn. App. 673 (2009); this case cited a 1926 case, which established that the vagueness doctrine was intended primarily to prevent the law from being arbitrarily enforced. In addition, the doctrine “does not require a statute to meet impossible standards of specificity.” Quoting from: *Connally v. Gen. Constr. Co.*, 269 U.S. 385, 391, 46 S. Ct. 126, 70 L. Ed. 322 (1926)

31 On Petition for Leave to Appeal from the Appellate Court of Illinois, First District No. 1-07-3548, received March 11, 2009; there heard on appeal from the Circuit Court of Cook County: *Albert C. Hanna and Carol C. Mrowka v. City of Chicago*, 06 CH 19422 (2009)

32 Blair Kamin, “Ruling gives Chicago landmarks law a boost: Judge dismisses argument that Chicago’s standards are vague,” *The Chicago Tribune*, May 4, 2012.

33 In 2011, Chicago’s new Mayor Rahm Emanuel elected a questionable board of professionals to serve on the city’s Commission on Chicago Landmarks. The last architect and architectural historian, which are required according to landmark law, were replaced with professionals from other fields unrelated to either architecture or historic preservation. If the case against the landmarks law continues, there could be additional critique of the city’s hiring of the Commission. Because the board is no longer comprised of professionals of the architectural and preservation fields, it does not follow the requirements for the Commission and can therefore be contested on the grounds that its panel is unqualified.

See Blair Kamin, “Changes Will Erode Foundation of Landmarks Commission: Emanuel nominees long on political ties, woefully short on credentials,” *The Chicago Tribune*, July 8, 2011.

Maintaining examples of these places enriches the city's built fabric. Cities are prone to change, and their layout and existing built environment are testament to their development through history. In the last century or so, change has come to be recognized, with its increasing fleetingness, as an observable truth rather than a generational abstraction.³⁴ Fashions and taste came to dictate nearly every aspect of the physical environment and fabric of cities.

Preservation and the protection of established aspects of the built fabric help to maintain temporal connections in a city to its past, which thus builds a sense of permanence and stability in a community. The old adage, "location, location, location," espouses the notion that a property's value comes from its situation and position relative to various amenities and other surrounding influencing factors. A property does not create its own value in a vacuum. Adding stability to a community implicitly incentivizes residents and owners to improve and invest in their properties, which in turn affects the greater neighborhood of surrounding properties.

The teardown trend developed along a similar path of influence, but instead followed behind home renovators, waiting for an area to become desirable before redeveloping property. Speculators often bought property but waited for the right moment. The source of a neighborhood's desirability is arguable, but in the communities of West Town and Lincoln Park, it can be inferred, considering the persistence and ambition of residents in seeking to control change, that these areas were desired for their character. As redevelopment ensued and elements of the built fabric were lost and replaced with seemingly "different" and "incompatible" buildings, neighborhoods with strong resident groups and aldermen supportive of preservation were able to garner historic district status.³⁵

Neighborhood historic district designation required a broadening of preservation discourse to include structures beyond the "masterpieces" and rare examples of high-architectural styles, the more humble or prosaic buildings of everyday life. Lincoln Park's Old Town Triangle and Mid-North districts asserted the value of maintaining blocks of houses that had changed little since the turn of the twentieth century. The neighborhood's stock of houses were individually valued as integral to the greater character of the area and as important to the city's history; new private and Renewal development was seen as conflicting with the desired direction of the neighborhoods.

³⁴ Lowenthal, 389.

³⁵ Szold, 189.

The resulting historic districts set a precedent for future neighborhood preservation across the city.

Historic district designation offers an effective, though localized, policy for the preservation of neighborhood fabric and of resident investment in the community. It is best if districts are designated before development pressure builds, or in the absence of pressure, in order to create a district based on a neighborhood plan for future stability and preservation. However, not everything can be made a landmark or included as part of an historic district, without diluting the meaning and value of historic designation. The patchwork designation of districts in both Lincoln Park and West Town prevented the demolition and wholesale change of some blocks, but shifted development to other blocks of equal architectural and historical value. These blocks were thus devalued in terms of their historical contribution and allowed to be redeveloped, which alters the character of the neighborhood by dividing it into two distinct forms: the protected *place* and altered *place*. The idea behind many historic districts in Chicago is to preserve the original architecture of an area, the *place* that an area has been since its initial development. It is not meant to freeze, but preserve the structures that are important to the historic narrative of a neighborhood and the city. The historic district is a precision tool best employed in long range planning for a community interested in protecting its investment future plan rather than as a dilatory reflex.

8. Historic Resources Survey & Demolition Delay

Chicago's extant built fabric fills over 600,000 parcels that are spread out across 228 square miles. The houses, flats, commercial storefronts, and dozens of other building types that define the character of neighborhoods and constitute the city's built fabric do not all maintain the same level of architectural integrity or physical condition. New windows, changes in exterior treatment, or even the addition or subtraction of elements or complete sections have altered the appearance of buildings over time. The ephemeral motivations of fashion and the structural requirements of economy can at once compromise a building's integrity, while also adding layers to its historical narrative. A city's built fabric is thus imbued with these palimpsests of the past, which make for a richer and more tangible heritage. However, as a city changes, some buildings are bound to be replaced, and in the preservation movement that has come to embrace the "everyday architecture" of neighborhoods, identifying architecturally and/or historically significant structures has become an important tool; this is especially true when coupled with demolition or permit review policies.

Chicago took inventory of its historic resources in the 1980s, and retroactively instituted a "demolition delay" ordinance in 2003 that was based on the survey, in order to curb the demolition of potential landmarks.

A. Historic Resources Survey

A survey of historic resources can give a municipality a sense of what exists in its built fabric, and develops as inventory of places of important historical association or of architectural significance. The survey is often initiated by a local or state organization or office of historic preservation. A framework of criteria for assessing properties, as informed by local history, establishes a base for identifying properties; however, the process is still subjective. Over time, what is valued shifts, and buildings that may not have been identified in a survey in the past, such as mid-century architecture and subsequent Modern forms, may be included at another time. Similarly, some surveys rely on a set year or on a rolling "50-years or older" basis for narrowing a survey's focus. In either case, a survey is never complete and in fact changes as much as the built fabric it attempts to document. Unless a survey is accompanied by legal constraints or is accompanied by a process for reviewing proposed work, the survey itself becomes a static inventory of past conditions.

1. ILLINOIS STRUCTURES SURVEY (ISS)

The State of Illinois's State Historic Preservation Office organized the first survey in 1970 through 1975, following passage of the 1966 Historic Preservation Act, which gave states the responsibility for identifying their historic sites. This survey took three paths: the Historic Structures Survey (ISS), which catalogued places of architectural interest; the Illinois Historic Landmarks Survey (IHLS), which captured places of historical significance; and the Illinois Archeological Survey (IAS). The Illinois Structures Survey inventoried Chicago's vast built fabric, in addition to the rest of the state, and established a base of significant structures in the city. Each identified building was summarized on a data card, with a brief history and a photograph. Once the survey was completed in a county, the sites were categorized as either "first" or "second-class" according to their integrity and architectural merit. The "first-class" sites were subsequently included in a final report, which for Chicago was published for each community area. Upon completion of the state survey in 1975, the over 60,000 identified "first-class" sites were again divided into three new categories:

 "Prime," potential inclusion in National Register;

 "Historic District," could be listed alone or part of a National Register historic district;

 "Ordinary," of marginal significance or architectural interest.

In the end, the ISS and IHLS were left as interim reports, intended to be further developed with final assessments of Illinois's historic sites.³⁶ In Chicago, the survey thoroughly identified a number of significant sites, some of which were designated as National Register historic sites or historic districts. However, the data gather left many holes in research to be filled.

2. THE CHICAGO HISTORIC RESOURCES SURVEY (CHRS)

The City of Chicago embarked on its own more detailed survey of historic resources in 1983, titled the Chicago Historic Resources Survey (CHRS). With three organizing staff and sixteen surveyors, each from the fields of architecture, architectural history, historic preservation, and/or city planning, the survey was completed in twelve years, identifying 17,371 historically or architecturally significant structures across the city (3.5% of the city's buildings). As in the ISS, preliminary research informed where sites of particular interest might be located, considering that such significance is not

³⁶ John A. Patterson, "The State Historic Preservation Office," in *Preservation Illinois: A Guide to State & Local Resources*, ed. Ruth E. Knack (Springfield: Illinois Department of Conservation, 1977), 75-78.

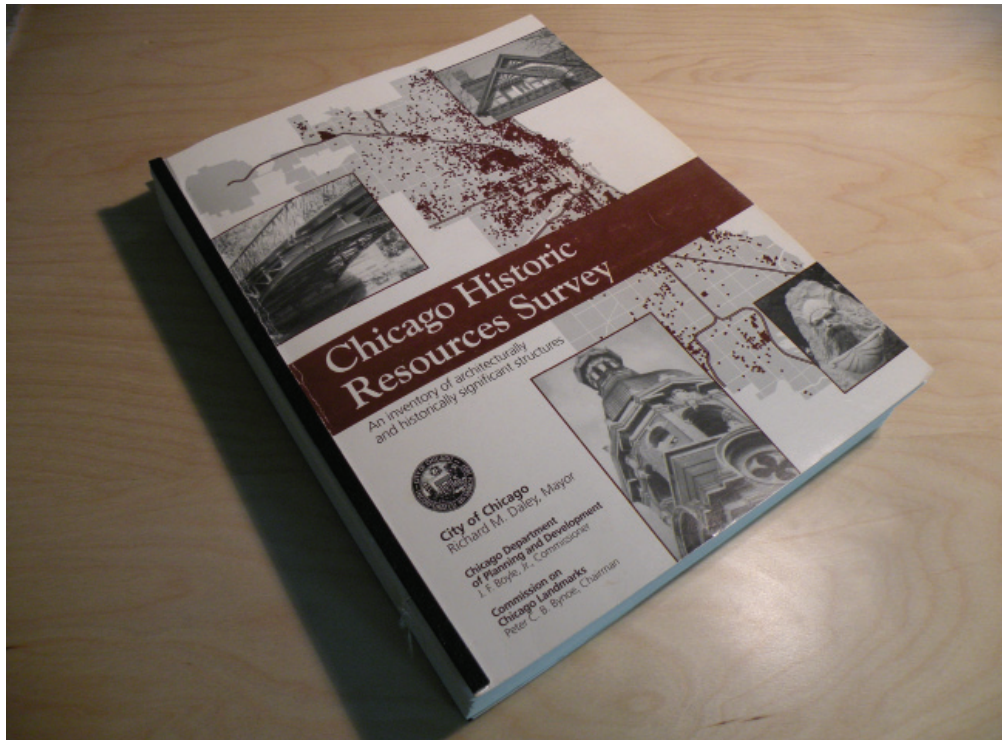


Image 8.1: The 1.5" thick bound copy of the Chicago Historic Resources Survey (1983 - 1995), published in 1996; the entire database is available in a semi-updated form online: <http://webapps.cityofchicago.org/landmarkswb/web/home.htm>

always manifest on the exterior. This was followed by a “windshield survey,” detailed research, and finally photography before being published in 1996.³⁷

The Commission on Chicago Landmarks prompted the survey in order to inventory potential city landmarks and/or National Register historic sites. The CHRS included all of the city’s existing ~4,500 landmarks and contributing structures, and captured many of the sites identified by the ISS. The 12,800 that were not already landmarks were theoretically of sufficient significance to be either individually listed or listed in clusters as part of an historic district. Significance was based on architectural style and integrity, and was limited to only buildings built before 1940. This constraint is in sharp contrast to the city’s first list of important structures in 1957, which included buildings both old and new.³⁸ In 2010, the Commission set about updating the CHRS to include post-1940 structures.³⁹

³⁷ *Chicago Historic Resources Survey: An Inventory of Architecturally and Historically Significant Structures* (Chicago: Commission on Chicago Landmarks and the Chicago Department of Planning and Development, 1996), I-2, I-3.

³⁸ Bluestone 1994, 215.

³⁹ *Commission on Chicago Landmarks: Certified Local Government Annual Report for 2011*, 2011, 9.

The 1996 CHRS developed a hierarchy of significance that would both shape a demolition-delay policy introduced in 2003 and alter thinking about what buildings should be preserved. In identifying significant pre-1940s buildings for the CHRS, the surveyors initially used a simple ranking system. “Once the significance of those buildings was established, however, there was no additional ranking of buildings, except by a rudimentary ‘color code’ system that measured such criteria as: age, degree of physical integrity, and level of possible significance.”⁴⁰ The color code system was more suggestive than declarative, and, following the passage of the demolition delay, became the survey’s most important feature (see Table 7.1: CHRS Color-Code Ratings). However, until policy was introduced to offer a chance for protecting the newly identified significant buildings, the survey itself functioned as little more than a static inventory with no protection provisions. The only exception was made to red-rated buildings, which would undergo review by the Commission on Chicago Landmarks.⁴¹

Table 8.1: CHRS Color-Code Rating Scale

The CHRS “rudimentary” color code system features seven levels of significance:

1. *Red*: Highest rating - Buildings that are architecturally or historically significant on a city, state, or national level. Required review by Commission.
2. *Orange*: Buildings significant to their immediate community area
3. *Yellow*: Buildings that may contribute to a city historic district - In good condition
4. *Yellow-Green*: Buildings lacking individual significance but potentially part of a larger district
5. *Green*: Buildings that contribute to a city landmark district, but with at least 10% exterior alteration, or that could have individual significance if restored
6. *Purple*: Buildings with significant alterations in an existing city historic district
7. *Blue*: Buildings built after 1940 and included within existing city historic districts

⁴⁰ *Chicago Historic Resources Survey 1996*, I-5.

⁴¹ *Chicago Historic Resources Survey 1996*, Appendices-5-8.

In addition to identifying individual potential landmark buildings, the original survey found clusters of significant buildings that could be collectively designated as city historic districts. However, the 32 proposed districts were omitted from the final 1996 publication over fear that residents would request designation.⁴² Adding several large districts at once, it was seen, would overwhelm the Commission's limited staff with paperwork and extra research, not to mention additional permit reviews. A few of these clusters were designated in the 2000s, including some in the Lincoln Park neighborhood, after residents cited them as reason for designation.⁴³ In 2000, in the 2200 block of North Burling Street, the owner of a row house, in an intact block of two-story brick row homes in Lincoln Park, requested permission to demolish his building due to its poor condition; he proposed creating a yard in its place. Five separate neighbors submitted landmark designation proposals citing the early post-fire development of the block and the CHRS district proposal.⁴⁴ Landmark status was conferred in late 2000. A similar block of row houses on Fremont Street was identified and landmarked in 2004. In the cases of these blocks, the CHRS survey established a precedent for landmark status by identifying a cluster of significant structures, which it initially proposed could become an historic district. However, had neighbors not acted to landmark the block, demolition would have been possible given the absence of protection.

In concept, the historic resources survey was a practical approach to identifying potential landmarks from a stock of buildings as vast as Chicago's. However, biases and the subjective nature of identifying significance can muddy the process of identification. In 2003, a lengthy *Chicago Tribune* investigation of demolished CHRS properties

42 Patrick T. Reardon and Blair Kamin, "A Squandered Heritage Part 2: The Demolition Machine - The City That Wrecks," *The Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 14, 2003, 4.; Celest Busk, "Landmark Scouts Form Winning Team," *The Chicago Sun-Times*, Jan. 23, 1987, sec. 5, 13.

43 Michael, 2007, 223; While some historic districts were designated according to clusters of CHRS identified properties in Lincoln Park, early in the 2000s, neighborhood opposition to the perceived restrictions from landmarking curbed subsequent attempts at district designations. As discussed in Chapter 6, regarding "pioneer" renovation-oriented residents versus new residents attracted to established and "gentrified" communities, it is likely that those opposed to landmarking had less connection to the neighborhood's history. Newer residents often are interested in change because they hold little personal connection to the neighborhood that comes from personal investment over time in both home and community. Issues of property-rights and interest in "maximizing" profit from land through redevelopment, rather than from existing property, become contentious issues in communities that are at a "tipping point," as Vincent Michael describes, between "pioneer" rehabbers and new residents seeking new housing in a gentrified older community. Michael notes that the "tipping point" comes as existing residents rally for historic districts to protect the neighborhood that they helped to improve from teardowns targeted at new residents (Micheal May 29, 2011, *TimeTells Blog*). This "tipping point" resembles the conflict that existing residents of Hyde Park had in 1900 with the encroaching "flat craze" (see Chapter 1).

44 Heather Vogell, "Divided They'll Fall, Residents Fear: Landmark Designation Sought For Lincoln Park Block Of Row Houses," *The Chicago Tribune*, July 12, 2000.

identified a few patterns in the original survey. First, it found correlation between the spatial dispersion of the two most often used color ratings, Orange and Green, and patterns of economic status. About 57% of orange-rated buildings were in block groups with relatively high income and that were largely white, while around 66% of green-rated buildings were in block groups with relatively low income and were predominantly African-American or Latino.⁴⁵ The significance of this correlation may be due to surveyor bias in assessing and perceiving building conditions as a factor of neighborhood context; however, it is also possible that building conditions were reflective of their situation. Green-rated buildings were simply orange-rated buildings with some amount of alteration; they were of equal historical and/or architectural caliber if only requiring a little more work. Beyond potential biases, another *Tribune* article noted that the survey overlooked dozens of buildings that were notable for their past residents or uses.⁴⁶ In the end, such a survey is never complete and must be updated with additional objective research as values in historic preservation change.

