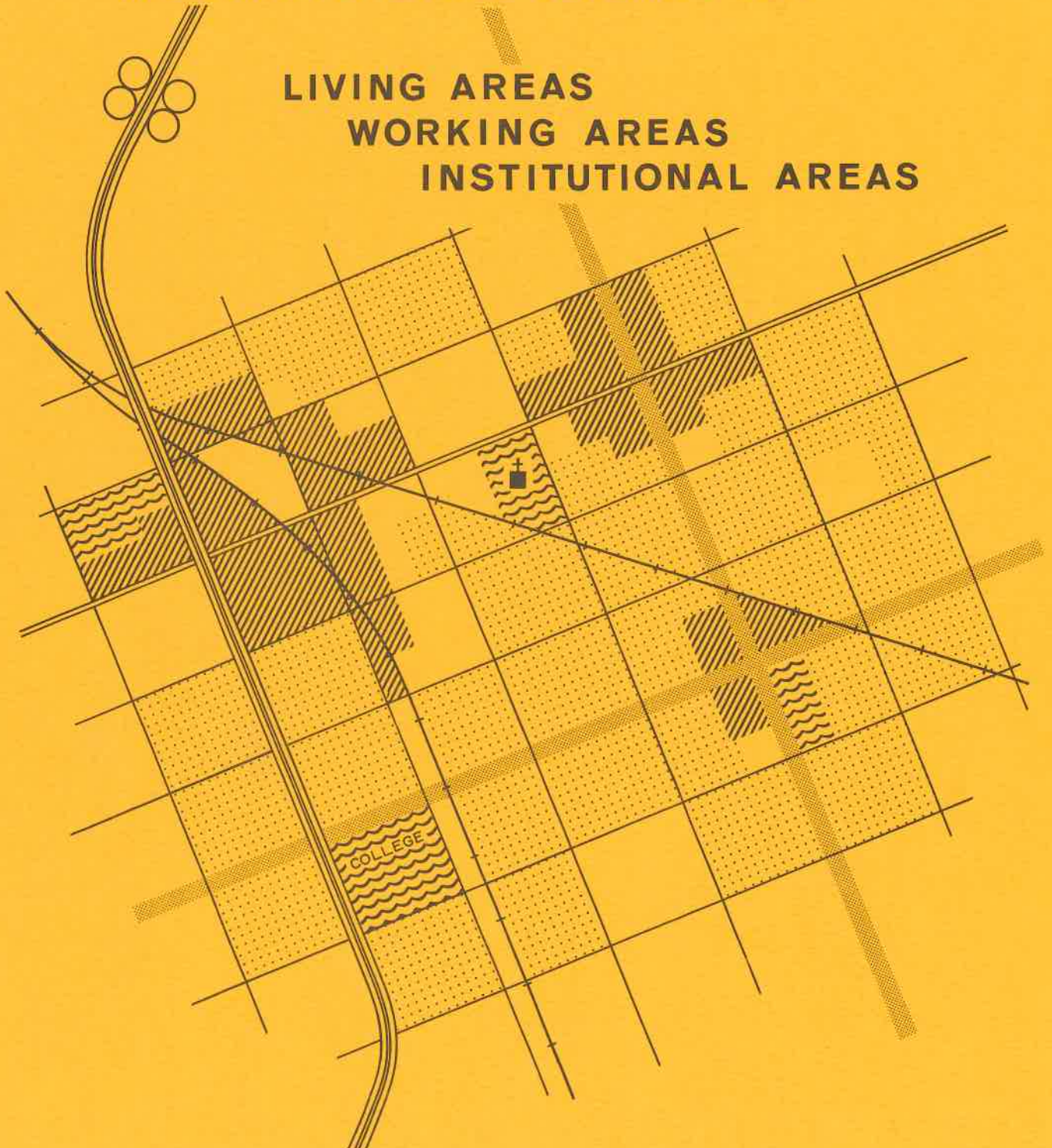


# LAND USE

PART I OF THE SOURCE BOOK ON  
THE COMPREHENSIVE GENERAL PLAN

LIVING AREAS  
WORKING AREAS  
INSTITUTIONAL AREAS



CITY OF EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

## LAND USE

### PART I OF THE SOURCE BOOK ON THE COMPREHENSIVE GENERAL PLAN EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

Prepared by the Evanston Plan Commission, its Task Force on the Comprehensive General Plan and the Planning Department. Adopted by the Plan Commission 1972.

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## INTRODUCTION

The original settlement of the Evanston locality was by the Potawatomi Indians whose village was located on the present site of Evanston Hospital. The 1833 Treaty of Chicago moved all the Indians in Illinois to areas west of the Mississippi River and settlers began moving into what was to be Evanston. By the middle of the 1800's, a few log cabins had been erected, but the real impetus to settlement came with the selection of this area as a site for a university to serve the Northwest Territory. The site was strategically chosen at the convergence of the "Ridge" with the lake shore. It was the nearest high ground to Chicago on the lake, an important factor in a region whose natural drainage was poor. The first village grew from land sold to help finance the new university. Later, its population grew as new residents came seeking the advantages of clean air, light, and ample spaces for themselves and their children. They wanted good schools, sound local government, a pleasant environment and a protective "distance" from their big, sprawling neighbor to the south.\*

These historical roots are apparent to one degree or another today. Northwestern University is still a major element in the community. Over one hundred years of striving for excellence has produced a community known for its fine schools and good government. Its location on the lake, its tree-lined streets, and its varied architecture, combined with individual, public and corporate efforts to enhance and to conserve these qualities, has given expression to the rather singular community that is Evanston.

Once a shoreline village with few links to Chicago before the advent of the commuter railroad, Evanston is now the sixth largest city in Illinois as well as an integral part of one of the world's largest metropolitan areas. In some measures, it is economically dependent upon Chicago and the rest of the metropolitan area, but it is a grudging relationship of a community that has always wished to exert an influence on its own destiny. Evanston has not been content to be manipulated by chance, geography and the market. It has been concerned about its direction and has tried to articulate its objectives as a community.

Many of its basic goals have remained the same as those documented in Evanston's first plan of 1917. However, the quiet village has grown and become more complex with new themes and issues emerging. Contemporary problems have required the formulation of new goals in addition to traditional ones in order to cope with changes in constructive ways. The university is no longer the dominant economic force. Evanston became a regional shopping center in the 1920's. In the 1950's it developed a substantial manufacturing base. With continued population growth, its other economic functions expanded and new ones multiplied; services of all kinds experienced remarkable growth. Its financial institutions and medical facilities became regional in their influence, and many enterprises selected Evanston for their national headquarters. As a major center of employment, Evanston generates jobs for some 34,000 workers. Its resident labor force numbers about 36,000.

Evanston is a fully developed community without reserves of vacant land for new development (Figure 1). Yet, because it has remained a desirable place in which to live, to be educated and to do business, the community has shown adaptability and vitality in spite of its age. It has continued to grow and engage in self-renewal. The theme of planning for reuse and renewal of selected pieces of our urban land, rather than designs for sweeping changes, must guide public and private planning in Evanston.

### Planning for the Developed City

American cities are the product of thousands of individual and group decisions which take place within a very loose framework of regulation. Our cities are not the product of conscious design which is prepared and administered by a single authority. A great deal is left to the discretion of the individual property owner, developer, and entrepreneur as to exactly what and when he will build. The use of land is controlled by zoning, but only in a general way.

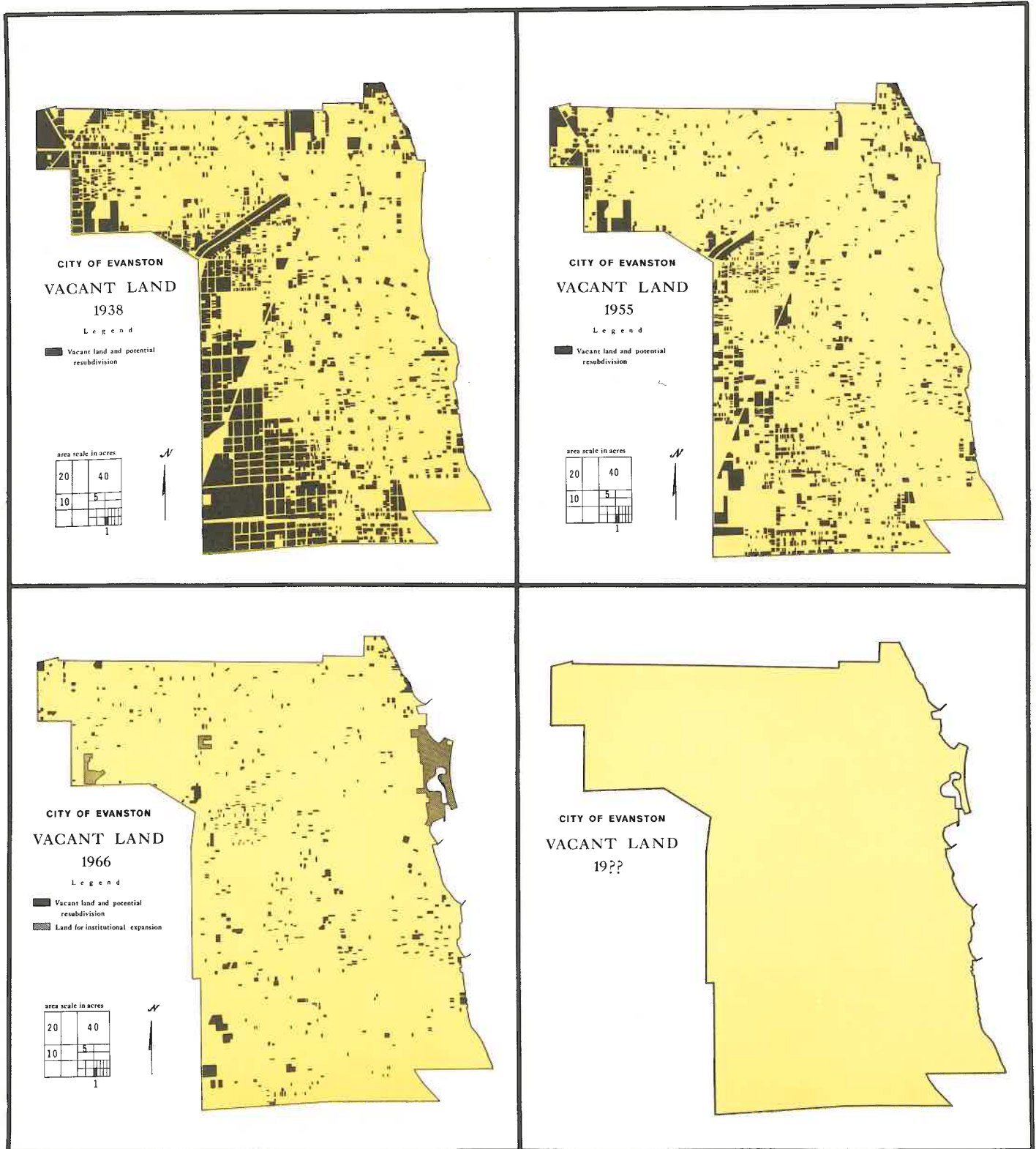
A city's power to determine land use is not absolute. The individual's right to the use of land is protected against arbitrary and capricious regulation by the Constitution and the courts. Even the responsibility for planning public facilities is widely split. At the regional level, the state or county highway departments are

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\*Plan for Evanston, Prepared by the Evanston Small Parks and Playgrounds Association, 1917.

# EVANSTON'S VANISHING VACANT LAND

FIG.1



responsible for major highways; the Metropolitan Sanitary District for sewage disposal; and transit authorities for mass transportation. Within municipalities themselves the power of decision-making on many issues which shape the physical and social structures of the community is the responsibility of independent, separate authorities including city government, school districts, park districts and township government. With such a dispersion of decision-making, planning in the sense of a master design is extremely difficult to carry out. Public planning offers some controls and has authority to carry out certain elements of design. It has been able to achieve a degree of coordination through persuasiveness in communication of sound ideas. A spirit of cooperation is essential to achieve any coordination in actions which lie outside the sphere of authority of city government. Individuals and single-purpose organizations are usually reluctant to inconvenience themselves by changing their plans and actions for the general public good.

This fragmented authority for planning and building cities and their various elements results in what some would call a total lack of planning. Actually, the situation might better be described as a lack of total planning. In a free and economically permissive society such as ours, we are not likely to soon establish any central authority which would have the power to plan everything.

The closest we come to completely planning communities is in the "new towns" which are designed by their developers. American cities range from the completely planned new towns to those that have had, either in their origin or from time to time, intensive planning efforts, to those that have been largely shaped by interplay of chance and market. Evanston would probably rank above the middle within this range because of its long-standing interest in determining its own future and because of its frequent re-examination of its position and course. Its major concern has been with land use controls as the first community in Illinois to adopt a zoning ordinance, it has had four major revisions to the code since initial adoption in 1921 and is constantly making amendments to make it more effective.

Now, after more than a century of growth and development, we have Evanston as it is: a fully developed community. For what, then, is there to plan? Planning for the development of the remaining vacant land would hardly be worth even the little effort required. A total community is already here, represented by an enormous investment in fixed assets of homes, apartments, institutions, streets, stores, water and sewer systems, parks and other physical features. Because of the considerable investment, these assets are not subject to rapid or easy change, resulting in a physical persistence of the past.

Yet, change is one of the constant qualities of cities; even fully developed cities still grow and change. If the city has any economic vitality, if it is an attractive place to live, or if it is simply in the path of metropolitan growth, then its land will be subject to pressure for more complete and more intensive development. Long neglected parcels of land will be utilized, lots larger than those required by zoning will be subdivided, and structurally or economically marginal buildings will be replaced by more intensive uses. Also, requests for rezoning of areas with good potential for redevelopment will be made.

Evanston finds itself subject to these pressures for changes and yet resists them. The interpretation of the amount of change and its effects depends upon the perspective with which it is viewed and the time period involved. If we examined a map of the changes in land use that have occurred over the past ten years, we would see a scattered pattern involving many small pieces of land. Viewed in the perspective of the total community, the visual impact would not appear very impressive. However, the actual accumulative physical effect of this scattered development is considerable. A number of public facilities have been added, enlarged or enhanced; over two thousand new housing units have been added; commercial developments have been modernized and expanded; industrial uses have grown. A significant feature of these developments is their highly scattered character which is a reflection of the fully developed nature of the city. The new development is piecemeal, but it has been taking place within a broader framework of existing land use controls.

Viewed from a neighborhood perspective, the impact of some of these changes has been remarkable. For example, certain blocks on Judson Avenue, Oakton Street and Washington Street have been completely redeveloped into apartments. Beginning in the 1960's, the city entered an era of development in which most new construction did not take place on vacant land, but converted already developed land to more intense uses. Greenhouses gave way to homes and schools, old homes in apartment zones were replaced by multi-story apartments or condominiums, obsolete commercial buildings were torn down and new office buildings and supermarkets with off-



street parking were built in their place. In a few cases, developed land was converted to open space where older residential structures were demolished to make room for school playgrounds or park expansions. Some new uses do not result in change, but merely intensify the existing use of land. For example, most areas designated on the plan as commercial, office or business are already in such use now. Construction in these areas is more likely to be in the form of a new, larger building rather than actually changing the land use.

Planning for Evanston in the future will be largely a process of renewing. The problems will be those of replacing, renewing and modernizing some of the existing physical resources, including housing, streets, lighting, sewers, commercial development, parks and schools.

Looking ahead to the 1970's, we would expect new construction and land use change to show an even smaller total area affected than during the 1960's. Although small in comparison to the whole city, the new developments can be dramatic. Some of the trends emerging in the latter part of the 1960's are expected to continue. Of special importance is the resurgence of the downtown. It has not only seen the completion of the parking garage and a twenty story office-bank building, but the initiation of other projects as well. The continuing construction program of Northwestern University as it builds new academic buildings on the lakefill and new student housing on cleared land is of considerable significance.

### **The Role of the Comprehensive General Plan**

Before proceeding further it is necessary to carefully define some terms and to establish a clearer understanding of what a Comprehensive General Plan is. There can be a great deal of difficulty in semantics over the title alone. "Comprehensive" has several implications: (1) it means that the plan covers the entire city; (2) all the major physical elements of the city are considered; and (3) Evanston's position within the metropolitan area is taken into consideration. Comprehensive is not used to imply all inclusive coverage of every aspect or problem of the city -- the emphasis is upon the physical elements as they influence the social aspects.

"General" is used in the sense that the plan should not involve questions of precise details, but should define the main outlines of desirable future developments by showing the general location, character and extent of the major physical elements of Evanston and the significant relationships between them.

The term "Plan" has widely ranging connotations. To many laymen it implies a precise blueprint as to how the city ought to look at some future date. The Comprehensive General Plan is not that kind of document; it is a schematic guide. It represents one of the middle steps in the planning process and should be distinguished from the more detailed studies of specific parts of the community and the final action programs or implementing documents designed to actually carry out specific recommendations. The Comprehensive General Plan, then, is more accurately described as a set of ideas about the future of the community drawn up for testing, evaluating, and pursuing. It is intended to serve as a guide combining sound decisions of the past with contemporary responses to current planning problems in order to assure consistent actions.

Once drawn the plan should move towards developing a general consensus through review by the Plan Commission and the City Council as well as through public hearings. When finally adopted by the City Council, the plan then becomes policy. It is important to distinguish between policy, which is what an adopted plan is, and a specific decision to act. Adoption of such general guidelines as contained in the Comprehensive General Plan does not guarantee implementation of any specific feature of the plan. Those features which involve a choice to change some of the city's physical elements must still be developed in greater detail and then survive the problems of costs, complications and controversy. It is only when money is allocated or ordinances are passed that the final commitment to a specific feature of the plan is made.

Figure 2 was prepared to illustrate the position of the Comprehensive General Plan in relation to the whole planning process -- from the initial formulation of objectives to the final physical change. The development of a Statement of Community Objectives is a first or concurrent step taken in conjunction with the preparation of a Comprehensive General Plan.\* The plan gives physical expression to the basic policies of the Statement of Community Objectives. These documents serve as a beginning point for much more advanced detailed studies

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\*A Statement of Community Objectives was first prepared for Evanston in 1956 by the Plan Commission. A second one was prepared in 1963 and adopted by the City Council.

A SUGGESTED OUTLINE FOR THE

PLANNING PROCESS

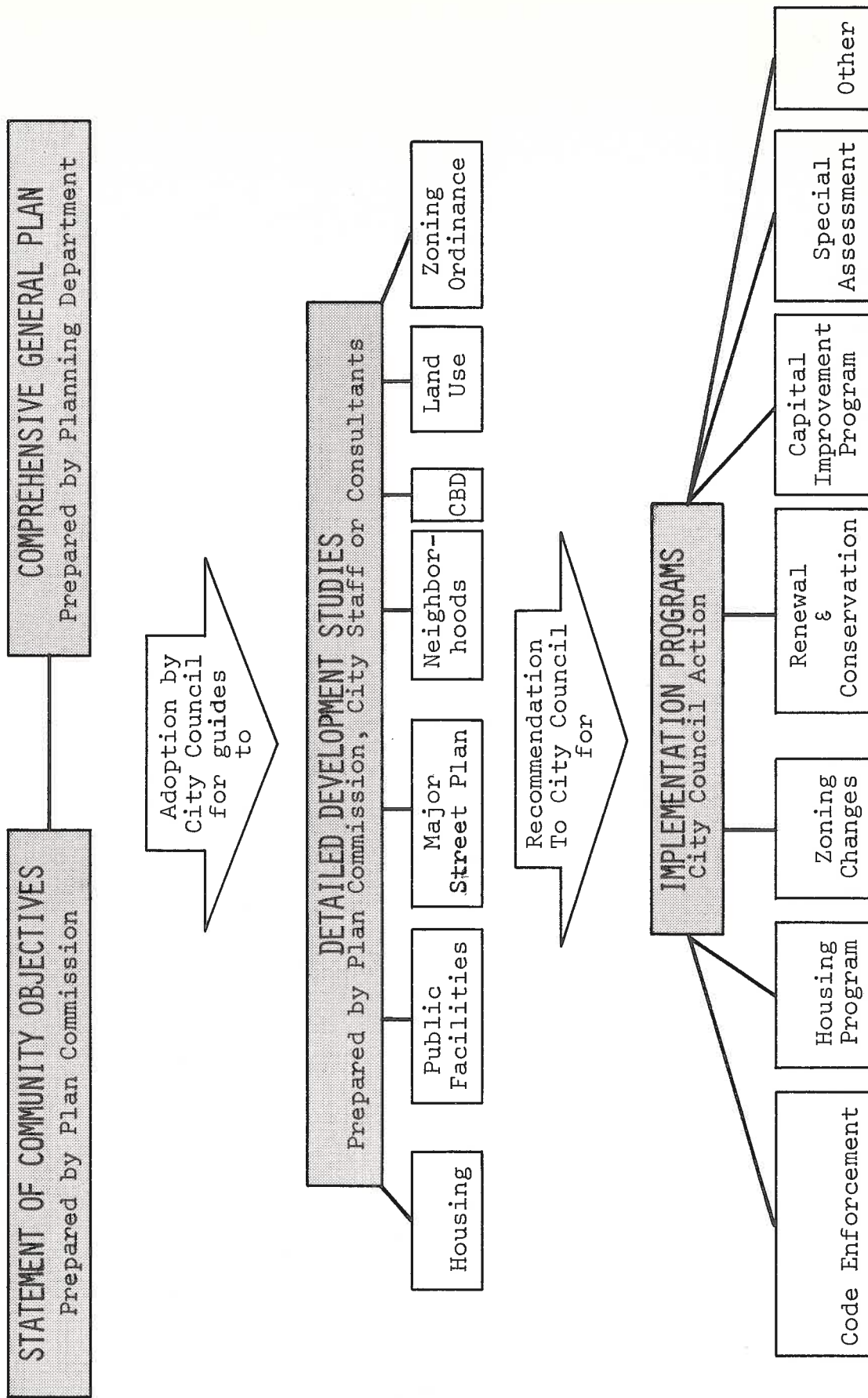


FIG.2

and recommendations on specific sections of the city or elements of the plan such as streets, parks, housing, neighborhoods and the central business district.

In addition to serving as a guide, the Comprehensive General Plan provides a composite picture of the present distribution of the major community elements. As such, it helps fulfill an important educational function by informing the decision-makers and the community of various aspects of physical development problems and opportunities as they relate to the social and economic issues involved. The Comprehensive General Plan Source Book has several parts: (1) a large plan map of the major physical features; (2) three separate volumes on Land Use, Transportation and Public Facilities; and (3) policy summaries from each of the volumes.

The subject matter of the three volumes mentioned above has been the traditional focus of planning. However, new areas of concern, such as the environment, and older ones long-neglected, such as housing, are calling for attention. Other changes include a gradual shifting of emphasis away from the notion that a city can be designed to fit a particular physical mold to an approach which gives more recognition of the importance of developing coordinating frameworks and policies for guiding planning decisions. There is more awareness that the essential part of planning is the process, not an end product.

Land use planning and regulation have long been the major thrust of planning efforts, and their primary purpose has been to preserve and protect property values. This goal has been well-served, but so narrow an objective leaves other urban problems unattended. In particular, more attention should be given to planning for population groups such as the young, the elderly, families, the poor and minorities. Throughout our concern with patterns of land use, the transportation system and the supporting public services, it should be remembered that it is for the people the city exists.

## Land Use

Evanston's land area of approximately eight square miles is divided among a variety of land uses which evolved over a long period of time and reflects the diversity of its people, housing and functions. The areas in which people live constitute the largest portion of the city's land, 40 per cent. These areas are divided among several classes of residential land depending upon density and type of housing (Table 1). These include areas primarily for single family homes developed at a low density; areas of mixed housing types for two and three families as well as single family homes; areas of medium density usually including three to five story apartment buildings; and high density apartment areas containing high-rise buildings.

In addition to several types of residential land use, Evanston also contains land used for a variety of non-residential purposes. These include business, commercial, manufacturing and institutional land uses (Table 1). Each of the various land use types will be covered under the broad divisions of living areas, working areas and institutional areas. Aspects of their character, trends and problems will be discussed with policies for their future outlined.

Transportation and public facilities, covered in separate reports, have their own distinctive patterns. The transportation system, which ties together all of the various land uses and makes the interchange between them possible, is a major user of land. Because its pattern is narrow rather than broad, the total amount of land area involved often goes unnoticed. Actually, railroad, street and alley rights-of-way account for 28 per cent of the total land area of Evanston. Various public facilities, including schools, parks, fire stations, libraries, parking facilities, and other public buildings, are significant elements in the land use scheme, comprising 11 per cent.

**TABLE 1  
LAND USE\***

	Acres (Approximate)	Per Cent of Total Land Area
<b>LIVING AREAS</b>		
Single Family	1500	30.0
Mixed Low Density	500	10.0
Medium Density	200	4.0
High Density	<u>50</u>	<u>1.0</u>
Total	2250	45.0
<b>WORKING AREAS</b>		
Commercial	100	2.0
Retail	100	2.0
Office	100	--
Manufacturing	<u>200</u>	<u>4.0</u>
Total	500	8.0
<b>INSTITUTIONAL AREAS</b>		
University and Colleges	250	5.0
Hospitals	25	0.5
Homes for the Elderly	50	1.0
Parochial and Private Schools	25	0.5
Churches	<u>50</u>	<u>1.0</u>
Total	400	8.0
<b>CIRCULATION</b>		
Streets and Alleys	1200	25.0
Railroads	<u>150</u>	<u>3.0</u>
Total	1350	28.0
<b>PUBLIC AREAS</b>		
Parks	300	6.0
Public Schools	150	3.0
Other Public and Semi-Public	<u>100</u>	<u>2.0</u>
Total	550	11.0
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<u>5050</u>	<u>100.0</u>

\*The area for each land use is only an approximation to help visualize the extent of comparison to one another. More precise measurement of each land use would result in some change in acreage, but the basic proportions would not be significantly altered.

## LIVING AREAS

The prime concern of any planning effort is the creation, preservation and enhancement of the residential environment for the people who live in the community and for its future generations. The amenities which make Evanston an attractive place to live require continued attention; they are not achieved and then fixed for all time. The physical qualities of the city are dynamic and changing. That which represented excellence in 1920 could well be a source of problems in 1970. Periodic reevaluation of the essential qualities of a city is required if it is to remain alive and vital. The term living areas is used to accent the human and dynamic character of a somewhat static physical pattern of land use.

The living areas of the city have been divided into four broad classes which correspond generally to the density and types of residential development found within them. These include single family, mixed low density, medium density and high density living areas. Each of these categories will be examined separately in this chapter.

The present pattern of land use has developed over a long period of time, perhaps as much as 30 per cent of it pre-dating the first zoning ordinance in 1921. From the 1920's on, the residential patterns and densities were influenced by a series of four zoning ordinances and by the housing needs of particular periods. Residential land use is now arranged in fairly distinct and well-established patterns. These patterns are expressed in a mixture of building types which show a response to several periods of urban style and changing technology. Born in the days of the horse and buggy, oil lamps and out-houses, Evanston has grown through periods which saw the introduction of gas lighting, electricity, sewer systems, commuter trains and the automobile. Many of the needs, conditions, styles, and desires under which much of Evanston's housing was built have changed, yet the residential structures of the past remain. More often they are remodeled or rehabilitated than replaced. Over the decades of Evanston's development, the city has acquired a sizable housing stock from several different periods. This housing stock, now consisting of approximately 28,000 units, represents an enormous investment of fixed assets. Add to this the supporting systems such as streets, lighting, sewers, water, electricity and gas, and the investment is even greater. The value of the total system gives it a strong degree of stability and a resistance to sweeping change.

What should be the chief concern in land use planning for the living areas with vacant land diminished and developed land more difficult to change? Under these circumstances, planning is less concerned with designating land use for future development. Its major emphasis is upon the formulation of policy and programs which will help keep the city viable in order to prevent stagnation and decline. Specifically, planning must attempt to preserve the high quality and attractiveness of most of Evanston's living areas, while, at the same time, upgrading those parts which fall into a state of decline. Plans and programs should be varied appropriately to the needs of particular neighborhoods. These may range from limited inspection programs to intensive ones or from provision of better public facilities to construction of replacement housing.

Although there will not be widespread changes in the basic residential land use patterns because of a great deal of inertia in existing development, there should be some alteration in detail. Land use policy issues should not be a matter of whether or not there should be change, but what the magnitude of change will be. Any new land use policies which are likely to result in actual physical changes are bound to be controversial because they will usually involve some clearance of existing structures, and the new use is likely to be more intensely developed. Density will be the key issue in any redevelopment proposals. Traditionally, the community has expressed strong opposition to increases in density. Such increases, it is feared, could destroy the amenities that now make Evanston an attractive place to live. Recognizing that these fears represent a legitimate concern, it is important to emphasize that any such changes should require careful examination, should satisfy other community objectives, and be held to an appropriate scale.

Evanston is a city that prides itself on the diversity of its citizens, which is reflected in the wide range of residences, economic levels, and life styles which exist within the living areas. This diversity should be preserved.

## Single Family Areas

### Description

One of the elements which does much to set the tone of any community is the character of its single-family homes. Evanston is fortunate to have substantial areas of high quality homes. A considerable range is found in price, size, style, age, and condition from luxurious to modest to a few in deplorable condition. The average value of homes tends to be in the upper-middle of the range of values in the Chicago area.

There are almost 13,000 single-family homes in Evanston, which represent close to one-half the total housing stock. In terms of land area, that zoned for single-family use is by far the largest single category, constituting 30 per cent of the total land of the city. The Comprehensive General Plan designates several extensive single family areas which are separately displayed in Figure 3. These include sizeable areas near all boundaries of the community, as well as a strip running through the center between Ridge and Asbury Avenues. Most of these areas are long-established single-family districts dating back to the original zoning ordinance in 1921. Others, such as parts of the southwest, have been added over the decades by subsequent revisions of the ordinance.

The single-family areas generally contain only a limited mixture of other types of land uses, most of which were introduced before the advent of zoning or were left as non-conforming uses following zoning changes. It should be understood that none of the areas designated for various types of land use is going to be a pure district containing only that particular use. Each area is characterized by a predominant use in most cases, and the policy implied by that designation is that only such use should be allowed in future development. It should also be noted that many single-family homes are found in other land use areas.

Current density standards permit a range of six to eight homes per acre. However, some areas that were developed very early run a little higher because a lower lot size was allowed for single-family homes. Also, a number of the properties along the lake and along Ridge Avenue are well below the average single-family density. No substantial changes are anticipated in the density of the single-family areas through the development of remaining vacant land.

### Trends

Over the decades, Evanston has continued to add to its stock of homes, but new construction during the present decade is down sharply because of the diminished number of vacant sites. Future gains will be small, coming from a gradual filling in of widely scattered vacant lots, occasional resubdivision of larger estate-like properties, and eventual replacement of the few remaining greenhouses. Even with these possibilities fulfilled, only a few hundred new homes could possibly be built, and it would take many years for the full potential to be reached. Very little change, therefore, is expected in the single family areas.

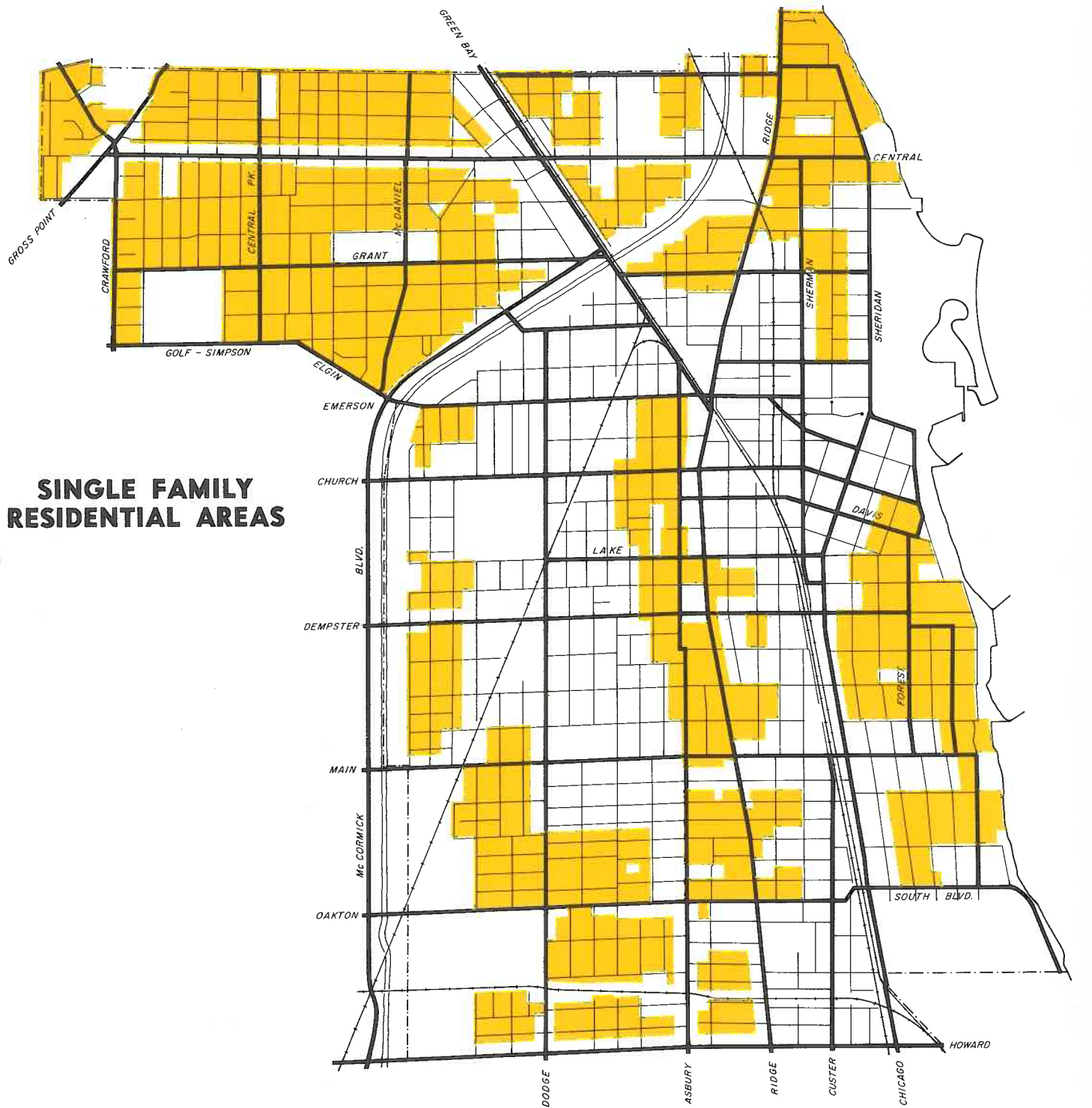
In the future, the actual number of single-family homes is expected to remain fairly stable, with a slight decline in their proportion relative to other types of housing units. In recent years, a number of homes located in apartment or commercial zones have been demolished to make way for new development, but it should be pointed out that these demolitions did not occur in the areas designated for single-family homes.

