Communion to Community Building: A study of the opportunities of community capitals after religious facilities are adaptively reused

by

Julie Nicole Baniqued

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Approved by:

Major Professor
La Barbara James Wigfall

Abstract

Religious groups and their places of worship have played important roles in community development throughout history, specifically regarding social, cultural, human, and built capital in their communities. Today, more religious facilities are becoming vacant and presenting opportunities for adaptive reuse than ever before. Factors like white flight (Woldoff, 2011), smaller congregation sizes (Simons, et. al., 2017), fewer religious leaders and church consolidations after COVID-19 (Cullotta, 2021; Lovett, 2022), and migration of religious groups to the suburbs (Conzen, 2005) has resulted in the increase of vacant religious facilities in cities. Consequently, many places across the U.S. are tasked with figuring out how to address these large vacant spaces that are harder to fill and to transform when many residents still consider them sacred. In Chicago, religious facilities are adaptively reused into a variety of new uses, but more recently are skewing towards residential. This has sparked the debate among community members about highest and best use for former religious facilities that continues today (Gunderson, 2019). Some residents and professionals argue that the adaptively reused religious facilities should have community uses, such as community arts centers, to preserve the important roles that institutional uses played in communities in the past. Others argue that communities benefit greatly also when the religious facilities are adaptively reused into a non-community use, such as residential, so the new use should be whatever is economically feasible and has a demand. For a planner, it is important to maximize health, safety, and economic wellbeing of everyone living in a community as it grows and changes, and that includes encouraging the uses that build stronger communities with the greatest opportunities for community capitals.

In this report, multiple cases are studied to discuss the similarities and differences in opportunities for social, cultural, human, and built capital after religious facilities were adaptively reused in Chicago. In order to provide a more holistic perspective to this research, background on the social and economic changes over the last thirty years in Chicago was included. Though the socio-economic background does not pinpoint the exact causes why religious facilities became vacant and the specific new uses were chosen for those buildings, it

does enrich the understanding of what factors may influence these projects and who might be impacted by them. Overall, this investigation of the opportunities for community capitals through the focus of adaptively reused religious facilities shows how new community and non-community uses have impacted their surrounding community areas.

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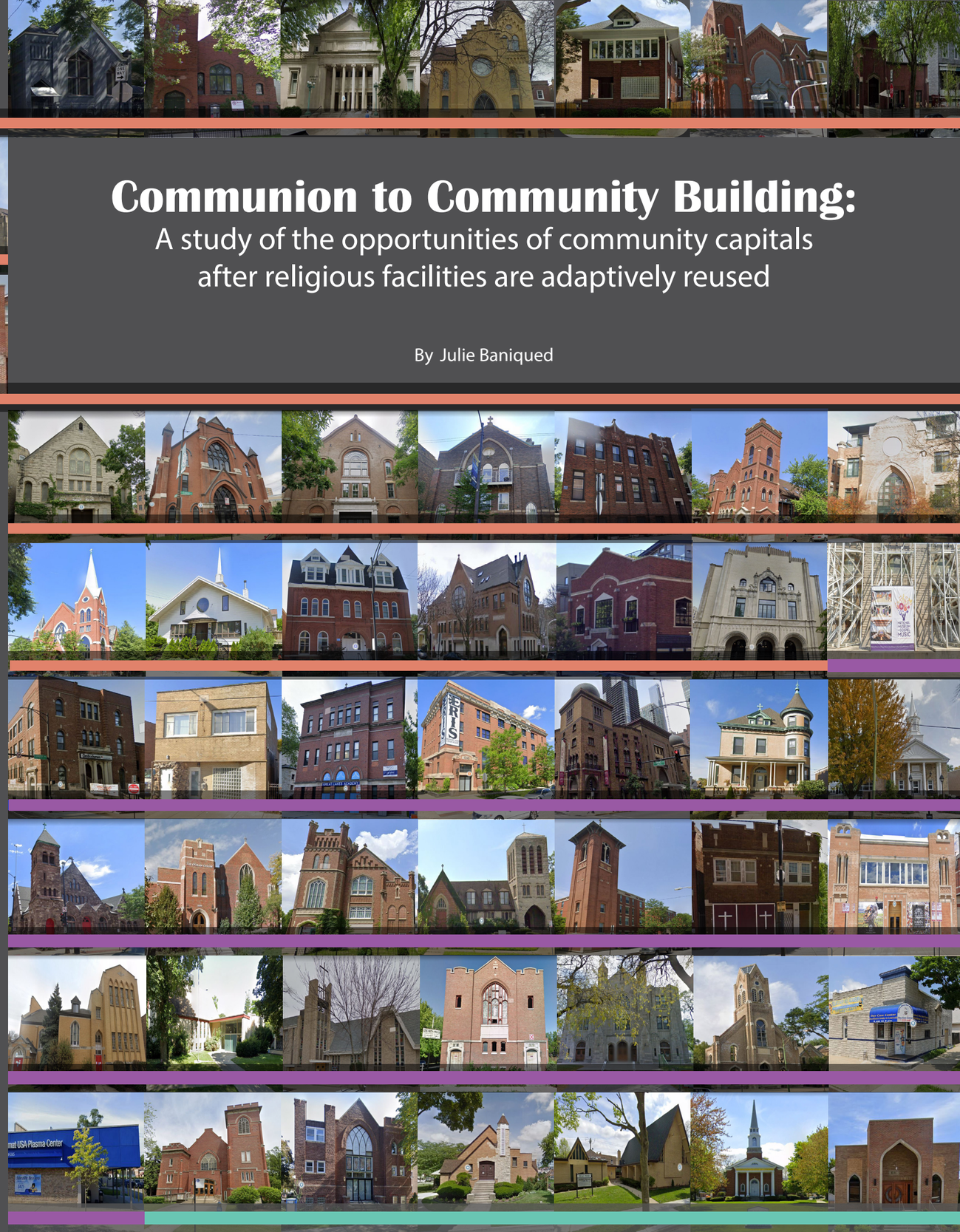

Abstract

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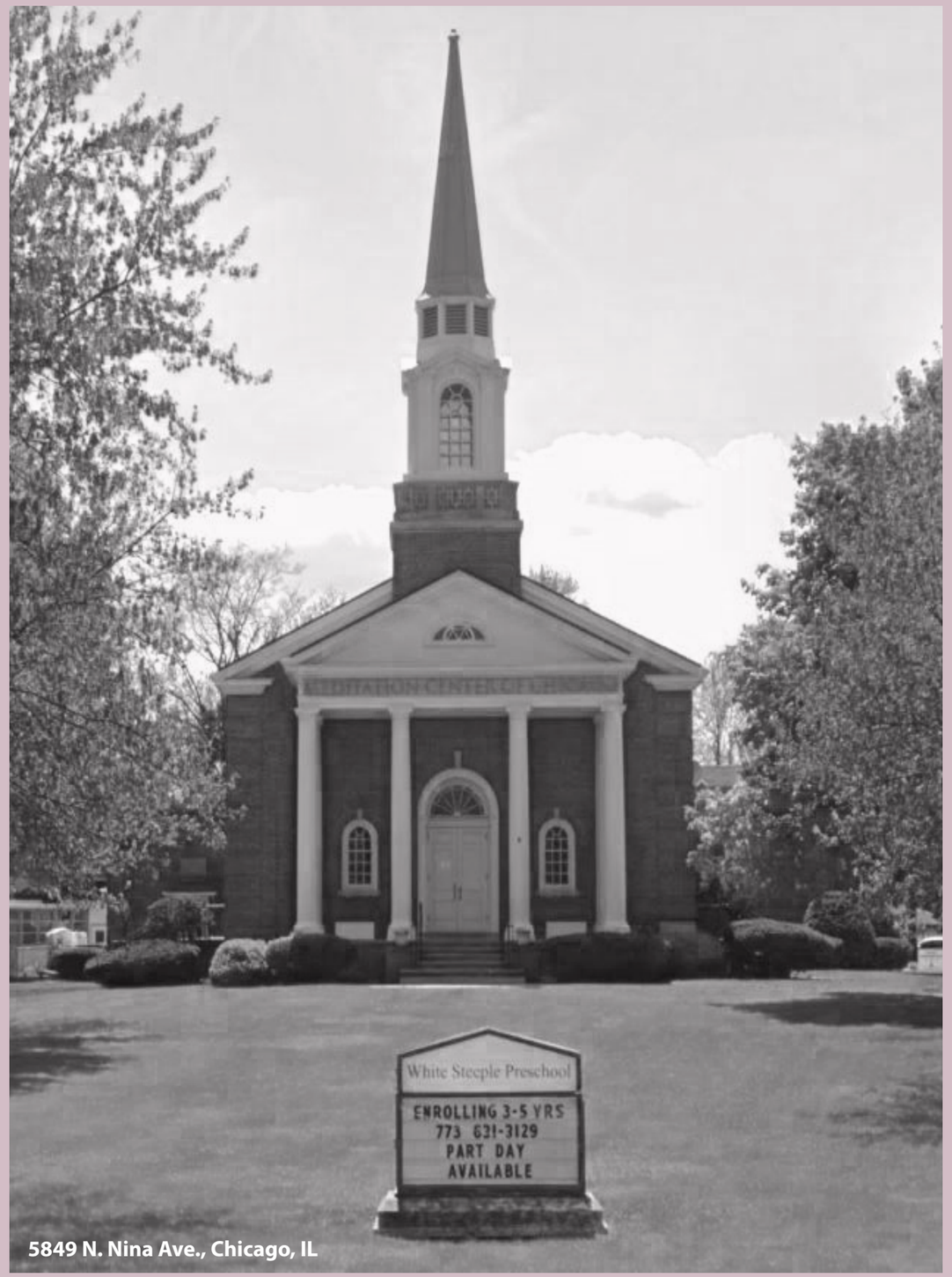

5849 N. Nina Ave., Chicago, IL

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Across the United States today there are more people living in urban and suburban areas than seen before. Today, 83% of the country's population lives in urban and suburban areas and is projected to reach 89% of the population by 2050 (Ritchie & Roser, 2018; United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2019).

Beginning in the 1950's and continuing through the year 2000, a surge of white families moved out of American cities to live in the suburbs, creating the phenomenon known as white flight (Woldoff, 2011). Over time, suburbs gained a concentration of white residents while cities had a concentration of minority populations. This shift in living after World War II led to the socio-economic decline of inner cities and is one reason why there are buildings sitting vacant in cities still today.

The negative socio-economic impacts of white flight have taken a toll on urban religious facilities. Religious Congregations and Membership data shows that the number of all religious congregations in the U.S. has increased over the last several decades (Social Explorer, 2021). However, a closer look shows that the increase involves shifting of congregations as existing religious facilities closed within cities, but more new ones opened in the suburbs (Conzen, 2005).

More recently, religious facilities are closing from after-effects of COVID-19 too. According to Wall Street Journal and Chicago Tribune articles, multiple religious groups in cities are consolidating their facilities due to decreased membership and early retirement of clergy who are exhausted from keeping their congregations afloat during the pandemic (Cullotta, 2021; Lovett, 2022). Despite the growth in urban populations across the nation, these many factors played a part in the increase of vacant churches, synagogues, temples, and other religious spaces in urban areas. Cities across the U.S. are accruing vacant religious facilities for the foreseeable future, which leads to the important question: "What do we do with these buildings?"

Faith based organizations play a crucial role in community development (Magezi, 2017). A common way to empirically measure community development is using the Community Capitals Framework developed by Cornelia Butler Flora and Jan L. Flora in 2008. There are seven capitals within the Community Capitals

Framework: built, human, social, cultural, political, natural, and financial (Flora & Flora, 2008). We particularly see faith based organizations contributing to built, human, social, and cultural capitals. For example, some of the oldest structures in many urban places are churches or other religious facilities, helping define urban development patterns and adding to the built capital of the area. These religious facilities also bring diverse community members together to build social and cultural capital during many occasions, including worship, weddings, voting, community organization meetings, fine arts performances, and more. Lastly, religious facilities often provide many services to enhance human capital in the community, such as offering programs on education, employment, and health. As religious congregations move out and communities lose their long-time support, there could potentially be significant changes in the community development, health, and vibrancy of these areas.

Religious facilities are often architecturally or historically significant. In urban areas, vacant religious facilities are frequently adaptively reused instead of demolished due to the preservation laws of those areas, heritage value recognized among the community, environmental consciousness, and more. The adaptive reuse of sacred buildings has sparked a debate among professionals and community members though. Some argue that when churches close their doors permanently they "kill communities" (Galioto, 2019). Therefore, these same residents and professionals argue that the adaptive reuse of a religious building is only successful if the new use of the building remains open to the public in some way to preserve the community (Gunderson, 2019). Oppositely, others argue that non-community new uses for former religious facilities are also beneficial to the community in many ways, so once a religious facility becomes vacant it is an empty shell open for any new economically feasible use (Gunderson, 2019). There are many examples of religious facilities re-purposed into a variety of new uses, both open to the community as a community center or museum, and more privately used as apartments or offices. Studies have also looked at the factors that influence the decision of what to reuse religious facilities as (Simons, et al, 2017). To better answer this ongoing debate about the best new use for religious buildings that builds strong communities though, it is important to compare the impacts that the diverse new uses have on their surrounding neighborhoods. This report addresses this dispute about the appropriate new use for religious facilities by conducting three descriptive case studies of adaptively reused religious facilities in Chicago using the Community Capitals Framework as a tool of analysis.

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826 W. 19th St., Chicago, IL

CHAPTER TWO
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Strong Communities

Definition of Community

Existing literature does not offer a clear definition of community, but rather describes its complex interacting parts and the approaches to understanding them. Some researchers and practitioners look at community as a spatial relationship where people have close personal interactions with each other (Mooney & Neal, 2009). Others discuss communities as the people and places residing within a boundary physically marked on a map (Newby, 2013). Lastly, community is described in the literature as a psychological sense of belonging to a greater identity, culture, or ethnicity of multiple people (Amit & Rapport 2002; Hancock & Neal, 2012; Barrett, 2015). Dinnie and Fischer's multiple case study on narratives about community in policies brings these three approaches together by saying "the term community can be stretched and pulled to describe different sets of social relations – place, identity, institutions, politics, technology – of various levels and sizes, which are linked spatially, physically, and psychologically in a range of ways, and which are multiple and overlapping" (Dinnie & Fischer, 2020). Communities are unique and provide various combinations of elements, resources, and relationships that contribute to the functioning of the communities. Consequently, there is no universal definition to describe them.

Community Capitals Framework

The planning profession focuses on improving the general welfare of the people when thinking about and working with communities. There are many sectors in the planning profession that specialize in one aspect of a community, such as housing or transportation. Economic and Community Development is one sector within the planning profession that continually looks at the overlapping social relations of communities together and works to enhance them in the future. Economic and community development organizations aim to identify the existing assets, or elements, resources, and relationships that can be mobilized in a community, and plan how they should be used or grown for the benefit of the community over time. A tool that is considered integral for economic and community development planners to analyze their community's assets is the Community Capitals Framework (Flora & Flora, 2008).

Community Capitals Framework was developed by Cornelia Butler Flora and Jan L. Flora in 2008 to map any strategies and impacts the capitals have towards a community's well-being. According to Flora and Flora (2008), there are seven capitals that play a role in communities: built, social, human, cultural, natural, political, and human.

Built Capital

Flora and Flora (2008) defines built capital as "the permanent physical installations and facilities supporting productive activities in a community". In other words, any man-made structure and utilities that are part of the built environment is considered built capital. Built capital is important in supporting the life and productivity of the community, but it also plays a role in excluding certain people (residents living on the wrong side of the railroad tracks), diverting a lot of financial capital from other investments, and harming the environment in the process (Flora & Flora, 2008).

Built capital is divided by Flora and Flora (2008) into four categories based on level of access and consumption: collective goods, common pool goods, toll goods, and private goods. This is illustrated in Table 2.1. Collective goods have the most inclusive access to the community (free access to everyone) and is consumed jointly (serves everyone). Examples of collective goods are streets, roads, public sidewalks, bridges, public playgrounds and soccer fields, and other places that the whole community can use for free. Next, common pool goods are also accessed inclusively by the community (free for everyone to use) but have rival consumption (serves a limited number of people). Schools, libraries, and other public and commercial buildings that the neighborhood can use without a fee are examples of collective goods. Unlike collective and common pool goods, toll goods are subject to exclusive access from the community (users must pay a fee to use) and have joint consumption (serves everyone who can afford it). Toll goods include telephone, fiber-optic networks, other communications facilities, electricity, water supply systems, and natural gas utilities. Finally, private goods are exclusively accessed (users must pay a fee to use) and have rival consumption (serves a limited number of people). An example of a private good is a country club that has a limited number of memberships.

Four Categories of Built Capital

	Consumption	
Access	Joint	Rival
Inclusive	Collective	Common Pool
Exclusive	Toll	Private

Table 2.1
Shows the four categories of built capital, adapted from Flora & Flora (2008)

Social Capital

Social capital is defined in Flora and Flora (2008) as a group-level phenomenon expressed in "terms of norms of reciprocity and mutual trust". The key aspects of social capital are the relationships and networks developed and utilized among social groups. Strong social capital is important for geographic communities because it increases the group's adaptability, initiative, and responsibility (Flora & Flora, 2008). However, social capital can also foster exclusion of citizens from community networks for many reasons (Flora & Flora, 2008).

There are two types of social capital: bridging and bonding. Bridging social capital is connecting diverse groups together within and outside of the community (Flora & Flora, 2008). Bonding social capital focuses on connections between individuals or groups with similar backgrounds. The varying levels of bridging and bonding capitals creates different kinds of relationships within communities, as outlined in Figure 2.1.

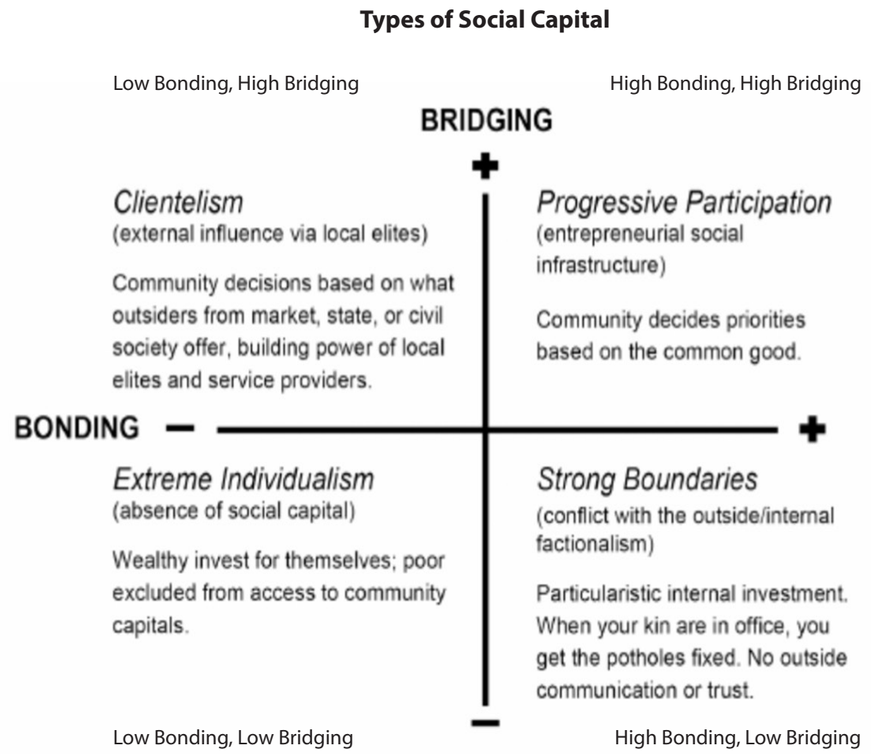

Figure 2.1
Breaks down the typology of social capital from Flora & Flora (2008)

Social capital is measured by factors like groups and networks, trust among the community, collective action, social inclusion, information, and communication (Flora & Flora, 2008).

Human Capital

Flora and Flora (2008) describes human capital as "the assets each person possesses: health, formal education, skills, knowledge, leadership, and potential". Human capital is enhanced in communities with well-educated and skilled citizens. Areas with higher human capital attract more employers and create higher per capita incomes.

Human capital is measured by employment opportunities, schools, adult basic education programs, educational attainment, and school attendance records (Flora & Flora, 2008).

Cultural Capital

Flora, et. al., (2015) describes cultural capital as group assumptions about how the world works and the explanations of why. Cultural capital is important in communities because it determines what constitutes knowledge, how knowledge is to be achieved, and how knowledge is validated (Flora & Flora, 2008).

Cultural capital is measured by values and symbols reflected in clothing, music, machines, art, language, knowledge, and behavior (Flora & Flora, 2008).

Natural Capital

Natural capital is simply the environment and any natural amenities that a community has (Flora & Flora, 2008). Healthy natural capital is essential for feeding communities, providing outlets for healthy physical activities, and more. In some cultures, such as Native American, the environment is a central part of their values and they regularly use natural amenities to build their cultural and social capital.

Factors for measuring natural capital include parks, air quality, soil, water, and biodiversity (Flora & Flora, 2008)

Political Capital

Flora and Flora (2008) says that political capital is made up of "organization, connections, voice, and power as citizens turn shared norms and values into standards". Political capital comes from the area rules, regulations, and resource distributions that are determined and enforced by communities. Political capital is essential to a community's ability to influence what resources are available to them and how the resources are then distributed to everyone (Flora & Flora, 2008).

Examples of factors to measure political capital include town hall meetings, local leadership programs, and local political officials.

Financial Capital

The definition of financial capital in Flora and Flora (2008) is any resource that is translated into monetary instruments that make them highly liquid.

Financial capital is measured by banks, loan funds, bonds, grants, and more (Flora & Flora, 2008).

Presence of Community Capitals

Communities that exhibit all seven capitals are more likely to have continued success in maintaining healthy ecosystems, building vibrant economies, and meeting the needs of the town for social well-being (Flora & Flora, 2008; Green & Haines, 2008). Therefore, as planners it is important that every community provides opportunities for all community capitals in some way.