B. Demolition Delay

Identifying potential landmarks in a monumental database accomplishes little by way of preservation if there is no “second step” for protecting significant structures from demolition or major alteration. Even as the CHRS was in progress, identified buildings were being razed. Over 700 of the 17,000+ identified significant structures were razed between the late 1980s and 2003.⁴⁷ However, it was not until a downtown Loop building, highly visible in the city, was demolished that changes were made to the way significant buildings were handled.

The limestone edifice of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, an orange-rated building built in 1927, was swiftly issued a demolition permit in early 2002. Its anticipated demolition incited protest on a scale that was reminiscent of 1960s rallies held against the demolition of Louis Sullivan’s Garrick Theater (*also known as the Schiller Building; razed in 1961*) or his Chicago Stock Exchange building (*razed in 1972*). The Mercantile

45 Reardon and Kamin Jan. 14, 2003, 4-5.; The article established “low income” as being below the Census block median of \$38,625. “High income” was defined as above \$38,625. In addition, the study used US Census 2000 data for comparing the spatial dispersion of identified buildings, which were identified a decade earlier. Using 1990 US Census data may change the correlation.

46 Nathan Bierma, “Survey Missed Key Buildings, Including Marx Brothers House,” *The Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 15, 2003, Sec. 5, 3.

47 Blair Kamin and Patrick T. Reardon, “A Squandered Heritage: Epilogue - Going? Going. Gone.,” *The Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 15, 2003, Sec. 5, 1.; The article series produced by Kamin and Reardon found an increase in demolition following the election of Mayor Richard M. Daley in 1989. Mayor Daley’s 1993 fast-track demolition of “hazardous” and crime-breeding properties destroyed many of the significant properties identified in the city’s poorer communities.

Exchange firmly occupied a quarter block of Loop real estate on West Washington Street. Its facade was adorned with reliefs of agricultural scenes and its colonnade top featured giant busts of oxen for capitals. In the wake of protest, Chicago's Mayor Richard M. Daley headed a change to the way that buildings identified in the CHRS survey would be handled. Instead of allowing ease of demolition for significant buildings, a Demolition Delay ordinance was passed. While the survey was intended to inform decisions made by the City Council and various departments about demolition and preservation through a detailed seven-level color-code system, the demolition delay ordinance only recognized the two highest-rated categories in the survey: red and orange. The other color levels were left as they had been, allowed to be demolished without the consideration of greater neighborhood context or of clusters of significant buildings. However, as the CHRS survey indicates, the additional color-levels are not simply lesser buildings, but rather have different levels of significance individually or are significant within the context of a greater body of structures.

What the demolition delay offered was up to a 90-day delay on the issuance of a permit, in order to give the Commission on Chicago Landmarks time to review the permit and consider alternatives to demolition. Demolition Delay, also known as permit review, is intended as a "safety net" to prevent potentially historic or architecturally significant buildings from being lost to demolition. Demolition review alone does not prevent demolition, but it can lend crucial time to seek alternatives to demolition or to assess potential landmark status.⁴⁸ However, in Chicago, landmark status belongs only to the most deserving of buildings: the textbook stock of early-twentieth century skyscrapers that are Chicago's Loop and a draw for international tourism; the storied sites of labor and of important historical figures; and the rare, unusual, or unique structures that stand out across the city. Of course, during the 2000s, the Commission began to landmark more prosaic structures such as railroad bridges, factories, and neighborhood taverns. Chicago's landmarks criteria has been criticized as overly restrictive in interpretation, as if the City were still channeling its mid-century focus on buildings of the Chicago School of Architecture or architectural "masterpieces."

The CHRS cites green-rated buildings as critical to establishing historic districts. Green-rated buildings add to concentrations of "orange" and "red" buildings to create a

⁴⁸ For further information on Demolition Delay and Permit Review, see: Julia H. Miller, *Protecting Potential Landmarks Through Demolition Review* (Washington: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2006).



Image 8.2-A: (above)

2043 North Mohawk could have been designated as part of an historic district in 2002, but because the district was rejected, 2043 was razed in 2011 for a side-yard for a new double lot condominium building under construction to the left in the photo - see *Image 8.3* for 2049 N. Mohawk; 2010



Image 8.2-B: (left)

Its facade featured extensive use of moulded brick and terra cotta blocks in a buff color; its limestone lintels were incised with simple yet sharp natural and abstract designs; 2011

“critical mass” that is needed for designating a city historic district.⁴⁹ In 2002, the 2000 block of North Mohawk Street, in Lincoln Park, was considered historic district status; it was one of the many clusters of significant buildings identified in the CHRS (see *Images 8.2-A, B and 8.3: examples of buildings on the 2000 block of North Mohawk*). However, district status was rejected due to the fact that over a third of buildings on the block had already been

⁴⁹ The Queen Anne flat that was threatened with demolition on Newport avenue, described in Chapter 6, and that lead to designation of the Newport Avenue historic district, was rated “green.” In that case, support from neighbors and organizations brought awareness to the building and helped prevent its demolition; otherwise it would not have noticed as it would not have been flagged through the demolition delay.



Image 8.3: 2049 North Mohawk Street, an atypical two-story brick home with intricate incised lintels and a elaborate barge board and brackets; the home was razed sometime after 2008, when this image was taken; see *Image 8.2* for the house to the right at 2043; 2008

Source: 2049 N. Mohawk St. Property Photo, Cook County Assessor's Office, 2008

redeveloped during the teardown trend.⁵⁰ This decision, however, was shortsighted as it left other buildings on the block in danger of demolition as teardowns increased. Many of the buildings were orange-rated, but not likely to be individually landmarked due to the City's focused interpretation of its landmarking criteria. Orange buildings are less likely than red-rated buildings to become individual landmarks unless they are part of a historic district, and that is unlikely unless there is a significant cluster of them, as "critical mass" as *Chicago Tribune* architecture critic Blair Kamin notes.⁵¹ The CHRS survey intended the color ratings "less significant" than "orange" to support potential historic districts.

In cases where blocks of significant buildings have been razed for either vacant lots or for new construction, but where there remains a cohesive yet dispersed "critical mass" of significant buildings, alternate historic district forms can be considered. On Chicago's south side, two "historic districts," the North Kenwood and the Oakland

⁵⁰ Kamin and Reardon Dec. 15, 2003, 6.

⁵¹ Reardon and Kamin Jan 14, 2003, 5.

Multiple-Resource Districts, were formed around many non-continuous structures in an area as Multiple-Resources Districts.⁵² The districts were designated in order to protect housing stock that was rapidly vanishing through Urban Renewal and City-ordered demolition.⁵³ Such districts allow for review and assessment of only contributing buildings, leaving out interspersed non-significant vacant lots or new construction. Often the issue with designating a historic district is the non-continuity of structures and quantities of non-contributing properties, which in a traditional historic district would require permit reviews. While construction and design reviews are effective at maintaining the character of a cohesive historic district, a multiple-resource district is perhaps best fit for areas that contain a high number of important buildings, but that no longer fully convey the architectural and contextual story as they once told.

Multitude resources can thus be protected, despite change in the surrounding neighborhood. When combined with compatible zoning requirements, Multiple-Resources Districts may effectively preserve remaining buildings, while also allowing flexibility for future development in surrounding, non-designated properties. In Chicago, on North Mohawk Street, such a multiple-resource district might have coalesced remaining buildings into a distinct district of significant early structures, while allowing surrounding properties to represent the latest and largest wave of redevelopment. Together, older representatives of the area's initial development combined with redevelopment, tell a compelling story of a still growing city. While a complete and pristine collection of buildings is perhaps best for designation of an historic district, perfection is rare and maintaining elements of earlier development enriches the city's built fabric.

52 Vincent Michael, "Race Against Renewal: Motives for Historic District Designation in Inner-City Chicago," *Future Anterior*, 2(2) Winter 2005, 38.

53 See: Robert McClory, "The Plot to Destroy North Kenwood: That's probably an overstatement. But Mary Bordelon isn't taking any chances," *The Chicago Reader*, Oct. 14, 1993.

This article discusses the history of the North Kenwood community, which struggled with aggressive emergency demolition and fought the city's Department of Urban Renewal's "blighted" status, and proposed wholesale demolition, for over two decades. Its neighboring community of Kenwood, famed for its large homes and tree-lined streets, was designated a city historic district in 1979. While Kenwood improved, North Kenwood rapidly lost population and the area's building stock quickly deteriorated. A community tired of loss, that cherished their homes, sought historic district status, which was finally conferred in 1993. The district excluded the area's many vacant lots, in order to reduce paperwork, for the Commission's review, from new development. The final district boundaries were based more on the community's desire to conserve what remained rather than on the "professional" preservation standards that are typically applied when assessing potential landmarks. Vincent Michael, Chair of Historic Preservation at the Art Institute of Chicago, was instrumental in developing the Multiple-Resource District as a means for preserving greatly altered communities (see Michael 2005).

C. Demolition Delay and the Teardown Trend

The inclusion of 17,000+ structures on the Chicago Historic Resources Survey represents a major shift in how historic and significant buildings were perceived. From the narrative of the Chicago School and the landmarking of masterpieces to the designation of historic districts encompassing everyday architecture, Chicago's stance on historic architecture has developed a broader and more nuanced language. The CHRS survey added to this growing appreciation of the city's historic resources and offered the City a chance to assess and protect the broadest base of its built fabric.

Annually, since initiating the Demolition Delay Ordinance in 2003, the Commission on Chicago Landmarks has produced a Demolition Delay Hold List for permits requested on orange- or red-rated properties. It was expected that the review process would reduce the number of demolished significant buildings. In 2003, after the Ordinance's first year, the *Chicago Tribune* reported that the program was relatively ineffective because, of 26 orange-rated buildings reviewed, 17 were considered for landmark status, but only 1 was landmarked.⁵⁴ Buildings that were not landmarked were "released," or allowed to be altered or demolished according to the permit requested. Once a property was released, in cases of demolition, activity occurred almost immediately if not the same day.

The *Tribune's* extensive analysis in 2003 of the demolition and loss of CHRS-rated buildings, between the 1980s and 2003, discovered nearly 800 buildings on the Survey that had been demolished. Many were demolished for new development, while others were razed as part of the city's 1993 "fast-track" demolition program of hazardous buildings. However, while permits were found for the majority of demolitions, a permit could not be located for about 1 in 5 demolitions.⁵⁵ In a city as large as Chicago, there are areas where demolition can occur unnoticed. At the same time, landmarking and demolition delays have no effect on illegal demolition.

Since the *Tribune's* study, between 2004 and 2011, nearly 200 more CHRS-buildings were razed across the city. Illegal demolitions and other issues (such as 2005 permit data that could not be located for this thesis) may make this number an underestimate. Among all color-code categories, the original *Tribune* study discovered 762 demolished CHRS-rated building by sampling community areas and looking for buildings on the Survey. For this thesis, permit data from 1993 – 2004, 2006 – 2011 were compared

⁵⁴ Kamin and Reardon Dec. 15, 2003, 6.

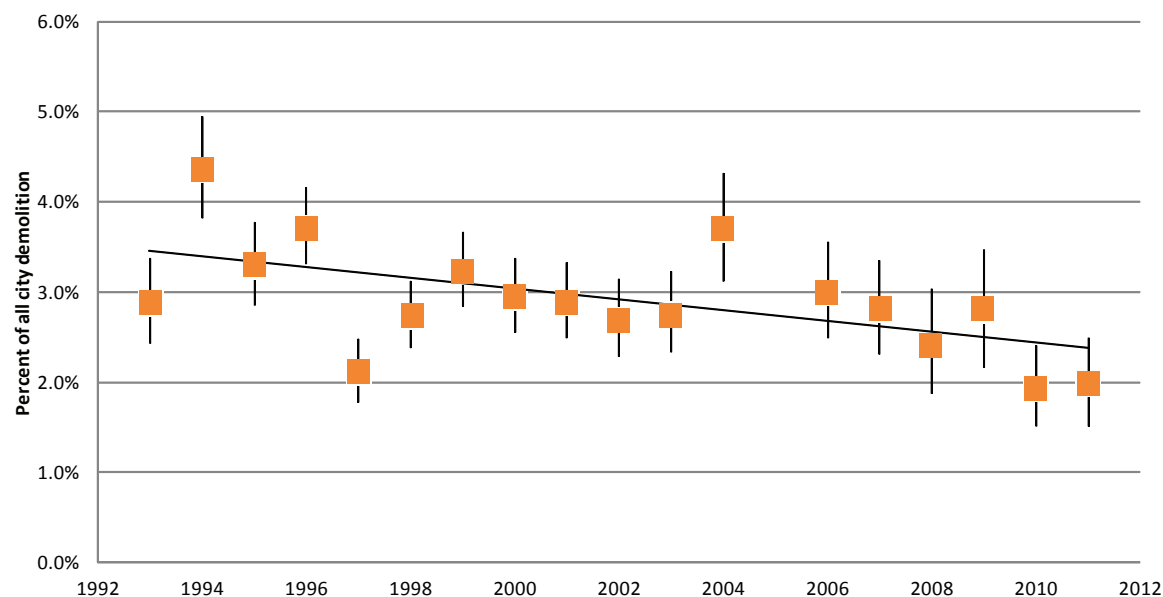
⁵⁵ Reardon and Kamin Jan. 14, 2003, 4.

with addresses of CHRS-rated buildings obtained from the Commission on Chicago Landmarks.

Demolition activity in the 1990s fluctuated greatly, with peaks in 1995 and 1998, most of which was derived from city-ordered demolition of hazardous buildings. The two most frequently demolished color-codes were “orange,” which accounted for 53% of razed CHRS buildings, and “green,” which covered 39% of razed CHRS buildings (*see Table 7.2*). This is due to the fact that orange- and green-rated buildings are proportionally larger groups as compared to the other five color-ratings. Annual demolition of CHRS-rated buildings, as a percentage of all annual demolitions, was relatively consistent each year at between 2% and 4%. However, there is a subtle downward trend, between 1993 and 2011, in the demolition of CHRS buildings as a percentage of all annual demolition (*see Graph 7.1*). Looking at the annual fluctuations, there is a noticeable peak in 2004, the year after the Demolition Delay Ordinance was passed, where CHRS-rated buildings

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	Total CHRS Demo	% of CHRS Demo
Red	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1%
Orange	19	28	34	44	17	30	39	27	22	16	13	22	19	16	9	12	10	12	12	389	53%
Yellow	1	8	2	1	6	1	3	3	5	5	2	3	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	43	6%
Yellow/Green	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	12	2%
Green	19	25	17	33	12	21	18	21	19	19	21	12	12	12	8	5	9	5	5	288	39%
Purple	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Blue	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0%
Annual Total	39	62	53	79	37	54	62	52	48	41	39	38	33	30	18	19	19	17	17	740	
All City Demo	1341	1413	1597	2113	1734	1960	1904	1752	1647	1506	1401	1021	1089	1058	733	673	969	847	847	24758	
% of All Demo	2.9%	4.4%	3.3%	3.7%	2.1%	2.8%	3.3%	3.0%	2.9%	2.7%	2.8%	3.7%	3.0%	2.8%	2.5%	2.8%	2.0%	2.0%	2.0%	3.0%	

Graph 8.1: Percent CHRS Demolitions of All Chicago Demolition

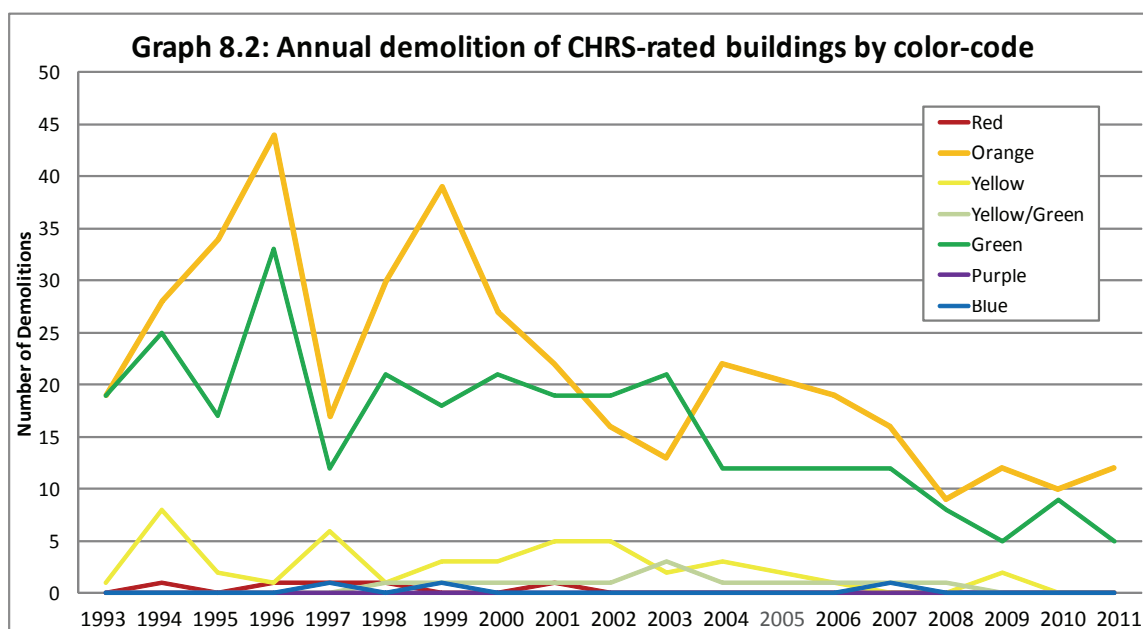


Source: Commission on Chicago Landmarks, 2011; Chicago Department of Buildings, 2012; Chicago Area Housing Website, 2005 (defunct)