### Problems

Most of the single-family areas have few serious problems. While not all single-family homes are free of blight, most areas have very little blight and much of it is of a temporary nature. These areas have remained sound and so desirable that structures in a state of decline are usually rehabilitated voluntarily by new owners. The same is not always true of homes in other parts of the city.

With a sizable portion of the housing stock in older homes, blight could become more of a problem in future years unless high standards of maintenance are continued. These standards are contingent upon a number of factors including: keeping Evanston a desirable place in which to live; continued willingness and ability of home owners to follow high standards; and a continued effective zoning and housing code enforcement

FIG. 3



**SINGLE FAMILY  
RESIDENTIAL AREAS**



0 600 1200 2400  
SCALE IN FEET

program. In addition to code enforcement, there should be more emphasis placed upon developing programs which will assist home owners in rehabilitating their property, especially where serious economic handicaps would result from code enforcement.

One maintenance problem is very large, old homes. In the period immediately following World War II this was forecast to be Evanston's major problem. The problem did not materialize in any real way, largely because the birth rate ran high and cut across economic lines. As a consequence, fairly young families with adequate financial resources turned to such housing because of their large households. They needed the amount of floor space which was not being built and they wanted a home in an established community with fine schools. Many of these older homes were completely modernized with new wiring, new kitchens and baths, and extensive redecorating. Although occasional problem dwellings do exist, there appears to be no reason why most of the older housing, which was originally of such high quality, cannot be maintained for years to come. Fears concerning poor maintenance or conversion to rooming houses as part of some inexorable decline have been unfounded. In fact, the number of rooming units has been greatly reduced in the last decade.

In spite of remarkable stability in the areas designated for single-family homes, a healthy trend of high maintenance standards, and a large reduction in rooming units, fears run high at every zoning hearing that touches upon these areas. However, history, policy and actions show no indication of a trend towards a breaking up of the single-family areas, nor is any such action proposed here.

Since the first zoning ordinance was passed, the trend has been to add to rather than subtract land area from the single-family zones. In the next several years the land area devoted to single-family dwellings should remain relatively stable. There might be a few instances where some changes could be made, but these changes would deserve careful examination and should be made only for compelling reasons.

The final problem for policy consideration is a boundary question. Where single-family areas adjoin other land uses, there can be some spill-over of traffic, other nuisances or conflicts. Reduction or solution of these problems is usually a highly detailed matter which must be worked out on an individual basis. Such issues are better handled at a neighborhood level than in a general plan. We wish to point out, however, that such problems frequently occur and that we should remain sensitive to them and alert for possible solutions.

## **Mixed Low Density Areas**

### **Description**

As pointed out earlier, land uses can be grouped by areas of generally similar development, but none of these areas is completely homogeneous. It is the very mixture of residential structures that gives particular low density living areas their distinctive character. Not only are there many flats, duplexes, townhouses, and dwellings converted to multi-family uses, but single-family homes make up a substantial portion of the housing stock found within the mixed low density areas.

The reason for the mixture, in large part, is due to the historical changes made in various zoning ordinances as this land developed. Originally much of the land in this category was zoned for apartment development, then progressively altered to lower density residential categories which were designed to allow two-family and townhouse development. Previous general plans designated such areas, and the current zoning ordinance also follows these designations.

A good deal of the development which took place before zoning also helped set the tone for the land use regulations which were adopted. There were already many duplexes and conversions of single-family homes, as well as a great many small-lot single-family homes. As a result of the mixture of single-family units and small scale multi-family units, the density remains relatively low at 10 to 20 units per acre. While this density is greater than that for the single-family areas, it is still considerably less than the density of the apartment areas.



The mixed low density areas constitute the second largest land use group under the Comprehensive General Plan and amount to about 10 per cent of the total land area of the city (Table 2). Most of the land in this category is found in one long continuous belt stretching from Simpson Street on the north to Oakton Street on the south and encompassing several distinct neighborhoods. A number of smaller areas are located on the north-south axis following the Chicago and North Western Railroad alignment (Figure 4). In addition, there are over a dozen small, widely scattered clusters of this type found throughout the city.

Making meaningful generalizations about the qualitative character of these areas is difficult because of variations found from place to place within the city. Most of the black community resides within some sections of the mixed low density areas. The housing ranges from some of the oldest homes to new townhouses, from high quality units to those which could be called slum buildings. There are old and new duplexes, good and bad conversions of dwellings into multiple family use, and a large number of single family homes of varying quality.

Outlying sections of the city tend to have the newer townhouse duplex development, while the inner portions of the mixed low density areas contain some of the older neighborhoods, such as the Main Street area, the Foster-Maple area, the Black community around Foster Field and the high school, and the Polish community around Boltwood Park.

### Trends

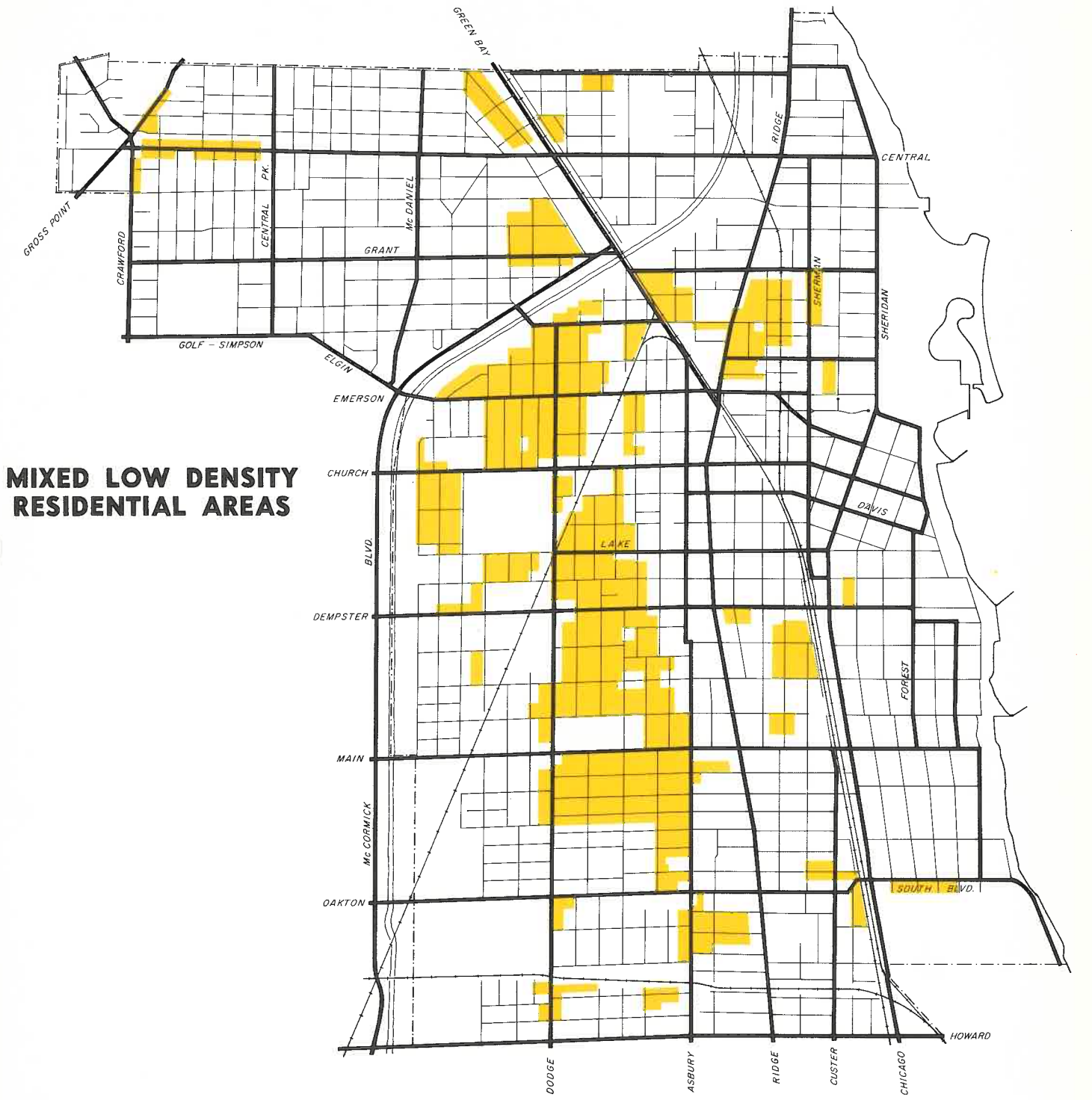
Development within the mixed low density residential areas continues to mirror its existing residential types, including townhouses, two-family, and single-family homes. The new development has been scattered throughout these areas wherever the last remnants of vacant land could be found. Usually, development is on individual vacant lots, but occasionally a larger tract composed of half blocks is developed. These tend to have townhouses while the individual lots usually have single-family or two-family homes. All lots that remain vacant are widely dispersed, many of them substandard in size by today's requirements.

**TABLE 2  
LAND AREA AND DENSITY CHARACTERISTICS  
OF THE LIVING AREAS**

Type of Residential Land Use	Approximate Per Cent of Total Land Area	Density/Range Units/Acre	Approximate Equivalent Zoning Categories
Single Family	30.0	5-10	R1-R2
Mixed Low Density	10.0	10-20	R3-R5
Medium Density	4.0	30-60	R5A-R6
High Density	1.0	100+	R7
<b>Total</b>	<b>45.0</b>		

Many of the older sections of the city were placed in two-family or general residence zoning districts with the thought that there would always be a market for buildings in which the owner might live plus a unit he could rent for income. Except for lower income groups and for a brief period immediately after World War II, the idea lost much of its earlier popularity. With the tremendous market for single-family homes generated after World War II, there was little demand for the two-family structures. Consequently, many communities have found themselves over-zoned for such use. Even within these areas, many single-family homes have been built, in spite of zoning which permitted higher density. A number of zoning changes were made in 1950's and 1960's to conform with these trends.

FIG. 4



**MIXED LOW DENSITY  
RESIDENTIAL AREAS**



0 600 1200 2400  
SCALE IN FEET

During the 1960's the pent-up demand for rental housing finally began to assert itself, but by that time there was little land left for new two-family homes and townhouses. While the small, scattered vacant lots which might be developed are not very great in number, there are more vacant lots within the mixed low density living areas than in other sections of the city. Some housing needs can be met by the continuing development of these lots.

Conversion remains one of the most common means of providing both income for the property owner of limited means and housing for those who have low incomes. Many low income families, and black families in particular, are forced to do exactly what a much broader segment of our population had to do a few decades ago. Because of a housing shortage and limited incomes, families are "doubling up." Homes ordinarily used by single families can be converted to two or three family use if there is sufficient lot area and the home is located in one of the zoning districts allowing such use.

The trend in Evanston has been to cut back the areas zoned for mixed low density development. Such reductions were made in the 1938 Comprehensive Plan and the subsequent 1940 zoning ordinance; in the 1959 General Guide Plan and the 1960 zoning ordinance; and in subsequent amendments to the zoning map.

### Problems

Just as the land use is mixed, so are the problems and qualities of these residential areas. Variations from neighborhood to neighborhood can be quite marked. Most of the new housing built in the smaller outlying areas is of good quality and presents few problems. The most common problem to some of these newer developments has been the lack of sufficient off-street parking, especially where the required spaces have been converted to yards. Other problems may include lack of public improvements such as lighting, paved streets or parks.

Most of the older neighborhoods have supplied a substantial source of low cost housing for many years and it is these areas that present the greatest problems. While many older neighborhoods are in excellent condition, others are in various states of blight and account for the major portion of substandard housing in Evanston. Blight results from several interrelated factors such as low income, the age of the structures, absentee ownership, long deferred maintenance, the tax structure and occasional overcrowding. A combination of scattered vacant lots, blighted areas with potential for redevelopment and higher density allowances have given these mixed low density areas some potential for development of new low to moderate income housing. Some of the areas which are blighted should be considered for redevelopment at a slightly higher density in order to make redevelopment more economically feasible.

Over a long period of time, it appears that a substantial number of dwellings will require replacement. Issues connected with redevelopment include: how relocation of residents will be handled, what kind of housing will be built, how will it be financed and where will it be built. Policies for residential reconstruction of this type will depend on a general community understanding of the problems and an established commitment to deal with them. Actual programs, plans, and even techniques of financing, difficult though they may be, are secondary. Redevelopment programs must be founded on trust, particularly where low income persons and blacks are involved. Programs to rebuild old neighborhoods should be directed towards creating new housing for those persons living in the area, not at clearance which merely displaces them.

## Medium Density Areas

### Description

The living areas of medium density have provided a sizable reservoir of moderate and higher income rental housing for many decades, serving those citizens for whom home ownership is either not preferred or not feasible. Development within these areas is characterized by apartment buildings and older homes. What distinguishes this area from others is its appeal to diverse age groups, including young adults, both single and married, adults with pre-school children, older adults without children and the elderly. Noticeably absent are larger families with school age children. These areas are characterized by a more rapid turnover of population than the areas of single-family homes.

The Comprehensive General Plan designates about four per cent of the total land area for medium density residential areas. Although they cover only a relatively small amount of land, these areas still manage to account for more housing units than any other of the residential areas. Their density range is from 20 to 40 housing units per acre. The Census reported in 1970 that over 12,000 housing units were found in medium density living areas of Evanston.

The medium density areas can be found in several sections of the city, but they are most heavily concentrated in the south and southeast. Here, there are many blocks of such development in compact areas. The overall locational pattern follows both sides of the north-south axis of the community formed by the CTA and the C&NW Railroad (Figure 5). Most of these areas lie within walking distance of a commuter stop of one of these transportation facilities. Aside from the large sections mentioned above, there are some linear strips along certain major streets including Howard Street, Sherman Avenue and Central Street.

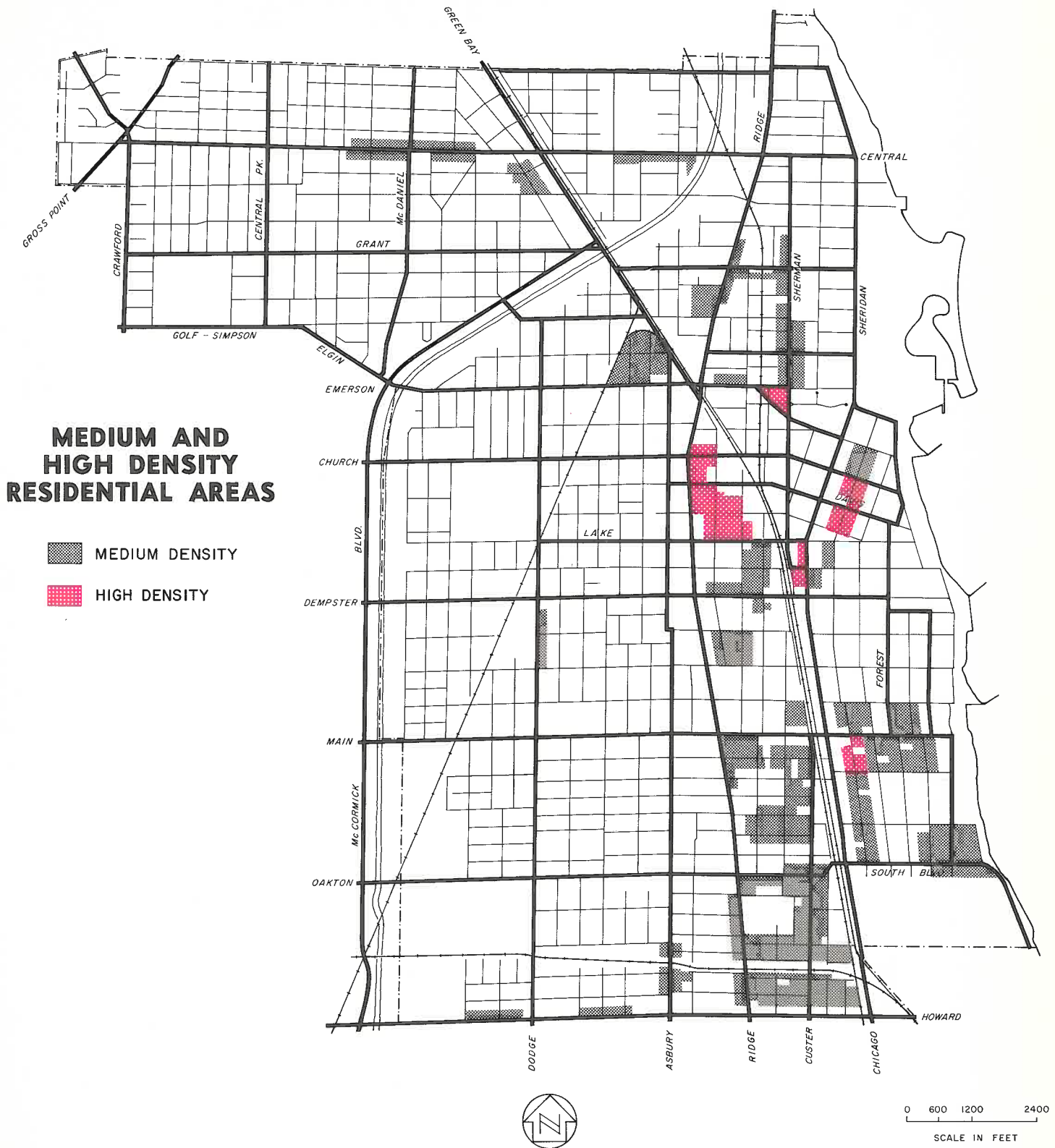
### Trends

In spite of reductions in land area where apartment construction is permitted, apartment units built since 1960 constitute over 80 per cent of all new residential construction. Because of the shortage of vacant sites there is little competition from other types of residential construction. High land costs involved with clearance makes low density housing economically unwise on such sites.

Most of the construction of new residential units is likely to take place within medium density areas because these areas contain the largest potential for redevelopment under present land use policies. Most development here will require some clearance, thus following the pattern of redevelopment started in the 1960's. Although apartment construction far outdistanced home construction in the 1960's, the pace cannot continue indefinitely and has already shown a marked decline in the last part of this decade. Just as single-family home construction dropped as vacant sites become scarce, so apartment development has slowed as potential redevelopment sites have been utilized. If all underdeveloped sites were actually developed, about 3,000 more units might be added to the housing stock. At the average rate of apartment development, this would take about 15 years. However, remaining potential will be developed at a much slower rate and may never be fully realized. The best sites have already been used; many of those remaining are smaller and have less economic appeal.

At one time, the apartment areas had a greater mixture of residential uses within them. However, vacant land for apartment development was exhausted by 1960, and the housing demand continued to rise until it became economically feasible to acquire developed land and clear it for new apartments. Many homes located in apartment zones have been sold for building sites. The dramatic effect of seeing these homes demolished and replaced by apartment buildings has caused many to believe that there have been recent changes in land use policy which encouraged widespread reconstruction of single family areas into apartment

FIG. 5



areas. Actually, the reverse is true. There have been progressive reductions in the amount of land available for apartments with each major revision of the zoning ordinance. What has been taking place in recent development has been possible under zoning for decades. It is only in recent years that land economics has made the demolition of structures on underdeveloped land an economically feasible option.

The new buildings are mostly of high quality and command high rents. They have been developed under better zoning standards with less density permitted and greater side yards and setbacks required. Small lot development has been discouraged. Many new apartments are five-story elevator buildings with parking at the first level. Condominiums are also showing widespread popularity over the traditional rental units.

### Problems

Some of the problems found in the areas of medium density are related to the period in which the areas developed; others were created by the distribution and arrangement of the patterns of such development. Physical congestion, parking problems, traffic and air pollution result from large concentrations of medium density housing, while smaller clusters or linear strips of apartment development along major streets produce fewer harmful effects. A 40 to 60 year age gap exists between the older and newer apartments, with very few structures built in the intervening period. The older structures were typical three story walk-up apartments, occasionally built around an open court. Those built before zoning often lacked any setbacks and had almost no side yards. As zoning ordinances came into being and were progressively revised, setbacks and side yards became required and less density was permitted; however, adequate off-street parking was not required until 1952. Because most apartments were built before 1930, parking congestion has become a characteristic of these areas. It is not uncommon to find several old apartments in a block without a single off-street space. Even with their off-street parking spaces, new buildings can compound existing problems.

Early in its history Evanston was over-zoned for apartments. Had development taken place in exact accordance with this zoning we might have a city approaching a quarter of a million persons. Now, after several decades of policy directed at reducing the amount of land on which medium density residential development could take place, most of the reasonable opportunities for such rezoning have been realized.

This has taken place because the community recognized the need to take some measures to control its growth rather than be overwhelmed by it. The problems of additional congestion which can be created by higher density land uses are well recognized.

In some cases encouraging limited amounts of new development at higher than existing densities can achieve other equally important community objectives, such as replacing bad housing with housing for the elderly, or new housing for low and moderate income families. However, any extension of the medium density areas should be made only after careful examination of impact and held to a limited scale. Recent reductions in permitted density and possible further selective reductions should outweigh limited increases that might be justified to achieve some of the objectives mentioned above. The combined effect of such actions could hold net increases in density down. Such actions fall within the concept of controlled growth, which takes into account the whole community rather than focusing upon the impact of individual development projects.

### High Density Areas

#### Description

The highest density permitted under Evanston's present land use regulations allows approximately 100 housing units per acre. Such densities are permitted in certain classes of residential, business and university districts. Most of the high density residential development is on the periphery of the central business area. One exception is a small cluster of high-rise apartments (85 foot heights) located near the Main Street business area in southeast Evanston (Figure 5).

The land area on which highest residential densities are permitted constitutes one per cent of the total land area of the city. In the business portions of the zones where such development is possible, very little land is actually used for residential purposes. Housing units found in the high rise structures which are normally built within this type of area constitute less than two per cent of the total housing stock. They supply a special form of housing close to Evanston's downtown, appealing to older persons who no longer wish to maintain a home and to younger people who have not yet begun to raise a family. This type of housing broadens the range of choice available, but usually at the upper end of the income scale.

### Trends

During the 1960's, some 430 housing units were constructed in nine high-rise buildings in and around the central area of the city. All of these were built on cleared sites which were usually occupied by old homes. This surge increased the total number of housing units in the high density areas by 1/3 and nearly exhausted the supply of potential land for such buildings.

Although most of this potential has been used, there is continued interest in potential being created for more high-rise development. This interest has come from three sources: (1) the growing market for luxury high-rise apartment buildings along the north shore, (2) growing recognition of the need to develop housing for low income and elderly persons, and (3) institutions with large resident populations faced with serious land shortage and land cost problems. Projects for housing graduate students, for housing elderly persons and for luxury high-rise apartments near the lakefront are examples of the type of proposals advanced. They are good representatives of the population groups for which the high rise buildings is best suited. The key characteristic is very small households, usually composed of single persons or couples.

Those constructing high rise buildings in high density areas for the private market are catering to the older, long-term Evanston resident who no longer cares to maintain a home, but who would like to remain in Evanston. It is argued that buildings constructed for this market are of high quality and are community assets. They make a substantial contribution in taxes without adding to school costs. Built in the right location, they supply customers for the downtown shopping area. Those built for the institutional market are built so as to conserve on land costs in order that rentals can be lower. They cannot claim the same contribution to the tax base; however, they do not contribute to school costs, and the taxes of the new use can exceed those of the old. In some cases they can also serve a community need or result in redevelopment of blighted areas. It might also be argued that it would be better to concentrate such development on smaller sites, thus conserving taxable land.

### Problems

Any extension of areas in which high-density, high-rise residential structures are permitted creates a community controversy. Automatically associated with such extension is concern over the impact from increased density, such as traffic congestion, additional loads on public services and substantially increased school enrollment. A few large developments could bring the city closer to its capacity. Beyond the immediate concern over individual projects, there is a fear that granting any zoning changes will lead to a weakening of the community which will resist further zoning changes to higher densities. Coupled with this is the fear that the city could have undesirable zoning decisions forced upon it by the courts. The lakefront residential areas feel most threatened by this potential and look with concern at the history of lakefront development both to the north and to the south of Evanston.

The actual impact of high density residential development upon public services and the adjacent neighborhood is closely related to the type of population group for which the development is planned. For luxury high-rise apartments, housing for the elderly or for students, the impact on schools is negligible. Units for large families at this high a density should be avoided because of the impact on schools and the undesirable living conditions which sometimes result from crowding families together. Since minor additions to the supply of high density

housing can have profound effects on a particular locality, strong control of standards and location must be exercised. Such an approach should help to alleviate fears of home owners concerning the security of their zoning and discourage those who would speculate on drastic land use policy changes.

## **Conclusion**

Residential land use policies should continue to emphasize reducing density where it is reasonable and possible to do so. This does not mean that an inflexible stand should be taken which would only allow decreases in land use capacities; such a policy might well place the community in a disadvantageous position in achieving other desirable goals. The city should make occasional upward revisions to meet selective goals of renewing the housing stock, creating additional housing for low and moderate income families or housing for the elderly. The net results of actions to reduce the potential density of the city weighed against some limited increases should produce a more balanced view of city growth.

The question of what is a reasonable maximum size in terms of Evanston's population and housing is a serious one. The additional service problems, growing traffic aggravations, and the developing sense of congestion which begins to come to a fully developed community are powerful reasons to resist continued growth. We should remain open to future options on rebuilding which may require adjustments in zoning. These should continue to be carried out within the context of the well-established policies which have given a high degree of integrity to our land use controls.

Future changes in Evanston's land use patterns and policies are going to be in the nature of adjustment rather than extensive revision. Areas coming under consideration for change are going to be small and probably will be introduced on an individual basis. This can lead to an impression of piecemeal planning; however, all such changes in the past have received deliberate consideration by such bodies as the Plan Commission, the Zoning Amendment Committee, the Zoning Board of Appeals, and the City Council. In their deliberations these groups have always considered the broader implications of any proposed changes. What has been lacking is a document which makes it easier to place projects in a comprehensive context. The Comprehensive General Plan should facilitate such considerations by graphically portraying the relationships between the basic patterns of development and by providing a policy guide for their future.



## HOUSING

Shelter, one of the most vital of human needs, is usually taken for granted in an affluent society such as ours, yet it is a major concern for everyone. For most, this community is a pleasant, rewarding place to live, free of all but the normal problems of owners and tenants. Although most Evanston residents escape the more serious housing problems, not all do. For families and individuals there is an interwoven series of questions which require attention when evaluating housing in the community. Is the housing suited to their needs or is it inadequate; is it pleasant or depressing; is its cost within their means or is it an excessive financial burden; is what they want available or do they have to settle for something less satisfactory; is it safe and sanitary or dilapidated and infested? The answers usually depend upon the family's financial resources, sometimes their ages, their size and composition and, too often, their color.

For the city, too, housing with all of its ramifications is one of its most central concerns. Most of the character and vitality of a community is conveyed through the visual images formed by its housing. They reflect the city's fortunes and problems. These general impressions granted from observation give at least tentative answers to many questions which might be asked about the well-being of the city. Is it attractive and well kept or a monotone of shabby mediocrity? Is it new or aging and, if aging, is it doing so with pride or neglect; is it merely sliding? Is there a range of housing available to meet the varying needs or is it geared entirely to the statistically average family?

There are a number of city actions and policies which should be considered to help keep the housing stock healthy: what should be done to insure that a high level of maintenance is sustained, to see that Evanston residents don't have to live in substandard housing, and to continually replace that small part of the housing stock which declines to a point where rehabilitation is not feasible? What kinds of housing should be built with our limited land resources in the future, for what economic or age groups, and in what proportions are also questions which must be considered.

### Description of the Housing Stock

Evanston has a remarkable diversity of housing, with respect to both type and cost. There are many attractive neighborhoods which are well served by public facilities. Considering the age of the housing stock, there is a very high percentage of standard housing units. The existing housing stock will be examined in terms of composition, condition, growth, vacancy rates, turnover, densities, overcrowding and other influential variables.

### Composition

Single-family detached houses comprise 33 per cent of the total number of housing units, while buildings with five or more units contain 50 per cent of the total (Figure 6) (Table 3). The remaining 17 per cent are row houses (6 per cent) and two family units (11 per cent). Between 1960 and 1970 there were about 3,061 new housing units built within the city. Of that total 2,365 were apartment units and 289 were single-family houses.

Substantial housing capacity is also provided by many of the institutions such as colleges, homes for the elderly, convents, etc., as well as by rooming houses. These are classified as group quarters as distinguished from individual or family units. They cannot be directly compared to the rest of the housing stock since their capacity is measured by their resident population, not by the number of housing units. About 9 per cent of Evanston's population is housed in various types of group quarters.

FIG.6

COMPOSITION OF HOUSING STOCK

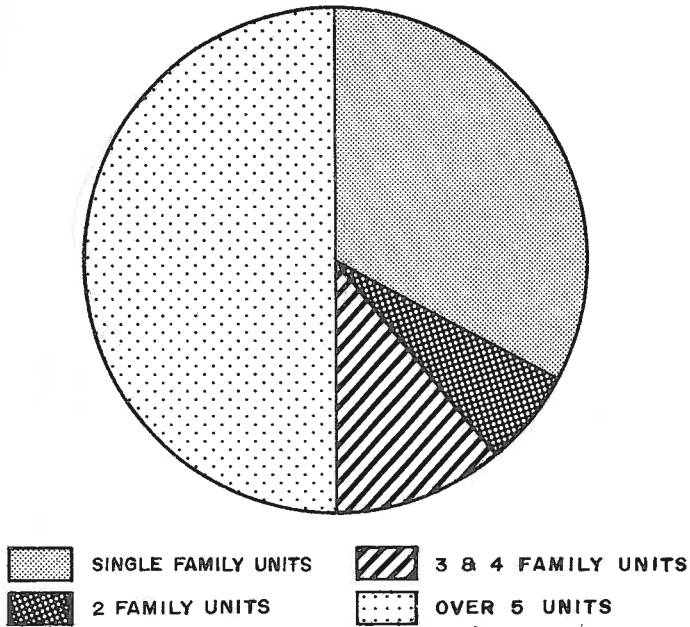


FIG.7

CUMULATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF PERCENTAGE OF HOUSING UNITS IN 1969 BY PERIOD OF CONSTRUCTION

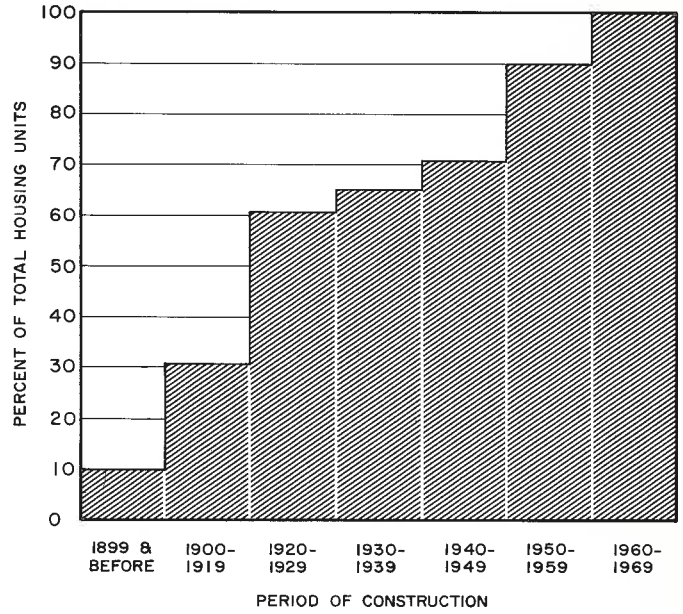
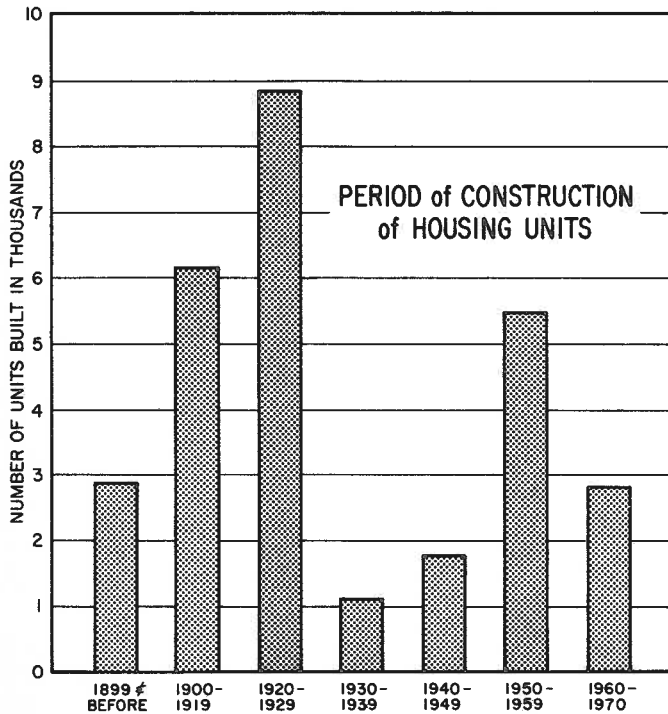


FIG.8



NOTE THE LARGE NUMBER OF HOUSING UNITS OVER 50 YEARS OLD AND THE HIGH PROPORTION OF UNITS IN BUILDINGS CONTAINING OVER FIVE UNITS

**TABLE 3**  
**NUMBER OF HOUSING UNITS BY TYPE: 1950-1970**

	1950		1960		1970	
	Units	%	Units	%	Units	%
Single Family Detached	7,733	36.9	9,524	35.2	9,540	32.9
Row House	362	1.7	1,516	5.6	1,750	6.0
Two Family	2,904	13.9	3,099	11.5	3,120	10.8
Three to Four Units	1,797	8.6	1,972	7.3	14,590	50.3 ✓
Five or More Units	8,147	38.9	10,934	40.4		
Total Housing Units	20,943		27,050		29,000	

Sources: 1950 and 1960 U.S. Census  
1970 Evanston Planning Department (estimated)

#### Age

Evanston is over 100 years old. A good deal of its charm and a number of its problems are directly related to this fact. Its fully matured tree cover and its many stately old homes are cherished resources of Evanston's heritage. However, an aging housing stock will begin to show signs of decline if it is in any way neglected.