Land Uses and Community Capitals

Land uses impact the type of capitals present in communities (Foster, 2006; Flora & Flora, 2008). Just as it is good for communities to exhibit all seven community capitals, it is also damaging to over- or under-invest in any of the community capitals (Crowe, 2012). For example, if a community supports growing their built capital by constructing a large industrial factory or multiple new residential buildings while not taking steps to protect any of the open space, then it could lead to too much construction for the market demand and superfluous damage to natural resources that the community relies on for food, materials, exercise, and more. Therefore, planners turn to land use regulations to encourage balanced uses of land and community capitals.

There are seven main types of land uses found in literature: Residential, Commercial, Industrial, Transportation, Institutional (churches, schools, government facilities), Open Space, and Agricultural. Though these are the most basic land use categories seen across many U.S. cities, it is not an exhaustive list. For example, in Chicago there is an additional land use category called "Public & Civic", which is based on public and quasi-public services. Places that allow gathering of community members, such as community centers and places of worship, are categorized under Public & Civic in that case. However, for the purpose of making general comparisons between land uses and their relationships with community capitals, the seven broader categories are used.

Figure 2.2 shows a relationship (positive or negative) the seven land uses have with the various community capitals according to examples in the literature. Note that institutional land use had an impact on the most community capitals.

Relationships Between Land Use and Community Capitals

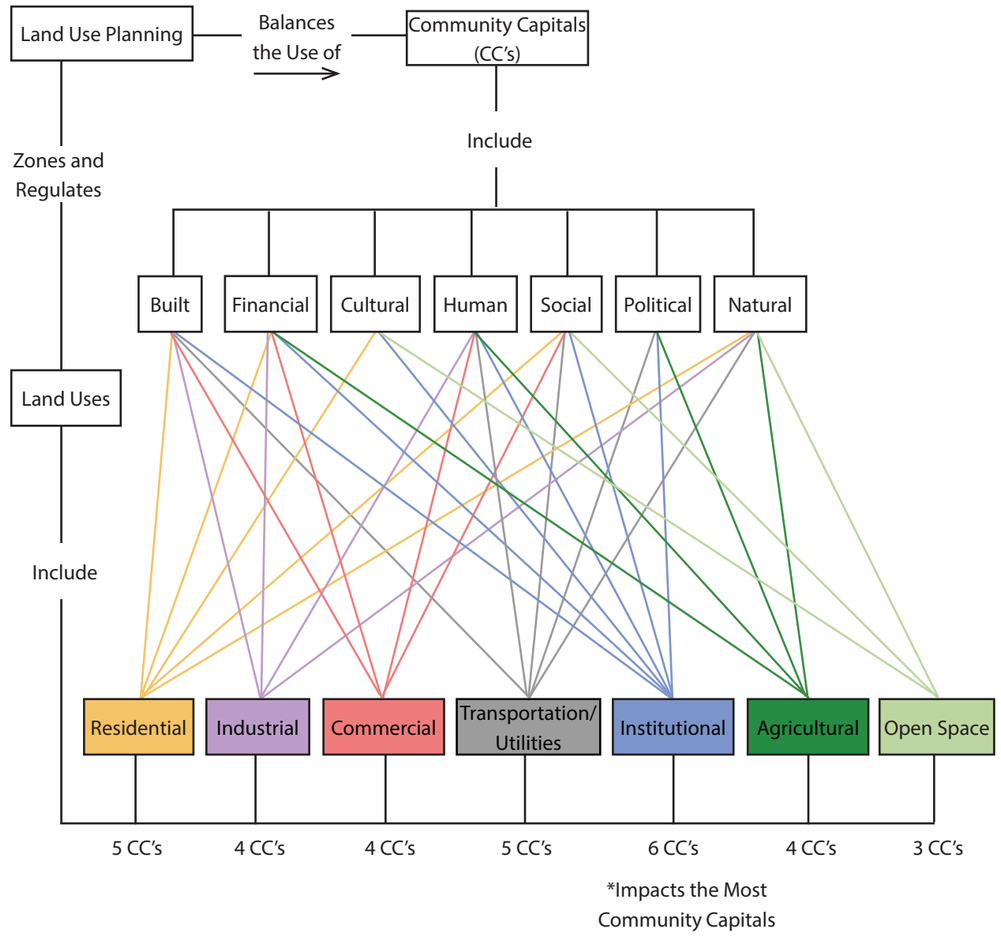

Figure 2.2
Connects the negative and positive relationships of land uses to the community capitals

Land uses provide opportunities that can positively build community capitals and put a strain on others. Since land uses are important to community capitals development, changing land uses could create changes in the community and its capitals. This also includes buildings that are not being used at all, or sitting vacant. Citizens have to find alternative opportunities for community capitals when a building becomes vacant and does not act as a resource for those capitals any longer.

Addressing Vacant Buildings

The literature shows that there are a few options to take existing buildings that are vacant to being used by the community as working assets again. The options are demolition and construction, or preservation, which includes restoration, reconstruction, and adaptive reuse. Figure 2.3 shows the relationship between community capitals, vacant buildings, and the process of occupying or using the vacant properties again. The colored text within the diagram highlights why this research focuses on adaptive reuse of religious facilities.

Relationships Between Community Capitals and Vacancies

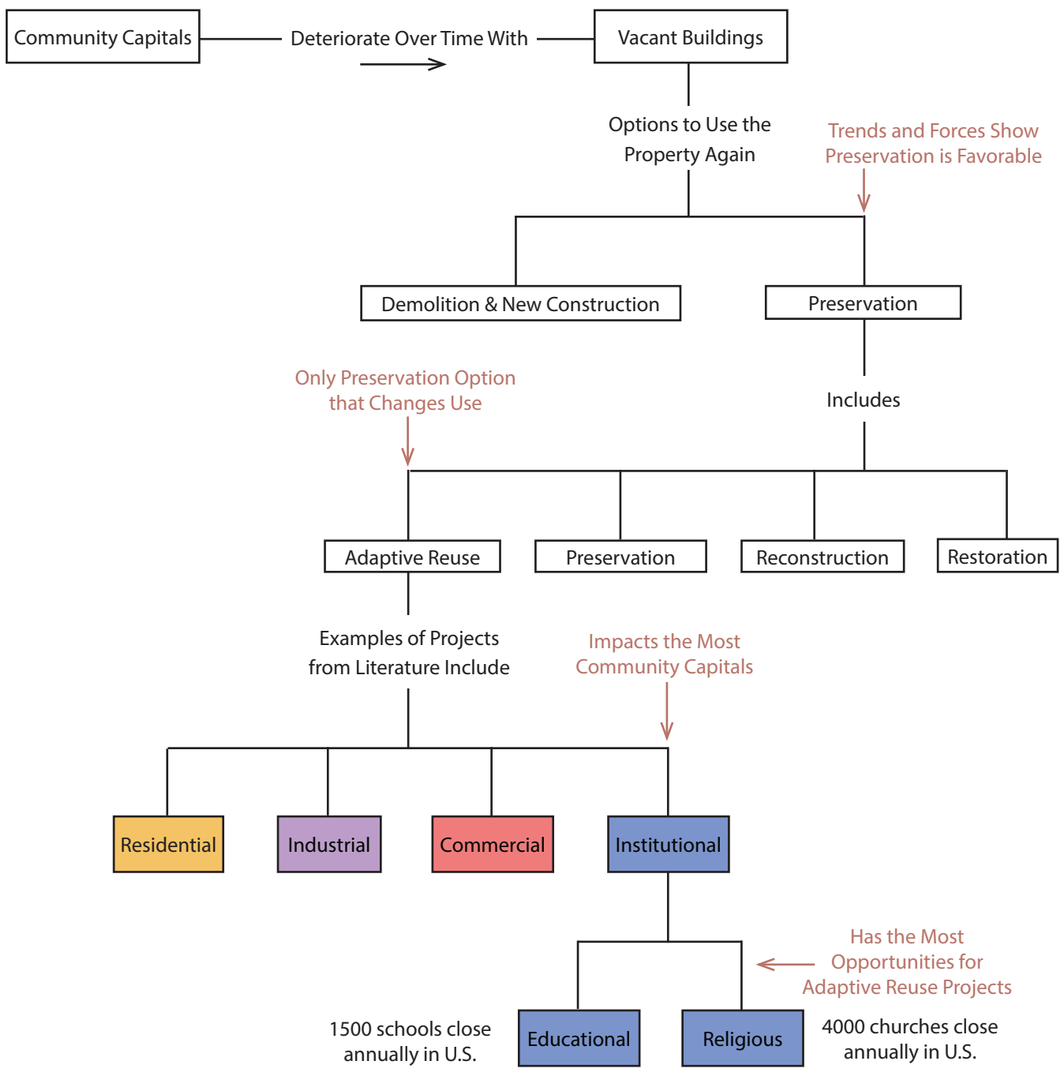

Figure 2.3
Shows the methods to reuse vacant properties found in literature

Demolition & New Construction

Definitions

Demolition and construction are terms that are familiar to most readers, so they are not often defined in literature. Dr. R. J. Collins provides simple definitions in his study "Upgrading the Use of Recycled Material – UK Demonstration Project" for demolition and construction. Collins says that demolition is site clearance of old buildings or structures while construction is the building of a new structure (Collins, 1997). Demolition can be the complete removal of a structure from its top to bottom, or it can be selective. The more recent method of selective demolition, also called deconstruction or construction in reverse, is a way to carry out a series of demolition activities so building components are safely removed and sorted to be reused or recycled (Coelho & De Brito, 2011; Pantini & Rigamonti, 2020). In addition to the basic definitions and descriptions of the methods for demolition and construction, the literature discusses the perceptions of these terms as a way to accept or criticize them. For example, Rosenman and Walker (2016) criticize demolition and construction saying the intentions for these methods are seen as "an austerity-driven effort to re-value disinvested land in cities". Selective demolition is viewed a little more favorably in the literature than traditional complete demolition or new construction. Pantini and Rigamonti state that "selective demolition is perceived as absolutely essential in improving the sustainability of the building sector" (Pantini & Rigamonti, 2020).

When to Choose Demolition and Construction

Researchers and practitioners agree that demolition and construction is chosen when the value of something new outweighs the value of an existing structure. A series of interviews conducted by Bullen and Love (2011) in Australia found that demolition is typically selected by developers when the lifespan of an existing building is expected to be less than that of a newly constructed building. Itard and Klunder (2007) also noted that demolition was a viable option for buildings whose longevity caused negative environmental impacts with technical problems too expensive to fix, ruling out renovation or refurbishment options. Another case study of Cleveland, Ohio by Rosenman and Walker (2016) demonstrated that demolition and new construction was chosen as a growth strategy to help reduce the number of vacant houses that the city maintained in their land bank and increase density for the growing population. Lastly, Coelho and De Brito (2011) agree that demolition and construction is typically employed for buildings reaching the end of their service lives, but the case study research showed that factors like available work force, mechanical equipment used, and the time constraints of each job drove the choice to demolish buildings.

Pros

Though the literature regularly discusses demolition and construction in a negative connotation, there are a few positive aspects discussed by researchers. Rosenman and Walker (2015) saw in their case study that demolition and construction "had appreciable effects on local housing values and has opened vacant land for community uses". Removing the lowest quality houses improved the appearance and value of their surrounding neighborhoods and created open spaces for new community parks. Similar results are seen from the Green City Coalition in St. Louis (Green City Coalition, 2021).

Another positive aspect of demolition and construction that researchers and practitioners discuss is the opportunity to build more efficient structures. Berg and Fuglseth (2018) research revealed more commitment to energy efficiency in construction, meaning there was more tendency to use environmentally sound materials in new builds than in refurbishment projects. Old existing structures typically contain outdated materials and operating systems too. Working with the materials and dimensions of an existing building can constrain the implementation of new, more efficient systems. Clearing the site and constructing a new building creates the opportunity to have more site-specific designs that implement modern design ideas and technologies that were likely not around when the existing building was constructed.

Cons

Most existing research for demolition and construction focuses on the management of their wastes. All the researchers and practitioners concur that demolition and construction generates a high volume of waste globally. According to the United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), demolition and construction produces three types of waste: inert or nonhazardous items, hazardous items regulated by EPA, and items with hazardous components regulated by some but not all states (United States Environmental Protection Agency, 2018). It is hard to pinpoint exactly how much global tonnage of waste is produced by demolition and construction every year due to illegal dumping of materials and differences in measuring and reporting mechanisms by country (Torgal, 2013). However, it is large enough that researchers and practitioners believe management of these waste materials is paramount for maintaining a healthy environment.

The literature discusses two ways to handle demolition and construction waste once produced. First, the items can be brought to a landfill. A second option is to recycle the demolition and construction waste. It is not ideal to add materials to a landfill, but many places do not have the capacity to recycle the waste. The world is finding many new secondary uses for demolition and construction waste like concrete, glass, rebar, plastics, and more, but the biggest hurdle is there is no mechanism to sort out these materials for recycling other than manually (Tolentino, 2014; Zhao, et al, 2010; Coelho & De Brito, 2013). In both cases handling the waste from demolition and construction comes at a high price. Cost items include dumping and eco-tax fees for burdening landfills with the waste, manpower to remove and separate recyclable materials before and after demolition, recycle plant fees, and heavy equipment purchases (Coelho & De Brito, 2011; Galvez-Martos, et al, 2018). The cost for all new materials to construct a new structure also adds to the costly process.

Another con to demolition and construction is that their processes can involve dangerous, loud equipment that harms the environment. Coelho and De Brito (2011) noted that demolition and construction often used explosives, excavators, cranes, and other heavy equipment that are risky and loud to operate. There is also continual large transport vehicles removing demolition and construction waste and bringing in new materials. The transport produces pollution that contribute to global carbon emissions.

There have been efforts to reduce the volume of demolition and construction waste and lower costs. One example is using selective demolition, or deconstruction. This method lowers the volume of materials that get dumped into a landfill, extends the life of existing materials, and reduces the need for new materials (Coelho and De Brito, 2011; Pantini & Rigamonti, 2020). Another approach is to use silent demolition, which involves demolishing the inner parts of a building with a special grinding machine and no explosives, leaving the outer structure unharmed (Tolentino, 2014). The production of waste is cut down by limiting how much of the building is demolished. Next, companies are creating concrete using the aggregate from the concrete of demolished buildings (Tolentino, 2014; Galvez-Martos, et al, 2018). This method encourages the reuse of demolished concrete on site to make foundations for the new construction projects and build roads to access the newly constructed buildings. Consequently, there is less demolition and construction waste brought to a landfill and less transportation needed to move the waste materials off site. Lastly, companies are inventing or improving building materials so they are stronger, more durable, and more efficient than ever before. Foreign companies in Singapore for example have started making a stronger concrete that requires less volume to build a structure and has a longer lifespan (Tolentino, 2014). Their ingenuity cuts back on the amount of concrete that is produced and prolongs the time for demolition and new construction projects.

Preservation

Definitions

Rypkema and Cheong (2011) defines historic preservation broadly by saying it is giving attention to cultural landscapes, sustainability of historic buildings, downtown revitalization, tourism of historic buildings, heritage values of historic sites, and economic development. Other sources in the literature break down preservation into the categories Preservation, Restoration, Reconstruction, and Adaptive Reuse. Preservation is defined as sustaining an existing historic structure's form, integrity, and materials through maintenance and repair (Technical Preservation Services, 2021; The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Preservation, 2021). Restoration is described as depicting a particular period in history that an existing historic building exhibits while removing evidence of other periods (Technical Preservation Services, 2021; The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Preservation, 2021). Reconstruction is replicating portions of an existing historic building that did not survive over time using new construction (Technical Preservation Services, 2021; The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Preservation, 2021). Lastly, current literature does not provide a common definition of adaptive reuse, but they do agree that the projects involve a change in land use. Harun, et al, (2010) captures the broad idea of adaptive reuse in their definition saying it is an approach used to conserve old buildings that also require a change in building function or use. Rodrigues and Freire (2017) call this approach "retrofitting old buildings for new uses". In addition to these two big picture ideas of adaptive reuse, Wong (2017) looked at existing literature for recurring examples or themes of what adaptive reuse entails. The results that Wong (2017) discuss include adaptation, addition, alteration, conservation, conversion, extension, maintenance, modernization, reconstruction, refurbishment, rehabilitation, relocation, remodeling, renewal, renovation, repair, restoration, and retrofitting.

When to Choose Preservation

Researchers and practitioners agree that preservation is typically chosen when a property is proposed to be used as it was historically. For example, The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Preservation (2021) found that preservation projects were chosen when the historic character of a property must be retained and preserved without alteration of features. These projects are often classified as a historic landmark in the city. The same group found that restoration projects were chosen when a property underwent renovations and needed to convert back to its historic use at an important period (The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Preservation, 2021). The Technical Preservation Services (2021) noted that reconstruction projects are chosen when physical documentary evidence proves that a property contained another portion of a structure at one point in time. The Technical Preservation Services (2021) lists a few other factors along with proposed use that influence the choice of preservation treatment, including historical significance, physical condition, and intended interpretation. Lastly, the literature shows that adaptive reuse is an appropriate choice for properties that can support a new land use that better serves the community according to market analysis than the existing use. Galvez-Martos, et al (2018) also identifies factors like space, integrity, aesthetics, costs of refurbishment, and client satisfaction that impact the choice to adaptively reuse buildings.

Pros

The literature highlights preservation as a process that helps with community identity. Preservation deals with many old, historic buildings that have heritage value, or the significance that surrounding neighborhoods attach to these places, whether for architectural, historical, cultural, or other reasons. Studies like Misirlisoy and Gunce (2016) show that heritage buildings are crucial for passing along cultural identity to future generations.

Another positive aspect of historic preservation is that it has become an instrument for strengthening

communities. Rypkema and Cheong (2011) found that historic preservation specifically has helped communities meet a wide range of public goals for small business incubation, affordable housing, sustainable development, neighborhood stabilization, center city revitalization, job creation, promotion of the arts and culture, small town renewal, heritage tourism, economic development, and others. Adaptive reuse specifically is praised as a sustainable method in the literature. In fact, Bullen and Love (2011) argue that the recent shift from preservation or demolition to adaptive reuse is a direct response to global sustainability efforts. According to Architecture 2030 (2021), building operations, materials, and construction generate 40% of the yearly global carbon emissions. Adaptive reuse increases the life expectancy of existing buildings, thus decreasing the practice of complete demolition and new construction of buildings that both greatly harm the environment. Rabun and Kelso (2009) therefore reason that extending the lifespan of a building through adaptive reuse is frequently more sustainable than demolition and reconstruction. Md Ali, et al (2019) also highlights that adaptive reuse is considered sustainable for decreasing material waste, new material use, transportation, and pollution, encouraging reuses of energy embodied by the existing structures, and improving the efficiency of building operations with modern building systems. Adaptive reuse overall creates the opportunity to upgrade and rejuvenate buildings at a lower cost to the environment than other choices like demolition.

In addition to sustainable benefits, the literature also shows that adaptive reuse provides significant social and cultural benefits similar to preservation. Bullen and Love (2010) says that "when a building can no longer function with its original use, adaption is the only way that a building's fabric heritage significance can be preserved and maintained". Also, a study by Davison and Russell (2017) found that when a heritage building is disused the connection between younger generations and the building is far less likely to occur. Adaptive reuse helps to maintain the identity of neighborhoods, preserve the significant value of heritage buildings already formed, and foster new connections with the buildings through new uses for many more years than if left abandoned or demolished.

Cons

One negative outcome for historic preservation projects that the literature discusses is that the properties can be underutilized. When a property is preserved, the property owners take action to limit interaction with the building to reduce wear and tear of the historic materials and forms. Also, the existing land uses that are maintained through preservation are not supported by demographic and market conditions (Choi, 2010). This results in excess space that is used little to not at all.

Adaptive reuse specifically has gained weight in the building sector in recent years for its many positive outcomes. However, the literature points out two cons to the approach. First, Bullen and Love (2010) say that adaptive reuse is only preferable to demolition if the project can achieve greater environmental sustainability and reduced energy consumption at a level similar to the performance of new construction. Second, people are reluctant to use adaptive reuse because they believe there are associated problems with health and safety, increased maintenance, inefficiencies in building layout, and commercial risk and uncertainty (Bullen and Love, 2010).

Trends

From Demolition and Preservation to Adaptive Reuse

Researchers and practitioners have seen more adaptive reuse projects instead of preservation or demolition and construction projects in the recent decades. This change is partly due to global sustainability efforts. For example, Europe released a goal to reduce 70% of their waste by 2020. Since demolition and construction waste accounts for nearly 40% of their waste, there has been a push for more sustainable building sector projects and adaptive reuse is seen as the reasonable solution. Jiang, et al, (2021) also points out that

new environmental policies created higher requirements for demolition. Consequently, developers are using adaptive reuse as a solution to have larger buildings that increase sustainable urban density without construction. Lastly, the literature shows that adaptive reuse is often economically more viable than demolition, construction, or preservation (Choi, 2010).

Existing literature shows that there are several types of buildings that are adaptively reused across the world. These include industrial, residential, educational, commercial, and religious buildings. Since institutional land use was the most impactful to community capitals, religious and educational buildings are of main interest for this study.

Closing of Religious Facilities

The literature shows that there is a recent buildup of under-utilized, abandoned, or empty religious buildings (churches, temples, synagogues, etc.) in the United States. According to Simons, et. al. (2017), 1,300 religious buildings were up for sale in the United States at the end of 2008 and more than 1,000 religious buildings become vacant every year in the country. Similarly, Dr. Richard J. Krejcir shows that every year over 4,000 churches close their doors compared to around 1,000 new churches opening (Krejcir, 2021). Simons, et. al. (2017) also point out that there is an increasing trend of the number of religious buildings foreclosing and being sold by banks in the United States each year, starting with a handful of religious buildings before 2008 and growing up to 138 religious buildings in 2011.

The increase in sales and adaptive reuses of religious buildings is due to many congregational changes. Existing literature identifies four main changes in congregations that impact religious building vacancies.

Births and Expansions of New Congregations

Existing literature highlights the phenomenon in recent decades where congregations have grown while the number of religious buildings has also grown. Simons, et. al. (2017) explain this outcome by saying that most but not all startups and expansions of new congregations are occurring in suburban or exurban communities. Miller (2019) found that three Chicago suburban governments alone approved 35 of 40 proposals for new churches out in the suburbs between 2010 and 2014. As religious organizations recognize that their congregations are dying out, they begin to look for the areas where they can attract new folks. Therefore, religious organizations are looking to the suburbs where younger families are. Also, suburban land is attractive for religious organizations because it is less expensive and provides for larger church campus expansion with updated facilities, such as corporations for administration, day care centers, community centers, religious schools, staff housing, and more. The expansion enables religious organizations to provide more services to their community and use modern technology to maximize their congregation experience, such as streaming their worship events online. It is enticing for religious organizations to build new structures in the suburbs that can accommodate more functions and incorporate technology easier than in their existing buildings in many cases.

