The "L" is for Living

Creating Urban Development Linkages with Affordable Transit-Oriented Housing

By

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Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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Abstract

What is a city? Who is the city for? A citizen's answer to these questions is closely connected with her or his sense of political power or representation in the city. Harvey Molotch argues that politically influential land-owning elites conceive of the city as a growth machine to increase their wealth and/or influence. The growth machine idea is often linked with the concept of the city as a place of pleasure. These two concepts invariably produce growth strategies—strategies that that do not reflect or include other concepts of the city, such as the city being a place of work or provider of services (Frug, Ford and Barron 2006). This scenario envisions two camps on either side of any publicly funded proposal, one composed of political proponents or growth machine-elites and the other composed of activist opponents. The City of Chicago finds itself in this position as it campaigns for the opportunity to host the 2016 Summer Olympic Games. The city is currently fighting on two fronts. One fight is global, against the other would-be host cities Rio, Rome, and Tokyo. The other fight is local against residents, who would rather have new schools than a new Olympic stadium. The likelihood of successful Games is greater if the two local sides can establish consensus. This thesis proposes a method of building consensus, by ideologically aligning with the "growth machine" and further by placing itself between the two poles of the city of work and services and the city of pleasure. Operating in this framework this thesis posits that the city should host the Games, under the condition that there are beneficial linkages between the development for the Olympic Games and the residents. Moreover, this thesis posits that affordable housing in conjunction with transit-oriented development (TOD) is the best tool for linking the Games to benefits for the residents.

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Mom, Dad, Jay as always love and thanks you are always there for O.

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Introduction

What is a city? Who is the city for?

These two questions seem to be at the heart of many civic discussions. This is especially true when civic projects involve spending (taxpayer) money. This is further compounded when projects are not perceived as a public good but an exclusive good—exemplified in the dichotomy between infrastructural and recreational projects. Anytime a city proposes to fund a new stadium, arena, or convention center battle lines are drawn between the city and the project's detractors. In these contexts of confrontation the two the questions above arise as salient points, and the political science literature provides an answer for each.

(1) What is a city?

"The city is, for those who count, a growth machine" (Molotch 1976, 310). Harvey Molotch argues that because power is tied to land and land to wealth that the economic foundation of the US city is growth. "The very essence of a locality is its operation as a growth machine"; moreover, "affect[ing] the outcome of growth distribution is the essence of local government as a dynamic political force" (Molotch 1976, 310, 313). Therefore, city atrophy or stagnation is a political problem to be addressed with any number of growth inducing strategies.

(2) Who is the city for?

The mega-event strategy is one such growth strategy. As the name indicates, the mega-event strategy utilizes events, more specifically, "hallmark events" as a growth tactic. Hallmark events are, "major one-time or recurring events of limited duration, developed primarily to enhance the awareness, appeal and profitability of a tourism destination in the short/long term" (Ritchie 1984, 2). As such the strategy uses hallmark events, "for [the] promot[ion] of local growth" (Burbank, Andranovich and Heying 2001, 4).

In order to implement these often controversial measures of civic promotion politicians (proponents) and activists (opponents) alike must engage in what Peter Eiseinger calls the "politics of

bread and circuses" (Frug, Ford and Barron 2006, 807). The ideological basis for this scenario lies in the conception of, "who is the city for". The bread and circuses idea, "emphasize[s] the connection between cities and pleasure rather than between cities and work or between cities and the provision of necessary services" (Frug, Ford and Barron 2006, 803). On the one hand the city is envisioned for the consumer and on the other the city is envisioned for those receiving some necessity. These differing conceptions reflect the varied notions of, "who is the city for".

Maybe this is not the ideal notion of the city; however, it is the operational reality of many. One such city is Chicago. As of this writing, the city has bid for the privilege of hosting the 2016 Olympic Summer Games. The City is currently fighting on two fronts. One fight is global against the other would-be host cities Rio, Rome, and Tokyo. The other fight is local against residents, who would rather have new schools than a new Olympic stadium. What is the community input? Who is going to benefit? What is left the day after? These questions from Mattie Butler, Director of Woodlawn East Community And Neighbors, Incorporated (We Can), echo the concerns of many in the City. Furthermore, opposition groups fear that the, "require[ments] to stage the Games [will] become so important that the interests of socially weaker groups...[will be] ignored" (Preuss 2004, 80). The mainstream press reports that most Chicagoans are for the Games. One article cited the Chicago group who claim that, "77 percent of Chicagoans support the idea of the Games coming [to Chicago]" (Morrissey 2009). Many opposition groups do, "not oppose the Game coming to the South Side, but ...[they do] want to make sure it happens in the right way" (Fencke 2008). Worry has been expressed at the political level as well aldermen have been, "critical of the planning process—or rather [the] lack of [a] planning process—provided by Chicago 2016 [the Olympic planning committee]" (Wilcoxen 2008). As such the opposition to the Games has been vocal during the bidding process, see Figure 0.1. -games protesters) The confrontation is only to increase if the City receives the bid. If that occurs then tensions will continue to rise, "immovable positions between planners, politicians, and citizens regarding important projects," will be subject to the limitations of

weak compromise (Preuss 2004, 79). Therefore, now is the time of building coalitions and consensus.

The anti-Olympic demonstrations (literally) demonstrate the lack of services, in housing, in schools and in other areas. It demonstrates the citizenry's dissatisfaction with the City—"the city that works" is not working. This thesis proposes a method of alleviating dissatisfaction and building consensus.

Ideologically this thesis aligns itself with the "growth machine" but between the two poles of, the city of work and services and the city of pleasure. Operating in this framework this thesis posits that the city should host the Games and all that goes with them so long as there are short term and long term benefits to residents in its wake. There are many methods of creating linkages between the Games and residents. Moreover, Holger Preuss states that, "there is no general rule to guide a city through an Olympics" (Preuss 2004, 68). In response, the thesis proposes that affordable housing in conjunction with transit-oriented development (TOD) be used as a tool to help guide the City through the process.

TOD is a logical choice for three main reasons. Firstly, the thesis' areas of study are South Side areas proximate to Olympic sites and likely to undergo neighborhood-changing speculation and gentrification. Secondly, these areas on the South Side are already part of transit-oriented discussions and preliminary plans (Metropolitan Planning Council 2008). Most importantly TOD provides a medium through which the three major themes of South Side redevelopment can be addressed.

- Physical redevelopment – Transit-oriented development is inherently development. Development that could potentially counteract years of disinvestment.
- Service provision – Transit-oriented housing (development) is a model that encourages denser development. Economies of scale in denser development make it conducive to serving a range of income levels. If the financing is designed properly this model can provide housing alternatively for low, median, and high income individuals—operating in true Olympian spirit.

- Olympic amenity – Transit oriented improvements are part of the bid,

"Over the next eight years, Chicago will spend $3.55 billion to modernize its existing fleet and rolling stock" (Chicago 2016 2009, 113). As such organizers are placing a lot of faith in transit efficiencies during the Games, "Spectator parking will not be provided—or needed—at venues. Spectators and the Games workforce will use rail transit, with most stations less than 2 km from competition" (Chicago 2016 2009, 93). Furthermore stations "are strategic junctions nodes" in the Lynchian sense establishing a sense of place and ideally facilitating public activity and civic engagement in the spirit of the Games (Lynch 1960, 74).

TOD provides a link between the Olympics and larger social goals, like affordable housing, in a thoughtful manner that will actually enhance the overall Olympic environment. Not only does TOD present a logical link, as outlined above, but it provides something with which the neighborhoods can rally around. The neighborhoods activists are demanding more housing; TOD provides a structure through with which to generate housing. Thus the thesis posits that TOD can foster a "win-win" scenario for the Games' detractors who see the "city [as a place of]… work and services" and its proponents who see the "city [as a] place" of pleasure.

With this argument as the starting point this thesis will outline why this is the normative course of action, details how the action can help myriad segments of society and lastly where and how, policy and design interventions can make Olympic transit-oriented development a reality.

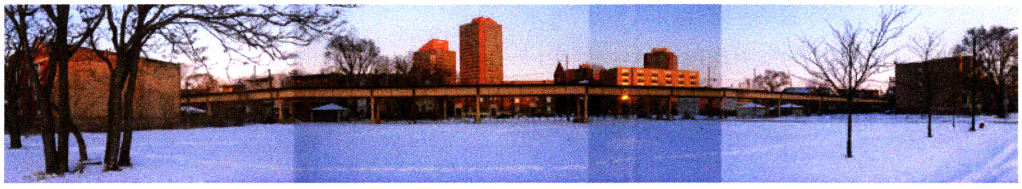


Figure I.1: *South Side Panorama,* source: Author

1.1 - Transit Oriented Development

Transit oriented development (TOD) is very much a trend in contemporary urban and regional planning. TOD is today state of the art, although it is essentially a retrospective approach. Great swaths of the late 19th and early 20th century US cities were transit oriented or "streetcar suburbs", as documented by historian Sam Bass Warner, Jr. Today all sectors of development seem to embrace the TOD mantra from reform-minded New Urbanists to savvy real estate developers. Even federal agencies have embraced the model. The US Department of Transportation (DOT) and Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) recently created an interagency partnership with the goal of coordinating affordable housing and public transportation. DOT Secretary LaHood recently remarked, "One of my highest priorities is to help promote more livable communities through sustainable surface transportation programs," and HUD Secretary Donovan added, "This partnership will help expand every American family's choices for affordable housing and transportation" (Wood 2009). TOD proponents should applaud the attention but not forget the rationale behind or meaning of transit oriented development. When things become simply "trendy" they tend to lose their potency or effectiveness. In addition to an authenticity crisis, there is an unfortunate practice in TOD wherein, "Neotraditional developments are often interchangeably labeled as transit-oriented developments" (McCormack, Rutherford and Wilkinson n.d, 29). Indeed this multiplicity of definitions and multiplicity of TOD-like projects furthers the dilution of the TOD idea. Therefore the thesis would like to briefly describe why TODs are significant and then offer a clear operational definition of transit oriented development.

Benefits

The benefits of TOD fall largely in the following three categories:

- Economic – land use practices that further efficiency and promote "best" usage
- Environmental – placement near transit is to induce non-automotive travel
- Social – economies of scale; cross subsidies allows residents of mixed of incomes

Economic and environmental factors are the most widely cited reasons for placing development near transit. This stems from the fact that mass transit is cheaper and more energy efficient than private automobile use. The third category, social, is slightly less lauded in the discourse, possibly because, "the measurement of social costs and benefits is somewhat subjective and quantitatively complex" (Sanchez and Brenman 2007, 70). However, TOD proponents can no longer afford to overlook this category. The social category is important in furthering the TOD project. For one, it is arguably more measurable than economic or environmental impacts. Randall Crane points out that, "little if any hard evidence indicates how the built environment can reliably manipulate travel behavior" (Crane 2000, 3). Detailed travel surveys and pro forma are needed to demonstrate environmental or economic efficiency—whereas, simply renting units to qualified individuals will demonstrate the social benefit. Further if projects offer the proper social linkages, they can be used to build coalitions around development by means of community participation. Instead, neglect of community stakeholders seems to be the norm as is evidenced by the lack of literature about communities and TOD implementation. Surely generating effective TOD is an engineering challenge. But it is just as surely a community challenge—someone has got to ride the trains, tolerate construction inconveniences, and accept newcomers to the neighborhood. The literature fails to paint this important and intimate picture of the (to be) affected communities. Instead transit oriented development is seen as a tool, implemented from the top, down. It is something that happens to a community, not with a community. Presenting TOD from the social perspective further heightens the relevancy the TOD movement and should result in more effective TOD—the social perspective is of course contingent on community engagement. The social aspects of TOD should be as widely discussed as the economic or environmental factors. This thesis takes this position, and it will focus its research on this side of transit oriented development.

Environmental

Effective TOD will induce non-automotive travel and have a positive environmental impact. This trend can be shown through empirics, "TOD commuters typically use transit two to five times more than other commuters in the region" (Arrington and Cervero 2008, 6). Furthermore, a joint HUD and FTA study indicate the following:

> The US DOT has also funded a brand new CTOD study that shows that households living near transit produce 43 percent less greenhouse gas emissions than those living in the region at large, and that households in central business districts produce the least emissions of all. Neighborhoods in Chicago's CBD, for example, produce 78 percent less greenhouse gas emissions per household, [than those in the region at large] the study found (Wood 2009).

The overall environmental benefits are not yet realized as the demand for transit-oriented housing (and urban housing in general) is growing (Arrington and Cervero 2008). This lack of transit-oriented building, prior to 2009, influences the good environmental news in two ways. Unmet demand implies that those in TODs are self-selecting environmental stewards, sure to take full advantage of the increased access and mobility TODs offer. It also signifies that the positive outcomes of TOD are overstated. If one's sample is primarily self-selectors it is bound to be somewhat biased. These facts are important because so much thought and theory go into the urban design (physical determinants) of these communities. Yet it is exceedingly difficult to gauge if it is having the desired effects, "Despite the growing body of literature, the impact of neotraditional mixed land use neighborhood on transportation remains to be demonstrated" (McCormack, Rutherford and Wilkinson n.d, 25). Nonetheless, TOD (and neo-traditional development) are the best and only popular alternatives to mid 20th Century sprawling development.

Economic

> As traffic congestion continues to worsen and as some households seek residential locations that reduce the need to own automobiles, the prospects for transit based housing appear bright (Bernick, Cervero and Menotti 1994, 19).

> Globalization has placed a premium on more densely populated urban work centers, which are seen as offering a nimble workforce and creativity. Such places can only be supported through transit (Johnson 1999).

Transit oriented development is profitable—it is a successful and proven real estate product. Developers and property owners can expect greater returns on investment closer to transit stations. This premium has been shown in the ownership market as well as the rental market (Baum-Snow and Kahn 2000 & Bernick, Cervero and Menotti 1994). These scenarios bode well for developers/owners in the absence of supply-side regulatory mechanisms. Regulatory mechanisms might include limiting the required on-site parking, in order to reduce development costs or incentive programs from HUD or the FTA (Arrington and Cervero 2008 & FTA 2008). On the other hand, many jurisdictions have no value capture mechanism and the entire premium of transit remains with the developer/owner. Despite the lack of a regulatory schema this is an exciting time for both private and state development sectors as is evidenced in the public chatter and private action around TOD.

Social (or Demand-side Economics)

Like all market rate housing TOD will go to the highest bidder, "TOD developers are researching the market and proactively building products for targeted market sectors...More higher incomes are being served as the United States continues to go through a robust construction phase of denser urban residential product" (Arrington and Cervero 2008, 3-4). This works well because it encourages denser residential and commercial development near transit. However, in a "densely populated" global city the highest bidders may all come from the highest class (Johnson 1999). Indeed Cervero's and Menotti's California study indicated, "that rail-based housing is attractive to large shares of managerial/professional and clerical/accounting workers" (Cervero and Menotti 1994, 14).

The class nature of building near transit suggests that accommodating affordability might only occur through regulation. This is a moral and functional imperative as low-income households are in particular need of public transportation, "The average American household spends approximately

18 percent of its annual income on transportation and -- lower-income families spend as much as 33 percent" (FTA 2008, 3). Pricing the poor out of urban TOD seems especially egregious as, "The urbanization of poverty comes mainly from better access to public transportation in central cities" (Glaeser, Kahn and Rappaport 2008, 1). Transit oriented development presents an opportunity to provide low income households with better, more abundant affordable housing that matches their transit needs. Therefore, transit providers should, "Provide high-quality services...to all communities, but with an emphasis on transit dependent populations" (Sanchez and Brenman 2007, 8).

Operational Definition

The recent popularity of transit oriented development has not helped to define it more concretely. TOD means different things to different people. This makes objective assessment, planning, and implementation all the more difficult. The conventional wisdom is to begin the TOD definition with a transit node. Benet Haller, planner at the Chicago Department of Zoning and Land Use Planning, thinks this is an appropriate model for green field development but is ill suited a mature city such as Chicago. Firstly, much of the city developed around transit, "The superiority of transportation facilities on the South Side and their steady improvement in [the late 19th Century were]... among the chief causes of the uninterrupted rise in its land values "(Hoyt 1933, 146). Hoyt further indicated that during this period there was "steady building" along transit lines and "values rose as virgin acre tracts were open for settlement" (Hoyt 1933, 146). Thus the city is by definition—transit oriented. Moreover, focusing around a single transit node is irrelevant in Chicago as many of the "L"/subway station nodes are served by buses operating in a transverse and complementary relationship to the train. Instead of a string of transit nodes there is a network or large grid upon which to plan development (Haller 2009). He makes the case that TOD form should be related to context; not simply generated from theory. While acknowledging the cogency of Haller's argument the thesis rejects his grid model in lieu of the simpler traditional model outlined below of "strategic junction nodes" (Lynch 1960, 74).

This thesis' operational definition is based heavily on the California Department of Transportation definition of a, "moderate to higher density development, located within an easy walk of a major transit stop, generally with a mix of residential, employment, and shopping opportunities designed for pedestrians without excluding the auto" (California Department of Transportation 2008). The "easy walk" in TOD is usually defined as a quarter to half mile radius around a transit node (Urban Land Institute 1995). With this in mind the thesis has set up 500 meter (approximately 3/10ths of a mile) transit sheds around each transit node which define the operational limits of transit oriented "development". The operational definition also includes the provision of residential and commercial space—a mixture of uses. The most important land use feature of TOD is the ability to meet all of one's needs within the walkable TOD zone—residing, commuting, shopping, childcare, and recreation all within a single walkable zone. While acknowledging the importance of mixed uses, the thesis is focused primarily on residential development. The level of residential development is a "moderate to higher density", 15 to 49 dwelling units per acre (du/acre) (Urban Land Institute 1995). These densities are comparable to Boston's Back Bay of 37 du/acre or a Chicago neighborhood of "six-flats" like Lincoln Park at 18.43 du/acre, see Figure 1.1 (Lincoln Institute of Land Policy n.d.). These densities may be atypical in the United States, but they describe some of the most treasured urban areas in the United States, like Boston's Beacon Hill and much of San Francisco. The different characteristics of the operational definitions are compiled in Table 1.1 below. It is worth noting that the definitions do not pretend to offer the complete TOD description, simply a working model for this thesis.

All efficiency claims in TOD are based on, "hopes in design" (Tafuri 1976, 182). Randall Crane makes the case that, "The basis for using land use and urban design to selectively change travel behavior thus appears limited in the near term" (Crane 2000, 2). Crane states that while different designs and land use patterns may change behavior the research around the cause of the change is lacking. Do land use changes alter personal vehicle miles traveled (VMT) or are there elements of

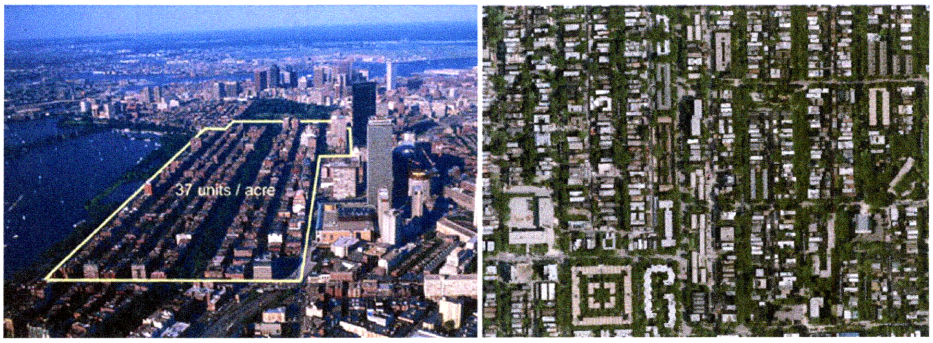


Figure 1.2: *Density examples Back Bay, Boston (left) at 37 du/acre and Lincoln Park, Chicago (right) at 18 du/acre,* source: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, n.d; Google-maps, 2007.

Table 1.1: *Operational Definition of Transit Oriented Development*

Transit	"L" station defines transit node (centroid of TOD)
Size	Defined by 500 meter transit shed (785,398.16 square meters OR 194.08 acres)
Mix of Uses	Focus on residential development
Density	15-49 du/acre

self-selection or something else? He writes for example that, "density is more than a simple feature of the built environment that can either be readily describe or easily replicated" (Crane 2000, 5). He further writes of transit that, "as travel by alternative modes becomes easier and less expensive, and travel by the car becomes more costly, migration from the latter to the former will result. However the extent of change is the central question" (Crane 2000, 7). En toto Crane raises questions about the efficacy of TOD's positive effects. Despite the obvious gap(s) in the research this thesis will be designed around TOD (and neo-traditional) neighborhood design. Despite its faults, it presents the "best fit" for Chicago's South Side urban context.

1.2 - Affordable Housing

"Affordable Housing" has no single definition instead it varies greatly by contexts. As such it is necessary to establish an operational definition for the term. This thesis' definition for affordable housing will closely follow the Department of Housing and Development's (HUD) definition as follows:

Affordable Housing - In general, housing for which the occupant(s) is/are paying no more than 30 percent of his or her income for gross housing costs, including utilities. (Department of Housing and Urban Development n.d.)

The above is a universal definition for affordable housing. In this definition everyone with an income has an "affordable housing" price point. The question is whether or not housing exists at that price point in the market. As such certain affordable housing is set aside for different segments of the income range. The thesis will reference the following income segmentation as defined by HUD:

Table 1.2: *HUD Income Partitioning. source: UIC Nathalie Voorhees Center, 2006.*

Extremely Low-Income	below 30% of AMI[a]
Very Low-Income	31–50% of AMI
Low-Income	51–80% of AMI
Moderate-income	81–120% of AMI
Higher-Income	over 120% of AMI

[a]AMI refers to area median income

Different housing programs are used to address the income differences between the income groups. For instance, traditionally "extremely low-income" groups' housing needs are addressed with public housing. In Chicago, the City's Affordable Requirement Ordinance (ARO) is designed to generate housing for "low income" groups from 60-100% of AMI with rental housing. (For ownership the eligibility exists at 100% of AMI). In Chicago those below 60% do not have a city supply-side mechanism to assist them in housing, but are helped out with supply-side federal programs like the Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC), which targets those below 60% AMI, or Section 8 vouchers. In this manner all groups at or below the AMI have some means of housing assistance.

Despite the universality of assistance affordable housing advocates like East Woodlawn Community and Neighbors, Inc Director, Mattie Butler lament the lack of South Side affordable housing generation even in good real estate cycles. The recession will obviously not foster the generation of new affordable housing. Although rents may fall in order to correspond with falling incomes.

This thesis could very easily use any of the above definitions for affordable housing. In an effort to ground the study in the context this thesis will target the Chicago AMI decile with the highest amount of South Side households. The thesis will focus on provision of "affordable housing" for this specific group which is between 60-70% as discussed below. Another thesis tactic is targeting moderate income groups (81%-120% of AMI). The final target market is "the new professionals" of the global city as defined by University of Chicago professor Saskia Sassen (Sassen 1991). This global city sector is not tied to area median income—indeed this sector may not even reside in the area. Instead the real estate product offered is consumed not for shelter but for recreation—as they have reorganized "the consumption structure" (Sassen 1991). Inclusion of the global capital class is extremely important during the Games as they can, "provide equity infusion through Olympic corporate rentals which enable development in the first place" (Simmons 2000, 80). Addressing different market sectors allows a more comprehensive and plausible thesis project.

Fundamentally, the thesis seeks to address the concerns of the people who are currently in the neighborhoods. This seems logical as they will be the first ones to feel the (positive or negative) affects of the Olympic Games coming to the city. Who are these individuals? And what is their role and/or relationship in the shelter market? The following section seeks to answer these two basic and important questions. Before these questions are answered some sense of context needs to be established.