Evanston's housing stock has developed irregularly over a very long stretch of time (Figure 8). About 10 per cent of the present housing was built before the turn of the century (Figure 7). Most of the oldest housing is concentrated along a corridor on either side of Ridge Avenue and Green Bay Road (Figure 9). Another 20 per cent, built between 1900 and 1919, is at least 50 years old. The pattern of development for this period was similar to that of the earlier one, except that it spread out over a wider area from the central spine formed by the railroad, Ridge Avenue and Green Bay Road (Figure 10). More housing units were constructed between 1920 and 1929 than in any other ten year period. This was a boom decade of optimism and unparalleled growth during which almost 30 per cent of the present housing stock was constructed. This growth took place through most of the city except in the extreme western portions (Figure 11).

It would be incorrect, however, to over-emphasize Evanston's age because it is also a new city; about 40 per cent of its housing units have been built since 1939 and nearly all of this was constructed after 1954. The newest housing is found along the western boundary of the city and in older interior areas which have been redeveloped (Figures 13, 14, and 15).

With approximately 30 per cent of the housing now over 50 years old, there are some strong implications for future programs. Programs must be designed to help keep old housing from becoming a liability. More attention will have to be given to means of financing the rehabilitation and replacement of a substantial portion of this housing stock as it continues to age. Apartment structures, which present more difficult rehabilitation and replacement challenges, form a large portion of the aging housing.

#### Condition

Blight and neglect can always be found in older cities. It is not so much the presence of blight that seems to be crucial, but its extent and what, if anything, is being done about it. In some cases, blight is a temporary condition. Many structures are eventually fully rehabilitated with extensive remodeling, others are replaced by new uses as a result of the housing market forces or are demolished for some new public use. Too often

FIG.9

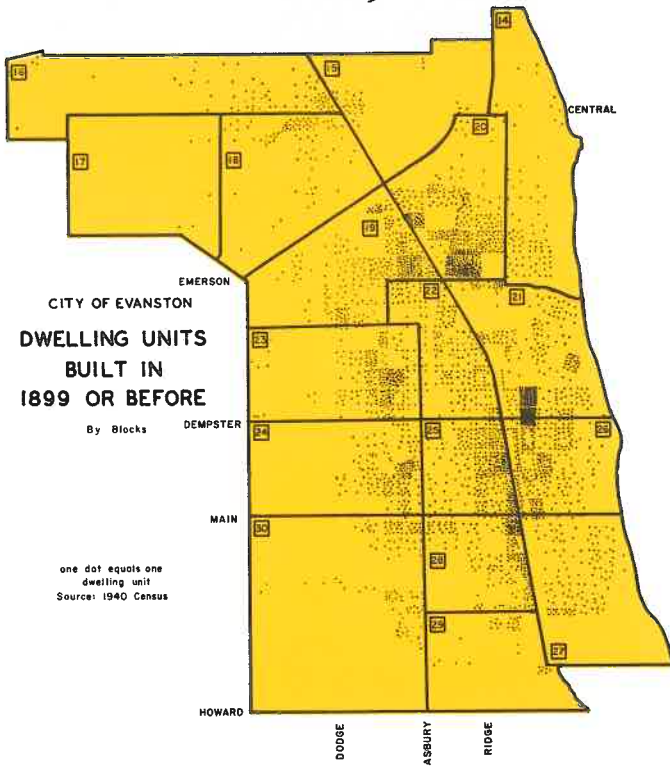
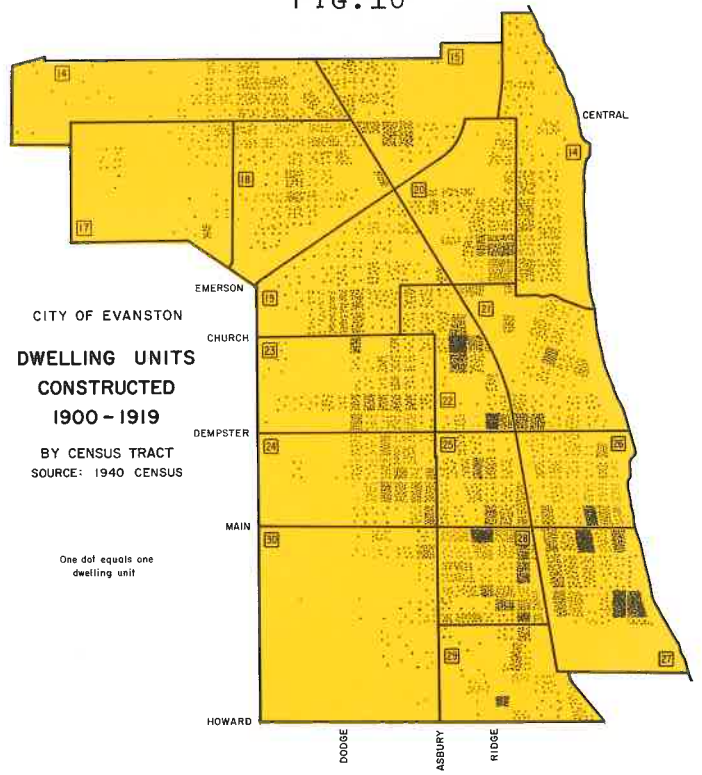


FIG.10



**DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSING OVER 50 YEARS OLD**

FIG.11

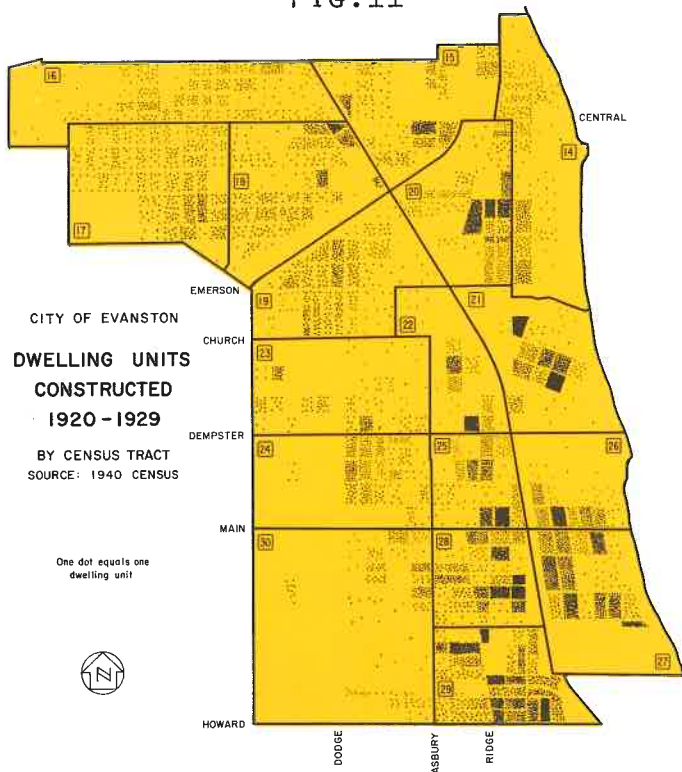
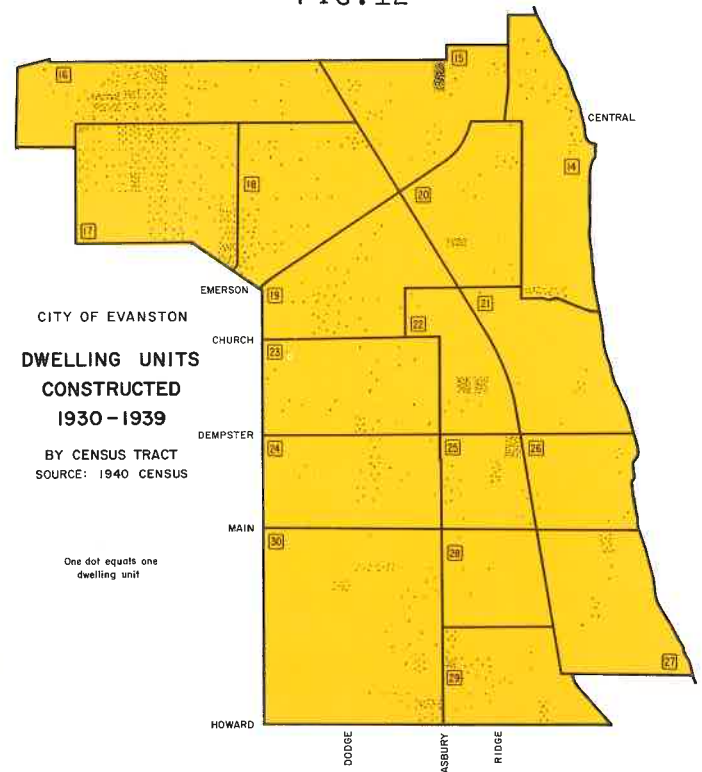


FIG.12



**DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSING 30 TO 50 YEARS OLD**

FIG.13

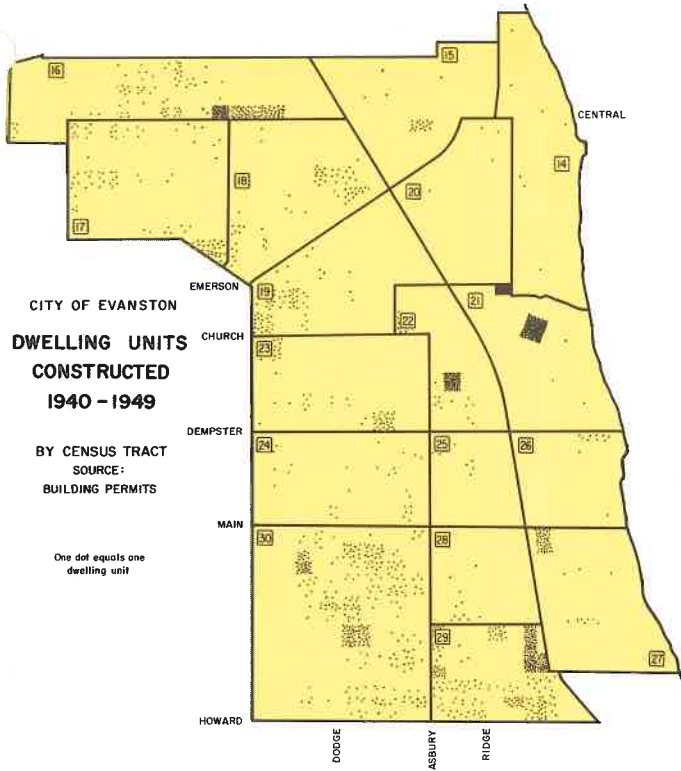


FIG.14

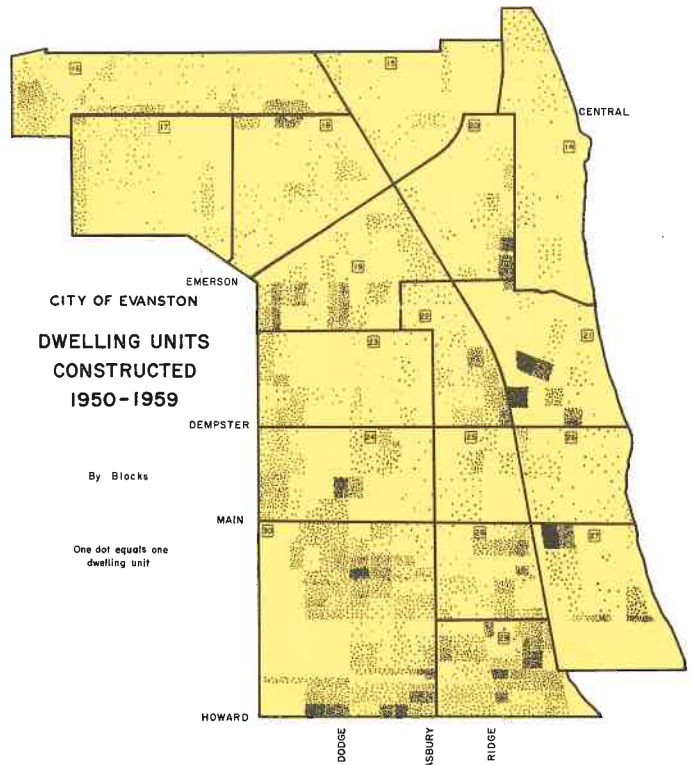


FIG.15

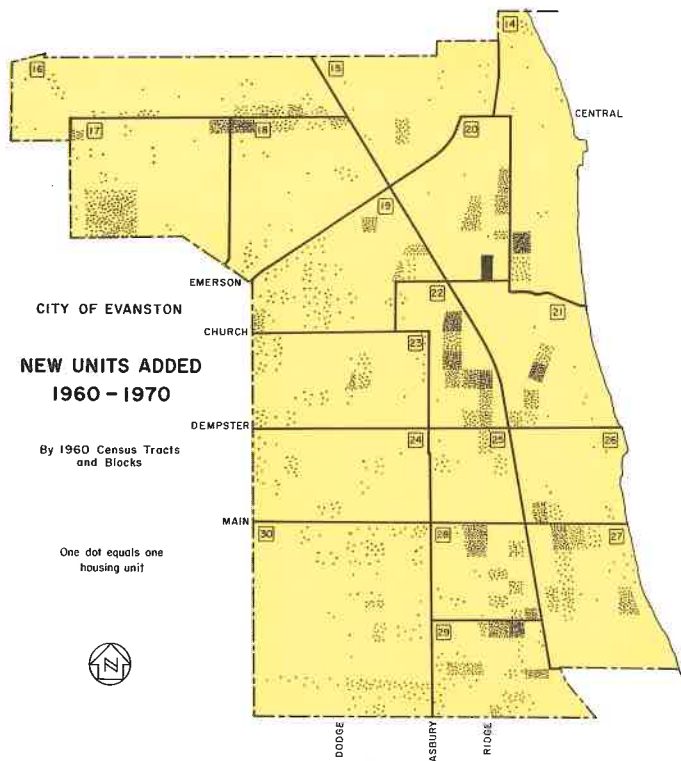
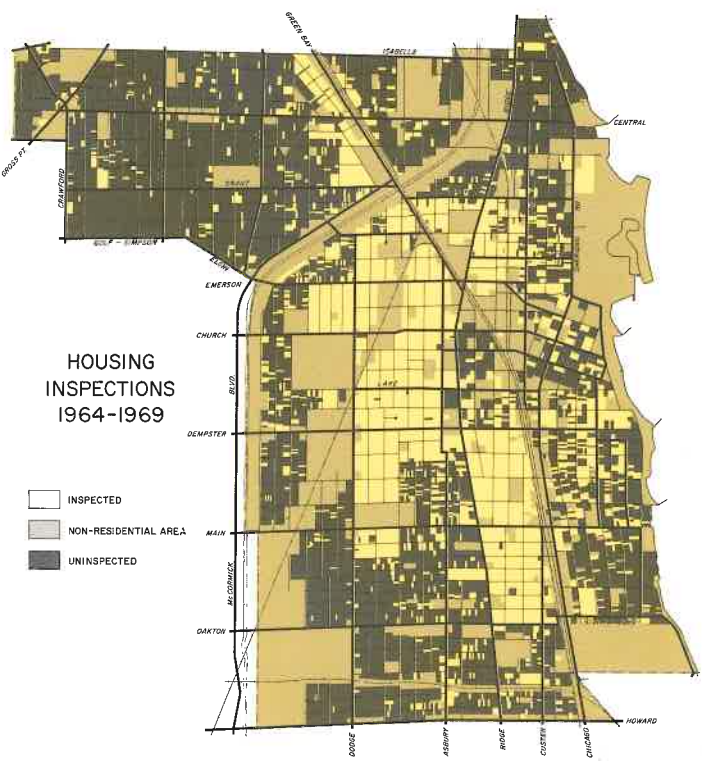


FIG.16



structures may remain neglected for many years, gradually getting worse until they are beyond reasonable rehabilitation and have a detrimental effect upon nearby homes. This is one process by which blight can spread, especially if the community is apathetic and feels that the process is inevitable.

Evanston has not fallen into this pattern, but has tried to face the problem. It has a number of positive factors on its side. First is the large supply of not only "sound" housing, but quality housing and the small amount of blighted housing. Secondly, the community's standing as a good place in which to live encourages substantial remodeling and rehabilitation of older housing which might otherwise slide. Finally, Evanston has a Housing Code and an excellent enforcement program. Figure 16 shows the areas inspected over the past 6 years.

Much of Evanston's deteriorating and dilapidated housing is found in the area bounded by Church and Emerson Streets on the south, Dodge Avenue or the Sanitary District Canal on the west and north, and Sherman Avenue on the east. Another area of concentration is along the Chicago and North Western Railway tracks just south of Main Street (Figure 17). The areas of poorest housing are often associated with low levels of family income, (Figure 18) as well as with the age of structures (Figure 9 repeated). A large part of the black community occupies this area (Figure 19) and although low income and poor housing in older buildings are not characteristic of the entire area, it is typical of most of it.

Other small pockets of blight or individually bad buildings are scattered widely throughout the remaining sections of the city. This scattering could spread, however, unless other sections of the city are conserved as they age.

#### Vacancy and Turnover

It is difficult to find a place to live in Evanston. Vacancy rates are close to zero and almost as low throughout the metropolitan area. The housing shortage, aggravated by rapidly rising housing costs, is part of the nationwide problem. According to the 1970 Census, only 2.3 per cent of the rental units were vacant and 0.6 per cent of owner occupied units were available. This represents a significant decline in comparison to the 1960 Census which recorded the vacancy rates as 6 per cent for rental units and 1 per cent for owner occupied units. It appears that the combined effects of a tight housing market and the restricted opportunity for new housing construction will combine to keep the vacancy rates exceptionally low for many years to come.

In spite of a low vacancy rate, Evanston's citizens have been fairly mobile and turnover constantly places housing units on the market. Some measure of this was made by the Census in 1960 and covered a five year period between 1955 and 1960. During that time it was found that about 52 per cent of the Evanston population had changed residence. For this time period, 70 per cent of the renter occupied units experienced turnover. Other data on the year occupants had moved into their residence indicated that approximately 7 per cent of the owner occupied units changed hands annually between 1954 and 1960. More current measures of turnover gained from the Water Department records show that about the same percentage of owner occupied units became available in 1966, 1967 and 1968. One interesting feature of the Water Department records was that it revealed a very large proportion of internal moves. About 42 per cent of the single-family home moves were to another location within Evanston. Moves to other parts of the metropolitan area were about 25 per cent while moves to Chicago were only 7 per cent. The remaining 26 per cent of the moves were to locations entirely outside the metropolitan area.

A tight money market, the high cost of housing and the low vacancy rates may slow the turnover of housing somewhat, but mobility is likely to remain a national characteristic.

FIG.17

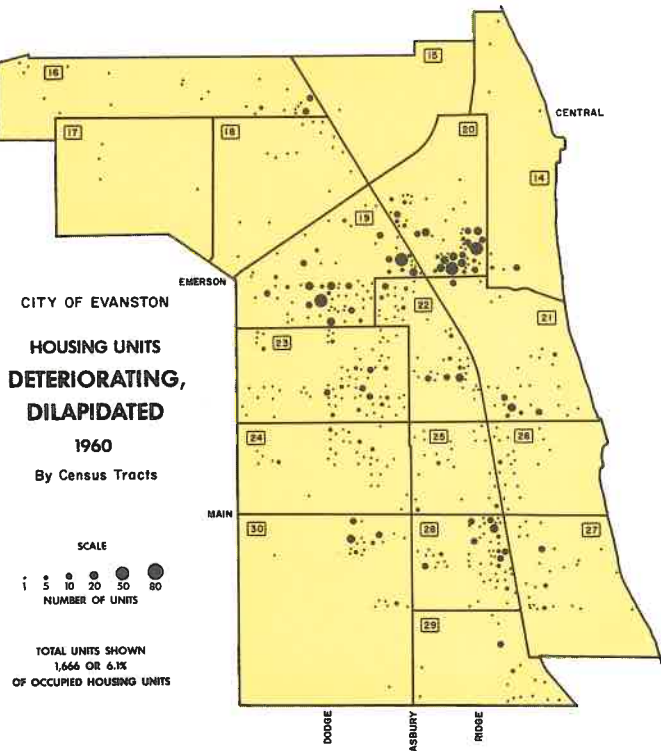


FIG. 9 (REPEATED)

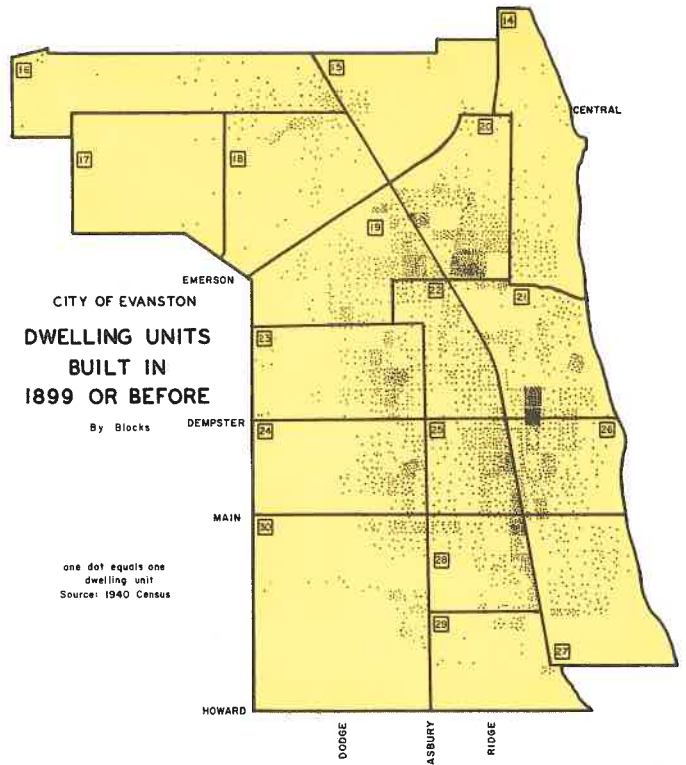


FIG.18

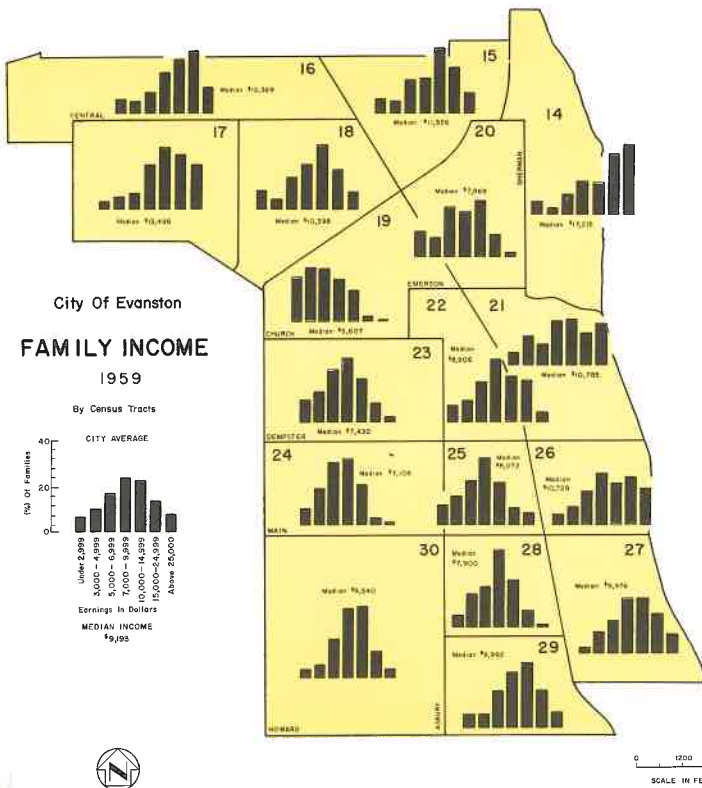
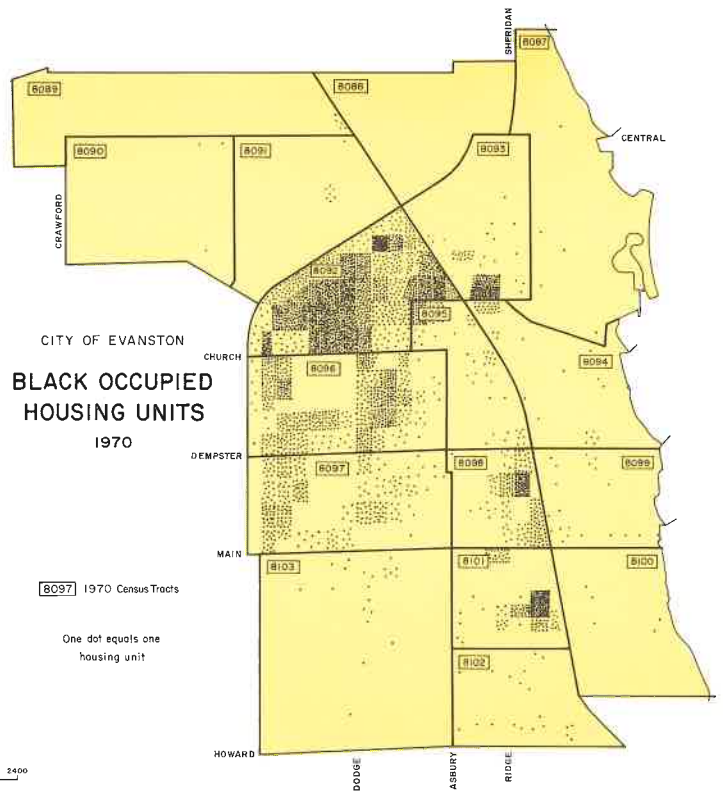


FIG.19



## Overcrowding

The census defines a situation of more than one person per room as a tendency toward overcrowding.\* In some cases this condition is a temporary one, as for example, where young couples occupy small apartments with their pre-school infants. By the time their children reach school age, these families often have decided to move to larger quarters. In other cases, more serious overcrowding occurs where families have had to "double up" to survive economically, or where a large family with a low income can afford only small quarters, completely inadequate for their needs.

There were 937 housing units in 1970 which had an average of more than one person per room, amounting to slightly under 3.4 per cent of the city's housing stock. Within this number would be a range of conditions varying from purely technical overcrowding because of definition to very unhealthy situations. It is not possible to say to what extent this situation will change because there are two counter forces working which could result in little net change. One is the Code Compliance Program which would eliminate illegal or overcrowded housing and the other is the pressure on the existing supply because of the housing shortage.

Most overcrowding corresponds to areas of deteriorating housing and low income. Some also results from discrimination.

Serious overcrowding can cause a housing unit to deteriorate because the structure gets heavier use than its design intended. Older houses are especially vulnerable to accelerated aging as a result of overcrowding.

## The Quality and Cost of Housing

What is it that gives a home or an apartment its value and enables it to command a certain price or rent? Aside from the state of the current housing market, there is a certain intrinsic value associated with individual dwellings. Obviously, this is influenced by the quality of the original construction, the age of the structure and the quality of continued maintenance. The value of a home is also affected by the quality of other structures and the character of the neighborhood. Special amenities, such as proximity to schools or the lakefront, can exert a strong influence on property values. The quality of public facilities serving the neighborhood is also a factor.

The impression of the community as a whole establishes a general level of value and serves as an attractive or negative force. Evanston has many factors which make its housing desirable to the buyer or renter. First, most of its housing is of high quality. It has great appeal for those who prefer to settle in a well-established community with full facilities as opposed to the treeless tract subdivisions with new homes but incomplete facilities. Its position as a suburb of Chicago plus accessibility to the Loop by rapid transit and commuter railroad, its lakefront location, its excellent school system, the convenience of goods and services provided by its central business district, and the esthetically pleasing qualities of the environment all add to Evanston's desirability to the buyer and renter. This desirability has caused housing in Evanston to become both high in cost and short in supply.

The determinants of value are obviously not evenly distributed throughout the community, and these variations produce patterns which distinguish areas of higher and lower values (Figures 20 and 21).

In 1970, the median rent paid in Evanston was \$165 per month which was slightly lower than in neighboring suburbs and about 50 per cent higher than the median rent for Chicago. Monthly contract rents in Evanston ranged from a high of over \$300 a month to less than \$40 a month.

\*To arrive at this figure the number of habitable rooms (bedroom, living room, full kitchen; but not closets, bathrooms, pullman kitchens) in a housing unit is divided by the number of residents.



FIG. 20

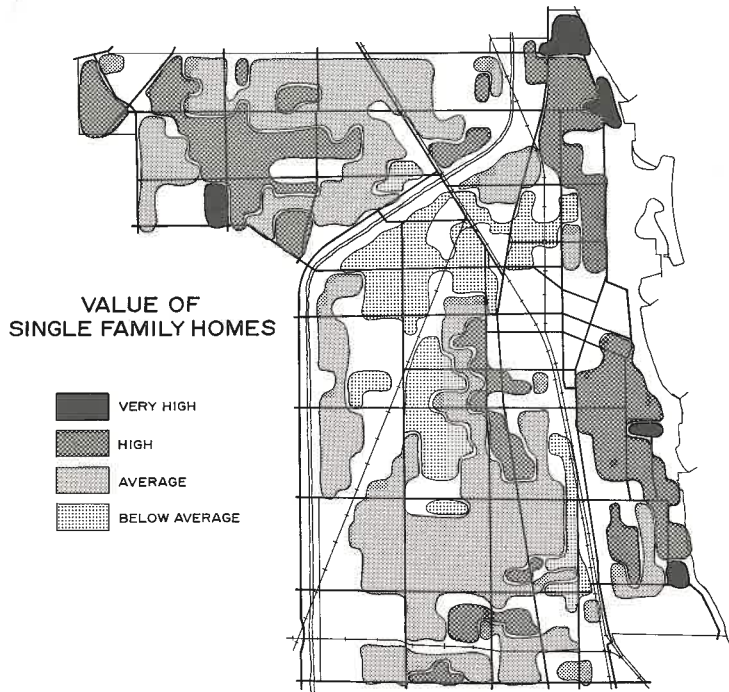


FIG. 21

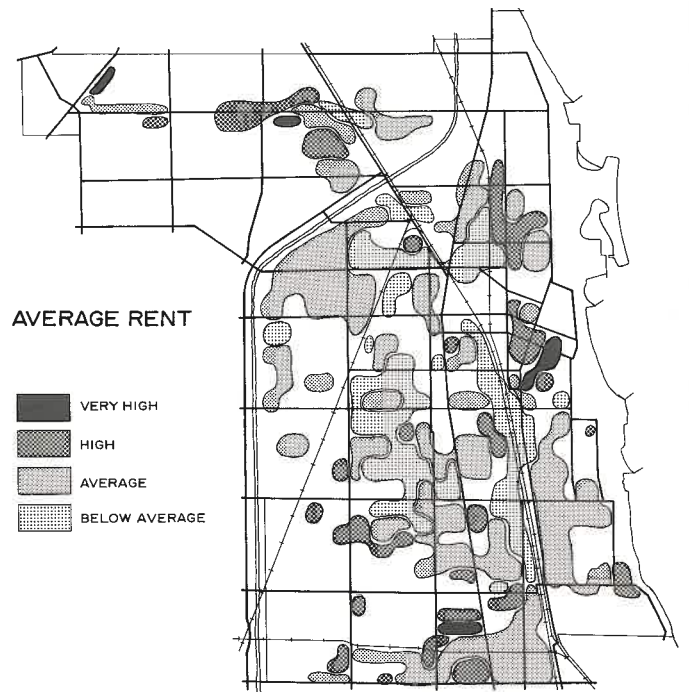
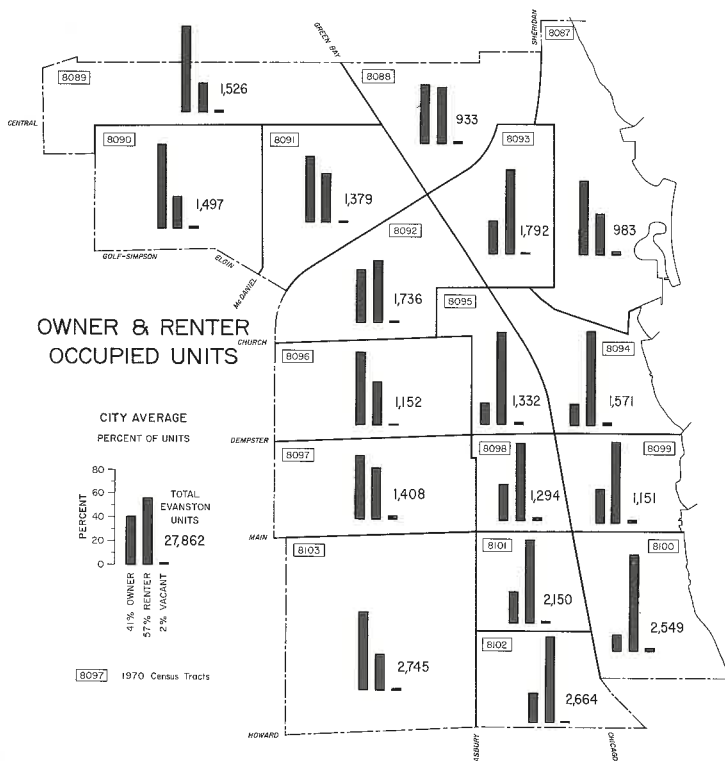


FIG. 22



PLANNING DEPARTMENT

The two areas of highest rents are found in the area bordering the downtown and in northwest Evanston (Figure 20). The dwellings in the downtown area have the advantages of convenience in location, proximity to the lakefront, and high quality residential areas nearby. There are fewer apartments in northwest Evanston, but they are also convenient to shopping and transportation as well as being located in a high quality residential area.

Southwest and southeast Evanston are areas in which average rents run slightly higher than the overall city average. They comprise a very large share of the total rental housing and therefore strongly influence the city average figure. Comparable rents appear in north Evanston.

There are three general areas in which the lowest average rents prevail: a small area just west of Northwestern University, the Ridgeville area and the west side. Unlike the rental units found in larger apartment buildings, most of those on the west side are found in small buildings including flats, townhouses and conversions. The quality of housing available is reflected in the lower rents. It should be pointed out, however, that the average rents in these areas still exceed the average rent for Chicago by 25 per cent.