Out-migration and Contractions or Deaths of Existing Congregations

Not all congregations are growing for religious organizations. Simons, et. al. (2017) show that some congregations dwindle naturally as they lose members who move away. Religious buildings are viable land uses when they have strong communities living around them. However, congregations change when the neighborhood turns over and people move out. In some cases when members of the congregation move to the suburbs or even just outside of the neighborhood where the religious building is located, they make the trek back to continue attending the same religious buildings. In other cases, congregations decrease so much that they must consolidate with other religious organizations or die off. Simons, et. al. (2017) found that most congregational deaths occur in the urban core. This could again be from the effects of residents moving away from urban to the suburbs.

Therefore, there are an increasing number of opportunities for institutional facilities, specifically religious buildings, to change land uses and impact the neighborhoods around them in urban areas.

All Religious Congregations in the United States

The number of all religious congregations has been increasing across the United States for several decades according to RCMS data. Figure 2.4 shows an increase from 224,590 religious congregations in total in the United States during 1980 to 268,240 total in 2000. The top three counties with the most religious congregations were Los Angeles County, California (4,043 congregations by 2000), Cook County, Illinois (2,345 congregations by 2000), and Harris County, Texas (1,587 congregations by 2000). These three counties remained the ones with the most religious congregations from 1980 to 2000.

All Religious Congregations by County in the U.S.

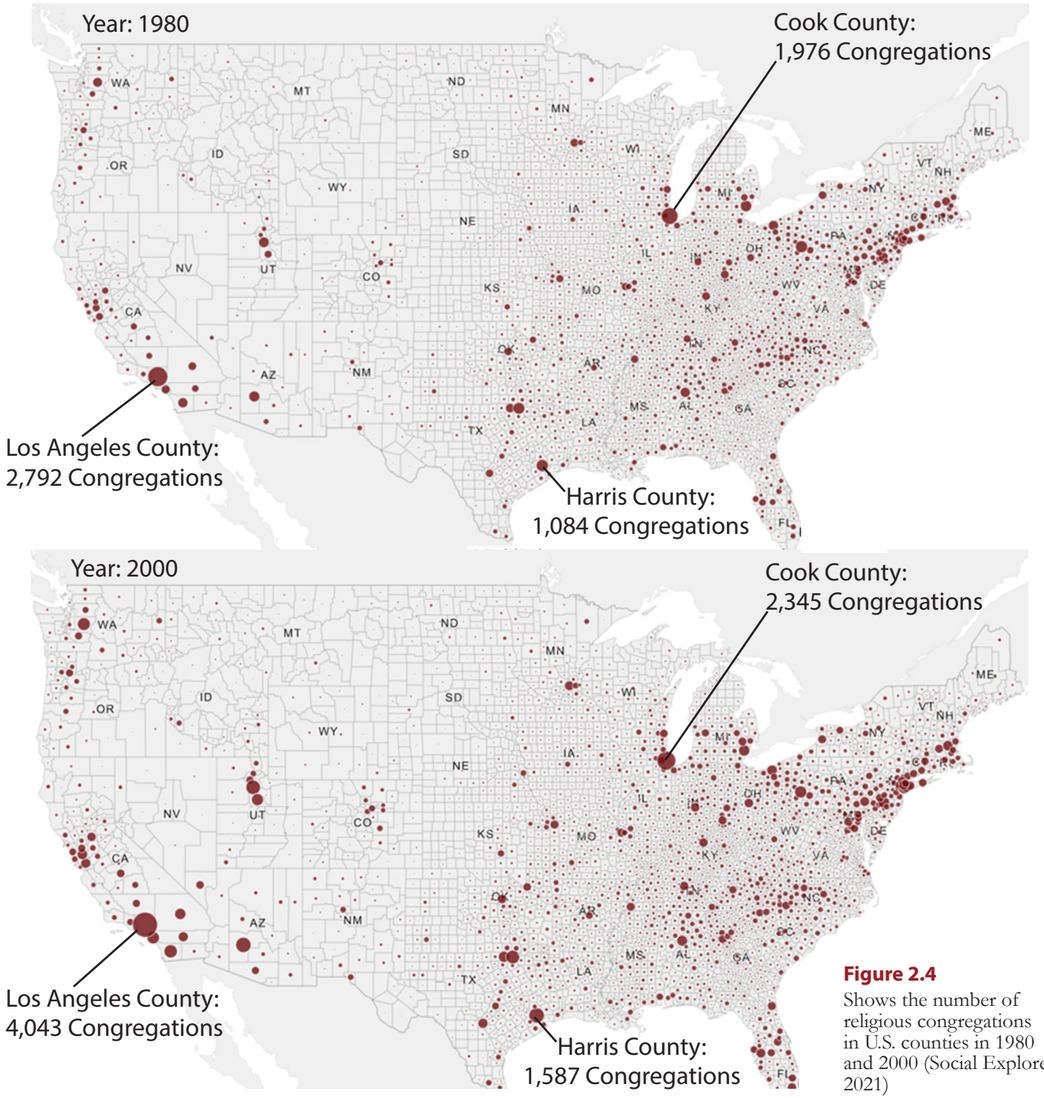

Figure 2.4
Shows the number of religious congregations in U.S. counties in 1980 and 2000 (Social Explorer, 2021)

Looking closer at Cook County, Illinois as an example during this time frame, the number of religious congregations are increasing like Figure 2.4 shows. However, instead of the religious facilities opening in the same areas as earlier existing facilities, they are migrating away from the city. Religious facilities are closing in the inner cities and opening new facilities in the suburbs. Figure 2.5 shows one of the religious groups, Presbyterian Churches, that moved many congregations from the city of Chicago to open more in the suburbs by 2000. This is one example of a denomination that abandoned multiple religious facilities in the city to open more new ones elsewhere. The literature also discusses Catholic and Jewish congregations going through similar conditions. The map in Figure 2.6 also shows the migration of Jewish congregations from locations south of downtown to downtown and northern locations by 2002. Not as many Jewish congregations got established in the suburbs, but they did migrate to the northern edge leaving multiple facilities behind in other parts of the city.

Active Presbyterian Churches in Chicago, 1923-2002

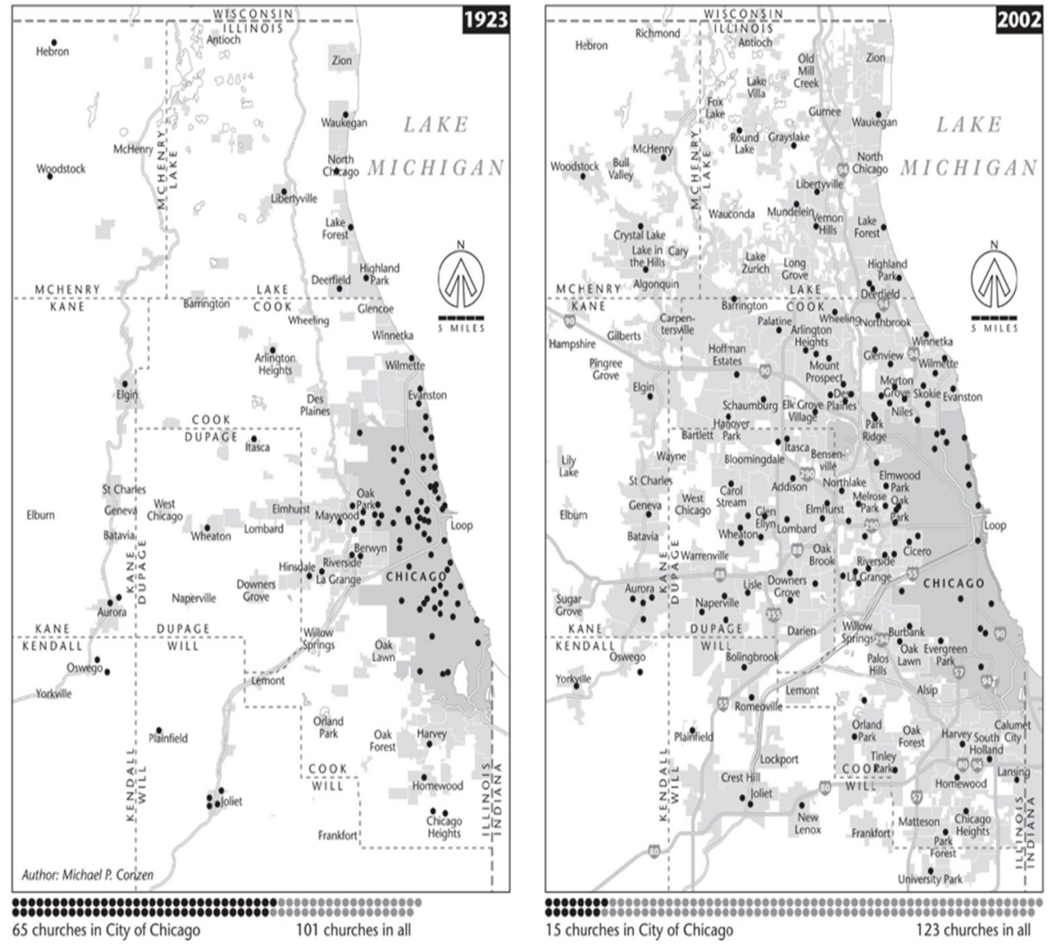

Figure 2.5
Maps the active Presbyterian Churches in the Chicago Area in 1923 and 2002 (Conzen, 2005)

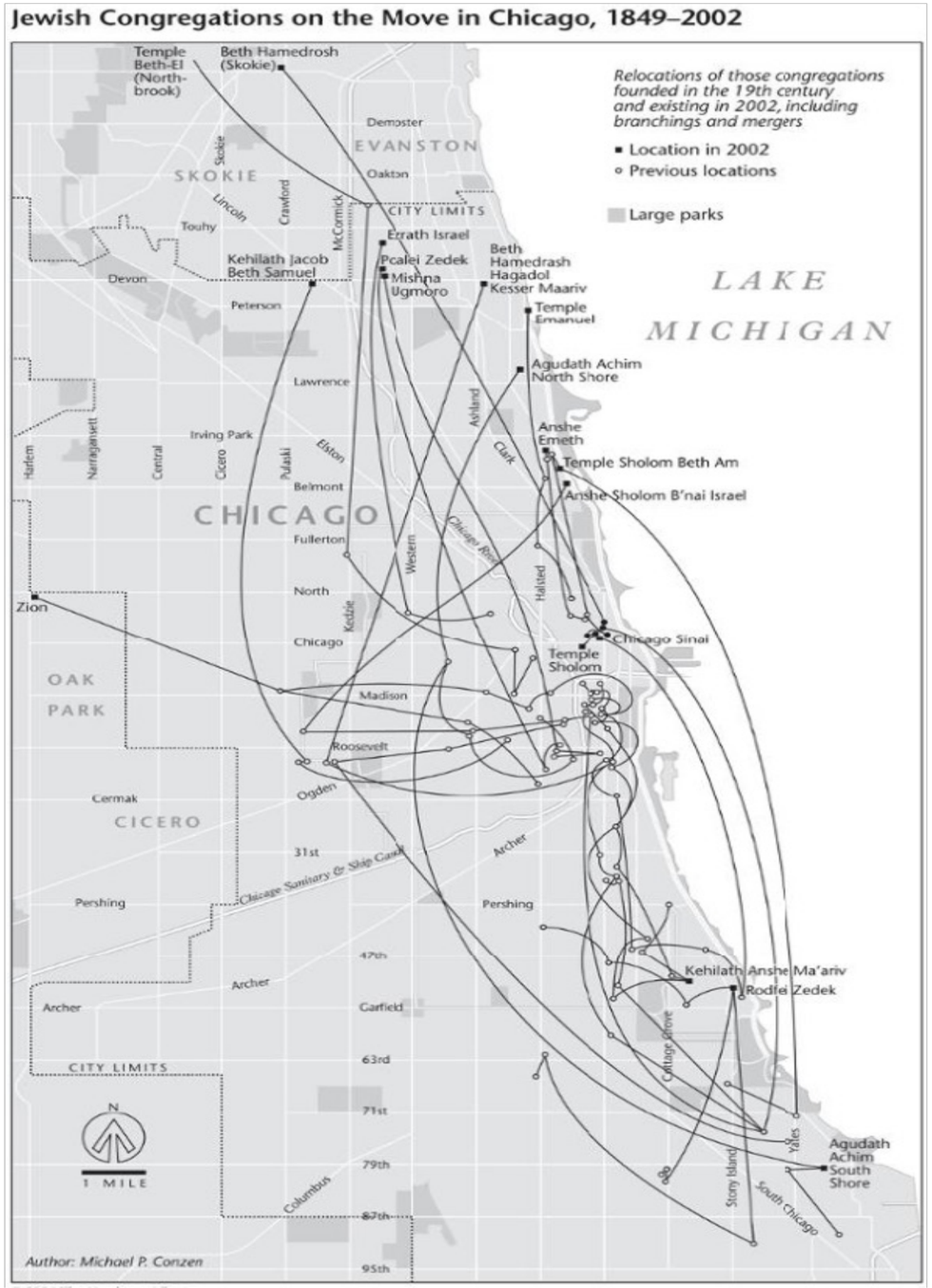

Figure 2.6
Shows the movement of Jewish congregations in Chicago through 2002 (Conzen, 2004)

Adaptive Reuse of Religious Facilities in the United States

Another source, Simons, et. al. (2017), shows in Figure 2.7 that between 1990 and 2008 Massachusetts, New York, California, and Texas had the most frequent adaptive reuse projects of religious buildings. In this study, Illinois had adaptively reused religious buildings clustered around the Chicago area and no adaptively reused schools. Alaska, Idaho, Mississippi, Montana, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Vermont, West Virginia, Wyoming, and Hawaii had no reported adaptive reuse projects of religious buildings in that time (Simons, et al, 2017).

Adaptive Reuse of Churches and Schools in the U.S., 1990 - 2008

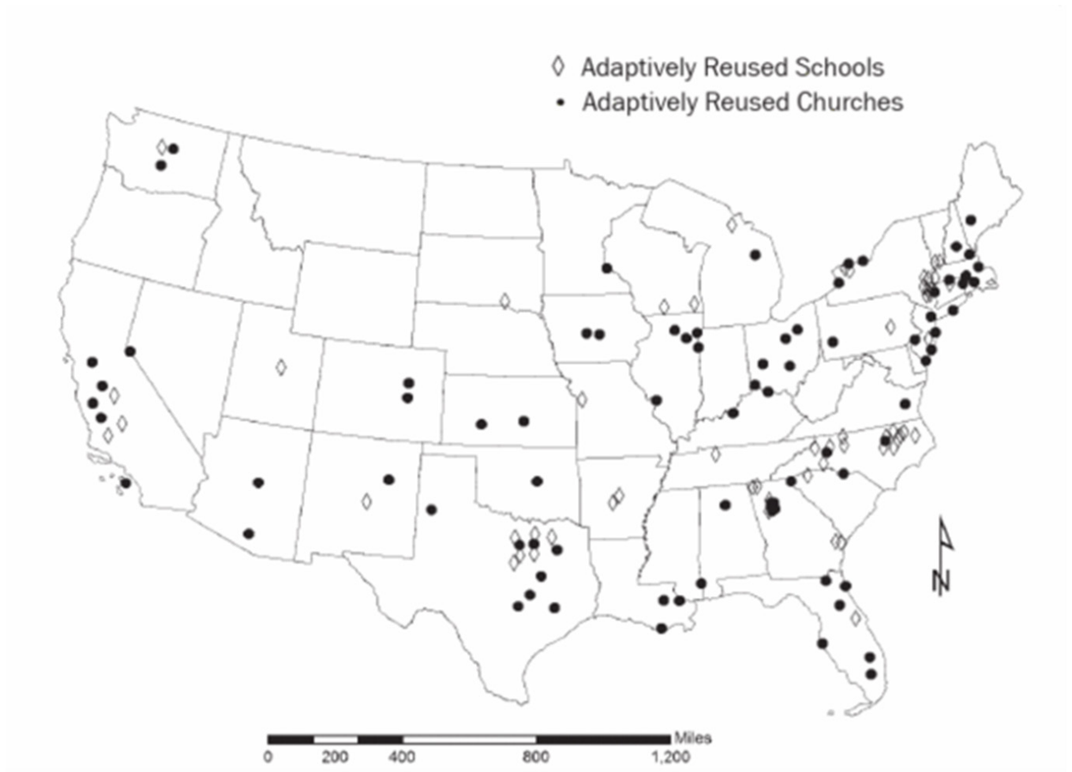

Figure 2.7
Documents the adaptively reused churches and schools in the U.S. from 1990 to 2008 (Simons, et al, 2017)

Factors that Influence the Choice of New Uses for former Religious Buildings

There are many considerations that determine what existing buildings are suitable and selected for adaptive reuse. Once the existing buildings are identified to be adaptively reused, then the developers and architects must determine what the best new land use for the buildings are. Simons, et. al. (2017) conducted extensive case studies and market research in the United States to create a guide for private and not-for-profit

organizations interested in adaptively reusing religious buildings. In this guide they identify five factors that must be looked at to determine the best new land use for the existing buildings. They include the following: sellers' characteristics, location characteristics, building structure characteristics, census tract demographics, and the historic value (Simons, et al, 2017).

Choi (2010) also studied the factors most associated with choosing a new use for adaptively reused religious buildings in Illinois specifically. Similar to Simons, et. al. (2017), this study determined that building characteristics like age of building and number of floors, location, and neighborhood demographics were the key factors (Choi, 2010).

Factors Influencing the Decision for New Uses of Religious Facilities

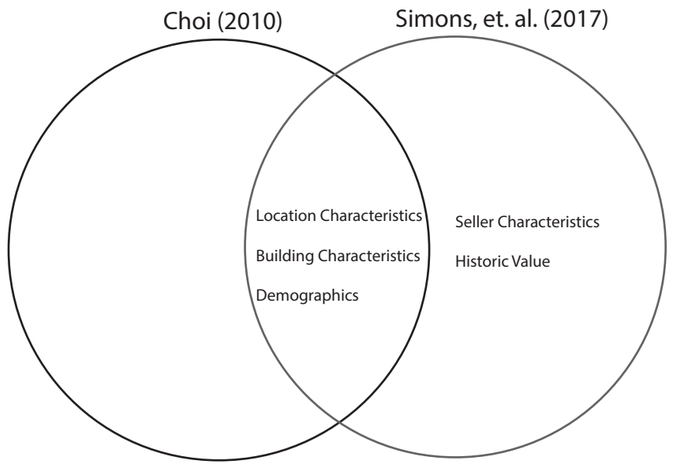

Figure 2.8
Identifies factors from literature that influence the choice of new uses for religious buildings

Conclusion

Overall, cities are facing an increase of vacant religious facilities that will continue for years to come. These religious buildings once were a viable source of many community capitals, but as they sit vacant or switch land uses, the opportunities for these community capitals are potentially deteriorating and changing in the neighborhoods around. To sustain vibrant, healthy neighborhoods that strongly exhibit many community capitals after losing an important source in religious facilities, planners must understand what opportunities for community capitals are present today in these areas and how the new uses are contributing to them.

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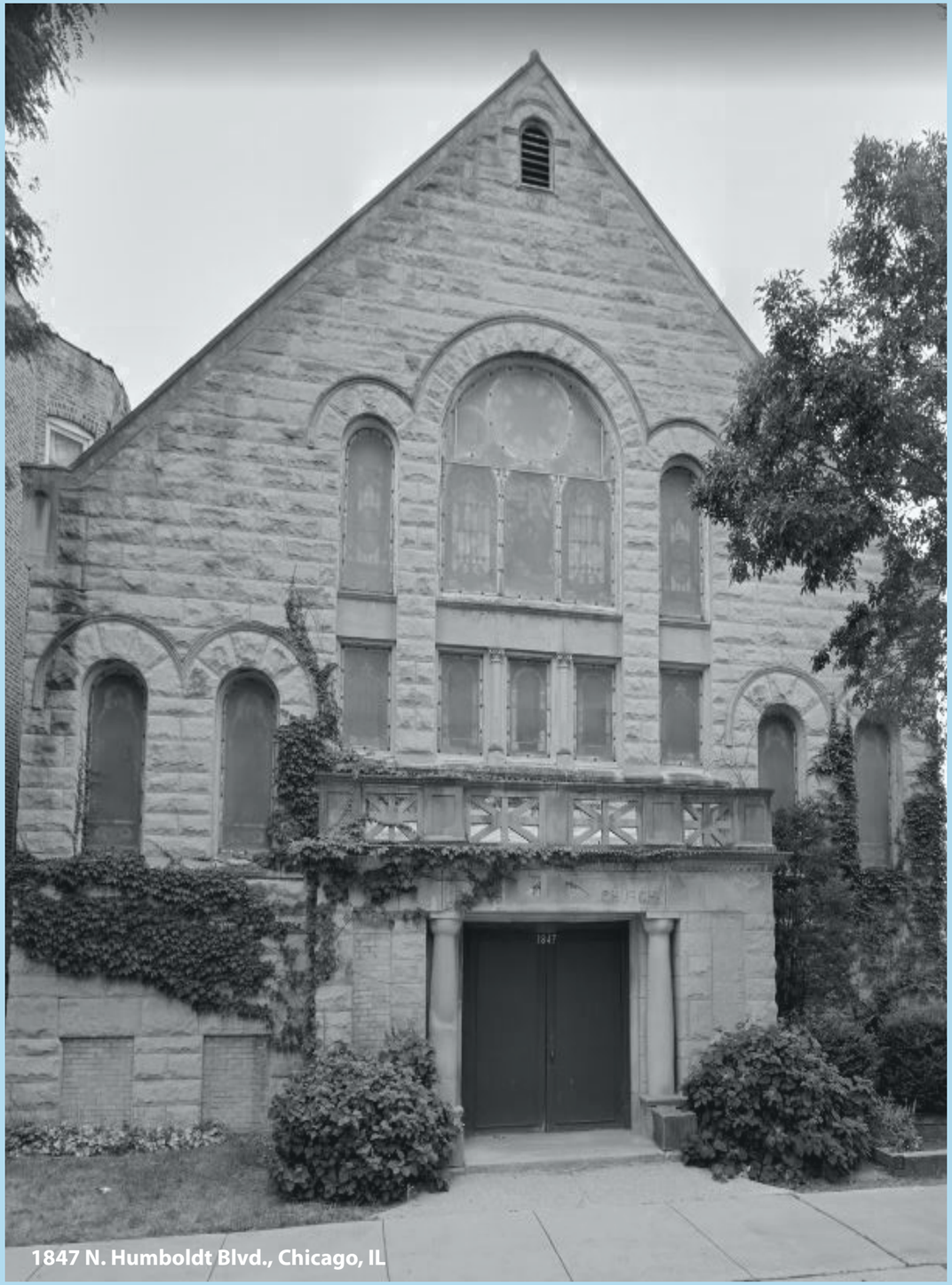


1847 N. Humboldt Blvd., Chicago, IL

CHAPTER THREE
METHODS

Purpose of Study

Research Questions

This report is designed to answer the following questions:

1. Where were religious facilities adaptively reused in Chicago between 2000 and today?
2. What were the predominant changes in land use of these religious facilities?
3. How are the new land uses impacting social, cultural, human, and built capitals in the surrounding neighborhoods?