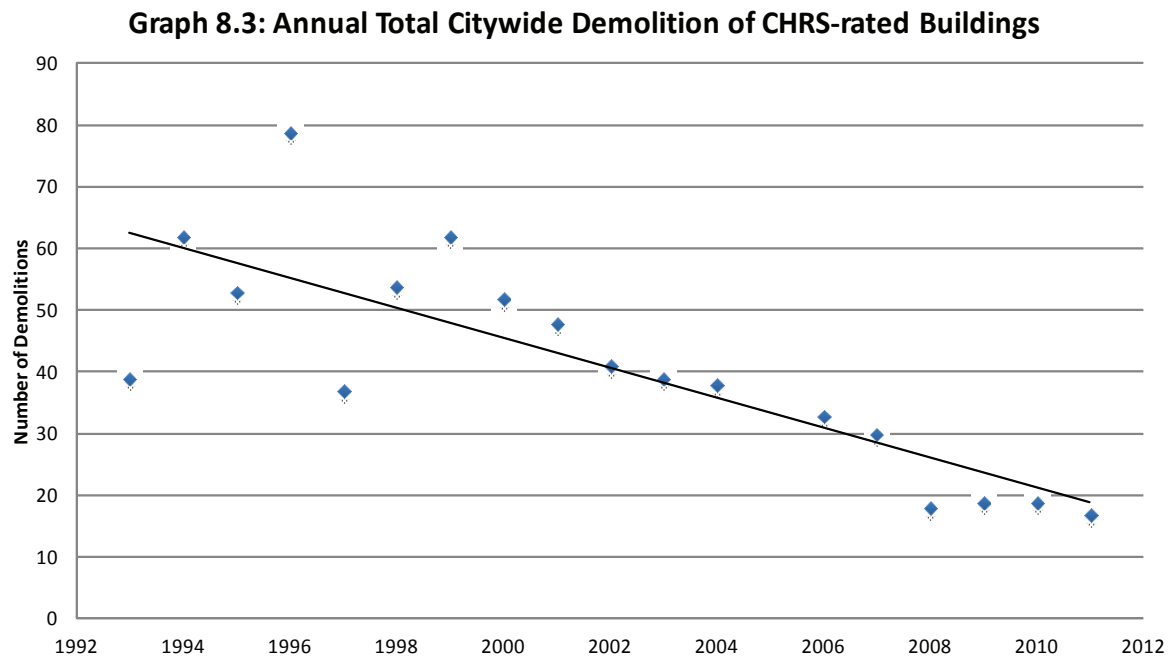
constituted nearly 4% of all issued demolition permits; an estimated total of 38 CHRS buildings were issued permits in 2004. There is a 16% probability that these data fall on a normal distribution with purely random fluctuations, or an 84% chance that the fluctuations are non-random and thus reflective of some influence.

The peak in 2004 follows after an apparent decline between 1999 and 2002, where destruction of CHRS buildings declined from just over 3% to just under 3% of all annual demolition. While the institution of the Demolition Delay Ordinance in 2003 would suggest that fewer orange-rated buildings would be demolished than in the years preceding the Ordinance, the peak in CHRS demolitions in 2004 suggests otherwise. Looking at *Graph 8.2*, the peak in 2004 is largely due to an increase in the number of demolition permits issued for orange-rated buildings. If the Demolition Delay Ordinance was intended to offer a “safety net” for potential landmarks, then why did the demolition of orange-rated buildings jump in 2004? This could be a simple statistical fluctuation. However, for the period between 1993 and 2011, the clear decline in the number of CHRS-rated buildings being demolished, mirrors closely the overall annual decline in demolitions in city, suggesting that the decline in demolitions was uncorrelated with the Demolition Delay Ordinance (*see graphs 8.3 and 8.4*).

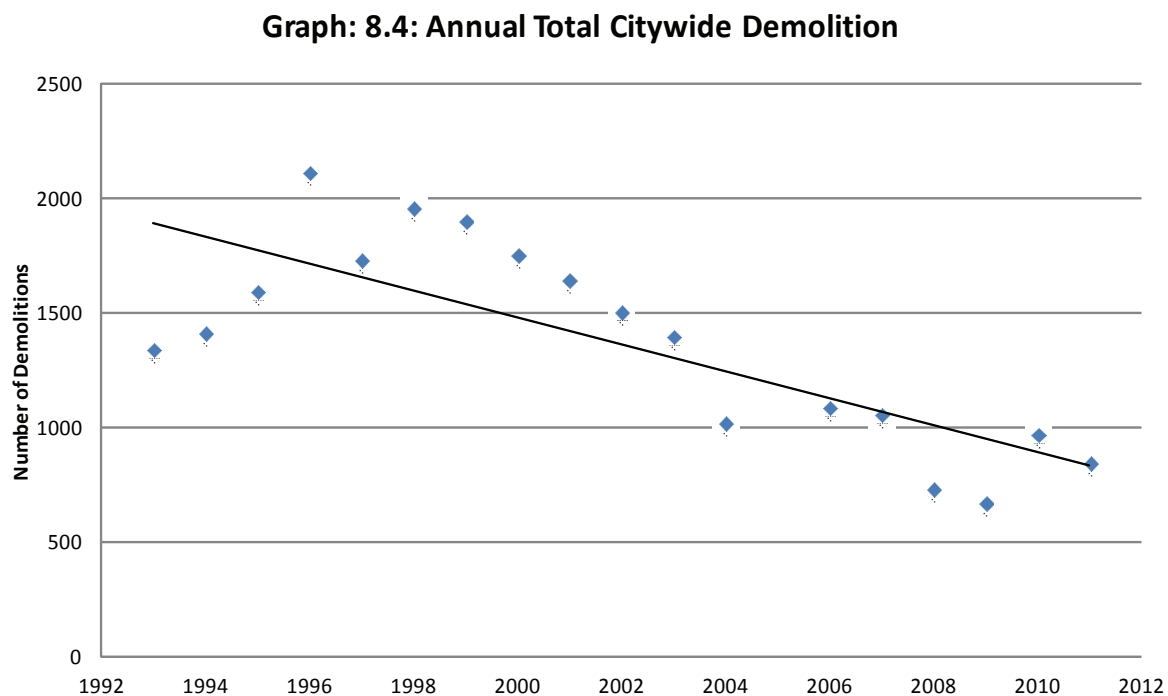
Demolition of CHRS buildings across the entire city does not correspond to the number of teardowns in the city; instead, the number of new buildings built on CHRS-rated sites better represents teardowns of significant buildings. While overall demolition across the city declined between 1993 and 2011, the number of new buildings built to



Source: Commission on Chicago Landmarks, 2011; Chicago Department of Buildings, 2012; Chicago Area Housing Website, 2005 (defunct)



Graph 8.3: The general trend in the demolition of Chicago Historic Resources Survey (CHRS) rated structures mirrors the overall decrease in issued demolition permits between 1993 and 2010; some fluctuations specific to the demolition of CHRS buildings have an 84% probability of being non-random; however, the Demolition Delay Ordinance does not appear to have had a significant effect on reducing the demolition of Chicago’s potential landmarks



Graph 8.4: The overall trend for all types of demolition activity in Chicago declined significantly in the 1990s and 2000s

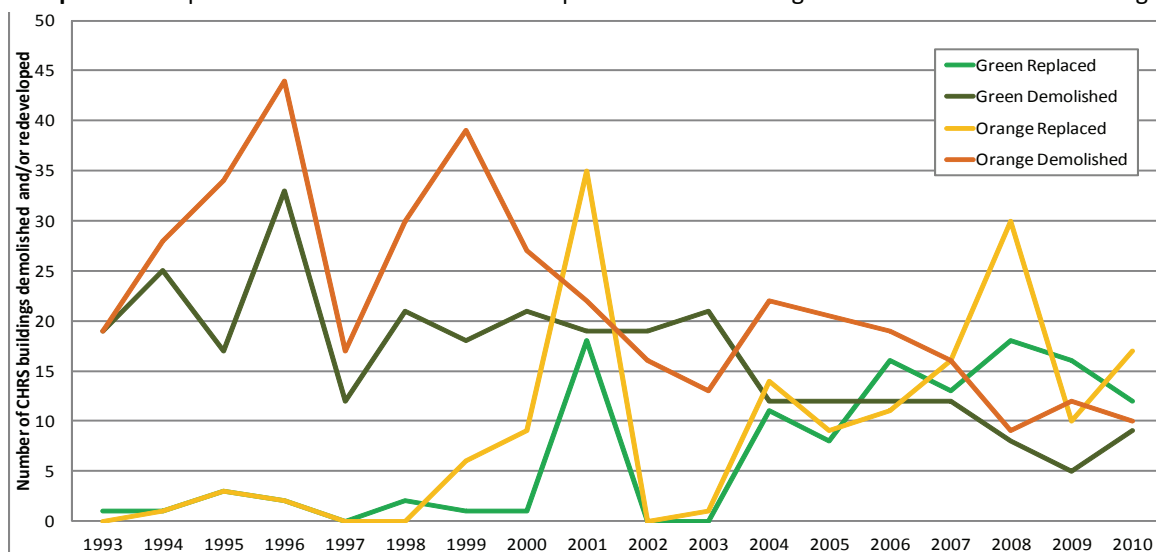
Source: Commission on Chicago Landmarks, 2011; Chicago Area Housing Website, 2005; Chicago Department of Buildings, 2012

replace existing CHRS-rated buildings increased. By comparing the addresses of CHRS buildings with addresses of new construction, an estimate can be made of teardown construction that replaced significant buildings. One caveat is that addresses can be different for new construction from the addresses of preceding demolished buildings. This is especially true in instances where new construction combined two or more parcels into one. Thus, this method underestimates the number of teardowns of significant buildings, but establishes a telling trend.

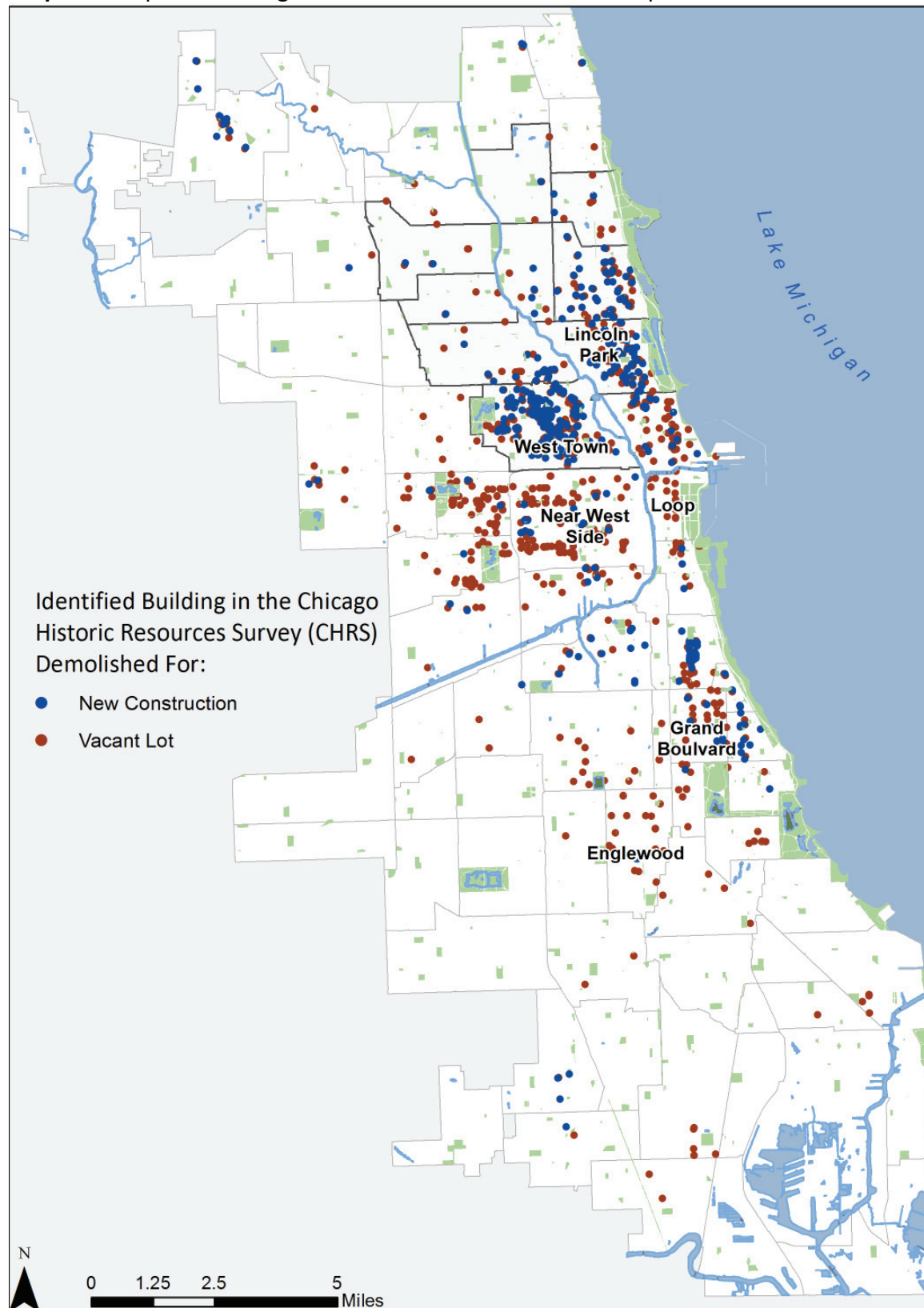
During the 1990s, city-ordered emergency demolitions of abandoned, fire-damaged, or crime-attracting properties occurred predominantly across the west side in the communities of the Near West Side, East Garfield Park, North Lawndale, Grand Boulevard, and Englewood. As discussed in *Chapter 5*, Englewood and West Englewood experienced the greatest numbers of demolitions and nearly no new construction. In 1993, under Mayor Richard M. Daley, the City's fast-track demolition program was initiated. Looking at *Table 8.2*, the total number of citywide demolitions increased from around 1,300 in 1993 to approximately 2,100 in 1996, the peak of demolition in the 1990s. While not all demolitions were fast-track related, resulting in vacant lots, hundreds were (see *Appendix Table A for comparison of demolition to new construction across all Chicago community areas*).

Similarly, in *Graph 8.2*, an increase and peak in the demolition of orange- and green-rated buildings can be seen between 1993 and 1996, followed by a drop in 1997 and another peak in 1999. At the same time, new construction on formerly identified CHRS properties started to increase in the 1990s, following overall trends in the expanding housing market (see *Graph 8.5*).

Graph 8.5: Comparison of demolition and redevelopment trends of Orange and Green rated CHRS buildings



Map 8.1: Dispersion of Significant CHRS Structures Redeveloped or Cleared: 1993-2011



Matthew Wicklund, 2012; Source: Council on Chicago Landmarks, 2011; Cook County Assessor's Office parcel data, 2011; Chicago GIS Office, 2012

In 1996, approximately 5% of razed orange-rated buildings were replaced with new construction. The discrepancy between a high number of demolitions and relatively few incidents of new construction in 1996 was largely due to the very weak housing market in west side communities. *Table A* in the appendix indicates that the majority of new construction was being built on the north and northwest sides of the city, while the complete loss of urban fabric without replacement occurred on the west and southwest sides. *Map 8.1* shows the locations of CHRS sites across the Chicago that were issued demolition permits (red dots), and the locations of CHRS sites that were replaced with new development (blue dots), between 1993 and 2010. The map clearly establishes that new construction was built primarily on the north and northwest sides, while pure demolition took place on the west side.

The relative 2004 peak in razed CHRS buildings, seen in *Graph 8.2*, correlates with a rise in the amount of new construction built on CHRS sites. Over the period from 1993 to 2010, instances of demolition in the city decreased, while the numbers of new residential developments increased. The decrease in demolitions of CHRS properties started before the Demolition Delay Ordinance was passed in 2003. Fast-track demolition of orange- or red-rated buildings was exempted from demolition delay. All other color-coded properties, such as green and yellow, did not require review. It was expected that fewer orange-rated buildings would be torn down with the delay ordinance. While plain demolition of orange-rated buildings, resulting grassy lots, on the west and southwest sides decreased from peaks in the 1990s, the number of CHRS buildings that were razed for new construction (teardowns) increased in the north and northwest side communities in the 2000s. In other words, demolition declined overall, while teardowns accounted for a greater portion of citywide demolition. In 2004, around 64% of all demolished CHRS buildings were teardowns. Four years later, as incidences of demolition waned, there were three times as many buildings built on former CHRS sites than were simply left demolished. Considering that many razed CHRS sites on the west side resulted in vacant lots in the 1990s, it is likely that some new construction identified as being built on the former site of a CHRSs building was in fact built on lots that had been cleared prior to new development.