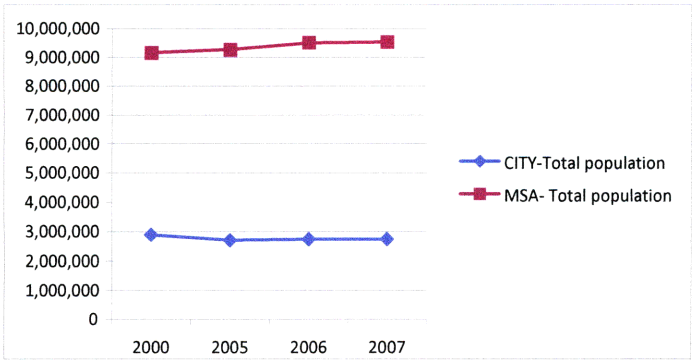


Figure 1.12: *Chicago City population and MSA population.* source: American Community Survet, US Census

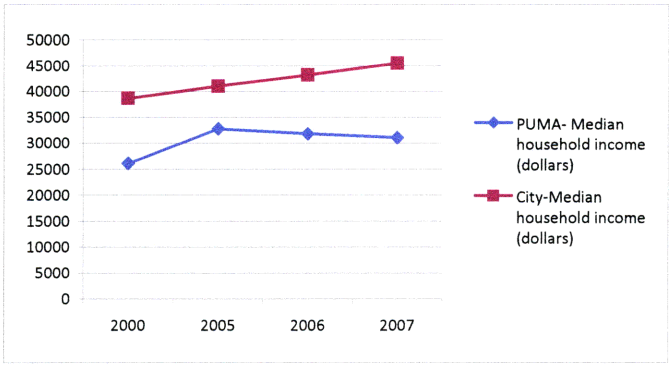


Figure 1.13: *Area Median Income,* source: American Community Survet, US Census

Market Study

Metro and Chicago Market Study

Chicago metropolitan area, median incomes outpace Chicago median incomes. The trend is fairly consistent across the past seven years 32.2% more in the metro in 2000 and 32.5% more in the metro in 2007 (Figure 1.13). This disparity has been coupled with metropolitan growth in population. The metropolitan area population has grown by 22.3% from 1990 to 2000 (US Census). Meanwhile, the city of Chicago increased 4.0% in population between 1990 and 2000, but then experienced a slight loss in population from 2001-2007 (Figure 1.12). More relevant to this thesis is the increase in household formations in the city by 3.5% between 1990 and 2000. Household formation actually decreased 3.7% from 2000-2007, and have flattened out around 1.02 million. Based on the demographic indicators the following presumptions can be made:

- The demographic trends indicate that the city is growing smaller and poorer relative to the

metropolitan area. Therefore the demand for shelter is not growing per se. One would assume that the demand for higher income housing is growing faster outside of the City than inside due to the trend of metropolitan versus citywide income. Yet, this is not necessarily the case as the glut of Loop condominiums demonstrates. Gains in metropolitan area incomes will positively affect housing prices in the metropolitan area resulting in the city being the repository for the metro area's low income and poor. Nearly three quarters of the City's population are below metropolitan area median income (Chicago Rehab Network n.d.). This double jeopardy scenario will likely increase low income housing demand in the city.

Coupled with the economic downturn, these factors indicate a stronger demand for low to moderate income housing. This demand was not met by the housing industry during the recent bubble, evidenced in part by the disproportionate amount of investment in high income areas like the Near North Side, relative to low income areas like Riverdale. The rational pursuit of more lucrative projects resulted in the Near North Side receiving 165,614 times more investment than in Riverdale as measured by expenditure on building permits, 1994-2004 (Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning 2004). This pattern of development has the perverse potential of creating a (temporary) oversupply of high income housing in the face of a low income housing shortage.

Perverse forecasts aside, the City faces a shortage of affordable housing in the future. A recent study by Real Estate Center at DePaul University indicates the following:

> If recent trends in the Cook County housing market continue, the supply of affordable rental units will decline by 38,000 from 2005-2020 to a level of only 315,000. Over the same period, it is expected that demand for affordable rentals will rise by 34,000 to more than 500,000 units. The net result in 2020 will be more than 185,000 households seeking, but unable to find, affordable rental housing in Cook County. (Chicago Department of Community Development 2009)

As such the affordable housing sector necessitates special attention, especially on the South Side

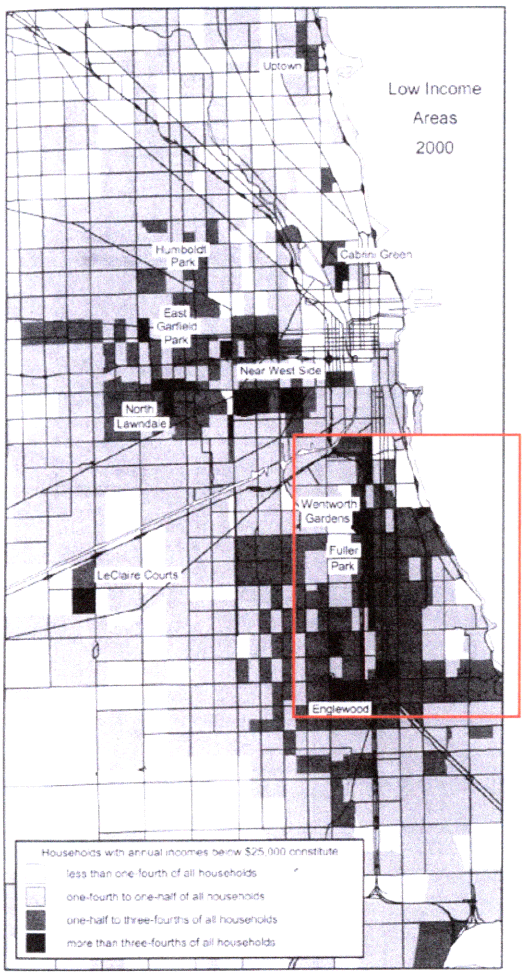


Figure 1.15: *Chicago Low Income Areas 2000 (South Side area inside red box).* Source: Hudson. 2006.

Figure 1.2.1: *Chicago City population.* Source: American Community Survet, US Census

Table 1.3: *Cost Burdened, source: Chicago Rehab Network*

PUMA	Neighborhoods	2000 Median Income	2005 Median hh income	Pct Cost Burdened Rent	Median Monthly Rent	Pct Cost Burden Mortgage	Median monthly cost	income diff 2000-2005
3508	Humboldt Park West Gar	$27,667	$25,130	62.70%	$790	62.30%	$1,355	-$2,537
3507	Austin	$39,462	$30,106	58.80%	$788	52.10%	$1,449	-$9,356
3516	Washington Heights, We	$36,073	$27,911	57.10%	$724	45.40%	$1,196	-$8,162
3517	Ashburn Beverly, Mount	$67,722	$60,624	54.40%	$794	29.00%	$1,519	-$7,098
3512	McKinley Park Bridgeport	$38,220	$30,854	52.70%	$710	47.90%	$1,470	-$7,366
3515	Avalon Park Greater Grar	$35,312	$25,871	52.40%	$680	38.70%	$1,392	-$9,441
3513	Clearing West Lawn Chica	$49,966	$38,943	52.10%	$724	53.40%	$1,479	-$11,023
3519	South Deering East Side I	$44,464	$36,819	51.00%	$696	36.40%	$1,211	-$7,645
3506	Portage Park Belmont Cra	$52,717	$41,659	47.90%	$805	49.60%	$1,788	-$11,058
3518	Roseland, Pullman, West	$36,006	$32,081	45.70%	$778	44.70%	$1,240	-$3,925
3501	Rogers Park Edgewater U	$38,957	$37,694	43.30%	$714	30.30%	$1,657	-$1,263
3510	Near South Side, Near W	$54,761	$60,646	43.00%	$1,044	35.90%	$2,239	$5,885
3509	Hermosa, West Town, Av	$43,959	$44,681	42.50%	$825	46.80%	$2,151	$722
3505	Dunning O'Hare, Edison F	$59,324	$59,838	41.20%	$859	36.20%	$1,909	$514
3511	South Lawndale Lower W	$35,216	$33,990	41.00%	$649	48.40%	$1,567	-$1,226
3514	Grand Boulevard Hyde Pa	$26,112	$32,720	40.20%	$683	36.10%	$1,631	$6,608
3504	Irving Park, Forest Glen, I	$58,679	$46,899	38.20%	$784	42.20%	$1,963	-$11,780
3502	Lake View Lincoln Park	$71,798	$66,388	35.30%	$968	27.30%	$2,398	-$5,410
3503	West Ridge Lincoln Squar	$52,283	$56,158	34.00%	$877	32.90%	$1,872	$3,875

with a legacy high affordable demand.

South Side – Shelter Market

The market for shelter market is composed of two components, demand and supply. The demand-side represents population in need of shelter described in terms of the amount of households, the household structure, household composition, and income. The supply side represents the built, habitable residential stock. This stock is further characterized by tenure type, rental or ownership. Notably, change in tenure type is often cited the cause of displacement in "gentrifying" contexts.

The shelter market for South Side, Chicago will be analyzed in its relationship to the City of Chicago. The South Side shelter market analysis will look at the Chicago community areas of Douglas, Fuller Park, Grand Boulevard, Hyde Park, Kenwood, Oakland, Washington Park, and Woodlawn (Fig 1.16). All of the community areas in the thesis' study area except Woodlawn are in a single the Public Use Microdata Area (PUMA) 3514. Consequently all South Side PUMA data excludes Woodlawn. This skews the data but allows a reasonable approximation as Woodlawn has similar characteristics to the areas in PUMA 3514.

Demand Side

These seven community areas are home to 97,836 residents and 45,327 households according the 2007 American Community Survey (ACS). The data also indicate that the population of the area is shrinking, down 22.6% from 2000-2007. This corresponds to overall rate of population decline in Chicago. Decreasing trends for households have not been as dramatic as trends for overall population, declining by only 13.4% between 2000-2007. Significantly the average size of the households has remained constant at 2.07, versus city household size of 2.61.

The South Side has traditionally been disproportionately poor relative to the rest of Chicago. Data indicate that this is still true as the area median income for PUMA 3514 is $31,039, 68.2% of

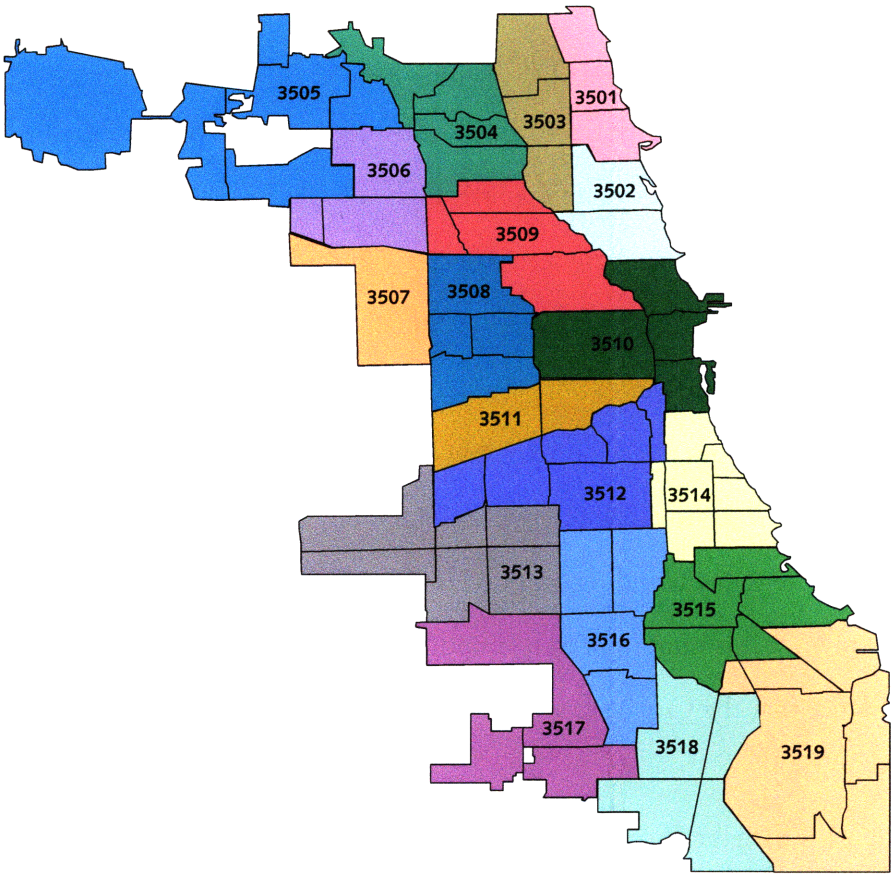


Figure 1.16:
Chicago PUMAs, source: UIC Nathalie Voorhees Center, 2006.

the city median of $45,505. Thus the thesis will target households between 60-70% of Chicago city AMI.

Supply Side

The low incomes in the area represent the limited residential purchasing power of the neighborhood. Thus it is no surprise that as of 2007 67.2% of the housing stock is rental compared to the city where it is 50.1%. One would assume that low rents would correspond to the lower income population. Yet, the median 2007 rent was $770, only 7.5% less than the city average of $832. Low incomes combined with moderate rental rates result in at least 42.8% of the population suffering from rental stress based on the area median rent. Rental stress occurs when a household spends a third or more of their income on housing. These numbers do not seem to be improving and have been hovering around 40% for the past few years, and it does not seem likely to change given the

current recession. The numbers may fluctuate if rents fall with the recession. Of course rental stress might increase if the market receives a shock, such as the Olympic Games.

On the face of it, the amount of housing stock is fairly well suited to the PUMA. There are some 56,256 units for 45,325 households. The vacancy rate is a little high at 9.8% for 2007, compared with 8.3% for the city at large. And recent years have seen a decrease in the amount of units available despite the mid-2000's housing bubble. These numbers are like to level of as the recession settles in, unless, of course, the City gets the Games.

In addition, the housing stock in the South Side is relatively old (see Chapter 2, History). 34.6% of the residential stock was built prior to 1939. This is alone is not a problem as older homes in cities are often the focus for redevelopment and renovation (Helms 2003). The issue on the South Side is the decades of disinvestment. It is important to be mindful of, yet not overstate, this issue as it appears from anecdotal evidence that the City deals swiftly with derelict buildings—old decaying buildings do not blight the landscape.

An issue of tangential import is the glut of condominiums on the market, specifically in the Loop. This market was the industry's standby in recent times. Now there is a glut of condo stock near the Loop. Forty-three percent of the South Loop's condo stock is unsold. Moreover the construction industry will deliver an additional 2,417 condos to the market this year, a 66% increase from last year (Gallun, 2009). After this flurry the construction sector will contract as the condo market bottoms out. This shock will probably result in (more) job losses unless there is an Olympic revival.

Market rate condominium production produces a few affordable units as the City's inclusionary zoning stipulates the following:

> Developments subject to [Affordable Requirement Ordinance] ARO...must set aside 10% of residential units as affordable housing OR donate $100,000 per required unit to the City's Affordable Housing Opportunity Fund (City of Chicago).

However, this level of production is nowhere near the amount needed to close the gap between

demand and supply.

South Side Market Conclusions

In the midst of the recent economic downturn the South Side finds itself in a very familiar condition, an area with development potential but few indicators to deem it as such. There are a few positive indicators in the South Side. The most salient of which is that home prices have increased by 24.4% in the past 3 years, increasingly enhancing the wealth of owners in the area. This is a bright spot in an otherwise dismal account. The area is shrinking in population and households and the building stock is growing older without necessary upkeep. Ironically, it is becoming less affordable. The area got poorer from 2005-2007, after the elimination of public housing-related concentrations of poverty on the South Side. The above occurred within the context of one of the great expansions in the American economy, the Dow reached a record 14,165.43 on Oct. 9, 2007 (News n.d.)! Moreover during this time other areas of the City experienced fantastic expansions—the Loop condo boom is just one example. Now the cycle is over and the South Side remains what it has been for decades, one of the most depressed areas in Chicago. Things are not likely to change anytime soon for PUMA 3514 given the predicted severity of the recession. Things may even worsen as the entire metro area experiences the negative effects of the economy. This dire scenario is what makes the Olympics all the more exciting. The South Side has not experienced a similar positive shock since the 1893 World's Fair. The Olympics have the potential to fundamentally change the composition of South Side (shelter) market forever. One of the pertinent issues around such change is how it affects the "people on the ground". The market analysis provides two insights regarding the above, the South Side population demands affordable housing and the market has failed to meet this demand in the past. The goal of those in need and affordable housing advocates should be to link Olympic development with affordable housing development. The method of the linkage which this thesis explores is transit-oriented development.

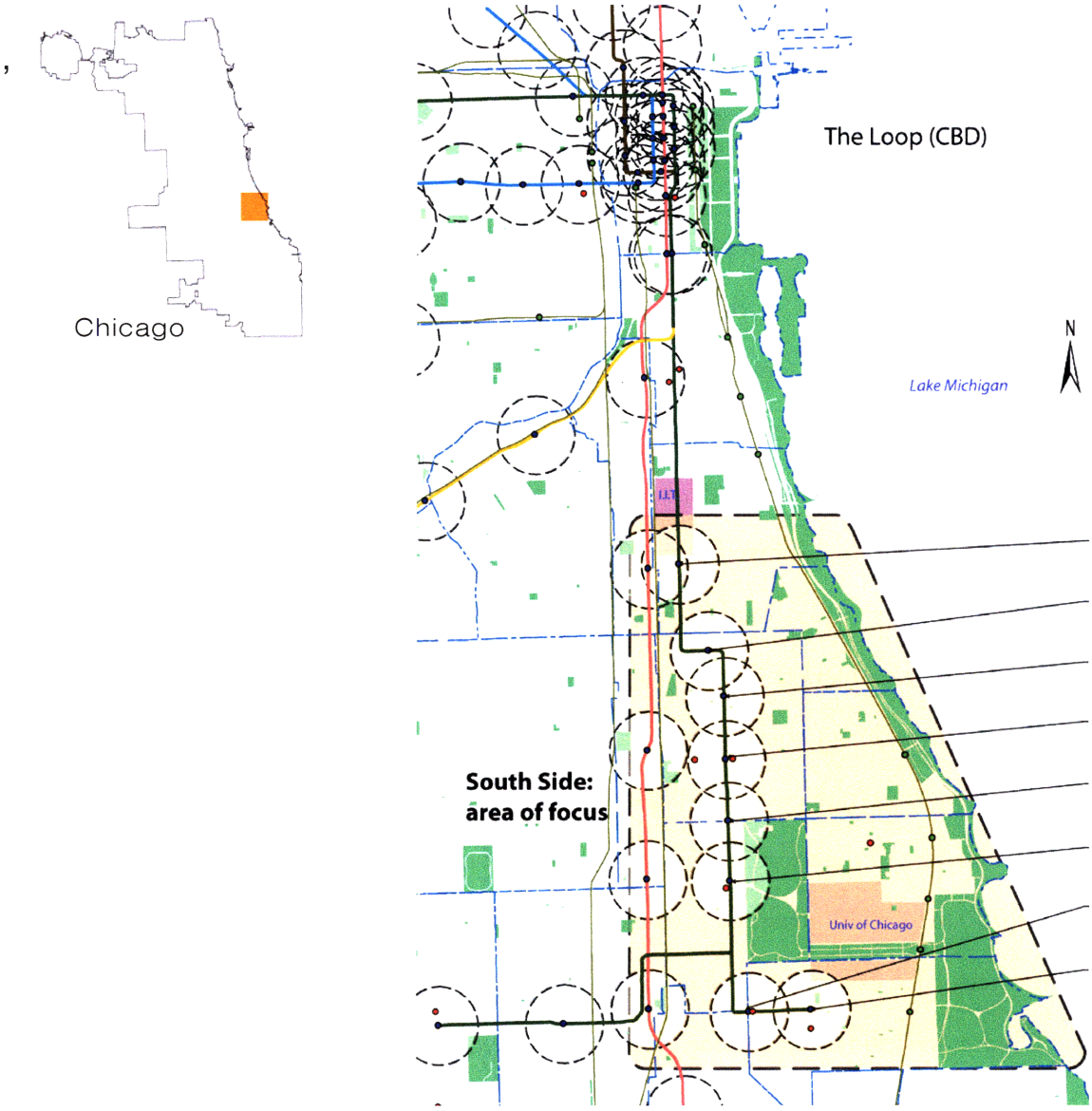


Figure:
Chicago and the South Side.

2 - History

In short, the form of an object is a 'diagram of forces'.
(D'Arcy Thompson as quoted in Moretti, 97.)

The majority of this study focuses on what "can" or "will be". One cannot prescribe a solution or forecast results without a proper understanding of history. The thesis must account for why the South Side is home to 1,168 acres of vacant city owned land. The thesis must account for why five out of the top ten poorest community areas are on the South Side. The thesis must account for why private redevelopment is at best sporadic on the South Side while it is the norm in other neighborhoods. Indeed the history of the City of Chicago is intertwined with its present. The City Beautiful Movement, the 1893 World's Fair, and the Blacks Sox Scandal of 1919 have left a mark on the city today. One cannot say what will change the city tomorrow if one does not examine what has wrought it today.

> New York's Harlem, Chicago's South Side—both cities of blackness crammed inside larger cities of whiteness—offered mostly hunger frustration, and anger to their tenement dwellers. And those same tenements that imprisoned thousands are still there, refusing to crumble. I recall swarms of slow-moving people passing chili shacks, rib joints, storefront churches, and funeral parlors...Now there are a few new building going up to look smugly down at the old ones...[The images] will still be with us, even if those tenements crumble in time exhausted (Miller 2000, ix-x).

The thesis' historical analysis of Chicago begins in the 1920s immediately following the first wave of African-American in-migration in response to the war (WWI) effort. Researchers Park, Burgess, and McKinzie's ethnicity-map of 1925 identifies an area of the South Side along State Street as the "Black Belt", Figure 2.1. From this time onward notion of race and the South Side are intertwined. There are other areas of African American concentration, for example on the Near West Side, but the South Side connection remains most salient. This conceptual framework has been part of the city's texture for years, from the South Side-based race riot of 1919 to a Caucasian colleague of the author being warned about the dangers of commuting on the Green Line "L" (Neilson 2009).

The Black Belt of the 1920s – 1960s provided one of the few places African Americans were al-

lowed to move in the face of restrictive covenants and physical violence. The lack of housing choice increased prices, density, and substandard living (Hudson 2006 & Muth 1969).

In her book Jim Crow Nostalgia Michelle Boyd reminds us that the creation of this environment was fueled by racism, hatred, and violence. Her work is a critique of "Jim Crow nostalgists", those who harken back to the 'good times' of the Black Belt, or more affectionately called "Bronzeville". However one cannot deny the fact that in these adverse conditions created a cultural capital. It was within this "independent island to which African Americans had retreated to attend to their economic, social, and political needs" (Boyd 2008, xii). Bronzeville's State Street was home to numerous jazz and night clubs. There were seven cinema houses—today there are zero (D'Eramo 2002, 17). Bronzeville rivaled Harlem for the cultural capital of "Black America". The popular notion is that this oasis was ruined by integration (Boyd 2008). The area's downfall in the 1960's indeed coincided with liberalization along racial lines and the emergence of a more mobile African American middle class. It is thought this new middle class took its values and economic heft to the suburbs leaving behind the "Black Belt" and its poor, "the truly disadvantaged" (Wilson 1987).

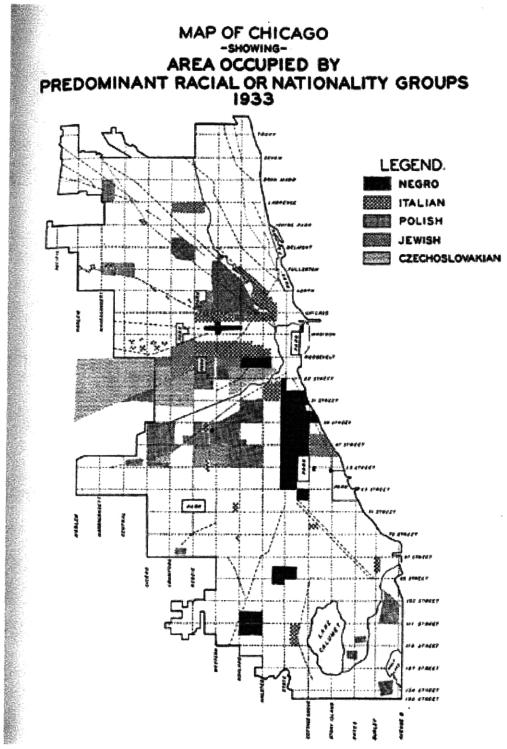


Figure 2.1:
Ethnicity Map Chicago, source: Burgess and McKinzie, 1925.

The reality is more complex as Boyd and others argue. The area's downfall is essentially the result of decades of complete disinvestment in the neighborhood. The remainder of the chapter will focus on the historical generation of social, economic, housing, and amenity characteristics (Melchert and Naroff 1987).

Social

Social disinvestment came in many forms on the South Side. Population decline began in the 1950s before many of the integration battles were fought. For example, recall Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s melancholy Chicago campaign of 1965. Throughout the 1970s the poorest and heavily African American neighborhoods lost nearly 151,000 residents. However, "the remarkable spread of poverty to other areas by 1980 resulted in a significant increase in the total number of people living in poor Chicago neighborhoods" (Wilson 1987, 50). This trend has reversed from the 1990s and into 2000, the city poverty rate was lowered by 6%. Yet there are still high concentrations of poverty in the South Side, Figure x.x. Wilson states that deletierious effects of poverty are worsened by its concetration. Indeed the absence of the black middle class results in the absense of a "social buffer" during times of economic hardhip. Their presence assures the maintainence of institutions like schools, churches, and play grounds (Wilson 1987). Others refute the middle class' efficacy with the poor, see Pattillo Chaper 4. Nonetheless a significant social change occurred in the South Side, between 1920 and 1960, which can be linked directly to a historty of economic disinvestment.