Background Analysis

To thoroughly examine the adaptively reused religious facilities in Chicago, this study analyzed social and economic characteristics of the whole city and then the neighborhoods with the specific adaptive reuse projects over thirty years. A descriptive, multiple case study was then conducted for the most similar religious facilities.

First, this research looked at the background of religious facilities in Chicago. The city of Chicago was chosen as the bounding area of this study for three reasons:

1. RCMS data indicates that Cook County, Illinois has contained the second most religious congregations for many decades (behind Los Angeles County) (All Religious Congregations, 2021).
2. Maps from the Newberry Library show religious groups vacating their properties in the city and establishing more new congregations in the suburbs through the year 2000 (Conzen, 2005).
3. There are recent articles discussing the debate of acceptable new uses for religious buildings happening in Chicago (Gunderson, 2019).

The three reasons support the conclusions that Chicago had multiple opportunities for adaptive reuse of religious facilities since 2000 and the communities are concerned with how these projects are impacting

them. Therefore, all religious facilities that were adaptively reused from 2000 to current day in Chicago were mapped to understand what neighborhoods have these projects. Building permits from the City of Chicago coupled with articles that discuss the adaptive reuse of religious buildings in Chicago were used to locate all data points.

Next, this project dove into the demographic, cultural, and economic aspects of the whole city and the neighborhoods surrounding the mapped locations. The mean age, income, race and ethnicity distribution, and property values were mapped for a 30-year period, starting in 1990 and ending in 2020. This highlights how the neighborhoods changed both before and after the religious facilities were adaptively reused. It is not meant to determine the causes of the changes, but to holistically view where religious facilities are being adaptively reused in Chicago, what residents are potentially impacted in those areas, and what factors may play a part in the process. It also visually shows if there are similar characteristics in any of the neighborhoods where religious facilities are being adaptively reused.

The background portion of this report wraps up by listing the new land uses of the adaptively reused religious facilities to grasp what the predominant new uses are. Again, the locations of the new uses were compared across neighborhoods to see if there are similarities between the types of new uses and the social, cultural, and economic characteristics of their areas.

Descriptive, Multiple Case Study

This report next provided a descriptive, multiple case study to investigate how adaptive reuse of religious facilities impacted their surrounding neighborhoods with opportunities for community capitals. According to Yin and Campbell (2018), the purpose of a case study is to "illuminate a decision or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result". This research aimed to describe and compare more than one decision to adaptively reuse religious facilities in Chicago with the real-world context around them.

The three case locations of this study were selected from similarities discovered in the background mapping and analysis. All of the religious facilities were put into one of three categories based on their new use: non-community, community, or new religious. These three categories represent the range of private to public new uses seen in the background analysis section of this study. The factors used to evaluate and pick the three most similar religious facilities across the three categories as case locations were building character, demographics, and location character. Studies by Simons, DeWine, and Ledebur (2017) and Simons and Choi (2010) agreed that these three factors played key roles in the decision of new uses for religious facilities. For building character the following data was collected and compared: building material, ornamentation, number of floors, square footage, and year built. It is common in real estate to find comparable properties that are within 25% of each other in building size. Therefore, this standard was applied to limit comparison between religious facilities. Also, for location character the distances from each religious facility to the nearest park, airport, highway, and body of water was measured. The three case locations of this research, one from each new use category, were selected because they were completed projects and had the least differences among all measured components of all three factors.

For each case, opportunities for social, human, cultural, and built capital were evaluated. Social capital opportunities were measured by the following within a 1/2 mile radius of the case locations: spaces for community gathering (gymnasium, community center, club house, rentable conference rooms, etc.), social events, social clubs/groups, and neighborhood communication avenues (Facebook pages, neighborhood newsletters, etc.). The opportunities measured for human capital included employment opportunities, schools, and adult basic education programs. Cultural capital opportunities were measured by art (murals,

sculptures, etc.), signs, and symbols displayed in the area. Lastly, built capital was measured by maps of existing structures, vacant or undeveloped lots, and construction or renovation projects in the area.

Finally, the results from the multiple cases were compared and any limitations or chances for further study discussed in the last section of this report.

Multiple Case Study Process

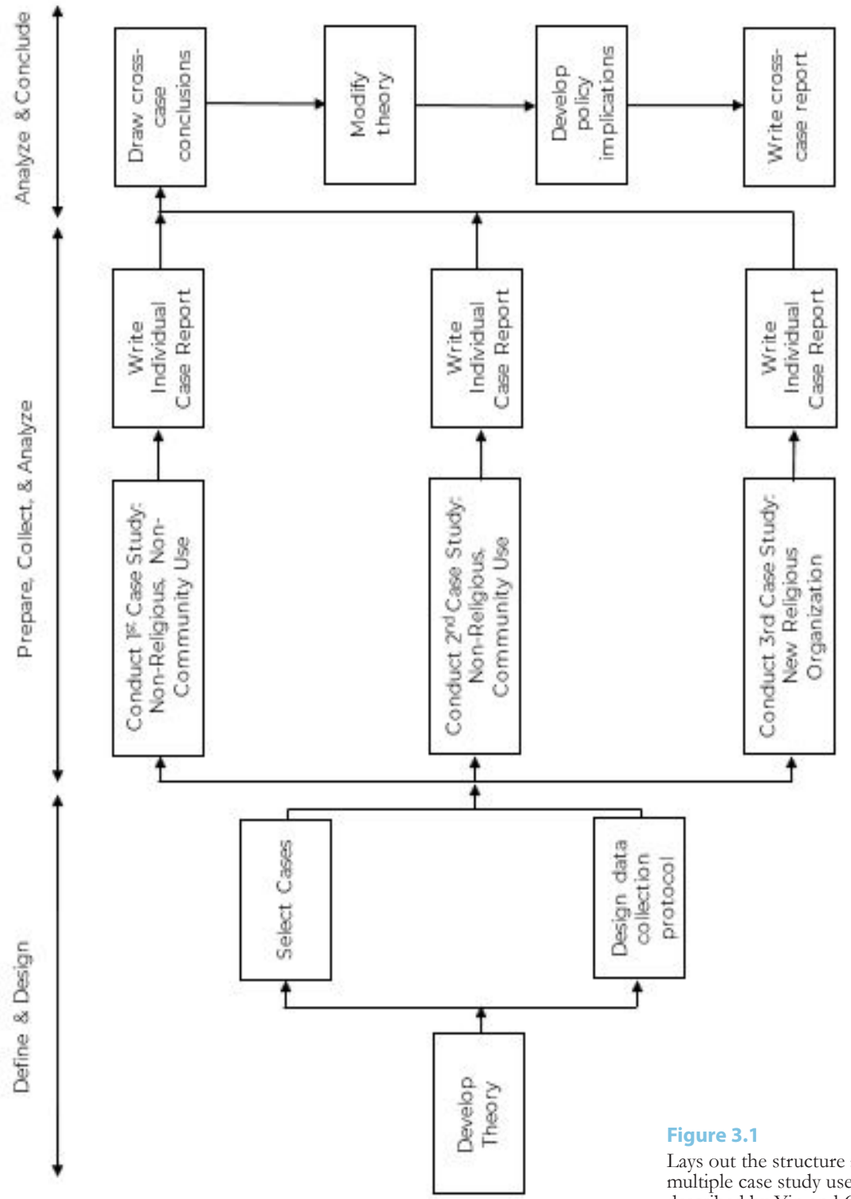


Figure 3.1
Lays out the structure and process of the multiple case study used in this report and described by Yin and Campbell (2018)

Project Timeframe

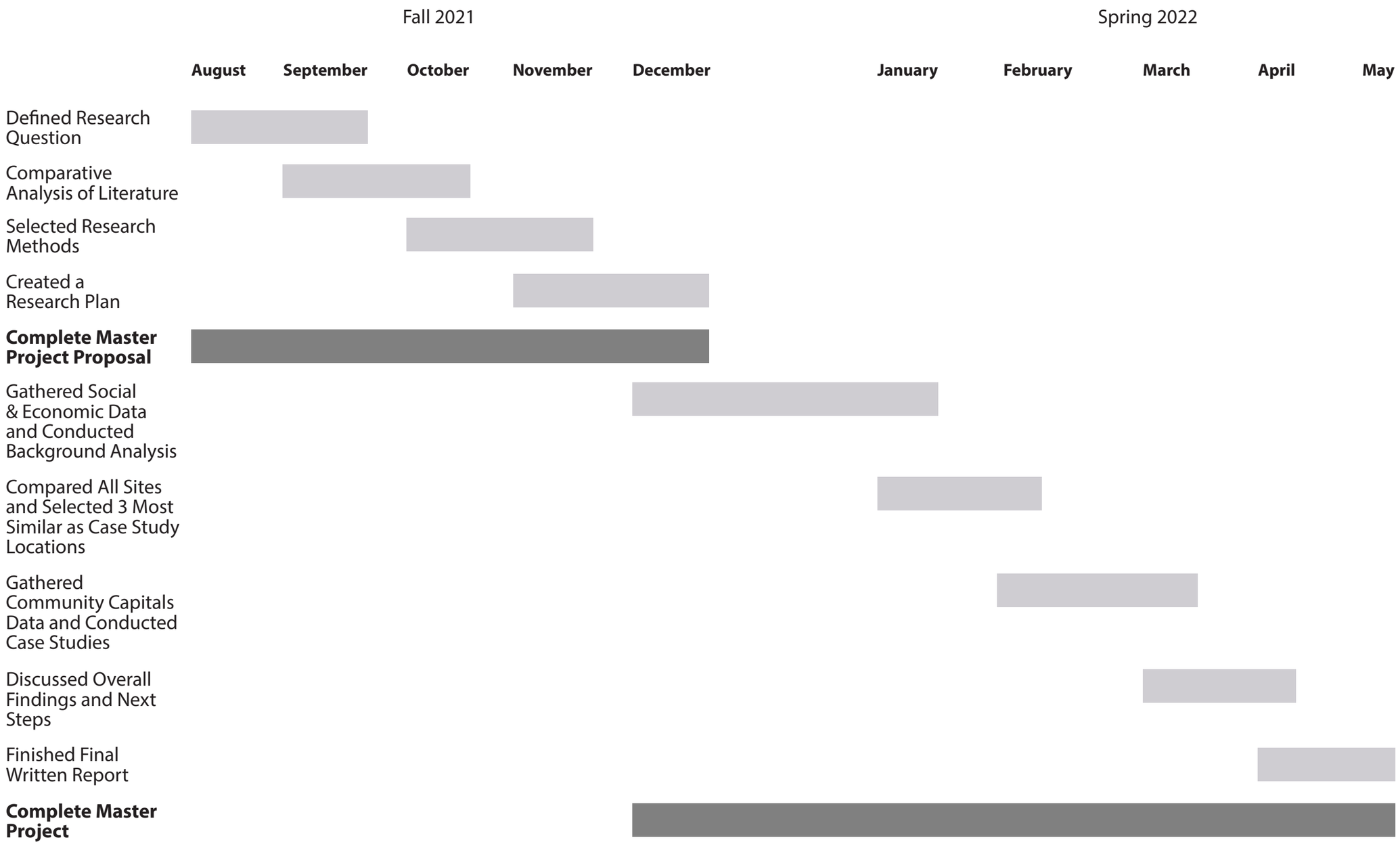
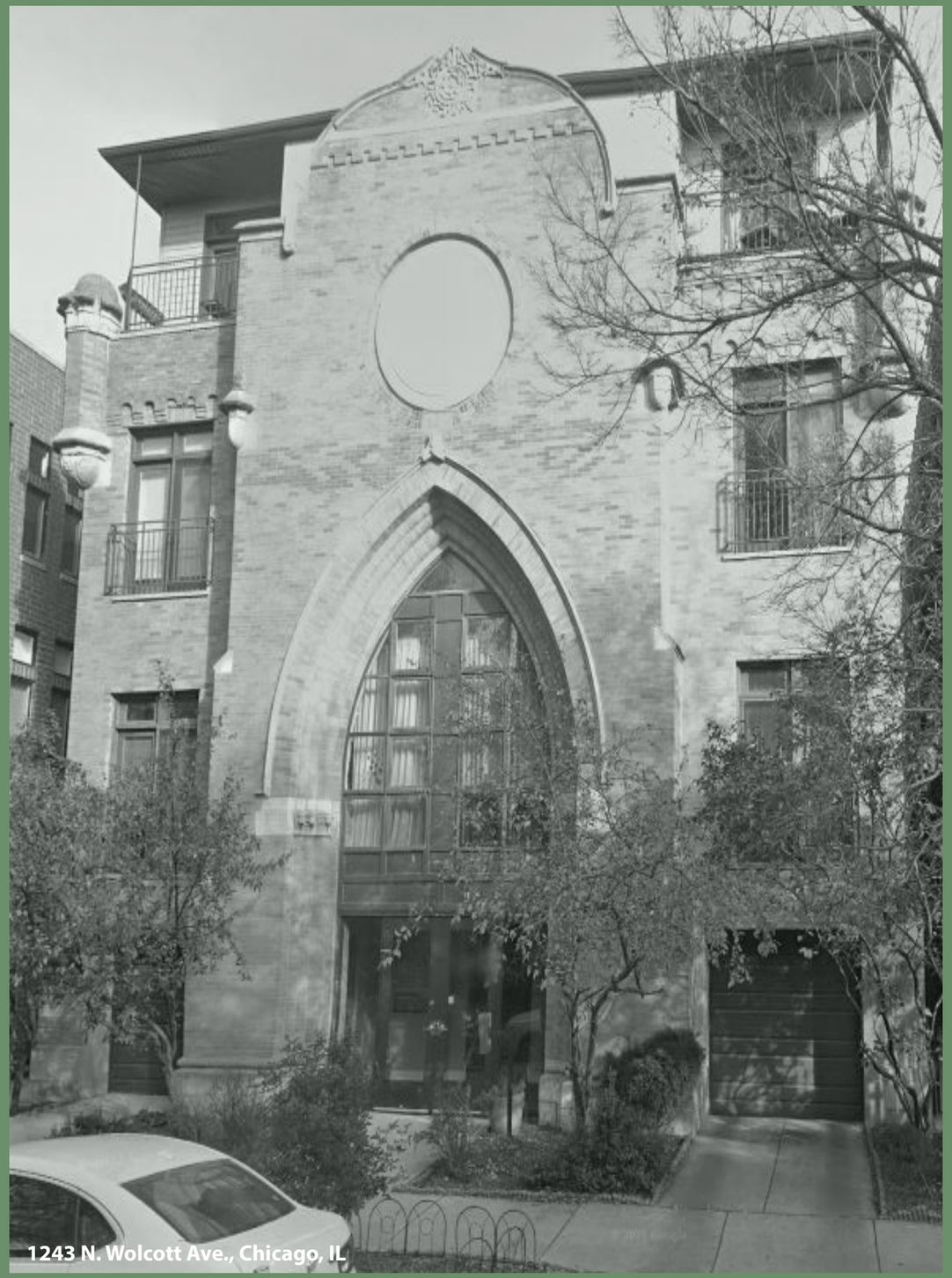


Figure 3.2
Displays the schedule followed to complete all parts of this master project



1243 N. Wolcott Ave., Chicago, IL

CHAPTER FOUR
BACKGROUND ANALYSIS

Study Area

This chapter provides a foundational understanding of the social and economic characteristics over time in the study area. The subsequent graphs and maps display socioeconomic changes in Chicago for 30 years (1990-2020) to best learn about the city's population as it is now and where it has been. The graphics also compare socioeconomic changes within specific groups of community areas in Chicago based on the three new use categories of the adaptively reused religious facilities (non-religious & non-community, non-religious & community, or new religious use). This helps paint a clearer picture of where Chicago stands now with adaptive reuse of religious facilities and identifies factors that may be important to how the city got to this state. Lastly, the background looks holistically at how these changes around the adaptively reused religious facilities relate to community capitals positively and negatively in those areas. Though this study looks at social and economic characteristics changing over time, the data is used to provide background and not for determining the causes of those changes.

Chicago, Illinois

Geographic Location

Chicago is situated in the northeast corner of the state of Illinois, as depicted in Figure 4.1. The city is the largest by geographic size and population in Cook County, topping over 130 incorporated areas (cities, towns, and villages). The City of Chicago municipal government has jurisdiction over all of Chicago. Also, the Cook County Government, who regulates unincorporated areas of the county, is stationed in Chicago.

The city of Chicago is shaped by several elements, both natural and constructed. Figure 4.2 shows these elements in more detail, including rivers, roads, and airports.

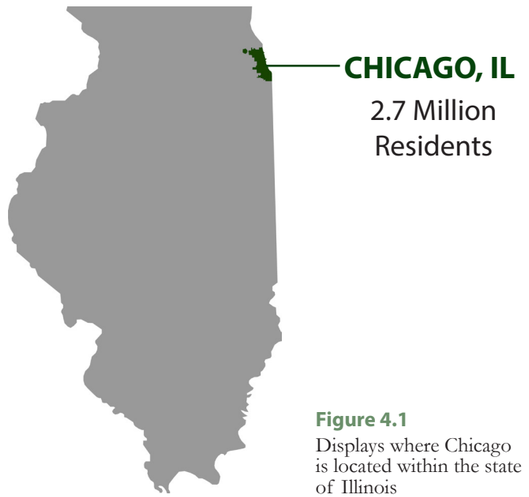


Figure 4.1
Displays where Chicago is located within the state of Illinois

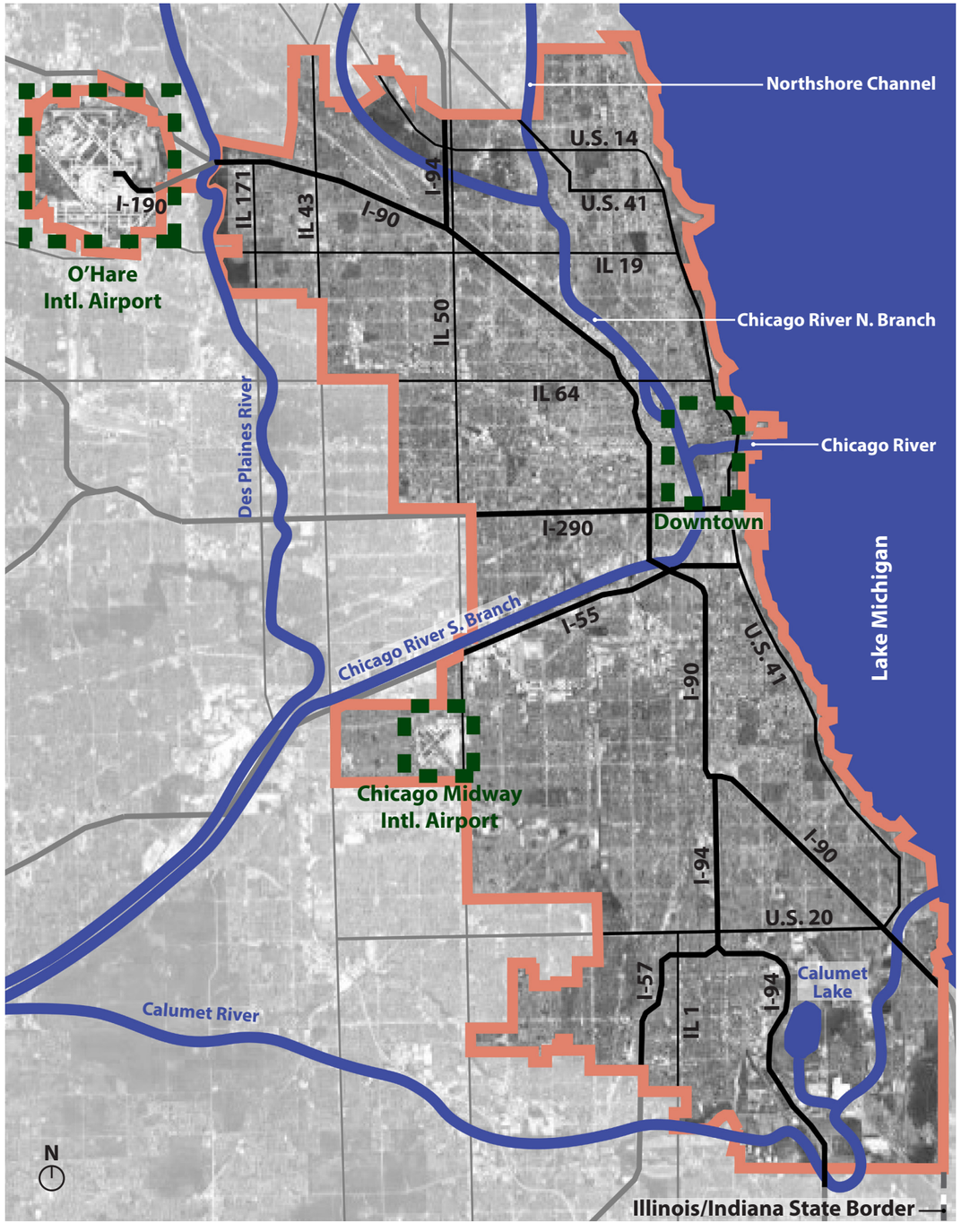


Figure 4.2

Provides a more detailed look at the geographic location of Chicago with highways, destinations, and bodies of water

As seen in Figure 4.2, Chicago is anchored by Lake Michigan to the East, the Illinois and Indiana state border to the southeast, Chicago Midway International Airport to the west, and O'Hare International Airport to the northwest. Downtown Chicago is located next to Lake Michigan in the middle of the eastern edge of the city. A main feature of downtown that links with Lake Michigan is the Chicago River. The Chicago River offers paths for exercise, architecture boat tours, unique Saint Patrick's Day activities, and more. Its north branch extends from downtown to the northern edge of Chicago where it splits to form the Northshore Channel. The south branch of the Chicago River flows slightly south from downtown and then west to eventually join up with Des Plaines River. On the southern tip the Calumet River also flows through Chicago and connects to Lake Michigan. Lastly, there are many highways (including U.S., interstate, and Illinois state highways) that course their way through Chicago. Interstate 90 is the most prominent highway in the city, running from the northwest corner, by downtown, and to the southeast corner.