The area just west of Northwestern University has long provided a reservoir of housing for both lower income groups and students. The rental facilities are found in a variety of buildings including older apartments with small units as well as converted dwellings. The Ridgeville area has also been a traditional source of lower rent housing for many decades. It, too, appeals to a variety of groups.

Because of new construction several blocks shifted from being low rent to high rent areas in the last decade. This has occurred principally in sections of south Evanston, southeast Evanston and around the central business district.

The median value of homes for Evanston (\$33,700 in 1970) was almost 40 per cent higher than the median for Chicago and slightly lower than North Shore suburbs. Some blocks exceeded \$40,000 in median value of homes, while others averaged less than \$15,000. The city median is about 28 per cent above the 1960 median of \$26,500.

Figure 21 illustrates the distribution of values within tracts. The area along Ridge Avenue and the northeast, northwest, southeast sections of the city as well as parts of South Evanston stand out as having the highest values. Falling more into the medium value ranges are large parts of south Evanston, a narrow band along the extreme western boundary and parts of northwest Evanston. The areas of lower home values are found mostly in the west central part of the city. Within any of these broad general areas there can be found some notable exceptions. Clearly indicated is a mix of values which is not always found in suburban areas.

### Owners and Renters

In Evanston, the proportion of rental to owner occupied units has been high for many years. The geographic distribution reveals considerable variance (Figure 22). The housing stock of the southeast quarter and the central area of the city is largely renter occupied, averaging 60 to 70 per cent. Just the reverse holds true for the northwest section of the city where owner occupied units predominate. Most of the western half of the community shows a majority of its housing as owner occupied.

Until recently, there has been a long term national trend towards an increase in home ownership. However, since 1960 home ownership has declined from 62 per cent of the housing to 58 per cent. In 1940, 28 per cent of Evanston's housing units were owner occupied. By 1950 this percentage had risen to 40 per cent. Since that time there has been little change. In 1960 and 1970 about 41 per cent of the housing units were owned by their occupants.

For Evanston and for many other cities, the growth of owner occupied units has reached a plateau. The rental unit will probably edge ahead in the future, but not at a rapid pace. Although most new construction will be in multiple family units because few home sites remain, not all of these units will be renter occupied. An increase in ownership of traditionally renter occupied units can be seen in many townhouses and new condominiums throughout the nation.

## **Trends — Recent Growth and Distribution of Housing**

New construction of housing slowed markedly between 1960 and 1970 primarily because of the diminishing quantity of vacant land and the shrinking opportunities for private redevelopment. From a peak of over 400 units in 1964, the rate declined to its lowest since 1943 with only four units built in 1970 (Figure 23). The total volume of dwelling units produced in the last decade was slightly more than half of the previous one and represents about 10 per cent of the total housing stock.

Since growth and construction in new housing are influenced by such factors as available space, zoning and the market, the amount of growth varies in different sections of Evanston. Both a strong geographic shift and a change in emphasis from single family homes to larger apartment buildings occurred during the 1960's (Table 4). Development was previously concentrated in the outlying vacant sections of the city (Figure 14), but now it occurs mostly in the older interior areas (Figure 15). Where this growth takes place has important implications for the local neighborhoods involved. Replacement and rebuilding is a natural trend which has been going on for decades in Evanston. Most of this has proceeded largely unassisted by direct public action or funds. It has been the result of market forces and zoning decisions made some time ago. In the older, more densely populated sections of the city it has meant old, sometimes substandard, homes within apartment zones have been replaced by new apartment buildings, thus improving the housing stock, but increasing local density.

Although apartment construction has rapidly outdistanced home construction in the last ten years, its pace cannot continue indefinitely. Just as home construction has almost come to a halt because of the disappearance of vacant land, so apartment development will be hindered by the declining opportunity for private redevelopment. Most of the sites with the best potential have been used, and while others still remain, it is likely that future growth will occur at an even slower rate. In the latter part of the 1960's, the only significant increases in new housing came from the more institutional types such as graduate student apartments built by Northwestern University and the row houses built by the Presbyterian Home.

There is a large demand in housing accommodations of every type and in every price range in Evanston. Given the small amount of vacant land, the high land values and the high densities in some parts of the city, it would be difficult to increase the housing supply to satisfy more than a small part of these demands. The policy of the City has traditionally been to avoid making any large scale attempts to satisfy all demands for housing because to do so would ultimately work to undo many of the community advantages which have created the present demands. This general position has been reflected in the City's Statement of Community Objectives, and its history of zoning changes to reduce its ultimate population capacity. A policy of controlled growth is more realistic than efforts to assure some static state. The dilemma will be how to replace parts of the existing housing supply without paying too great a price as the result of increased density. What type of housing and where it should be built, along with the degree of subsidization, if any, are also difficult questions. These difficult issues require public policy debate, and will have to be frequently examined.

## **Housing Problems**

There is a growing recognition that some persons have serious housing problems. This has come slowly, however, because higher incomes spare most residents from any significant difficulty. There can be a great deal of subjectivity in evaluating housing problems, depending upon who is effected and how the data is interpreted. Inadequate data has been an obstacle to more precise definition.

There is, however, sufficient evidence from the pleas of some segments of the community, contacts with various public agencies, and data on the types of dwelling units removed to establish that housing problems do exist. They do not exist on a large scale, but where they are found they are keenly felt. This should be a

FIG. 23  
 EVANSTON'S RESIDENTIAL CONSTRUCTION TRENDS  
 1921 - 1970

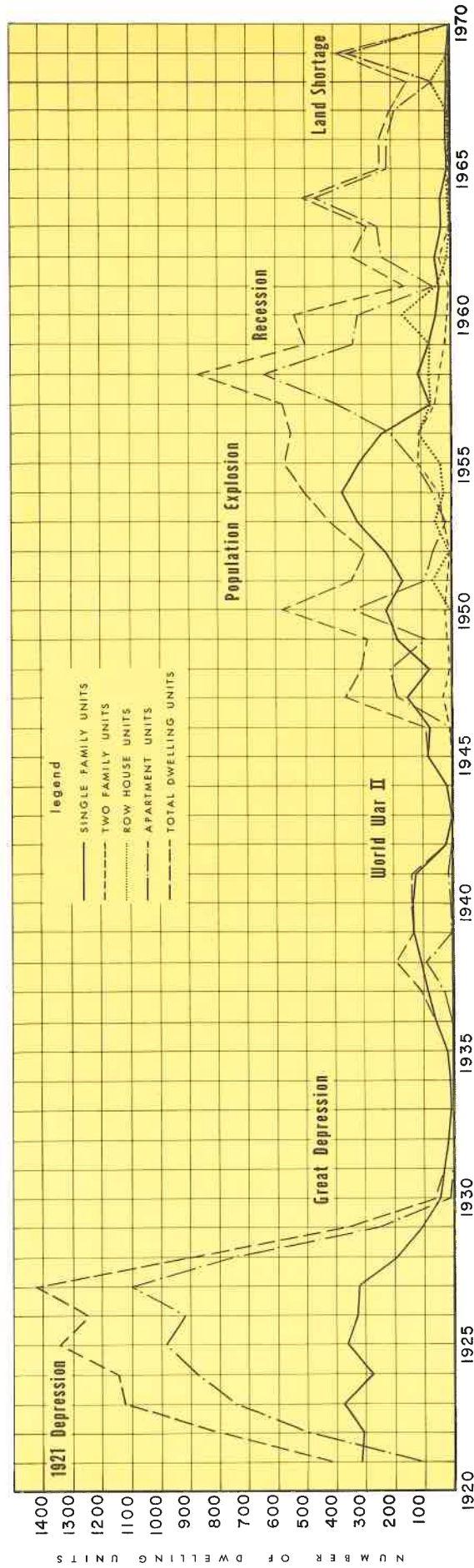


TABLE 4  
GROWTH IN HOUSING UNITS FOR POST WAR PERIODS

	Year	Number of Housing Units				Total
		Single Family	Row House	Two Family	Apartments	
Immediate	1947	147		30	186	363
Post War	1948	87		10	210	307
Period	1949	<u>181</u>		<u>14</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>285</u>
	Total	415		54	486	955

	Year	Number of Housing Units				Total
		Single Family	Row House	Two Family	Apartments	
Between the	1950	219	2	26	332	579
1950 and	1951	165	67	14	93	339
1960 Census	1952	223	7	4	62	296
	1953	316	55	26	19	416
	1954	370	24	46	62	502
	1955	311	36	110	117	574
	1956	133	109	104	203	549
	1957	69	67	54	389	579
	1958	108	78	40	643	869
	1959	<u>77</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>332</u>	<u>501</u>
	Total	1,991	517	444	2,252	5,204

	Year	Number of Housing Units				Total
		Single Family	Row House	Two Family	Apartments	
Post 1960	1960	52	163	18	317	550
Census	1961	40	48	4	55	147
Period	1962	55	14	36	233	338
	1963	33	0	6	246	285
	1964	35	5	6	464	510
	1965	12	11	4	213	240
	1966	20	2	4	215	241
	1967	13	2	4	187	206
	1968	12	64	8	69	153
	1969	13	8	0	366	387
	1970	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>
	Total	289	317	90	2,365	3,061

Source: City of Evanston, Department of Inspections and Permits

sufficient motive to begin to develop some positive responses. Mechanisms must be developed to deal with housing on a broader approach. The size of the response will be conditioned by opportunity, resources, commitment and demand.

There is no single "housing problem" simply defined or easily solved. Its dimensions are complex and solutions require varied approaches. Several aspects isolated for discussion include: (1) inadequate existing supply of housing, (2) excessive housing costs, (3) lack of individual resources and knowledge, (4) discrimination, (5) substandard housing, and (6) lack of emergency housing.

Although separation of these aspects of the housing problem aids in understanding the complexity of the whole, it must be remembered that there are strong interrelationships among many of these factors which can make separate discussion rather artificial. This interrelatedness has important consequences for any program which attempts to deal with just one element without knowledge or consideration of the total problem. Such efforts can lead to the aggravation of other parts of the housing problem.

### Inadequate Existing Housing Supply

One of the frequently mentioned problems is inadequate housing which is partially created by the pressure of the current housing market as well as by the Code Compliance Program. An inadequate supply of existing housing does not refer to the total market demand for housing in Evanston. What is meant is that some residents are housed in units which are not functionally suited to their needs. Examples would include: (1) large families living in units too small for their needs; (2) two families classified as only one by zoning definition legally living in one unit; and (3) elderly persons living in units not well suited for their occupancy (e.g., third story walk-up apartments). While there is little quantitative data presently available for analysis of this problem, it is clear that the city lacks adequate numbers of rental units suitable for large families and for the special needs of the elderly.

The combined effect of the Code Compliance Program and the recent construction trends in the city has caused a decline in the supply of low and moderate income housing. Through the Code Compliance Program some units have been eliminated and others upgraded in such a manner as to put them out of the price range of these income groups. While there has been an increase in the total housing supply during the past decade, part of this increase in new housing has been accomplished by the elimination of older housing which was within the means of low or moderate income families. During the period 1960-1970, the net housing supply increased by 2,258 dwelling units, but this was accomplished with the clearance of an estimated 800 existing units. Of these, 344 units were eliminated through code compliance (Table 5).

While the housing market has worked reasonably well in supplying housing for middle and upper income groups, it has not for the lower economic groups. New low and moderate income units are not being created to replace those eliminated.

### Excessive Housing Costs

Current inflation, accompanied by rapid rise in real estate values, high interest rates and high costs of new construction, is producing problems related to the cost of housing for a broader segment of our society. It is becoming a national problem of some significance. The slow-down in new construction and our lack of adequate sites has put even more pressure on prices for existing housing.

The extent to which this problem is felt by individual families is obviously closely related to their income. However, excessive housing costs are now being experienced by middle income families as well as by those at the lower income levels. Evanston's most extensive housing problem is that many of low and moderate income pay far more to live in Evanston than they can reasonably afford.

**TABLE 5**  
**DWELLING UNIT CHANGES**  
 January 1, 1960 - December 31, 1970

	Total Units Built	Private Demolitions	Eliminated By Code Enforcement	Total Eliminated	Net Total Increase
1960	550	31		31	519
1961	147	25		25	122
1962	338	34		34	304
1963	285	43		43	242
1964	510	108	66	174	336
1965	240	30	90	120	120
1966	241	20	90	110	131
1967	206	72	49	121	85
1968	153	28	24	52	101
1969	387	40	13	53	334
1970	4	37	12	49	54
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,061</b>	<b>468</b>	<b>344</b>	<b>812</b>	<b>2,348</b>

Source: City of Evanston, Property Standards Division

Low and moderate income families should not have to pay more than 25 per cent of their gross income for total housing costs. At least 50 per cent of all families earning less than \$4,000 per year (over 1,100 families plus a few hundred households consisting of unrelated individuals) were forced to spend substantially more than 25 per cent of their gross income for housing. It took an income of over \$7,000 a year in 1960 before most families could be reasonably assured of finding housing within their ability to pay.\* That figure now, of course, would be much higher.

For black families the situation was much worse, since at least 67 per cent of those earning less than \$4,000 per year in 1960 were paying more than they could afford for housing. It took an income of \$9,000 per year for most black families to be reasonably assured of finding housing within their ability to pay.

One of the important implications of excessive housing costs is that many families must make serious economic sacrifices in order to obtain housing. Consequently, an expense likely to be deferred would be that of maintenance. Even families with fairly good incomes may not be able to undertake the substantial kinds of remodeling necessary to keep older housing in good repair, while other families earning less would be severely pressed to have even routine repairs made. Further down the income scale, the impact can be even more severe with rising housing costs forcing some Evanston families to move.

The high cost of land adds to the problem of rebuilding parts of the housing stock. In order to make such rebuilding economically feasible, pressure is created for significantly increased density. Increased land costs also limit the net effectiveness of any housing programs involving public subsidies by reducing the amount of housing which can be built with the limited funds available.

Continued inflation constitutes one of the most serious problems of enlarging, maintaining, and replacing the housing stock of all communities. Unfortunately it is a problem which can do much to thwart local initiative, commitment and desire, while remaining outside the individual community influence.

#### Lack of Individual Resources and Knowledge

The City's Code Compliance Program has produced contracts with many property owners who lack the knowledge or the legal or financial resources to engage in such activities as: (1) scheduling necessary periodic maintenance on older homes, (2) undertaking home repairs and remodeling, (3) hiring reputable contractors, (4) seeking permits or other approvals, (5) obtaining necessary legal services, (6) managing their personal finances, (7) getting equitable financing for home improvements or property purchases; (8) engaging in satisfactory tenant selection and management practices, and (9) fully understanding the legal use to which a property can be put, both before and after purchase.

Some of the above problems have been encountered in situations which also relate to housing costs. One such situation concerns the abuse of land purchase contracts. The most frequent evidence of abuse is a lack of financial capacity to make contract payments; to schedule periodic maintenance; and to undertake other necessary repairs. The problem is sometimes aggravated by misinformation as to the legal use of the property by the purchaser. In many cases a purchaser counts on income from an apartment, unaware that it is in violation of the city code.

The Housing Services Division has had some success in aiding the conversion of land purchase contracts to mortgages and otherwise helping to straighten out the financial affairs of contract purchasers, but much more needs to be done. This division was organized to provide service in the above areas of concern - either directly or by referring individuals to a more appropriate agency. The primary users are persons with housing problems created or aggravated by municipal action. As such, they are only a small part of all who experience housing problems. The opening of a free service by the Cook County Legal Assistance Foundation, Inc. has also helped

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\**Housing Costs Vs. Ability to Pay*, Planning and Conservation Department, 1970.



fill some needs of low income families with housing problems. The means for bringing persons needing help into contact with the proper agencies should be improved and the range of services expanded. There is also a continuing need for contractors willing to undertake small home repairs and remodeling jobs as well as for additional low cost financing for home purchases and remodeling.

Despite the advertisement of a free prepurchase inspection service available to any prospective purchaser of real estate in the city, there are still people who unknowingly buy properties with illegal uses or other serious code violations or who have mistaken ideas as to what legal uses may be made of a particular property.

### Housing Discrimination

Although federal law, court decisions, and the Municipal Housing Ordinance have, in theory, provided the means to end racial discrimination in housing, the perception of most of the black community and of many other persons concerned with residential integration is that discriminatory practices still exist. This is due to the newness of the laws, but it is also charged that the intent of the law is not always served. In some cases it is claimed that discriminatory practices have only become more subtle to "get around the law." One charge is that applications from prospective black tenants or purchasers are delayed in various ways in the hope that an acceptable white application will be obtained. A second charge is that income standards and definitions of income (even though uniformly applied) are discriminatory in favor of white applications. These standards do not reflect the life styles of some blacks with long-term dependence on two incomes in the family. Nor do they reflect the fact that many blacks have had to spend a higher percentage of income on housing than have most white families because of discrimination.

Discrimination against families with children is prevalent in much of the rental housing market despite some state laws prohibiting certain practices in this area. Contributing to this tendency is the high demand for housing and the typical landlord's preference to rent to families without children when possible.

### Substandard Housing

Perhaps the most frequently discussed housing problem is that of families living in poor housing conditions. The 1960 census reported 335 dilapidated housing units in Evanston and 1,916 housing units which were substandard in other respects. The 1970 census reported 266 units without complete plumbing facilities. This is a relatively low percentage of such housing for a city of Evanston's age and character, but this quantitative fact is of little relevance to those who actually live in inadequate housing. The whole issue of substandard housing and how to deal with it is quite complex — technically and socially. There are many problems related to the functional inadequacy of some older housing units which are frequently aggravated by years of deferred maintenance. The City's Code Compliance Program is well geared to reduce a major portion of this particular problem by eliminating or upgrading substandard units. Most violations of the housing code are voluntarily corrected when pointed out; however, the program's full effectiveness is sometimes hampered by long delays when legal action is required. Unfortunately, when such delays are encountered in cases against landlords, they are often perceived by some as laxity in enforcement. When the same legal action is taken against homeowners, it is interpreted as harassment.

Although largely effective in reducing existing and potential blight, the Code Compliance Program is no cure-all. There are families living in substandard or marginal housing who are unable to make the needed improvements because of their limited incomes. Certain types of far advanced deterioration cannot be satisfactorily rehabilitated simply through efforts to enforce the housing code. The Code Compliance Program can aggravate the shortage of low income housing by eliminating units and increasing costs because of increased demand per unit and the expense of rehabilitation.

The problem of substandard housing is further intensified by its distribution. Significant concentrations of such housing are occupied by low and moderate income blacks. Any area wide program of rehabilitation resulting in increased rents or extensive redevelopment that is not closely tied to a replacement housing program would cause severe displacement problems.

### Lack of Emergency Housing

Health and welfare agencies, as well as the City's code compliance personnel, report occasional problems in securing short-term emergency housing for families who are forced from their homes because of fire, extremely hazardous or unsanitary conditions, lack of heat, or eviction. Such occurrences are rare, but when they do occur, they represent painful, personal hardship which is not easily alleviated. Emergency housing is not always immediately available and 24 hour service is limited.

The Red Cross will provide food, clothing and shelter for three days for burn-out victims. Shelter is usually provided by rental of hotel or motel units. Their service is available on 24 hour basis. The Salvation Army supplies short-term emergency housing when space is available, but they are handicapped by limited funds and facilities and 24 hour service is not always in effect. The Township Relief Office will rent space to families eligible for township relief, but they can only be contacted during normal working hours. In the past few years, the City has permitted two or three such families to "temporarily" occupy a residential building acquired by the City which will ultimately be demolished as part of the proposed park development. One problem with this solution is that these families have tended to remain for long periods of time, thus reducing the availability of the building for other emergency cases.

Although the actual demand for emergency housing may be small, there is a lack of housing when it is needed. Improved coordination of the existing emergency housing services, establishment of clear financial responsibility and reservation of a few units for emergency housing would do much to help remedy the situation.

### Obstacles to the Solution of Housing Problems

The preceding sections of this chapter identify certain housing problems which exist in Evanston in spite of an overall healthy housing situation. Most of those problems are the same as those being experienced throughout the metropolitan area and the nation. One fortunate aspect of these problems is that they are not so large as to make efforts to deal with them fruitless. There are opportunities for achieving some significant results as long as there is commitment to work toward solutions. There are, however, a number of serious obstacles to solutions which can be identified. Most of them fall into the following categories:

1. Excessive existing demand for housing in all price ranges with an extremely low vacancy rate.
2. High cost for acquisition of even substandard or obsolete structures.
3. Severe land shortages resulting in very few available vacant sites for new housing of any type or cost.
4. Extremely high land costs — developers regularly pay \$5,000 to \$8,000 per unit for land for apartment development.
5. Competition from other public and private uses for the few vacant sites or redevelopment sites which are suitable for new low or moderate income housing.
6. Reluctance to increase density through zoning changes in areas in which density is presently high.

7. Cost limitations in the existing federally subsidized public housing and lower income housing programs, which are so low that the City would have to provide substantial subsidies for sites to make such programs work.

The implications of these obstacles are that sites for constructing new low and moderate income housing would have to be heavily subsidized by local resources and that difficult relocation problems must be faced to make most of the potential redevelopment sites feasible. Further, because of the great existing demands for housing which result in high costs for even substandard units, any of the housing subsidization programs which could make use of existing buildings are also handicapped. In some cases, the complexity of both the problems and various programs for solution tend to discourage efforts toward solutions by private as well as public groups.

### Recent Accomplishments

Considerable progress has been made in reducing obstacles resulting from lack of fully developed public policies and municipal objectives in regard to many of the stated housing problems.

The community is beginning to recognize that some serious housing problems exist and is starting to define its responsibility in this area. From a position of "if you can't afford to live here, move out," there has been a growing recognition that some housing problems have been created by community policy or action and that the community now should develop more creative ways of handling housing problems.

As a first step in the development of policies and programs to deal with some of these housing problems, the City Council passed a resolution in December, 1969, adopting the following objective:

"To develop, within the means of the community, an adequate housing supply so that every Evanston resident may enjoy housing with a range of geographic choice that is suited to his needs and within his reasonable ability to pay."\*

Shortly following the adoption of this policy statement, the City Council formed a Housing Committee which assigned themselves the task of focusing upon the means whereby more low and moderate income housing could be provided in the community. During the first year of their operation, the Committee educated themselves on available programs which might have application for Evanston, evaluated potential sites for housing under different programs, assisted in encouraging the development of a housing project for the elderly, and supported the proposal to develop a mix of middle, moderate and low income housing in a variety of structures on the Marywood site. They recommended that the City Council authorize the Housing Authority of Cook County to submit an application to the federal government for a planning grant to investigate the feasibility of constructing some public housing units, and also made recommendations to the City Council to proceed with negotiations for certain properties.

Other recent accomplishments include much greater participation in the Section 23 Leased Housing Program which now has its 100 unit allocation filled and a waiting list of applicants. An additional allocation of 100 units was applied for in 1971. The City also is able to assist families displaced by municipal actions by finding them other housing.

Although there has been an initial commitment from both public and private sources to solve at least some of the housing problems, this commitment still seems tenuous and insufficient. The community remains divided and uncertain as to what, if anything, it should do to provide additional housing. Lack of thorough understanding of the problems, lack of municipal financial resources to aid in the creation of subsidized housing, and the complexities and cost structures of federal housing programs all tend to impede such efforts.

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\*Planning Department, *Evanston Housing Problems and Objectives* as approved by the Evanston Plan Commission and recommended for adoption by the Evanston City Council, October, 1969.

The community response to any of these housing problems will be varied according to income groups, particular needs and willingness to assist in satisfying some of these needs. In the development of more definitive policy, the total housing situation for the community should be considered so that any focus on particular housing needs can be seen in perspective to the whole. Perhaps the common denominator for all groups is how to obtain adequate housing for their needs at a reasonable cost. By far, the largest segment of our population has been able to solve its housing problems with little direct assistance. However, even the most independent of homeowners receives some indirect assistance by being able to deduct interest payments on his home for his income tax. New housing for families with substantial incomes will continue to be constructed without public financial assistance or encouragement because there is some potential remaining under present land use and zoning. New private development will occur at a much slower rate than previously because its potential growth shrunk considerably during the 1960's. Private development will still constitute the largest segment of new housing produced over the ten years. There is likely to be some recurring question as to whether or not additional high income housing should be encouraged through any public policy changes, such as selective rezoning of land which might be appropriate for such development.

High income families experience little difficulty in finding housing and most middle income families usually have wide freedom of choice. However, even middle income families are beginning to feel the pressure of rising costs and housing shortages. Further down the scale, moderate and low income families are having progressively more difficulty in securing decent housing at a cost they can afford. Unlike housing for higher economic groups, an increase in the supply for moderate income families will require some form of assistance. Current programs to achieve this are of the mortgage insurance variety which enable the housing to be constructed with low down payments and interest rates. Their sponsorship is through the FHA and the programs are tailored both for rental and owner occupied housing.

The degree of potential support or assistance increases as lower income groups are reached. Obtaining adequate shelter has always claimed a disproportionately high part of the low income families' resources which has either forced them to live in substandard housing, to pay far more rent than they should relative to their incomes, or both. The recent rapid rise of housing cost combined with housing shortages has further aggravated their problems. Public housing, which is highly subsidized, is one of the ways to reach the low income families who have acute housing problems. It is likely that any public housing constructed would be carried out by an agency already organized and experienced in the development of housing, such as Cook County Housing Authority, and not by creating a new city agency. The city role in this case would be one of assisting in finding sites, developing appropriate zoning, and partial or total subsidization of sites.

### **Implementation Programs**

The federal government has created a variety of programs to help cities solve their housing problems. Several of the programs which may be appropriate for Evanston have been under consideration, the first to be put into effect, Section 23 of the U.S. Housing Act of 1937, was amended. This program, implemented in October of 1969, is not designed to create new housing units, but rather to make better housing available by subsidizing rents of 100 low income families.

The rent subsidy is based on income and is paid by the federal government, thus permitting federally subsidized properties to remain on the tax rolls. It can also be used to stimulate repairs and better maintenance of properties. It provides homes for low income families in neighborhoods that do not have "project" aspects. In Evanston the program was adopted primarily for rehousing people displaced by municipal action, but it is also used to reduce the rents for eligible tenants in existing housing. Through cooperation between the Housing Authority and the landlord, eligible families can remain in their present housing at lower rents, thus having more income available for food and other necessities. Since it is administered by the Housing Authority of Cook County, the City assists in screening potential owners and tenants, with administrative costs being paid by the Housing Authority. The program was slow to gain acceptance among landlords at first, but it now has all its units under lease.

The Housing Committee and City staff, along with interested groups and individuals, have studied a number of programs which were thought to have potential for application to Evanston. Three programs selected to be pursued were: (1) Section 235 of the Federal Housing Act for moderate income owner-occupied housing, (2) Section 236 moderate income renter-occupied housing, and (3) Public Housing.

It must be recognized that the municipality cannot act as the sponsor or developer for these programs. Public Housing cannot proceed without a Housing Authority sponsor and 235 or 236 Housing cannot proceed without private developers and/or quasi public sponsors. However, it is not possible for Public Housing to be constructed without substantial involvement (financial and otherwise) of the City government. It is also unlikely that the mortgage insured programs of 235 and 236 could be carried out without local involvement. Under any of the programs, city government action might be required in some or all of the following areas: (1) encouragement of the sponsor and/or approval of the proposed development, (2) subsidy of the cost of the site, (3) zoning considerations, and (4) relocation.

The following summary helps define the roles of local government, the federal government and the sponsor or developer:

Characteristics	Housing Program		
	Public	236	235
1. Workable Program Required	No	No	No
2. Local government approval required	Yes	No	No
3. Land cost subsidy required in Evanston	Yes	Yes	Yes
4. Rezoning of sites necessary	Probable	Probable	Probable
5. Relocation of occupants displaced from site must be provided	Yes	Yes	Yes
6. Federal construction subsidy	Yes	No	No
7. Federal interest rate subsidy	No	Yes	Yes
8. Project Sponsors			
a. Housing Authority	Yes	No	No
b. Private Developer	No	Yes	Yes
c. Private to quasi-public group	No	Yes	Yes
d. Municipality	No	No	No

#### Family Eligibility

Eligibility for the different housing programs varies with family size and income. The low income family is defined locally by the Cook County Housing Authority. For example, in 1971, a family of four earning less than \$6,000 would be considered a low income family and would remain eligible until its income reached \$7,500. It would then be considered a moderate income family until it reach an income of \$8,250.

In 235 and 236 Housing, unlike in Public Housing, there are no restrictions placed on income for continued occupancy. If there is an increase in family income, mortgage payments are increased proportionately. Families whose incomes increase to the maximum limit would not be disturbed, but would no longer receive a subsidy. Recertification of family income is required every two years and the mortgage payments are adjusted to changes in family income.

The following is a general description of several programs and what they are designed to accomplish. A much more detailed analysis was prepared in a 1969 Planning Department report.\*

### Section 235: Home Ownership for Moderate Income Families

Section 235 of the 1968 Housing Act is directed generally to moderate income families who will live in single-family dwellings (attached or detached) as home owners. These dwellings are constructed or substantially rehabilitated after FHA approval of mortgage insurance. The program allows the federal agency to make payments to lenders who make FHA insured home mortgage loans to qualified families. These families get the benefit of lower housing costs because of the interest rate subsidy and low down payments. Mortgage payments are determined for each family by applying a fixed ratio to the adjusted family income, but with a minimum payment below which no further adjustments can be made. The ratio used is 20 per cent of the income for mortgage payments (including real estate taxes and home insurance). The minimum mortgage payment is that which would result if the interest rate were 1 per cent and no mortgage insurance premium were charged.

Over one hundred potential sites were evaluated for possible 235 development by the Housing Committee. Most had to be rejected because of cost or unavailability; however, the City Council requested that negotiations be initiated for eight, small vacant sites. Two of the eight sites were successfully negotiated for a total of five units. In this case the City would act as the land assembly agent, putting together enough land for at least ten units to make it feasible for a 235 developer. Two single family houses have been constructed under the program sponsored by the Evanston Urban Redevelopment Trust.

### Section 236: Rental Housing for Moderate Income Families

The rental program authorized by Section 236 of the 1968 Housing Act is similar to the Section 235 sales program in that the subsidy and income limit provisions are essentially the same. However, the fixed ratio of rent to income is 25 per cent.\*\* That is, the tenant or cooperative member must pay at least 25 per cent of his income for rent before receiving any subsidy on mortgage interest.

Eligibility for 236 housing for a family of four is limited to those whose adjusted incomes, at the time of initial occupancy, do not exceed \$8100. The income limit is graduated by family size. However, at least 20 per cent of the units may be rented to families above this level and another 20 per cent rented to low income families on rent supplement or through Leased Housing.

Section 236 Housing is initiated or sponsored by non-profit limited dividend or some form of cooperative corporation, but not by public bodies. The mortgage is insured by FHA.

A 236 program is being sponsored by Ebenezer AME Church. The ten story building at Emerson and Maple will contain 107 units of housing for the elderly. Construction began in the Spring of 1972. The City approved the appropriate zoning for the structure and the University made the land available at below market cost. Other sites are in various stages of consideration. The Simpson Site across from Foster Field involves almost two acres of City owned land. About twenty-two housing units will be built there with the City subsidizing the land costs to the developer.

### Public Housing

Public Housing, as its name implies, involves a more direct role for various levels of government in providing housing. The federal government finances planning and feasibility studies, construction costs, and supplies annual support. The housing is managed by a local housing authority and local government assists in site

\*Planning and Conservation Department, *Housing for Low and Moderate Income Families and for the Elderly*, Preliminary Review of Program and site considerations, November, 1969, City of Evanston, Illinois

\*\* Assuming an income limit of \$6,000, a family whose income is at the income limit would pay \$125 per month (25% of \$6,000 divided by 12). Families with lower incomes would pay proportionately less, down to the minimum "basic" rent. Basic rent is that which would be required if the mortgage interest rate was 1% and no mortgage insurance was required.

selection. This program is aimed at providing decent housing for low income residents at a rent they can reasonably afford. Many of the applicants will be moving out of overcrowded or blighted housing. Public housing in new, well designed buildings is one alternative to poor families moving from one blighted building to another.

Family eligibility income limits vary with the size of the family and are periodically readjusted by the local housing authority. Unlike Sections 235 and 236, there are upper income limits for continued eligibility.

Public Housing has a well deserved negative image in the minds of most Evanston residents. The term brings to mind the enormous high-rise project housing which has compounded the problems of the urban poor and the community in many major cities. There are, however, numerous good examples of small scale public housing built in many of the smaller communities around the state (Rockford). Few of them have a "project" appearance; they fit in well to their surrounding areas. Only the elderly are housed in elevator buildings, while families are accommodated in townhouse structures.

As a result of their concern for the need for low-rent housing for some Evanston families, the Housing Committee of the City Council recommended in July of 1970 that the Council authorize the Cook County Housing Authority to submit an application to the federal government for a program reservation and preliminary loan to investigate the feasibility of building public housing in Evanston. The planning loan was subsequently approved by HUD for the Cook County Housing Authority to make a feasibility study of constructing not more than 100 units for the elderly and 50 family units. The study is being carried out in cooperation with the City of Evanston. Twenty-four sites have been approved by the Human Services Committee and tentatively approved by the federal government.

Since it is probable that a local land cost subsidy will be needed and likely that some rezoning will be required, the City will be able to exercise effective control over any site selected. A further part of the City Council's resolution dealing with the study specifies a preference system for Evanston residents, giving first priority to those displaced by local governmental action and second priority to those of longest residency.

As part of the cooperation agreement entered into by Evanston, it is required, subsequent to project completion, that the City eliminate or improve unsafe or unsanitary dwelling units substantially equal to the number of newly constructed units under public housing.

### Other Programs Needed

The programs just reviewed are probably the best known, most frequently used, and most appropriate for Evanston. With the urgent national interest in housing, new programs and revisions of old guidelines are likely to appear in considerable number in the near future. Those programs covered above are directed toward improving the supply of housing for low and moderate income families. Other programs should be directed toward maintaining or improving the quality of the existing housing supply. Evanston's Code Compliance Program has been one of the major tools for upholding housing quality, but supplemental approaches should also be considered. Greater emphasis is needed on means of assisting families to meet the requirements of the housing code as opposed to simply enforcing the code. Low interest loans or even small grants to assist families hard pressed to make repairs are needed. Technical assistance and competent advice on how to improve existing housing is a service which is being expanded through the Community Services Division, but it is only a beginning. A Task Force on Housing Quality was appointed by the mayor in January of 1971 and exploration of approaches to these problems would be a logical assignment for them. Programs are available under Section 312 and 117 of the Housing Act which do provide for loans and grants for rehabilitation, but they require such loans to be made in designated urban renewal or code enforcement areas.