Economic

As much as the engines of economic growth fueled the Great Migration of the 1920s-1950s, disinvestment and the repositioning of capital in the 1960s-1970s shifted growth in the opposite direction. The socio-demographic change described above was just a symptom of larger economic ills. For instance, "black males began dropping out of the labor force in increasing numbers as early

as 1965" (Wilson 1987, 43). This was due in part to a depletion of opportunity as jobs became increasingly suburbanized. In Boyd's account one observer noted that many businesses in the South Side were white-owned, untied to the community. Such disattchment makes relocating or closing a business that much easier. Indeed from that point onward much of the job growth, which fueled the rest of the economy, occurred in the suburbs and exurbs (Wilson 1987). This growth trend was especially toxic to African Americans who were residentially confined to inner city areas, like the "notorious South Side" (Kain 1968). Isolated and discriminated, "blacks experienced a deterioration of their economic position on nearly all major labor market indicatiors" (Wilson 1987, 42). The above historcial scenario poses two issues:

- A spatial mismatch, as in the theory posited by John F. Kain, which stated that there is a relative mismatch between low skilled inner-city labor and low skilled jobs in the suburbs (Kain 1968). He goes on to offer the following three assertions about 1960s contemporary residential segregation:

1) "Affects the distribution of Negro Employment...
2) Reduces Negro Job Opportunities, and that...
3) Postwar suburbanization of employment has seriously aggravated this problem" (Kain 1968, 156)

- The other problem is the realtive economic decline of Blacks to Whites. For instance as the government ran a "slack economy" in the 1970s, "allowing unemployment to rise in order to fight inflation", all sectors suffered but Blacks much more so than Whites due to a worse relative position (Wilson 1987). In this sceanrio Blacks can never, "catch up" and may actually be worse off over time as the relative economic woes may be exponentially worse for Blacks that Whites.

It is difficult to tease out a causation from the economic history above. However, one can confidently assume that the disinvestment, job decentralization, a sluggish economy in the 1970's, and segregation contributed to the urban malaise of today.

Housing

The expansion of the Black Belt had a direct correlation with housing disinvestment. As African Americans moved into area rental housing, Whites moved out and with them went a modicum of services. Landlords had little incentive to improve housing as African Americans presented a captive audience, not privy to the residential mobility of whites. Black property owners faced less of a problem with disinvestment, but they were also subject to the price inflation of a tight segregated market (Hampton 1987). Owners also faced the challenges of being in what Chicago urban planners claimed to be, "the largest blighted central areas of any city in the United States, over twenty square miles. The area selected almost completely overlay Chicago's "black belt" on the Southside and included many rapidly changing areas on the Westside" (Pritchett 2003, 15). Often the planners' solution was government housing projects, another form of (dis)investment on the South Side. The projects concentrated poor populations while simultaneously destroying homes and businesses (Boyd 2008). By the 1970s these forces had arranged the South Side into two polarized states, "middle class enclaves of Prairie Shores, Lake Meadows, and South Common stood in stark material and spatial contrast to public housing, despite their proximity" (Boyd 2008, 36). This arrangement was maintained throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s—a pattern of middle class enclaves, spotty renovated homes and infill, and public housing. The pattern was only altered by the legacy of the Gautreaux case; wherein, the CHA was ordered to desegregate its public housing (BPI n.d.). The result was the Chicago Housing Authortity (CHA) Plan for Transformation which initiated the demolition of 18,532 units, with a loss of nearly 13,000 project based units. The Plan additionally calls for 24,773 rehabilitated or reconstructed units (Authority 2000). Former residents of these projects have been relocated to the suburbs, placed in scattered site housing, or are waiting on mixed income (HOPE VI) redevelopment like that of Park Boulevard, near the Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT), Figure 4.xx. The "transformation" has arguably changed attitudes and certainly freed up even more land on the South Side, but the results are the same—a pattern of middle class enclaves, spotty

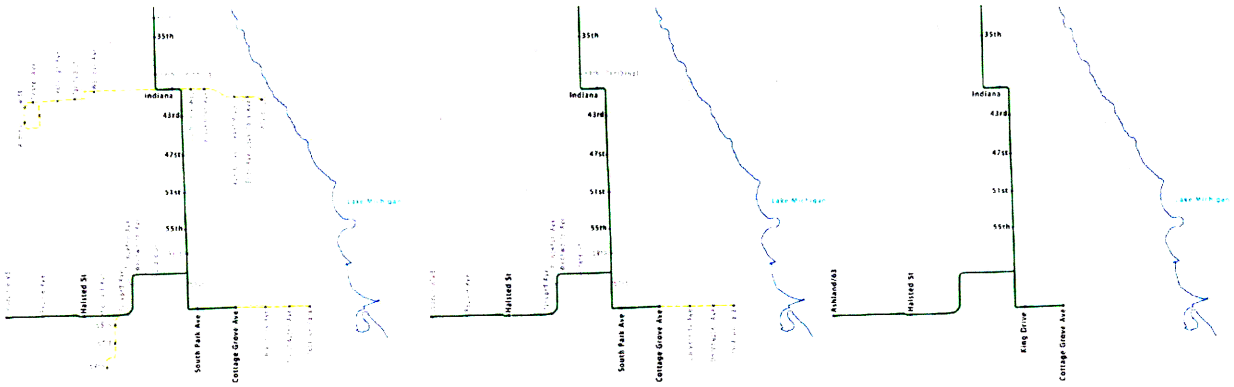


Figure 2.2:
Transit Disivestment Through Time - South Sidde, source: compiled by author.

renovated homes, and sporadic infill. The 2007-2008 housing bubble bust will no doubt put more downward pressure on this market. The future of housing in the South Side is currently in flux.

Amenity

Amenity in South Side Chicago neighborhoods is directly correlated to neighborhood evolution. More precisely, much of the South Side has devolved over the past hundred and twenty five years. Portions of the residential South Side date back to the 1860s and nearly half the stock dates back to 1870 (Hudson 2006). A mere 4.21% of the housing stock in Grand Boulevard, Kenwood, Oakland, Hyde Park, Washington Park, and Woodlawn was built between 1990 and 2000 according to the 2000 US Census. The combination of age and disinvestment has wrecked havoc on the built environment. This is ironic, because all else being equal, historic stock is the first choice of the gentrifying public (Helms 2003).

The good news is that the Chicago Parks District has not engaged in the massive disinvestment. As such, the South Side's recreational legacy survives to this day in great condition. Monuments

such as Washington Park (c. 1873) and the Midway Plaisance-Jackson Park, the site of the 1893 World's Fair, add a great deal of character tot the South Side. Many other formal green spaces dot the South Side landscape, not counting Washington, the Midway, or Jackson parks there are many acres of formal green space on the South Side.

Much of the acreage is devoted to the lakefront which is kept open to the public. Despite its presence in the public domain, the Lake access is still in contention. The Lake in Chicago is a coveted object, as is evident from the 1919 race riot that began with an African American swimmer entering a White zone (D'Eramo 2002). Today vertical middle class enclaves along the lake take in the view as public housing residents are scattered throughout the neighborhood west of the lake. Cleavages in socio-economics take place along the lakefront despite its openness.

The South Side's proximity to the Loop (CBD) is an important physical amenity. The proximity is made even more poignant by the existence of public transit, particularly the CTA's "L". Some of the oldest elevated lines are located along the South Side's Green Line. The old (abandoned) station house at the Garfield stop dates back to the days when it hosted World's Fair passengers (Moffat 1995). Through time the "L's" service atrophied. The Green Line south of Roosevelt station has 50% less stations than it had as late as 1970 (C. T. Authority 1970). (At its peak in 1909 there were 43 stations south of Roosevelt-12th Street, Figure 2.2.) Green Line service was almost terminated in 1993 and was only saved by advocates like those at the Center for Neighborhood Technology. This campaign saw the emergence of the "New" Green Line, completely renovated from 1994-1996 (Chicago "L".org 2009). Some credit the new Green Line with spurring development on the South Side (Baker 2009). The renewed line showed signs of atrophy providing less service than the old line, terminating at Cottage Grove instead of University—the few stops in between the two were simply demolished and never built back (Chicago "L".org 2009). Truncation of service was not completely a decision from "on high"; community members saw the "L" as noisy, foreboding, and a hindrance to development (interview Green Line development, others). There has been recent residential development on land formerly abutting the "L" on 63rd Street, Figure c.c. Today the Green Line "L" is

an underutilized resource—low ridership (see Chapter 5) and paltry transit oriented development are two of the key factors. The goal of the thesis is to examine betters ways of utilizing this valuable amenity.

Institutions

Unlike other actors, institutions have historically invested in the South Side. It is the nature of their investment which is usually in question. As rational actors, institutions usually act to strengthen themselves and in the context of a city this usually means adversely affecting others. The degree of the effects was quite drastic from the 1920s through 1960s. The literature is particularly critical of the two major academic institutions, the Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT) and the University of Chicago (the University), and to a lesser extent Michael Reese Hospital. All the institutions used urban renewal clearance tactics to protect their campuses and "fight the spread of neighborhood 'blight'" (Boyd 2008, 34). IIT a current "good actor" in the area was cited with the taking advantage of "slum" clearance for its own devices:

The clearance of the area [for the Lake Meadows project (c. 1947)]...enabled institutions like IIT to expand their facilities. At the same time, the project replaced only a small percentage of the units that were demolished and exacerbated the severe [low-income] housing shortage in the city. Excluded from many areas, poor blacks increasingly relied on the units of the Chicago Housing Authority for shelter (Pritchett 2003, 15).

The University of Chicago has engaged in arguably more aggressive tactics in order to protect itself from the "Negro Invasion". The aggressive stance is due in part its size, one interviewee told the author, "When the University sneezes, Chicago catches a cold". Furthermore the University has a long history of protectionism, beginning with concerns over the enlargement of the Black Belt in the 1920s. Records show that throughout the 1930s-40s the University funded segregationist neighborhood associations in order to limit Black access to housing near the University. It finally established

a formal body of its own to manage the race and space issues with the South East Chicago Commission (Hirsch 1983). The University further strengthened its hand by engaging and/or co-opting the, citizen led, Hyde Park Kenwood Community Conference (HPKCC). The HPKCC essentially acted as the community's liberal mouthpiece for the neighborhood while the University went ahead with plans to buffer itself from blight, Figures x,x [of an urban renewal plan]. The University felt no need to build consensus. There was to be no "weak-kneed planning", as described by University planner Julian Levi, "You don't just play games in trying to do something about [the deteriorated neighborhoods proximate to the University]" (Hirsch 1983, Wehrwein 1959). Working under this modus operandi the University initiated a complete reshaping of the Hyde Park landscape, "some 170 acres of slum [were] cut away from the University of Chicago in the Hyde Park and Kenwood areas of Chicago's South Side" (Report 1960, 76). The social changes were similarly dramatic, as they "razed...the tenements, shabby bars and cheap stores that were a fertile breeding ground for criminals" (Report 1960). The goals of this operation were clear, move out the poor and destitute, and move in the middle class. While the loss of a vibrant 55th Street is to be mourned the more lasting damage the urban renewal caused was a deep seeded distrust of University designs, which extends to today. No matter their intent the University's moves are carefully watched by the entire community. The local Hyde Park Herald headline of "University of Chicago Eyeing Bronzeville" (emphasis on "eyeing") captures the distrust between the town and gown. Furthermore in an effort to presumably give voice to her constituents, Alderman Pat Dowell wrote, 'Considering the history of the university's development initiatives, it is not difficult to understand why the African American community in Chicago's South Side would have a negative perception of them' (Hawley 2008).

Although the thesis chose to highlight the role of institutions in the "history chapter" the role of institutional investment in the neighborhoods is more powerful today than ever before.

Conclusions

History is a lens through which we understand our current environment; more pertinent to planning, history provides perspective. The perspective may not always lead to prescriptions but can be a

genesis for analysis. The thesis has sought to use history specifically in this analytical fashion. Just as neighborhood redevelopment potential, "can be measured...for gentrification, looking at a series of economic, social, housing, and amenity characteristics of the area", historical analysis of these characteristics provides similarly informative analysis (Melchert and Naroff 1987, 668). It provides one the information to develop strategies in order to directly counteract detrimental forces. Therein lies the logic behind this chapter—historical analysis of "economic, social, housing, and amenity characteristics" provided evidence of disinvestment. Thus the remainder of this thesis examines the possibilities if this trend is reversed, investment instead of disinvestment. And responsibility necessitates that in this new paradigm one asks new questions. Who will be helped and who will be hurt by this new investment? Are they incumbents or new-comers? One thing is not in question, a true paradigm shift, from disinvestment to investment, will create a new history for the South Side.

3 - Methodology

The Olympic Games have the potential to change (residual) land values in Chicago. Sites near amenities are typically more valuable than those farther away. Thus it holds that sites near Olympic venues will like be more valuable than other sites all else equal. Higher land values in these areas will likely result in changes in occupant and/or use of the parcels (DiPasquale and Wheaton 1996). This market rule is fundamental to the thesis' methodology and concept.

Analysis will be conducted on the transit shed around the eight CTA Green Line "T" stops from 35th-Bronzeville-IIT to the line's eastern terminus at Cottage Grove. (The transit shed is in effect the pedestrian-accessible zone around each station; see Chapter 2 for further detail.) The analysis consists of relevant summary statistics which are used to rank order the stations areas from most likely to redevelop to least likely to redevelop.

The thesis will provide a land use and demographic summary statistics around each station, Table 5.1. The schedule of statistics will be comprehensive, including statistics on amenities, demographics, economics, location, and urban design among other things. (For a record and description of the complete schedule please see Table 3.1.) Each measurement is expected to exert a positive or negative effect on the decision to redevelop. The effects were extrapolated from a literature review of the field of gentrification; certain factors have repeatedly demonstrated a positive or negative correlation with redevelopment.

Melchert and Naroff divide the determinants of redevelopment into the following four categories :

- Amenity – essentially public (non excludable goods)
- Social – demographic composition of the population
- Economic – Physical asset values and/or rents
- Housing – structure characteristics

Disaggregation into discreet categories provides a clear means of analysis. However, the combination of all four factors provide useful "predictive capabilities" (Melchert and Naroff 1987). Given

this the methodology conceptually based on the fact that any market value is a function of structural characteristics (S), neighborhood characteristics (N), and structure location (L), mirroring the literature.

$$\text{Value} = f(S,N,L) \quad (1)$$

Rational redevelopment decisions are made whenever the value of a new use less the value of an existing use is greater than zero (positive). Conceptually this establishes two important caveats in regards to South Side redevelopment. First ceteris paribus a lower existing use value and a higher new use value increase the probability of redevelopment. This is of particular relevance on the South Side given the abundance of vacant lots. Second is also worth noting that the structure location (L) is always constant while, the question of change revolves around the structural characteristics (S) and neighborhood characteristics (N). They change in tandem as they display and inherent endogeneity. It is extremely difficult to separate the redevelopment of multiple new houses from the redevelopment of the neighborhood; the thesis attempts to measure potential momentum of an Olympic shock.

All value measures will be determined by summary statistics. The goal of the summary statistics is not to derive an explicit quantitative "value". Instead the objective measurements are intended to provide a relative ranking of potential values given that all these areas are close to Olympic venues. Moreover if one assumes an efficient urban market at work, then the observed uses reflect the best current uses and thus an implicit value of the area.

The new use value in a redevelopment calculation is more speculative than the existing use value. The significance of the new value is highly dependent on the attainment of the Olympic bid. If Chicago wins the Olympics it becomes a major positive factor in the decision to redevelop. And if Chicago loses the bid then the term remains quite indeterminate. (Chapter 7.2 will deal with how to make the new use value term positively determinant in spite of a denial of the bid.) The thesis will examine the new use value in the context of the Games by establishing a Ricardian bid-rent curve

with its most valuable point established at a centroid of Olympic activity. The model assumes a negative value gradient moving away from the centroid similar to the traditional Ricardian monocentric urban model. This will create additional relative measurements to include in the data analysis.

Demolition costs are insignificant in the South Side context due to the sheer amount of vacant land in the area; therefore, the cost has little effect on the existing value. The study areas are home to 403 acres of vacant city owned land. This is important because one can assume that the City is motivated to encourage development. (This is especially in the context of a mega event, like the Olympics, where the City's image is a important as the event (Burbank, Andranovich and Heying 2001).) However, low redevelopment costs are not an absolute; they can be impacted by environmental remediation necessities. The thesis assumes that the cost of all remediation to be consistent throughout the areas and will make special note of any anomalous conditions.

Conducting analysis around both a new use and existing use values allows one to estimate if redevelopment will occur. Better still, it allows one to assess the relative likelihood of redevelopment amongst a set of given properties.

Data

The data is culled from a variety of sources. Spatial information was sourced from the City of Chicago's Geographic Information System (GIS) division, City of Chicago Department of Zoning, and the Cook County Assessor's Office. Demographic data was sourced primarily from the US Census Bureau. Mass transit data was sourced through the CTA. Other smaller actors in the data formation or listed elsewhere.

Table 3.1: *Variable Description and Predictive Impact*

Variable	Predicted impact on likelihood of development	Definitions
Bike Parking	+	*Defined by CTA*
Proximity to Major Stakeholder	+	*Distance*
"L" passengers[1]	+	*Average weekday total January 2009*
Bus access as defined by CTA	+	*Defined by CTA*
Bus Passengers[1]	+	*Average weekday total January 2009*
Residential sqft	+	*Amount of space dedicated to residential use*
Business & commercial sqft	+	*Amount of space dedicated to business and commercial use*
Manufacturing sqft	+	*Amount of space dedicated to residential use*
Institute and pub facility sqft	+	*Amount of space dedicated to commercial use*
Planned development sqft	+	*Amount of space dedicated to planned development*
Vacant (acres)	+	*Amount of vacant space*
Pct city owned (vacant)	+	*Amount of space dedicated to residential use*
Pct vacant (acres)	+	*Amount of space dedicated to commercial use*
Density (occupied du/acre)	-/+	*Amount of vacant land*
Proximity to CBD	+	*Amount of persons per acre*
Proximity Public Housing (feet)	+	*Distance to center of the Loop*
Proximity Park (feet)	+	*Distance to Chicago Housing Authority property*
Park Size	+	*Distance to Chicago Parks District park*
Proximity Lake	-	*Size of nearest park*
Proximity Highway	+	*Distance to Lake Michigan*
Median Income 1999 (tract level?)	+	*Distance to nearest US interstate highway*
Median Housing Value avg of tract level median	+	*Median house value*
Education Level (tract level)	+	*Average education level of residents*
Pct Young Adults	-	*Percentage of residents aged 18-24*
Pct Minority Population	+/-	*Percentage of non-White population*
Proximity to Olympic Village (miles)	-	*Distance*
Proximity to Olympic Stadium (miles)	-	*Distance*
Proximity to Olympic Hockey Fields (miles)	-	*Distance*

1- passengers: average weekday Jan-2009, http://www.transitchicago.com/assets/1/ridership_reports/2009-1.pdf

4 - Gentrification

> On the one hand there's a lot of things are getting worse, gentrification has gotten worse, displacement has really pushed a lot, a lot of different kinds of people out. And I don't think it's just displacement, I mean people haven't all been forced to move out of the neighborhood but, a lot of people have been forced to have like 10 people living in an efficiency (Modan 2007, 260, refering to overcrowding in Washington, DC's Mount Pleasant neighborhood).

The above statement illustrates the commonly held view of urban demographic shifts—the power of gentrification. Many studies have shown that the reality, in fact, is less drastic than the above picture. Some of the largest demographic shifts have occurred not in the cities but in the suburbs through immigration (Sugrue 2008). Nonetheless urban demographic change is real and it led the author to wonder is there such a thing as good gentrification? Can gentrification be done with a "heart"? The inquiry established one of the themes of this thesis study.

The thesis is essentially about using the Olympics or other market mechanisms to spur neighborhood improvement without the deleterious effects that development entails. However the model in question is one of cross-subsidization; key in any such model is the theory of market segregation which inherently creates inequalities—winners and losers. This constraint defines the fundamental failure of this model. This thesis proposal provides convenient market housing for some and convenient subsidized for others. Still others will receive neither and may even be adversely affected. In the face of these limitations the thesis must address gentrification. Its omission from the discourse, "render[s] invisible the people who were already living in gentrifying neighborhoods and whose housing tenure was severely threatened by the growing real estate increases" (Modan 2007, 318)." Thus the discussion of revitalization without consideration of gentrification results in a de facto marginalization of those presently in the neighborhood. Setting up this monologue is not only anti-communitarian but simultaneously renders current residents as other and alien. And yet they are presumably the ideal candidates for the proposed housing subsidies. Additionally, a dialogue about inequality is also important because the thesis is a capitalist and materialistic approach to community development. It does nothing to address other means of development, "bringing middle class house-

holds to a neighborhood is insufficient to combat the systematic causes of poor health, joblessness, crime, and poverty in general" (Pattillo 2007, 110). The goal of this section is to address some of the deficiencies of this approach.

The section will attempt to do this from two specific perspectives, spatial discourse and ethno-racial and class based organizational dynamics. These two interpretive categories are not random but come directly from two books written about gentrification. Each book had a distinctive approach to the study of gentrification yet similar salient points are present in each work.

The analysis stems from the following books:

Black on the Block: The Politics of Race and Class in the City
By Mary Pattillo, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Mary Pattillo's book, "is a work of sociology, anthropology, political science, legal criticism, and history", embedded in African American and urban studies (Pattillo 2007, 20). The book presents a study of gentrification based in the South Side Chicago community of North Kenwood Oakland (NKO), Figure 4.x. Her study offers a unique look at race and class as it pertains to gentrification. In summary she makes the case that battles for equality are fought by the "middle" of society; thus, the book justifiably focuses on the middle class (gentrifiers) in NKO.

Turf Wars: Discourse, Diversity, and the Politics of Place
By Gabriella Gahlia Modan, Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.

Gabriella Gahlia Modan's book is a linguistic ethnography focused on the gentrification of the Mount Pleasant neighborhood in Washington, DC. The ethnography looks at how Mount Pleasantites view their physical landscape, the differing spheres of city and suburb, "public discourse on place", community organizing, and the current state of affairs in the neighborhood, circa 2005 (Modan 2007). The second part of the work focuses on the ethnography's theoretical framework.

It is also notable that these two books were published and likely researched during the same time period. Furthermore each author was a resident, giving their work and "inside" perspective as well as "inside" bias.

These books are by no means comprehensive evaluations of gentrification in the urban United States. However for the purposes of my thesis investigation they offer an adequate starting point for a look at gentrification's sociological component.

This thesis is formulated using capitalist tools of contemporary urban development embedded in the framework of Harvey Molotch's growth machine; its means and ends mirror the deleterious elements of gentrification Modan and Pattillo chronicle. This chapter is an attempt to address some of the sociological issues of gentrification that would likely result if the proposals in the thesis were implemented.

This exploration will primarily focus on two books so it will employ the tools of comparison and contrast in order to elicit salient points. Both Modan's and Pattillo's work shared the same structures, concepts, and mechanisms. This undertaking will attempt to draw lessons out of these similarities as they are arguably universal points. This thesis does not posit that either of the two accounts offer a complete assessment of gentrification, but operationally the similarities between the two offer evidence of universal gentrification elements.

Macro-Level Gentrification

Gentrification in its current guise began, "as early as the late 1950s and the early 1960s" in inner cities which possessed solid and attractive housing stock (Clay 1979, 2). In part this movement is fueled by the cache of urbanity. It is the notion that city life is a commodity like oil or corn and carries some price. This notion as city as commodity is exemplified in this disdainful statement about loiterers on Mount Pleasant Street, "[They do] most of their socializing on the street, because they

have no extra money to go to the movies, sporting events, restaurants, and so on" (Modan 2007, 157, author's emphasis). There are other ways to commodify the city as well. Some revel in urban disorder, the graffiti, the trash, the danger, and they are active promoters of disorder's decadent cache. These "cultural vampires" also commodify the city, albeit in a more negative manner (Modan 2007).

Commodification of the city goes hand in hand with the "growth machine" model of development. Gentrification is a cog in the growth machine, part of a worldwide mobilization of capitalist development determined to, "maximize private and public profits" (Pattillo 2007, 108). Author Derek Hyra states that the productive links between Chicago's economy and the world at large fuel gentrification in North Kenwood Oakland. The growth machine concept is important because it sets up a power dynamic of the imposer (gentrifier) and the imposed (gentrifyee). Whether for ill or good intentions, gentrification is essentially a top down structure of development. At its best, it is the story of working-class co-op members with no other choice than to sell some of the building's units as condos on the market. The process, chronicled in Turf Wars, created a clear division in the building along co-op and condo owner lines (Modan 2007). At its worse it is what Clarence Stone and Adolph Reed have describes as a "black urban regime". It is a political structure wherein, Black politicos join White capital in order to disempower Blacks for the advancement of some market end (Pattillo 2007). Such a structure is not based solely on race but class as well. Due to the fact gentrification stems from a capitalist construct it necessarily displays fissures along class lines—the question is simply to what degree they occur.

The goal of the thesis is operate on the "best" side of gentrification. The development proposed in the thesis is not bottom-up but would ideally satisfy and accommodate those currently in the neighborhood. That being said, the thesis is fundamentally based in the "growth machine" framework. Thus the most it can do is develop mechanisms that limit the negative externalities of that given.