Social and Economic Character

Race and Ethnicity

According to the 2020 U.S. Census, 2.7 million people reside in Chicago, making it the largest city in both its county (Cook County) and the state of Illinois. Chicago is also the third largest city in the United States by population, behind New York City (8.8 million residents) and Los Angeles (3.8 million residents).

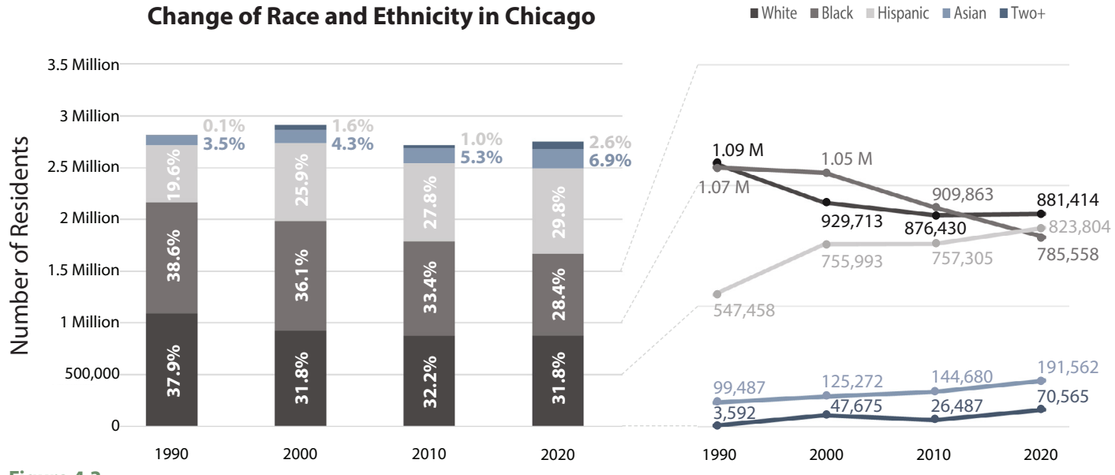


Figure 4.3

Shows the change in race and ethnicity of Chicago's population from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

As shown by the graphic above in Figure 4.3, the change in population size has been inconsistent from 1990 to 2020, both increasing and decreasing over that time. However, the majority of Chicago's population has always been White, Hispanic, and Black over the last 30 years. Though the highest number of Chicago residents are White today, this has not been the case until very recent. In 1990, the population consisted of a near equal amount of White and Black residents, both having over one million residents and around 38% of the city's population. Between 1990 and 2000 the number of White residents in Chicago decreased greatly, dipping below the number of Black residents, and stayed fairly level since then. This follows the trend of White Flight as expected, where there is a decrease of White residents living in the city through the year 2000 because they moved to the suburbs. Another population group in Chicago that has continually declined in numbers since 1990 is Black residents. Change in these two population groups is one factor that might have influenced where religious facilities became vacant and presented opportunities to be adaptively

reused since 2000. In community areas that saw a decrease in the number of residents living there from 1990 to 2000, potentially a decrease in White or Black residents specifically due to the greatest decrease in these two groups, this is likely where more buildings became vacant, including religious facilities. At the same time that the White and Black populations went down in size, the number of Hispanic and Asian residents in Chicago has continually gone up. Where these new Hispanic and Asian residents moved into over time could have stirred development in those areas. The vacant religious facilities in areas gaining these residents may have been more attractive to adaptively reuse than the religious facilities in community areas that lost residents and did not have as many new ones move in.

Age and Household Income

Most of Chicago's residents over the last 30 years fall in the 35 to 64 years old age range, as shown in Figure 4.4. Starting in 1990, the number of older Chicago residents at least in their mid-sixties declined the most in the first ten years while the number of young adult residents aged 18 to 34 had a more moderate decrease at that time. This suggests that those two age groups may be the residents that left the city to live in the suburbs through 2000. At the same time, the number of residents aged 35 to 64 and under 18 both increased in number. The influx of children is either from families that moved in or more residents that started having children at this time. Either way, there were more families living in Chicago by 2000.

Changes in household income displayed in Figure 4.5 show that the biggest increase seen from 1990 to 2000 is in households earning $125,000-$149,999 followed by those earning $100,000-$124,999. This also supports that there was an increase of families in Chicago by the year 2000 because married couples that both work typically earn higher combined incomes like those that increased the most from 1990 to 2000. Together, the age of residents and their earned income might have influenced where the adaptively reused religious facilities since 2000 are located in Chicago. The areas that had several married couples with kids moving in could have generated the need for bigger spaces to live in. Larger buildings like many religious facilities can better accommodate a conversion to new apartments or condo units that are a little bigger and enticing for families. The families with higher combined incomes can also better afford higher prices of bigger apartments or condos. Ultimately, religious facilities may have been adaptively reused since 2000 in areas with growing numbers of families to meet new housing demands. However, the number of residents under 18 decreased after 2000 so this housing trend may not have lasted very long.

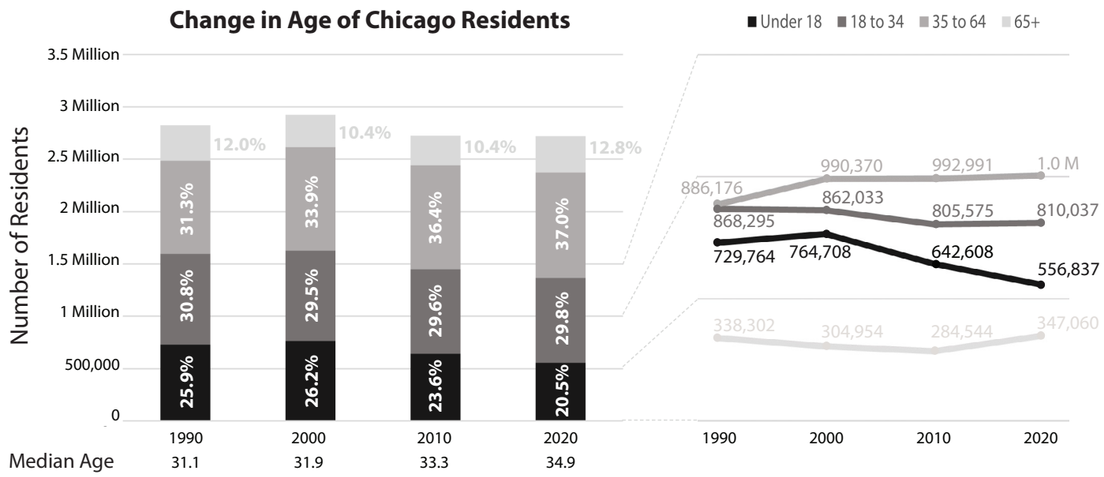
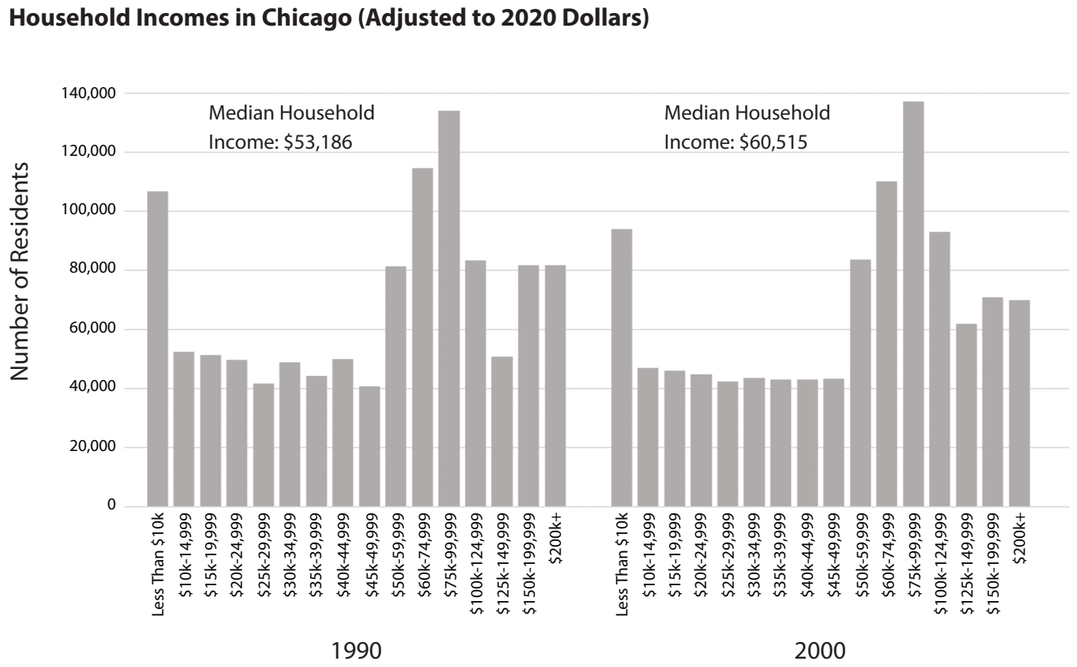


Figure 4.4

Depicts the change in age of Chicago's residents from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)



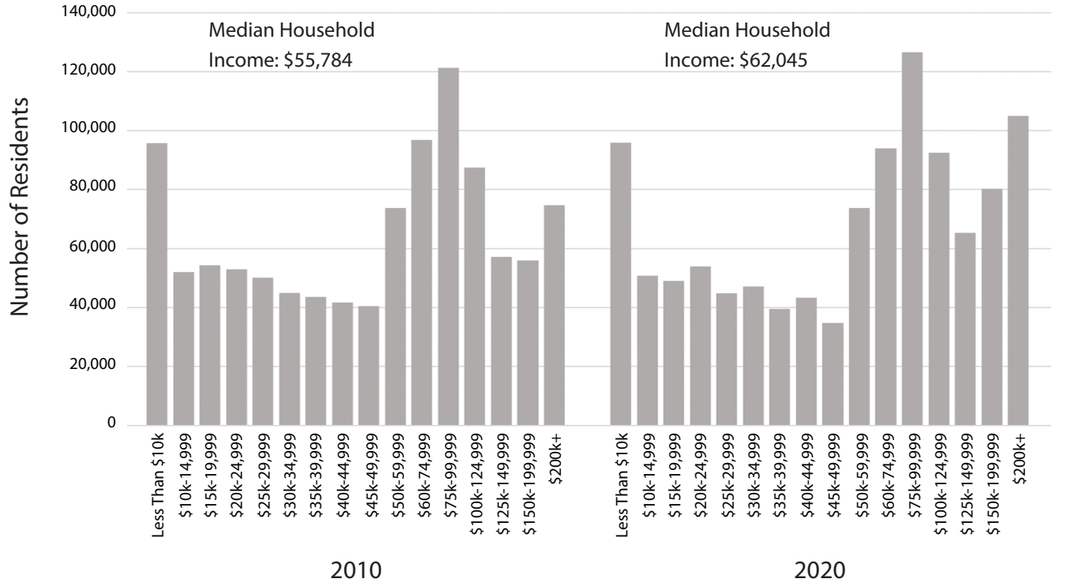


Figure 4.5

Shows the change in household income of Chicago residents from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

Vacancy and Occupancy of Housing

The number of houses in Chicago has increased continually over the last thirty years, as seen in Figure 4.6, despite an inconsistent change in population size. First, Chicago's population grew from 1990 to 2000. An increase in residents likely created a demand for new housing in the city. New houses would be created in response to this need sometime between 1990 and 2000 and continue to be created after 2000 to catch up with the demand. In the following ten years the city's population decreased and vacancy rates went up, signaling that there would be little need for housing around 2010 since more existing houses were not being filled by residents already. Finally, Chicago's population increased again by 2020 and the new housing market there could pick up again. Therefore, the optimal times to develop housing in Chicago over the last 30 years were in early 2000's before the economic crisis in 2008 and population decline by 2010, or between 2010 and 2020 when the city's population was increasing again. The religious facilities that were adaptively reused into residential uses in Chicago probably occurred most during those two time frames.

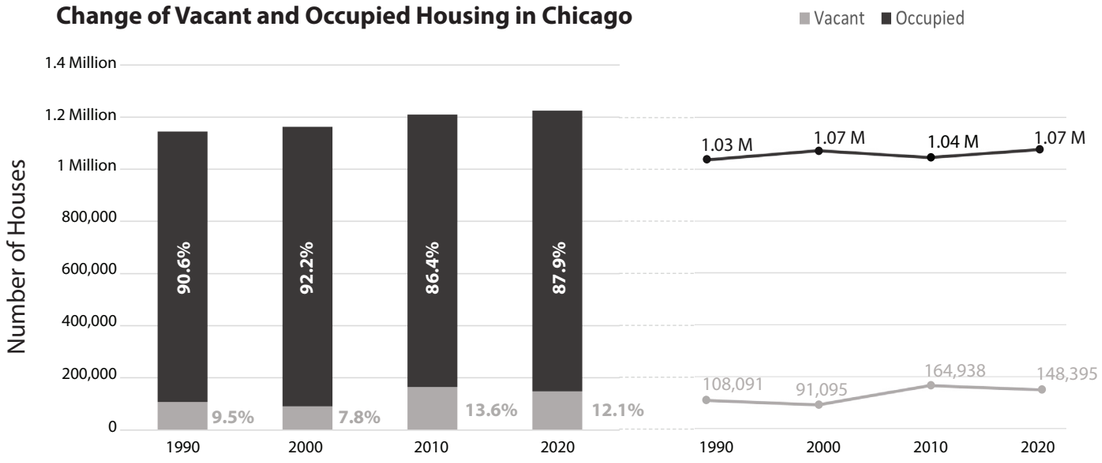


Figure 4.6

Depicts the change in vacant and occupied housing in Chicago from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

Type of Occupancy and House Value

Over the last 30 years Chicago's residents have been majority renters, which is shown in Figure 4.7. The number of houses that were owner-occupied increased from 1990 to 2010 while those occupied by renters decreased. This means that several new condos or houses were built and existing apartments were converted into condos or houses from 1990 to 2010. Following this trend, the religious facilities that got adaptively reused into a residential use between 1990 an 2010 were most likely condos or single family residences rather than rental apartments. Most of the housing in Chicago is worth a median value of between $150,000 and $300,000. However, there is a large increase in houses valued between $300,000 and just under $500,000 from 1990 to 2010 seen in Figure 4.8. Most of the new condos and single family houses at that time were probably higher-end, consistently valued above the median house values.

Conclusion

This detailed look at Chicago over the last 30 years gave insight about the character of the population in the study area, including the groups of people that reside in the city and a little bit about how they live and

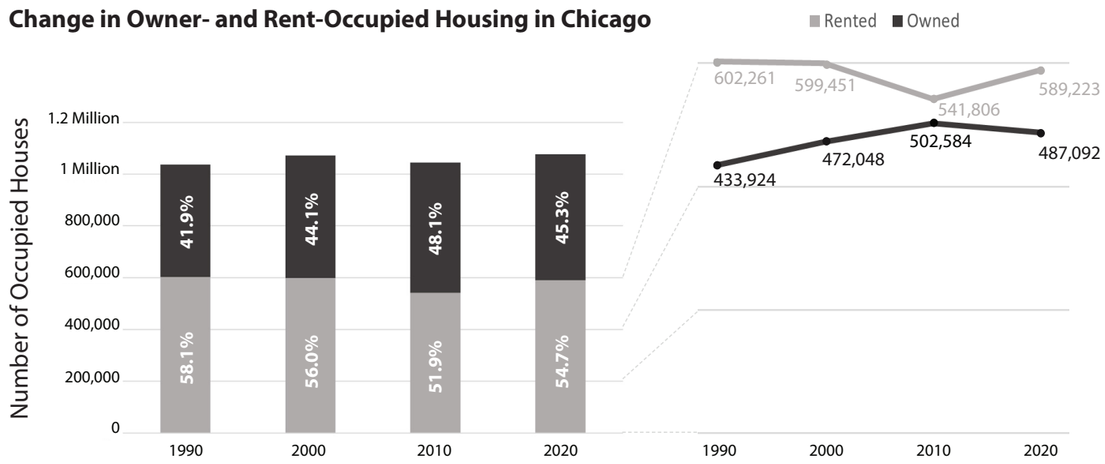


Figure 4.7

Illustrates the change in renting and owning of housing in Chicago from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

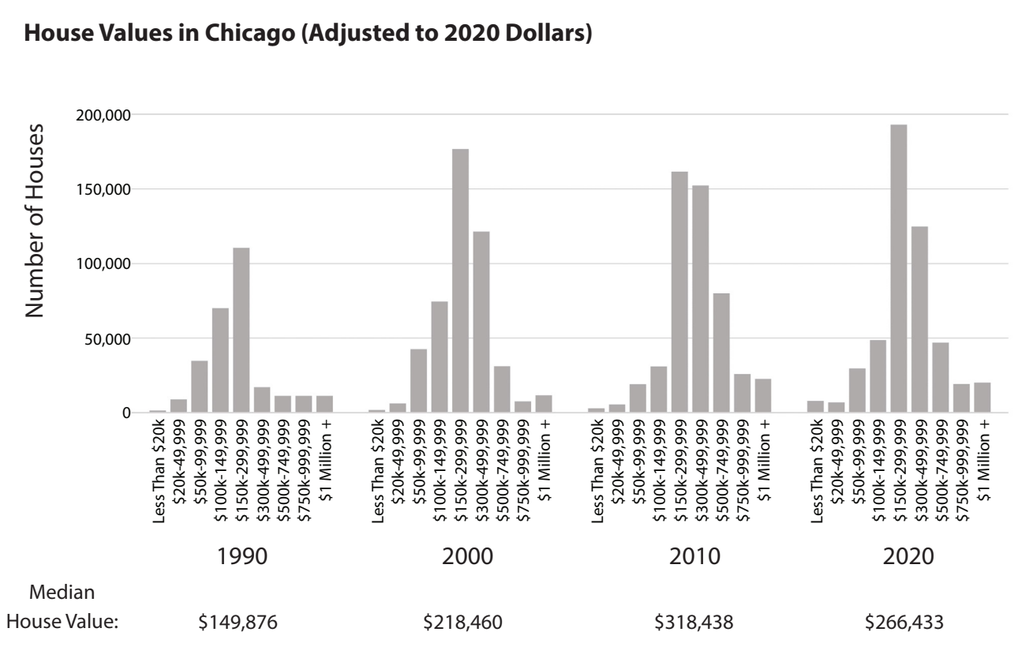


Figure 4.8

Shows the change of house values within Chicago from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

work. Looking at the social and economic changes in Chicago did not pin point what caused the changes or uncover the exact reasons why certain religious facilities became vacant and which were chosen for adaptive reuse since 2000. A deeper study with interviews and surveys would need to be conducted to determine those causes. Instead, this discussion provided observations of the socio-economic changes across Chicago leading up to and occurring after the year 2000, and then speculated how those changes may be important to adaptively reused religious facilities in the city. Based on the results of the background research, the following might be anticipated in Chicago:

- Religious facilities became vacant and available for adaptive reuse opportunities in community areas that declined in White or Black populations prior to 2000
- The adaptively reused religious facilities since 2000 were in areas that gained families or increased in the number of Hispanic or Asian residents
- The religious facilities that were adaptively reused into residential condos or houses were completed in early 2000's or closer to 2020.

The next part of this chapter zooms in on the social and economic character of Chicago's community areas that contain religious facilities that were adaptively reused between 2000 and today. Specifically, it categorizes the religious facilities into three groups based on their new use (non-religious & non-community, non-religious & community, or new religious uses) and analyzes the social and economic changes within the community areas for each group. It is important to examine the social and economic character of each new use group over time to better understand where the specific types of new uses are occurring in Chicago and to relate how the community capitals might differ in these areas because of their new uses.

Areas in Chicago with Adaptively Reused Religious Facilities Since 2000

All Sites

There were 62 religious facilities that started or completed the adaptive reuse process since 2000 in Chicago. These sites are located in 31 of Chicago's 77 defined community areas. Figure 4.9 and Figure 4.10 depict the locations for all adaptively reused religious facilities since 2000 and their respective community areas.

New Land Uses

According to the Chicago Zoning and Land Use Ordinance, the city has the following five major groupings of land uses: Commercial, Industrial, Other, Public & Civic, and Residential. Figure 4.11 and Table 4.1 display that the most common new use for the former religious facilties since 2000 was Residential (33 sites) followed by Public & Civic (17 sites).