Perhaps the most important requirement for future programs is that they be able to reach the people in need much more quickly with less administrative overhead and fewer complications. Greater flexibility in guidelines is needed so that the programs can be more closely tailored to individual family and community needs. Higher allowable land costs per housing unit are essential to reflect Evanston's situation more realistically.

The problem of how to deal with scattered, individually inadequate buildings which should be replaced still remains. Federal programs such as Urban Renewal are geared to deal with large-scale blight through massive clearance. This is neither appropriate nor desired by Evanston. What is needed is a streamlined program which allows for expeditious acquisition, clearance and replacement of housing on a small scale, involving in many cases only one or two buildings in a block. We need to be able to re-house those temporarily displaced and place them in new housing with a minimum of disruption to the families involved and to the neighborhood. Any such program would require substantial federal subsidy, strong local support and active participation of the citizens involved. Whether such a program will be forthcoming is unknown, but Evanston is not the only community in this situation. If these needs are clearly defined and communicated to legislative leaders, there is a reasonable chance of some positive response.

### The Next Ten Years in Housing

Throughout most of this chapter attention has been focused largely on problems of low and moderate income housing, blighted housing, etc. It is the issues that these problems pose, their elusive solutions and the qualitative effect they have on people's lives that gives them their importance.

To place the question of housing for low and moderate income groups and the elimination of blighted housing in perspective, some basic numbers should be reviewed. First, our entire housing stock consists of about 28,000 housing units; only one to three per cent of those is considered blighted in some way and a smaller portion is seriously blighted. At the same time, however, 30 per cent of the housing is now over 50 years old. This will have some significance for the future quality of housing. Old housing is not necessarily a liability, and can be an asset. Many of Evanston's old homes have both architectural and historical significance as well as charm. Faced with the reality of an aging housing stock, the community will simply have to be more conscious of means to keep it healthy. Certainly not every structure that ages needs to be torn down; only a very small part of the housing stock is in that category at any given time. Recognizing that most of the housing is in good condition, the community must develop the will to change that which needs changing and have the good sense to preserve that which does not.

Cities are constantly building and rebuilding as part of their natural evolution. During the past decade, over 3,000 new housing units were constructed in Evanston while 450 units were demolished and another 350 units eliminated through code enforcement. Removal of one to three per cent of an aging housing stock each decade is probably reasonable in terms of the overall health of the total housing stock. However, this can result in a squeeze on the supply of low and moderate income housing, with code enforcement maintaining higher standards (thus higher rent) on older housing and with various public and private actions resulting in removal of other units. New housing for these economic groups will not be built without encouragement because of higher costs.

What would be a reasonable expectation for housing of all types of Evanston for the next ten years? We assume that the level of new construction will be below that of the past decade given the reduction in good potential sites and the serious economic obstacles in the form of land costs. A total figure of 1,500 units produced by the private market in the next ten years may be a somewhat arbitrary figure, but is probably realistic. There will probably be about 400 other housing units eliminated through a combination of public and private clearance as well as through code enforcement.

With the emerging interest in housing programs to help off-set the reduction in the housing supply for low and moderate income families, mortgage insured housing under Section 235 and 236 as well as some public housing will also be produced. The outline below tried to anticipate the quantity of housing, its type and sponsorship. It does not constitute a housing plan or programs because not enough information is yet available to give the numbers more meaning. Establishing the proper mix for any housing programs will involve both economic and political issues which have yet to be sharply defined. The net result as outlined would be about a 7 per cent increase in the total housing supply. Of the 2,400 new units, some 60 per cent would be upper income and half of these would be for older families or small households for one or two persons. New low and moderate income housing would constitute about 40 per cent of that produced and would be only 1.5 per cent of the total housing supply by 1980.



Changes in public policy, building trends and the economy could shift the number of units or priorities around. The number of units produced could be doubled or cut in half. There may be more emphasis on one category over another, but even so, it is felt that the numbers are within the realm of possibility given both the community's commitment and land resources. This does not constitute a recommendation but rather an approach for appraising future housing in Evanston.

**TABLE 6**  
**AN APPROACH**  
**FOR**  
**A TEN YEAR HOUSING PROGRAM**

Type of Housing or Density	Type of Program				Total Units
	Private	FHA Insured		Public	
		235	236		
Single Family	75	25	--	---	100
Mixed Low Density	100	----	300	100	500
Medium Density	900	----	200	-----	1,100
High Density*	400	----	200	100	700
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,475</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>700</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>2,400</b>

**PROJECTED HOUSING STOCK**

Higher Income	1,475 units	1970 Housing Units	29,000
Moderate Income	725	Units added 1970-1980	2,400
Low Income-Public	200	Units Eliminated	- 400
<b>Total Units</b>	<b>2,400</b>	Net Housing Gain	<b>2,000</b>
		<b>Total 1980 Units</b>	<b>31,000</b>

\*Mostly for older population and small households.

## WORKING AREAS

Most communities are preoccupied with expanding, preserving and enhancing their residential areas. However, there is a growing realization that the fabric of the community is dependent upon a strong, diversified economic base. It is essential to recognize that Evanston cannot sustain even the status quo in the quality of community services with a declining or static economic base. There is a steady rise in the demand for services and in the costs of providing them even to a static population. Unless the various revenue-producing elements of the city are able to adapt and grow, a decline in quality of service or a greater tax burden upon the property owners will follow.

Some cities are little more than overgrown subdivisions while others are dominated by the presence of large-scale enterprises. Evanston is in the fortunate position of having achieved a balance between the two extremes. It is a community with a diversified economic base which provides some 34,000 jobs, many of them for local citizens. This base produces sizable tax revenues for maintaining high levels of education and public services, and supplies important services to the community. It has been able to achieve this balance without greatly disturbing the residential community.

Most of the employment-generating and revenue-producing non-residential land use categories are grouped under the broad heading of working areas. Within these the Comprehensive General Plan designates four subdivisions: manufacturing, commercial, retail and office. One additional subdivision, the central area, has rather unique features and will be examined in the following chapter. Only about 12 per cent of the buildable areas of the city are occupied by these land uses, but their importance exceeds the proportion of their land area. (Buildable area is the land area of the city exclusive of such areas set aside for streets, alleys, railroads, etc.) Because they do generate traffic, parking and other problems, their location and relationship to other land uses has significance for planning.

### Manufacturing

Not widely recognized as such, Evanston is one of several suburban areas which has a significant amount of manufacturing. Manufacturing activities constitute a very substantial contribution to Evanston's economy, not only by supplying local jobs, but by providing important tax revenues.

#### Description

Great diversity among manufacturing activities is found in Evanston; most of the broad industrial categories classified in the U.S. Census of Manufacturing are represented. About 20 per cent of the workers employed in Evanston are in manufacturing. These 6,300 persons are employed close to 130 manufacturing firms producing a variety of goods.

The industry with the largest number of establishments is printing and publishing; the second, fabricated metal products; and the third, food and kindred products (Table 7). Although Evanston's manufacturing community is composed of many small firms, almost half the manufacturing employment is concentrated in three types: (1) fabricated metal products, (2) instruments and related products and (3) electrical machinery.

The land use pattern of manufacturing in Evanston is a fairly simple one; it forms an inverted "V" along the Mayfair and Milwaukee divisions of the Chicago and North Western Railroad. Along the western leg, known as the Mayfair Division, manufacturing uses are extensive and nearly continuous (Figure 24). Here, most of Evanston's manufacturing land and activity is found. This area constitutes approximately 7 per cent of the buildable area of the city.

TABLE 7  
TYPES OF MANUFACTURING IN EVANSTON

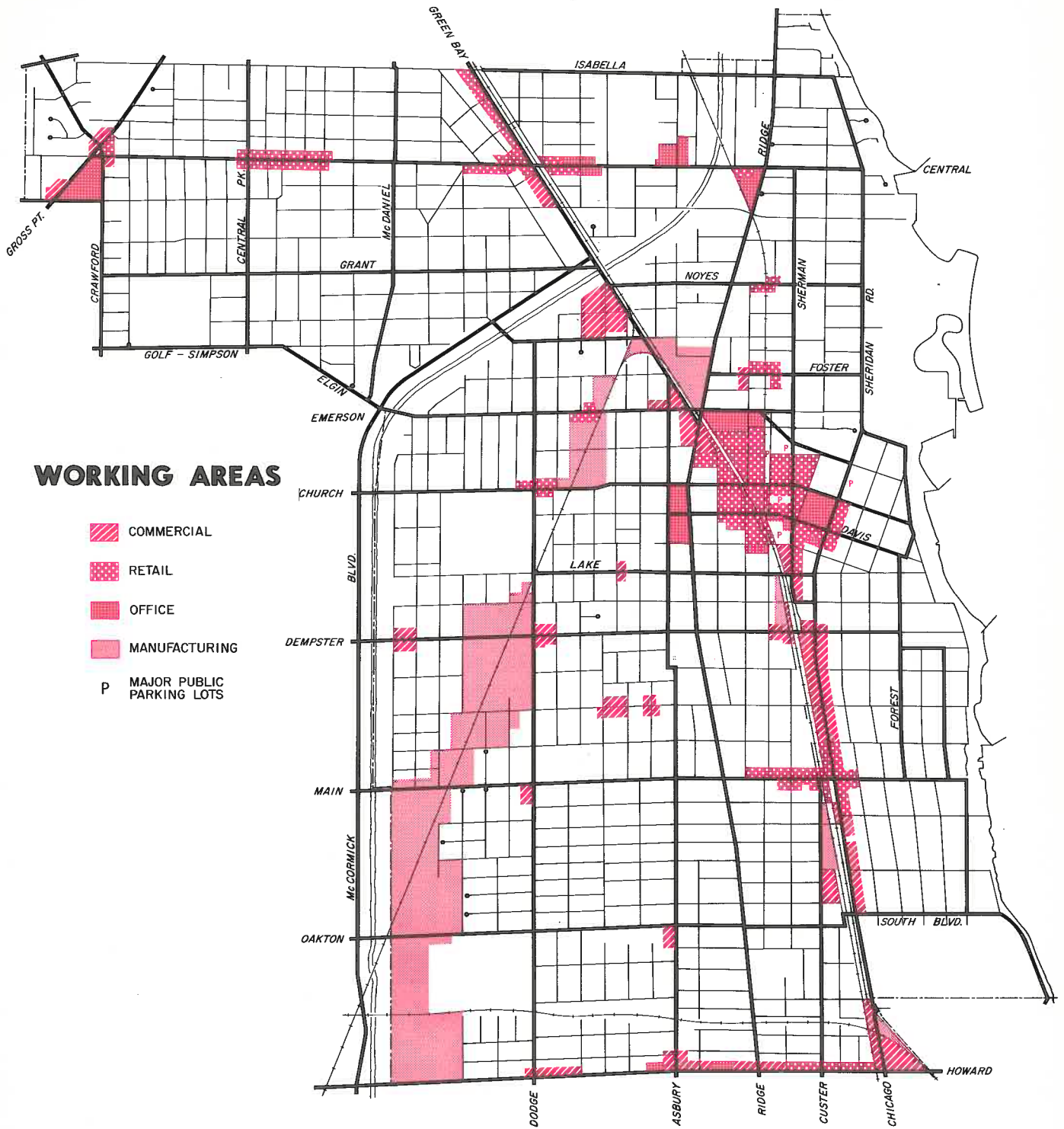
	No. of Establish- ments	Per Cent of Total	No. of Employees	Per Cent of Total
1. Printing & Bindings	30	22%	557	9%
2. Fabricated Metal Products	22	16	1,473	23
3. Food & Kindred Products	15	11	594	9
4. Chemicals & Allied Products	12	9	487	8
5. Machinery, except Electrical	9	7	355	5
6. Miscellaneous Manufacturing	7	5	92	1
7. Instruments & Related Products	6	5	918	14
8. Transportation Equipment	5	4	212	3
9. Stone, Clay and Glass	5	4	198	3
10. Furniture and Fixtures	5	4	39	-
11. Paper and Allied Products	4	3	464	7
12. Rubber and Plastic Products	4	3	203	3
13. Apparel and Related Products	4	3	30	-
14. Electrical Machinery	3	2	684	11
15. Primary Metal Industries	1	1	20	-
16. Lumber and Wood Products	1	1	11	-
	133	100%	6,337	100%

Source: Staff Survey, November, 1967.

TABLE 8  
MANUFACTURING GROWTH

YEAR	Number of Firms	Employees
1939	54	1,025
1940	65	1,063
1947	84	2,738
1958	139	4,981
1963	140	5,203
1967	133	6,337

FIG. 24



Along the eastern leg of the railroad, manufacturing activity is found only in three small, isolated clusters. The uses found in these areas are a combination of manufacturing and commercial, with some old homes. Most of the manufacturing firms in this eastern area are considerably older than those located in southwest Evanston, and they tend to be on smaller sites in multi-story buildings. Both the eastern and western industrial areas were developed in conjunction with rail lines as a result of dependence upon them for transportation, and as the areas adjacent to the railroad were relegated to manufacturing by zoning.

### Trends

Manufacturing activity saw a remarkable post-World War II expansion which more than doubled the number of firms from 54 in 1939 to 133 in 1967 and created over 5,000 new jobs. Much of this growth took place on the west side where ample vacant land was available.

Since manufacturing firms have abandoned multi-story buildings, they have become more spread out. They tend to have larger yards and set-backs, and landscaped grounds. Large operations also require extensive areas for parking. A number of these changes can be observed locally when comparing the older eastern manufacturing area with the western one developed since World War II. Along segments of Custer and Sherman Avenues there are multi-story factories which occupy the entire site. Because of early dependence upon nearby mass transit, little off-street parking is provided. In contrast, the industries of the western manufacturing area are mostly low level, provide off-street parking, and are frequently found on larger lots with set-backs, side yards and landscaped grounds.

The shift to truck transportation has been one of the most profound changes in manufacturing in the last twenty years. Evanston's industry is not always well located in relation to major streets and truck routes. While the result is not a major transportation problem for local industries, some conflicts with adjacent residential areas have been created. Although most manufacturing areas are accessible by some form of public transportation, workers in the western area rely heavily upon the automobile, thus creating additional traffic problems.

Before 1940 and the major movement of industry to the suburbs, Evanston had considerably more land zoned for manufacturing than it does today. The large reductions in land zoned for manufacturing on the southwest side provided greater area for homes, but deprived Evanston of a potential for a much stronger tax base. An opportunity was lost to design and develop a modern industrial park which would fit into the community with considerably more ease and with a far larger economic return than today's manufacturing areas.

What remains today is an irregular belt, cut back to a bare minimum, along the Mayfair branch of the Chicago and North Western Railroad which slices through several residential neighborhoods. Adequate relationships at boundaries between the two divergent land uses have not been worked out. It is an obvious example of reliance upon zoning alone to handle all land use problems without consideration of such questions as circulation patterns and means of achieving proper separation to reduce conflicts between the two uses. The Plan Commission recognized this problem in the 1940's and recommended that a series of landscaped buffers be constructed in the west end; however this was never done.

### Prospects

There are three ways in which additional manufacturing activities can be accommodated: (1) through plant expansion on to vacant land held in reserve; (2) through more intensive use of open industrial areas; and (3) through limited expansion by gradual displacement of homes within industrial areas. None of these would result in any large scale expansion.

Only a small amount of vacant land remains for manufacturing use. Much of this land is owned by established firms and will eventually be used for plant expansion. Some additional, built-in potential for new manufacturing uses exists within certain parts of the industrial community. This potential could be realized through more intensive development of land now used for low intensity operations such as coal yards, material yards or rail yards. Their conversion to manufacturing sites constitutes the largest potential for new growth.

There are a few other areas which have limited potential for redevelopment to manufacturing, but these are quite small. They include a few blocks of commercial and manufacturing uses mixed in with old homes in a poor residential environment. In these older areas of mixed use several alternatives might be considered. One is that the residential uses will eventually give way to expansion of adjacent plants to be acquired for off street parking. Second, it is possible that some of the older multi-story manufacturing plants might become obsolete and be abandoned. In such a case they could be purchased and cleared for housing sites. However, it must be remembered that industry makes a substantial contribution to the tax base, which in turn forms support for housing, schools and other community services.

Clearing blighted areas for new industry, thereby removing bad housing while creating better income producing land, has been a popular approach to supplying additional manufacturing land in many cities. There are both practical and social limitations to this practice. First, there are not sufficient areas of concentrated blight to warrant wholesale clearance; second, such action would only aggravate an already serious shortage of lower cost housing, and third, costs and difficulties of acquiring, clearing, and preparing land for new manufacturing plants make such action economically unfeasible.

## **Commercial**

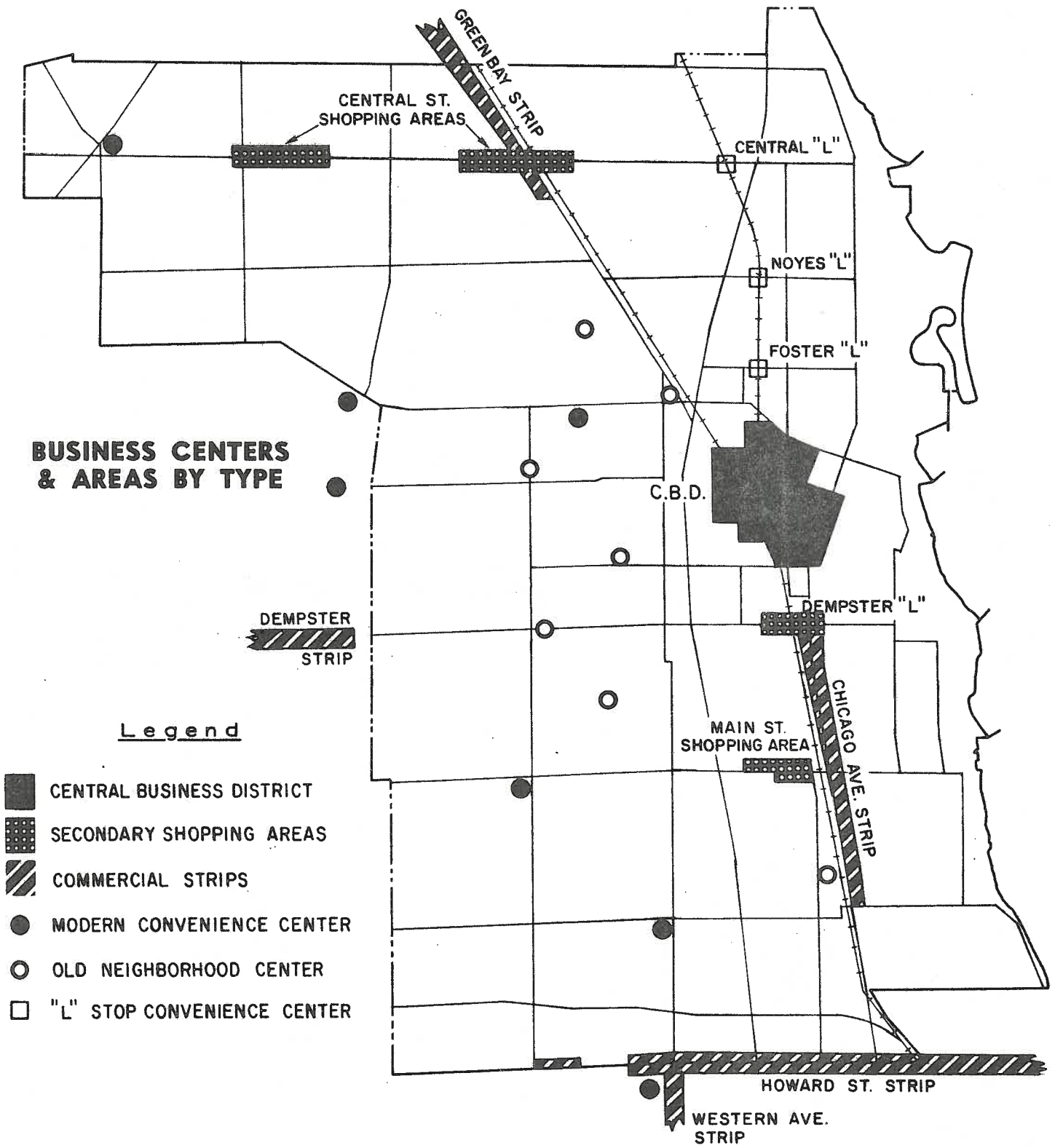
In land use policy and regulation significant distinctions are made between business and commercial activities. Business usually refers to retail activities; commercial applies to more service-oriented operations. A separation between the two is made because a number of commercial operations have some nuisance connected with them, are sometimes less attractive, or are considered inappropriate for prime retail areas. The distinctions between commercial activities and those of business or manufacturing are not always sharply defined. Commercial activities tend to grade into manufacturing at one end of the scale and retailing at the other.

### **Character, Pattern and Amount**

The pattern of commercial land is strongly linear following the major physical axis of the community which is formed by Green Bay Road, Chicago Avenue, and the Chicago and North Western Railroad (Figure 25). Another continuous strip is found along Howard Street. Each has special characteristics: Chicago Avenue is dominated by "automobile row," which includes sales, service, and related automobile business. Howard Street has many offices and drive-in restaurants; Green Bay Road is changing from automobile service to super-markets. But these are by no means the exclusive use. Certain segments of these streets have the character of neighborhood convenience centers which include supermarkets, hardware stores, cleaners, etc. There is a long list of other commercial uses found within these strips. Their variety makes generalization difficult but the emphasis is upon service, including laundries, second hand stores, printers, animal hospitals, bakeries, contractors' shops, bottlers, warehouses, drive-in restaurants and offices.

Commercial activities are found at locations other than in strips. These include corners at intersections of major streets and areas adjacent to business districts. Such locations do not break the continuity of retail concentration or interrupt the flow of pedestrian traffic. The largest users of commercial land are the automobile dealers and related automotive service functions including gasoline service stations.

FIG. 25



## Trends

In the earlier formulation of land use policies of American cities, distinctions were not made between commercial and retail activities. Consequently, commercial districts also contain neighborhood convenience stores. The character of most of the older commercial and shopping areas was that of long strips following major streets with bus or street-car lines. Customers were brought to stores by public transportation, or walked in from adjacent neighborhoods, and a few even came by automobile. With the emerging dominance of the automobile and the changing methods of merchandizing, many of the commercial strips became outmoded, unworkable or both. Increased automobile traffic clogged the business thoroughfares and the necessity of providing curb parking further aggravated the situation. New land use arrangements called for compact shopping centers served with ample off-street parking. These more efficient and convenient centers offered obvious advantages over the older strips. Many establishments failed, frequent turn-over and long term vacancies became characteristic. Commercial strips and other old commercial areas provide a burial ground for the aspirations of many small businesses.

## Prospects

Not all forms of business find these strips ill-suited for their needs. Drive-in facilities of many types and automobile dealers seem to thrive and grow in this setting. According to the 1967 Census of Business, automotive dealers account for the largest sales volume, 32 per cent, of any single category. Contrary to the general static level of sales among other types of business, automotive dealers have shown a strong increase between 1954 and 1967. Other businesses have been able to adapt to changed conditions and to operate very successfully in commercial strips by remodeling and installing adequate off-street parking. The more successful firms have been larger ones, such as supermarket chains, which can afford the considerable expense of such rebuilding.

These activities have removed many of the older vacant establishments and have blighted residences which characterized some commercial areas. Rejuvenation of establishments in some of the commercial strips has prevented serious economic decline within these areas.

There will probably be continued demand for land for expansions, but little is available where demand is greatest. Already automobile agencies and supermarkets are starting to double-deck facilities to handle parking.

The older commercial areas also provide a place for varied small businesses requiring low rents and overhead. Although some of these businesses are marginal, they provide valuable community services of all kinds. Recently new types of contemporary small shops have appeared in previously depressed commercial areas and are restoring new life to them. They seem to find older buildings more compatible for their operations.

The demand for commercial land has not been strong in all areas. From the first zoning ordinance in 1921, Evanston has had more land zoned for commercial development than it has used. With each successive zoning ordinance, the amount of land zoned for commercial use has been reduced. These changes were logical because the land did not develop for commercial use. The land use which actually evolved was partly commercial but largely residential. It has been recognized that mixtures of commercial and residential use do not provide a good residential environment and substantial reductions were made to discourage perpetuation of these mixtures. However, continued reductions in land zoned for commercial use, coupled with the expansion of more successful enterprises and possible public redevelopment, could drastically reduce the amount of low rent floor space available for these small businesses.

Because the types of uses found in commercial districts are sometimes less attractive, generate more problems, or are less obviously successful than those in the business areas, these districts tend to be regarded as a stepchild in the land use scheme. In spite of their less glamorous image, the commercial districts play a vital role of growing importance in providing services and in sustaining the local tax base.



## Retail Business

Business land use involves primarily stores dealing in a great variety of retail activities. Other business activities frequently found in association with these stores include theatres, restaurants and establishments offering personal services. As explained previously, this plan distinguishes between business activities and other commercial activities, though the two frequently overlap.

### Description

The business community has long been one of the major elements of Evanston's economic base. Recent growth of other elements, such as office and manufacturing activities, has reduced the relative importance of retailing in the local economy. Nearby shopping centers have cut into its strength. However, in spite of this, retail business still occupies an extremely important position because of revenue generated in sales and property taxes and employment opportunities offered. Its significance exceeds the small land area involved in its operations.

According to the 1967 Census of Business, there were 567 retail establishments employing 4,668 persons in Evanston. General merchandising, consisting of department stores, limited price variety stores and those handling miscellaneous general merchandise was the leading employer (Table 9). Food stores were the second largest employer, followed closely by restaurants. Other major types of retail activity found in Evanston's business areas include apparel and accessory stores, furniture and home furnishings, and small specialty shops. The small specialty stores are the most numerous of all retail establishments.

Business areas divide themselves into several levels of activity and functions ranging from the downtown core to isolated neighborhood stores. Figure 25 shows the class and location of several different types of business centers. Evanston's downtown has long served as an outlying regional shopping center. Its many retail functions provide a variety of goods, strengthen the local tax base, and create a wide range of employment opportunities. It is within the central business district that the greatest range and variety of retail activity is found — from department stores to candy stores. Surrounding this concentrated core of retail activity are commercial, office and other related activities which, combined with the core area, form the broader central area.

Two other secondary centers of retail activity, the Central Street and Main Street shopping areas, serve the north and south sections of the city. Their variety of retail outlets is considerable but not as great as the central business district. Perhaps the most significant difference is in their smaller size and the absence of any department stores. Each of the two areas has a broad enough range of goods and services to perform the function of a shopping center in a small community. In fact, both originated in this way in the time when they served the Village of North Evanston and the Village of South Evanston. Its recent success has elevated Dempster street from a former non-descript "L" stop and neighborhood convenience center to a rather unique secondary shopping area offering a variety of specialties and craft shops.

Neighborhood convenience centers are the third general level of business activity. They are fairly distinct and easy to recognize. Three types of locations can be found: at "L" stops, at major street intersections and at central locations within old neighborhoods. Typically, these include a supermarket or small independent groceries, shoe repair shops, laundries and cleaners, barber shops, drug stores, and perhaps eating establishments. These neighborhood convenience centers are usually compact rather than linear. They have a much smaller service area which is usually limited to their immediate neighborhood. Figure 25 identifies modern convenience centers, older neighborhood centers and transit stop centers. Of course, the convenience stores are also found as elements in other business areas, such as the downtown secondary shopping centers and commercial strips.

To give a more complete picture of the retail pattern, competing neighborhood centers or commercial strips offering services similar to those in Evanston are also shown in Figure 25.

TABLE 9  
CHANGE IN NUMBER, SALES, AND EMPLOYMENT IN RETAIL ESTABLISHMENTS

	NUMBER			SALES (In Millions)			EMPLOYMENT		
	1954	1963	1967	1954	1963	1967	1954	1963	1967
Convenience Stores									
Food Stores	129	87	71	24.9	25.5	27.9	702	580	681
Eating and Drinking	74	81	74	6.9	6.2	5.8	862	669	660
Drug	<u>27</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>4.2</u>	<u>4.2</u>	<u>4.9</u>	<u>208</u>	<u>186</u>	<u>NA</u>
Subtotal	230	193	172	36.0	35.9	38.6	1,772	1,435	1,341
Comparison Stores									
General Merchandise	21	28	25	26.9	21.4	21.4	1,795	1,295	NA
Apparel Stores	100	68	65	20.5	13.0	12.7	1,074	573	504
Furniture/Accessories	<u>71</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>10.4</u>	<u>7.6</u>	<u>9.9</u>	<u>364</u>	<u>252</u>	<u>313</u>
Subtotal	192	149	139	57.8	42.0	44.0	3,233	2,120	817
Others									
Hardware/etc.	24	29	21	4.7	4.6	4.1	118	135	NA
Automotive Dealers	35	24	23	26.2	42.9	50.8	447	471	493
Gasoline Service Stations	45	59	46	4.3	7.7	4.4	120	200	156
Other Retail Stores	140	127	127	9.9	9.2	9.9	540	350	465
Non-store Retailers	<u>35</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>3.4</u>	<u>3.7</u>	<u>2.9</u>	<u>141</u>	<u>240</u>	<u>73</u>
Subtotal	279	276	255	48.5	68.1	72.1	1,366	1,396	1,187
TOTAL	701	618	566	142.3	146.0	154.7	6,371	4,951	3,345

Source: Census of Business, 1954, 1963, 1967  
 NA - Not Available because of rules of the Census Bureau on disclosure of information

Not shown is a fourth level of retail locations — that of individual stores scattered through residential areas or at commercial corners. They are usually a food store or some other long established shop which continues to exist as legal non-conforming uses. They are not shown because of their uncertain future and the small amounts of land involved.

### Trends

The retail structure of Evanston has been undergoing some marked adjustments in recent years. Estimates on employment for retail establishments indicate that during the years between 1954 and 1967, employment declined by about 25 per cent. The number of retail establishments dropped by 134 stores during the same time period.

Sales volume is another measure of retail activity. While the number of stores has decreased, the net total volume of sales has increased by 14 million dollars, for a nine per cent gain between 1954 and 1967. The greatest increase occurred among the automotive dealers, who experienced a 24.6 million dollar increase, while the greatest decrease occurred among apparel stores, dropping 7.8 million dollars in total volume.

According to the Census of Business, Evanston's general merchandise and apparel lost 13.3 million dollars in sales in the period between 1954 and 1967. A part of this decline was caused by the Lords Department Store as well as several apparel shops. This general decline in a period of higher commodity prices, increased population and higher per capita income, is an indication that Evanston has lost some of its market area. For example, the opening of Old Orchard and Edens Plaza, located close to Evanston, cut off the expanding market area of the northern and northwestern suburbs. The new discount centers, located within a few miles of Evanston, have drawn off potential retail trade from the Evanston market. In some places, new neighborhood convenience centers, located at the city entrances, have resulted in some loss of retail trade or the capture of potential local trade.

Some physical change in these trends can be seen in the detailed land use patterns of the business areas. The broad outlines of these patterns are fairly well set and have changed little in recent years. However, there have been important shifts within them. What has been taking place is a modification of a retail structure which developed in the 1920's. These changes represent a response to more contemporary ways of doing business and fulfilling shopping needs. Early evidence of the adjustment was the growing number of vacant establishments, but most of these "dead areas" gave way to new uses, such as much needed parking or new enterprises. Many of the changes are directly traceable to the growing reliance upon the automobile: supermarkets with their off-street parking now require much more space; automobile dealers have to remodel and expand in order to handle greater volumes; small, obsolete filling stations have been replaced by larger, modernized ones; financial institutions have been expanded to provide drive-in banking; and drive-in restaurants have multiplied.

The reorganization of retail space has been felt on the neighborhood level, too. Many small stores have disappeared in competition with the larger chain stores. The trend among convenience stores has been to combine groceries, drugs, hardware, bakeries, etc., under one roof as supermarkets and discount centers. This trend is expected to continue.

### Prospects for Small Neighborhood Convenience Shopping Centers

There is some question as to whether these centers will continue to play an important role in providing convenient shopping facilities for the day-to-day needs of the residential areas. Although they have lost trade to other areas, there is a sizable local population for them to serve. This, along with the emphasis on more personal kinds of service, may offer these small centers a reasonable opportunity to survive.

However, prospects are not bright for all these small centers or the stores in them. Many of the older ones have had some difficulty in adjusting to the change necessary to meet growing competition and shifting consumer preferences. Some of the centers will continue the trend towards modernization and thus survive. Modern supermarkets or off-street parking lots will probably replace others. Some centers have been replaced by more modern facilities in more accessible locations and face continued decline. There may not be sufficient market incentive for acquisition, consolidation, clearance and redevelopment to interest any of the larger chains in such action. In such cases the question becomes, "To what new uses should this land and its buildings be put?" Some structures have been converted to residences. Others may not lend themselves well to such conversions. Structurally and functionally some of these buildings are ripe for redevelopment because of their obsolescence. One possibility might be replacement of the entire center by redeveloping it with new shops in combination with higher density multi-family buildings. A small planned "community" within some of the older neighborhoods could help rejuvenate them and supply new housing and shopping facilities. The scale of such redevelopment would be small but would provide a focal point for the neighborhood.

Policy for replacement exists only in the present zoning regulations which were not designed to handle the issue of possible redevelopment. In most cases these regulations are not broad enough to provide suitable alternatives. Evaluation of planned development techniques which would be applicable is one approach, but the actual market and feasibility of such projects should also be determined.

The term "planned development" refers to a more flexible set of contracts which is applied to a large tract of land developed as a unit. Standard zoning provisions which prescribe certain rigid yard requirements, height, and arrangement of building bulk on a rectangular lot do not apply. Nevertheless, the City still maintains tight controls over the overall development of a project and its impact on surrounding areas. Planned development offers more latitude to achieve a better overall design which makes construction economically more feasible. The planned development procedure allows new development which has been shown to be in the best interests of the developer, the neighborhood and the city. It allows the application of controls which are appropriate to the particular site and its surroundings. For example, greater open space at the ground level or a lower density may be more desirable than a particular restriction on height.

Serious study concerning the possibility of using planned development techniques should also be part of more specific neighborhood plans. Because property values are too high to let land and buildings remain unproductive, we must remain open to consideration of alternatives.