Gentrification's role in this broader context will help to ground it in the neighborhood specific context of North Kenwood Oakland and Mount Pleasant on which the rest of this section will focus.

Physical Space

Both books begin with a history of the neighborhood, illustrating its physical and social changes through time. The neighborhoods of Mount Pleasant, in Modan's piece, and North Kenwood Oakland, in Pattillo's piece are similar physically. For instance Mount Pleasant has clearly defined borders of, Rock Creek Park on the north and west and NKO is clearly defined by the Lake Michigan on the east. Mount Pleasant's eastern edge, 16th Street, is more ambiguous and in the process of change (Modan 2007). Meanwhile NKO's southern boundary of 47th Street was imposed by the University of Chicago years ago (Pattillo 2007).

Similar physical characteristics operate despite the differences in urban fabric; NKO is part of Chicago's egalitarian Cartesian plane and the streets in and around Mount Pleasant begin to meander about, Figure 4.1. Furthermore one can argue that Mount Pleasant functions as an "urban island". Its main commercial street terminates in the neighborhood. Due to the island effect people are less inclined to impose artificial borders such as the case with NKO. Conversely the artificial borders in NKO have proven less permeable than a real border like Rock Creek Park. The realities and perceptions of borders can be read in the differing demographic compositions, Mount Pleasant is ethnically heterogeneous and NKO is ethnically homogeneous.

Fig. 4.1, Comparative fabrics

The histories of each neighborhood mirror each other along major themes. For instance each was at one time a "streetcar suburb" loosely following historian Sam Bass Warner's definition. Each neighborhood was also graced with fine architecture from the mansions of west Mount Pleasant to the large homes on Drexel Boulevard in NKO. Eventually though these charms were no match for the lure of the suburbs (Modan 2007). What began as a slow trickle to suburbia ended up as a rush of people as each neighborhood experienced massive demographic shifts. Like so many communities this change did not come without resistance. Each author documents the enthusiastic use of racial covenants as a means of keeping African Americans and other minorities out of the neighborhoods. Expectedly after the covenant battles the demographics shifted to African American. The shift was not uniform across both studies. In Chicago the covenant "breach" coincided with the Great Migration of the 1920's and the neighborhood became overwhelming majority African American. In District of Columbia the covenant breach occurred later, into the 1960's, and there was less of an influence of the black emigration, thus the demographic shift was less drastic. This may explain in part why Mount Pleasant today is one of the most diverse neighborhoods in DC. After the neighborhood's turn it attracted not just Blacks but 60's era leftists and immigrants. Even today it is the home to left-leaning counter cultural thought like the Salvadoran FLMN supporters (Modan 2007). Thus the biggest difference between the neighborhoods is the aforementioned abundance of racial and ethnic diversity in Mount Pleasant and the lack thereof in NKO.

Despite this difference their gentrification narratives are strikingly similar. Each author uses indexicality, linguistic structures which are ideologically associated with an attitude (Modan 2007). This linguistic tool is used describe the connection of physical space with a mental construction of space. In Modan's work the structure is a bifurcation between "suburb" and "city". Under this rubric suburbs are equated order, wealth, White homogeneity, femininity, and safety. The city is the exact opposite equated with disorder, poverty, ethno-racial heterogeneity, masculinity, and danger (Modan 2007). Modan documents how this construct is integral in speech and language patterns of Mount

Pleasant inhabitants and similarly how they approach life in their neighborhood. Pattillo establishes a similar bifurcated framework in her narrative between public housing (the "projects") and all other housing. Under this framework the projects embody all the ills of the neighborhood disorder, poverty, crime and danger (Pattillo 2007). Indexicicality in NKO is more than just a mental construct it became a rallying cry and motivation to demolish the public housing towers. In NKO the power of physical and mental constructs is even more dramatic in differing views of "the Fort". The Fort was the former home of the El Rukns gang. Police, other officials, and most people outside the neighborhood saw it as the embodiment of evil. Conversely residents in the neighborhood viewed it as a "legitimate" neighborhood institution, as it was thought that the gang members offered the neighborhood protection (Pattillo 2007). Indexing is important because it provides a way of formalizing the link between place and attitude. The veracity of the index is unimportant as the construction of reality becomes the reality. Likewise indices can change over time. How will the Olympic development be indexed relative to existing neighborhoods?

Indexicality plays out in more minor and specific variations as well. In each account gentrification provided a backdrop against which notions of public and private space are contested. This is an especially salient point as both accounts are of public versus private space are remarkably similar. In Modan and Pattillo's accounts gentrifiers have a more limited notion of private space. Generally their private sphere is limited to the walls of one's home and the back deck. Consequently in each neighborhood it became a battle of old-timers versus new comers in the delineation of public space. In NKO the neighborhood association, composed mostly of new homeowners, objected to use of a boulevard parkway as a barbeque space (Pattillo 2007). Similarly in Mount Pleasant property owners were encouraged construct obstacles for loitering such as "no leaning" signs and blocks on benches to discourage sleeping (Modan 2007). Arguably these lines of public and private are relatively clear, loitering is against the law and a parkway is not a park. When each examines a boundary that is less clearly defined, the parallelisms in the narratives become all the more uncanny. Each book has an account people using the fronts of buildings. This zone of stoops, yards, and porches is neither fully

private nor fully public. This is evidenced by the fact that in both works old-timers tell stories of adverse interactions with newcomers. In Pattillo's story people hanging out on the stoop are asked to leave indicating its designation as private area. The policing of such a space is attributable to a new set of values being imposed on space. In Modan's work there is an account of a longtime resident locked out of the building sitting on the stoop, and a newcomer passes her by on the stoop, and enters the building without uttering a word. The exchange, or lack thereof, infuriates the longtime resident. Ironically the contestation of space in this definite border zone between public and private demonstrates the border's dynamism. It also exemplifies the strong biases possible in the gentrifiers and the gentrifyees.

In a contrasting view, Clay argues that the differing biases between newcomers and old-timers are not the issue. Instead what is really at hand is a confrontation between the "civil class" and "uncivil class". "Members of the 'civil [class']'...attitudes and behaviors are based on the assumption that the individual good, and hence the neighborhood good, is enhanced by submitting to social norms" (Clay 1979, 37). Whereas, members of the "uncivil class" posses, "behavior and attitudes [that] reflect no acceptance of norms beyond those imperfectly specified by criminal law" (Clay 1979, 37-38). This framework neutralizes the meanings of high and low class. Its defintion is not rooted in the fiscal fitness but the effect a particular mantra has on the neighborhood fitness. However this is not the framework from which residents in NKO and Mount Pleasant sought to operate.

The bias explains why gentrifiers in NKO sought additional policing help from the University of Chicago. This is poignant because, "[t]he university specializes in 'quality' of life policing", which will consist not only of fighting violent crime but minor crimes like loitering and littering. A similar "crime fight" was waged in Mount Pleasant against loiterers who engage in, "public (or semi-public) urination and defecation" (Modan 2007, 157). This battle was waged along the lines of ethnicity as the people targeted were primarily Latino men, "the darker element that resides within Mt Pleasant" as one listserv entry put less than eloquently (Modan 2007, 128). Modan delves deep into the racial and class dynamics of this struggle when she analyzes a grant for public toilets. She points out how

the grant writers construct an in-group and an out-group, and then depicts how activities outside the in-group are linked with crime and/or filth. For instance the grant mentions how the Mount Pleasant neighborhood "attracts marginal people" (Modan 2007). Moreover these examples show that certain groups have the power to define crime and others do not, exemplifying how crime is a social construct. The social construction of crime is evident in NKO's change in policing foci, "... [S]ome residents, mostly those who have low incomes and have been in the neighborhood longer, switch from being part of the policing effort...to being the targets of policing" (Pattillo 2007, 288) . In an unequal power dynamic like a gentrifying neighborhood the gentrifiers will wield the power to define.

Class: brokerage and authenticity

The one given in a gentrifying context is class conflict. Obviously the level and composition of the conflict varies innumerably from scenario to scenario, but there will be conflict by gentrification's very definition. Class conflict in Modan and Pattillo's narratives largely follow two main themes, brokerage and authenticity. Brokerage here is defined as the gentries' the ability to attract goods and services to the neighborhood. The authenticity conflict is between the in-group, valid neighborhood members, and the out-group, invalid neighborhood members.

The brokerage power of incoming African Americans in NKO is without question. Pattillo's account describes their use of cultural, social, and financial capital as a means of improving the neighborhood. Through their efforts the neighborhood has been drastically improved. Their influence has been used improve schools, vacant lots, the parkway, and housing. Improvements are the normative course of action; thus the critical question to ask is, how have these improvements affected the long-time residents? Modan described a similar scenario in Mount Pleasant. There residents, primarily of the gentrifying class, were largely concerned with "improving" Mount Pleasant Street, the neighborhood's commercial center. The improvements ranged from the installation of public toilets, to the campaigns to limit alcohol sales, to quieting the mariachi bands. Again viewed a-politically the

"improvements" sound good, but as they were brokered by newcomers one must question how they affect longtime residents.

Each author illuminates that the benefits of brokerage were skewed to the gentrifiers favor. This is no surprise as the attainment of clean streets, parks, and good schools are not altruistic acts. They are acts aimed at improving the public good, but the "public" in each case is defined by the gentrifiers, the dominant position in the power dynamic. Thus in NKO Pattillo explains that the new schools, attracted by the gentrifiers, overwhelming benefit the gentrifier's children (Pattillo 2007). And in Mount Pleasant the public toilets were aimed at correcting the elimination habits of "people com[ing] from third-world societies", implicitly Latino men (Modan 2007, 158). And the brokerage of service was at the behest of the gentrifiers in order to satisfy their sensibilities. While it is true that the people targeted for the cleanup may have desired a toilet, their voice is not present in the grant proposal. Power is not wielded equally. From the examples above one can understand the role of class in acts of marginalization or centralization in a place.

The class power dynamics of the authenticity conflict are less easy to define. The member of the "in-group" or "out-group" depends on context. For example in both Pattillo's and Modan's works they recount neighborhood associations or block groups as being headed primarily by newcomer or homeowners. This is logical considering that gentrifiers are commonly referred to as "urban pioneers" identifying their proactive spirit. In this guise authenticity is defined by one's commitment to neighborhood improvement (Modan 2007). (Again improvements do not necessarily benefit all groups equally.) In any event this lopsided dynamic determines that at some formal level the in-group is composed of the gentry, and consequently the out-group consists of the gentrifyees. This dynamic can completely reverse in a different context—such as the "street". One of Modan's interviewees, relays a story about how "drunks or whatever" warn "two White guys" about danger in the park. The "drunks or whatever" are authentic because they posses local knowledge, and the "White guys" are pitted as the out-group due to their lack of knowledge. This flip in definitions is no surprise if one considers the power of indexing. The city is equated with disorder, danger, fear. In this

context it is presumable that "drunks" would hold the primary position. Modan also makes this link clear in her description of the play, *Chaos Standing*, by local DC playwright Quique Aviles. In the play, the in-group is clearly defined as characters from and of the city. Those not from the city and those not willing to adapt to its "dominant" cultures of practice are deemed the out-group. Similarly in Pattillo's work gentrifiers in the neighborhood achieve authenticity on the street when they engage in its dominant cultural practices. She relays the story of a man in a suit exiting the bus and announcing to people hanging out in front of a tavern, "Hey fellas! I got some time on a transfer. Anybody need a transfer?" (Pattillo 2007). Such "authentic" engagement can establish an outsider as an insider. In this manner the authenticity conflict is, based on—but not predetermined by class.

Gentrification is the natural outcome of capitalist development based in the growth machine model. In this model growth can only occur if elites in the guise of gentrifiers stake their claim in marginal neighborhoods. With a vested interest, they use their class status as a means of brokering for "public" goods and services. This definition of "public" is malleable as the authenticity of all community members is continually changing in a gentrifying context. Additionally these brokerage and authenticity conflicts play out in the physical landscape. They determine the urban design, use, and policing decisions of the neighborhood. Given these realities the goal of this thesis is not to offer value judgments on gentrification. Instead this thesis's aim is to generate strategies and tactics around the creation of a more public good—affordable transit-oriented housing. This improvement is likely to spur gentrification and the resultant conflict. Thus the public-ness of the good must be meaningful enough to nullify any resultant conflict. The analysis herein is a useful first step towards this end.

5 - Data Analysis

Note all dollar amounts are in constant 1999 US dollars.

The following chapter presents the data analysis of TOD zones ("L" stations). As discussed in the Methodology chapter (3) relevant characteristics (variables) around each of the eight "L" stations in the study were analyzed. The variables were generated from a review of renewal and gentrification literature (Clay 1979, Helms 2003, Melchert and Narroff 1987). These articles directly addressed gentrification, and each provided relevant hypotheses and data around variables which effect redevelopment.

Three methods of analysis, descriptive measurements, ranking order, and absolute measurements are presented below. Descriptive measurements are presented in Table 5.1. Rank order is presented in Table 5.2. The table is comprised of an ordinal schedule in which each station is receives a relative ordinal ranking for each variable based on the measurements collected in Table 5.1. This is possible because each variable is thought to have either a positive or negative effect on redevelopment, described in Table 3.1. The most positive measures receive a ranking of "1" and the least positive receive an "8". Ordinal ranking is a relative measure. A final method of analysis is based on an outwardly declining (negative) bid-rent curve which places exponentially decreasing weight on locations farther from a given center.

Table 5.1 below simply depicts the raw data for variables developed in Chapter 3. The generation of the measurements is detailed below.

By and large the data reflects the history of disinvestment discussed in Chapter 2. As such the data summary below will be presented in an outline mirroring the historical analysis and highlighting notable measurements in social, economic, housing, and amenity categories.

Table 5.1: *TOD and Land Use Zone Analysis*

Variable	Variable Correlation	35th-Bronzeville-IIT	Indiana	43rd	47th	51st	Garfield (55th)	King Dr	Cottage Grove	AVERAGES
Address		16 E. 35th St., Chicago, IL 60616	4003 S Indiana Ave., Chicago, IL	314 E. 43rd St., Chicago, IL 60653	314 E. 47th St., Chicago, IL 60653	319 E. 51st St., Chicago, IL 60615	320 E. Garfield Blvd , Chicago, IL	400 E. 63rd St., Chicago, IL 60637	800 E. 63rd St., Chicago, IL 60637	
Major Stakeholder	+	IIT	Dawson Technology Institute	None	None	Provident Hospital	U of C	None	U of C	
Note							Park and Ride			
Bike Parking	+	Indoor bike parking available.	Indoor bike parking available.	Indoor bike parking available.	Indoor bike parking available.	Indoor bike parking available.	Indoor bike parking available.	Indoor bike parking available.	None	
passengers: average weekday Jan 2009, http://www.transitchicago.com/a	+	1,950	883	904	1,267	1,053	1,426	608	1,178	1,159
Bus access as defined by CTA	+	CTA Buses #29, #35	CTA Bus #1, #39	CTA Bus #43	CTA Bus #47	CTA Buses #1, #15	CTA Buses #55, #X5	CTA Buses #3, #X3, #	CTA Buses #4, #N4,	
Bus Passngers	+	18,184	4,927	1,717	10,369	11,064	13817	42,713	44,663	18,432
residential sqft	+	1034080.83	2709573 53	3520009.06	2775589.37	2263192.24	1817248.96	2667953 69	2921507.02	2,463,644.34
commercial) built area	+	327961.03	450368.31	425526.62	430015.89	274371 65	175960.52	398034.82	423630.47	363,233.66
manufacturing sqft	+	0	242517.75	0	0	0	27482.50	97933.11	0	45,991.67
institute and pub facility sqft	+	1683617.28	255443.50	59291 75	430015.89	702700.55	95913.75	0.00	55243.50	410,278.28
planned development (acres) (street infrastructure NOT included in measure)	+	94.10	9 06	0	4.07	0	0	0	12.31	14.94
Vacant (acres)	+	44.31	59.27	50.16	46 96	51.68	45.82	54.34	50.03	50.32
Pct city owned (vacant)	+	8.40%	29.19%	46.67%	50.00%	45.76%	52.27%	27.99%	45.61%	38.24%
Pct vacant (acres)	+	22.83%	30.54%	25.85%	24.20%	26.63%	23.61%	28.00%	25.78%	25 93%
Density (occupied du/acre)	- / +	7.85	14.72	15.83	16.81	10.87	10 84	17.62	18.39	14.12
Proximity to CBD	-	3.5	4.18	4.55	5.05	5.54	6.01	7.06	7.11	5.38
Proximity Public Housing (feet)	+	1508	3145	2978	3085	2852	4465	4489	2652	3,147
Proximity Park (feet)	-	912.00	418 00	472.00	1309.00	669 00	658.00	2053.00	299.00	849
Park Size	+	0.52	0 25	0.24	0 65	366 84	366.84	366.84	2 2	138
Proximity Lake	-	1.19	1.28	1.39	1.69	1.95	2.09	2 21	1.71	1.69
Proximity Highway	+	0.25	0.47	0.38	0.66	0.67	0.68	0.80	1.30	0.65
Median Income 1999 (tract level?)	+	28,656.00	23,818 78	27,331.29	24,397.00	25,337 50	20,940.75	16,548.20	23,861.36	23,861.36
Median Housing Value avg of tract level median (zeroes thrown out)	+	210000.00	176585.71	156971.43	172466.67	150260.00	101725.00	66420.00	113671.43	143,513
Education Level (tract level)	+	45.41%	10.13%	11.84%	10.46%	8.88%	6.34%	7.80%	12.08%	14.12%
Pct Young Adults	-	33.17%	9.37%	7.73%	10 50%	6.43%	10.66%	10 33%	9.13%	12.16%
Pct Minority Population	+ / -	80.22%	99.36%	99.33%	99.39%	99.24%	99.26%	99.68%	97.99%	96.81%
Proximity to Olympic Village	-	0.88	1.40	1.74	2.23	2.73	3.20	4.24	4.26	2.59
Proximity to Olympic Stadium	-	2.48	1 76	1.38	0.91	0 50	0.41	1.22	1.22	1.23
Proximity to Olympic Hockey	-	3.92	3.22	2.85	2.47	2 13	1.86	1.56	1.07	2.38
Olympic Bid-rent Bonus	+	0.51	0 27	0.28	0 47	0 79	0.89	0 35	0.41	0.50

Social

Demographic indicators do not paint a rosy picture. The average median income for the TOD zones is $23,861.36, with the lowest value being $16,548 near King Drive. This is compared to the city average of $42,724. Education levels are also low relative to the rest of the city. 25.5% of the Chicago population has a bachelor's degree whereas; only 12.8% of the TOD zone population has a degree. Lastly the measurements on race reaffirm that the South Side can still be considered the "Black Belt" 80 years after the Park, Burgess, and McKinzie designation. Nearly 97% of the population is minority and the majority of that population is overwhelmingly African-American.

Economic

The flight of manufacturing jobs discussed in Kain and Wilson's work is still apparent, with only 367,933 square feet of manufacturing space in all eight TOD zones. That is out of 192,463,852 square feet in the City of Chicago, to say nothing of the suburban manufacturing districts (Department of Planning and Development 2007). This is also not surprising given that each TOD zone averages 50 acres of vacant land. There are bright spots in the data; the average median owner occupied home value across all zones is $143,153, 8% more than the Chicago median of $132,400 (census website). This fact unfortunately only depicts part of the story as the Garfield and King Drive areas are woefully below the median with values of $101,725 and $66,420 respectively. This last factor is important because a house is often a household's primary investment vehicle, and low neighborhood values stifle neighborhood wealth generation.

Housing

The character of housing stock is always an important factor in the redevelopment or renovation decision. For instance Helms states that, "ceteris paribus, renovation is more likely...for older buildings" (Helms 2003, 491). For the purposes of the South Side housing characteristics are less important because of the large amounts of vacant land. In this scenario redevelopment is the only option because simply there is no structure to renovate. Some of the vacant lots in the area of study were home to public housing projects. When active, they represented a negative neighborhood amenity,

lowering housing values. The significance of public housing on neighborhood housing values is arguably much less important now that all the public high rises have come down. The Chicago Housing Authority's Plans for Transformation program has made the decentralization of public housing a priority (CHA website). This has altered the architecture and urban design of public housing; new developments are done in a neotraditional style of low to midrise buildings on a traditional street grid. The developments contain a mix of market-rate and public-assisted units. Far from being a detriment these HOPE VI projects may indeed catalyze renovation and development (Helms 2003).

Amenity

The data reveals that the TOD zones possess many positive residential amenity (location) characteristics. For instance the average stop is less than a quarter mile away from a park, and therefore well within walking distance. The sites are also close to the Loop. The farthest station away is a mere 7.11 miles, or 23 minutes by the "L" (Google-Maps n.d.). Most of TOD zones are at a similar distance from the lakeshore although no property near the stations can be considered "lake front" real estate. However, the lakeshore is fairly close to all stations. At the 35-Bronzeville-IIT (35th) Station the lake is only 1.19 miles away and there are talks of installing a 35th Street pedestrian bridge that would effectively connect the station and lake. The major dis-amenity measured in the schedule is proximity to the interstate. This measure is also fairly uniform across the eight stations. However, 35th Station is especially hard hit—one can see the Dan Ryan expressway from the station.

The TOD Rank Order table below displays a relative organization of measurements presented in Table 5.1. Totaling the ordinal tallies for each station generated some unexpected results. For instance the 35th Street Station ranked first in the most categories, 13 out of 28, but it did not generate the best score. (The next best "Prime Area" was Indiana Station with only five top rankings.) Despite this the 35th Station ended up barely made it into the top half of the ordinal rankings. The 51st Street Station led the way with a score of 102. 51st Street's top ranking makes sense given its proximity to the venues and its centrality in the study area. Notably it is strategically one mile from the University of Chicago and two miles from IIT respectively. Thus it is highly probable that

Rank-Order Variables	35th-Bronzeville-IIT	Indiana	43rd	47th	51st	Garfield (55th)	King Dr	Cottage Grove
passengers: average weekday Jan-2009, http://www.transitchicago.com/assets/1/ridership_reports/2009-1.pdf	1	7	6	3	5	2	8	4
Bus Passngers	3	7	8	6	5	4	2	1
residential sqft	8	4	1	3	6	7	5	2
area	6	1	3	2	7	8	5	4
manufacturing sqft	4	1	4	4	4	3	2	4
institute and pub facility sqft	1	3	6	4	2	5	8	7
infrastructure NOT included in measure)	1	3	5	4	5	5	5	2
Vacant (acres)	8	1	4	6	3	7	2	5
Pct city owned (vacant)	8	6	3	2	4	1	7	5
(Low) Density (occupied du/acre)	1	4	5	6	3	2	7	8
Proximity to CBD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Proximity Public Housing (feet)	8	3	5	4	6	2	1	7
Proximity Park (feet)	6	2	3	7	5	4	8	1
Park Size	4	5	6	3	1	1	1	2
Proximity Lake	1	2	3	4	6	7	8	5
Proximity Highway	8	6	7	5	4	3	2	1
Median Income 1999 (tract level?)	1	6	2	4	3	7	8	5
median (zeroes thrown out)	8	7	5	6	4	2	1	3
Education Level (tract level)	1	5	3	4	6	8	7	2
Pct Young Adults	8	4	2	6	1	7	5	3
Pct Minority Population	1	6	5	7	3	**4**	8	**2**
Proximity to Olympic Village (miles)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Proximity to Olympic Stadium (miles)	7	6	4	3	2	1	4	4
Proximity to Olympic Hockey Fields (miles)	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Rank-Order Totals	104	100	102	106	99	105	120	94

the 51st Street area will be a highly sought after location if the Olympics come to the South Side as planned. 51st Street's designation is logical and institutive, affirming the validity of the raw data and rank order analysis.

Fundamentally rank-order is suspect because it places equal weight on all factors. For example the score of the eight zones clustered around the median value 107.5 and the standard deviation was 8.5, Figure 5.1. This bundling reflects the measurement's failure to capture the interrelatedness and spatial complexity of an urban environment. For instance is Olympic focused redevelopment more likely to occur near the Olympic village or near the stadium? Is Olympic redevelopment contingent on city-wide transit accessibility or just venue accessibility? How much influence do large institutions have in redevelopment? This is why one additional method of analysis is necessary. The magnitude of influence(s) is unclear, but it offers another perspective from which to view/analyze the TOD zonal data.

The analysis begins with Susan Simmons master's thesis on real estate markets and the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta. The analysis in the thesis forms the conceptual basis for a model that will approximate the positive economic influence of Olympic venues in space. Atlanta and Chicago are not substitutes but as the most recent US city to host a games Atlanta presents a reasonable proxy, which should yield a reasonable forecast. Furthermore, there are important spatial similarities in the way Atlanta developed for the Games and the way Chicago plans to develop for Games.