The Residential sites are concentrated in more northern community areas while the Public & Civic sites are located throughout many neighborhoods of Chicago. Residential projects were completed almost every year

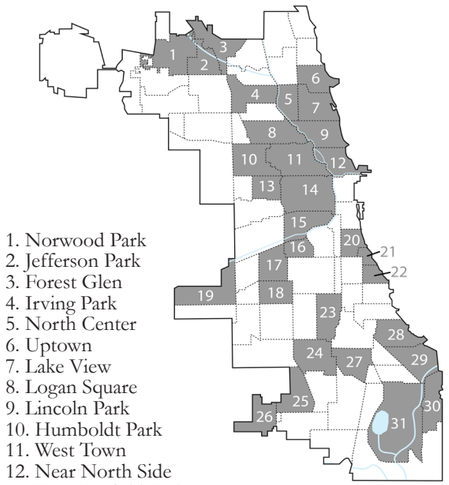


Figure 4.9
Illustrates all Chicago community areas with adaptively reused religious facilities since 2000

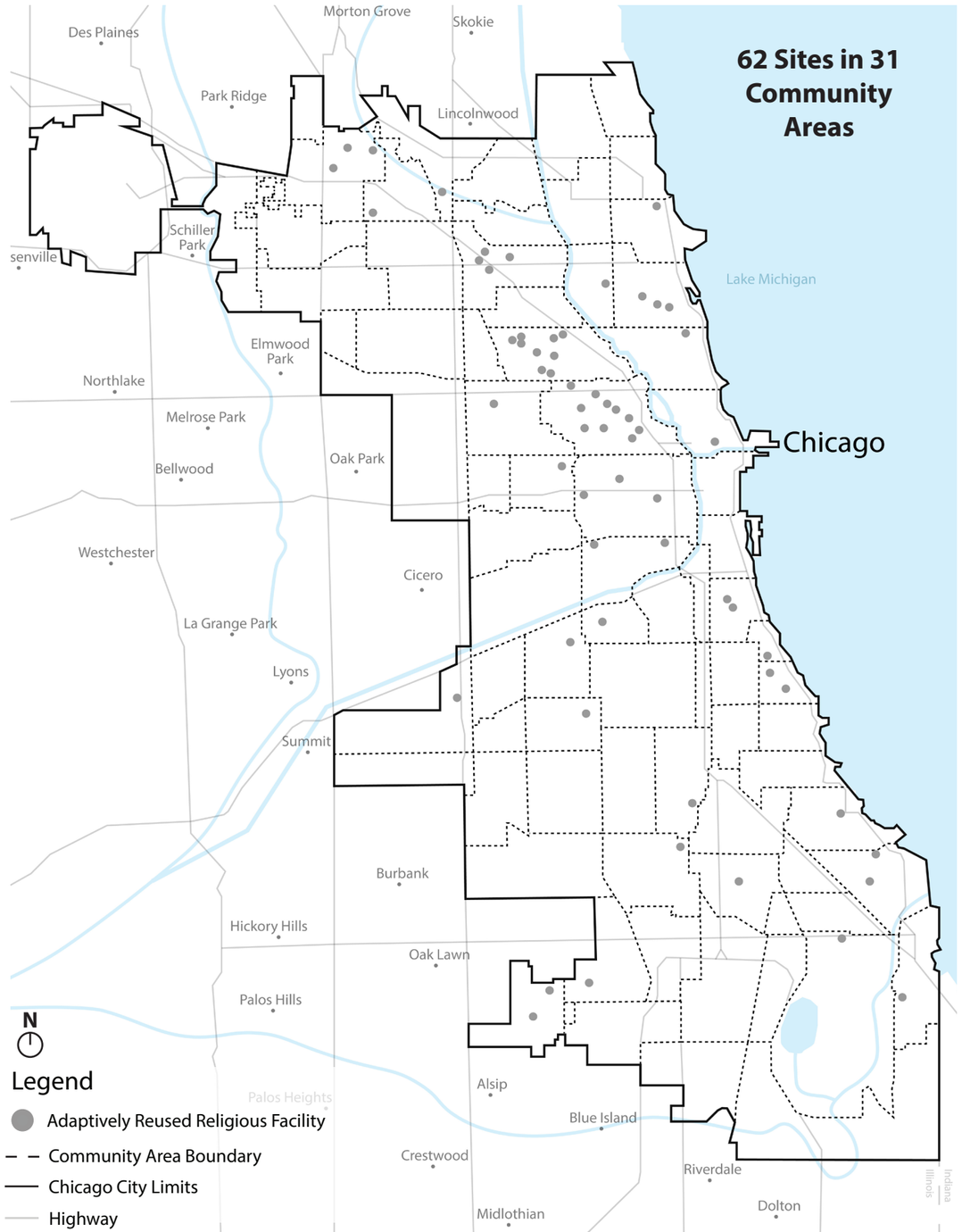


Figure 4.10
Shows the locations of adaptively reused religious facilities in Chicago since 2000

from 2000 to today as shown in Figure 4.12, with the most Residential projects completed in 2008 and 2018. This is in line with what was anticipated for adaptively reused religious facilities into residential uses from the socio-economic changes in all of Chicago over the last 30 years. The Public & Civic projects picked up around 2008 and the highest number of these projects were completed in 2015. There was a Chicago Neighborhoods 2015 initiative with the Chicago Community Trust that aimed to advance healthy, stable communities throughout the city. This community focused plan may have influenced the number of Public & Civic projects completed in 2015. In 2005 and 2006 there were no religious facilities that finished their adaptive reuse projects in Chicago. Finally, the most adaptively reused religious facilities were completed in 2018. The Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago launched a Renew My Church initiative in 2016 that strategically planned for church consolidations in the city. Perhaps the surge of adaptively reused religious facilities completed in 2018 in Chicago was partially from the increase of vacant Catholic churches starting in 2016. Today many religious facilities have started the process of adaptive reuse but not yet completed the work. These projects are slated to be an even mix of Residential and Public & Civic new uses. As congregations are consolidating and doors closing permanently after negative impacts of COVID-19 in Chicago, the number of vacant religious facilities and adaptive reuse projects are expected to increase over the next decade. It is important now to think about what new uses for these facilities would help their surrounding community areas.

New Land Uses Categorized by Private to Public Access

There are many new uses for former religious facilities seen in Chicago since 2000. Some of the uses are open to the public fully or partially and others not at all. Based on the debate about whether redundant religious facilities should be reused in a way that is open to the public or not, the new uses found in Table 4.1 were categorized into the following three broader groups: non-religious & non-community, non-religious & community, and new religious use. Categorizing the new uses into these three groups helps to address the debate by being able to compare how healthy the surrounding communities are (using the community capitals framework as a tool of measurement) when former religious facilities are still used by the public or not. Also, comparing the religious facilities with community and non-community new uses to the religious facilities that continued to be used as a religious use by a different religious group helps to answer if there is a best new use to replace a religious use. Ideally, a community would have as many or more opportunities for community capitals with the new use of the former religious facility as a community that uses a religious facility for religious purposes.

The non-religious, non-community group consists of all the religious facilities adaptively reused to multiple family, single family, and mixed offices and apartments listed in Table 4.1. All six adaptive reuse projects listed under Public and Civic as Religious uses make up the new religious use group. Lastly, all uses found in the Commercial and Other sections, all Public and Civic uses except Religious, and the group home in the Residential section make up the non-religious, community group. The one project in the Other land use category is Zion Evangelical Lutheran Ghost Church Memorial Park, which was a long-time abandoned church ruined by fire in the late 1970s and a wind storm in 1998. The remaining structure was transformed by a resident of the neighborhood in 2000 into a green space that community members can look at from the outside but cannot walk through for safety reasons. It is considered an Other use in this case because it is a park that is not accessible for the community to use, but categorized as a community use because the intent is for residents to enjoy the garden visually. Also, the group home is in the non-religious, community use group because it is a community-based clinic with supportive housing open to local veterans.

There were more religious facilities adaptively reused to non-religious, non-community uses (33 facilities) than non-religious, community uses (23 facilities) or new religious uses (6 facilities). In general, the pattern of the non-religious, non-community group and the new religious use group clustered around a few of Chicago's community areas. The community use group was spread across multiple areas of Chicago.

New Land Uses of the Adaptively Reused Religious Facilities in Chicago Since 2000

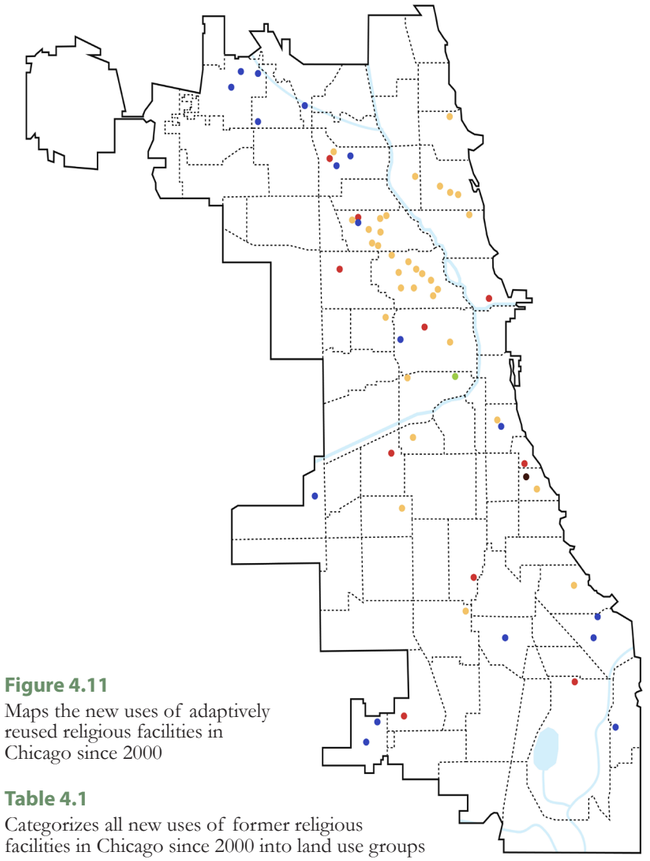


Figure 4.11
Maps the new uses of adaptively reused religious facilities in Chicago since 2000

Table 4.1
Categorizes all new uses of former religious facilities in Chicago since 2000 into land use groups

Land Use	Count
Commercial	**10**
Art Gallery	1
Brewery	1
Indoor Participant Recreation	2
Medical Care Center	2
Performance Venue	2
Retail/Department Store	2
Mixed Commercial & Residential	**1**
Offices & Apartments	1
Other	**1**
Memorial Park	1
Public & Civic	**17**
Community Center	1
Day Care Facility	3
Museum	1
Religious	6
School Facility	6
Residential	**33**
Group Home	1
Multiple Family	27
Single Family	5
Total	**62**

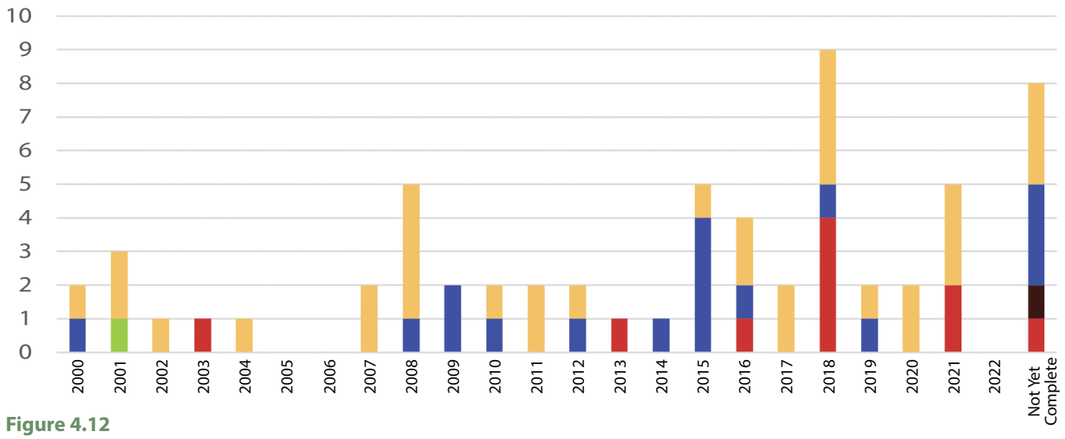
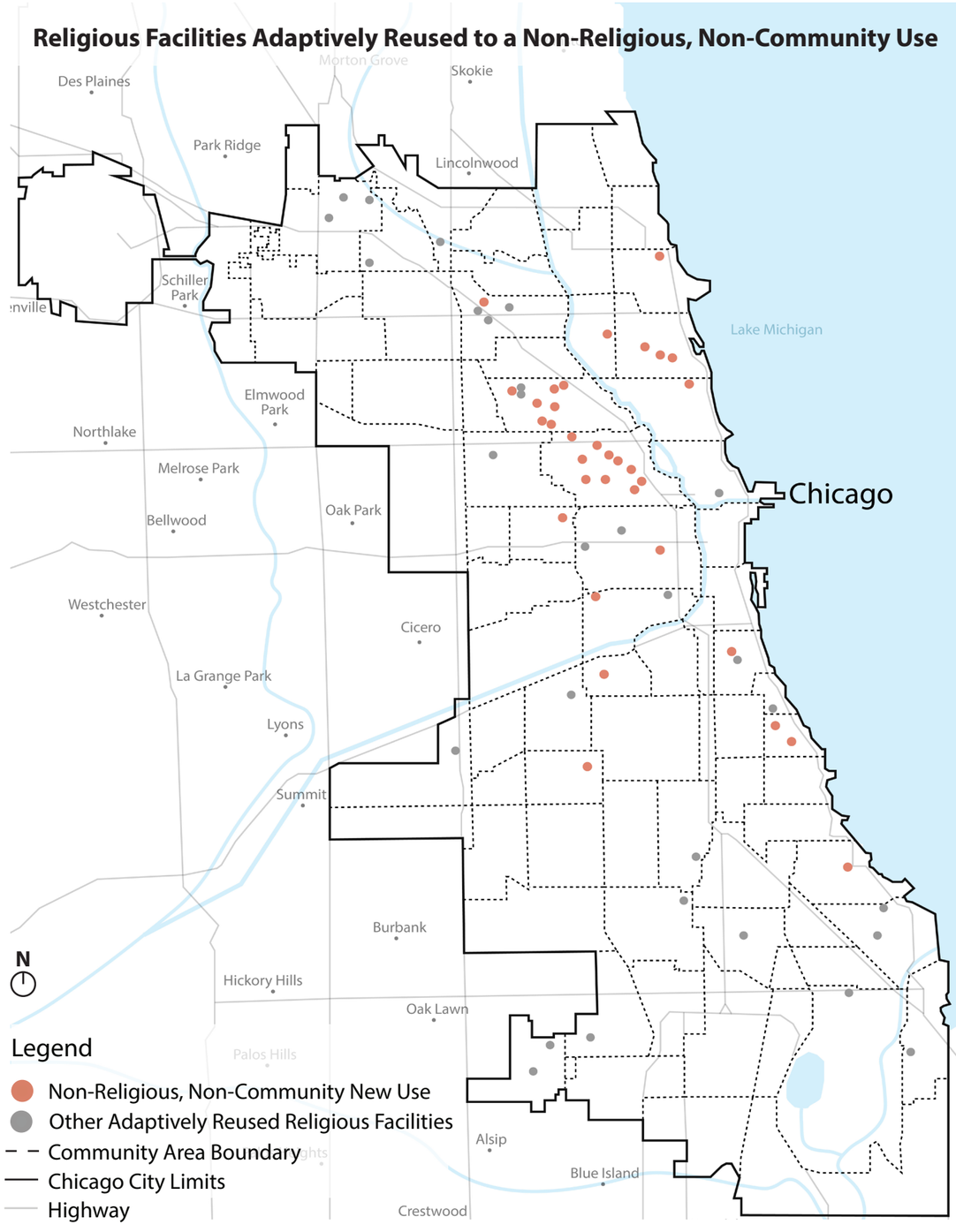


Figure 4.12
Displays when adaptive reuse of religious facilities were completed in Chicago since 2000 and the respective new land uses



33 Sites in 15 Community Areas

1. Norwood Park
2. Jefferson Park
3. Forest Glen
4. Irving Park
5. North Center
6. Uptown
7. Lake View
8. Logan Square
9. Lincoln Park
10. Humboldt Park
11. West Town
12. Near North Side
13. East Garfield Park
14. Near West Side
15. Lower West Side
16. McKinley Park
17. Brighton Park
18. Gage Park
19. Garfield Ridge
20. Douglas
21. Oakland
22. Kenwood
23. Englewood
24. Auburn Gresham
25. Beverly
26. Mt. Greenwood
27. Chatham
28. South Shore
29. South Chicago
30. East Side
31. South Deering

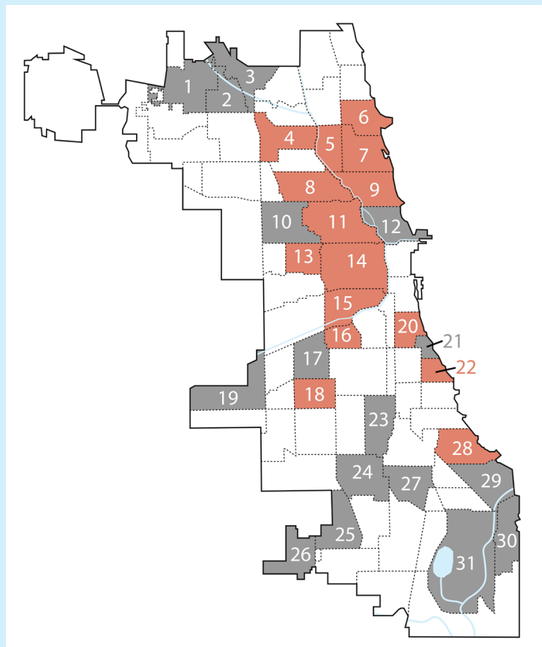


Figure 4.13
Shows the locations of adaptively reused religious facilities to non-religious, non-community uses in Chicago since 2000

Religious Facilities to Non-Religious, Non-Community Uses

Locations

The most adaptively reused religious facilities since 2000 in Chicago transitioned into a non-religious, non-community use. Figure 4.13 illustrates that 33 sites (just over half of the 62 total sites) fall into this category and are located in 15 of the 31 community areas. Though this group has the highest number of sites, they are located throughout the second most community areas behind the non-religious, community use group. Most of the sites in this non-religious, non-community group are concentrated in the central part of Chicago within West Town (10 sites) and Logan Square (7 sites) community areas.

Social and Economic Character

Race and Ethnicity

As shown by the graphic in Figure 4.14, the populations living around where religious facilities were adaptively reused into non-religious, non-community uses had an influx of White residents and a decrease in number of minorities, including Black and Hispanic residents, from 1990 to 2020. Compared to all of Chicago too, the community areas of this group consistently had a higher percentage of White residents and lower percentages of other racial and ethnic groups for all thirty years. Therefore, the adaptive reuse of religious facilities to non-religious, non-community uses typically occur in less diverse parts of Chicago.

An increase of White residents is especially seen in Figure 4.15 among the two centrally located community areas with the highest concentration of the adaptive reuse projects, West Town and Logan Square. These two areas were originally majority Hispanic in 1990 and changed to majority White by 2020. Other community areas that had fewer of the adaptive reuse sites did not see as much change in race and ethnicity during the thirty years, including the northeastern and southernmost areas. Thus, there seems to be a correlation where areas with higher numbers of non-religious, non-community sites have greater change in race and ethnicity of the residents there. Planners should consider how future adaptively reused religious facilities in these community areas can better encourage or accommodate more diverse groups to live and interact with others in these areas.

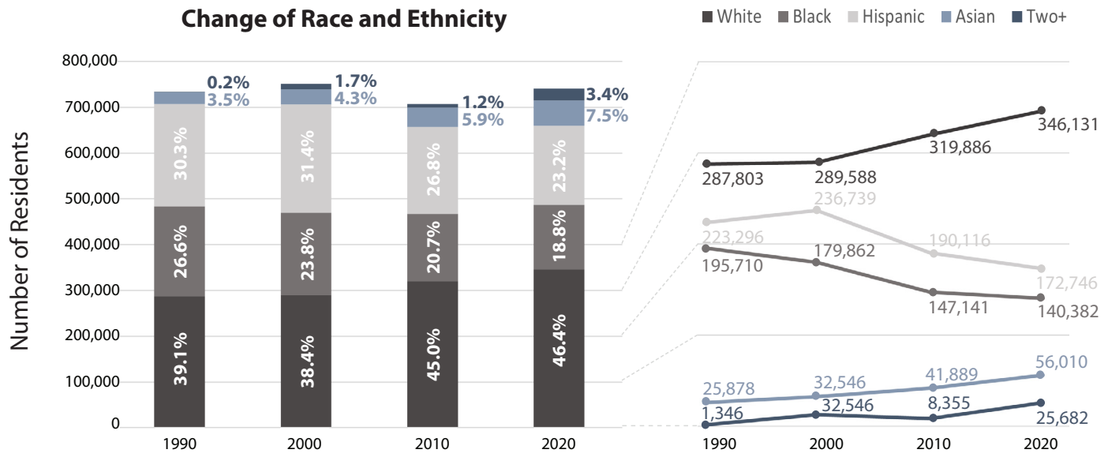


Figure 4.14

Depicts the change of race and ethnicity from 1990 to 2020 in select community areas of Chicago (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

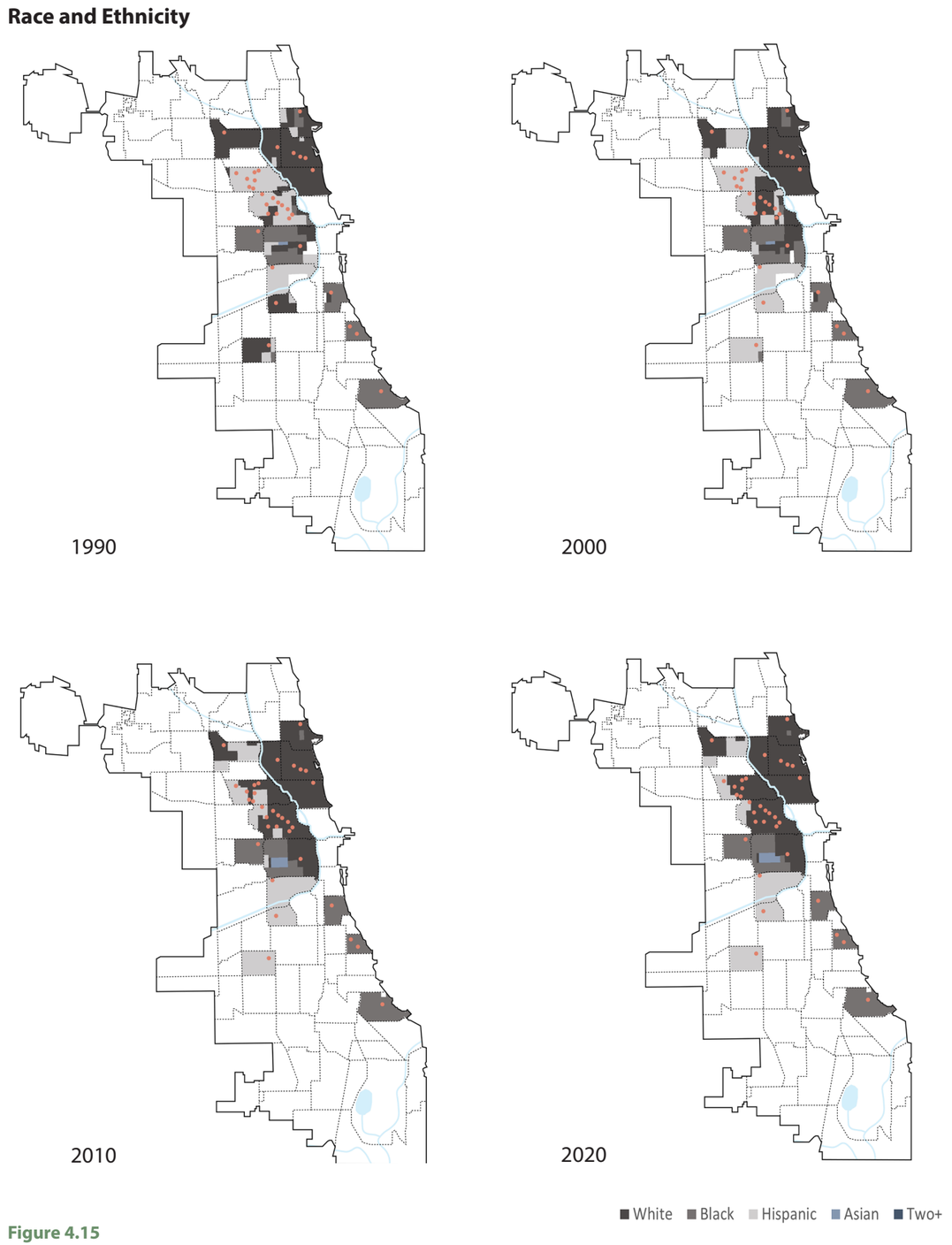


Figure 4.15

Depicts where changes of race and ethnicity occurred in select community areas of Chicago from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

Age

The community areas with sites from the non-religious, non-community use group are mostly young adult residents aged 18-34 years old followed by middle aged between 35 and 64 years old. Children under 18 decreased in these neighborhoods and older residents above 65 remained low in numbers over the last 30 years, as seen in Figure 4.16. There is a higher percentage of residents aged 18 to 34 years old and a lower percentage of residents in all other age ranges in these neighborhoods than in the average of Chicago for all thirty years too. Therefore, the adaptive reuse of religious facilities to non-religious, non-community uses are often found in the predominantly young adult neighborhoods of Chicago.