### Prospects for the Central Street Shopping Area

The secondary shopping centers of Main Street and Central Street have shown considerable strength and have managed to adapt well to changing circumstances with modernization programs and the development of off-street parking. The Central Street area in particular has seen a number of new buildings constructed and a great deal of face-lifting. Considering its popularity, the function it serves, and its trade area, the future of the Central Street shopping area seems fairly secure.

Because Central Street serves as a major street and as a shopping street, a number of traffic conflicts develop. These are compounded by its narrowness in certain segments. Increased traffic volume and traffic congestion at rush hours are likely to make parking restrictions necessary, so additional off-street parking should be sought. No additions or contractions are expected in the Central Street business district, but some potential remains for additional redevelopment. In certain areas older residential structures are being used for some form of business. Ultimately most of these are likely to be replaced by new office or retail buildings.

## Prospects for the Main Street Shopping Area

The Main Street shopping area has had some remodeling but almost no new construction. Off-street parking facilities have been developed, but the area suffers the same traffic congestion as the Central Street area. This congestion is produced because of the many functions that the street must serve in its busiest segment. Within a relatively narrow width of 40 feet, it must accommodate two rows of high turn-over parking, handle a bus route and serve as a major thoroughfare. This allows only one moving lane in each direction, and each lane frequently is blocked. The conflicts between various kinds of traffic and pedestrians are considerable.

The Main Street shopping area has considerable vitality and serves a large local population. A recent survey of shoppers showed that many of the stores draw from several parts of the city and from other communities as well. Nevertheless, the area is underdeveloped in terms of its full potential. In addition, outmoded structures, inadequate parking, traffic congestion and a zoning designation which permits more intensive use than currently exists, point to the need for redevelopment. Both its underdeveloped market potential and current zoning are factors to encourage redevelopment. The objective of redevelopment would be to eliminate some of the major problems, create a more desirable arrangement of retail elements and more fully utilize the existing retail potential.

Identifying the possibilities for large-scale redevelopment and getting a program launched are two different things. Several fundamental questions remain to be answered, including those of leadership, funds and land acquisition. Because the shopping area is not a blighted one, the possibility for federal funds is remote. Without the power of eminent domain, private acquisition plans might be thwarted in spite of the availability of financing. In any case, a good deal of study and discussion by private interests, neighborhood groups and local government will be required before any definitive actions begin to emerge.

### Office

One of the most significant new developments in Evanston's working areas has been the construction of new office buildings. This trend is reinforcing the community's functions as a regional service center and has helped take up the slack of some declining retail functions. While much of the new retail building activity has been largely a modification of the old retail structure, the emergence of office buildings represents the addition of a new major element in the mix of business and commercial activities.

### Description

The most obvious and impressive of the new office buildings is State National Bank. There have been others of smaller scale, including Washington National, the Methodist Headquarters, Rotary International, Calumet and Hecla, General Finance and the 990 Grove building.

Office developments have not taken on a very distinctive pattern of their own, but rather have taken place within existing business and commercial areas (Figure 24). One exception is the office development on residential land along Ridge Avenue, on the border of the central business district. There are also significant outlines of office development in the north along Central Street and south along Howard Street.

Evanston has a generally favorable climate for the continued attraction of new office functions, but there is a shortage of available sites. The best potential for redevelopment for office space lies in the downtown area, but the other business or commercial areas also have possibilities. Most of the recent office developments are community assets. The structures are attractive, generate local employment opportunities, and strengthen the tax base.

## Prospects

In future years office functions should substantially contribute to the diversification of Evanston's economic base and enhance its image as a headquarters city. In particular, the functions of Evanston's central business district are expected to multiply. Office development is emerging as an activity complementary to the traditional retailing function of downtown. New office structures in outlying sections of the city will add strength to these areas.

### Central Business District

As indicated earlier, downtown Evanston has lost some of its trade area. Its difficulties are not unique, however, for as the metropolitan area has grown, similar changes have occurred in many communities. Suburban growth has produced a series of changes in activities which is altering the basic function of the older established shopping areas.

Obviously, the opening of new shopping centers such as Old Orchard and Eden's Plaza, located so close to Evanston, has cut the downtown area off from the expanding market area of the northwest suburbs. With their excellent access and abundant parking, these centers also capitalize on the mobility of shoppers. This increased mobility means that the older centers no longer have a "captive" clientele. By their very newness these centers have an additional advantage in that they are able to incorporate many of the current merchandizing techniques and more efficient arrangements of retail space. Because of large investments in fixed physical facilities, older shopping centers have far greater difficulty in adapting to changes.

Although there have been some significant declines in various segments of the retail structure, they have been more in the nature of adjustment than inexorable, across-the-board decline. These trends do not spell the ultimate demise of Evanston as a shopping center. The major department stores are doing well, as are a number of the other retail stores. Most of the vacancies have been removed through redevelopment. Evanston will continue to play a role as an important shopping center by providing a wide range of goods and services to a sizable local population, by drawing some trade from surrounding communities for specific needs and by serving a growing daytime downtown population generated by new office development.

The most significant change in the central business district is the introduction of new office buildings. As suggested earlier, this trend reflects the broadening function of the central business district from one of a wholly retail-oriented regional shopping center to a more diversified downtown with a regional office function as well.

Other aspects of the downtown area involving plans and prospects will be covered in the following section of the Comprehensive General Plan on the central area.

### Prospects, Policies and Plans

The greatest restraint upon the development of new industry, new retail establishments and new offices is the land shortage. Evanston contains virtually no vacant land. There are no extensive areas of serious blighted land suitable for clearance and the cost of the developed land available for purchase and clearance is quite high.

Often, the only course of action for a new enterprise coming to Evanston is to rent available space. For those who need to build, the course is usually difficult. The problem begins with the choice of site. Normally, the search for a site is directed towards finding one of ideal size and location. However, in Evanston, the quest usually turns toward finding an available site, even one which does not satisfy all criteria. Once a tentative site has been selected, other questions must be resolved. Does the intended use comply fully with current zoning or is some variation required? If necessary, is rezoning feasible? What will the official reaction of the community be, the reaction of the public and the site's neighbors? Since redevelopment is the only way to make land available, will the cost of purchasing land and buildings and then clearing be justified by the economic

future of the new use? Because the City has no renewal programs and few potential commercial sites would qualify as "blighted", the developer, lacking the power of eminent domain, is on his own in consolidating any properties for redevelopment. This means that he could be stymied by a "hold out" or an unwilling seller. Ability to assemble land is essential, since any redevelopment for new office or business use will require more than a single small parcel. If redevelopment is to take advantage of the planned development provision of the zoning ordinance a minimum of one acre for a site is required.

The downtown area, indeed most areas of the city, are not subdivided into large tracts of land under single ownership. Usually they are found to be fragmented into fifty foot frontages, sometimes more, frequently less. Planned development has at least encouraged the kind of growth which is appropriate for downtown, but it is not the single key for opening widespread redevelopment in that area. The relaxation of height restrictions in the downtown area in favor of more open space and greater set-backs has created a built-in opportunity to redevelop the core area. However, this opportunity is strongly conditioned by the ability to assemble land held in fragmented ownerships. The high cost of this land and the difficulty of providing required off-street parking are further limitations.

In addition to its status as a university town, a regional shopping center, a medical center and a diversified light manufacturing area, Evanston also has firms representing forty-eight national headquarters. Recognizing the significance of this role, the city has adopted, as part of its Community Objectives, a statement focusing upon a headquarters city concept and designed to further strengthen this function. The mere presence of so many headquarters is testimony to the favorable location and environment for their operation. The fact, too, that many firms have persisted through the difficulties and costs of acquiring land, and have spent months in securing zoning approvals, says a great deal about the strength of Evanston's location and desirability.

Although the potential for redevelopment is good, it would be unrealistic to visualize such potential as leading to redevelopment of the entire downtown area within a short time span. Most of the structures are substantial and are realizing their potential. The cost of replacing them at the risk of business loss during the interim may not be a justified one. There are, however, a number of under-utilized locations whose redevelopment and realization of full potential would add considerable strength to the economic interrelationship between the various elements of the downtown area.

What are the potentials for redevelopment, what areas are available, and what are the possible re-uses? The answers lie in highly detailed studies of individual sites. Without them specific answers are not available. However, some statements on the general questions can be made. Most of the redevelopment is likely to take place within three major zones: commercial, manufacturing and business. There is little potential for extending these zones into surrounding residential areas; indeed, in most cases it would be undesirable. Amendments to the zoning ordinance have created real possibilities for rebuilding sections of the central business district, within which there is potential for both additional office space and a new department store. At least one major chain has studied the local market and is convinced that it is strong enough to support such a venture. The major handicap has been securing a reasonable site. Recent redevelopment has greatly reduced the retail space and vacancies in the downtown area. There remains a demand for space by smaller merchants seeking locations within Evanston. Continued redevelopment is likely to increase this demand by further reducing retail space and by creating a built-in market of new customers.

The Main Street community business area and some of the secondary neighborhood convenience centers also have potential for redevelopment. There are some declining businesses, resulting in a contraction of business frontage, and leaving the future uses of such buildings uncertain. Sections of Chicago Avenue are examples.

Less dramatic, but just as significant to the future economic health of Evanston, is maintenance of its large investment of fixed assets represented by its business and industry. The community must continue to make use of its ability to respond to changing modes of business and industry. Remodeling, modernization, improvement of merchandising techniques, attraction of new tenants to replace businesses that fail or move and maintenance of older substantial ones are essential means of strengthening and preserving Evanston's economic base.

One of the fundamental questions to be asked when considering the future economic growth or status of a community is, "Are new businesses and industries welcome? Are the present firms held in esteem as community assets or considered unwanted nuisances?" The answer will vary among those asked. Public attitudes in Evanston toward the attraction of new enterprise must be described as ambivalent. Handsome new buildings replacing obsolete, unsightly ones and greatly improving the local tax base are desirable. However, when the time comes to face the particulars of locating a specific new building within the present land use scheme and street system, the struggle begins.

The dilemma is defined in *Evanston, Your City and Its Planning Objectives* in the section for business and industry: "Create a favorable environment for business and industry compatible with continued improvement of residential neighborhoods." If the new industry is free of pollution and nuisances, if the new enterprise contributes substantial tax revenue, if its workers are highly skilled, highly paid and shop in Evanston, if they live outside of Evanston and take public transportation to work instead of driving, if the structure is attractive yet not visible from any home, then the new firm is clearly welcome. When some of these conditions are not met, opposition is likely to arise.

There are numerous problems which develop between residential areas and the income-producing business and industrial areas. There remain many unresolved problems from earlier growth. New developers may have the benefit of knowing how to avoid some of the older mistakes, but they still are likely to have difficulty in trying to adapt to a fully developed city and circulation system in such a way as to make themselves fully compatible with nearby residential areas. Chief among the current problems are those related to the automobile. There are residential areas which suffer from overflow parking generated by a variety of sources. Many of the major streets are inadequate for their present traffic volumes, so traffic spills into local residential streets. The truck route system is inadequate to keep truck traffic out of residential areas. There are also occasional nuisances created by air pollution and noise.

Efforts to retain the economic base of business and industry, to encourage their modernization and adaptation to changing requirements, to attract new enterprises and to cope with unforeseen changes will involve a contest between conflicting objectives. These will necessarily result in compromises between the need for tax revenues to achieve levels of excellence in government and education and the need to protect residential areas from undue nuisances. The city is on record in the *Evanston, Your City and its Planning Objectives*, as being in favor of attracting additional office space in downtown Evanston, retaining viable business, and redeveloping declining areas. These objectives go on to indicate that compatibility between residential, business and manufacturing uses should be encouraged, recognizing that both have their needs and legitimate claims. Such policy statements can not go much beyond this point. A Comprehensive General Plan for the community can help to identify and suggest solutions to a number of these conflicts. More detailed neighborhood plans and a central business district plan can focus even more closely on them and offer alternative proposals. Still, a number of the built-in conflicts of objectives will have to be resolved on a case-by-case basis.



## CENTRAL BUSINESS AREA

The central business area is a highly specialized working area which deserves special attention. It contains a combination of employment, shopping, cultural, entertainment, housing and educational activities which are interrelated in a complex fashion.

The economic health of downtown Evanston is important to the whole community, not only because of its value in terms of its revenue generating capacity, but also as part of the community's image. It is seen more often by more people than any other part of the community. Therefore, maintenance of this area's vitality is directly linked to Evanston's future well-being.

### Defining The Central Business Area

It is difficult to arrive at a definition or an agreement of what actually constitutes the city center. Central area, central business district, downtown, and commercial core are all terms used interchangeably, and most people have a general idea of what area they refer to. However, when a definition is attempted and boundaries must be drawn, the actual area becomes elusive. The core of the business area is somewhat easier to map while the outlying zones, which form transitions to adjacent neighborhoods, are more diffuse.

The map of Evanston's central business area (Figure 26) covers an area broad enough to include the concentrated focus of business activities, the related and supporting land uses around this focus, and the mixture of residential and other uses on the fringe. Its boundaries are not precise; they merely represent recognizable physical features within which the form of the central business area can be more easily identified.

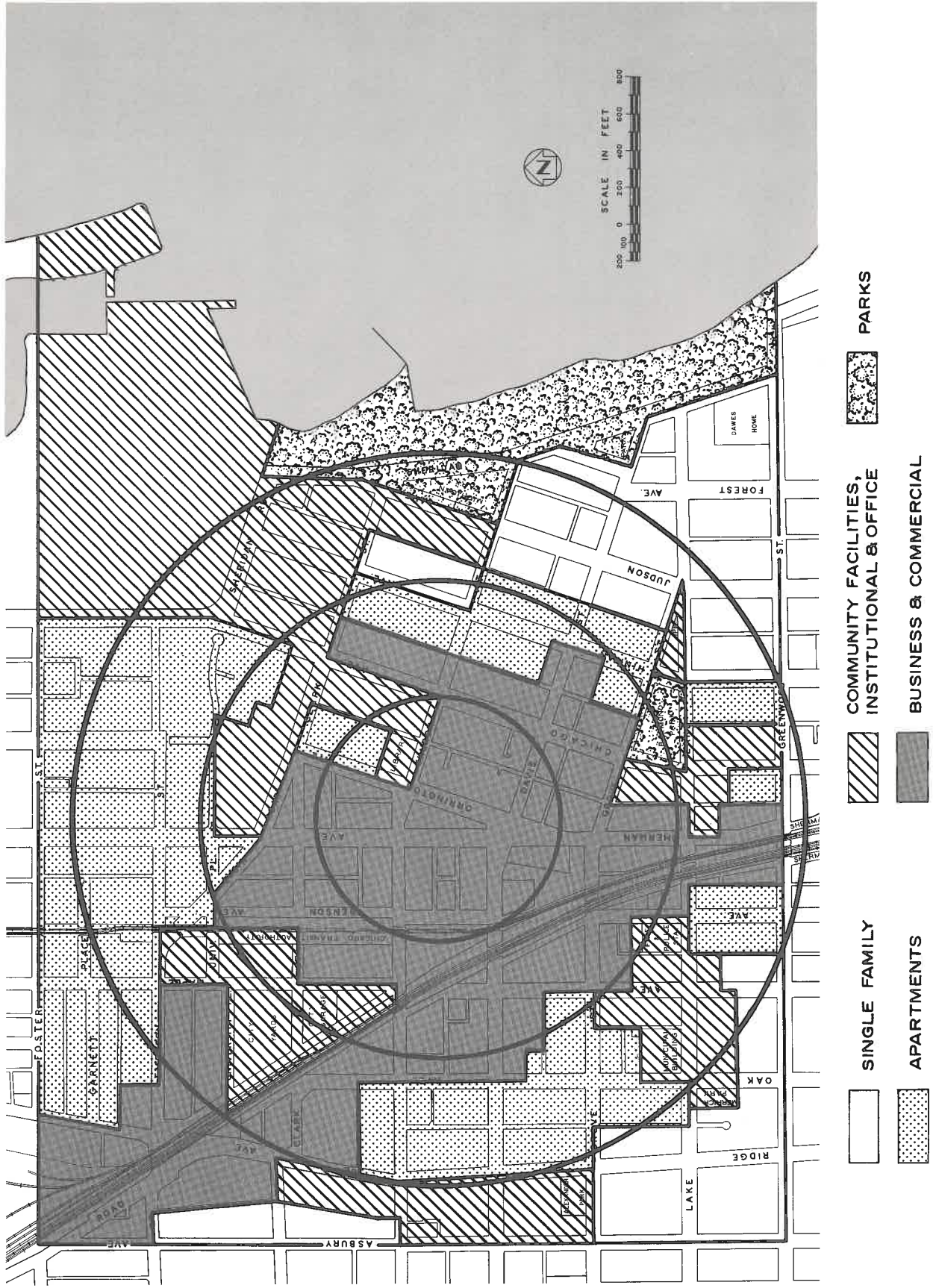
### Central Business Area Form

The basic form of the central area has evolved over the past 100 years, as part of the original city incorporated in 1863. Its street pattern was determined at that time. The central business area's form is structured around a retail shopping core. Emerging from the older, established retail pattern are a number of new structures. Most of these are office buildings reflecting the broadening function of the area and strengthening Evanston's image as a headquarters city. Adjacent to and surrounding this core are other less intense business activities, apartment buildings, a portion of the Northwestern University campus, and groupings of community facilities such as churches and governmental offices. At the outer edge begins a transition to a variety of single family homes ranging from large old mansions to some very modest housing on the fringe.

Because of its diversity and complexity, the central business area is easier to comprehend if viewed as consisting of at least three areas forming concentric circles about the center of the business district. These complementary sub-areas consist of (1) a core, (2) an outer ring around the core and (3) a fringe or peripheral area. The retail core forms the nucleus of the central area and its dimensions are based upon minimum distances that most pedestrians will walk from their point of arrival to a destination in the business area. The other rings are based upon cumulative additions of this distance.

While this concept is not meant to produce rigid geographic areas, it is used as a convenient means of visualizing the structure of the central area. This concept of form is based on three assumptions:

1. The central business area has a major nucleus;
2. There is a mutual attraction and support between the diverse activities in the area; and
3. The mutual attraction between activities is largely dependent upon pedestrian movement; therefore the arrangement of uses and distances between them should be harmonious with pedestrian movement.



GENERALIZED LAND USE · 1970 / central area · evanston, ill. / FIG. 26

Figure 26 illustrates the application of the core concept and Table 10 lists the generalized land uses within each of the rings. The inner core is composed almost entirely of businesses, reflecting its function as the center for retailing and office activities for the entire city. Moving outward from the center of downtown, business activities occupy less land area and apartments and community facilities become more numerous.\* These activities dominate the outer core and peripheral zones and complement the business uses in the core. The peripheral zone or fringe of the central business area has almost half of its land area used for apartments (including Northwestern's dormitories). Other community facilities occupy over a quarter of the area in this zone. Northwestern's lower campus, park facilities, and some single family homes begin to emerge as significant land use activities in the peripheral area. University land uses progressively increase as the outer core and peripheral areas are reached, occupying 17 and 21 per cent respectively.

**TABLE 10**  
**PROPORTION OF GENERAL LAND USES BY LOCATION**  
**WITHIN DISTANCE FROM CENTER OF THE BUSINESS DISTRICT**

	Inner Retail Core	Outer Core	Fringe Area or Periphery	Total
Business and Commercial	89.6%	61.3%	15.5%	38.7%
Apartments (includes dorms)	2.8	17.2	39.5	28.4
Community Facilities (Office and Institutional)	7.6	20.5	27.2	22.9
Single Family	-----	-----	13.5	7.7
Parks	-----	1.0	2.3	2.3

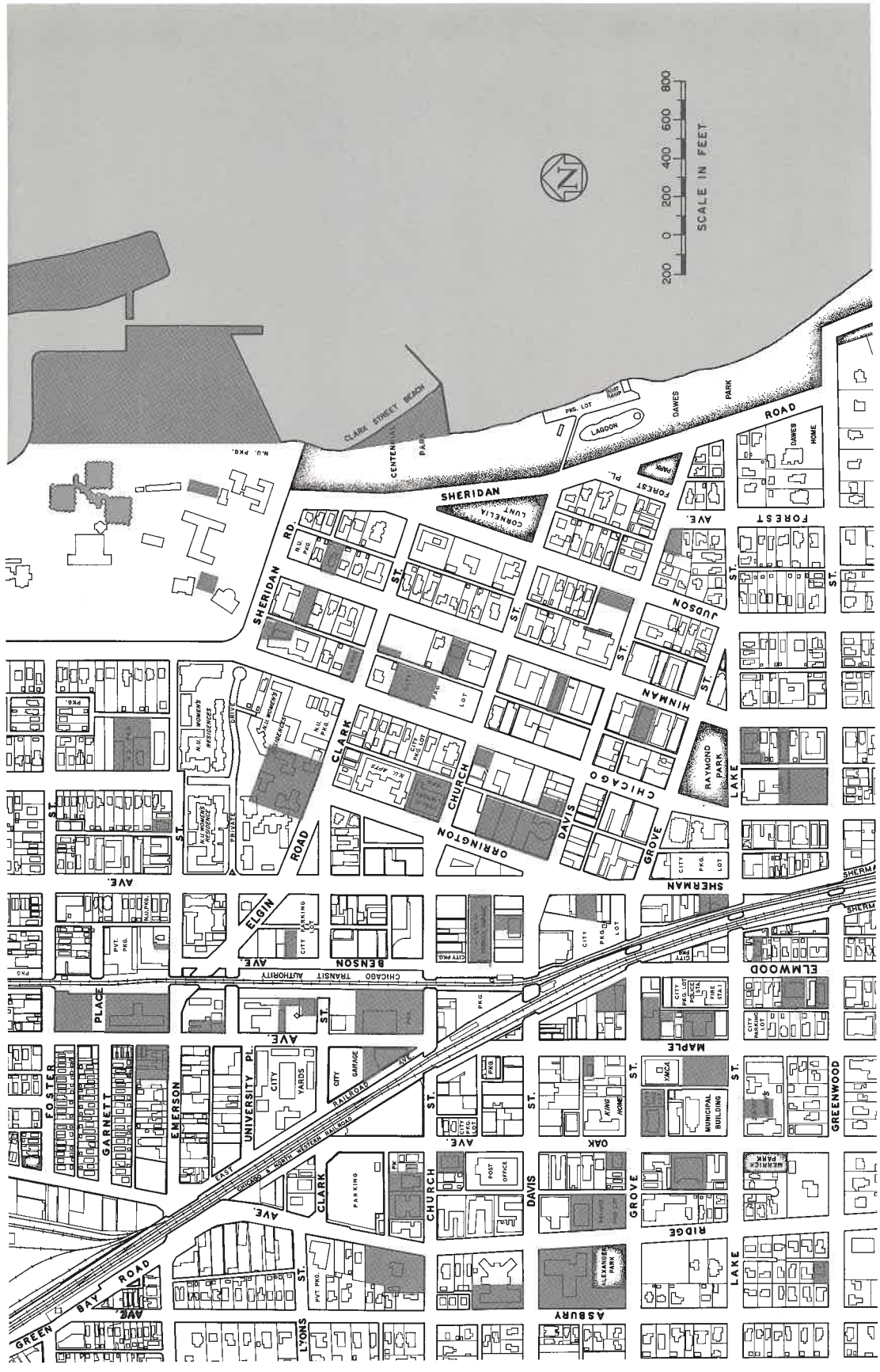
### The Core Area

A new vigor is emerging in the core of the central business area, characterized by the municipal parking structure on Sherman Avenue, the State Bank Plaza project and the new segments of Elgin Road. Significant changes have taken place within the last ten years and especially within the last three years (Figure 27). These facilities and others signal a new era of changes to meet the needs of the community. New office structures are emerging as an activity complementary to the traditional retail function of the central business area. The spin-off to other underdeveloped sites in the downtown is sure to occur.

Retail businesses, commercial activities, offices and off-street parking are the main ingredients of the core. The major stores, with the exception of Wieboldt's Department store are east of the railroad tracks. Changes in the past ten years include more off-street parking, more speciality shops and service establishments and, as previously mentioned, additional office space. Two new office structures (one an annex) are planned for the south side of Davis Street between the railroad tracks and Sherman Avenue.

Decisions about growth, both in the private and public sector, are based on policies and ordinances intended to intensify the use of land within the core area while maintaining the present boundaries. Emphasis is being placed on vertical rather than horizontal growth. Since the core area, by the nature of its highly intense activity, generates and is dependent upon a high degree of pedestrian interchange, it should be mainly oriented to pedestrian needs. To the extent that policies and developments discourage and severely conflict with pedestrian movement, they will diminish the importance of the core area.

\*For the sake of maintaining simplicity in the generalized land use map, Northwestern University's lower campus was classified either as community facilities or apartments.



LAND USE CHANGES & RENEWAL — 1960 - 1970 / central area - evanston, ill. / FIG.27

Plazas (both existing and proposed) need to be connected by walkways to give pedestrians a clear right of way over the automobile, encouraging people to walk (Figure 28). The routes must be made interesting through the use of street furniture, just as the destination must be interesting to attract customers. Plazas can provide interest along the way and increase the pleasure of walking. The use of arcades in buildings and open plazas are encouraged in the zoning ordinance by incentives which permit additional floor area for those buildings with arcades and plazas.

Plans should be developed that indicate which streets and areas should be primarily or partially devoted to pedestrians. This could be accomplished by regulations and traffic engineering techniques, such as signal timing, signing, and channeling.

Longer range considerations would include underpasses, overpasses, concourses, a continuous mall with uninterrupted pedestrian ways and multilevel pedestrian areas.

### **The Outer Core Area**

The outer core area contains medium to high density development that is more dispersed than in the core area. The typical activities found in this area consist of commercial services, speciality repair services, wholesaling and display, and printing and related services.

A major function of the outer core is that of a terminal for people and goods coming to the central area. The CTA and Chicago and North Western both have their busiest stops here. Transfer points for the United Motor Coach and Glenview Bus Companies are located in front of the CTA elevated stop. A complementary service that should be investigated is a shuttle bus service focusing entirely on the central area. Numerous parking facilities in the outer core enable people to leave their cars and walk to the core area. Ideally the outer core should feature activities which complement the core.

The most ambitious idea for achieving such a relationship is building a transportation center combined with other commercial facilities where the CTA elevated line and the Chicago and North Western railroad converge just north of Davis Street. Clearly the site presents an outstanding opportunity to build a complex of structures, integrating the rail lines and bus terminal. The structural and site problems will require imaginative solutions.

### **The Peripheral Area**

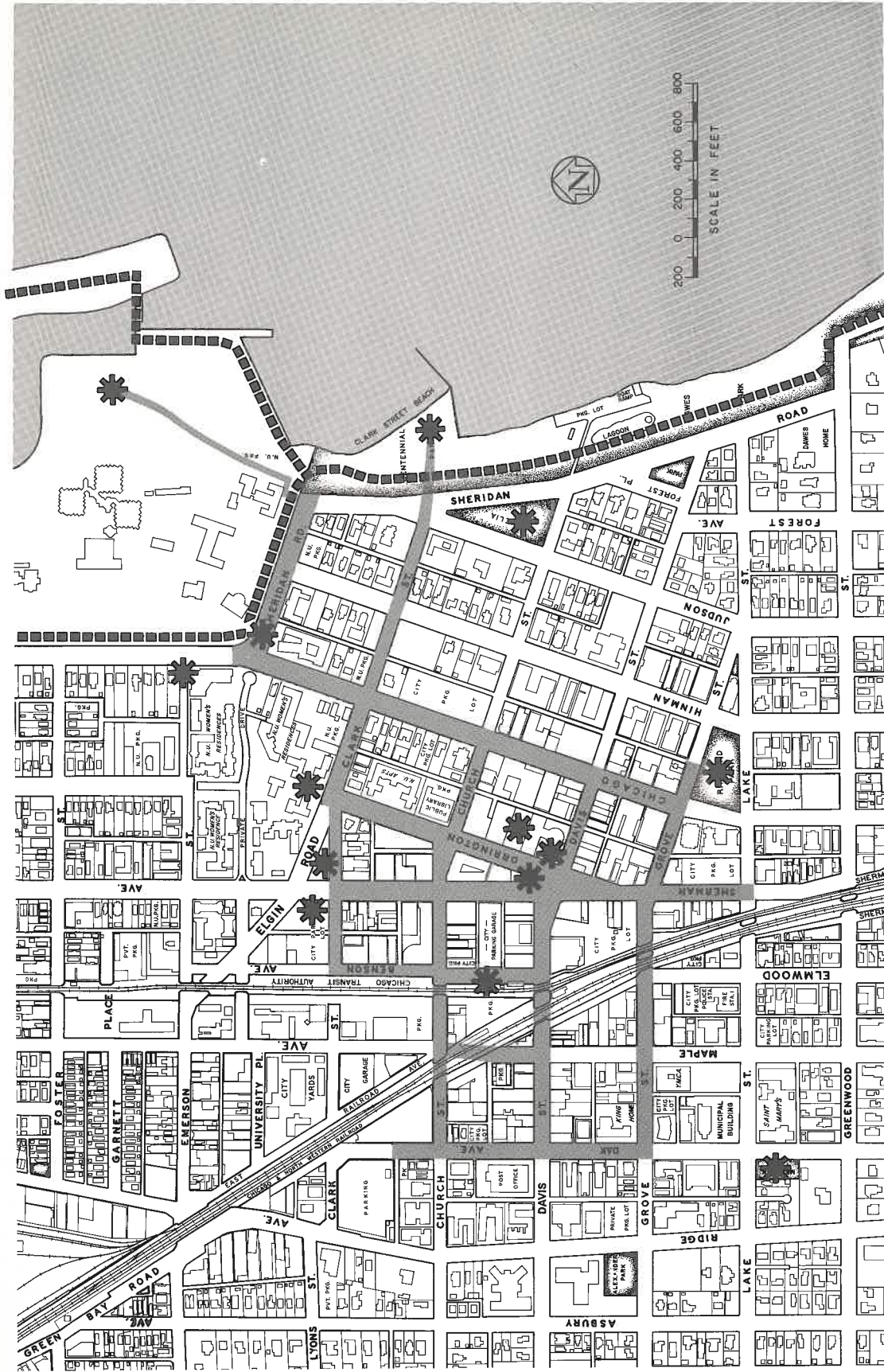
Relative to the core, this area contains medium to low density development. Apartments, single family residences, the lower campus of Northwestern University, and community facilities dominate this area. Other activities include parks and open space and low intensity office uses with a business or commercial orientation. In this area the activities are less intense, their locations more scattered, and the land use relationships less obvious.

Apartments occupy areas immediately to the east and west of the business area. They are a mixture of old and new buildings, rooming houses, and family units. For the most part, the units are of high value; however, there are exceptions of lower rental areas.

Additional multi-family housing in this part of the central business area is desirable because it supplies an important source of support for retail activities in the core. The university has completed a 250-unit married student housing project on Maple Avenue and is proposing to build a second building immediately to the north. Directly west of the university housing is a site for housing low income elderly persons.

Low and moderate rental apartments in the area are in short supply. In general, there are few sites within the central area which have redevelopment potential for large apartment buildings.

The lower campus of Northwestern University adds substantially to the quality of life for the entire city. The buildings and open spaces are unique and enhance their surroundings. Rebecca Crown Center is a strong focal point and entrance to the campus. New buildings and the landfill project have augmented both the



EXISTING AND PROPOSED PLAZAS AND OPEN SPACES
  EXISTING AND PROPOSED MAJOR PEDESTRIAN ROUTES
  PROPOSED BICYCLE PATHS

MAJOR PEDESTRIAN SYSTEMS / central area - evanston, ill. / FIG.28

esthetics and student capacities of the school, with still more projects in the planning stages (see institutional areas section dealing with the University). Student housing, the new library, administrative offices and the humanities complex are located within the lower campus. The Fine and Performing Arts Center complex, proposed on the landfill, will contain facilities to enhance the cultural life of the entire community. Expansion of university housing is slated for the area west of Sheridan Road and north of Emerson Street.

Many community facilities are located on the southwestern side of the area, between Oak and Elmwood on Lake Street. Here are found the Municipal Building, the YMCA, St. Mary's Parochial School, the Fire Station, and the Police Station. A new Civic Center has been proposed for the northeast corner of Benson and Clark Streets. This structure would combine into one building all municipal functions. A municipal auditorium has also been proposed as part of the building complex. Other suggested uses include courtroom, state and federal governmental offices, and an artificial ice rink (see Public Areas).

Activities of a nature that support the core and outer core, such as those described, are ones which should be encouraged to locate within the peripheral area. This fringe area is a sensitive one since it often serves as a transition between land uses which clearly relate to the activities of the core and purely residential areas. Boundary problems between the two will require constant attention.