Developments were centralized in the 77.6 square mile (201.1 square kilometer) Olympic Ring in downtown Atlanta, Figure 5.2 (Simmons 2000). The Ring contained the majority of stadium and hall staged events, and with that assignment came the addition of urban design improvements, and development capital. Therefore the following is not surprising:

Long-term economic impacts are concentrated primarily within the central business district (CBD) in the City of Atlanta and in the neighborhoods surrounding this area. The Olympics left no measurable impact on regional real estate markets in spite of the substantial one-time economic shock from hosting the Summer Games (Simmons 2000, 9).

Public and private development in this area of the city begot further development. The abundance of investment, not to mention the international spotlight on downtown Atlanta, "reversed the thinking about downtown [and offered] psychological benefits" (Simmons 2000, 80). A similar outcome is possible in Chicago as the Olympic planning committee has chosen to locate most of the venues in a similar sized "ring" around the Loop. Thus in Chicago like Atlanta the concentration effects of public and private capital may shape (re)development. The concentration results in improved infrastructure, urban design, and consumptive activities. All together these characteristics influence the appeal and demand for downtown housing.

What the centralization of demands implies is the centralization of value depreciating from an Olympic-centered node—i.e. utilizing a conventional Ricardian bid-rent curve. Similarly one might view the entire Ring as being composed of many bid-rent curves scattered throughout and centered on different venues—this is the thesis' model. There might be a curve centered on a brand new stadium or venues at a university, such that within the zone there are multiple curves. Approximating the depreciation of the premium in space is complex and beyond the scope this study, thus this thesis will address the phenomenon conceptually through a series of descriptive curves. The curves can take on one of two main shapes linear and inverse exponential. The two types of curves are described in the following two equations:

$$R(d) = -\alpha d \quad (1)$$

$$R(d) = e^{-\alpha d} \quad (2)$$

Wherein the rent at distance d is $R(d)$ and α is coefficient which adjusts the magnitude of the curve. Each describes values declining as one moves out from a centroid. In the linear example (1) the decline is static, and in the inverse exponential example (2) the decline is dynamic, see Figures 5.2-5.3. This thesis argues that the decline in values from venue centroids more likely to be inverse exponential than the linear. A disproportionate amount of an Olympic venue's value premium is constrained spatially to a very small area. Thus the venue's premium declines precipitously from the center moving outward.

Figure 5.2:
Linear bid-rent curve, source: Author.

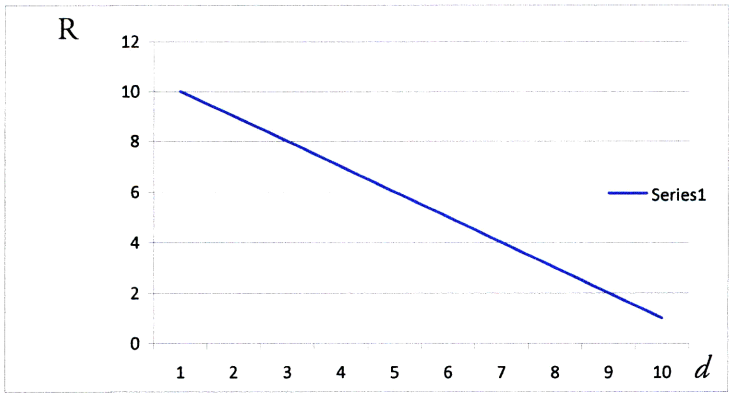


Figure 5.3:
Inverse exponential bid-rent curve, source: Author.

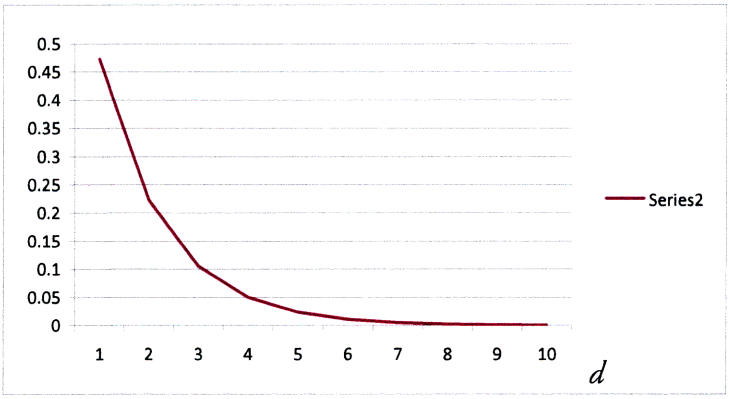
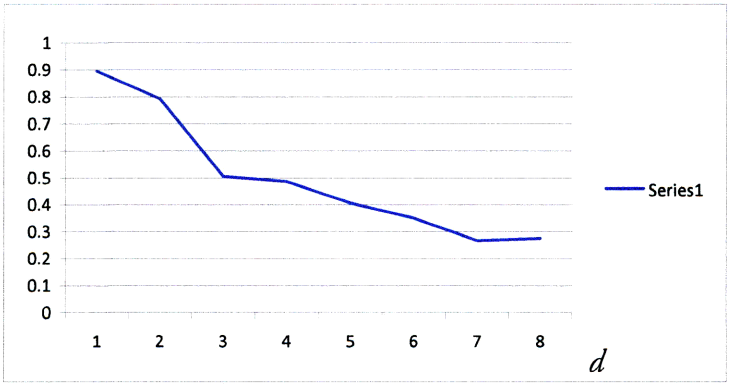


Figure 5.4:
Modelled - Inverse exponential bid-rent curve, source: Author.



The results show that the no stations "close", within a 500m walking distance, to an Olympic project, the Village, the stadium, or the field hockey fields. Garfield (55th) and 51st Station are the most proximate to any venue, and they are likely to most benefits from the proposed stadium site. The Garfield (55th) Station is 655m from the stadium and the 51st Station is 812m away. Figure 5.4was an attempt to model the declining utilizing example (2) with actual kilometer distances (d) from the venue centroids. This modeling exercise mirrors example (2) and the venue's premium

indeed declines precipitously from the center outward. Thus Garfield (55th) possesses the most valuable Olympic location benefit. How should this benefit be quantified?

Using three distinct methods of data analysis is an attempt to thoroughly sort the myriad data fragments and assemble a comprehensive qualitative redevelopment forecast. Conversely, utilizing three distinct methods also runs the opposite risk of creating a muddled forecast.

The Olympic bonus is immensely important measure, but is it important enough to overthrow prior analysis? Should Garfield (55th) now be ranked first—it was ranked six out of eight in the rank order analysis. The literature offers little help in the way of clarifying Olympian impacts on the economy or markets, "Taking into account the strengths and weaknesses of all the methods and techniques used [to measure economic impacts]...prompts the need for improved theory" (Kasimati 2003, 442). Thus one idea is to simply offer a new ordinal ranking based on the bid-rent bonus. This new ranking adds in a line item "bid rent bonus", and these relative rankings are added to the old relative rankings, resulting in this new ranking, Appendix 3.

The new ranking simply adds one point reflecting Garfield (55th)'s top ranking and two points reflecting 51st second ranking, and all the other stations will receive a three for the third place ranking. This new ranking can then be combined with the old ranking, see Appendix 3. The average of the combined tally will be the new rank order tally, Appendix3 . The results of from the final ranking are below. Effectively this resulted in very few changes in the overall rank order.

The final rankings present the same picture as the original rank order results. The final rank contains one outlier, high, King Drive at 129.5. It represents the least likely zone to redevelop. The other seven zones are lumped together, all falling within one standard deviation of the mean of 110.8. While there is little significant statistical striation the it is useful to summarize the rank order in a digestible manner as follows:

1. TOD zones unlikely to redevelop
2. TOD zones likely to develop
3. TOD zones of uncertainty

Probable Redevelopment	TOD Zone
Overall low score or highly influential characteristics, such as Olympic facility proximity or institutional resource	51st Indiana Cottage Grove Garfield (55th)
Uncertain Redevelopment	
Insignificant score and/or an insignificant amount of insitutional influence	35th 43rd 47th
Unlikely Redevelopment	
Overall high score and/or lack of institutional influence	King Drive

Figure 5.4:
Development Categories, source: Author.

The first is easy to define. The King Drive Station fits in category "1". Defining category "2" is not so simple. Three stations 51st Street, Indiana, and Cottage Grove are clustered in the low 100's—at 102.5, 104.5, and 105.5 respectively. These stations convincing fit into category "2". The simple solution for the third category would be to place the remaining areas together in category "3". However, the third category deserves more analytic thought. In this vein one simple solution is to designate both 35th Street and Garfield (55th) Station as category "2", likely to develop. These designations only reflect the raw scores; this thesis argues that a more analytic reflection will result in a different outcome. The 35th Street zone already has a great deal of development and therefore less potential than Garfield (55th). Similarly, the University of Chicago's recent land-banking is evidence of a greater potential interest in the area relative to IIT's ongoing interest. Lastly if the Olympics come to Washington Park Garfield (55th) is in a far superior position to take advantage of the development. Thus this analysis places Garfield (55th) in category "2" and 35th Street in category "3" despite the rank order outcomes. This operational outline allows one to think about the development landscape in a more digestible form, of all stations falling in three general categories. The categories are explained below.

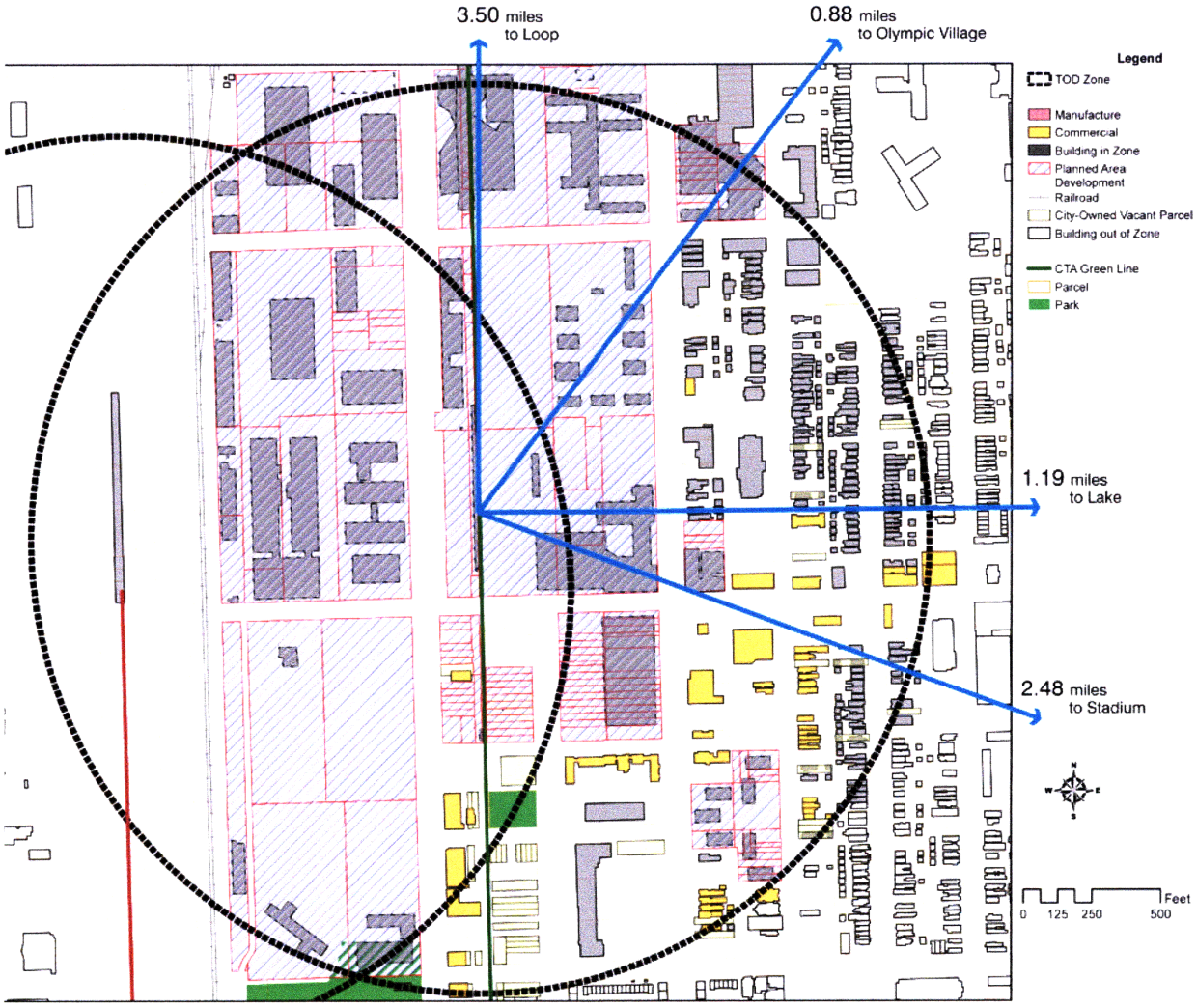
With these designations the thesis can begin the discussion of how to approach each group of

sites from the perspective of generating and/or preserving affordable housing near transit in the face of development. This promises to be a difficult task particularly if Chicago receives the bid. As we have seen in Chapter 2.2 a bid will completely change the nature of the South Side land market. The bad news is that some marginalized zones on the South Side may immediately be part and parcel of a speculation bubble and yet other marginalized areas may receive even less attention as, "the civic urban arena is preoccupied by a politics of bread and circuses" (Eisinger 2000, 316). The good news is that through planning and organizing communities can shape the outcome of this exciting opportunity.

Stations:

The previous material in the chapter was an attempt to quantify each TOD zone (station) along similar metrics in order to tell a quantitatively based story. This is only one method of analysis, another is to simply describe the stations using a set of heterogeneous metrics that reflect the different levels of understanding and impressions about each station. Each station is unique, different ages, configuration, urban design impacts, and so forth. The following are a set of station by station descriptions meant to give an impression of each of the eight.

35-Bronzeville-IIT TOD Zonal Summary & Land Use Map



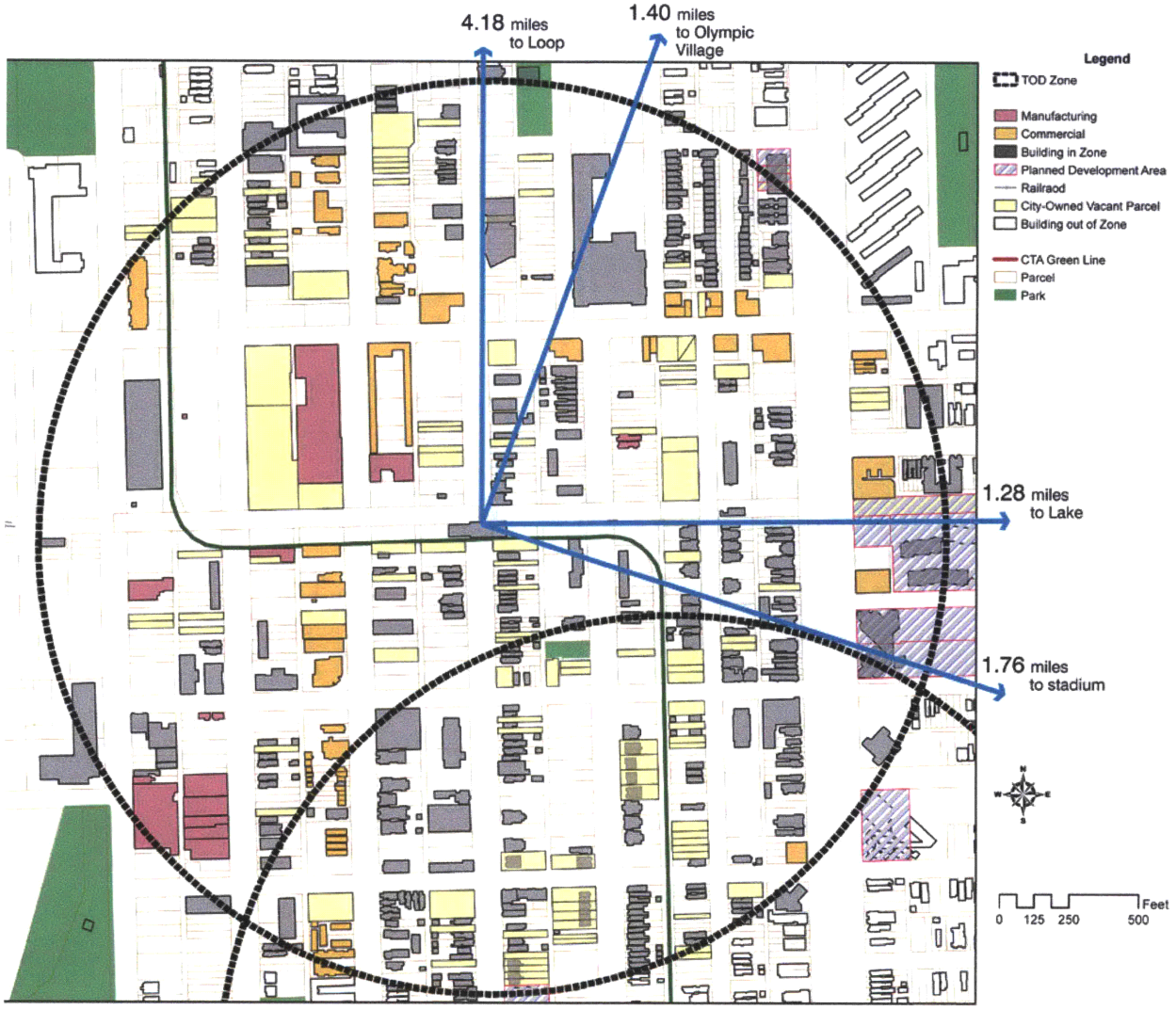
Bike Parking	1
Proximity to Major Stakeholder	1
"L" passengers	1
Bus access as defined by the CTA	1
Bus Passngers	3
residential sqft	8
Business & commercial sqft	6
Manufacturing sqft	4
Institute and pub facility sqft	1
Planned development acres	1
Vacant (acres)	8
Pct city owned (vacant)	8
(Low) Density (occupied du/acre)	1
Proximity to CBD	1
Proximity Public Housing (feet)	8
Proximity Park (feet)	6
Park Size	4
Proximity Lake	1
Proximity Highway	8
Median Income 1999 (tract level)	1
Median Housing Value avg of tract level	8
Education Level (tract level)	1
Pct Young Adults	8
Pct Minority Population	1
Proximity to Olympic Village (miles)	1
Proximity to Olympic Stadium (miles)	7
Proximity to Olympic Hockey Fields (miles)	8
Bid-rent bonus	3
Rank-Order Totals	110

Figure 5.4: *Tube atop McCormick Tribune Campus Center,* source: Author.

35th-Bronzeville-IIT

The name of the 35th-Bronzeville-IIT Station depicts the different influences in this TOD zone. Bronzeville reflects the reemergence of the African American middle class in the area after decades of flight (Wilson 1987). IIT's contributions to the area are unmistakable. Among other things, the Institute is currently developing Tech Park, a technology park, across the street from the old Stateway Gardens site, now know as Park Boulevard. IIT is literally connected to transit in with the giant "L" tube atop the McCormick Tribune Campus Center, Figure 8.x. According the Institute planner David Baker the entire development paradigm shifted in the early 1990's. At one time the only things west of the "L" and east of the Dan Ryan Expressway were IIT and the public housing projects (Baker 2009). Now the 35th Street Station is seen as gateway to the South Side, and the area is now ripe for development (Kennedy 2009).

Indiana TOD Zonal Summary & Land Use Map



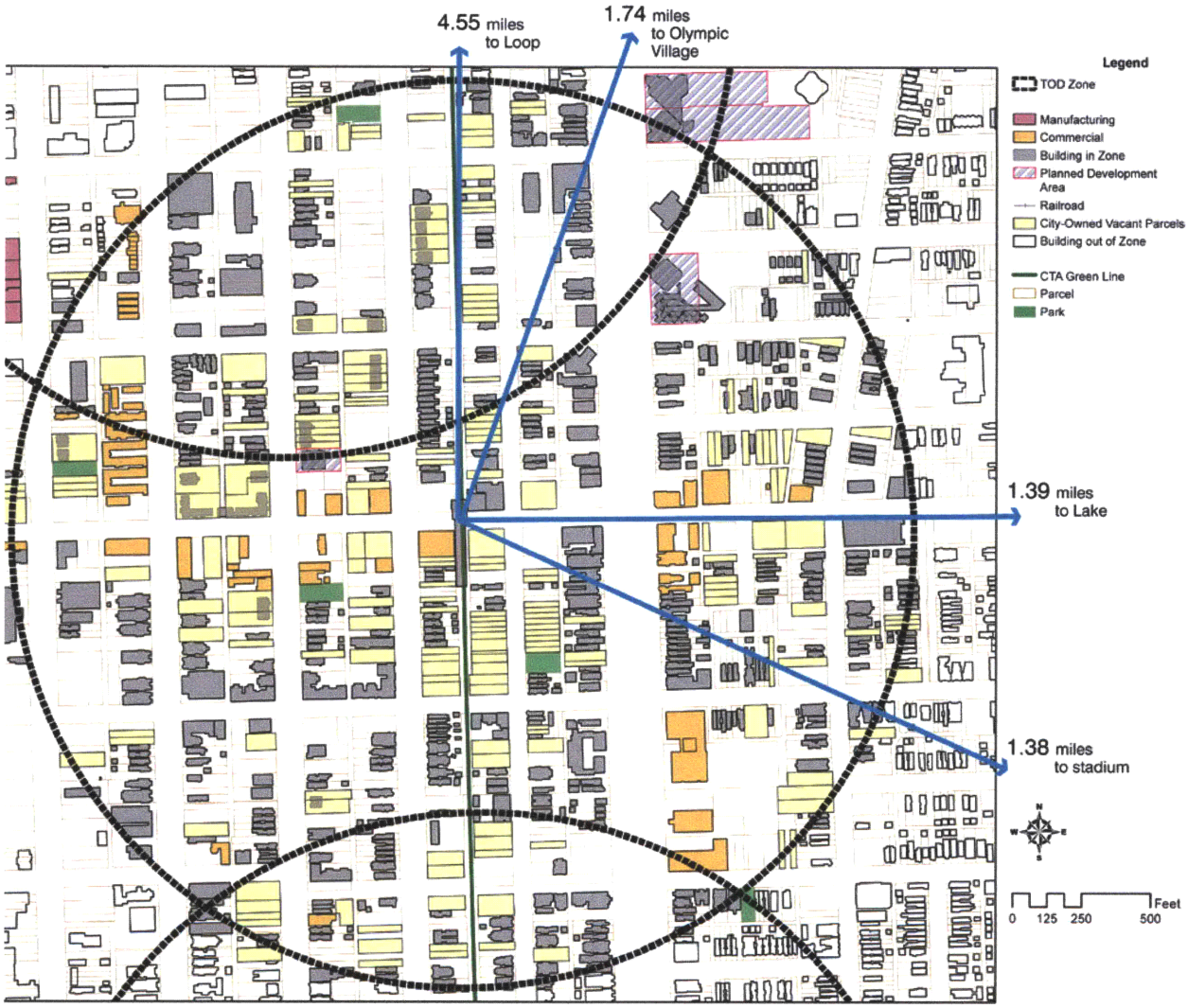
Bike Parking	Proximity to Major Stakeholder	"L" passengers	Bus access as defined by the CTA	Bus Passngers	residential sqft	Business & commercial sqft	Manufacturing sqft	Institute and pub facility sqft	Planned development acres	Vacant (acres)	Pct city owned (vacant)	(Low) Density (occupied du/acre)	Proximity to CBD	Proximity Public Housing (feet)	Proximity Park (feet)	Park Size	Proximity Lake	Proximity Highway	Median Income 1999 (tract level)	Median Housing Value avg of tract level	Education Level (tract level)	Pct Young Adults	Pct Minority Population	Proximity to Olympic Village (miles)	Proximity to Olympic Stadium (miles)	Proximity to Olympic Hockey Fields (miles)	Bid-rent bonus	Rank-Order Totals
1	1	7	1	7	4	1	1	3	3	1	6	4	2	3	2	5	2	6	6	7	5	4	6	2	6	7	3	106

Figure 5.5: *Indiana Station,* source: Garfield, Graham, http://www.chicago-l.org/stations/images/SouthElevated/indiana09.jpg

Indiana

The Green Line's Indiana stop occurs in the bend in the line, it is the only station not on a major cross town street which makes accessing the cross town busses a little more difficult. The Indiana stop is also home to the largest amount of manufacturing space amongst the eight stops. This industrial connection serves as the stations competitive advantage. The area around the stop may become quite prized if the research and development from IIT's Tech Park incubator spills over into the local production sector. It is not clear what effects the Games will have on industry or the area.