Following a recession in 2001, a general upturn in the market resulted in growth and development in many Chicago communities. Areas that had suffered from disinvestment in the 1980s and 1990s finally began to see new construction. As neighborhoods began to stabilize, demolition of derelict and dangerous buildings decreased. The reduction in citywide demolition reflects this general reduction in the

number of remaining dangerous buildings. South and west side communities like Grand Boulevard, Austin, Humboldt Park, Woodlawn, and the Near West Side saw increases in new construction with simultaneous decreases in demolition as older houses were renovated and vacant parcels were developed (*see Appendix Table B and C: annual demolition and new construction by community*). Teardowns came to represent the majority of demolition activity in the 2000s, compared to the majority achieved by the wrecking of hazardous buildings in the 1990s. Renewed energy in the market drove the teardown trend in the north and northwest communities, especially in West Town. In these areas, demolition continued and even increased as new construction replaced existing buildings. These general trends can be also be seen in the demolition of orange- and green-rated buildings. While the Ordinance was intended to give potential landmarks a chance for preservation, the constrained interpretation of the landmarks law together with the strong pressure for development, resulted in the continued, and even increased, loss of potential landmarks. The trend that the *Tribune* noted in December of 2003, when the Ordinance had only just completed its first year, appears not to have slowed. In each year following 2003, the majority of the requested permits for demolition of orange-rated buildings were “released” or allowed, while relatively few were denied or landmarked. Finally, in 2008, a downturn in the market slowed the teardown trend, reducing the number of significant buildings razed, while also countering the gains made in some west and south side communities.

D. The Face of the Chicago Historic Resources Survey and Demolition Delay

The Chicago Historic Resources Survey raised awareness of thousands of architecturally and/or historically important buildings in Chicago. Of those identified, around 3% were demolished by 2011.⁵⁶ In the nine-community study area, examined in *Chapter 6*, hundreds of buildings that the survey identified as significant were razed. The *Chicago Tribune*’s three-part analysis of razed CHRS-rated buildings in 2003 researched hundreds of wrecked buildings, publishing their images and histories for the city to see. What follows is a brief analysis and exploration into a few of the identified buildings torn down since the Demolition Delay Ordinance.

The teardown trend redeveloped properties in a consistent manner. In Lincoln Park and Lake View, dozens of blocks developed in the early-twentieth century were lined with flats, while blocks farther west developed at lower densities with primarily

⁵⁶ Similarly, around 3% of all buildings in Chicago were razed between 1993 and 2011.

	2-3 Flat	Single Family Residence
Condominium Buildings	66%	32%
Two- to Six-Apartment Buildings	9%	8%
One-Story House	1%	1%
Two-Story+ House	24%	58%
Total Number Replaced	87	139

Table 8.3: Percent Comparison of Existing CHRS building types vs. New Construction types; generally, where new construction replaced a CHRS rated building, the majority of apartment flats were replaced with multi-unit condominiums, and most houses were replaced with houses

Source: Commission on Chicago Landmarks, 2011; Cook County Assessor's Office, 2011

single-family homes. New construction that replaced these buildings tended to replace these structures in kind. By joining entries for new construction with entries in the Survey by address, a simple assessment of change from the resulting sample can be made.

Across the city, but primarily in the nine-community study area, the main historic building types demolished were two- to three- flats and single-family houses. *Table 8.3* compares the two most common existing buildings types with the four most common types of new construction. Of the nearly 100 flats that were razed 2/3 were replaced with multi-unit condominium buildings. Condominium buildings are similar to flats in density, as they generally have between two and five units on a standard parcel. Double parcel condominiums usually have between four and twelve units. However, the size and depth of condominium buildings is much greater than in most existing flats. Only one quarter of flats were replaced with a single-family house. Similarly, single-family houses, which consist of frame and brick homes and workers' cottages, were torn down for newer and larger single-family homes. Over half of single-family homes were replaced with larger homes. A third were replaced with condominium buildings. In general, there is a spatial component to the location of single-family homes versus multi-unit condominium buildings, which is discussed in *Chapter 6*. In western Lake View, Irving Park, North Center, and Avondale, single-family homes were built in the late 1880s through the 1920s. The streets in these community areas are lined by trees, evoking a strong sense of community and established history. The character of these communities attracted demand from residents intent on living in these areas, but in new homes. Instead of developing dense condominium buildings amid houses, builders, either working with specific clients or in speculation, built new homes. In contrast, higher

density from multi-unit flats in Lincoln Park, West Town, and parts of Lake View attracted more speculative development of multi-unit condominium buildings. While the buildings compared here were ones identified in the Chicago Historic Resources Survey that had been razed, they are a representative sample of the main existing housing types in Chicago.

1. 3530 AND 3532 NORTH FREMONT STREET: ORANGE- AND GREEN-RATINGS

A few examples of specific significant structures that were razed for new construction can be found in the nine-community study area. In Lake View, on the 3500 block of North Fremont Street, two buildings, one orange-rated worker's cottage and one green-rated two-flat, were leveled in the 2000s for four-story, five-unit condominium buildings. The 1880s worker's cottage at 3530 North Fremont was of pressed red face brick with limestone details and semicircular terra cotta panel with a foliate relief. Simple brackets with a carved scallop or fan pattern visually supported the street-facing gable-end eaves. A frame porch with a decorative elliptical screen of spindles sheltered the double front door. While no stained glass embellished the house, the interior was finished with the finest details. Ornate parquet floors with five species of wood set the tone of the living room, which also featured an oak fireplace mantel. Details in the house extended to the hardware, which featured a simple "oriental" pattern in brass with a copper wash by the Branford Lock Works of Branford, Connecticut. Sometime in the 1990s, the house was fully renovated, restoring the woodwork, cleaning the hardware, and reviving the parquet floor. *Image 8.4* shows the house as it appeared in the 1970s, when it was photographed as part of documentation for structures in the Illinois Structures Survey (ISS, 1970-75). At the time, the neighborhood was largely Puerto Rican. *Image 8.5-A, B, and C* are of the same house prior to demolition.

The house was issued a demolition permit in July of 2001, two years before the delay ordinance was passed, and wrecked in a single day. Before demolition, the last owner opted to cut out sections of the parquet floor for later private display. Five years earlier, the first house on the block had been demolished next door at 3528 North Fremont. It too was a one-and-a-half-story worker's cottage, but it was of frame and had been altered; it was not included in either the CHRS or the ISS. By 2002, a new five-story condominium building, including a basement living space for the first floor duplex, was completed on the site of the 1880s cottage.



Image 8.4: (Left)
3530 North Fremont Street; orange CHRS-rated, **well-detailed cottage house in Lake View** photographed in the early 1970s for the Illinois Structures Survey

Source: Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, ISS photo graph of 3530 N. Fremont, 1970s



Image 8.5-C: (Above)
The gable brackets featured uncommon simple incised details, 2001

Image 8.5-A & B: (Bottom Right & Left)
3530 North Fremont Street prior to demolition in 2001; the interior retained original oak and fir woodwork and a five-species parquet floor; 2001



Within a matter of months, the green-rated brick two-flat to the north of 3530 at 3532 North Fremont was issued a demolition permit. The ISS documented the building in the 1970s (*see Image 8.6*). A prominent bay window defined the facade of this flat. Simple limestone trim featured egg-and-dart detail over the windows. A pressed-metal cornice triumphantly crowned the building. By the time the building was issued a permit for demolition, the two-tone facade of buff brick and limestone had been painted several shades of grey, but the greater form remained. In late 2002, the building was torn down, and replaced several months later by a near copy of the condominium building that arose at 3530 N. Fremont. Its intricate porch was removed by a salvage company. Today, a solid set of four condominium buildings cluster in the places of 3530, 3532 and two other buildings (*see Image 8.7*).

Image 8.6: 3532 North Fremont Street, a two-flat from the early 1900s, featured an ornate porch and facade of buff brick with limestone bands and lintels; note the cottage at 3530 North Fremont to the left of the image; as with Image 8.4, this photograph was taken in the 1970s as part of documentation of significant structures for the Illinois Structures Survey (ISS); 1970s

Source: Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, ISS photo graph of 3532 North Fremont Street, 1970s





Image 8.7: West side of the 3500 block of North Fremont Street; the two buildings at the center of the photograph took the places of the elegant cottage at 3530 N. Fremont and the two-flat at 3532 N. Fremont; five condominium buildings are visible in this image all built in the 2000s, only one two-flat remains in the row; 2012

Image 8.8: Bricks being sorted and stacked following the demolition of the two-flat at 3532 North Fremont Street; Chicago common brick is sold across the country through the architectural salvage industry for construction, patios, and other uses; 2002





Image 8.8: 902 West Roscoe Street; gable detail showing pressed metalwork on bay window, *May 2005*

2. 902 WEST ROSCOE STREET: ORANGE-RATED

Two blocks to the south at 902 West Roscoe, a frame two-flat, rated orange, was flattened in 2005. This building appeared on the City's Demolition Hold List on December 10, 2004 and released only five days later on the 15th.⁵⁷ A lack of recent paint may have contributed to the quick turnaround in the Commission's review. Also, a lack of any challenge to the proposed development allowed the review to proceed quickly. The building's facade featured an intact two-story bay window clad in pressed metal, which was commonly re-clad on other buildings in alternate materials in the mid-1900s (*see Image 8.8 and 8.10*). A round attic window, in the gable roof of the bay, was highlighted by a foliate swirl of pressed metal panels. The beaded clapboards and shingle-clad gable-end eaves made for a uniquely well-preserved two-flat. While the porch had been altered, it retained its standard cast iron railing and newel posts. A pair of heavy white oak doors led to either the first or second floor flats, which each featured ornate plaster ceiling medallions, plaster brackets, fireplaces with oak mantels, and built-in hutches. The kitchens even retained their original bead board wainscoting. In total, the flat was a remarkable survivor that retained a high level of integrity. However, in 2005 it was razed. Roscoe Street was radically altered by new construction in the 2000s; 50% of the block's predominantly frame two-flats were demolished for single- and double-parcel condominium buildings (*see Image 8.11*).

⁵⁷ "Demolition Delay Hold List (2004)," City of Chicago Department of Housing and Economic Development. Website: www.cityofchicago.org accessed : April 20, 2012.



Image 8.9: Rapid demolition starting the back of the property, *July 2005*



Image 8.10: 902 West Roscoe Street with an intact gabled, pressed metal bay with brackets and oculus



Image 8.11: At center - 902 West Roscoe Street four-unit condominium building, *January 2012*



Image 8.12: 823 West Wolfram Street was an 1870s Italianate house with a later porch that was one of the last of its kind in the southern Lake View community area; *November 2006*

3. 823 WEST WOLFRAM STREET: ORANGE-RATED

Near the current southern border of Lake View, on the 800 block of West Wolfram Street, a substantial orange-rated house at 823 West Wolfram, described by the CHRS as an 1870s Italianate, was leveled in 2007. On June 2nd, 2006, the house was added to the city's Demolition Hold List, where it remained until August 31st when it was released.⁵⁸ The single-family frame house occupied a double-wide parcel on a verdant street (*see Image 8.12*). It had been built outside of Chicago in Lake View Township in an area developed with similar frame homes. In the 1900s and 1910s, several of the area's early houses were subdivided and their extra side yard land developed with individual two- and three-flats. Similar wide-parcel, Italianate houses stood on Diversey Avenue to the south of Wolfram, but were also razed. The house at 823 retained its lush side yard, which visually connected to the extant neighboring brick house at 819 West Wolfram. Sometime in the early 1900s, according to Sanborn Insurance Maps, the house's two-

⁵⁸ "Demolition Delay Hold List (2006)," City of Chicago Department of Housing and Economic Development. Website: www.cityofchicago.org accessed : April 20, 2012.



Image 8.13: 823 West Wolfram Street following a demolition sale of interior finishes and elements; *November 2006*



Image 8.14: 823 West Wolfram Street during speedy demolition; *January 2007*



Image 8.15: A new six-unit condominium building rises at 823 West Wolfram Street without its final face brick veneer; May 2007

sided porch with scrolled arches was added. Like many other houses in the area, 823 had been extensively renovated. A former coach house in the back of the property had been rehabilitated at some point for use as a garage and workspace. In late 2006, prior to demolition, an auction was held, selling off many of the home's architectural finishes and fixtures. By the end of the sale, the double front doors had been sold and the doorway left boarded up. A few weeks later, in only a matter of hours, the frame house succumbed to the excavator, becoming a splinted pile crushed into its former basement (*see image 8.14*). Workers carted broken sections of the porch's once elegant arches to the corner of the site to be sold later. By 2011, none of the large double-lot frame Italianate houses remained in the area; all were replaced by wide six-unit condominium building. The brick house at 819 Wolfram remains saddled next to a new 823 West Wolfram condominium building (*see Image 8.15*).



Image 8.16: Chicago preservationist and architectural photographer Richard Nickel's former West Town home at 1810 West Cortland Street became a city landmark in 2010; July 2009

4. 1810 WEST CORTLAND STREET: ORANGE-RATED AND LANDMARKED

In contrast, one of the relatively few denied permits led, in 2010, to the landmarking of a storefront flat in West Town with local preservation history. The red brick building was built in 1899 as a bakery with a living space on the second floor (*see Image 8.16*). In the 1960s it was converted to the home and studio of Richard Nickel, a photographer who captured Chicago's rapidly vanishing historic built fabric. The home served as his primary studio for processing his images of both Loop architecture and the remaining works of the architectural firm of Adler & Sullivan. Nickel worked to raise awareness of some of Chicago's most cherished buildings, and was a catalyst for the preservation movement in Chicago in the 1960s. He documented and pushed for the preservation of several buildings including Adler & Sullivan's Chicago Stock Exchange and the Garrick Theater (*Schiller Building*). While both were razed, Nickel captured the buildings in print and managed, though tragically, to save elements of these buildings

and others. Nickel died in 1972 while photographing and salvaging elements from the demolition site of the Chicago Stock Exchange.⁵⁹

The storefront at 1810 West Cortland is a common building type in Chicago that can be found along secondary streets in many neighborhoods. It is not a unique building statistically, but it was the building's connection to one of Chicago's early preservation figures that made the old storefront fit more closely within the City's interpretation of its landmarks law criteria. Where a similar building would likely have been released for demolition, this storefront was preserved due to its history. A contentious but impassioned landmarks meeting, hearing from individuals in the preservation field and from local organizations, turned the votes of seven to three in favor of landmarking.⁶⁰ In this case, the demolition delay did allow for a potential landmark to receive a second chance for preservation. In 2011, the building's interior was fully demolished and renovated, eliminating any traces of historical uses, including changes made by Richard Nickel.⁶¹ In addition, the brick on the facade of this building had once been painted. At some recent point the paint was abrasively removed, leaving the bricks and stone trim pitted and subject to accelerated degradation. Thus, while the structure became a landmark, what remains of it and its primary period of significance has been greatly compromised.

E. Delayed Conclusions

Chicago's Historic Resources Survey fulfills one of the objects of the Commission on Chicago Landmarks, which is to maintain a register of, "areas, districts, places, buildings, structures, works of art, and other objects within the City of Chicago which may be considered for designation by ordinance as 'Chicago Landmarks.'"⁶² The survey was intended to inform the Commission's decisions on landmarking districts and individual structures, by establishing a base of the city's significant structures. However, for over a period of seven years following the survey's publication, the resources

59 Richard Nickel's ceaseless documentation of buildings resulted in thousands of photographs and hundreds of salvaged artefacts. For more on Richard Nickel's life and work see: Richard Cahan, *They All Fall Down: Richard Nickel's Struggle to Save America's Architecture*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1994). The Chicago Stock Exchange's trading room and its terra cotta front arched entranceway were installed at the Art Institute of Chicago.

60 *Success Stories: Richard Nickel Studio: 1810 W. Cortland - Studio of preservation pioneer landmarked - 2010*, Preservation Chicago, website: www.preservationchicago.org/success-story/19, accessed : April 20, 2012.

61 Chicago's landmarks ordinance only applies to the street sides of buildings and has no control over interiors.

62 2 § Municipal Code of Chicago 120-620.

survey had no legal protocol or system for assessing identified resources faced with demolition. Between the late 1980s and 2003, over 750 buildings of varying significance were razed for new construction or resulted in vacant land. This loss quietly eliminated potential individual landmarks and broke apart dense clusters of contextually significant structures, thereby eliminating potential historic districts. Until 2003, only buildings with the highest significance rating – red – in the survey, were reviewed for potential landmark designation. The 2003 Demolition Delay ordinance added second-level, orange-rated buildings to the permit review process, thus widening the field of potential landmarks. Orange-rated properties constitute a major portion of the 17,000+ rated structures. At the same time, the Commission’s staff of researchers was not increased to handle the new volumes of permit requests.