A lot of the change in age of residents occurred within the middle community areas displayed in Figure 4.17. These neighborhoods started with many children under 18 years old and saw fewer and fewer kids each ten years. The number of adaptive reuse sites varied across the communities with the most changes, including high numbers of sites in West Town and Logan Square and few sites in East Garfield Park and Near West Side. Therefore the concentration of these sites does not have as much of a relationship with the changes in resident ages in those community areas. Instead, there seems to be a connection where community areas with any presence of a non-religious, non-community site have negative changes in the number of families living there. Planners should think about how future adaptively reused religious facilities in these community areas can better help families and people of all ages to live in these areas.

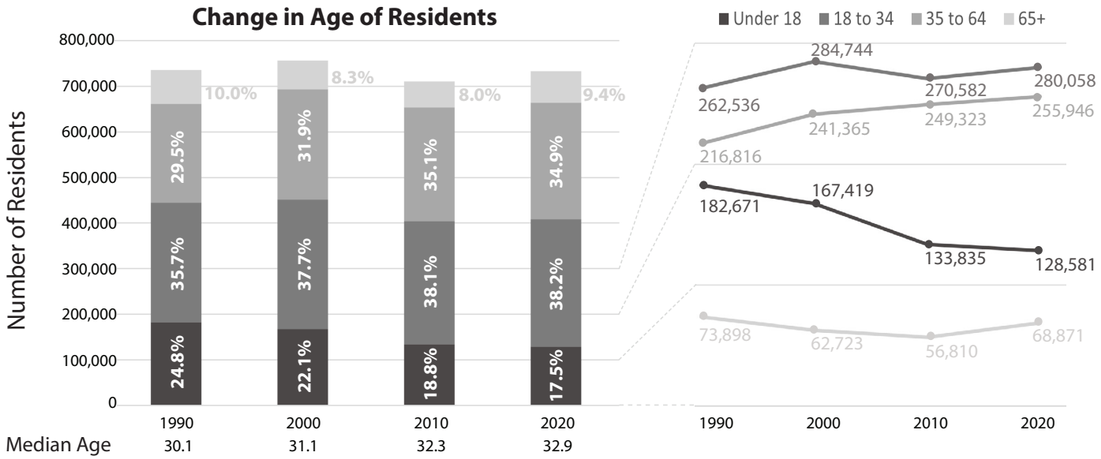


Figure 4.16

Illustrates the change of race and ethnicity from 1990 to 2020 in select community areas of Chicago (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

Household Income

As shown by the graphic in Figure 4.18, most of the residents living near the religious facilities that were adaptively reused into non-religious, non-community uses earn between $75,000 and $100,000 household income until recently. Today there has been a sizable increase of residents earning the highest household income range, over $200,000. On the other end of the spectrum, the number of residents earning a household income of less than $10,000 has remained high with comparable numbers to some of the top income ranges seen in these neighborhoods. Compared to all of Chicago, the median household income in these communities has been consistently higher from 1990 to 2020. This means there are more residents earning higher incomes in the community areas for this group than typically seen in Chicago. Thus, the adaptive reuse of religious facilities to non-religious, non-community uses mostly occurs in more affluent parts of the city of Chicago.

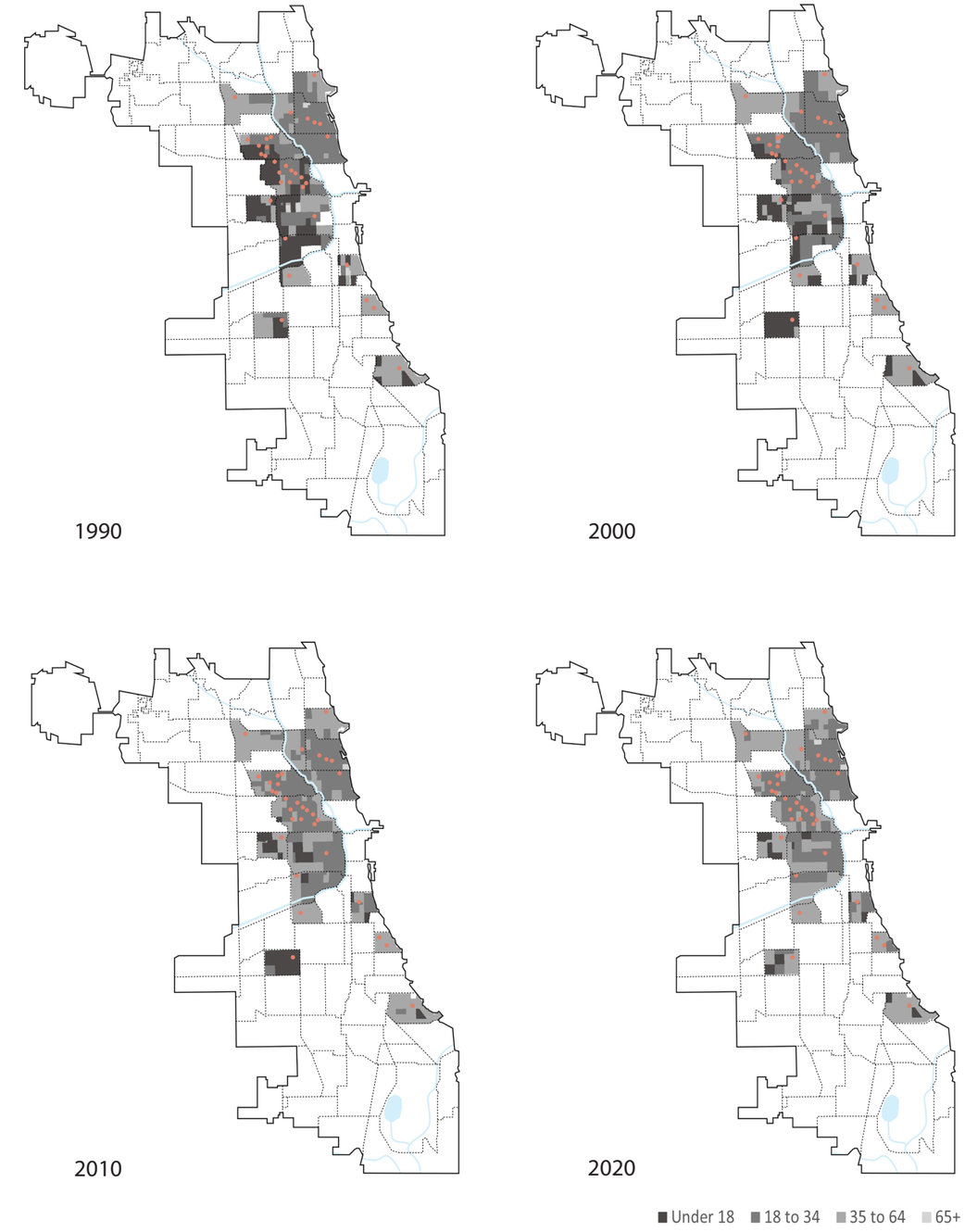


Figure 4.17

Shows where the age of residents changed in select Chicago community areas from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

Change of Household Incomes (Adjusted to 2020 Dollars)

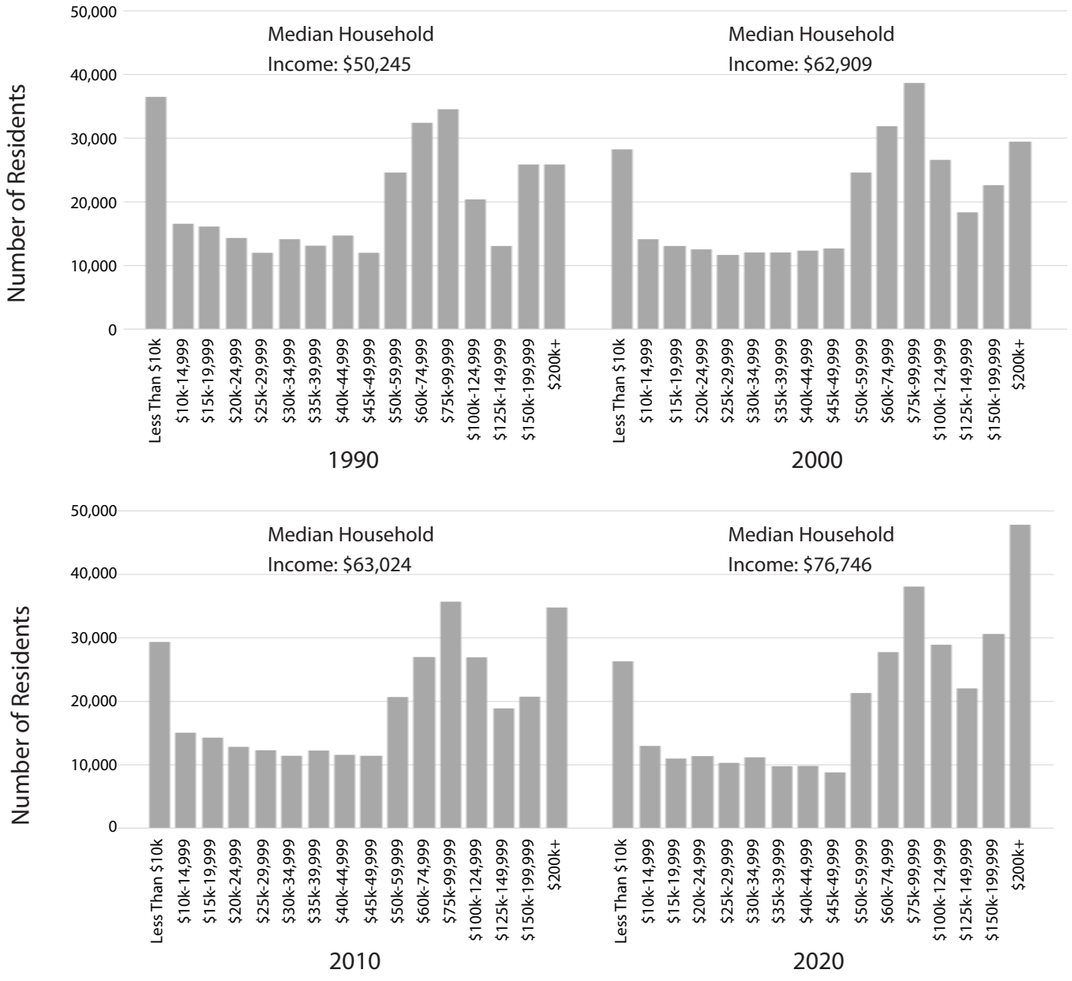


Figure 4.18

Provides the changes in household income of residents within select Chicago neighborhoods from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

Figure 4.19 shows that the household income increased in the northeastern and central community areas, including Logan Square and West Town with many of the adaptive reuse sites. The neighborhoods to the south and a portion in the center with fewer of the adaptive reuse sites did not see as much change in household incomes over time. Therefore, the number of adaptively reused religious facilities to non-religious, non-community uses seem to be associated with more change in household incomes and higher incomes in general. However, a lot of residents earning the highest incomes over time for this group are locating along the north branch of the Chicago River, so this body of water may play a bigger role as an attractive amenity in the changes of residents living in these community areas and the household incomes they make. Planners should consider how future adaptively reused religious facilities can help with affordability and unique housing experiences for everyone in these community areas.

Household Incomes (Adjusted to 2020 Dollars)

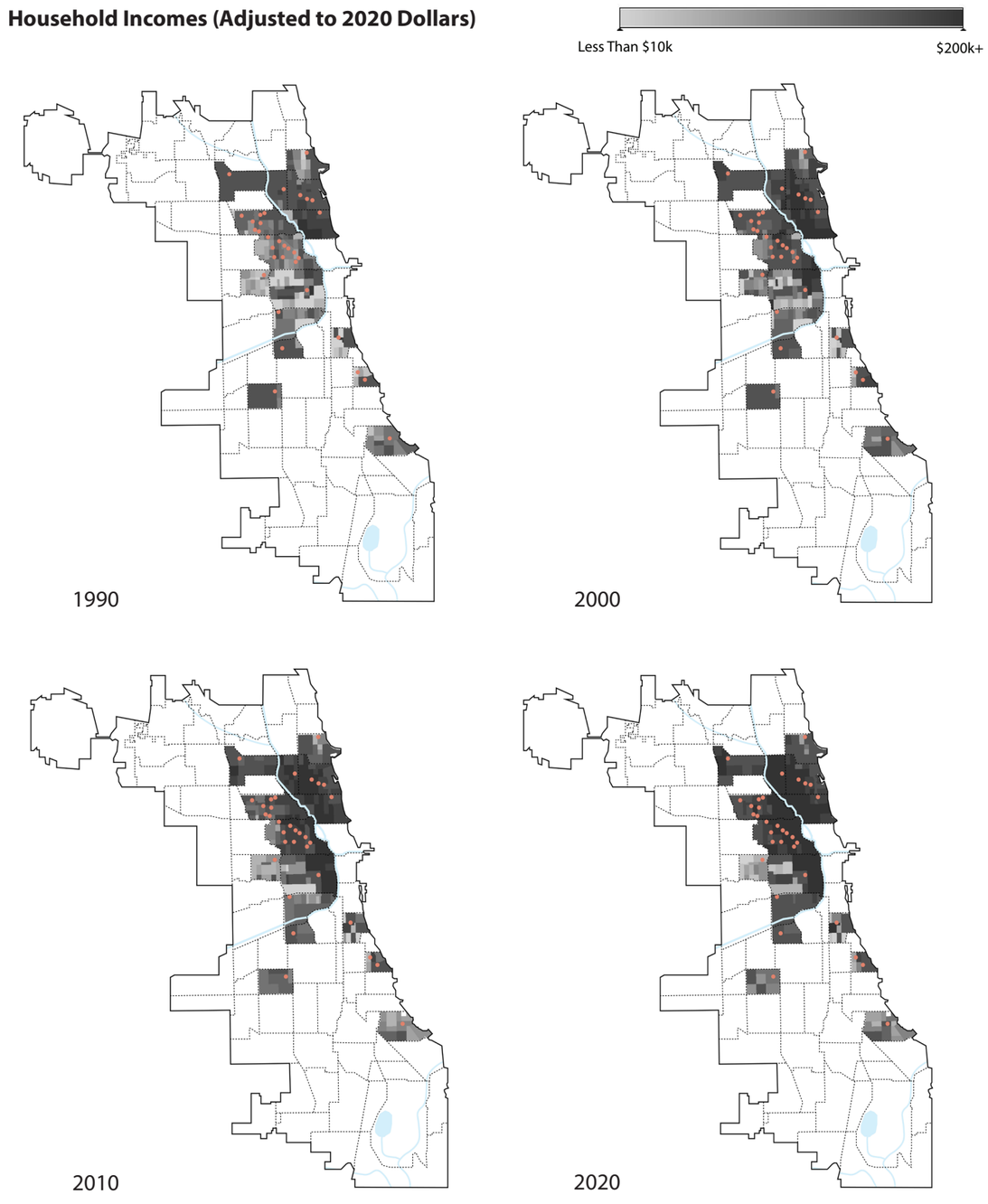


Figure 4.19

Depicts where changes of household income happened in select community areas of Chicago from 1990 to 2020 U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

House Values

The community areas with sites from the non-religious, non-community use group contain housing worth between $300,000 and $500,000 mostly. The greatest change is seen from 1990 to 2000 where houses worth $150,000 to just under $500,000 drastically increased and the median house value almost doubled as seen in Figure 4.20. The median house value for this group of community areas is consistently higher than the average of Chicago for all thirty years too. This aligns with the increase of residents that earn higher incomes in these areas and can afford higher valued properties. Therefore, the adaptive reuse of religious facilities to non-religious, non-community uses are often found in higher quality neighborhoods of Chicago.

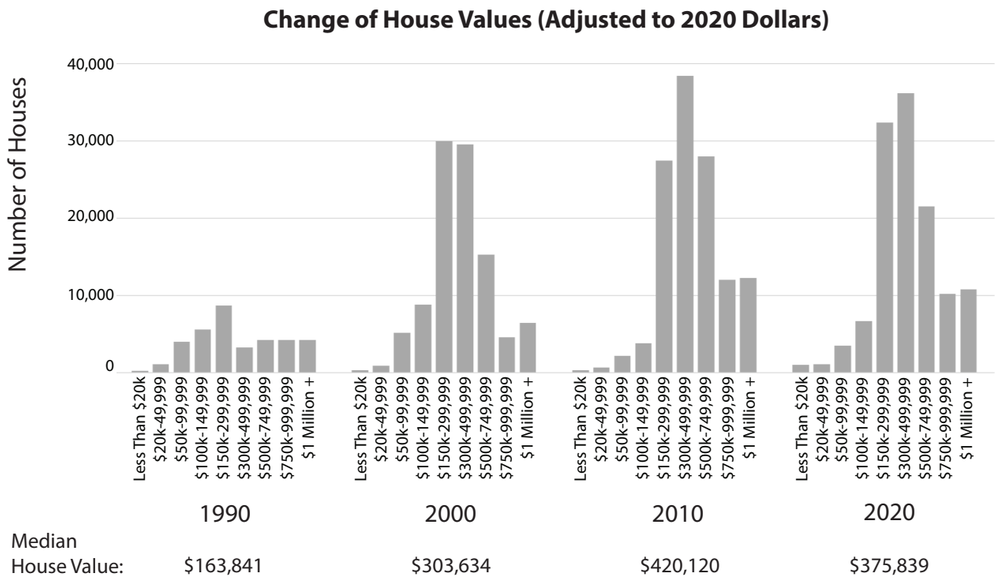


Figure 4.20

Shows the change of house values within select Chicago neighborhoods from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

In Figure 4.21 the houses increased in their worth across all community areas mostly in the first ten years, with the exception of a few places in the central neighborhoods. There was less change in the northeast community areas because they already had higher valued housing starting in 1990. The community areas with the non-religious, non-community new use sites are therefore generally related with higher valued housing. Planners can look into affordable housing options in future adaptive reuse of religious facilities to help more residents afford to live in those areas.

Occupancy

As shown by the graphic in Figure 4.22, there has been a growing supply of housing in the neighborhoods around the religious facilities that were adaptively reused into non-religious, non-community uses for the last 30 years. Houses there are consistently around 90% filled by majority renters, except in 2010 where vacancy rates rose slightly. This trend is similar to the average of Chicago over the thirty years, except in 2020 the community areas for this group had a lower vacancy rate than that of Chicago. Therefore, adaptively reused religious facilities to non-religious, non-community uses are often in very desirable community areas to live in Chicago.