### **Potential Building Sites**

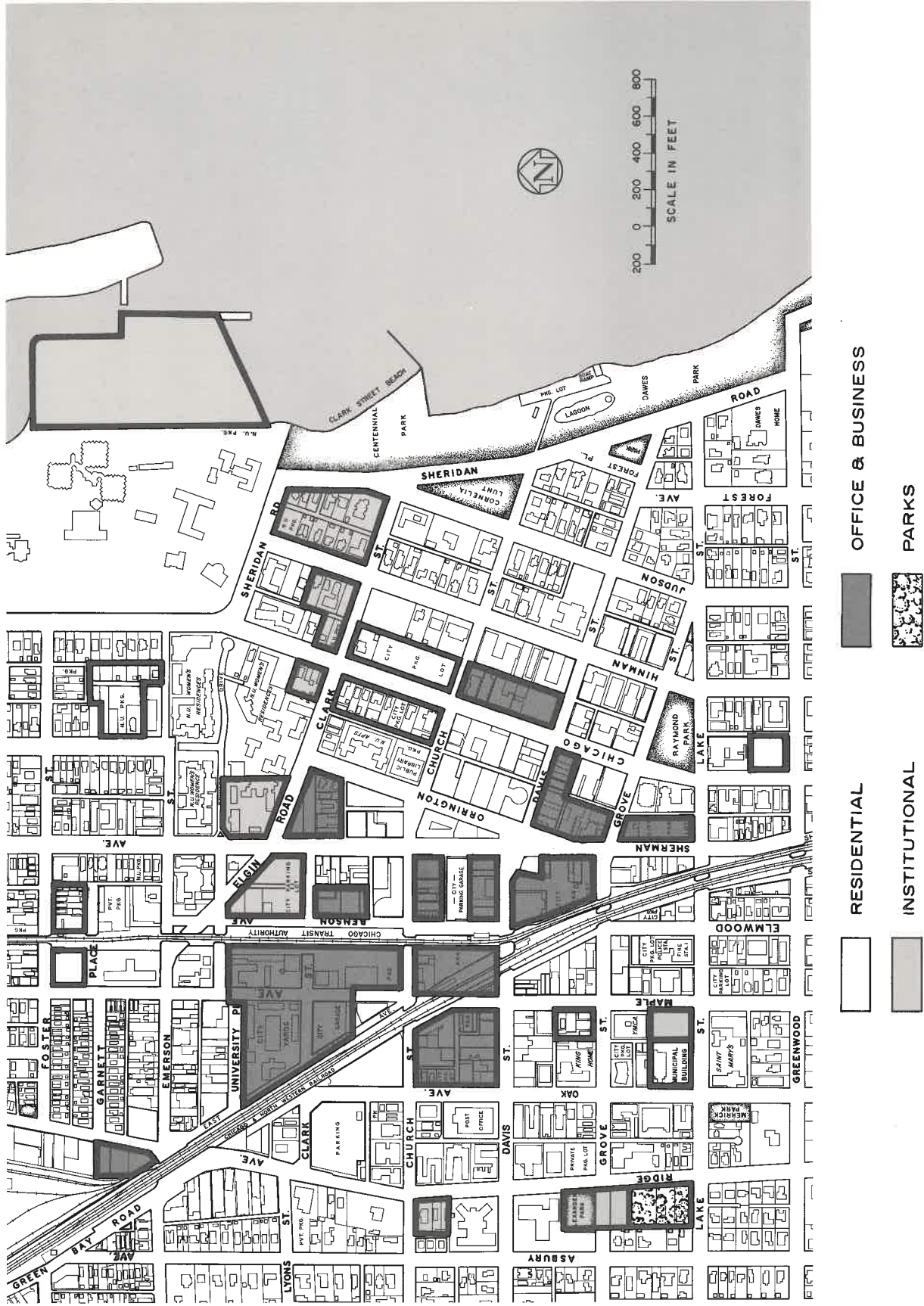
Potential building sites include a few vacant parcels, sites with structures that are at or near the end of their economic life, or sites that are underused (Figure 29). These sites are scattered throughout the downtown, but concentrated largely in the B4 and B5 zoning districts, which are the ones permitting the most intensive type of development. The type of use suited for each site is based primarily on how the land is zoned—residential, business, commercial, etc. Market demand and adjacent uses also help determine the types of redevelopment. A larger range of options is available to developers within the present zoning regulations through planned development.

As noted in other chapters of the Comprehensive General Plan, the assembly of large parcels of land needed to construct a project that will have some impact is difficult within the central area. The large area noted above has forty-five separately owned parcels. The subdivisions and resubdivision of the land and the many owners involved are a definite roadblock in building new structures.

### **Vehicular Traffic Patterns**

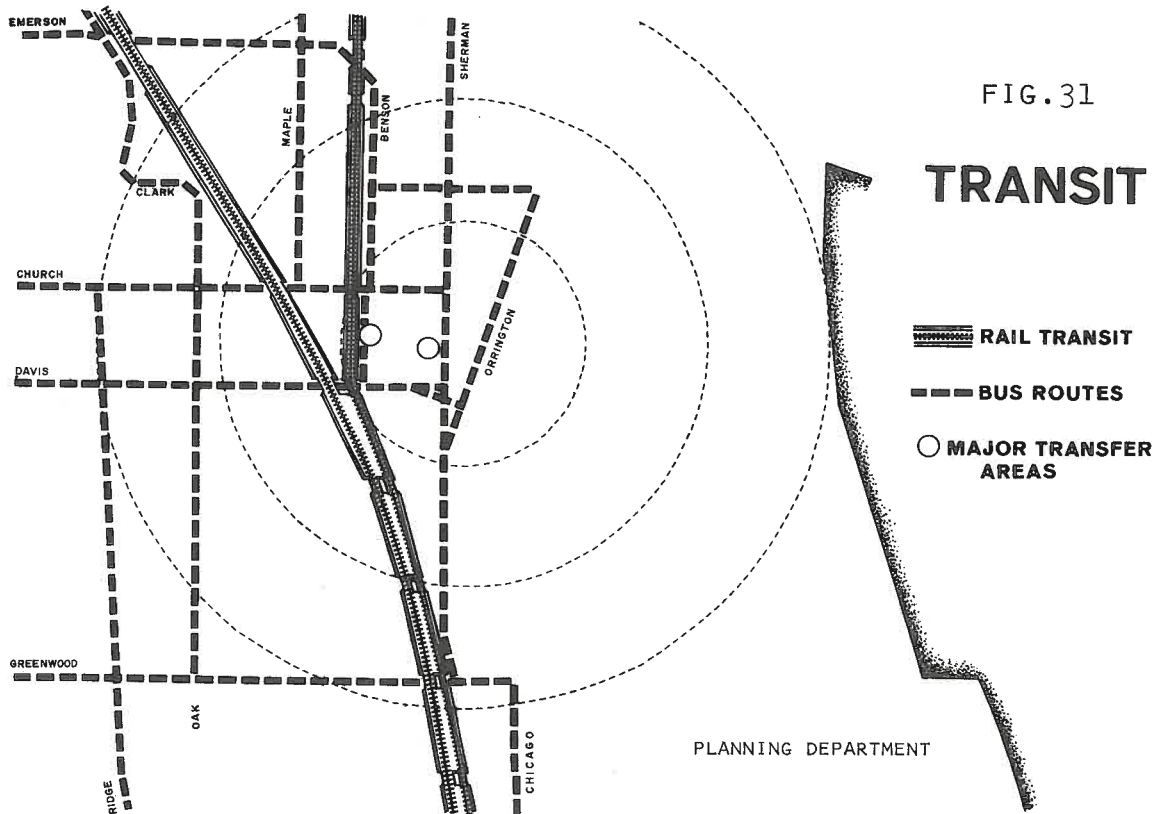
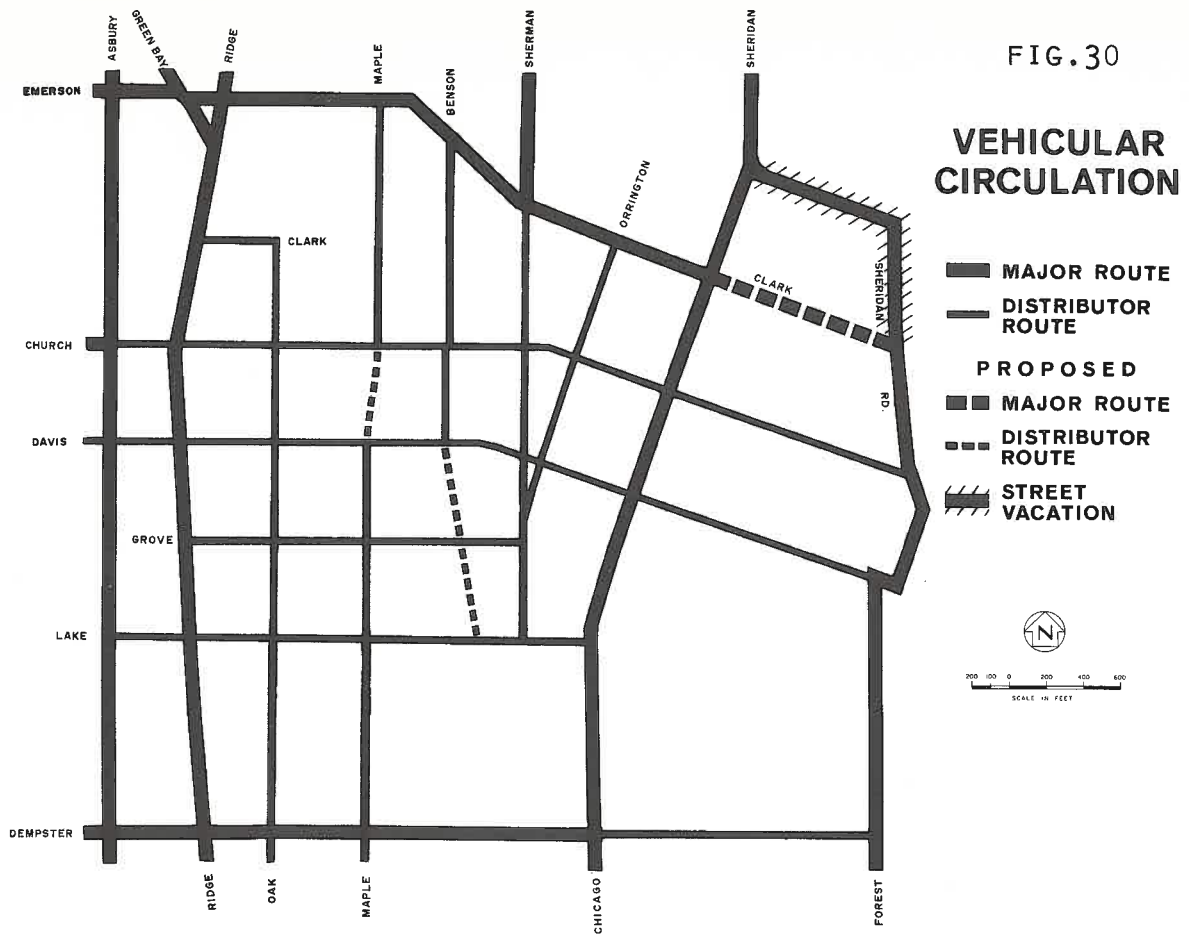
The movement of vehicles through and within the central business area is restricted by the elevated tracks of the Chicago Transit Authority and the Chicago and North Western Railway. Difficulty is encountered because some streets were terminated at the tracks as a result of the expense of building underpasses. Improved circulation in the central business district might be facilitated by extending Benson Avenue south of Davis Street and by extending Maple Avenue under the Chicago and North Western Railroad. The location of the central business area near the lake changes the configuration of traffic movement and creates additional circulation problems (Figure 30).

A third impediment to traffic flow is the conflict with pedestrians, particularly in the commercial core. Reducing the number of points where people cross in front of cars benefits drivers as well as walkers. Accomplishing this reduction means restricting vehicles from some streets or separating the traffic into different levels (pedestrian bridges and/or vehicles underground). Further study is required to make specific recommendations.



**SOME EXAMPLES OF POTENTIAL REDEVELOPMENT SITES / central area - evanston, ill. / FIG.29**





Besides conflict with pedestrian movement, another impediment of vehicular movement is the mixing of through traffic with local traffic. The city has had some success in diverting through traffic from downtown and is continuing to pursue policies and programs directed toward this end. Much progress has been made in diverting rush hour through traffic from the central business area in recent years and further improvements can be expected with the completion of the Elgin Road by-pass.

The City is also attempting to improve vehicular flow by providing off-street parking wherever possible. Parking accommodations improved when the 604-car capacity municipal parking garage on Sherman Avenue between Church Street and Davis Street was opened in 1969. New buildings are also required to provide some off-street parking facilities and the City is assuming a large share of the responsibility to provide the balance. However, some curb parking in the central area will still be needed for short term shopping trips. Encouraging people to take the bus, train, ride a bike, or walk, can reduce vehicular traffic significantly and keep the central business area from becoming merely the central parking area.

The central business area is served by a variety of public transportation facilities which come together within its boundaries (Figure 31). These include the Chicago and North Western Railroad, the Chicago Transit Authority's elevated transit line, the Evanston Bus Company and other bus lines. There is excellent service provided from all over Evanston to the central area by the local bus lines. Good service is also provided from communities north and south of Evanston by the C.T.A. and the North Western Railroad. The one major weakness in the system is the lack of access to communities to the west.

Where all of these facilities converge in the central area, a transportation focus and point of exchange between transportation modes is created. Considerable potential exists for a transportation center to be developed in conjunction with office, retail or hotel facilities in the area bounded by the two rail lines between Church and Davis Streets.

### **Planning Needed**

Several detailed planning studies and proposals of the central business area have been undertaken in the past — the last in 1960. A current inventory of market areas, off-street parking needs, renewal procedures and existing floor areas is necessary to assist decision makers in judging specific improvement proposals and in developing long range plans. Continued attention to the economic health and revitalization of the central business area will require a number of supporting studies and detailed plans.

## INSTITUTIONAL AREAS

The term institutional area as used in this plan, is a general one which refers to such land uses as colleges and universities, hospitals, housing for the elderly, private schools and church-school-convent complexes. Only those institutions which have fairly large land areas or a sizable resident population are included. Public schools will be covered in a separate section on schools. Not covered are the myriad institutions on small sites such as churches, charitable organizations, community service organizations or institutions whose function is more office-oriented. A few churches which are large enough to cover the major portion of the city block are shown in the land use scheme of the plan, but smaller ones are generalized into adjacent land use designations

### Description

Evanston began its existence as a site for a major educational institution, Northwestern University. Today Northwestern and many other institutions play an important economic and social role. The 7,700 jobs that they generate contribute to the economic base through added payrolls, purchasing power and the introduction of new construction and business activity. A wide variety of special medical, educational and cultural services found in a few other communities, are provided by Evanston's institutions. About ten per cent of the buildable area, or 374 acres, is in some form of institutional land use. Northwestern University occupies by far the largest portion of the institutional land, 232 acres.\* The next largest is the Presbyterian Home with 39 acres. Table 11 shows the distribution of institutional areas broken down by category.

**TABLE 11  
INSTITUTIONAL AREAS**

Types of Institutions	Acres
Colleges and Universities	259
Homes for the Elderly	50
Churches	43
Private Schools and Parochial School Complexes	15
Hospitals	29
	396

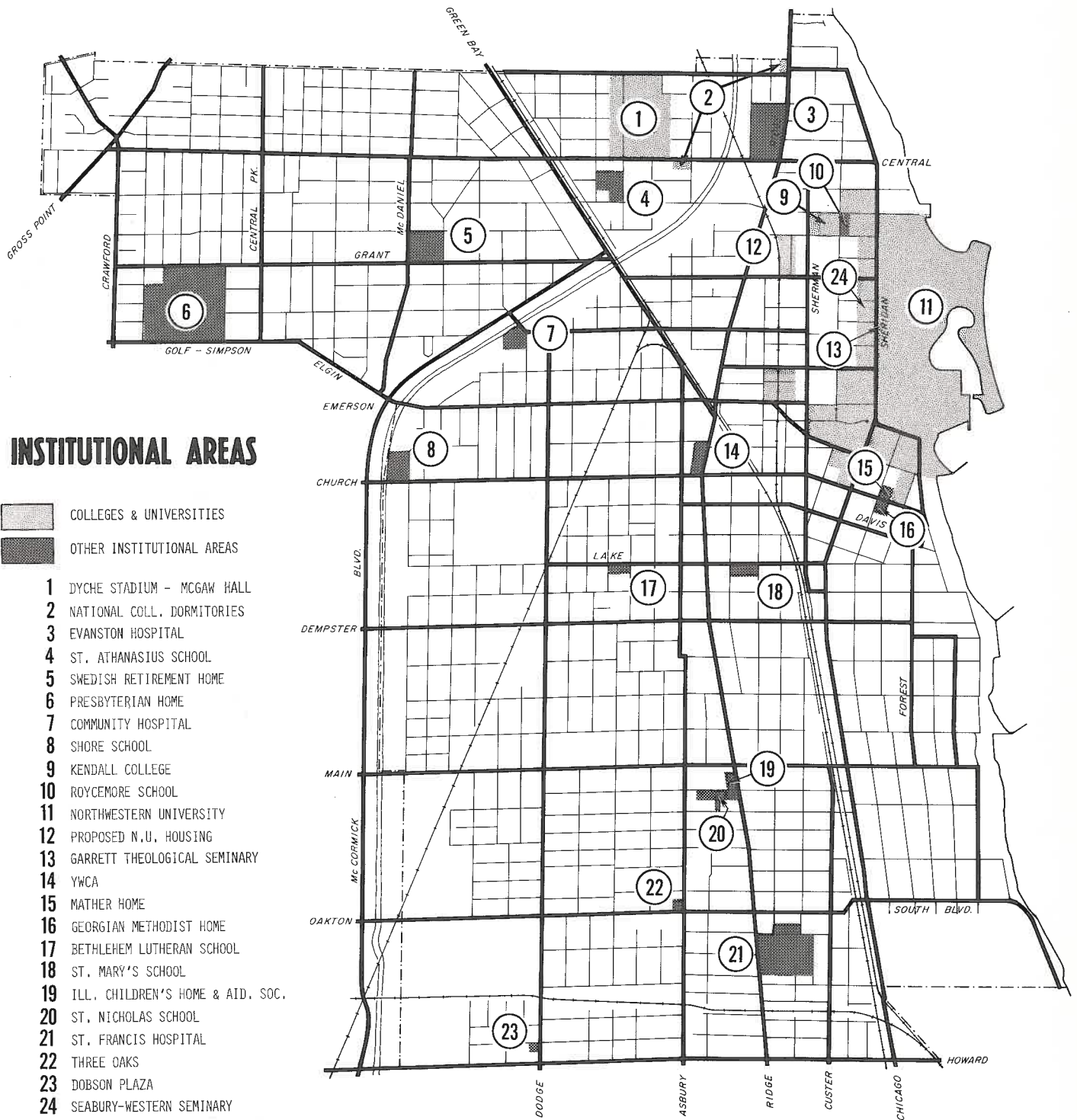
Figure 32 shows the general distribution of institutional areas throughout the city. Figures 33, 34 and 35 show concentrations of institutional resident population in (1) university housing, (2) homes for the elderly\*\* and (3) hospitals. Such concentration of individuals tends to produce little communities within the city which have a distinct character of their own. The elderly around the downtown, the faculty and students in the vicinity of the university, and the hospital personnel living nearby are all examples of how the people associated with the facilities, as well as the buildings themselves, give certain neighborhoods special flavor.

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\*At one time Northwestern University owned as much as 680 acres, but a large portion of this land eventually became part of the original Town of Evanston. The present breakdown on the University's holdings is as follows: Present holdings total 255 acres which includes 232 acres for the educational plant, 6 acres leased to other non-profit institutions, 2 acres of life estates and other properties and 15 acres of land used to produce income.

\*\*Includes all types of housing for the elderly: nursing homes, shelter care facilities, convalescent homes, etc.

FIG. 32



### INSTITUTIONAL AREAS

- COLLEGES & UNIVERSITIES
- OTHER INSTITUTIONAL AREAS

- 1 DYCHE STADIUM - MCGAW HALL
- 2 NATIONAL COLL. DORMITORIES
- 3 EVANSTON HOSPITAL
- 4 ST. ATHANASIUS SCHOOL
- 5 SWEDISH RETIREMENT HOME
- 6 PRESBYTERIAN HOME
- 7 COMMUNITY HOSPITAL
- 8 SHORE SCHOOL
- 9 KENDALL COLLEGE
- 10 ROYCEMORE SCHOOL
- 11 NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
- 12 PROPOSED N.U. HOUSING
- 13 GARRETT THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
- 14 YWCA
- 15 MATHER HOME
- 16 GEORGIAN METHODIST HOME
- 17 BETHLEHEM LUTHERAN SCHOOL
- 18 ST. MARY'S SCHOOL
- 19 ILL. CHILDREN'S HOME & AID. SOC.
- 20 ST. NICHOLAS SCHOOL
- 21 ST. FRANCIS HOSPITAL
- 22 THREE OAKS
- 23 DOBSON PLAZA
- 24 SEABURY-WESTERN SEMINARY

FIG. 33

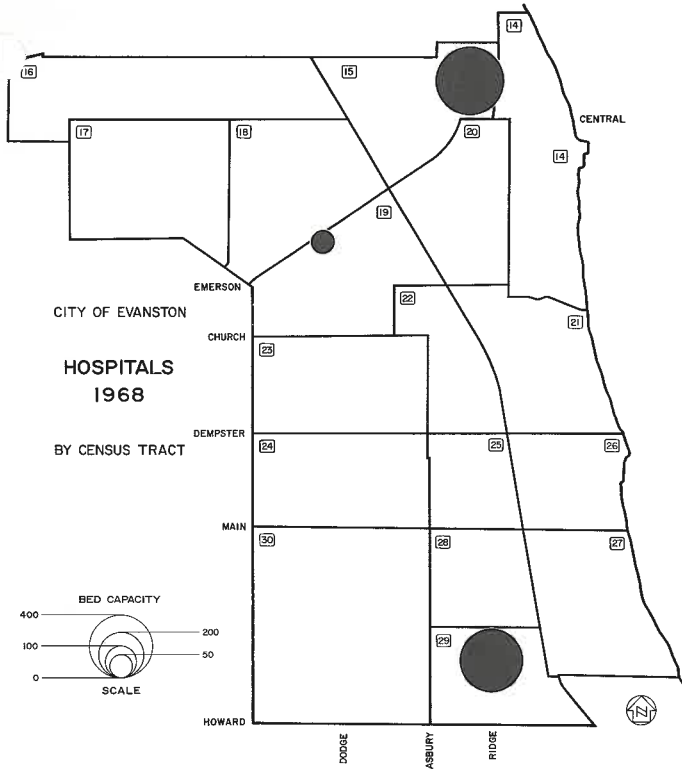


FIG. 34

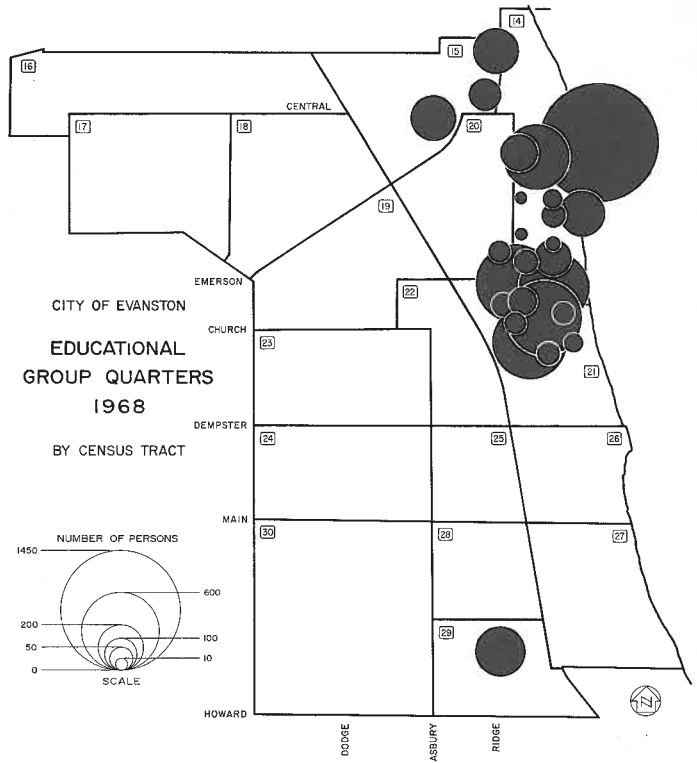


FIG. 35

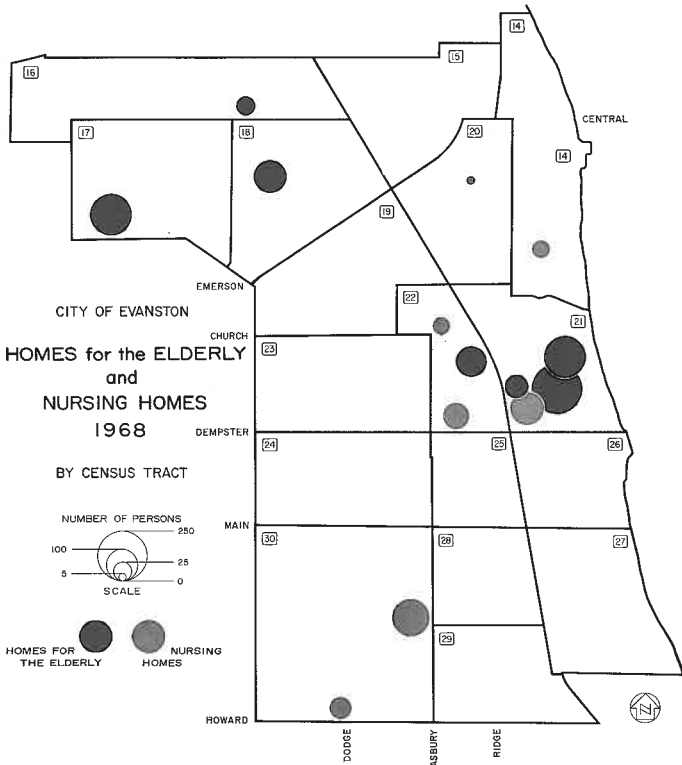
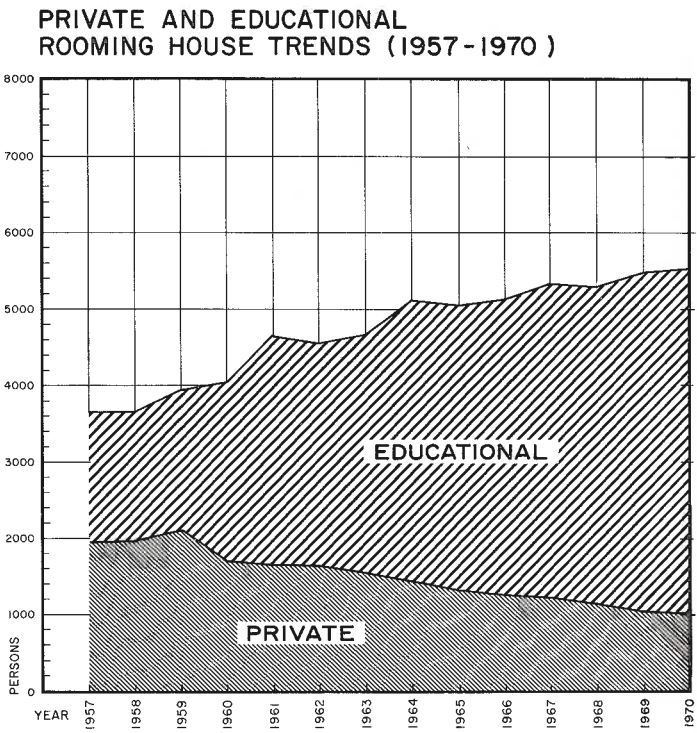


FIG. 36



## Trends

The 1960's saw an unparalleled period of growth in the nation's institutions, and Evanston shared in this growth. Institutional growth was necessitated by a changing population and by the demands of Evanston citizens for high quality in the services offered by institutions. Hospitals, colleges and universities, homes for the elderly and parochial schools all tried to meet this demand. Colleges and universities had the most expansion; Evanston is fortunate that Northwestern did not double or triple its enrollment as did so many universities. Even so, Northwestern's building program continues to be impressive. The two smaller colleges, the hospitals and homes for the elderly have also had expansion programs.

Few new institutions of significant size have been introduced to Evanston in recent years. The impact has come largely from expansion of long-established ones. The actual effect of these expansions varies with their appearance, the size of their site, their function and relative location.

Expanding an institution in a fully developed community such as Evanston can be a difficult and costly challenge. This challenge has been met in a variety of ways: the Presbyterian Home had open land for expansion; Kendall College had to buy high cost developed land; hospitals had to intensify development of existing sites by adding multi-story annexes. Northwestern used a combination of these techniques plus a dramatic lake-fill operation to satisfy its space needs.

Most new growth and expansion has been well designed. An excellent negotiating relationship between the City and many institutions has contributed substantially to this. The basic tool in guiding such development has been the Special Use provisions of the zoning ordinance which has provided the opportunity to negotiate for better design and has allowed more thought to be given to the relationship of projects to the surrounding area. Other techniques that have been used include exchanges of land or sale of unneeded street rights-of-way.

From the standpoint of architecture and esthetics the quality of the new developments has been high, thus making them community assets. Certainly their functions have added to Evanston's reputation as a regional educational center and medical center as well as a community which has facilities for its elderly.

## Problems

The overall impact of institutions on a community is usually favorable, but in some cases it is negative. Because of their physical size, institutions add to community problems, particularly those of traffic and parking. Other concerns are the establishment of compatibility with adjacent residential neighborhoods and the tax exempt status of some institutions.

Central to the problem of institutional expansion is land shortage. Generally, the more spacious the site, the less the presence of that institution is felt. Many of those that came early to Evanston had the foresight to establish large grounds when vacant land was plentiful, but even some of these have now run short of land. In the face of a severe land shortage the long-established institutions have had to progressively reduce their open space to build and provide more parking. Frequently this intensification has brought objections that have required prolonged zoning proceedings in order to reach reasonable compromises. More recently established institutions have faced the difficult problem of acquisition of developed property. The space problem is most severe for those on small sites who are tempted to over-intensify usage of available space.

Most institutions have some difficulty in making long range plans because of the uncertainty of future financing of specific projects, their lack of power of eminent domain and opposition from residential neighborhoods. They sometimes keep their plans confidential, making advance coordination difficult.

Another problem is the complex issue of tax-exempt institutions and their economic role in the community. Costs and benefits are not entirely economic or measurable. It is not a question of whether an institution constitutes a net loss or gain, but one of equities in helping to pay for needed services. In a period in which the cost of municipal services is rising rapidly, city government must seek additional sources of revenue and an equitable distribution of costs among the users of its services. Recent studies by the city administration highlight this problem. They indicate the need for reevaluation of the tax-exempt status of some institutions, and for contributions in lieu of taxes from others. There are many institutions which must be analyzed separately as to their charitable nature, economic contribution to the community, and demand upon community services. A completely accurate, fair balance sheet is extremely difficult to compile because of complexities and inadequate data; however, some areas of special demand have been isolated. Many city services, such as health, street, maintenance, garbage collection, library, etc., are either not required or are already paid for in some way. For colleges and universities the most obvious service demand is police and fire protection — two of the largest cost burdens of city government. Some means of assessing institutions for their fair share of these costs is being sought through negotiation.

The issue of rising costs for schools and local government has land use implications for planning. Faced with a shortage of vacant land, institutional expansion must come from the conversion of developed land. This raises the question of how much land should be removed from the tax rolls for institutional growth. Fortunately, the amount of land converted to institutional use has been small. Northwestern University was able to create 74 acres of new land through a lake-fill project. Both Northwestern and Kendall College have, however, purchased and cleared areas for campus expansion. Since 1960, Northwestern has also acquired a large amount of residential property adjacent to the campus and converted these structures to office use.

Because of rapidly increasing enrollments, the shortage of housing for students has plagued most of the nation's colleges. Construction of dormitories has lagged behind demand, while the responsibility for providing student housing is not always sharply defined. Local community housing problems are often aggravated by the excess demand, and control of rooming houses has become a necessity. With limited income available for housing, students are often found in overcrowded, substandard quarters, thus intensifying problems of deterioration.

A combination of several factors has helped keep this problem to a minimum in Evanston. The City has a housing code with an inspection staff to enforce it and rooming houses are licensed and inspected annually. Northwestern has been following a policy of getting more students out of private housing and into university housing (Figure 36), and continues to build more housing. Students are joining together to rent apartments instead of rooming houses, the number of which is declining because of the City's zoning policies. As a result of these factors, the number of persons in private rooming houses has been cut in half since 1957 (Figure 36).

The nature of institutions such as universities contributes to a general overburdening of parking facilities in Evanston. Northwestern has made some attempt to provide adequate parking for its students, faculty and staff, but parking on streets near the campus continues to present a nuisance to area residents. The same type of situation exists at Evanston Hospital. Parking needs of institutions which generate traffic and congestion must be continually evaluated. Every opportunity to create additional parking space should be explored.

### Prospects

Evanston's institutions add substantially to the quality of the community through the range of services offered, their regional reputation for excellence, their contribution to the local economic base and the esthetic qualities of their architecture.

Continued growth of Evanston's institutions is certain. The colleges and university, hospitals and homes for the elderly are all expanding institutions with plans for the future. Their growth is in response to both the need to maintain quality and increased demand for services. The principal planning objective for institutions is to find ways to accommodate such growth. Controlled growth rather than mere response to demand is essential.

The future of Evanston's institutions points to intensification of existing facilities. Where space is available open grounds will be used for building; where it is not, parking lots are likely to be decked and high rise annexes constructed. Opportunities for new institutions which require large grounds will be severely restricted because of the shortage of vacant land. Where new developments are possible or do occur, they will probably be in the form of high-rise buildings on smaller sites.

Northwestern University has the largest scale development plan, and its program will probably be the major construction activity in the community in future years. Most of the development of academic buildings and parking will take place on the lake-fill, but land for new dormitories and graduate housing is being supplied through acquisition and clearance of older residential property. Eventually, an entire community of graduate students will be created within the area of Maple Avenue, Sherman Avenue, Emerson Street and Foster Street.

### **Planning and Housing for the Elderly**

Demand for housing for the elderly is strong and will continue to grow in the future. Evanston is a good community for the elderly and extensive facilities are already available. At present there are seven nursing homes with about 400 occupants and seven homes for the aged with about 900 occupants for a total of 14 institutions housing about 1,300 persons (Table 12).

The trend over the past decade has been one of active expansion to meet the demand for this type of facility. Since 1960, five of the smaller nursing homes have been discontinued, but four new and larger institutions have been constructed. In addition, the former Georgian Hotel has been converted to a home for the aged. As a result capacity has increased nearly 82 per cent. New projects, including expansion of present facilities, new construction and conversion of existing buildings, are under consideration.

Figure 35 shows the distribution of homes for the elderly by their capacity and type. Six of these institutions are in the central business area. The rest are scattered throughout the city. Two of the retirement homes, the Presbyterian Home and the Swedish Retirement Association, occupy relatively large tracts of land in northwest Evanston (Figure 37). These were built during the period in which this area was being developed and when vacant land was available for these projects.

Homes for the elderly tend to have a less harmful impact upon adjacent residential areas than most institutions because they generate far less activity and traffic. Negotiation proceedings have been particularly helpful in achieving thoughtfully designed homes which blend in well with the surrounding area. We have had enough experience to know what makes a development compatible and should either establish special land use regulations for homes, make them conditional uses, or consider special districts for them.

Although Evanston has a greater than average supply of housing for the elderly, there is very little available for the low income elderly. Housing programs for this group should be established and sites for such development selected. Probably the best means of achieving this would be through cooperative efforts between non-profit foundations and the City. A combination of redevelopment of small sites, properly located for more intense development, and conversion of suitable existing buildings, appears to be one of the best means for increasing the supply. The Ebenezer Primm project at Emerson Street and Maple Avenue is a good example of the redevelopment approach. The conversion of the hotel to a shelter care facility is an example of how a faltering commercial use can be restored to serve a real community need.