While the demolition review process was intended to allow more CHRS-identified properties a chance at landmark status, the majority of properties reviewed were “released” to be leveled. Only a few, including the former house of the late preservationist Richard Nickel, were selected and designated. Between 2003 and 2011, over 500 additional structures were demolished, including survey-rated properties not included in the demolition review process. While all demolition across the city declined between 1993 and 2011, the portion of new construction that replaced CHRS-rated properties increased between 2004 and 2008, which followed greater trends in the then growing housing market. Thus, while Chicago’s demolition delay ordinance resulted in the “discovery” and landmarking of a few structures, its overall influence on the teardown trend was minimal.

Ultimately, individual designation requires the same citizen backing as for historic district designation, in order to gain protection and the preservation of neighborhood fabric. In cases such as with the two-flat on Roscoe Street, the demolition review process passes quickly if few objections are heard by the Commission. On Wolfram Street, a slightly longer review process resulted from increased public input, yet still resulted in demolition. The example of Richard Nickel’s studio reveals the landmarking processes behind seemingly prosaic buildings, and identifies two components necessary for successful individual designation: community and/or professional support for designation; and a convincing narrative that relates to an important event, person, or architectural/architect’s style or on a national, state, or local level (*see landmarks designation criteria in Appendix Table D*).

9. The 2004 Rewrite of Chicago's Zoning

A. 2004: A New Ordinance Preserving Neighborhood Character

Chicago has a century's worth of zoning history draped over the orthogonal grid of an industrial city. Its houses of wood and brick; of single and multiple families line the streets of countless neighborhoods and have come to define Chicago's character. Through times of growth and of decline, the city has adjusted its control of the land and the development that occurs within its neighborhoods. As discussed in *Chapter 3*, the relaxed nature of the 1957 zoning amendments, while aimed at housing a predicted population by allowing for greater density, was largely left idle until the 1990s. A strengthening housing market and resurgence of residents to the city brought about one of the largest development booms in the city's history. Across the city, but especially in its north side neighborhoods, the older, characteristic housing was rapidly replaced because existing zoning allowed developers to pursue a much higher and better economic use of the land. By the mid-1990s, aldermen became increasingly involved in down-zoning districts in their wards. These *ad-hoc* districts came to a point in early 2000 when the city decided to pursue a revamping of the zoning code system and eliminate the complex layers of special districts and amendments.

Mayor Richard M. Daley announced in July of 2004 a new zoning policy for the City of Chicago, almost fifty years after his father, mayor Richard J. Daley, had introduced the initial ordinance. The new zoning was the result of four years of work. Instead of having to address a declining population, the 2004 ordinance focused on aesthetic issues of neighborhood character and the scale of new construction. While it could not undo the changes that had come to pass as a result of the previous allowances, it attempted to alter future construction. The main visual issues that affronted residents, in Mayor M. Daley's words were: "...townhouses that turn their backs on the street; new condos that don't fit in their neighborhoods; and parking lots and blank walls that extend for an entire block, eliminating any form of street life."⁶³ Instead of simply trying to accommodate new residents, the new ordinance set out to make neighborhoods more attractive to existing and incoming residents by preserving the aesthetic character that had attracted residents.

Changes to the 1957 ordinance re-established codes that had been removed during the 1957 rewrite of the original 1923 ordinance. Because the existing FAR

⁶³ *Chicago's new zoning ordinance*. Duncan Associates. 2000., 3.

requirements neglected to set limits beyond FAR ratios, the 2004 ordinance set new height limits, minimum green space requirements, rear and front yard coverage specifications, and restrictions on driveways and curbcuts. The firms charged with the rewrite added these measures to prevent new buildings from either rising too tall or occupying too much lot area and eliminating green space. In addition, they created new “transition districts” that were between the established R3, R4, R5, and R6 levels.⁶⁴ The resulting half-levels R3.5, R4.5, and R5.5, the planners thought, would incentivise building sizes that were more compatible with existing housing stock. These half zones were seen by the planning team as being more compatible with existing residential neighborhoods. R3 residential zoning covered twenty percent of the city and allowed for one- to two-story dwellings. A new R3.5 district, according to planners on the city’s Zoning Reform Commission, “would encourage new two-flats, townhouses, and other housing options – but not at the higher densities of the current R4 zoning.”⁶⁵ The change made to the zoning ordinance raised question from property-rights advocates regarding whether property owners could have the right to the pre-existing, unreformed zoning. Two main cases, *Cribbin v. Chicago* and *Hanna v. Chicago* bring to light developer rights when down-zoning is used as a development control.

B. Legal Issues: Challenging Down-zoning as a Development Control

The 2004 Chicago zoning ordinance explicitly proposed down-zoning areas of the city specifically to control development with regard to existing neighborhood aesthetics. Down-zoning had already been applied through the creation of overlay districts in the 1990s by aldermen at the request of their constituents. While re-zoning land for lower density has precedent it is not without legal issue and so raises questions particular to land development. When can a property owner contest a zoning change in favor of a pre-existing classification? The 2008 case of *Cribbin v. The City of Chicago*,⁶⁶ raises the vested rights doctrine, as a means of landowner protection, and further defines how and when vested rights are acquired. Another 2008 case, *Hanna v. The City of Chicago*,⁶⁷ rejected that claim that a down-zoning amendment was unconstitutional because of its supposed violation of the property owner’s equal protection rights. The

⁶⁴ Caspall & Schwieterman 2006, 128.

⁶⁵ *Principals for Chicago’s new zoning ordinance.*, 12.

⁶⁶ *Cribbin v. The City of Chicago*, 893 N.E.2d 1016 (Ill. Ct. App. 2008)

⁶⁷ *Hanna v. The City of Chicago*, 382 3d 672 (Ill. Ct. App. 2008)

plaintiff, Mr. Hanna, after receiving the requested relief, pressed on to set a precedent to permanently enjoin enforcement of re-zonings under the public interest exception of the mootness doctrine. Through careful consideration of the facts of each case, a definition of a developer's right to entitlements with regard to municipal down-zoning is made clear.

1. VESTED RIGHTS

Under Illinois law, a property owner does not have a vested right to the continuation of a zoning classification for their parcel. Furthermore, for the purposes of determining intent and good faith reliance on existing zoning, a property owner must take action to develop their property in a reasonable time frame. Failure to do so would impair the city's right to amend zoning under changing circumstances. This was determined and set as a standard in the 1978 Illinois Supreme Court case *Pioneer Trust & Savings Bank v. County of Cook*.⁶⁸ Under certain circumstances, vested rights may be applied and the owner may be allowed to retain a previous zoning classification. Currently, no bright-line test of vested property rights exists under Illinois law. The determination of vested rights is contingent on the circumstances of the developer with regard to the contested zoning change. In order to acquire vested rights, an owner must have pursued a development project in "good-faith" and must have made "substantial" expenditure. While "good-faith" is defined subjectively, the quantitative valuation of substantiality of expenditure is also dependent on subjective definitions. Furthermore, the final value of expenditure can change significantly if the purchase price of the property is included. It is the intent of the owner that can determine if the action was in good faith and it is the owner's expenditure that can establish substantiality.

In *Cribbin v. The City of Chicago*, the plaintiffs Anthony Cribbin and Peter Koulogeorge were land developers specializing in buying property in the Chicago area, developing new buildings, and then selling those new units for profit. The two had a development company called Crystal Creek Development, Ltd. In 2004, they filed a complaint against the city in circuit court requesting that writs of *mandamus* be issued requiring the city to release their construction permits for their project planned under a previous zoning classification. In this case, the developers properly showed subjective intent to develop their property.

⁶⁸ *Pioneer Trust & Savings Bank v. County of Cook*, 71 Ill. 2d 510 (1978)

The property at 1210-20 N. Kedzie was purchased in 1998 with intent to develop it under the existing R5 general residence zoning. However, in 1999, as plans for the development were progressing, the Chicago Board of Education (CBE) alerted Crystal Creek Development that it intended to acquire the Kedzie property under powers of eminent domain for expansion of an over-crowded school. In order to keep the property, Crystal Creek negotiated with the CBE, allowing them to lease the property for four years. During that time, as development plans were on hold, the property was down-zoned to R4 general residence, which effectively halved the number of units that could be built on the site. In late 2003, at the end of the CBE's lease, Cribbin and Koulogeorge dissolved Crystal Creek and divided the property between them. Each then separately pursued development of their respective parcel by hiring architects and applying for permits. However, the permits were denied by the city because the alderman had introduced an ordinance down-zoning the area, including the property, from R4 to an even more restrictive R3 classification. This new classification was too restrictive for the development applied for by Cribbin and Koulogeorge, who sued the city arguing that they had acquired vested rights to the R4 zoning by virtue of having made substantial expenditure in reliance on that classification. They sought issuance of their building permits under the R4 zoning. The trial court found in favor of Cribbin and Koulogeorge, the city appealed, and the appellate court of Illinois affirmed the decision.⁶⁹

The decision of this case was based on the determination that Cribbin and Koulogeorge had vested right to the pre-existing R4 classification. The vested rights doctrine is based on the property owner making substantial expenditure in good faith reliance on the prior zoning. That is, the owner must show intent to develop the parcel and have invested in that planned development. The City, in the *Cribbin* case, challenged the notion that a developer's subjective intent and desires during ownership of the parcel should be used to determine whether the owner's rights to the R4 classification were vested. Instead, the City believed that only quantitative evidence should be used. However, while it was shown in *Goldblatt v. The City of Chicago* that subjective intent and desire are not enough to acquire vested rights to a prior classification,⁷⁰ the *Pioneer Trust* case argued that intent and desire combined with substantial expenditure, made in

69 893 N.E.2d 1016 (Ill. Ct. App. 2008)

70 *Goldblatt v. The City of Chicago*. 30 Ill. App. 2d 211 N.E.2d 222 (1961) Goldblatt intended to build a gas station but the issuance of a permit was not a given and therefore it was concluded that development was not pursued in reliance of the permit.

good faith of receiving a permit, are basis for determining vested rights.⁷¹ Pioneer trust referred to the 1959 case of *Skokie Town House Builders Inc. v. Village of Morton Grove* for the finding:

"Where there has been a substantial change of position, expenditures or incurrence of obligations made in good faith by an innocent party under a building permit or in reliance upon the probability of its issuance, such party has a vested property right and he may complete the construction and use the premises for the purposes originally authorized, irrespective of subsequent zoning or a change in zoning classification."⁷²

Here, Skokie Town House Builders proved that they had vested property rights to a prior zoning, that allowed the construction of townhouses, by showing intent and significant investment in development of the property. The *Cribbin* case concludes that intent is important for ascertaining whether the owner or developer has acted in good faith upon the existing zoning.⁷³ Intent must be shown with regard to the zoning under which the owner seeks to continue developing. In the case of *Furniture LLC v. City of Chicago*, it was found that the plaintiff had purchased their property with full intent to develop it and never wavered from that intention.⁷⁴

In the 2005 case of *Yuriy Ropiy v. Rafael Hernandez*,⁷⁵ Ropiy contended that he had a vested right to the prior zoning and requested a *mandamus* action for issuance of his construction permits. Ropiy's claim was denied because even though his expenditure in the parcel's development was substantial, he did not show that he had done it in good faith in obtaining permits under the old zoning. The city contends that he knew about the new ordinance because it was entered prior to his purchase of the property. Thus, though Ropiy denied constructive notice of the new zoning, the zoning was public record and he should have known about it.⁷⁶ Knowing that the zoning had changed shows that Ropiy's pursuit of a building permit was not made in good faith reliance on the previous classification. Furthermore, Ropiy did not show why the new classification did not allow him to pursue his project. His interest in a *mandamus* action was found to be simply for the timely acquisition of a demolition permit which could have been granted regardless

71 71 Ill. 2d 510 (1978)

72 *Skokie Town House Builders Inc. v. Village of Morton Grove* 16 Ill. 2d 183,191, 157 N.E..2d 33 (1959)

73 893 N.E.2d 1016 (Ill. Ct. App. 2008)

74 *Furniture LLC v. City of Chicago*. 353 Ill. App.3d 433 (1st Dist. 2004)

75 *Ropiy v. Hernandez*, 363 Ill. App.3d 47 (1st Dist. 2005)

76 363 Ill. App.3d 47 (1st Dist. 2005)

of the zoning.⁷⁷ Thus, intent and the determination of good faith pursuit are important factors in deciding whether a property owner has vested rights.

Another piece that is important in deciding vested rights is the definition of substantiality. There can be a great difference in value depending on whether the purchase price of the property in question is included in the calculation. Here, it is important to define a time frame for expenditures made. The *Cribbin* case stated that, “intent and desire of plaintiffs has direct bearing upon the issue of whether the purchase price of the land should be included in the substantiality calculation.” It is noted that expenditures on the property made after passage of new zoning cannot be counted because they would not have been made in good faith reliance.⁷⁸ All expenditure made prior to the new zoning is thus open for inclusion in the calculation. It is here that *intent* becomes important. The city contended that intent could not be found because action to develop the property was not made in a reasonable time. However, the circumstances of the Cribbin development forced the developers to postpone development.⁷⁹ The property purchase price was included because it was determined that the owners Cribbin and Koulogeorge, or Crystal Creek Development, had bought the property exclusively to develop it. Further, it was determined that subsequent expenditure on plans and permit fees were made in good faith reliance on existing zoning. By showing that the land was leased to the CBE instead of being claimed under eminent domain, the plaintiffs presented that they continued their intent to develop their property and that they had no intention of losing it. Finally, standard practice in Illinois vested rights decisions, as supported by the Illinois Supreme Court, is that the property purchase price is included in the calculation of substantiality.⁸⁰ Additionally, there is little precedent for when quantitative amount qualifies as substantial. In the *Cribbin* case, the purchase price plus architect and permit expenses totaled over

77 363 Ill. App.3d 47 (1st Dist. 2005)

78 893 N.E.2d 1016 (Ill. Ct. App. 2008)

79 The Pioneer Trust Standard informed several following cases including *Furniture* 353 Ill. App.3d 433 (1st Dist. 2004) where it was found that despite a lag in time between purchase and development, Furniture LLC. had continued to pursue development. Furniture LLC. had not simply bought the land for investment but had active intent to develop. Instead, circumstance had led to the lag. The city sought to create a bright-line rule disregarding development circumstance as a reason for acting in a reasonable time. Cribbin’s four-year lack of development, due to the lease with the CBE, would have been made irrelevant. This would have defeated Cribbin’s claim of intent and excluded the purchase price of the property from substantiality calculations. It was decided that such a rule could not be set and that each case required individual consideration of circumstances so as to not violate the equitable nature of the vested rights doctrine. 893 N.E.2d 1016 (Ill. Ct. App. 2008)

80 893 N.E.2d 1016 (Ill. Ct. App. 2008)

\$300,000. This was considered substantial because other vested rights cases considered far smaller amounts to be substantial.⁸¹

Cribbin is representative of the contestations to *ad-hoc* down-zoning that occurred in Chicago prior to the 2004 zoning code overhaul. As development crept across Chicago's north side neighborhoods, more and more down-zoned overlay districts appeared in an attempt to curtail development – development that was following the 1957 classifications. In cases similar to *Cribbin, Ropiy, & Furniture LLC* the plaintiff's ultimate relief was the release of permits based on prior zoning. However, only where intent to develop the property in good faith reliance on existing zoning and where significant expenditure was made (however significant) could the owner claim vested right to a prior classification. Vested rights doctrine offers a developer or owner limited protection from changes in zoning by ensuring that fairness to the landowner's pursuit of entitlements is maintained. Thus, in Illinois, down-zoning can function effectively as a development control tool only in cases where it is not applied retroactively with regard to specific properties. Furthermore, a developer's subjective intent is as important in deciding a case as is the substantiality of expenditure. Once active development has commenced in reliance upon existing entitlements and substantial expenditure has been made, a change in those entitlements may be contested under the vested rights doctrine.

2. DOWNZONING: THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT

In 1999, Albert Hanna sued the City of Chicago, challenging on its face the passage of the SD-19 Lincoln Central Special District (LCSD), which down-zoned his property from R5 to R4 general residence. The LCSD overlay was the product of the 1990s rapid development and attempted to regulate and keep future development in conformity with the existing area.⁸² Hanna claimed that the down-zoning violated equal protection and his right to due process because it was an arbitrarily and capriciously designated an area to benefit only a few and because the city zoning board failed to

⁸¹ *Cribbin* refers to *O'Connell Home Builders, Inc. v. City of Chicago*, 99 Ill. App. 3d 1054, 425 N.E.2d 1339 (1981); Where the purchase price of the property was not considered because it was contingent on approval of permits as agreed by the alderman. The plaintiff made subsequent expenditure on the improvement of the property before learning that his permits were in fact denied. Total parcel improvements of \$17,500 were considered substantial.