43rd TOD Zonal Summary & Land Use Map



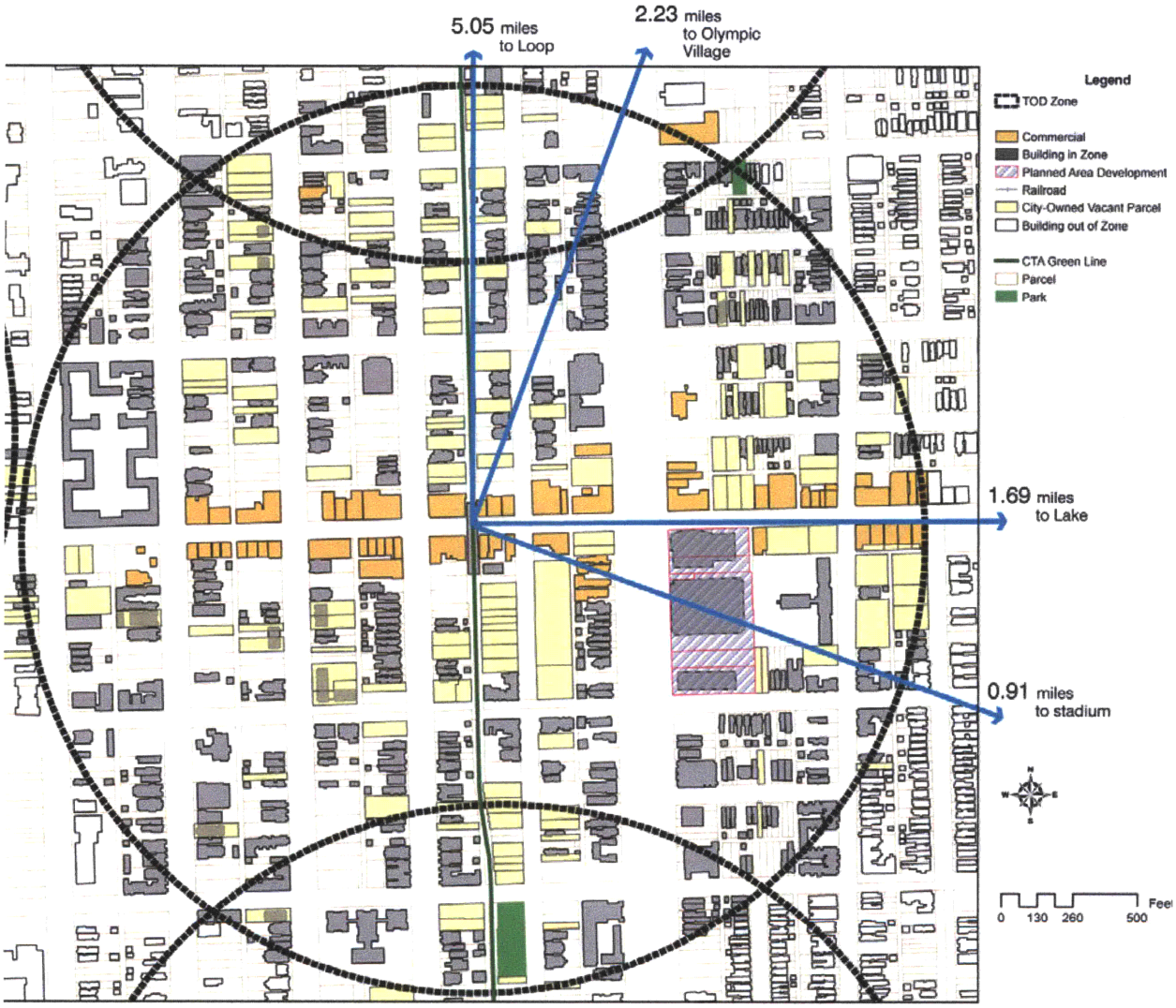
Bike Parking	1
Proximity to Major Stakeholder	6
"L" passengers	6
Bus access as defined by the CTA	1
Bus Passngers	8
residential sqft	1
Business & commercial sqft	3
Manufacturing sqft	4
Institute and pub facility sqft	6
Planned development acres	5
Vacant (acres)	4
Pct city owned (vacant)	3
(Low) Density (occupied du/acre)	5
Proximity to CBD	3
Proximity Public Housing (feet)	5
Proximity Park (feet)	3
Park Size	6
Proximity Lake	3
Proximity Highway	7
Median Income 1999 (tract level)	2
Median Housing Value avg of tract level	5
Education Level (tract level)	3
Pct Young Adults	2
Pct Minority Population	5
Proximity to Olympic Village (miles)	3
Proximity to Olympic Stadium (miles)	4
Proximity to Olympic Hockey Fields (miles)	6
Bid-rent bonus	3
Rank-Order Totals	113

Figure 5.6:
43rd Station,
source: Garfield, Graham, http://www.chicago-l.org/stations/43rd.html

43rd Street

43rd Street Station is a former major commercial street which is part of the larger vision of a remade South Side with the Green Line "L" linking a series of commercial corridors. Currently the station area exists at a junction between the dueling contexts, "of stately homes on King Drive with poorly maintained homes and vacant lots on adjoining streets" (Goodman Williams Group 2008). The 43rd Station also exists in a service desert—only a few stores, no banks, no gas stations, etc. Residents here find it necessary to go beyond the TOD zone in order to meet their basic needs. A recent City funded market study indicates that yearly retail leakage in the Grand Boulevard is $137.9 million dollars (Goodman Williams Group 2008). In order to address this issue Alderman Pat Dowell has been in consultation with the Roundy's grocery store chain about the possibility of locating at the northwest corner of Grand Boulevard (Abrams 2009 & Goodman Williams Group 2008). These negotiations and the City funded market study indicate an existing redevelopment momentum. One can assume that given the Olympics Games occurrence that this momentum will be further enhanced raising the possibility for necessary affordable transit oriented development.

47th TOD Zonal Summary & Land Use Map



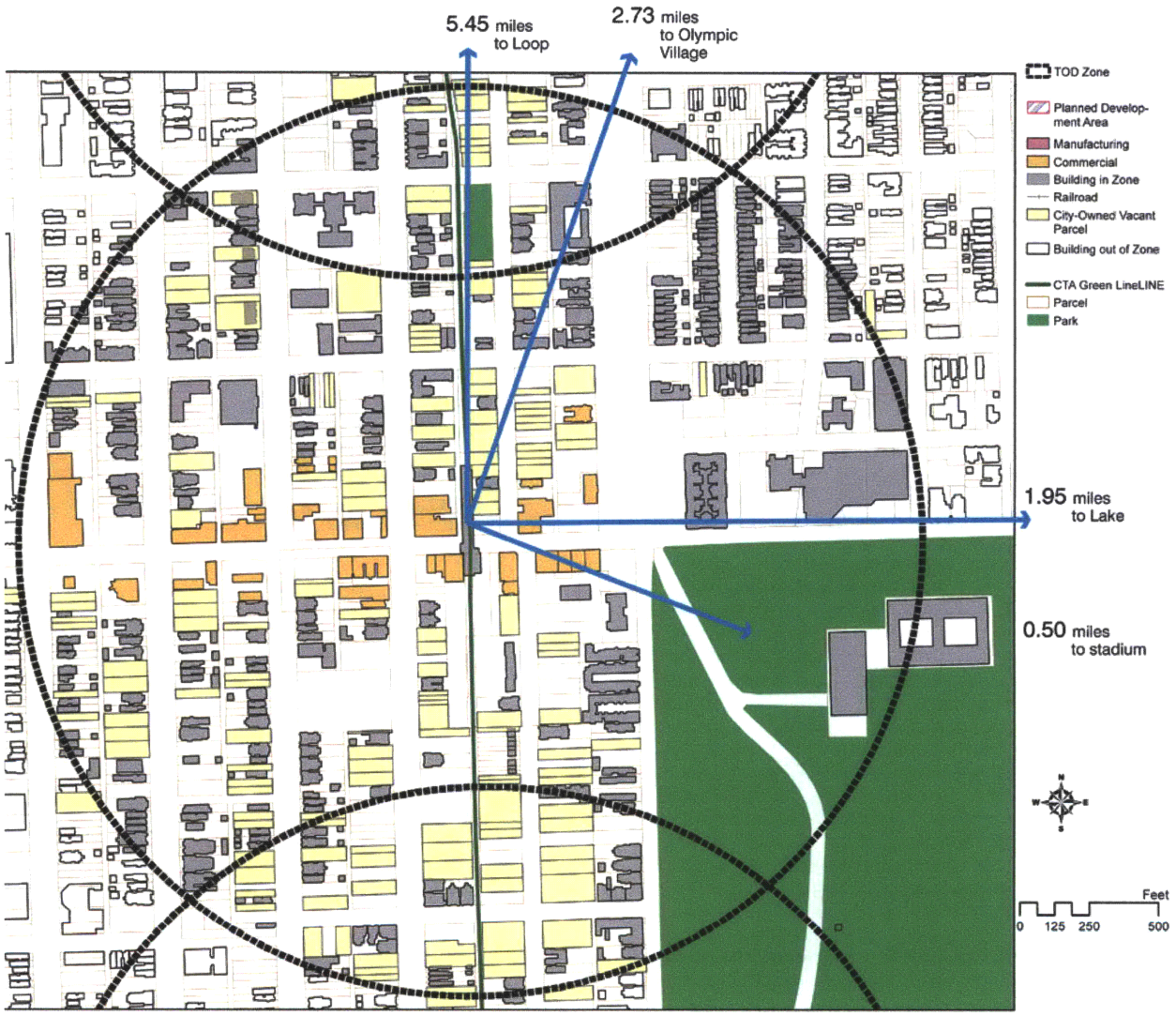
Bike Parking	1
Proximity to Major Stakeholder	6
"L" passengers	3
Bus access as defined by the CTA	1
Bus Passngers	6
residential sqft	3
Business & commercial sqft	2
Manufacturing sqft	4
Institute and pub facility sqft	4
Planned development acres	4
Vacant (acres)	6
Pct city owned (vacant)	2
(Low) Density (occupied du/acre)	6
Proximity to CBD	4
Proximity Public Housing (feet)	4
Proximity Park (feet)	7
Park Size	3
Proximity Lake	4
Proximity Highway	5
Median Income 1999 (tract level)	4
Median Housing Value avg of tract level	6
Education Level (tract level)	4
Pct Young Adults	6
Pct Minority Population	7
Proximity to Olympic Village (miles)	4
Proximity to Olympic Stadium (miles)	3
Proximity to Olympic Hockey Fields (miles)	5
Bid-rent bonus	3
Rank-Order Totals	117

Figure 5.7:
47th Platform, source: Garfield, Graham, http://www.chicago-l.org/stations/images/SouthElevated/47th06.jpg

47th Street Station

47th Street Station is another station that planners envision becoming a commercial hub on the South Side as in the glory days of Bronzeville when it rivaled Harlem as the capital of Black America (Kennedy 2009). Currently, like other station areas along the line, it exists in an urban malaise. Yet, it is home to a planned development area which is unique in the absence of a major institution. Aside from this bonus, there is nothing remarkable about the station area most of the indicators are in the mid-ranges of the eight station sample. It has some retail, some vacant lots, on the whole it is typical. Its mediocrity is what makes it special. Future researchers would do well to investigate the 47th Street TOD zone—in many ways it is representative of the entire South Side.

51st TOD Zonal Summary & Land Use Map



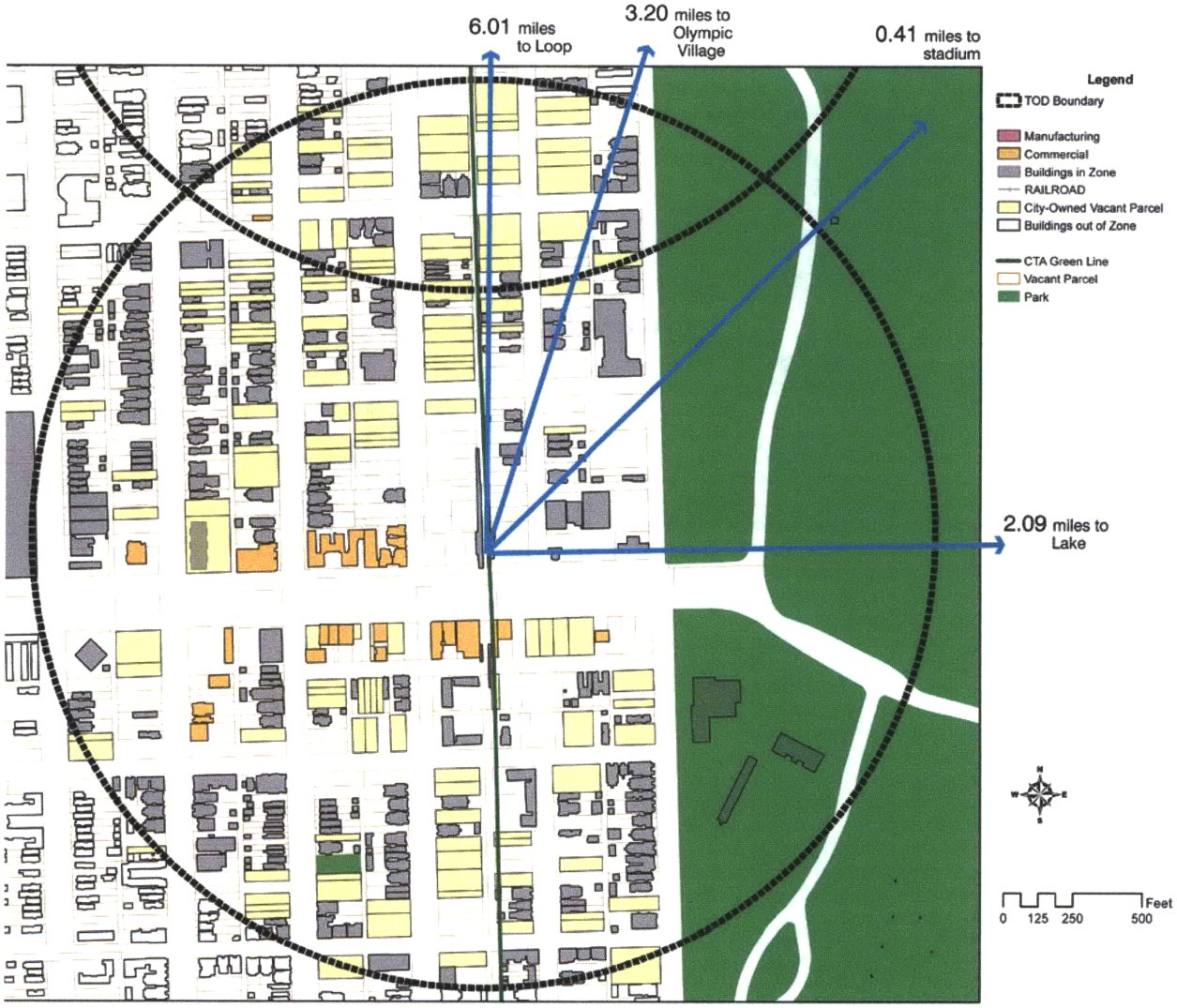
Bike Parking	1
Proximity to Major Stakeholder	1
"L" passengers	5
Bus access as defined by the CTA	1
Bus Passngers	5
residential sqft	6
Business & commercial sqft	7
Manufacturing sqft	4
Institute and pub facility sqft	2
Planned development acres	5
Vacant (acres)	3
Pct city owned (vacant)	4
(Low) Density (occupied du/acre)	3
Proximity to CBD	5
Proximity Public Housing (feet)	6
Proximity Park (feet)	5
Park Size	1
Proximity Lake	6
Proximity Highway	4
Median Income 1999 (tract level)	3
Median Housing Value avg of tract level	4
Education Level (tract level)	6
Pct Young Adults	1
Pct Minority Population	3
Proximity to Olympic Village (miles)	5
Proximity to Olympic Stadium (miles)	2
Proximity to Olympic Hockey Fields (miles)	4
Bid-rent bonus	1
Rank-Order Totals	103

Figure 5.8:
51st Platform, source: Garfield, Graham, http://www.chicago-l.org/stations/51st.html

51st Street Station

51st Street Station would be the Olympic gateway. The station is located at the northwest corner of Washington Park. It will be extremely close to the Olympic Stadium, and it will assuredly be a hub of activity. The station area is now home to the typical South Side patchwork development pattern, with nearly 52 acres of vacant land (slightly higher than the average). The dearth of development combined with the Olympic energy will bring redevelopment and displacement without the proper policy interventions, as discussed in Chapter 7. How the 51st Street Station area develops for the Olympics will be indicative of the Games' overall effects on the South Side.

Garfield (55th) TOD Zonal Summary & Land Use Map



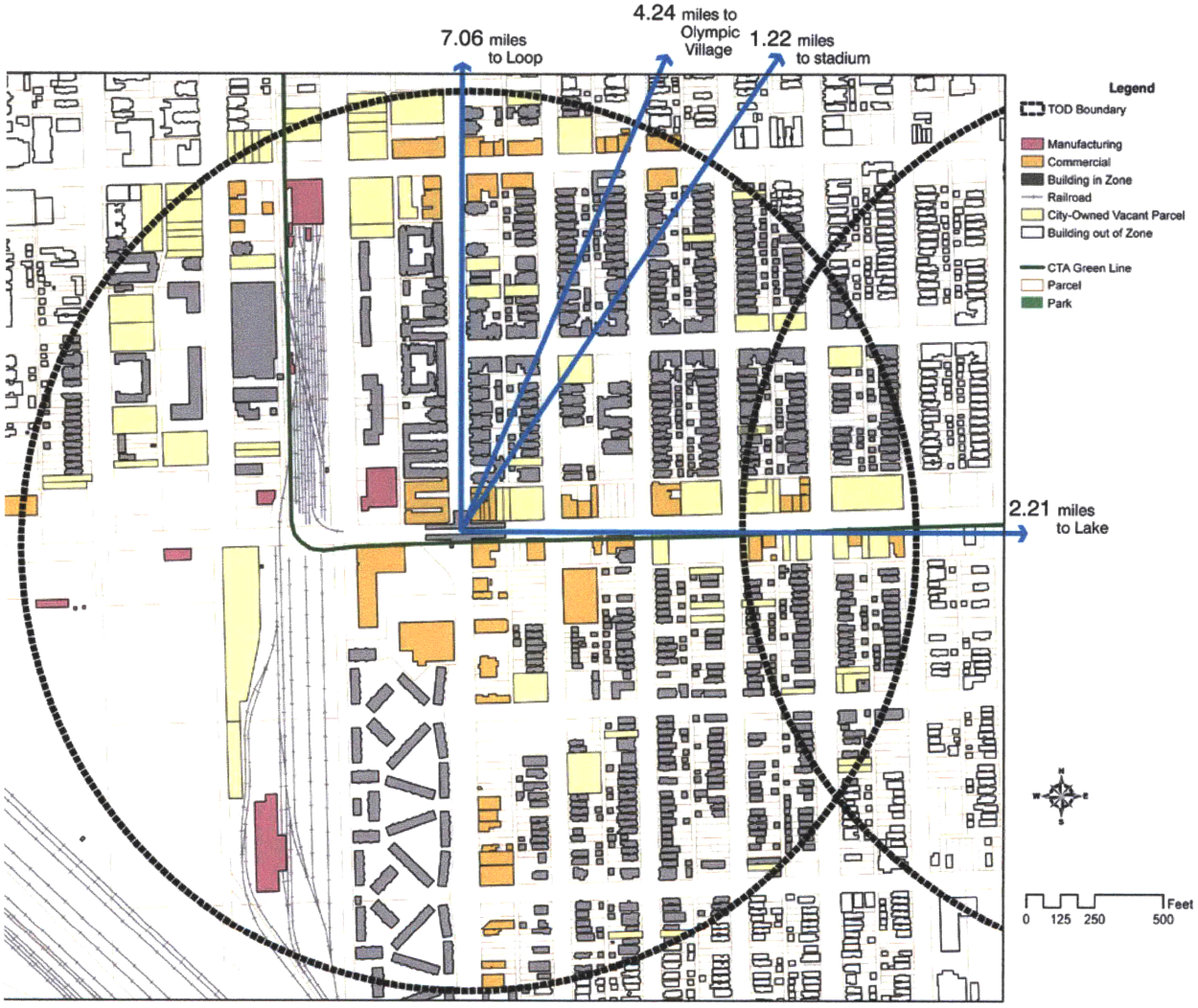
Bike Parking	1
Proximity to Major Stakeholder	1
"L" passengers	2
Bus access as defined by the CTA	1
Bus Passngers	4
residential sqft	7
Business & commercial sqft	8
Manufacturing sqft	3
Institute and pub facility sqft	5
Planned development acres	5
Vacant (acres)	7
Pct city owned (vacant)	1
(Low) Density (occupied du/acre)	2
Proximity to CBD	6
Proximity Public Housing (feet)	2
Proximity Park (feet)	4
Park Size	1
Proximity Lake	7
Proximity Highway	3
Median Income 1999 (tract level)	7
Median Housing Value avg of tract level	2
Education Level (tract level)	8
Pct Young Adults	7
Pct Minority Population	4
Proximity to Olympic Village (miles)	6
Proximity to Olympic Stadium (miles)	1
Proximity to Olympic Hockey Fields (miles)	3
Bid-rent bonus	2
Rank-Order Totals	110

Figure 5.9: *Garfield Platform looking towards the Loop.* source: Author

Garfield (55th) Station

The Garfield Station is home to the oldest, but unused, stationhouse in the Chicago transit system, dating back to 1892 (Chicago "L".org 2009). This station's future promises to be as interesting as its past. Firstly the station abuts Washington Park, proposed home of the Olympic Stadium. If the Olympics occur, this station area, like 51st Street, is likely to see gentrification and displacement without the proper policy interventions. Additionally the University of Chicago recently began land banking in the area and has been reluctant to disclose its plans for the area (Hawley 2008). The University of Chicago has not yet crossed Hyde Park with development. Thus the Garfield (55th) Station is likely to see redevelopment Games or not. Future development or the lack thereof, at the station will be a bellwether, for South Side redevelopment writ large. If it does not occur in this favorable context then it is not likely to occur at all.

King Drive TOD Zonal Summary & Land Use Map



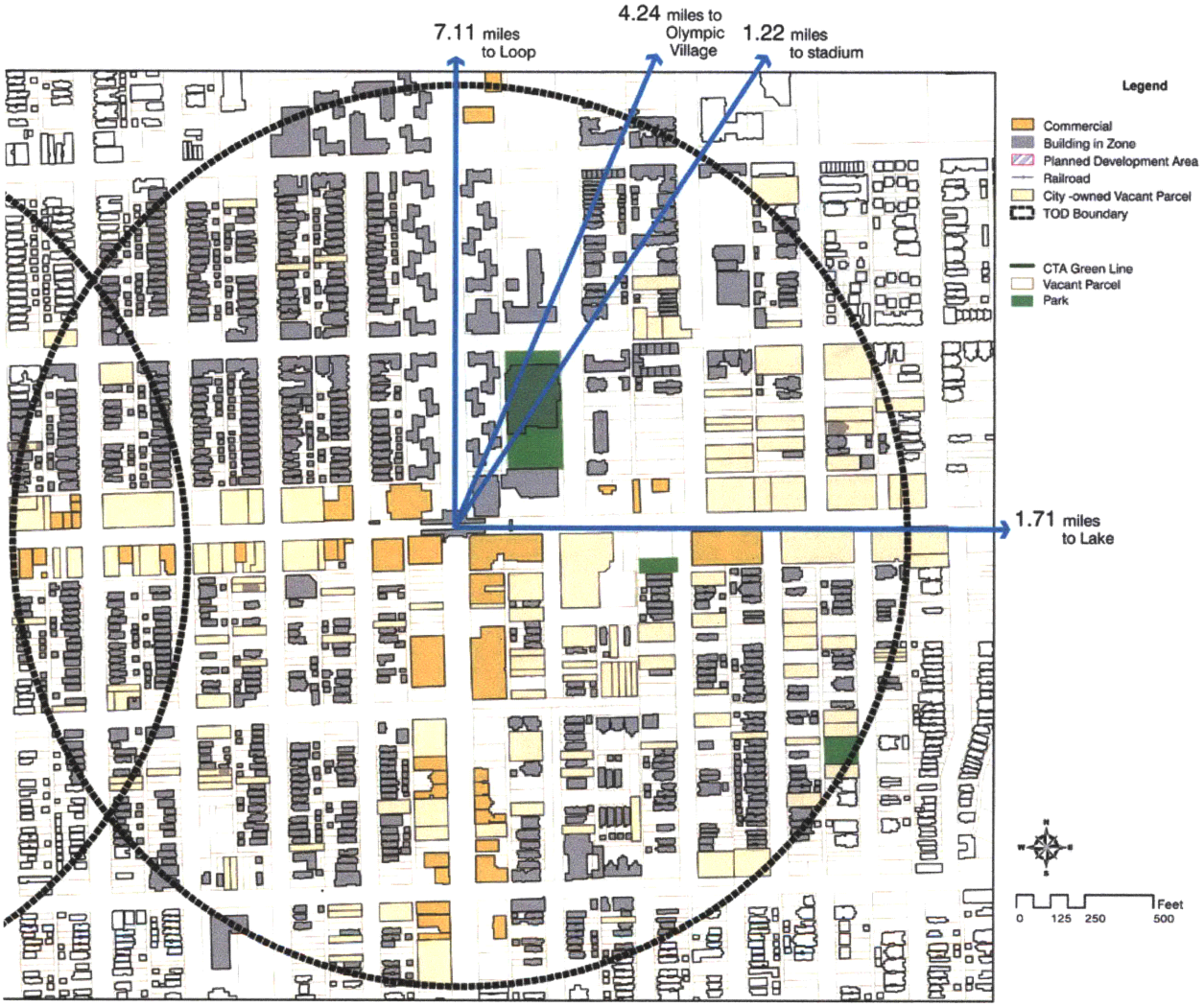
Bike Parking	1
Proximity to Major Stakeholder	6
"L" passengers	8
Bus access as defined by the CTA	1
Bus Passngers	2
residential sqft	5
Business & commercial sqft	5
Manufacturing sqft	2
Institute and pub facility sqft	8
Planned development acres	5
Vacant (acres)	2
Pct city owned (vacant)	7
(Low) Density (occupied du/acre)	7
Proximity to CBD	7
Proximity Public Housing (feet)	1
Proximity Park (feet)	8
Park Size	1
Proximity Lake	8
Proximity Highway	2
Median Income 1999 (tract level)	8
Median Housing Value avg of tract level	1
Education Level (tract level)	7
Pct Young Adults	5
Pct Minority Population	8
Proximity to Olympic Village (miles)	7
Proximity to Olympic Stadium (miles)	4
Proximity to Olympic Hockey Fields (miles)	2
Bid-rent bonus	3
Rank-Order Totals	131

Figure 5.10:
King Drive Station entrance, source: Garfield, Graham, http://www.chicago-l.org/stations/images/SouthElevated/kingdrive06.jpg

King Drive

The King Drive Station (originally South Park Avenue) was the first station built as part of the extension of the line to Jackson Park the 1893 World's Fair site (Chicago "L".org 2009). This station area is by far the worst of the eight in this study. It is ranked last in 6 out of 26 indicators. Two of the six were median income and education level indicating serious signs of socio-economic stress in addition to serious physical detriments. Clearly this is the last place that the "market" will look to redevelop. As such this is an opportune location for public subsidies and infrastructural improvements.