**TABLE 12**  
**NURSING HOMES**

Name	Capacity	Date Established
Broad Nursing Home	25	1930
Evanston Convalescent Center	65	1961
Dobson Plaza	52	1966
Klinger Nursing Home	5	1943
Pembridge House	96	1960
Ridgecrest Home	21	1949
Three Oaks	124	1961
 <b>Homes for the Aged</b>		
Alonzo Mather Ladies Home	184	1952
Homecrest Foundation	50	1959
James C. King Home	84	1911
Presbyterian Home	179	1904
Swedish Societies Old People's Association	113	1909
Lake Crest Villa	32	1962
The Georgian Methodist Home	245	1964
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,275</b>	

\*At the Presbyterian Home only Geneva Place, the main building for housing the aged, is counted as group quarters. The apartments and cottages of Westminster Place have a capacity of about 260. Since these 260 units are classified as housing units rather than as group quarters, they were not included in the table.

### The Context of Planning for the Elderly

The pressing need for housing for the elderly has become an issue as this group has grown larger. But, rather than asking ourselves only how we can house them, we should be addressing ourselves to the question of what role the elderly are going to play in our society. Are they likely to become increasingly isolated or will the need to bring them back into society be recognized? Unless some important philosophic questions concerning this segment of the population are examined, we are likely to continue to build-in the present isolation of the elderly within an institutional framework.

There is no "problem of the elderly" to confront. It is as diffuse as the very characteristics of the elderly themselves. There are those who, while classified as elderly, remain very active in society and are quite independent. Some may require occasional help while others need constant care and supervision. Added to this are the factors of race, income and personal resources. If housing is to respond to this market, it will have to provide a variety of small homes, small apartment units, shelter care facilities, homes for the elderly and even rooming houses. Those persons with sufficient income have been reasonably well served by the market. Those on low and fixed incomes have not, and the rapid rise in housing costs has made their situation worse.

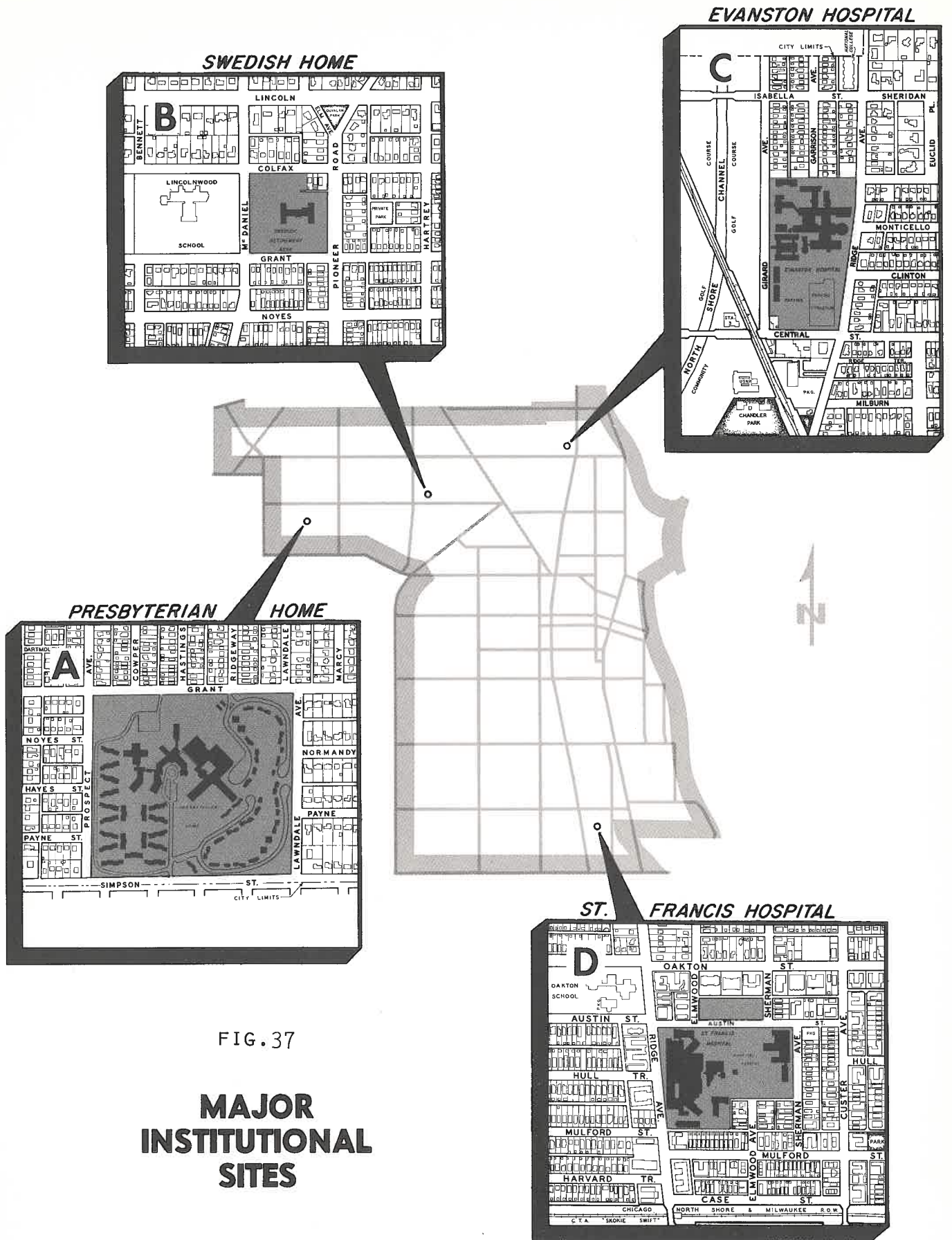


FIG. 37

**MAJOR  
INSTITUTIONAL  
SITES**

Responding to such varying needs is not easy. There is an obvious need for certain kinds of housing for some economic groups, measured through inquiries to various public agencies. However, not enough is known about the size of the total demand and its distribution. Some progress is being made in developing land use standards for higher density elderly housing projects in terms of their physical relationship to the surrounding neighborhood.

Interior standards of the facilities themselves as they relate to the well-being of the occupants are being re-examined and should continue to receive close attention. These and other issues related to this growing segment of our population will require the combined attention of many fields. It will be necessary to pool the talents, manpower, and facilities of many agencies and areas of responsibility, public and private, in order to give sound, humane direction to planning for the elderly. The best vehicle for doing this has yet to be determined.

## **Medical Facilities**

### **Hospitals**

Evanston has three hospitals, Evanston and St. Francis with 500 bed capacities, and Community Hospital with 58 beds. In addition, Northwestern University operates an infirmary with a 44 bed capacity. A number of health services are also provided by the Evanston-North Shore Health Department. The combination of these gives Evanston extensive medical facilities covering a wide range of specialties. These facilities serve a broader geographic area than Evanston including adjacent parts of Chicago, the North Shore, and nearby northwestern suburbs. All of Evanston's hospitals are well located in terms of easy access to public transportation, an important consideration given the volume of activity they can generate. They represent an enormous investment in fixed assets whose value must be measured not only in dollars, but also in their contribution to the health care of the region.

The major hospitals have expanded from time to time to keep pace with population growth, changes in medical practices, and demands for better health care. The future holds still further growth and change, with all of the attendant land use and cost problems.

There are several trends in the medical field which will have a bearing upon the future delivery of health care. Perhaps the broadest of these is the growing acceptance of the idea that adequate health care is more a right than a privilege. Combined with this notion is the growing cost burden of paying for medical care that is now being felt by families of moderate income, not just by the medically indigent.

The high cost of medical care is largely associated with labor. Not only are these institutions labor intensive, but the high quality of skills required in the medical profession commands high wages. Also, traditional medical practices have resulted in very low productivity and inefficiency in delivering health services.

From these trends come several important responses. There is likely to be much greater emphasis upon programs which can deliver health care to a broader segment of the population and upon means of holding the costs of those services at reasonable levels. In particular, there will be a much greater emphasis upon outpatient care which makes more efficient use of highly paid medical personnel, reduces the need for expensive hospitalization of patients, and better utilizes the team concept of medical care. Public health services are likely to play a larger role, perhaps taking over some functions previously carried out in hospitals. Greater use of paramedical personnel is another means of reducing costs of health services. Improved mental health programs and health care for the elderly are likely to have high priority.

The hospitals are now engaged in planning and forecasting their future needs. Their requirements must relate to broader community planning objectives. The two sets of needs, those of the community and those of the institution, must come together at this point in the planning process, and cooperation should follow to achieve mutual objectives.

Where generous sites can be found, there is far less difficulty in development and expansion. While both major hospital sites may have seemed adequate when purchased, there is little room left for growth. Evanston Hospital has fully occupied its site and lacks room for expansion (Figure 37). St. Francis Hospital, on the other hand, acquired several acres recently when St. George High School was closed. St. Francis has been contemplating development of a medical center on its newly acquired land. This facility would enjoy the same kind of relationship to St. Francis as the Cos Building does to Evanston Hospital.

Both hospitals recognize the need to emphasize outpatient care as one means to reduce costs. This will require different kinds of facilities and space and will also mean that the hospitals will generate more activity. Techniques for creating more space include: redevelopment of existing buildings; more intensive use of the site; purchase of unneeded street right-of-way; purchase and clearance of adjacent properties; and development of satellite facilities at nearby locations. Combinations of some or all of these techniques may be required.

Such expansion will result in greater concentration of activities which will produce additional traffic and a need for more parking. Changes in the intensity of usage of hospital sites may mean consideration of additional bulk and height allowances. Probably the most sensitive issue in any expansion proposal will be that of parking rather than traffic or physical growth per se. There already exists a serious overflow parking problem in the area east of Evanston Hospital. The parking problem and means of reducing it will require continuing attention and a variety of measures. The basic issue will be how to isolate the residential neighborhood from overflow parking. Regulation of parking with time zones; rearrangement of circulation patterns with street closings, culs-de-sac, etc.; increasing the supply of off-street parking through acquiring additional land and building parking structures; and reevaluation of current parking regulations of the zoning ordinance are all techniques being applied or considered.

### Delivery of Health Services

There is a tremendous fragmentation of agencies and services in the field of health care, both voluntary and public. Cooperation and coordination between them are on a piecemeal rather than organized basis. Often the path to obtaining health services is so obscure as to effectively deny such services to those who need them. One of the frequently cited needs in this complex field is better planning for the delivery of existing health services. There is also a need for better information for identifying community health needs — a pooling of health-related data. Recent legislation at the state and federal level is aimed at developing a partnership between the public and private organizations in the field of health care. Among the recommendations being stressed are improved coordination of services, avoidance of duplication and competition, and broadening areas of cooperation. It has been recognized that there should be a more comprehensive approach to total community health needs including physical, environmental and mental which will result in adequate health services available to all.

Examples of efforts in this direction include Illinois Regional Medical Program and Metropolitan Chicago's Comprehensive Health Planning program. Our own North Shore Health Department also operates on a regional basis. Additional work should be done without our region to organize health services into a more rational, efficient health system. The first step would be to make an inventory and identify local health problems, followed by recommendations of policies and programs to improve the health status of the population. An organizational framework for mobilizing health resources which would involve hospitals, community groups, public health and related governmental agencies, doctors and citizens is needed. A great deal can be done to improve local health care by simply better organizing the ones presently available.

## Colleges, Universities and Seminaries

The plans of Northwestern, Kendall, Seabury, Garrett and National all call for additional building. In some cases new construction can be accomplished internally on the established campuses by building vertically. In others, the school may try to acquire adjacent properties, purchasing them over long periods of time and expanding horizontally. Satellite facilities may have to be considered where horizontal expansion is not possible. None of the expansions are anticipated to be very large in scale, but most will be both expensive and difficult.

The need for physical expansion is generated only partly by growth of enrollments. Changing concepts of function, the shift of emphasis to graduate students, changing program and content and the need to maintain excellence are all important growth factors. Some of the special needs and plans of these schools will be discussed below.

### Northwestern University

Northwestern's "Plan for the 70's" is already well underway (Figure 38). The buildings begun under the first part of the plan include the biological research building, the graduate student housing complex at Maple Avenue and the University Library. Also included is a series of buildings in three complexes: the Fine and Performing Arts complex being built on the ten acre lakefill at the south end of the campus, a Science and Engineering complex being built on the Tech campus and a Social Science complex being built on the old campus at Foster Street and Sheridan Road. Additional graduate housing facilities are likely to be constructed at the Maple-Foster site in the near future and possibly at this Noyes Court location still later.

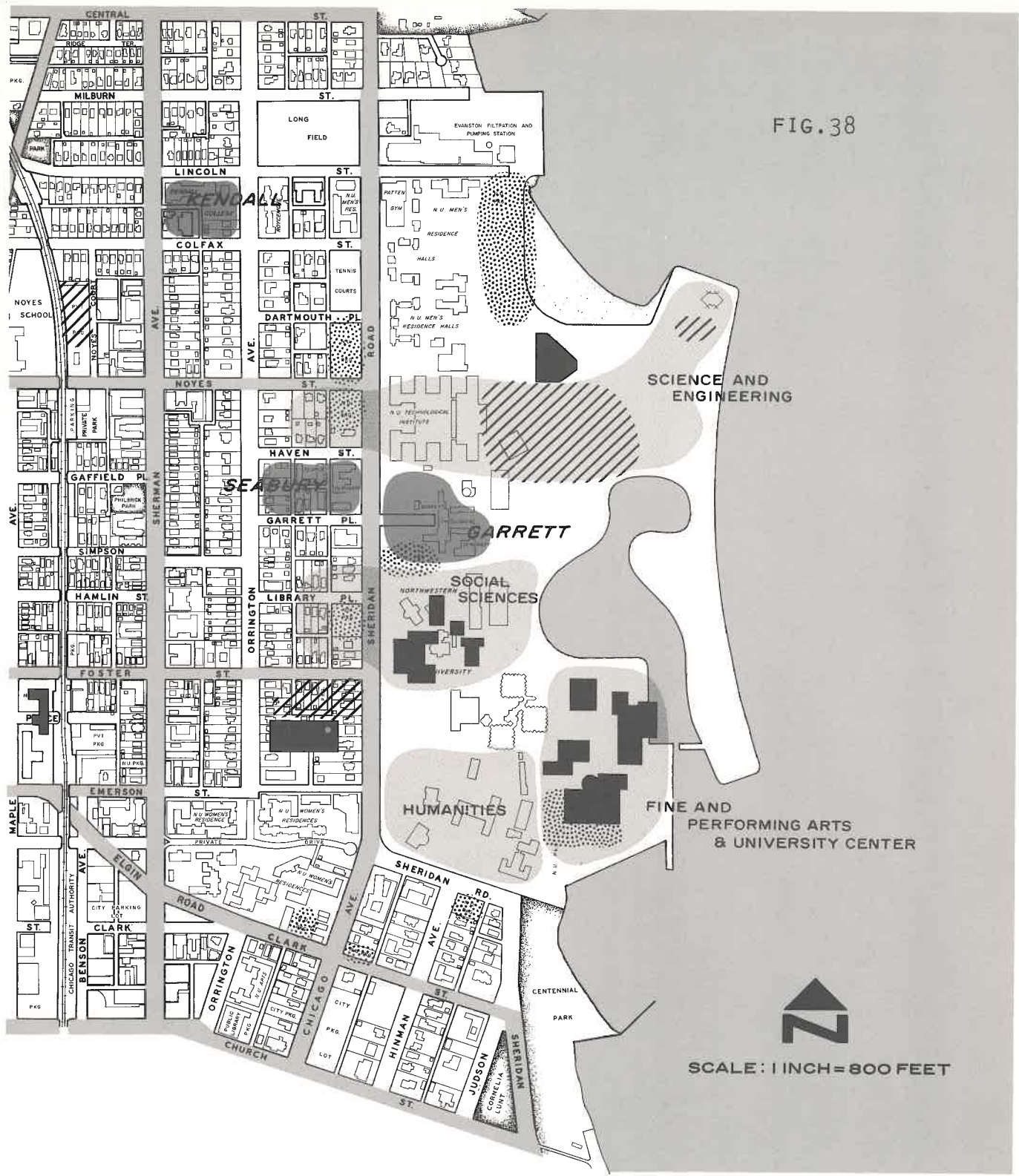
The academic requirements of the plan call for an increase in faculty from 907 in 1966 to 1,017 by 1972, stabilized undergraduate enrollment of 6,500 students, and graduate school enrollment increased from 1800 to 3,000 full time students by 1971 to 1975. The total projected enrollment for 1975, including planned growth and the transfer of the School of Management from the Chicago campus to the Evanston campus, is 10,500 students.

As Northwestern's plans begin to materialize in terms of physical development, there will continue to be opportunities for improved coordination between the City and the University. An example of such cooperation can be seen in the land exchanges between the two. Improved coordination and communication is coming about through the establishment of a university planning department and the preparation of a long-range circulation plan for the school.

A continuing issue for the university will be its relationship to its neighbors and the rest of the community. For example, the recent expansion of the district, allowing new growth to take place out of the long established university area, caused considerable fear and concern within the community. Containment of University growth within well defined areas should be adhered to with exceptions granted only in the strongest cases for such action.

The relationship of access and parking will continue to be one of the most important elements in planning for future University growth. In 1966 Barton-Aschman Associates prepared a traffic and parking plan for the campus which has been used as a guide and partially carried out. Sheridan Road has been widened with new lighting installed, and several new parking lots have been developed. A number of questions remain unresolved however, including: access from the west, the construction of the Sheridan-Clark-Chicago connection, the closing of Sheridan Road to through traffic from Chicago Avenue to Clark Street and the development of several large parking lots. Two major lots are proposed for the north and south ends of the campus and three smaller ones at the foot of Noyes Street, at the foot of Foster Street and at Sherman Avenue and Clark Street. The report recommends from 3,100 to 3,800 spaces be provided by 1975 and indicates that another 1,500 to 2,000 spaces may be needed in the post-1975 period.

FIG. 38



SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING

GARRETT







SOCIAL SCIENCES

HUMANITIES

FINE AND PERFORMING ARTS & UNIVERSITY CENTER



SCALE: 1 INCH = 800 FEET

- |   |                            |   |                                |
|---|----------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
|  | PLANNED BUILDINGS          |  | OTHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS |
|  | FUTURE DEVELOPEMENT        |  | PARKING                        |
|  | RELATED BUILDING COMPLEXES |  | MAJOR ACCESS STREETS           |

# NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY CAMPUS DEVELOPMENT PLAN

## Kendall College

Kendall College is a small two-year junior college with an enrollment of approximately 850 students. After experiencing considerable growth during the 1960's, Kendall intends to stabilize its enrollment around this figure. The college expanded from one building occupying about one-quarter of a city block to a point where it now covers most of that block. The school anticipates that it will acquire the remainder of it. Since the site was originally in a single family residence district and not a university district, several complex zoning hearings were required before development could take place. A number of difficult problems have developed between the college and its neighbors and are principally concerned with parking.

Although the college does not intend to expand its enrollment, it does have future planning problems regarding some of its physical facilities. It will need an expanded library, a place for physical education activities and improved parking facilities. It is now evaluating alternatives to satisfy these requirements, including satellite facilities, particularly for physical education.

## National College of Education

National College of Education was established in 1866 and moved to Evanston in 1925. It is a small but well known college for the preparation of teachers. It has an undergraduate enrollment of about 600 students, a graduate enrollment of 500 part-time students on campus and 3,000 students off campus at various locations within the metropolitan area. The college is able to make more efficient use of both faculty and facilities with its evening and part-time programs.

Additional dormitory and classroom facilities were built during the 1960's as enrollment increased one third. Although meeting most housing and academic space needs, the building program has still left the college short of space for some activities, particularly fine arts. Also needed is a center for continuing education and a student center.

The forecast is for continued long-term growth, perhaps eventually to an enrollment of about 1,000 undergraduates. Such expansion would generate additional building and parking needs; more dormitory and classroom space would be required. The need for growth has several sources. It is typical of the problem faced by many privately endowed colleges, which must compete with tax-supported schools in an era of rising costs and tuitions. In order to compete they must be able to offer excellence and cannot afford to drift into mediocrity. This requires physical improvements in facilities and periodic modification of programs, which can also mean alterations to the physical campus. Some breakthrough in means of support and funding of private schools is needed. Financing small colleges so that they can remain flexible and adaptable to changing needs is critical for their survival.

National College has an unusual physical setting in that its campus lies astride the boundary of two communities, Evanston and Wilmette. Most of the campus proper lies in Wilmette with the new dormitory and a parking lot in Evanston. A second, satellite dormitory is also in Evanston, about one quarter of a mile from the campus at Central Street and Asbury Avenue. The campus is bordered by Sheridan Road on the east, single family homes on the south and north and a combination of homes and the community golf course on the west. Recent expansion took place on the campus proper, and through the purchase of some homes bordering the college. For any future expansion the college is faced with the same land shortage dilemma as other institutions — the high cost and difficulty of acquiring adjacent developed land and the opposition to building higher. The college expects some growth in the future. Its options are narrow and the direction uncertain.

## Seabury-Western Theological Seminary

Seabury-Western is a small seminary with an average annual enrollment of a little less than 100 students. Chief among its most pressing needs is that for additional housing. The shift in the married-single ratio over the last decade has been strongly toward married students. Approximately two-thirds of their students are married, but there is not sufficient housing for them. The seminar also needs an addition to its main building for an auditorium with a seating capacity of 200 to 300 persons. The trend away from large lecture halls has created a need for small seminary rooms. Some form of merger with Garrett and possibly one other seminary for development of shared facilities appears to be the best direction for the small seminaries.

## Garrett Theological Seminary

Garrett is located on the Northwestern University campus on land owned by Northwestern, but it has no other direct relationship to the university. Its enrollment is approximately 350 students, and will probably remain at this level. Enrollment has actually dropped from about 600 in the early 1960's, as the result of two other Methodist seminaries being built elsewhere in the midwest during the middle 1960's. Currently, the fourteen Methodist seminaries in the United States are studying the possibilities of mergers and bringing many of the seminaries back together again. It is expected by 1972 some recommendations will be forthcoming on consolidation. At present it is not known how these recommendations may effect Garrett — whether additional seminaries will merge with it or whether Garrett might be absorbed — however, some change seems likely.

Garrett has been searching for ways to solve its student housing problem. It evaluated the possibilities of building a new structure for that purpose off campus, but it now appears that purchase of an apartment building such as the one it already owns on Noyes Street is the more likely solution.

Changing concepts of the functions of seminaries and shifts in program emphasis seem to be more dominant forces in planning the future than growth in enrollment. With the development of the ecumenical trend, there has been increasing interest in the "cluster" concept in which two or more seminaries of different denominations band together to share certain common facilities. At a time when it is becoming an economic necessity. Much more efficient use can be made of such resources as libraries, auditoriums, eating facilities and specialized lecturers. The greater obstacle to attracting another seminary to share facilities is finding sites for student housing.

Some arrangements for shared facilities have developed between Seabury-Western and Garrett. Potential also exists for working more closely with Northwestern University.

## Land Use Regulations and University Districts

Evanston was one of the first cities to design land use regulations for university development. They were established in 1960 largely out of the response to Northwestern University's growth during the 1950's. However, nearly all the major institutions, including Kendall College, National College and Seabury-Western Seminary, have experienced growth. The regulations designated three zones for university uses of varying intensity. In 1968 a fourth was added. Special regulations pertaining to permitted uses, bulk, height, yards and parking were applied to these districts.

Current and future growth of these institutions, particularly Northwestern, gives these districts and their regulations continued importance as guides for development.



## Private and Parochial Schools

Evanston has been fortunate to have a number of private and parochial schools which have operated for many years. Not only have they reduced the enrollment load of the public school system, but they have broadened the educational choices available to local families. There are three grade schools including St. Athanasius, St. Mary's and St. Nicholas with a combined enrollment of about 1,400 students operating under the auspices of the Catholic diocese of Chicago. Evanston also has the Bethlehem Lutheran elementary school and the Roycemore School, a private coeducational institution with grades one through twelve

In recent years, a disturbing trend has developed. While most schools and universities have had to concern themselves with being able to handle increasing enrollments, private and parochial schools have been caught in a continuing cycle of declining enrollments and increasing costs. A national trend toward a more secularized society has also been a factor in the decline of parochial schools. Obviously, Evanston's schools have not been immune to this national trend. In 1969 there were two Catholic high schools; now there are none. Roycemore narrowly averted a financial crisis which almost forced it to close.

The decline of private and parochial schools has two important implications for land use planning in Evanston. First, as enrollments in these schools decrease or as they are forced to close, the burden of providing education rightfully falls upon the public school system. The net result could be increased expenditure for public education, required by expansion of the teaching staff and/or facilities. St. George and Marywood High Schools had a combined enrollment of approximately 1,450 students; however, no serious problems have resulted from absorbing some of this enrollment. It should be pointed out that not all of these students lived in Evanston and that some chose to go to other Catholic high schools. The impact of closing any of the elementary schools would probably be more keenly felt.

A second important land use implication of this trend is the serious question of what to do with the land and facilities of an institution that has closed. In a land poor community such as Evanston, with many competing needs, the question of reuse of such areas will be sharply debated. The St. George property has been purchased by St. Francis Hospital and is being considered for a doctors building. Marywood is being considered for a housing development of mixed economic levels.

## OBJECTIVES AND POLICIES

### LIVING AREAS

**OBJECTIVE:** To create, preserve and enhance the residential environment for people who live in the community and for future generations.

**POLICIES:** 1. Preserve the single-family areas through protection by zoning. 2. Develop solutions for the boundary problems of residential areas and conflicting non-residential uses. 3. Review periodically land use controls in the light of new trends, improved or declining living conditions, or other changes to determine their appropriateness. 4. Utilize some of the remaining scattered vacant land sites for the development of low and moderate income housing. 5. Incorporate planned development techniques into land use controls in order to achieve better results than could be realized using the traditional lot by lot approach. 6. Continue to hold established minimum standards on area and width for individual lots. 7. Be prepared to implement zoning changes which would permit selective redevelopment of limited areas to produce better living conditions within them. 8. Consider placing a limited quantity of land with redevelopment potential into a higher density classification in order to achieve community redevelopment objectives. 9. Consider placing some underdeveloped land with potential for redevelopment at excessive density into a lower intensity category. 10. Contain future high-density living areas within the appropriate areas bordering the downtown and the Main Street Business District. 11. Exercise strong control on standards and location for high-rise dwellings. 12. Encourage local neighborhood initiative, leadership and involvement in programs designed to improve living conditions. 13. Develop programs for conservation, rehabilitation and redevelopment appropriate to neighborhood needs. 14. Direct redevelopment programs in older areas toward creating new housing for persons living in the area, rather than clearing which merely displaces them.

### HOUSING

**OBJECTIVES:** To develop, within the means of the community, an adequate housing supply so that every Evanston resident may enjoy housing with a range of geographic choice that is suited to his needs and within his reasonable ability to pay.

To protect and conserve the predominately superior residential character of the community by continuously improving and rebuilding its residential areas.

**POLICIES:** 1. Formulate a long range program for developing new housing for the various needs of low, moderate, middle and high income groups. 2. Determine what kind of an economic mix of housing should

be created, at what density and with what subsidy, to provide for continuous replacement of the housing supply without paying too great a price in the form of increased density. 3. Continue a vigorous Code Compliance Program to improve existing sub-standard housing and to eliminate illegal housing units. 4. Explore means of financing and encouraging the rehabilitation and/or replacement of portions of the housing stock as it declines. 5. Participate in state and federal programs, within available resources, providing new, rehabilitated, and replacement housing for low and moderate income families and individuals according to need. 6. Involve representatives of citizens whose housing needs are to be served by governmental programs in the planning and implementation stages of such programs. 7. Define active roles for City participation in the selection of sites, their subsidization and the establishment of appropriate zoning. 8. Communicate to the drafters of housing legislation the need for greater flexibility in programs so that they can be more closely tailored to individual and community requirements. 9. Encourage private as well as public development of some housing units suitable for large families and for the elderly. 10. Encourage the use of the Leased Housing Program to partially subsidize low-income families. 11. Provide relocation assistance and subsidized housing for low and moderate income families displaced by governmental actions. 12. Encourage private developers and institutions to provide assistance in the relocation of persons displaced by their actions. 13. Improve the coordination and funding of agencies that provide emergency short-term housing. 14. Develop regulatory devices, enforcement methods, and citizen education programs toward the goal of ending racial discrimination in the housing market. 15. Assist all residents in obtaining the basic knowledge and the legal and financial resources needed to cope with their housing problems. 16. Develop sources of low cost financing for home improvements and housing purchases. 17. Develop programs and seek financial resources to assist families in converting land purchase contracts to mortgages with more favorable terms.

### WORKING AREAS

**OBJECTIVES:** To attract, encourage, and retain enterprises which will strengthen the economic base of Evanston while preventing the intrusion of harmful effects upon the residential areas.

To stimulate the redevelopment of sections of the Working Areas of the City so as to maintain their vitality and to provide new opportunities for growth.

**POLICIES:** 1. Perfect the planned development concept to guide and encourage redevelopment throughout the

working areas of the City. 2. Encourage future growth in the form of redevelopment within Evanston's working areas. 3. Limit future growth in manufacturing activities to the areas shown on the Comprehensive General Plan. (Some minor adjustments might be required in the overall pattern, but no major extensions should be made.) 4. Expand the manufacturing base through more intensive use of underdeveloped industrial land. 5. Maintain reasonable boundaries for manufacturing activities in order to protect residential areas. 6. Correct and prohibit formation of undue nuisances created by manufacturing activities. 7. Protect manufacturing areas from the intrusion of other land uses in order to preserve their income producing potential. 8. Direct planning to the solution of problems generated by present manufacturing activities. 9. Preserve some older commercial areas as resources for small businesses requiring low overhead and rent. 10. Improve the character of boundaries between commercial and residential areas: pave alleys, screen nuisances such as noise, excessive light, odors, parking, etc. 11. Confine future drive-in facilities largely to commercial areas. 12. Encourage replacement of obsolete or marginal uses within the commercial portions of the working areas. 13. Contain new commercial areas within the established commercial areas. 14. Stimulate improvement in declining business areas. 15. Improve vehicular circulation to business centers and pedestrian circulation within them by a combination of techniques designed to maximize the accessibility of those areas to their potential customers. 16. Recognize the important services and revenues generated by the secondary business centers as well as the Central Business Area when making public policy or carrying out action programs. 17. Consider broader scale redevelopment around some of the shopping centers which would produce small planned communities of higher density organized around the shopping center. 18. Capitalize on Evanston's advantages for attracting new office functions and business services. 19. Establish land use policies on location and control of new office development which would lead to the establishment of special districts and/or a separate set of regulations applying to office development in several zoning districts. 20. Vary building requirements with their relationship to the surrounding areas. 21. Build upon the "Headquarters City" concept by attracting firms representing national headquarters. 22. Locate future office structures with access to public transportation and major streets.

### CENTRAL BUSINESS AREA

**OBJECTIVE:** To enhance the vitality and quality of downtown Evanston, to increase the services it provides, and to expand its value as a generator of revenue.

**POLICIES:** 1. Foster the redevelopment of portions of the central business area. 2. Encourage creative approaches to the planning and zoning of the central business area which makes redevelopment possible. 3. Encourage the development of those activities that need

and create pedestrian interchange. 4. Increase the opportunities for evening use of the central business area. 5. Implement programs to promote new office development in the central business area, and to retain existing businesses and organizations. 6. Strengthen the "Headquarters City" concept by encouraging supporting activities such as retail, hotel, governmental, cultural and service functions. 7. Emphasize development of joint use facilities wherever possible to conserve and to make the most efficient use of the high value land in the central business area. 8. Improve circulation within the central business area through construction of a new, north-south link: the extension of Benson Avenue south of Davis Street and/or the extension of Maple Avenue under the Chicago and North Western Railway. 9. Encourage compactness of development that minimizes walking distances and emphasizes pedestrian movement in the core of the central business area. 10. Separate pedestrian and vehicular traffic wherever possible in order to enhance the movement of each. 11. Discourage curb cuts in the core area which conflict with pedestrian and vehicular movement. 12. Continue policies and programs to divert through traffic around the central business area. 13. Reduce curb parking where a reasonable off-street alternative can be found. 14. Investigate new forms of transportation which would reduce automobile traffic and increase the mobility of pedestrians. 15. Remain sensitive to the concerns of residents living in the peripheral area by guarding against spill-over nuisances or expansion of business functions into residential sections. 16. Encourage policies to further enhance architectural design and other esthetic possibilities of the central business area through the use of plazas, walks, green space, plant material; variety in color, texture, and materials; improved street furniture and signing; and good design in public buildings.

### INSTITUTIONAL AREAS

**OBJECTIVE:** To control and accommodate necessary growth and change in Evanston's institutions so as to preserve their excellence yet protect adjacent neighborhoods.

**POLICIES:** 1. Improve coordination of plans between local institutions and the City. 2. Help the institutions to fulfill their responsibilities to the community so that they can become "citizen institutions" and share the concerns and problems of the total community. 3. Avoid arbitrary restrictions on growth of institutions but, at the same time, minimize any adverse effects of expansion on adjacent residential areas. 4. Encourage the attraction of such cultural institutions as art centers, museums, historical associations, nature centers, specialized libraries and others of educational and cultural value. 5. Refine land use regulations, where appropriate to better fit the expanding institutions. 6. Continuously review parking regulations, evaluate parking

needs, and explore all opportunities to create additional parking space for institutions when necessary. 7. Achieve better design and land use relationships on individual projects through continued use of negotiation when circumstances require some form of consent from the City. 8. Continue to explore means of resolving the dilemma of the tax status for institutions and the means of assessing everyone a fair share in meeting municipal costs. 9. Support housing programs for low income elderly citizens of Evanston through cooperative efforts between public and private organizations and the City, but recognize the need to achieve some reasonable limit on the amount of elderly housing created. 10. Continue to develop land use standards for housing for the elderly in terms of impact on the surrounding neighborhood. 11. Re-examine the interior standards required by the City of the facilities that house the elderly as they relate to the well being of the occupants. 12. Encourage the location of housing for the elderly close to supporting neighborhood services. 13. Anticipate possible discontinuation of existing institutional uses and develop alternatives for reuse of such institutional land and buildings. 14. Recognize the need to improve cooperation and coordination of municipal agencies and institutions responsible for health care so as to improve the delivery of such services. 15. Recognize and allow for: the changing roles of many institutions; the effects of these changes upon their physical facilities; the effects upon their neighbors; and the necessity for appropriate land use planning to guide them.