⁸² The preamble of the LCSD explains that the its purpose was: "...to conserve the existing low-density residential character of the Central Lincoln neighborhood. The existing pattern of development is single-family, two-family and three-family dwellings within two- and three-story structures. The district seeks to maintain the neighborhood's existing scale and density by limiting construction of taller and bulkier multi-story buildings." *Chicago Zoning Code* 10A-1.16-1 (1998)

follow municipal code on the criteria for designation of such a district. Hanna appealed the trial court's rejection of his claims for further review. Hanna had purchased property in 1971 and constructed a 26-unit apartment building following the city's 1957 zoning ordinance, which did not have explicit height limitations and had a FAR ratio of 2.2. Hanna implied no intention of redeveloping his property, but instead requested that his previous zoning classification remain in effect because otherwise his property would be a non-conforming structure and that he would not be able to rebuild it as a multi-family structure should it be destroyed. This he claimed reduced the value of his property and deprived him from the highest and best use of his property and constituted in his argument as a taking.⁸³

The LCSD overlay was formerly comprised of two sub-area classifications: "A", which had been historically zoned R5 and included Hanna's property, and "B", which had been zoned R4. Hanna contended that LCSD deprived him of equal protection under article I, section 2, of the Illinois Constitution specifically because his property was being treated differently from other similarly situated owners. The LCSD was discriminating against himself and others in area "A" of the new district by unfairly favoring owners in area "B". Hanna claimed that combining the two former classifications under one R4 district resulted in the unfair transfer of property value from properties in area "A" to area "B". This was because the LCSD R4 classification was similar to area "B's" prior R4 classification but lower than area "A's" prior R5 classification. In addition, it set building heights at 42 feet. While Hanna did not lay claim to vested rights to the prior zoning, he did present that he had made substantial investment in his property in reliance on the existing zoning and claimed that down-zoning would prevent him from enjoying the benefit of his property as zoned under R5 classification.⁸⁴

The case finds precedent in standards set by the Illinois Supreme Court that a landowner has the right to the use of their land and is only subject to restraint necessary for the pursuit of the public good. Similarly, a landowner has the right to rely on the classification that existed when purchasing the property and that it should not be changed unless it is for the public good.⁸⁵ The issue then becomes how to determine whether the zoning changes constitute a public good. The Substantial Relationship test is used to determine the constitutionality of particular legislation such as the

⁸³ *Hanna v. City of Chicago*, 331 Ill. App.3d 295 (1st Dist. 2002)

⁸⁴ 331 Ill. App.3d 295 (1st Dist. 2002)

⁸⁵ 331 Ill. App.3d 295 (1st Dist. 2002)

LCSD overlay. Following the test's six factors, the court found the legislation to be constitutional because it bore a substantial relationship to public health, safety, and welfare. Furthermore, as presented specifically to Hanna's property, it was found that – if proved – the reduction of property value resulting from the down-zoning is “sufficient to establish an immediate and irreparable injury.”⁸⁶ However, the case was not decided on this claim and was remanded for further review.

Litigation continued for five more years in which time the City passed the 2004 zoning overhaul and reclassified the old “R” district classifications. Hanna's property was subsequently listed as RM-4.5. Still, Hanna continued his case when in 2005 the City and the 43rd Ward alderman decided, following suggestions from the City's planning and zoning legal department, that further “protracted and expensive” litigation may result in an unwanted finding. In 2006, the area was zoned RM-5, which was the closest classification under the 2004 zoning rewrite to the old R5 district. At this point, Hanna's claims became moot as his ultimate relief had been met.⁸⁷ However, Hanna filed an eighth amended complaint, adding that he now sought judicial declaration of his constitutional claims and permanent enjoinder of the re-zoning designations under the public interest clause of the Mootness Doctrine.

3. CHARACTERISTIC NEIGHBORHOODS WITH DEVELOPMENT TO SCALE?

While legal opposition was raised against the zoning reclassifications in the 2004 zoning overhaul, the new code also introduced new standard requirements that had previously been embedded within Special Districts – areas with special zoning characteristics additional to the base zoning. Over the 1990s, new construction, especially of condominium buildings, had grown in scale and volume. Residents took issue to certain features of the new construction and attempted to regulate design through Special District overlays. In 2004, the renewed zoning code attempted to standardize these City ward-specific regulations to wider areas.

Buildings that maximized their allowable height or FAR ratios often took advantage of below ground real estate for extra units. Thus, in a four story building, a fifth full basement-level floor could be sunk into the ground and combined with part or all of the first floor as a duplex unit, which could sell for more than a smaller single-level

⁸⁶ 331 Ill. App.3d 295 (1st Dist. 2002)

⁸⁷ Mootness occurs when the plaintiff has essentially secured relief and when a resolution of the issues could no longer have any practical effect on the previous controversy. *Hanna v. City of Chicago*, 382 Ill. App.3d 672 (1st Dist. 2008)



Image 9.1: A density-maximizing eight unit condominium building was completed in 2004 at 836-840 West Roscoe Street; it replaced a 1910s three-flat and a frame two-flat; *January 2012*

unit. However, in order to provide required light and air into such units, developers resorted to providing “patio pits” or patio areas sunk to the level of the basement floor. In some cases these pits were up to ten feet deep. A cluster of shrubbery and a wrought iron fence would keep people from falling in or in some cases from seeing the pit. Existing residents found this design to be especially displeasing and consequently, through discussions with aldermen, various City wards outlawed the element from future construction in the 1990s through the use of Special District overlays.⁸⁸

Similarly, while the vast majority of blocks featured alleyways, there were some that were not subdivided with this secondary access route. Alleyways have had a long and often socially-entwined history in Chicago, but most importantly they have continuously served as a service route.⁸⁹ Eventually, they became the common driveway for city blocks, as frame and brick garages were built along them. Along the handful of blocks that lack alleyways, such as Burling Street (*see Chapter 6*), developers of new

⁸⁸ *Chicago Zoning Reform*, Draft: 3/12/2003, 8.

⁸⁹ Alleys have been a part of Chicago since the very first 58 city blocks were platted in 1830.



Image 9.2: A new double-lot condominium building greets the street with garage doors and a parking area that dividing the established form of the street and intrude upon the sidewalk and parkway; on the west side of the 2800 block of North Southport Avenue in Lake View; *January 2012*

construction located garages at the front of their buildings in order to access the street (see Image 9.2). While this has the benefit, for the residents of the buildings, of having coveted off-street parking, the required curb-cuts reduce available street parking and intrude on sidewalk parkway space. There were enough such new buildings that, as with patio pits, they were outlawed in various wards before being specifically addressed in the 2004 zoning rewrite.⁹⁰

Finally, perhaps the most contested issue was that of building heights. As seen in the Hanna case, interest in retaining the City's ample zoning was of primary interest to owners, who sought to profit from the then heated housing market. Many alderman had previously included height limit regulations of 36 to 40 feet in a few Special District designations, but most blocks were only limited by FAR. Special Districts, many of which were in Lincoln Park and Lake View, also included several other regulations like the ones mentioned. The 2004 zoning rewrite established standard height limits for each of the new zoning classifications.⁹¹ Where previous zoning recognized residential zoning districts in "R" classifications for varying levels of density, the new code included many sub-classifications in residential zoning. Detached single-family homes could be zoned in areas as "RS" districts. This classification came in three levels based on minimum lot area requirements and FAR. A second designation, "RT", was written specifically for three housing types: two-flats, townhouses, and low-density multi-unit buildings. A

⁹⁰ Caspall & Schwieterman, 128.

⁹¹ *Chicago Zoning Reform* 2003, 9.

third, all-encompassing set of districts, “RM” or residential multi-unit, covered areas with mixed housing types.⁹²

Building heights were greatly reduced, by the new zoning ordinance, across the majority of Lincoln Park, Lake View, and the rest of the nine-community study area, as well as a significant portion of the rest of the city. It was intended that these new regulations would reduce the size of new construction that was often seen by existing residents as “towering” or “out-of-character” or scale with the neighborhood. In parts of West Town, Lincoln Park, and Lake View, many examples of buildings that were viewed as an affront to neighborhoods stand tall over older houses. Stories of residents losing sunlight to new development and battling developers over property damage during construction increased in the 2000s. While some neighborhoods stood to benefit from height limits (the neighborhood would not experience as rapid or as noticeable new construction), for many redevelopment had already radically transformed the character of the urban fabric.⁹³

The overhaul of the zoning code in 2004 was intended to increase the compatibility of new construction within existing communities. New construction was no longer to be seen as a threat to the established community by existing residents. The zoning would match the scale and density of Chicago’s characteristic neighborhoods, by bringing new buildings in line with the existing and by respecting established street-walls through set-backs and other dimensional restrictions.

Given the changes made to Chicago’s zoning in 2004, it was expected that there would be a distinct reduction in the size of new construction following the passage of the new zoning; however, the available data do not indicate a significant change in overall size of residential structures built after 2004. Parcel-level data on building square footage and parcel area from the Cook County Assessor’s Office was collected and analyzed over time. In the data, only single-family homes and multi-unit apartments were given building square footage attributes. Condominium buildings were not listed with such attributes because each condominium is listed individually with a fourteen-digit parcel identification number (PIN) as opposed to the typical ten-digit PIN (*see Chapter 4*). In *Chapter 6*, an analysis of average new construction building size between the late-1980s and 2010 concluded that buildings in Chicago doubled and tripled in

⁹² *Chicago Draft Zoning Ordinance*, 3/12/03, 2-1.

⁹³ Laura Putre, “The Monsters of East Village: The city is about to overhaul its zoning code for the first time in 47 years. But for some neighborhoods it’s too little too late,” *The Chicago Reader*, May 20, 2004.

sized. However, trends in building size or building area/ land area (FAR) do not show significant increase or decrease after 2004. Annual new construction totals continued to increase after 2004, as seen in *Chapter 6*, and remained around the same size relative to the lots on which they were built. New single-family home construction especially did not significantly change following changes in zoning. Multi-units buildings reveal only a gradual trending increase in FAR between 1989 and 2010, but changes after 2004 are not significant.

These findings may be due to limitations on the data used. Specifically, a more detailed comparison between new construction and its relevant zoning regulation before and after the 2004 rewrite would increase accuracy. Alternatively, an analysis of permitted zoning variances for height may better tell the effect of downzoning on new construction. The zoning variance became a ubiquitous tool for developers after 2004, seeking to build taller than or with greater density than the permitted zoning. While City Council votes on variances, their vote generally follows that of the aldermen of the ward in which the construction takes place. Broadly speaking, the City has an interest in higher densities or owner-occupied structures, such as condominium buildings, because they bring greater tax revenue than a single property.

D. Curbing the Loss of Historic Built Fabric in Chicago: Conclusion to Part C

The teardown trend swelled in the 2000s from a growing nationwide housing market. In Chicago, the rapid change brought about a series of reactionary policies: the defensive use of historic districts to safeguard areas from drastic change; the formalization of a demolition review process for significant buildings in order to lessen the destruction of potential landmarks; and downzoning and zoning rewriting to shape new development and make it compatible with existing neighborhoods.

In Chicago, development is not a new phenomenon. Several waves of development helped shape the city and form its characteristic neighborhoods. By the late 1950s, it was expected that a growing population would need new and denser housing in order to keep the city competitive; however, despite predictions, the city's population declined while leaving open the possibility of redevelopment. The Lincoln Park community area represents the beginning of redevelopment in the city's older near-downtown neighborhoods. Early "pioneer" residents rehabilitated the aging housing stock of post-fire structures, but were met with both the City's Urban Renewal

efforts and the spread of dense private development. It was here that some of the first conflicts over preservation of community and neighborhood fabric began. Residents with a vested interest in their community, through personal investment in both property and neighborhood, generally sought to stabilize their community in a way that did not involve high-rise construction. First through the formation of Urban Renewal conservation districts and then through formal designation of historic districts, Lincoln park communities reduced the affects of new development on their community, and managed to maintain dozens of blocks of some the city's earliest houses.

Because cities are organic, ever-changing forms, they should be allowed room to grow. Yet that change and growth needs to be tempered so as to retain established neighborhood character. Downzoning and the 2004 rewrite of the City's mid-century, growth-oriented zoning code were important steps towards lessening the physical effect of a latent development boom on the city's characteristic neighborhood fabric. However, unlike landmarking, which can prevent demolition of specific buildings, according to a set of defined values, zoning restrictions can only influence the form of development. If codes are written with enough inflexibility, then they will inhibit development, in which case it is best to designate an historic district, which can then be leveraged as a community asset. Zoning must be combined with landmarking and with other policy tools such as demolition delays in order to effectively charter the change of a city.

In the case of Chicago, the common built fabric of neighborhoods often represents an area's initial stages of development – development that has remained in some cases for over a century. One strong step towards preserving neighborhood fabric is identifying structures that are either significant by themselves or that form a cohesive set with other surrounding properties, even if discontinuous. A second step is organizing a system for reviewing these structures in cases of proposed demolition or alteration. Such review should consider the effect of the loss of a building with regard to the greater block and neighborhood. If one building is granted demolition, what effect does that have on future decisions? Will demolition increase the likelihood that other buildings will be razed because the older urban fabric will be seen as compromised?

Surveys can be subjective and may miss structures of importance. Some cities, such as Boulder, Colorado, review all demolition permits for potential landmarks.⁹⁴ This process however can be resource intensive and may be seen as too costly for cities like

94 Miller 2006, 3.

Chicago to implement, given the number of properties in the city and the potential volume of permit requests. In the end, no amount of review can alter the verdict. Chicago's review system, while a political triumph, did not effectively slow or curb the numbers of identified significant structures from being demolished. It only considered the two most "significant" categories of identified buildings, allowing the majority reviewed to be demolished.

Individually, the three policy tools examined had a limited effect on the larger trends of the housing market. Historic districts came to protect hundreds of buildings and preserved the character of blocks in the face of development pressure. Ideally, historic districts are designated before such pressure develops. However, historic districts often cover only a limited sample of structures from a larger area. By protecting a select set of buildings, development pressure, as seen in Lincoln Park and West Town in the early 2000s, is shifted to surrounding unprotected areas. Development was allowed to continue with only limited legal challenge. Similarly, the surveying of historic structures produces a useful register for a city, but it is ineffective unless a review processes is attached. In Chicago, this meant reviewing only limited surveyed buildings and releasing most for demolition. Finally, downzoning and bringing codes down to the level of existing neighborhood scale does not reduce development pressure, but it can influence the scale of new development. However, loopholes such as variances allow for such restrictions to be circumvented if they are not contested.

In all, a package of policies tied to long-range city and neighborhood plans is perhaps the most effective means for preserving urban fabric in the face of great development pressure. As cities like Chicago continue to age, the desire to rebuild aging urban neighborhoods will only increase. Having a clear understanding of what is valued in a community and recognizing what elements are part and partial to those values could help develop a path for preservation that also saves space for new development. While subjective preferences for elements of the tangible past or for ephemeral qualities of the present change, the number of remaining historic resources is finite. Decisions regarding the conservation of historic resources should be established in order to handle future development trends.

10. Conclusion

Chicago has neighborhoods of character that enliven the city. These neighborhoods are defined by their common architecture: the everyday buildings from the compact workers' cottage to the economical flat and the grand boulevard mansion. Any of these can be found along the streets of Chicago, and all are worthy of being maintained and conserved for the future of the city. Each represents a limited stock, or a definite historic resource. However, as cities are forever changing in light of ephemeral wants, not all can be preserved. Fits and starts of development lined Chicago with its characteristic buildings, and redevelopment can take them away. The teardown trend of the 1990s and 2000s was not an isolated event, but it was a significant period of redevelopment wherein thousands of buildings, from the city's major decades of growth, were leveled for new development. With this collection of lost structures, went several buildings that – in retrospect – future generations may wish had not been cleared away.

Chicago's teardown trend was concentrated on the city's north and northwest sides. The redevelopment began in the 1970s in Lincoln Park and gradually evolved into a spreading wave that changed the economics and appearance of surrounding communities. In the early 1990s, an expanding economy ushered in a new period of development and a new threat to the existing built fabric of the city. With land values rising, and open regulation, development could reap fantastic profits. As there was very little open land available, older small, frame houses and flats were targeted for demolition first, while more substantial structures were cleared as the trend progressed. These buildings were seen as outmoded or incapable of sufficient profit, and were finally ready to be replaced, having stood for over a century in some cases. Teardowns quickly spread in the 1990s northward and then crossed westward to the West Town and Logan Square communities. While frame was cheaper to wreck, brick and frame were demolished alike at the height of the teardown trend around the year 2001.

A second half of the trend, with similar structures being developed, began as the economy once again rebounded following a recession in 2001. This lasted until another recession in 2008, but the trend did not end. The north and northwest sides of Chicago continued to be popular areas for redevelopment beginning again in 2011. As properties for redevelopment diminished, developers moved on to either more expensive

properties (brick and granite-faced houses a flats) or they moved farther out into the surrounding communities, where redevelopment had only been sparsely felt.

Finally, a series of efforts was made to curtail the teardown trend and to alter the face of new development. First, historic districts, originating from the city's historic preservation department legislation in 1968, were actively pushed for by residents and applied for by aldermen in a few communities. The districts were intended to halt demolition of the city's architectural heritage. One particular series of districts were created on the city's west side in the Ukrainian Village neighborhood. As development pressure rose in the early 2000s, the first district was created, which was followed by two others as displaced development potential shifted to unprotected blocks. The key here is that by taking hundreds of properties off the table for developers, surrounding blocks, with similar architectural history, become subjected to even greater redevelopment pressure. In these areas, dozens of blocks were wholly redeveloped leaving almost nothing but the city's street grid in place.