Cottage Gove TOD Zonal Summary & Land Use Map



Bike Parking	8
Proximity to Major Stakeholder	1
"L" passengers	4
Bus access as defined by the CTA	1
Bus Passngers	1
residential sqft	2
Business & commercial sqft	4
Manufacturing sqft	4
Institute and pub facility sqft	7
Planned development acres	2
Vacant (acres)	5
Pct city owned (vacant)	5
(Low) Density (occupied du/acre)	8
Proximity to CBD	8
Proximity Public Housing (feet)	7
Proximity Park (feet)	1
Park Size	2
Proximity Lake	5
Proximity Highway	1
Median Income 1999 (tract level)	5
Median Housing Value avg of tract level	3
Education Level (tract level)	2
Pct Young Adults	3
Pct Minority Population	2
Proximity to Olympic Village (miles)	8
Proximity to Olympic Stadium (miles)	4
Proximity to Olympic Hockey Fields (miles)	1
Bid-rent bonus	3
Rank-Order Totals	107

Figure 5.11: *Cottage Grove Station,* source: Author

Cottage Grove

Trains on the "Jackson Park" branch of the Green Line went all the way to Jackson Park, as late as 1982. From that point until 1996 the line was truncated repeated such that the line now terminates at Cottage Grove, see Figure 2.x (Chicago "L".org 2009). The station is a key element in the structure of transit on the South Side numerous bus lines run from the terminal and it constitutes the closest CTA "L" station for a great many neighborhoods. Physically the station does not resemble a terminus, a major transit node. If the Olympics come this may change as the station is between both the stadium and the field hockey venue. If the Olympic do not come the area is can still well situated for redevelopment. POAH is in the planning phases of redeveloping Grove Parc, a former HUD Section 8 project with 504 units of housing. Additionally Cottage Grove is the closest station to the University of Chicago and if it expands further south along Cottage Grove Avenue the station will literally be in its backyard. The station seems positioned for change. The question is what will be the nature of this change?

6.1 - Institutional Analysis: Olympics

> Hosting a premier event such as the Olympics or a world's fair is central...city leaders are seeking not just short-term tourist revenues but to change their city's image and perhaps even the city's physical structure (Burbank, 4).

On April 14, 2007 the city of Chicago was selected as the United States' Olympic bid candidate for the 2016 Games. The Olympics are only 16 days but they will forever change the city. The Olympics are part of a mega-event strategy; wherein the City uses "hallmark events" a growth tactic. Hallmark events are, "major one-time or recurring events of limited duration, developed primarily to enhance the awareness, appeal and profitability of a tourism destination in the short/long term" (Ritchie 1984, 2). By definition, hallmark events alter the areas that host them. Chicago is no stranger to this phenomenon, the 1893 World's Columbiana Exposition held in the South Side's Jackson Park left an undeniable mark on the city. The Olympics will change Chicago. Fear of this change and the process have resulted in opposition, see Figure 6.1. Other groups are simply against any sort of Olympic-generated displacement of low income people (Fencke 2008). Superficially this opposition appears to be about reluctance to change. It is instead a resistance against extravagant development in the context of decades of neglect and disinvestment. None of the individuals interviewed for the thesis were not against the Olympics coming to town—rather they were for "very" low income housing or a place for the homeless. Therefore it is not a fight over change but a fight over the type of change. The thesis assumes that the Olympic will be a large enough event to encompass many types of change.

In this way the pressures on a city to attract and consequently develop the Olympics goes beyond economic forecasts and cost benefit analyses. Instead everything regarding the Olympics becomes incredibly politically charged. Eisinger refers to this as the "politics bread and circuses", wherein cities spend, "their political capital in pursuit of discretionary entertainment spending of visitors rather than the tax payments of resident middle class." (Eisinger 2000). Burbank, et al refer to a similar phenomenon the mega-event strategy; wherein economic growth and urban and worldwide status are

facilitated via a so-called "mega-event".

This phenomenon seems to underlie Chicago's bid for the 2016 Olympics. Even if the City does not view the Olympics as a growth strategy, political coalitions are forming on both sides of the argument as was witnessed by the work of the, "activist coalition CEO, which advocates for the fair treatment of working and low-income families" (Fencke 2008).

Under a "bread and circuses" regime or the "mega-event" strategy the politics and economic logic are beyond the rational. Indeed most "urban-revitalizing" stadium projects, "provide quite low economic returns to the city in the way of jobs and taxes" (Eisinger 2000,n.p.). Regardless of how sound the Olympic investment proves to be it exists in this framework of city as "theme park" to borrow Michael Sorkin's terminology. Given this framework of city, how are issues "outside" of the mega-event framework tabled? How are specific issues like affordable housing addressed? How are broader issues like anti-mega-event political representation addressed? It is within this particular political-institutional framework in which the thesis posits affordable transit oriented (housing) development. The incongruence of the thesis' strategy and the mega event strategy can only be overcome through progressive and targeted policy strategies. The following (examples) case studies from Olympic Summer games and institutional practices will be used to generate recommendations on how to generate affordable transit oriented housing under the specter of speculation.

Olympiad by Olympiad the scope of the Games grows larger and larger such, "that with every 'successful' Games, the chances increase of seeing the next ones falter" (Latouche 2007, 197).

Some of the earliest modern games in Paris (1900) and St Louis (1904) were little more than an athletic competitions connected with larger scales exhibitions. The 1908 London games altered the "side show" mentality and synthesized the Games as n event par excellence. After the Second World War the games emerged in austerity reflecting the post-war economic realities (Gold and Gold eds. 2007). In, "1960 Rome threw off the pall of Austerity and propelled the games into the modern era" (Gold and Gold eds. 2007, 32). Chicago currently finds itself in this reality in which the city the host city is tasked with "throwing the party". This is a physical and fiscal reality. The commercial-

ism of the Atlanta Games prompted the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to forbid solely private organizations from running the games (Gold and Gold eds. 2007). Consequently the public is responsible for much of the Olympic investment. No matter who funds the games the final result can be delightful or disastrous. The following case studies offer meaningful lessons.

Cases Studies:

Montreal 1976

The 1976 Summer Games in Montreal, Canada were to be a "modest affair" (Latouche 2007). The world placed high hope for peace and accord after the despicable terrorist in Munich in 1972. Montreal was one of the worst games ever and a complete financial debacle. The final Olympian debt is estimated at 2.72 billion (USD, 2000). Especially of note for future hosts is the fact that the deficit, "was caused by large investment in infrastructure, mismanagement, strikes by construction workers and on imbalance in the market" (Preuss 2004, 15). Daniel Latouche insinuates that part of the blame for mismanagement began at the top with Mayor John Drapeau. He describes Drapeau as an adherent to the mega-event strategy, one who saw future development in Montreal tied to tourism. He further asserts that the mayor coaxed Olympic officials in to awarding Montreal with the games, in absence of political capital. Furthermore with the Games in hand the city did very little planning, and when it occurred it was in a top-down fashion (Latouche 2007).

Surprisingly autocratic planning process did not result in the destruction of Montreal's character or significant parts of the city. Aside from the demolition of 600 housing units for the construction of a TV tower facilities for the Games did not disrupt the urban fabric. Quite the contrary Olympic-related projects are slated for demolition. Mirabel Airport part of the planning package was abandoned in 2002 and there are plans to raise Olympic Stadium and plant an urban forest (Latouche 2007 & Gold and Gold eds. 2007). Thus while the legacy of the Olympics is one of unplanned extravagance the overall physical impact on the city is negligible.

There are many salient points in the Montreal saga. Some of which have been codified into official Olympic procedure. For the thesis' purpose Montreal points out the importance coalition

building and transparent planning. Both of which will most likely be part of the Chicago process. However the goal would be to see these processes play a deeper role in Chicago; wherein, proponents and opponents alike are engaged in deep discourse. The subject of affordable transit oriented housing could indeed serve as the "link" in this discourse. Instead of the top down methods of Montreal, Chicago could shine with authentic civic engagement.

Table 6.1: *Montreal Summary Statistics (USD 2000)*

Olympic Debt	$2.72 bn
Public Spending	
Revenues	0
Popular project	Olympic Stadium
Post Olympic – Athletes' Village Use	Private housing
Venue concentration in "Olympic Zone"(venues/sq m)	

Barcelona 1992

Barcelona is often described as the most successful Olympic Games, and it is cited as the successful Games in regards to urban rejuvenation. The fact is that, "the true success of the Barcelona Olympics games was the transformation experienced in the city, through a series of actions that would normally have taken decades and which were introduced in just 6 years" (Monclus 2007, 219). Barcelona is so renowned that researchers often refer to the model of growth/planning as the "Barcelona Model". The important note about the Barcelona model is that it was not simply an Olympic development model but a, "conscious long-term development strategy that existed before obtaining the nomination to stage the Olympics and continued afterwards" (Gold and Gold eds. 2007)(42). As part of a comprehensive model Barcelona put monies into not just sport stadiums but infrastructure, "the most important investments were generated in parallel and outside the [Olympic] areas" (Monclus 2007, 233 & Kassens). Furthermore, Olympic-centered projects placed at, 'strategic points—the edges of the consolidated city and the first periphery—which will directly affect the problematic areas and at the same time accelerate the surrounding osmotic regeneration processes" (Bohigas 1999 quoted in Monclus 2007, 226). In many ways Barcelona exemplified a planning

ideal with a working consensus between government, industry, institutions, and labor that produced results (Monclus 2007).

However like any urban growth, Barcelona's, generate its share of unintended consequences. Of particular note is a lack of affordable housing in the city. Housing prices have pushed those in the, "public sector housing and the young towards the metropolitan periphery" (Monclus 2007, 235). Thus Barcelona offers a very poignant lesson. Olympic success does not equate with social equity. The two subjects are not correlated, thus it is this provide a proper place for planning intervention as the thesis posits.

Table 6.2: *Barcelona Summary Statistics (USD 2000)*

Olympic Debt	0
Public Spending	$6.95 bn
Revenues	$3.3 mil
Popular project	Parc de Mar
Post Olympic – Athletes' Village Use	Market rate housing
Venue concentration in "Olympic Zone"(venues/sq m)	.24

Atlanta 1996

The literature's opinion on the Atlanta Games is lukewarm at best. The games were profitable—run by a private organization netting $1.7 billion in revenues (Burbank, *et al*). The cost of the profit was a theme of commercialism throughout the games. This feeling was so pronounced that after Atlanta no solely private operations would be allowed to run the games. Atlanta also succeeded in placing all many stadiums in close proximity, inside the Olympic Ring, to assist in the ease of travel between sites (Gold and Gold eds. 2007).

There were many urban design achievements of the Atlanta Games; however, "the benefits to the inner city neighborhoods that surrounded downtown were relatively small" (French and Disher 1997, 379) Olympic-related clearance, "removed more than 16,500 of Atlanta's poorest inhabitants to make way for a stadium" (Gold and Gold eds. 2007, 44). This represents a huge planning failure as it was thought the Games would help inner city low income communities. Instead urban

redevelopment was myopically linked to Olympic development. The Summerhill and Techwood/ Clark Howell communities, "received particular attention", due to their proximity to the Games. Furthermore, "redevelopment was extremely narrow and short lived; once the Games ended, the short-term motivation for decisive action largely evaporated" (French and Disher 1997, 388). Planners in Chicago would do well to avoid this method of development. In fact the normative outcome prescribes the exact opposite approach.

Table 6.3: *Atlanta Summary Statistics (USD 2000)*

Olympic Debt	0
Public Spending	$2.2 bn
Revenues	$1.7 mil
Popular project	Centennial Park
Post Olympic – Athletes' Village Use	Mixed-income housing
Venue concentration in "Olympic Zone"(venues/sq m)	.19

Ideology incongruencies aside, mega-event strategies, Olympic development strategies and affordable housing development strategies at some level all revolve around the same thing—attracting capital. Some of the most successful Games have been those privy to vast infusion of capital, such as Barcelona 1992; wherein, the national government invested $6.95 billion (USD, 2000) in the Games. With these funds cities are able to, "move hidden agendas such as improvement for sport, housing, communication, traffic and other sectors" (Preuss 2004, 1). Affordable housing proponents also depend on access to an array of public and private capital in order to advance their agenda projects. Furthermore contemporary Olympic visions are holistic endeavors, which draw inspiration from the Barcelona Model. They look at the venues, the environment, and metropolitan develop as one unit (Coaffee 2007). Due to their sheer size Olympics must take this holistic approach (Preuss 2004). In this vein it is unproductive to portray transit oriented affordable housing development in the complete juxtaposition of Olympic development. As the thesis later argues it makes for affordable housing proponents to work with Olympic planners towards the generation of housing. The affordable housing lobby should be incorporated in the politics of bread and circuses and mega event

strategy. Ideologically the thesis positions itself between these two poles, the "city of work and services" and the "city of pleasure" and thus offers a "link" between affordable housing development on the one hand and Olympic development on the other.

Institutions particularly those of higher learning wield immense power in the urban realm. Particularly we talks of expanding surface they are quick to push the town-gown relationship to its limits, as was the case with Columbia in Harlem, Harvard with Boston (Allston), and the University of Chicago with Hyde Park and Woodlawn (Chapter 2).

These institutions are important urban stakeholders with a lot of influence and interest in what or how development occurs. This is especially true of institutions outlined above which are more

Figure 6.1:
Chicago Olympic Protesters, source: NYTimes.com

or less "stuck" in their current position (Rypkema 2009). It was this feeling of helplessness that prompted the University of Chicago to engage in aggressive urban renewal tactics in the 1950's and 60's. Institutions are also major property owners on the South Side and have a direct stake/say in development outcomes. The data collected in the thesis fails to assess the relative influence of these actors. Thus one must go beyond "data analysis" in order to assess the institution's influence on redevelopment.

The Illinois Institute of Technology and Bronzeville

The "vibrancy" of the 35th-Bronzeville-IIT Station (35th Street Station) is in no small part due to the presence of IIT. The 35t Street Station is the first stop on the Green Line south of the Loop. , Figure 6.2. It is also the most well developed station on the South Side. (Cottage Grove comes in a close second in regards to development.) Indeed the ridership at the station is significantly higher than other station with an average of 1,950 weekday riders in January 2009 versus a study area average of 1,159. This is reflected in the development around the station. Transit oriented development has brought a bank, Starbucks, and a Jimmy John's (sandwich chain). This development success did not come about without a great deal of investment from the public and private sides. IIT, Director of External Affairs, David Baker described the following four major investments that changed the area:

1- 1991, the Chicago White Sox open US Cellular Field (New Comiskey Park). The decision to stay on the south Side was influenced by, "Illinois General Assembly passed legislation to build the park directly across the street from old Comiskey Park" (MLB Advanced Media, L.P. 2009). The stadium home to the 2007 World Series Champs is a regional draw for the South Side.

2- 1996, Chicago Police relocate their headquarters from 1121 South State Street to a 35th Street location two blocks from the Green Line "L" station. The headquarters is home to some

2,000 employees and provides a 24-hour presence in the area.

3- 2007, the last of Stateway Gardens is demolished, as a part of the Chicago Housing Authority's Plans for Transformations. The new project slated for the site is a mixed income development called Park Boulevard, Figure 6.x. Phase one of this project is complete thus far.

4- Late 1990s, the Green Line underwent a complete renovation. The so called "New Green Line" opened its 35th Street Station in 19xx. The station's design incorporating Bronzeville imagery and the name Bronzeville reflect a renewed pride in the area or "Jim Crow nostalgia" in the eyes of critics like Michelle Boyd.

IIT's vision, as described by Mr. Baker, goes beyond the above. He thinks the area will change a lot in the next 20 years. The Institute recently completed Tech Park a research and development incubator across the street from the old Stateway Gardens site (Park Boulevard). He noted that before the demolition of Stateway people had started to abandon the warehouses and labs where Tech Park now stands. Now there are 20 companies and park aims to max out at 50. There are also plans for a Metra, commuter rail, station at 35th Street which would mean three transit stops within a quar-

Figure 6.2:
Park Boulevard Development
source: Author

ter mile. He further described a vision of denser development near the "L"—maybe three or four story building near the "L" in order to cover it up. One of the immediate developmental challenges involves attracting retail, aside from the few stores at Park Boulevard there is no retail north or south of the station (see maps Chapter X). Baker thinks that in the future the 35th Street Station can be a hub for research, service, commercial, and office development.

An immediate concern or opportunity is the Olympics. The 35th Street Station is poised to become a transit hub for the Games in between the Olympic Village to the east and the stadium to the south. The station area is well positioned to take full advantage of the Games presence.

The area's change in fortunes has been coincident with a reformulated strategy, of "mutual interdependence" between the Institute and the surrounding community. In the same year the Illinois General Assembly approved the New Comiskey Park bill, IIT, "the university...formally established a community relation department in 1989 and hired longtime South Side resident and community activist Leroy Kennedy as its vice president" (Boyd 2008, 39). This strategy seems to be working, Patricia Abrams of the Renaissance Collaborative (TRC) considers IIT an ally and neighborhood asset. Frank Lee, a local architect, also viewed IIT as a positive community actor. Thus the success of the Bronzeville TOD is due in part to the Institute's great strides in community engagement. Boyd notes in her work that, this engagement goes beyond adjacent neighbors in the South Side and reaches into the halls of civic power as well.

The TOD at 35th Street is not without its critique. In Michelle Boyd's Jim Crow Nostalgia, portrays the Institutes efforts as wholly self-serving and accomplished with the help of similarly minded Black neighborhood elite. This "new civic elite" are the same players discussed in Pattillo's account of the South Side. Patricia Abrams, applauds the development, but also asks the ontological question, 'who is it for?' Her constituents at the TRC cannot afford three dollars coffees. Abrams was instead more interested in basic services like a grocery store coming to the neighborhood.

Both critiques highlight the fact that even influential institutions do not have the power to effect

structural change. Instead institutions should be first tasked with the Hippocratic ethos of 'doing no harm'. Secondly they have a responsibility to do something for the community under the guise of "mutual interdependence". Affordable TOD fits under this rubric it is not a radical change but a positive change aimed at challenging the detrimental structure while admittedly changing none.

7.1 - Olympic Scenario

> "Chicago is a great city today because we've had leaders of vision. But vision alone is not enough. In Chicago, we don't just dream. We do," Mayor Richard J. Daley (Bid Book 2009)

The statement above firmly establishes the complete governmental endorsement of hosting the 2016 Summer Olympic Games. Molotch's growth machine is at work, "the enthusiasm of its business leaders and citizens", impressed the International Olympic Committee during their visit to Chicago in April (Macur 2009). Given this stance the Daley administration has adopted a mega-event strategy for urban development as defined by Burbank, et al. A mega event strategy is one wherein, politicians seek to host, "a premier event such as the Olympics or world's fair because the city leaders are seeking not just short term tourist revenues but to change their city's image and perhaps even the city's physical structure" (Burbank, Andranovich and Heying 2001, 4). From the definition, as well as the statement above, it becomes apparent that the desire to host Games is implicitly connected with (re)visioning the City, writ large. Indeed the "vision", or more precisely the visioning process of which Mayor Daley speaks goes beyond the Olympics. If it did not go beyond "throwing a party" in the guise of the Olympics then Chicago 2016 would mirror Montreal 1976 debacle. This promises to not be the case. Thus far all the Olympic planning for Chicago 2016 vision appears to be extremely thoughtful and comprehensive. Arguably, the vision in Chicago seems to be as much about hosting the Games as (re)establishing the image of Chicago, the bid is primarily about selling the City. This is in line with Burbank, et al's definition for mega events. The pro Olympic movement has been met with two types of local opposition. There is moderate opposition; some groups thought that the community benefits agreements were inadequate. The City has since agreed to a non-binding memorandum of understanding that, "sets out more than 75 key objectives and principles as part of a broad plan to maximize opportunities for all residents of Chicago" (Chicago 2016 2009). The other opposition is more radical fundamentally questioning the growth machine and is of the opinion that there should be no Olympics; instead the money would be better spent on housing, schools, and the poor. While the opposition differs in composition they raise the same funda-

mental questions, "what role does local government play, and who benefits?" (Burbank, Andranovich and Heying 2001, 4).

Thus this thesis will conclude where it began. What is a city? Who is the city for?

These questions are up for continual public debate in local government. Professor Gerald Frug makes the point that there are many functions of a city, to shape community, to provide services, to provide an outlet for leisure (Frug 2009). The normative answers to these questions are derived from deep seated ideological preferences. The operational answers to these questions are instead based in the context, the result of compromise, consensus, and political realities. In this mold the Chicago bid is a demonstration of the growth machine at work, and this machine utilizes the mega-event strategy as a means of growth.

Into this milieu enter both the Games' proponents and opponents. Diametrically opposed one group's vision is of Chicago basking in Olympian glory and the other group's vision is for decent schools. One group's vision centers on the wealthy, at the very least those with disposable incomes, and the other group's vision centers on the marginalized, the poor. One group's vision of the city is as a place of "pleasure" and the other group's vision is of a place of "work and services".

The issue is not only one of opposing visions but also one of differing political influence, one group has the power to define and the other group only has the power to influence.

This thesis posits that cities have both identities—and the proper linkages must be established in order for each one to work. One such link is offered by transit oriented development. It works as a linkage component because it serves both visions equally. In the case at hand, proponents must improve transit infrastructure and amenities for the Olympic Games and part of this development could be used to create TOD offers a means to create affordable housing for the housing advocates (Olympic opponents). Thusly TOD provides a mechanism through which the power dynamic can be ameliorated around a specific point. The conclusions discuss methods of implementing and at-

taining these linkages.

Succinctly, the City (and the Olympic proponents) can mollify the current strife around the Games by providing real a plan for subsidized transit oriented development.

The most important part of creating the linkages is building coalitions with disparate actors—Olympic proponents must coalesce with Olympic opponents. Hosting the Olympic Games is a difficult even if all stakeholders are backing the project. A divided Chicago runs the risk of creating another Montreal—the calamitous Games of a charismatic mayor. Coalition building is difficult. Coalition building involves "talk"as defined by Benjamin Barber. In Barber's vision, "the heart of strong democracy is talk" (Barber 1984). This version of talk demands listening and speaking, is affective and cognitive, and is action-oriented (Barber 1984). Barber's talk works best in the context of a shared goal or vision. As of yet there is no shared vision, between Olympic proponents and opponents, there is nothing to rally around. Transit-oriented development can and should be the rallying point. Both sides of the argument can use the Games for their own ends, their own vision of the city. If established, this framework will allow a more inclusive and comprehensive approach to Olympic development.

The conclusions roughly fall in the realm of two continuums, either between their nature design and policy or between the questions of "how" and "what". A plot of the conclusions along the continuums is offered below, Figure 7.1. The conclusions can be thought of as a la carte ideas, to be used in part or in whole. The neighborhoods, the community development corporations, and the City can pick and choose any or all ideas to implement. The important thing for the future of the City and the Games is meaningful cooperation.

1) Development should follow a "call and response" model of technical knowledge, backed by

local knowledge.

a. Implementation: The finer details of implementation need to be carried out with technical expertise. However these plans should not be foisted on the population. Thus after a scheme is developed the public, specifically those in the proximate communities, should be given a strong voice around modification. A successful version of this method was done in Portland, Oregon. As described above, in the Portland model plans were developed and then taken to the neighborhoods for comment. This approach aims to be neither top down nor bottom-up. It is instead a hybrid which aims to rely on front-end technical knowledge and back-end local knowledge. Significantly in this model the last step before implementation is given to the people.

2) Development should be linked to long term plans as was the case in Barcelona. Neighborhoods, CDCs, institutions, renters, and owners must be involved in the long term process.

a. Implementation: The chances are good that Chicago's proponents are looking closely at Barcelona as a model to shape the bid around. The "Barcelona Model" is a renowned method of Olympic development. The model is based on city-wide infrastructural investment in addition to investment in Olympic facilities. But part of the success of the Barcelona's experience was, "that it existed before obtaining the nomination to stage the Olympics and continued afterwards" (Gold and Gold eds. 2007, 42). Thus as much as the Games can spur the City's overall plans, then the planning will be a success. However, there is not currently a comprehensive plan for the city. There are plans by sector. For instance there is one about affordable housing but none as extensive as Barcelona's. This fact aside, Chicago can still use the Olympics to spur city-wide development. This just needs to be some method of prioritizing tasks relative to a vision—both of which are political measures to be decided in democratic manner consistent with city ideals and processes. This thesis goal is not to prescribe how to prioritize components, but to insist that it should be done. Furthermore this thesis suggests that the city examine ways of spurring affordable South Side TOD. TOD is a long term solution that can be part of the short term Olympic vision.

3) Development should be thought of in terms of a corridor; no TOD zone functions

inde¬pendently.

a. Implementation: The corridor should run from the 35th Street Station to the Cottage Grove Station (35th-Cottage Grove corridor). Implementation should follow the example of the Rosslyn-Ballston (B-R) corridor in Arlington, VA. Their model used zoning along the corridor in order to establish a zone of bulk. This was in order to provide developers with the opportunity to develop densely near stations and provide, "a buffer between residential neighborhoods and the commercial spine of the...[rapid transit] corridors" (Schrag 2006, 226).

b. The B-R corridor is also anchored on both ends by nodes of high development. The stations at Rosslyn and Ballston are both truly transit villages, with residential, commercial, and office development. The 35th-Cottage Grove corridor displays similar characteristics. It is anchored on both ends by large institutions, the Illinois Institute of Technology north and the University of Chicago south, as discussed in Chapter 6. Additionally, "The stops between Rosslyn and Ballston—Court House, Clarendon, and Virginia Square—have not developed as intensely, nor were they intended to" (Schrag 2006, 228). A similar pattern exists on the South Side as different stations desire different levels of development. Chicago city planner Benet Haller agrees and thinks that urban development elements are not universal. For instance he does not think that ground floor retail works everywhere—one has to match it to demand.

c. One thing that can be implemented universally along the throughout the corridor are urban design guidelines. A unifying look to the corridor would reinforce the idea that there are more than distinct stations on a line, but a corridor-district?? The design might encompass similar street furniture, street trees, and signage.

d. One bold move which would define the corridor would be to set up Olympic athlete housing along the corridor. It is the idea of a linear Olympic Village. Each station would have a cluster of Olympic housing such that the Games' housing needs are covered collectively by all eight stops. The long run idea being that once the athletes leave the buildings housing will be converted into affordable mixed income housing. A similar plan now exists for the planned Olympic Village. However,

this is a fundamental departure from the current plan of placing all athletes at in one centralized Olympic Village on the site of Michael Reece Hospital. The benefit of centralization being the ability to foster a spatial sense of community amongst the athletes. The benefits of such cannot be replicated in a decentralized model but the benefit to the community outweighs any detractions. The TOD zones will receive a positive shock to their shelter supply, ideally this will spur more redevelopment in the form of housing, service, employment. Importantly this development is on transit making it that much more beneficial and valuable. The linear Olympic Village is one strong link to be made between the Olympic proponents and opponents.

4) Urban Design must be attentive to the realities of development in a gentrifying context. Affordable housing developer Benjamin van Horne's motto of "development without displacement" applies not only physical displacement but psychological displacement as well.

a. Implementation: "In capitalist system dedicated to matching supply and demand, an improvement to the physical city may displace many residents" (Schrag 2006, 219). Yet, from the gentrification literature it has become clear that the struggles over gentrification go beyond finite issues like displacement. Much of the struggles are over space and the use of space. The literature describes the "gentry" as having a "suburban" and demanding notion of public space. This notion limits socializing to the private confines of one's home as opposed to a front stoop or bus stop. While these concepts of space may change over time the immediate charge for design is to address this spatial confrontation in some manner. Richard Sennett writes of creating spaces for democracy, public spaces that foster the interchange of ideas and mingling of different people. The charge is to create a space in the spirit of Iris Young, "where people witness and appreciate diverse cultural expressions that they do not share and do not fully understand" (Young 1990, 241). Discussion of this project is much easier than implementation. At the very least, however, it would seem to begin with good public space, well located, well proportioned, the correct amenities. Its design seems like an ideal opportunity to take advantage of local knowledge.

5) Development policy must be changed in order to reflect the new development landscape.

7.2 - Non-Olympic Scenario

Effort should be made at the City-level to leverage the opportunity provided by the Olympics with urban redevelopment.

a. Implementation: Policy must meet the needs of the place. Therefore, the policy recommendations will be based on the final rank-order groupings of all eight stations. Each of the eight fell into one of three groupings, zones likely to development, zones of uncertainty, and zones unlikely to develop. Table 5.3 displays each category with its relevant policy recommendation.

TOD zones likely to redevelop These zones are likely to receive concentrated private investment. The research suggests that the only developmental danger is excess. Thus the only role for policy would be to check detrimental excess development. And under the guise of creating linkages between Olympic development and neighborhood development, policies in these areas must serve to protect vulnerable populations from displacement or manipulation.

TOD zones unlikely to redevelop These zones have a lot going against them. Operating under a moral framework might suggest immediate public investment in order to atone for decades of disinvestment. However, this is irrational under the growth model (unless there was some shift in the political power of these zones). Rationally, "the scarcity of development resources", would suggest that these resources go first to the low-hanging fruit and improve its condition(s) as opposed to the zone unlikely to redevelop. Taking this approach redevelopment policy plans for the dire areas to receive spillovers from better areas.

Lastly policy makers should analyze the most detrimental aspects of these zones. And base policy solutions around those points.

TOD zones of uncertainty Policy faces the most difficult challenges in this category—this zone is simultaneously on the cusp of redevelopment and continued underdevelopment. Policy and public investment do not want to invest too much as to avoid significant diminishing returns or displace private investment. Similarly investment may not occur without some regulatory spur or injection

of public funds. The public side must intervene in an, "attempt to mold those decisions which will determine the land-use outcomes" (Molotch 1976, 312). The question is how much?

b. If Chicago gets the Olympics then Chicago should get new redevelopment policy. Any zone affiliated with Olympic development should be part of a more aggressive inclusionary zoning ordinance. The percent of affordable development under the City's Affordable Requirements Ordinance should be increased from 10% to 15%. The Olympic premium associated with these developments will cover the extra 5%. Furthermore this revised ordinance must stipulate only 1/3 of the required affordable units are eligible to be credited for the City's affordable housing opportunity fund, such that the projects will physically contain 10% affordable housing, see Appendix 2. The Olympics present an important opportunity not just because of the influx of capital but also because the type of development likely to occur will include many of the services low-income communities often lack, such as grocery stores and banks.

The Olympics provide an amazing opportunity for Chicago. They present a time to attract capital and investment as well as a time to, "change...[the] city's image and perhaps even the city's physical structure" (Burbank, Andranovich and Heying 2001)(4). Thus the Olympics provide a platform through which one can implement a vision. Unabated this vision could potentially turn myopic, only reflecting and referencing the goals and aims of a growth machine carrying out the mega-event strategy. Opposition groups fear the scenario. They worry that the, "require[ments] to stage the Games [will] become so important that the interests of socially weaker groups...[will be] ignored" (Preuss 2004, 80). In order to avoid this scenario and build necessary consensus proponents and opponents alike can rally around affordable TOD. TOD is a means of providing linkages between Olympic development and the neighborhoods. The recommendations above offer some insight into how to undertake such an ambitious project.

We are leaving with a very strong impression that the bid is a strong one," said the evaluation

commission's chairwoman, Nawal el-Moutawakel, an Olympic gold medalist for Morocco. "But at the end, there is only one winner. (Macur 2009)

The chances are Chicago will not receive the Olympics. The odds of the Summer 2016 Games occurring in Chicago are only 1 out of 4. "In an index calculated by GamesBids.com, an influential, independent Web site based in Canada that looks at the business of the bidding process, about 3 points separate the frontrunner, Tokyo, from the last-place city, Chicago. Rio is second. Madrid is third" (Macur 2009). Things do not look promising for Chicago. The question for this thesis is what happens if Chicago does not get the Games? Does that mean no redevelopment, continued disinvestment, further spatial concentrations of poverty, and more missed opportunities for smart growth? Alternatively does this present an opportunity for land-banking by the wealthy and subsequent redevelopment with displacement, once the market turns around? Might the South Side experience a privatized version of urban renewal if the market completely bottoms out? The importance of affordable transit-oriented housing on the South Side goes beyond the Olympics for economic, environmental, and social reasons (for further detail see Chapter 1.1). Thus the fundamental project of furthering affordable TOD must go on regardless of the Games' status.

The difficult task is of course planning for transit-oriented development in a context absent of development. The South Side is faced with this exact scenario if the Olympics do not occur. There is no incentive for development—there is none for the developers and none for the City. Three salient pieces of evidence exist that virtually assure that, all else being equal, development will not occur on the South Side. Firstly, the mid 2000's real estate boom did very little to change the development realities on the South Side. As of this writing, Chicago like the rest of the world is in the midst of financial crisis; there is no development anywhere, much less in one of the poorest areas of the city. There are both macro and micro market disincentives to South Side redevelopment. En toto the hope of implementing TOD seems fruitless.

Note on South Loop (neighborhood) Condominiums

Finally, in the context of great affordable housing need on the South Side, its neighbor the South Loop has an enormous condominium glut. As of January 2009 43% of the South Loop's condo

stock was unsold (Gallun 2009). One of the easiest ways to unload the space is to "convert" condos into apartments. Apartments which will compete with any TOD placed further south—resulting in a disincentive to develop South Side TOD. While these units are not on the South Side they pose an interesting opportunity/problem. How does this extraneous space play into the immediate needs of low income families on the South Side and beyond? Absent any policy mandates the market will likely respond by simply "converting" condos into apartments or forming "broken condos" where a portion of a building is devoted to condos and a portion to apartments. In many cases this conversion will require little more than contract renegotiation in order to accomplish the following:

a. Desirable urban-life outcomes: Many of these condos are speculative or pied-a-terre; apartment conversions would bring more vested individuals to the neighborhood (Urban Land Institute 2008).

b. Conversion would make the same unit marginally more affordable with the elimination of condo fees and other service fees with a resultant depreciation in services.

Despite the woeful development prospects this thesis restates the need for affordable transit-oriented housing on the South Side. In fact the market's woeful state is all the more reason to have affordable TOD. In the face of massive disincentives, the planning challenge is how to incentivize development in one of the City's poorest area. One method of doing so is described in the following three steps:

Act – Use the focus on the South Side spurred by the Games in order to generate excitement about the area. An immediate public relations campaign needs to be launched around South Side opportunities for (transit oriented) development. Of course development should not equate to displacement.

Incentivize - The most important method of incentivizing South Side development is leveraging its positive elements. The South Side must harness its competitive advantage, proximity to the Loop, open parcels, an abundance of parks, historic architecture, and mass transit access. The area has

many positive characteristics; the conundrum is then, how to attract investment.

Generate Incentive - The most important incentive to the City and the development community at large is that TOD is a sustainable growth strategy, much more sustainable than a mega event growth strategy with a fixed end date. Sustainable strategies are especially appealing at this moment following a real estate boom and bust. Investing in TOD is spread out over a greater number of years, modest investment costs allow smaller players to get in on the action, and the physical legacy of TOD is responsible to urban environmental sensitivities. Furthermore, TOD works well with the growth machine strategy because it is more sustainable than a mega-event strategy. All in all it is a more sustainable growth strategy which works well at this vulnerable juncture in the market.

The above wide ranging strategy around incentives must be accompanied by more specific contextually-nuanced tactics. From the analysis this thesis proposes the following approach to affordable transit oriented (housing) development on the South Side:

TOD Prescription

Affordable TOD on the South Side should be developed in the form of a corridor, as discussed above. The two powerful institutions on the South Side should anchor both ends of the corridor, IIT north at 35th Street Station and the University of Chicago (the University) south at the Cottage Grove Station.

Developing along these lines would allow the institutions to engage in a new development paradigm; reversing the traditional town-gown relationship. One in which affordable TOD is at the center of the development strategy. This provides a means of growth for the universities which favors cooperation and not competition with neighbors. This important because towns and gowns are constantly in conflict over expansion, whether it is Allston and Harvard, Harlem and Columbia, or the University of Chicago and Washington Park, growth always generates controversy. Thus it is accord with the fundamentals of the growth machine that universities seek to strengthen their "mutual interdependence" with their neighbors. In the context of the South Side this equates to subsidizing

affordable development.

In absence of Olympic-related capital, development hinges upon these institutions. From the IIT example in Chapter 6.2, it is evident that institutional involvement greatly enhances positive development outcomes. They are key stakeholders in the South Side's development landscape. Under this structure working with the institutions takes on a similar dynamic to working with the City or the Olympic proponents. The necessities of meaningful political "talk" and a common rallying point again resurface . The rallying point is, of course, affordable TOD.

Benefits

Improved Community Relations – Both institutions continue to be depicted as antagonists on the South Side. In Boyd's work she paints IIT's relationship with elite's in Bronzeville as being self-serving to both parties without representing the poor and the "truly disadvantaged" (Boyd 2008). Despite this accusation, the community seems to prefer IIT relative to the University of Chicago. The University is portrayed as being even more antagonistic. And as recently as August of 2008, Alderman Pat Dowell expressed her disappointment with the fact that, "the [U]niversity [of Chicago] has left the community out of the loop about its plans [in the Washington Park neighborhood]" (Hawley 2008). The University was subject to additional backlash over its recent plans to redevelop Harper Court, which was built originally in response to University lead displacement on 55th Street in the 1960's. The community's distrust with the institutions goes back further decades and is steeped in Jim Crow era race relations (Boyd 2008 &Hirsch 1983). This new paradigm of development gives IIT a chance to further positive community engagement and continue its paradigm of "mutual interdependence". This new paradigm offers the University of Chicago a chance to freshly reengage the community. It is a chance for improved community relations all round.

Increased Engagement - The engagement should create a climate for increased neighborhood redevelopment, resulting in better neighborhoods raising the profile of institutions—the standard growth machine mantra. It will provide the institutions new real estate ventures and an opportunity

to house more operations on site, dorms, classrooms, etc. DePaul University has done this successfully at the Lawrence Station on the Red Line, see Figure 7.X. Again, the important caveat here is growth without displacing gentrification.

Community Benefits - If this mantra is followed there will be many community benefits the most tangible of which will be affordable housing. Affordable housing provision will be carried out by the institutions. Again in this context, "affordable housing" is housing that is affordable to 60-70% of AMI as defined in Chapter 1.2. The state will be contracted to provide subsidies to those at 59% and below. Those between 71-100% of AMI will be covered in the form of the City's Affordable Housing Opportunity Fund (part of the City's Affordable Requirement Ordinance, see Appendix 2). Anyone above 100% AMI will be considered market rate, which is admittedly limiting but ideally some people at the lower end of this demarcation can seek assistance through homebuyer programs with the universities (Abrams 2009).

Possible Scenario

All developers are suffering in current depressed market. As such one can reasonably assume that Preservation of Affordable Housing, Inc. (POAH), the developer for Grove Parc a South Side redevelopment, is not in the ideal position to begin work on the project. POAH assumed management responsibilities after a two and a half year struggle with HUD, who planned to demolish the project and relocate residents (Hurd 2009 & Ginsberg-Jaeckle 2008). Regardless of their financial position it is safe to assume that their position would be fiscally stronger if aided by a wealthy institution like the University of Chicago. The University may not be completely healthy but it was acquiring property as late as the middle of 2008 (Hawley 2008). Putting these two conditions together suggests that the University may be in a position to assist POAH with continuing development in tough times. This would do much to improve the image of the University, who allegedly had their sights on Grove Parc's prime location. The connections between HUD relocation and the University's interests appear to be based on hearsay and conjecture (Jerome 2007). The validity of these claims is inconsequential, either way it is another example of the University portrayed as the antagonist. This

bad press and ill will actually presents a wonderful opportunity for the University to make good. If it could somehow bridge the divide created after two and half years of animosity it would create a real breakthrough.

The University of Chicago has the investment capital and POAH has the community vision. The belittled University could potentially become a major player in developing an extremely progressive affordable housing project. Grove Parc will create a great deal of affordable units, 70% of the development is to be affordable to those at 60% of AMI according to POAH's Eden Hurd (Hurd 2009). It would benefit the University to back such an aggressive project. It has the resources to empower POAH in this bold endeavor.

Likewise POAH can empower the University. They have control over the entire XX acre Grove Parc site. POAH currently plans to devote some of the site to services. Part of the land use planning should involve assigning a land lease to the University with a proper deed restriction, in the hopes of attracting desired retail in line with Alderman Willie Cochrane's vision for the Cottage Grove TOD zone (Norington-Reaves 2009). This plan would allow a reasonable revenue stream for the University without the compromising the tenants' hard fought gains Grove Parc. In this scenario both POAH and the University can share a goal, avision. TOD is the means and ends to achieve the goal—a demonstration of "mutual interdependence".

The above is just one highly specific example of how large institutions and community-based organizations might work together. The cooperation can occur in myriad ways. Moreover, the finer details of the cooperation are beyond the scope of this thesis. Instead the point of this study is to illuminate the fact that future development on the South Side is dependent on the proactive cooperation between institutions and neighborhood organizations. The past decades of disinvestment, some of it generated by dominant institutions, is evidence that things will not evolve on the South Side if left solely to "the market". Instead people in the neighborhoods rich and poor, institutional and non-institutional must work together for community-sensitive redevelopment. The method of this new development paradigm revolves around linking disparate goals and visions thereby, enhanc-

ing "mutual interdependence". Transit oriented development provides this link. Thus the future of all South Side development lies in the future of affordable transit oriented (housing) development. Indeed the "L" is for living.

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Inclusionary Housing in Chicago:
the Affordable Requirements Ordinance (ARO)

City of Chicago
Department of Housing

The ARO was created in 2003 and revised in May, 2007, to create affordable units in private-market developments. Developments subject to ARO (see below) must set aside 10% of residential units as affordable housing OR donate $100,000 per required unit to the City's Affordable Housing Opportunity Fund. For projects receiving financial assistance from the City, 20% of the units must be affordable.

Projects are generally subject to the ARO if they include ten or more residential units AND:

- ☐ Receive a zoning change that:
  - permits a higher floor area ratio (FAR);
  - changes from a non-residential to a residential use;
  - permits residential uses on ground floor, where that use was not allowed;
- ☐ Include land purchased from the City (even if purchase was at the appraised value);
- ☐ Receive financial assistance from the City; **OR**
- ☐ Are part of a Planned Development (PD) in a downtown zoning district.

Generally, **Projects are exempt from the ordinance** if

- ☐ Land was purchased between May 13, 2005 and May 13, 2007; **OR**
- ☐ Zoning Changes or PDs filed with the Zoning Administrator before August 21, 2007.

For-sale housing must be **affordable** to households earning 100% of the area median income (AMI) as defined by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Using these income guidelines, the City's uses a formula, based on the market price, assessments, and projected property taxes specific to each development to determine the unit's maximum affordable price. Rental housing must be affordable to households earning 60% of the AMI.

HUD Median Income for Unit Type/Family Size *(as of 3/2008*

Number of Bedrooms	Assumed Family Size	60% of Median	80% of Median	100% of Median
Studio	1	$31,680	$42,200	$52,800
1	1.5	$33,930	$45,225	$56,550
2	3.0	$40,740	$54,250	$67,900
3	4.5	$47,040	$62,700	$78,400

Affordable units are typically placed in the **Chicago Community Land Trust** (CCLT), which ensures the unit's long-term affordability. The Department of Housing income-qualifies purchasers/renters, and may provide marketing assistance.

For more information – or a listing of all currently available affordable units – visit www.cityofchicago.org/Housing or contact Kara Breems (312.742.0837 or Kara.Breems@cityofchicago.org) at the Department of Housing.

Appendix 3

Rank-Order Variables	35th-Bronzeville-IIT	Indiana	43rd	47th	51st	Garfield (55th)	King Dr	Cottage Grove
Bike Parking	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
Proximity to Major Stakeholder	1	1	6	6	1	1	6	1
"L" passengers	1	7	6	3	5	2	8	4
Bus access as defined by the CTA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bus Passngers	3	7	8	6	5	4	2	1
residential sqft	8	4	1	3	6	7	5	2
Business & commercial sqft	6	1	3	2	7	8	5	4
Manufacturing sqft	4	1	4	4	4	3	2	4
Institute and pub facility sqft	1	3	6	4	2	5	8	7
Planned development acres	1	3	5	4	5	5	5	2
Vacant (acres)	8	1	4	6	3	7	2	5
Pct city owned (vacant)	8	6	3	2	4	1	7	5
(Low) Density (occupied du/acre)	1	4	5	6	3	2	7	8
Proximity to CBD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Proximity Public Housing (feet)	8	3	5	4	6	2	1	7
Proximity Park (feet)	6	2	3	7	5	4	8	1
Park Size	4	5	6	3	1	1	1	2
Proximity Lake	1	2	3	4	6	7	8	5
Proximity Highway	8	6	7	5	4	3	2	1
Median Income 1999 (tract level)	1	6	2	4	3	7	8	5
Median Housing Value avg of tract level	8	7	5	6	4	2	1	3
Education Level (tract level)	1	5	3	4	6	8	7	2
Pct Young Adults	8	4	2	6	1	7	5	3
Pct Minority Population	1	6	5	7	3	4	8	2
Proximity to Olympic Village (miles)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Proximity to Olympic Stadium (miles)	7	6	4	3	2	1	4	4
Proximity to Olympic Hockey Fields (miles)	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Bid-rent bonus								
Rank-Order Totals	107	103	110	114	102	108	128	104

Rank-Order Variables	35th-Bronzeville-IIT	Indiana	43rd	47th	51st	Garfield (55th)	King Dr	Cottage Grove
Bike Parking	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
Proximity to Major Stakeholder	1	1	6	6	1	1	6	1
"L" passengers	1	7	6	3	5	2	8	4
Bus access as defined by the CTA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bus Passngers	3	7	8	6	5	4	2	1
residential sqft	8	4	1	3	6	7	5	2
Business & commercial sqft	6	1	3	2	7	8	5	4
Manufacturing sqft	4	1	4	4	4	3	2	4
Institute and pub facility sqft	1	3	6	4	2	5	8	7
Planned development acres	1	3	5	4	5	5	5	2
Vacant (acres)	8	1	4	6	3	7	2	5
Pct city owned (vacant)	8	6	3	2	4	1	7	5
(Low) Density (occupied du/acre)	1	4	5	6	3	2	7	8
Proximity to CBD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Proximity Public Housing (feet)	8	3	5	4	6	2	1	7
Proximity Park (feet)	6	2	3	7	5	4	8	1
Park Size	4	5	6	3	1	1	1	2
Proximity Lake	1	2	3	4	6	7	8	5
Proximity Highway	8	6	7	5	4	3	2	1
Median Income 1999 (tract level)	1	6	2	4	3	7	8	5
Median Housing Value avg of tract level	8	7	5	6	4	2	1	3
Education Level (tract level)	1	5	3	4	6	8	7	2
Pct Young Adults	8	4	2	6	1	7	5	3
Pct Minority Population	1	6	5	7	3	4	8	2
Proximity to Olympic Village (miles)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Proximity to Olympic Stadium (miles)	7	6	4	3	2	1	4	4
Proximity to Olympic Hockey Fields (miles)	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Bid-rent bonus	3	3	3	3	1	2	3	3
Rank-Order Totals	110	106	113	117	103	110	131	107

	35th-Bronzeville-IIT	Indiana	43rd	47th	51st	Garfield (55th)	King Dr	Cottage Grove
Excluding bid rent bonus	107	103	110	114	102	108	128	104
Including bid rent bonus	110	106	113	117	103	110	131	107
Average	108.5	104.5	111.5	115.5	102.5	109.0	129.5	105.5