A second tool was the Chicago Historic Resources Survey (CHRS: 1985 - 1995), published in 1996, and the demolition delay process introduced in 2003. The ten year survey identified over 17,000 historically or architecturally significant properties across the city. While CHRS identification held no official protection from demolition or other work, a series of events did lead to the initiation of a demolition delay ordinance. The ordinance at once had the power to review and deny demolition permits to a subset of buildings in the survey. However, rejection of a demolition permit was predicated on a building being worthy of landmark status and not simply on the structure's relevance and context with in an established neighborhood. The City saw the need to have an established rationale for intervening in private property matters, and that rationale was the landmarks law. If a building does not become a landmark following review, the chance that it may in the future is made increasingly more difficult as it must pass an even more stringent review. Because many of the surveyed properties were seen as contextually significant, the probability that any individual building would pass landmarks review is low, as evidenced by the few buildings that were not granted permits. Conversely, since 2003 when the ordinance passed, annually more surveyed buildings were allowed demolition than were denied, even as demolition activity across the city declined between the 1990s and 2000s. In all, the ordinance alone has helped to identify and save some of the city's architectural best from vanishing, but it has also allowed for a significant number of common buildings in the city's fabric to fall.

Finally, down-zoning was employed first in the 1970s to curb redevelopment along the lakefront. In the early 2000s, following the protests of established residents, a proposal to rewrite the city's zoning code was pushed forward. It attempted to simplify layers of districts and contradicting overlays to reveal an organized and scale-appropriate framework for the city's future. While many had hoped the reduction of zoning limits would bring redevelopment under control, its effect was less noticeable. While new construction continued at a smaller scale after the new code was implemented, alternatives such as variances allowed for development to return to previous volumes barring community resistance.

The built fabric of Chicago has been subject to drastic changes in the past and will have to continue to evolve in response to a vast array of economic and sociological pressures.

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Appendices

Table A *Parts 1-2*:

Development Statistics for all Chicago communities

Table B *Parts 1-2*:

Total annual demolition permits by community

Table C *Parts 1-2*:

Total annual new construction by community

Table D:

Commission on Chicago Landmarks designation criteria

Table A Part 1: Development and parcel statistics for all 77 Chicago community areas

Communities highlighted in green were selected or considered for the study area presented in Chapter 5.
Communities highlighted in light red experienced the least new development combined with the greatest number of demolition permits issued

Community Area	Total Parcels	% Residential	Total New Residential Parcels	% New Residential Parcels	% New Residential of All City	2-6 Unit Apartments	Condominium Buildings	% Condo	Single Family Houses	% SFH	Demolition/ New Residential	Total Demolition	Ratio: Demolition to All Community Parcels	% All City Demolition
ALBANY PARK	7,128	87%	98	2%	0.5%	5	36	37%	57	58%	1,245	122	1.7%	0.5%
ARCHER HEIGHTS	3,456	78%	75	3%	0.4%	51	1	1%	23	31%	0,707	53	1.5%	0.2%
ARMOUR SQUARE	3,199	52%	203	12%	1.0%	45	44	22%	114	56%	0,458	93	2.9%	0.4%
ASHBURN	13,643	90%	126	1%	0.6%	2	1	1%	123	98%	0,500	63	0.5%	0.3%
AUBURN GRESHAM	13,905	87%	177	2%	0.9%	17	0	0%	160	90%	1,972	349	2.5%	1.4%
AUSTIN	21,844	80%	274	2%	1.3%	37	28	10%	209	76%	2,358	646	3.0%	2.6%
AVALON PARK	4,242	82%	118	3%	0.6%	3	0	0%	115	97%	0,492	58	1.4%	0.2%
AVONDALE	7,180	84%	197	3%	0.9%	27	66	34%	104	53%	0,827	163	2.3%	0.7%
BELMONT CRAGIN	14,635	86%	124	1%	0.6%	10	15	12%	99	80%	1,016	126	0.9%	0.5%
BEVERLY	8,032	86%	67	1%	0.3%	0	2	3%	65	97%	0,851	57	0.7%	0.2%
BRIDGEPORT	8,600	78%	972	15%	4.7%	83	42	4%	847	87%	0,405	394	4.6%	1.6%
BRIGHTON PARK	8,821	81%	221	3%	1.1%	40	13	6%	168	76%	0,778	172	1.9%	0.7%
BURNSIDE	1,211	72%	57	7%	0.3%	1	0	0%	56	98%	0,947	54	4.5%	0.2%
CALUMET HEIGHTS	6,024	85%	21	0%	0.1%	1	1	5%	19	90%	3,714	78	1.3%	0.3%
CHATHAM	8,872	84%	198	3%	1.0%	12	1	1%	185	93%	0,864	171	1.9%	0.7%
CHICAGO LAWN	12,109	86%	48	0%	0.2%	0	1	2%	47	98%	4,250	204	1.7%	0.8%
CLEARING	7,671	86%	228	3%	1.1%	28	18	8%	182	80%	0,285	65	0.8%	0.3%
DOUGLAS	2,623	42%	174	16%	0.8%	14	47	27%	113	65%	0,856	149	5.7%	0.6%
DUNNING	12,636	94%	425	4%	2.0%	33	44	10%	348	82%	0,555	236	1.9%	1.0%
EAST GARFIELD PARK	6,834	44%	440	15%	2.1%	84	132	30%	183	42%	1,311	577	8.4%	2.3%
EAST SIDE	7,212	82%	102	2%	0.5%	0	0	0%	102	100%	0,402	41	0.6%	0.2%
EDGEWATER	5,205	81%	170	4%	0.8%	4	80	47%	85	50%	0,894	152	2.9%	0.6%
EDISON PARK	4,043	89%	66	2%	0.3%	3	12	18%	51	77%	0,955	63	1.6%	0.3%
ENGLEWOOD	12,161	51%	151	2%	0.7%	51	0	0%	100	66%	9,894	1494	12.3%	6.0%
FOREST GLEN	7,480	89%	117	2%	0.6%	6	4	3%	107	91%	0,624	73	1.0%	0.3%
FULLER PARK	2,049	33%	20	3%	0.1%	1	3	15%	16	80%	8,650	173	8.4%	0.7%
GAGE PARK	7,667	85%	48	1%	0.2%	12	0	0%	36	75%	1,458	70	0.9%	0.3%
GARFIELD RIDGE	12,617	88%	307	3%	1.5%	26	6	2%	275	90%	0,681	209	1.7%	0.8%
GRAND BOULEVARD	4,998	44%	434	20%	2.1%	55	176	41%	123	28%	0,986	428	8.6%	1.7%
GREATER GRAND CROSSING	9,369	73%	219	3%	1.1%	50	4	2%	165	75%	1,831	401	4.3%	1.6%
HEGEWISCH	4,327	72%	109	3%	0.5%	3	0	0%	106	97%	0,376	41	0.9%	0.2%
HERMOSA	4,268	85%	46	1%	0.2%	4	6	13%	36	78%	1,109	51	1.2%	0.7%
HUMBOLDT PARK	11,912	74%	247	3%	1.2%	52	21	9%	173	70%	2,223	549	4.6%	2.2%
HYDE PARK	2,571	72%	30	2%	0.1%	0	9	30%	21	70%	2,900	87	3.4%	0.4%
IRVING PARK	11,043	85%	386	4%	1.9%	5	68	18%	313	81%	0,575	222	2.0%	0.9%

Source: Cook County Assessor's Office, 2011; Chicago Department of Buildings, 2011; Chicago Area Housing Website, 2005 (defunct)

Table A Part 2: Development and parcel statistics for all 77 Chicago community areas

Communities highlighted in green were selected or considered for the study area presented in Chapter 5.
Communities highlighted in light red experienced the least new development combined with the greatest number of demolition permits issued

Community Area	Total Parcels	% Residential	Total New Residential Parcels	% New Residential Parcels	% New Residential of All City	2-6 Unit Apartments	Condominium Buildings	% Condo	Single Family Houses	% SFH	Demolition/ New Residential	Total Demolition	Ratio: Demolition to All Community Parcels	% All City Demolition
JEFFERSON PARK	7,964	87%	161	2%	0.8%	19	40	25%	102	63%	0.652	105	1.3%	0.4%
KENWOOD	2,149	68%	225	15%	1.1%	21	45	20%	159	71%	0.227	51	2.4%	0.2%
LAKE VIEW	10,581	84%	1598	18%	7.7%	91	805	50%	702	44%	0.937	1497	14.1%	6.0%
LINCOLN PARK	9,888	79%	1400	18%	6.7%	66	410	29%	924	66%	0.927	1298	13.1%	5.2%
LINCOLN SQUARE	6,559	86%	294	5%	1.4%	8	101	34%	185	63%	0.918	270	4.1%	1.1%
LOGAN SQUARE	13,656	81%	956	9%	4.6%	38	289	30%	629	66%	0.849	812	5.9%	3.3%
LOOP	2,529	5%	26	22%	0.1%	0	26	100%	0	0%	3.692	96	3.8%	0.4%
LOWER WEST SIDE	7,062	66%	228	5%	1.1%	90	39	17%	99	43%	1.276	291	4.1%	1.2%
MCKINLEY PARK	4,176	76%	193	6%	0.9%	10	9	5%	174	90%	0.528	102	2.4%	0.4%
MONTCLARE	3,191	90%	67	2%	0.3%	1	26	39%	40	60%	0.716	48	1.5%	0.2%
MORGAN PARK	9,271	78%	113	2%	0.5%	15	6	5%	92	81%	1.903	215	2.3%	0.9%
MOUNT GREENWOOD	7,157	91%	167	3%	0.8%	1	7	4%	159	95%	0.802	134	1.9%	0.5%
NEAR NORTH SIDE	5,876	36%	368	18%	1.8%	11	226	61%	131	36%	1.149	423	7.2%	1.7%
NEAR SOUTH SIDE	2,708	45%	164	13%	0.8%	0	75	46%	89	54%	0.762	125	4.6%	0.5%
NEAR WEST SIDE	12,911	31%	860	22%	4.1%	198	459	53%	166	19%	1.169	1005	7.8%	4.1%
NEW QTY	12,853	60%	396	5%	1.9%	32	1	0%	363	92%	3.477	1377	10.7%	5.6%
NORTH CENTER	7,756	86%	1288	19%	6.2%	17	304	24%	967	75%	0.779	1003	12.9%	4.0%
NORTH LAWNDALE	9,858	55%	606	11%	2.9%	187	63	10%	353	58%	1.394	845	8.6%	3.4%
NORTH PARK	4,006	82%	153	5%	0.7%	0	16	10%	137	90%	0.418	64	1.6%	0.3%
NORWOOD PARK	13,358	92%	215	2%	1.0%	7	9	4%	199	93%	0.712	153	1.1%	0.6%
OAKLAND	1,160	44%	151	30%	0.7%	26	32	21%	89	59%	0.404	61	5.3%	0.2%
OHARE	1,696	75%	30	2%	0.1%	2	20	67%	8	27%	0.400	12	0.7%	0.0%
PORTAGE PARK	15,392	90%	232	2%	1.1%	36	30	13%	166	72%	0.789	183	1.2%	0.7%
PULLMAN	2,429	84%	1	0%	0.0%	0	0	0%	1	100%	29.000	29	1.2%	0.1%
RIVERDALE	1,191	43%	0	0%	0.0%	0	0	0%	0	0%	0.000	69	5.8%	0.3%
ROGERS PARK	4,476	77%	51	1%	0.2%	8	39	76%	4	8%	2.569	131	2.9%	0.5%
ROSELAND	16,196	80%	100	1%	0.5%	10	1	1%	87	87%	6.330	633	3.9%	2.6%
SOUTH CHICAGO	9,195	75%	77	1%	0.4%	13	9	12%	55	71%	5.935	457	5.0%	1.8%
SOUTH DEERING	8,066	57%	24	1%	0.1%	0	0	0%	24	100%	3.000	72	0.9%	0.3%
SOUTH LAWNDALE	11,036	80%	110	1%	0.5%	42	5	5%	63	57%	2.045	225	2.0%	0.9%
SOUTH SHORE	8,455	79%	184	3%	0.9%	21	49	27%	114	62%	1.457	268	3.2%	1.1%
UPTOWN	3,796	72%	235	9%	1.1%	11	157	67%	67	29%	0.655	154	4.1%	0.6%
WASHINGTON HEIGHTS	10,252	83%	71	1%	0.3%	0	1	1%	70	99%	1.507	107	1.0%	0.4%
WASHINGTON PARK	2,481	37%	49	5%	0.2%	12	30	61%	7	14%	6.531	320	12.9%	1.3%
WEST ELSDON	4,704	91%	70	2%	0.3%	15	5	7%	50	71%	0.414	29	0.6%	0.1%
WEST ENGLEWOOD	13,295	67%	69	1%	0.3%	29	1	1%	39	57%	18.551	1280	9.6%	5.2%
WEST GARFIELD PARK	5,198	56%	148	5%	0.7%	37	12	8%	99	67%	2.649	392	7.5%	1.6%
WEST LAWN	8,217	91%	37	0%	0.2%	2	4	11%	31	84%	1.216	45	0.5%	0.2%
WEST PULLMAN	12,133	78%	59	1%	0.3%	5	1	2%	53	90%	8.390	495	4.1%	2.0%
WEST RIDGE	11,178	85%	180	2%	0.9%	15	68	38%	97	54%	0.700	126	1.1%	0.5%
WEST TOWN	17,696	71%	2513	20%	12.1%	252	1418	56%	843	34%	0.614	1543	8.7%	6.2%
WOODLAWN	4,789	61%	247	9%	1.2%	66	88	36%	93	38%	1.474	364	7.6%	1.5%

Source: Cook County Assessor's Office, 2011; Chicago Department of Buildings, 2011; Chicago Area Housing Website, 2005 (defunct)

Table B Part 1: Annual demolition permits issued for all 77 Chicago community areas

Communities highlighted in green were selected or considered for the study area presented in Chapter 5.

Communities highlighted in light red experienced the least new development combined with the greatest number of demolition permits issued

Community Area	d 1993	d 1994	d 1995	d 1996	d 1997	d 1998	d 1999	d 2000	d 2001	d 2002	d 2003	d 2004	d 2005	d 2006	d 2007	d 2008	d 2009	d 2010	d 2011
ALBANY PARK	1	3	1	3	6	3	6	10	16	10	25	10	8	9	4	1	4	1	
ARCHER HEIGHTS	2	3	1	2	3	6	4	8	3	6	2	5	1	1	5	1	1	0	0
ARMOUR SQUARE	8	4	9	4	4	10	5	1	9	5	5	4	4	8	7	4	2	4	0
ASHBURN	5	1	2	5	6	4	2	12	9	2	5	1	1	1	3	2	3	0	0
AUBURN GRESHAM	21	12	19	39	27	55	35	34	22	24	7	8	5	7	8	8	10	7	
AUSTIN	36	34	44	67	60	56	65	32	40	26	25	18	5	16	10	24	45	41	
AVALON PARK	4	6	3	5	8	3	5	3	3	5	1	0	2	1	1	3	3	2	
AVONDALE	3	4	6	8	8	5	10	6	7	5	11	9	21	20	8	12	14	5	
BELMONT CRAGIN	6	2	4	8	5	13	8	7	9	10	16	4	7	11	1	6	6	3	
BEVERLY	1	3	2	5	4	6	4	5	2	2	3	2	8	7	0	3	0	0	
BRIDGEPORT	15	5	12	20	18	28	24	55	25	31	30	31	28	23	13	10	11	14	
BRIGHTON PARK	7	7	8	16	8	12	18	26	10	5	5	9	13	2	7	8	5	5	
BURNSIDE	6	8	6	6	5	5	3	1	0	3	3	0	0	0	2	0	1	5	
CALUMET HEIGHTS	0	3	3	10	8	9	5	4	4	5	3	1	3	7	3	4	1	5	
CHATHAM	7	12	17	12	10	14	16	22	12	5	15	1	7	4	3	3	6	5	
CHICAGO LAWN	5	9	10	22	29	11	10	7	17	34	11	4	8	3	8	2	10	4	
CLEARING	8	5	6	4	6	8	4	1	5	5	4	2	1	3	1	0	2	0	
DOUGLAS	10	9	14	11	7	12	16	13	4	15	3	0	3	6	13	5	3	5	
DUNNING	15	9	18	8	10	7	7	18	13	17	20	19	30	25	6	4	5	5	
EAST GARFIELD PARK	50	59	55	70	54	46	48	21	39	25	21	15	6	11	5	10	26	15	
EAST SIDE	3	1	4	6	3	2	2	0	3	1	2	2	0	0	2	2	4	4	
EDGEWATER	1	2	6	14	11	9	9	15	12	12	19	9	18	4	3	2	2	4	
EDISON PARK	5	4	0	1	0	2	4	3	7	5	9	5	3	11	3	0	1	0	
ENGLEWOOD	125	139	118	163	116	138	82	83	69	70	60	29	2	26	30	50	99	91	
FOREST GLEN	1	0	2	1	1	4	4	4	2	7	7	7	7	14	5	1	3	2	
FULLER PARK	19	21	16	19	17	12	12	14	7	3	6	0	2	7	0	6	7	5	
GAGE PARK	1	3	6	9	4	10	6	0	2	5	4	1	6	2	3	3	4	0	
GARFIELD RIDGE	14	11	21	7	13	17	9	15	11	22	19	4	15	11	5	7	1	6	
GRAND BOULEVARD	59	44	45	54	48	23	27	17	17	25	14	12	5	5	8	10	10	4	
GREATER GRAND CROSSING	30	22	38	48	24	18	24	31	22	18	7	12	7	12	7	6	28	26	
HEGEWISCH	2	2	0	2	5	10	2	3	1	1	2	1	3	2	2	2	0	1	
HERMOSA	0	1	3	20	6	3	1	1	2	2	1	3	3	1	0	2	2	0	
HUMBOLDT PARK	27	35	44	82	58	48	32	38	34	23	18	12	10	7	12	17	30	22	
HYDE PARK	15	6	4	2	0	6	4	4	15	6	9	2	4	5	0	0	0	5	
IRVING PARK	5	2	5	9	9	6	17	16	10	17	22	17	24	30	15	5	6	7	

Source: Chicago Department of Buildings, 2011; Chicago Area Housing Website, 2005 (defunct)

Table B Part 2: Annual demolition permits issued for all 77 Chicago community areas

Communities highlighted in green were selected or considered for the study area presented in Chapter 5.
Communities highlighted in light red experienced the least new development combined with the greatest number of demolition permits issued

Community Area	d 1993	d 1994	d 1995	d 1996	d 1997	d 1998	d 1999	d 2000	d 2001	d 2002	d 2003	d 2004	d 2005	d 2006	d 2007	d 2008	d 2009	d 2010	d 2011
JEFFERSON PARK	4	4	4	4	6	2	10	5	3	5	7	12	11	15	8	4	1	1	3
KENWOOD	4	4	2	11	5	6	3	2	5	2	2	1	1	1	0	0	2	1	0
LAKE VIEW	28	50	81	68	81	121	119	160	110	101	126	98	102	83	65	23	36	43	
LINCOLN PARK	38	53	60	65	77	110	99	102	98	87	102	85	102	80	84	44	31	47	34
LINCOLN SQUARE	1	2	3	9	14	10	17	20	22	24	26	25	27	33	9	5	6	17	
LOGAN SQUARE	23	26	17	43	28	47	60	93	88	51	62	59	63	68	27	22	20	13	
LOOP	4	5	5	4	6	8	7	6	14	6	7	6	8	1	2	6	0	0	
LOWER WEST SIDE	9	17	8	15	13	23	26	28	22	26	14	12	18	14	9	13	7	17	
MCKINLEY PARK	1	1	4	6	15	4	2	6	10	8	7	7	9	2	1	4	8	7	
MONTCLARE	3	0	0	1	1	1	3	1	0	3	2	3	7	8	2	11	0	2	
MORGAN PARK	15	19	12	9	18	21	22	14	19	18	14	8	1	5	8	4	7	1	
MOUNT GREENWOOD	4	2	5	6	9	6	4	11	10	10	7	4	19	15	5	9	4	4	
NEAR NORTH SIDE	11	25	20	33	28	46	44	43	42	39	16	9	12	19	17	5	4	10	
NEAR SOUTH SIDE	9	13	6	3	9	10	13	19	9	3	2	4	2	7	3	6	6	1	
NEAR WEST SIDE	81	81	86	92	77	76	94	73	101	57	42	29	25	35	22	13	11	10	
NEW CITY	112	105	164	189	96	164	110	72	76	62	49	19	9	19	18	29	46	36	
NORTH CENTER	7	8	14	15	45	68	98	89	60	58	93	89	117	77	47	29	43	46	
NORTH LAWNDALE	73	91	97	77	71	72	71	40	39	40	24	14	6	12	17	20	50	31	
NORTH PARK	0	5	1	0	7	1	14	3	4	8	1	8	5	3	2	0	2	0	
NORWOOD PARK	5	13	8	7	4	4	5	8	4	15	14	10	20	10	11	6	4	5	
OAKLAND	2	4	8	5	3	8	3	1	2	6	5	0	2	2	6	1	2	1	
OHARE	0	3	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	
PORTAGE PARK	19	2	8	6	19	9	8	16	13	7	13	10	27	13	5	5	2	1	
PULLMAN	2	1	1	2	1	2	3	2	1	4	2	1	1	1	3	1	1	0	
RIVERDALE	3	11	3	7	6	6	8	4	2	5	1	1	0	1	1	4	4	2	
ROGERS PARK	3	2	4	5	20	13	9	17	9	9	7	5	8	9	5	2	1	3	
ROSELAND	52	56	36	71	43	47	54	33	30	46	36	9	6	6	16	20	36	34	
SOUTH CHICAGO	36	27	44	62	32	37	40	21	29	24	17	6	2	9	16	12	21	22	
SOUTH DEERING	3	5	2	5	4	7	6	5	5	8	12	0	2	2	2	0	2	2	
SOUTH LAWNDALE	8	7	5	19	24	12	19	17	13	21	12	11	7	7	7	5	13	11	
SOUTH SHORE	15	16	21	33	29	25	21	13	23	8	10	6	5	13	6	4	13	6	
UPTOWN	5	6	2	7	3	13	15	12	13	18	11	9	15	9	6	4	3	3	
WASHINGTON HEIGHTS	3	7	9	8	16	13	15	4	5	3	10	0	0	5	2	4	2	1	
WASHINGTON PARK	23	31	45	70	34	21	13	12	11	11	3	2	2	5	5	10	15	6	
WEST ELSDON	5	2	1	4	3	2	0	0	1	3	1	3	0	0	2	1	1	0	
WEST ENGLEWOOD	96	91	111	152	109	114	104	76	56	49	44	42	4	24	27	33	76	69	
WEST GARFIELD PARK	32	23	44	52	24	30	28	17	23	18	12	8	2	3	8	17	26	24	
WEST LAWN	5	0	1	5	2	2	2	1	5	9	2	2	1	2	2	0	2	2	
WEST PULMAN	27	33	26	51	30	54	41	28	27	18	12	7	7	16	19	20	49	30	
WEST RIDGE	5	4	2	3	1	3	6	9	9	6	11	9	20	25	2	3	4	4	
WEST TOWN	15	38	36	63	84	73	132	129	143	139	121	130	143	97	80	31	38	50	
WOODLAWN	33	29	38	59	39	40	31	19	17	8	12	5	10	4	6	5	4	5	

Source: Chicago Department of Buildings, 2011; Chicago Area Housing Website, 2005 (defunct)

Table C Part 1: Annual new residential construction for all 77 Chicago community areas

Communities highlighted in green were selected or considered for the study area presented in Chapter 5.
Communities highlighted in light red experienced the least new development combined with the greatest number of demolition permits issued

Community Area		r1993	r1994	r1995	r1996	r1997	r1998	r1999	r2000	r2001	r2002	r2003	r2004	r2005	r2006	r2007	r2008	r2009	r2010
ALBANY PARK ARCHER HEIGHTS ARMOUR SQUARE ASHBURN AUBURN GRESHAM AUSTIN AVALON PARK AVONDALE BELMONT CRAGIN BEVERLY BRIDGEPORT BRIGHTON PARK BURNSIDE CALLUMET HEIGHTS CHATHAM CHICAGO LAWN CLEARING DOUGLAS DUNNING EAST GARFIELD PARK EAST SIDE EDGEWATER EDISON PARK ENGLEWOOD FOREST GLEN FULLER PARK GAGE PARK GARFIELD RIDGE GRAND BOULEVARD GREATER GRAND CROSSING HEGEWISCH HERMOSA HUMBOLDT PARK HYDE PARK IRVING PARK	3	1	1	3	1	1	1	3	1	9	1	2	12	15	2	20	19	16	6
	4	5	3	7	7	12	7	8	15	1	1	1	3	7	1	2	7	2	1
	11	17	12	5	3	9	17	5	35	3	2	13	32	4	17	9	19	8	8
	4	5	44	2	7	20	16	11	13	1	1	1	1	3	2	8	2	2	2
	6	1	7	1	1	1	1	1	2	6	1	1	3	11	1	63	31	52	6
	11	24	11	1	2	3	6	21	34	2	1	10	8	3	26	38	70	21	21
	1	1	1	1	2	1	3	19	65	1	1	3	1	1	1	15	6	13	1
	12	2	4	7	4	3	2	3	15	1	1	8	39	3	43	24	34	10	10
	7	5	6	10	3	6	7	4	16	1	1	5	17	2	17	18	9	8	8
	22	3	4	2	1	3	3	3	3	9	1	1	4	3	1	7	7	6	5
	17	40	57	55	22	56	30	44	118	3	6	57	53	11	138	111	129	43	43
	7	9	15	14	4	15	8	15	40	1	1	13	20	3	20	11	30	13	13
	2	1	1	1	1	9	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	2	23	12	10	2
	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	5	11	3	2
	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	56	90	1	2	2	6	4	11	17	11	8
	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	3	1	3	1	1	3	1	16	9	18	4
	2	8	11	18	4	5	10	5	63	1	2	32	20	1	18	22	20	4	4
	3	9	6	8	6	18	10	12	30	1	3	3	3	1	6	32	15	19	10
	41	17	44	24	18	27	24	16	42	1	1	28	24	5	49	33	37	12	12
	1	1	27	4	35	38	37	14	18	3	4	25	36	44	44	46	53	28	28
	2	2	4	26	1	8	13	6	4	1	1	6	4	2	17	15	6	2	2
	2	1	5	1	3	3	3	2	38	1	1	19	47	6	16	17	9	14	14
	3	3	2	4	1	2	3	1	8	1	1	5	11	1	16	5	10	7	7
	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	3	2	1	7	3	2	28	21	73	19	19
	5	2	11	5	3	5	4	5	6	1	1	13	9	1	23	13	11	17	17
	1	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	3	9	3
	3	6	5	9	1	4	4	5	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	4	5	4
	13	8	29	16	4	17	17	13	47	1	2	15	27	4	31	37	26	18	18
	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	18	3	81	23	5	11	37	46	85	58	55	20
1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	21	1	1	7	7	2	62	46	70	11	
32	2	31	3	1	5	3	10	13	1	1	8	4	3	2	5	1	2	2	
2	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	3	1	1	9	8	3	5	9	5	7	
1	8	7	3	1	3	5	18	28	1	4	31	24	7	41	33	23	27	27	
2	2	2	3	2	2	1	1	1	17	1	1	2	1	1	4	4	1	1	
4	2	11	2	19	34	16	4	26	1	2	23	40	8	51	75	43	43	43	

Source: Cook County Assessor's Office, 2012.

Table C Part 2: Annual new residential construction for all 77 Chicago community areas

Communities highlighted in green were selected or considered for the study area presented in Chapter 5.
Communities highlighted in light red experienced the least new development combined with the greatest number of demolition permits issued

Community Area	r1993	r1994	r1995	r1996	r1997	r1998	r1999	r2000	r2001	r2002	r2003	r2004	r2005	r2006	r2007	r2008	r2009	r2010
JEFFERSON PARK	5	3	7	6	4	11	2	7	18	1	1	6	15	2	28	15	34	14
KENWOOD	7	5	12	26	4	12	11	11	68	7	2	7	8	10	17	4	28	4
LAKE VIEW	8	13	39	40	62	80	64	92	342	2	13	156	115	59	156	130	115	130
LINCOLN PARK	34	20	85	46	42	88	74	50	273	2	7	147	89	25	126	112	87	111
LINCOLN SQUARE	1	2	5	6	3	4	3	11	43	1	2	37	31	8	60	39	36	20
LOGAN SQUARE	10	12	21	20	15	29	26	32	206	3	3	76	68	45	123	126	87	72
LOOP	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	4	3	4	2	8	5
LOWER WEST SIDE	3	9	13	44	15	25	13	10	13	1	1	8	8	6	18	18	26	15
MCKINLEY PARK	6	3	6	7	3	5	3	9	34	2	1	26	20	4	20	9	31	22
MONTCLARE	7	3	2	2	1	3	3	2	5	1	1	7	2	1	14	11	9	11
MORGAN PARK	3	1	5	3	4	5	2	2	9	1	1	14	9	4	20	17	21	10
MOUNT GREENWOOD	3	9	4	15	1	11	5	7	26	1	1	19	11	1	12	28	17	14
NEAR NORTH SIDE	4	3	4	5	8	61	9	25	73	3	5	17	40	27	38	20	23	21
NEAR SOUTH SIDE	3	1	37	1	15	5	8	5	39	3	4	9	3	6	17	5	11	10
NEAR WEST SIDE	16	13	8	10	9	36	32	54	165	6	6	56	55	44	101	147	77	43
NEW CITY	3	5	14	9	6	7	6	10	40	1	1	47	38	6	84	52	66	19
NORTH CENTER	3	4	8	60	13	59	72	66	223	3	18	101	131	22	166	152	104	101
NORTH LAWNDALE	7	5	9	8	3	2	3	3	9	1	2	23	28	101	114	141	99	66
NORTH PARK	1	2	1	3	4	1	31	14	58	1	1	7	4	4	11	10	7	11
MORWOOD PARK	9	8	14	14	10	10	9	4	23	1	1	15	15	5	35	26	13	21
OAKLAND	1	1	4	1	2	11	17	2	13	1	2	3	14	23	23	28	15	8
OHARE	8	1	2	1	4	2	1	2	2	1	1	5	2	2	6	2	5	1
PORTAGE PARK	14	5	10	4	7	13	4	12	37	1	1	14	2	2	52	32	20	20
PULLMAN	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
RIVERDALE	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
ROGERS PARK	1	1	2	4	2	1	2	1	4	1	1	4	7	5	10	13	6	4
ROSELAND	3	1	5	2	2	5	9	4	15	1	1	8	4	4	17	13	18	6
SOUTH CHICAGO	1	2	4	6	1	5	2	1	8	1	1	1	6	1	19	18	12	6
SOUTH DEERING	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10	1	1	1	1	1	10	3	2	4
SOUTH LAWNDALE	4	5	8	12	5	5	7	6	11	1	1	10	4	8	16	7	10	8
SOUTH SHORE	1	6	5	9	10	23	24	13	21	1	1	5	3	14	20	19	17	10
UPTOWN	1	3	7	1	3	7	11	16	49	1	5	24	18	9	25	39	15	19
WASHINGTON HEIGHTS	2	1	1	3	2	2	1	2	4	1	1	5	6	1	8	6	20	23
WASHINGTON PARK	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	7	7	11	20
WEST ELSDON	2	3	7	11	2	4	3	2	5	1	1	1	1	1	10	8	25	1
WEST ENGLEWOOD	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	1	1	2	3	3	8	18	18	20
WEST GARFIELD PARK	3	3	1	2	3	6	3	3	22	2	4	23	5	4	14	31	21	16
WEST LAWN	4	4	6	4	3	2	1	2	5	2	1	4	5	2	2	3	3	2
WEST PULLMAN	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	6	1	1	2	4	8	11	15	15	4
WEST RIDGE	2	2	9	2	3	1	5	2	8	1	2	37	19	7	29	30	22	17
WEST TOWN	16	36	46	72	62	84	100	104	488	2	14	196	198	210	269	243	257	154
WOODLAWN	1	1	1	17	1	24	23	5	26	1	1	2	39	8	22	39	32	22

Source: Cook County Assessor's Office, 2012.

Table D: Commission on Chicago Landmarks, landmarks designation criteria

2-120-620 Criteria.

“The Commission shall familiarize itself with areas, districts, places, buildings, structures, works of art, and other objects within the City of Chicago which may be considered for designation by ordinance as “Chicago Landmarks,” and maintain a register thereof. In making its recommendation to the City Council for designation, the Commission shall limit its consideration solely to the following criteria concerning such area, district, place, building, structure, work of art, and other objects:

1. Its value as an example of the architectural, cultural, economic, historic, social, or other aspect of the heritage of the City of Chicago, State of Illinois, or the United States.
2. Its location as a site of a significant historic event which may or may not have taken place within or involved the use of any existing improvements.
3. Its identification with a person or persons who significantly contributed to the architectural, cultural, economic, historic, social, or other aspect of the development of the City of Chicago, State of Illinois, or the United States.
4. Its exemplification of an architectural type or style distinguished by innovation, rarity, uniqueness, or overall quality of design, detail, materials, or craftsmanship.
5. Its identification as the work of an architect, designer, engineer, or builder whose individual work is significant in the history or development of the City of Chicago, the State of Illinois, or the United States.
6. Its representation of an architectural, cultural, economic, historic, social, or other theme expressed through distinctive areas, districts, places, buildings, structures, works of art, or other objects that may or may not be contiguous.
7. Its unique location or distinctive physical appearance or presence representing an established and familiar visual feature of a neighborhood, community, or the City of Chicago.”¹

¹ *Landmarks Ordinance: And the Rules and Regulations on the Commission on Chicago Landmarks*, Chicago: Commission on Chicago Landmarks, reprint August 3, 2011.

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