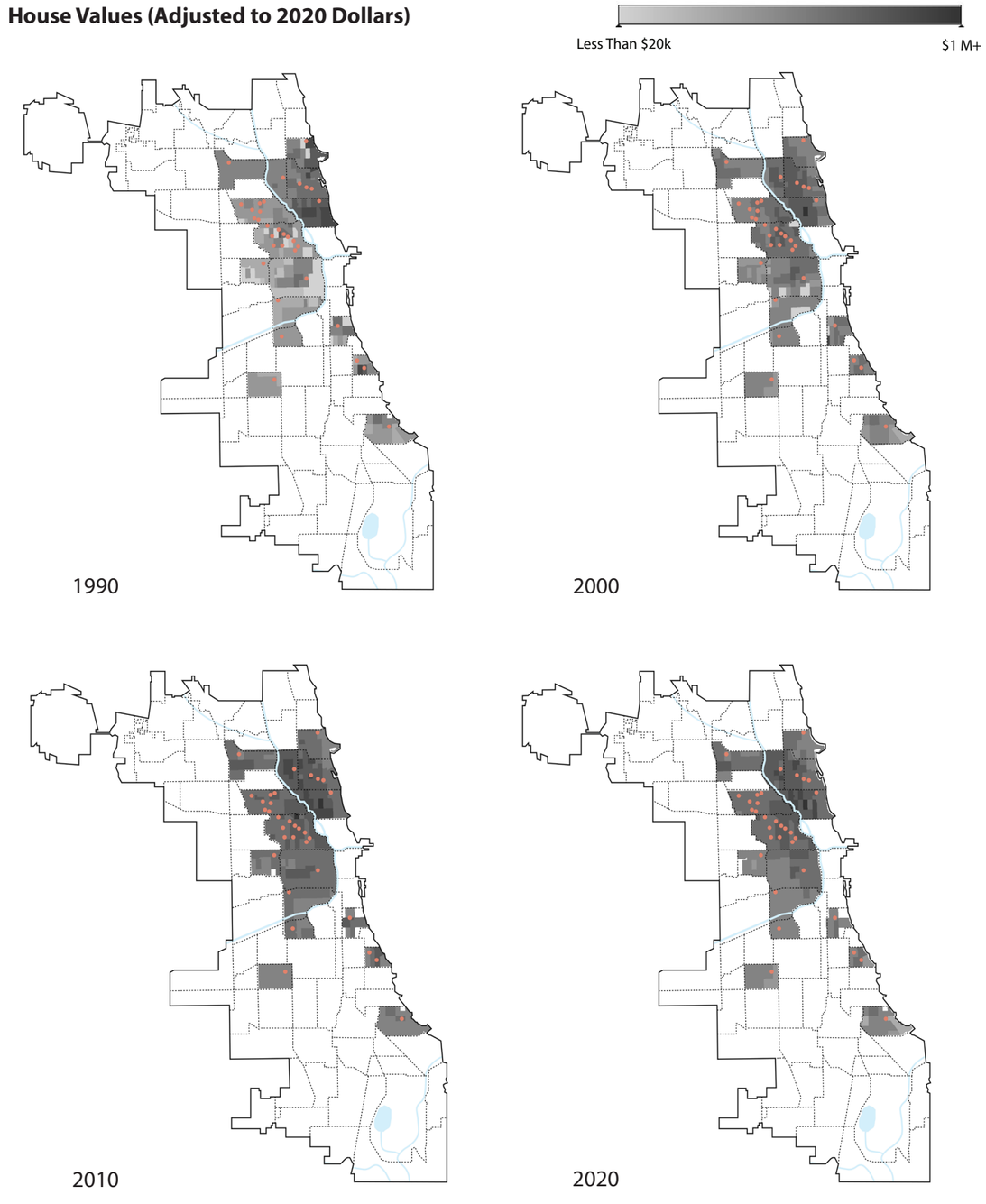


Figure 4.21

Depicts where house values changed within select Chicago community areas from 1990 to 2020 U.S. (Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

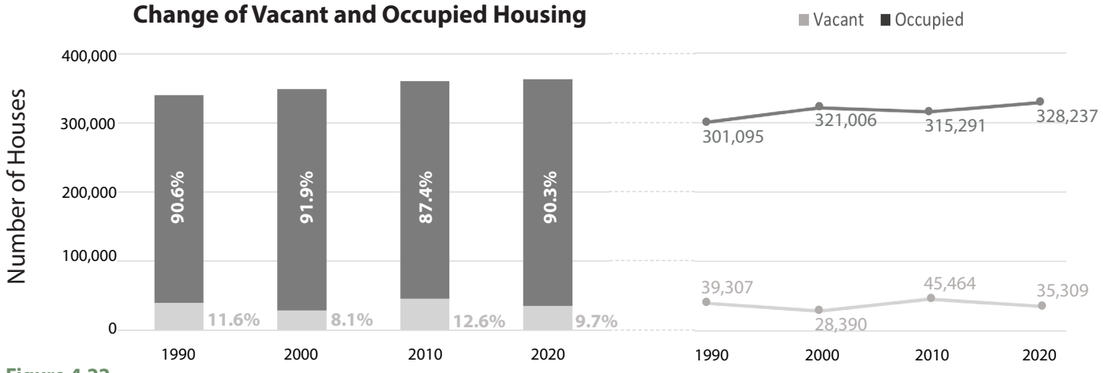


Figure 4.22

Shows the change in vacancy rates for select community areas of Chicago from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

The increase of housing seen from 1990 to 2020 is mostly owner-occupied housing until recently. Figure 4.23 and Figure 4.24 show that many owner-occupied housing units were created from 1990 to 2010 mostly along the north branch of the Chicago River running through these community areas (also where the highest household incomes are seen over time). The river may have a large influence on housing in these community areas. However, the non-community new use group still seems to be linked with neighborhoods that have growing resident ownership of their housing.

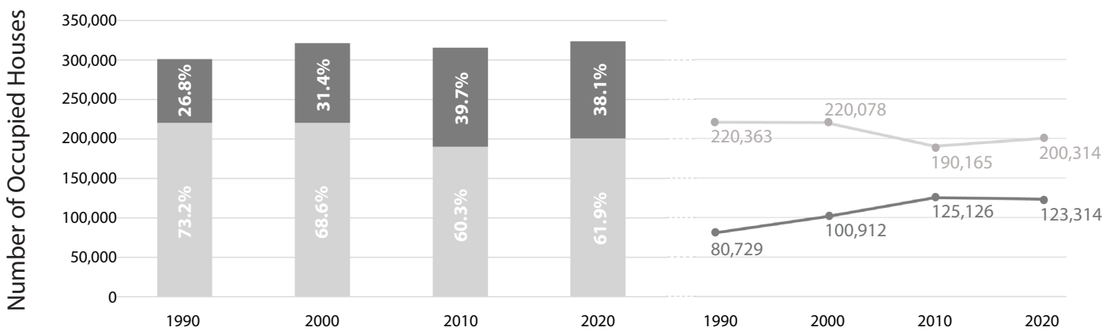


Figure 4.23

Illustrates how renter- and owner-occupied housing has changed in select Chicago neighborhoods from 1990 to 2020 U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

Conclusion

The religious facilities that were adaptively reused to non-religious, non-community uses appear to be correlated with areas that had several socioeconomic changes over time. Particularly, the areas containing more of these adaptive reuse sites are becoming less diverse over time with fewer minority residents, more young adults than families or older residents, and more residents earning higher wages than typically in Chicago. The community capitals likely changed a lot in these areas at the same time. Higher house values and household incomes in these areas could mean that opportunities for human capital and improvements to built capital are more abundant there. With fewer minority residents though, the opportunities for social capital to develop between groups with different backgrounds and for cultural capital could be low in these neighborhoods. More opportunities for those two community capitals in the future might help create stronger community networks and have more inclusion there.

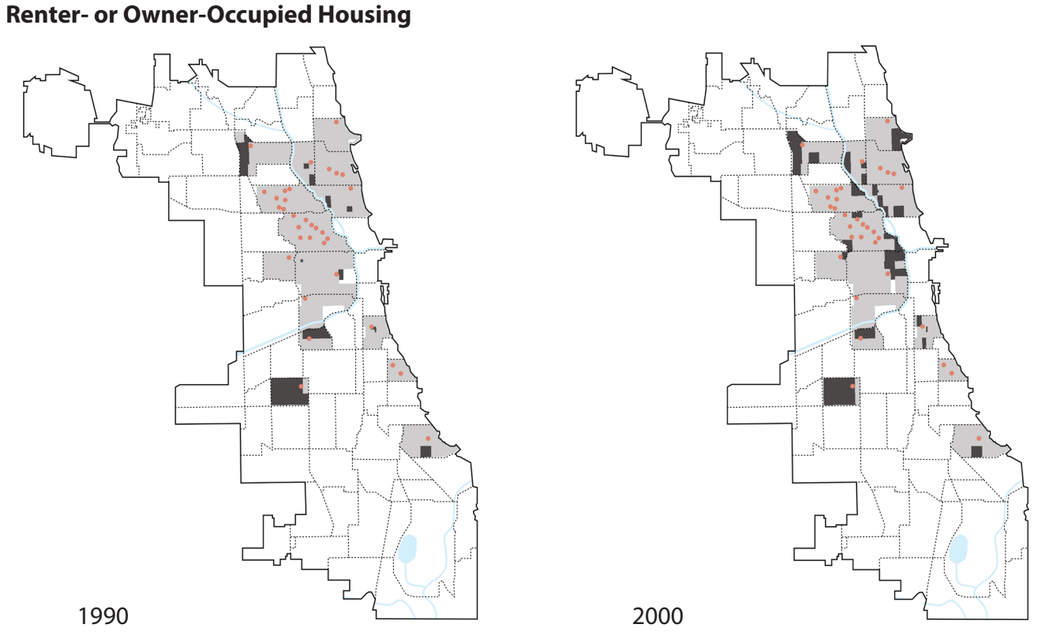
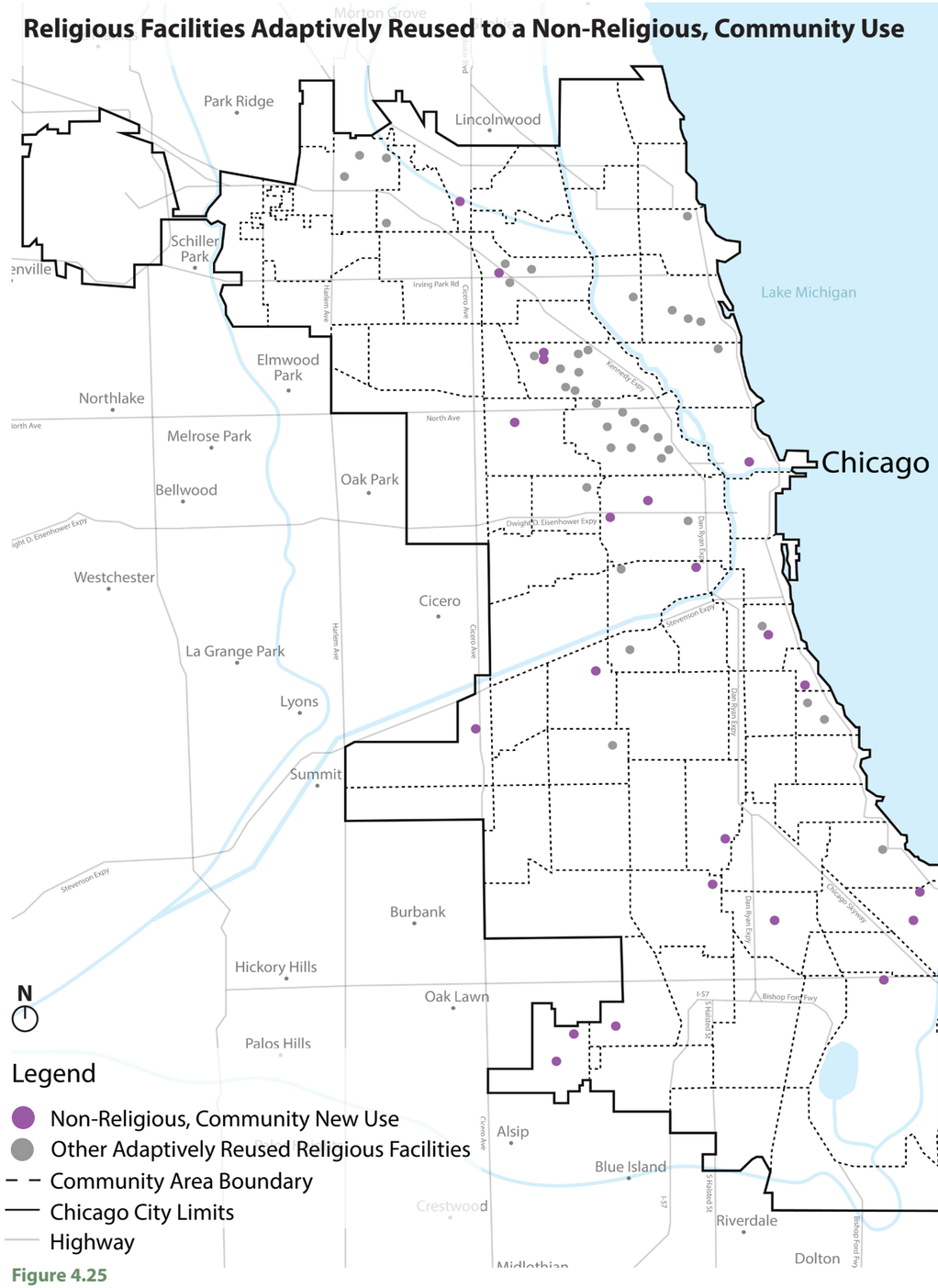


Figure 4.24

Depicts where house values changed within select Chicago community areas from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)



23 Sites in 19 Community Areas

1. Norwood Park
2. Jefferson Park
3. Forest Glen
4. Irving Park
5. North Center
6. Uptown
7. Lake View
8. Logan Square
9. Lincoln Park
10. Humboldt Park
11. West Town
12. Near North Side
13. East Garfield
14. Near West Side
15. Lower West Side
16. McKinley Park
17. Brighton Park
18. Gage Park
19. Garfield Ridge
20. Douglas
21. Oakland
22. Kenwood
23. Englewood
24. Auburn Gresham
25. Beverly
26. Mt. Greenwood
27. Chatham
28. South Shore
29. South Chicago
30. East Side
31. South Deering

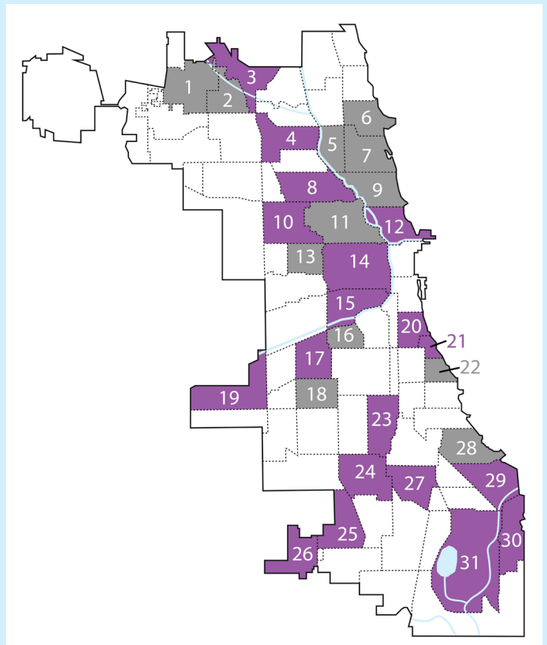


Figure 4.25
Shows the locations of adaptively reused religious facilities to non-religious, community uses in Chicago since 2000

Religious Facilities to Non-Religious, Community Uses

Locations

The second most adaptively reused religious facilities transitioned into non-religious, community uses. Figure 4.25 illustrates that 23 of the 62 total adaptively reused religious facilities fall into this category. These sites are located in the most community areas, 19 out of 31, and do not have clusters of more than two sites in any of those neighborhoods. The community areas with two sites from the non-religious, community use group include Logan Square, Near West Side, Mount Greenwood, and South Chicago.

Social and Economic Character

Race and Ethnicity

As shown by the graphics in Figure 4.26, the religious facilities that were adaptively reused into non-religious, community uses are mostly located in community areas that have historically been more diverse neighborhoods with majority Black residents. There has been higher percentages of Hispanic and Black residents and a lower percentage of White residents in these neighborhoods than typically in Chicago until recently where White residents became majority in these areas. Therefore, these community areas are becoming slightly less diverse over time, but their racial and ethnic composition remains almost identical to the average across all of Chicago. Planners can consider how future adaptively reused religious facilities in these community areas might help inhibit this change towards less diversity.

The increase of White residents and decrease of Black or Hispanic residents is greatly seen in Figure 4.27 around the center of Chicago in the Near West Side and Logan Square community areas, each with two adaptive reuse sites. These two community areas also both contain religious facilities that were adaptively reused to non-religious, non-community uses that may play a role in the change of race and ethnicity there. The southeastern community areas each with one adaptive reuse site also have changed many times from majority White to Hispanic and then to Black within 20 years. Ultimately, the adaptively reused religious facilities to non-religious, community uses seem to have a positive relationship with maintaining the diversity of residents in their community areas.

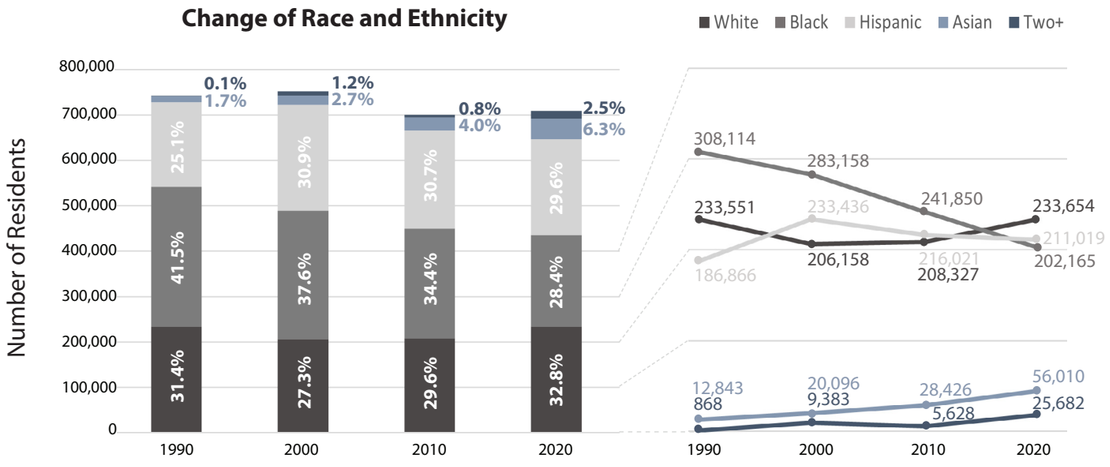


Figure 4.26
Depicts the change of race and ethnicity from 1990 to 2020 in select community areas of Chicago (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

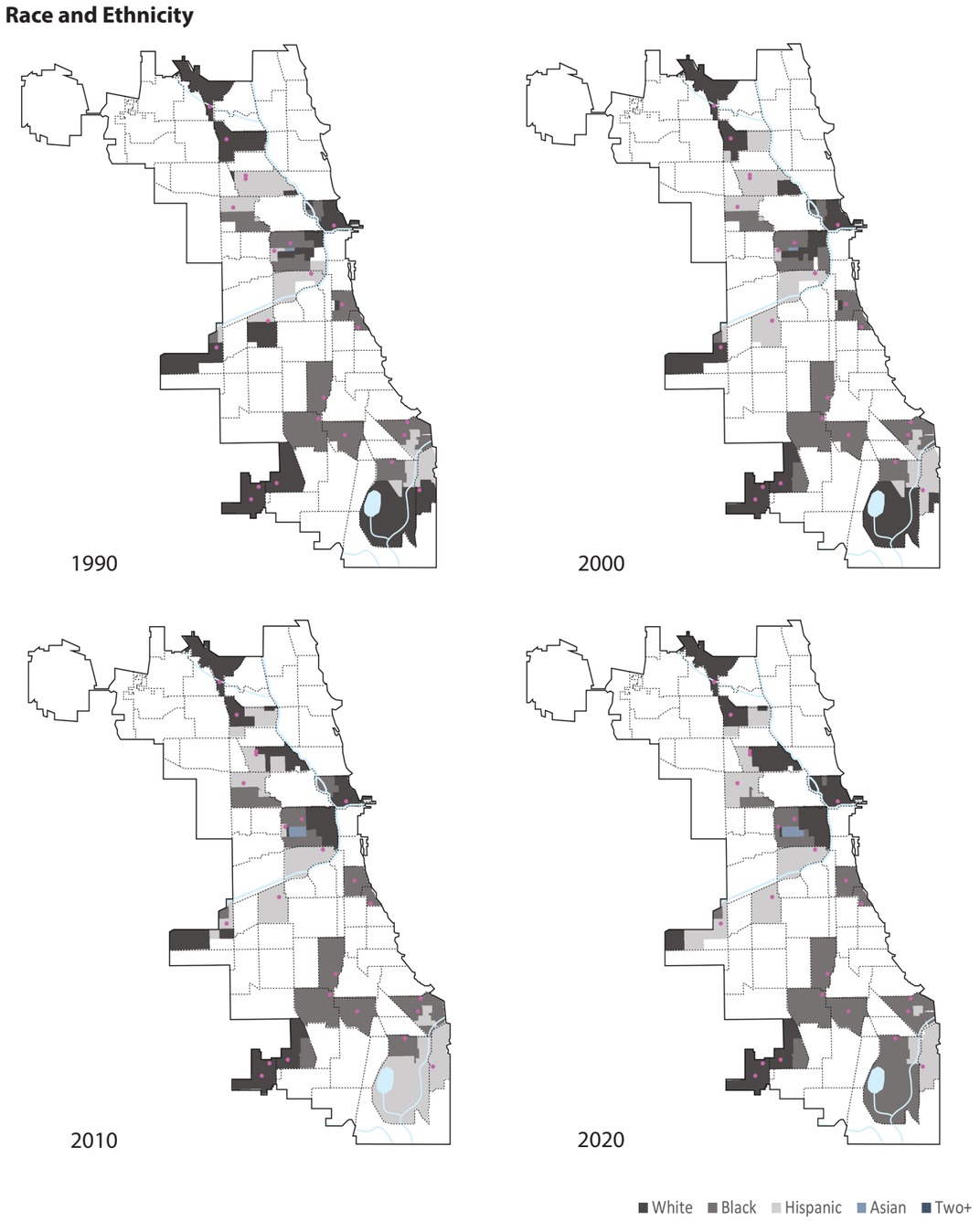


Figure 4.27
Depicts where changes of race and ethnicity occurred in specific Chicago community areas from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

Age

The residents living near sites from the non-religious, community use group are mostly between 35 and 64 years old for the last 30 years. All age ranges stayed fairly level over time, except Children under 18 decreased in these neighborhoods as seen in Figure 4.28. The decrease in children under 18 and low number of older residents is a similar trend to both the non-religious, non-community use group and across Chicago. Each age range for this group from 1990 to 2020 is similar to those for all of Chicago, but leans slightly older compared to the non-religious, non-community use group. Therefore, the adaptive reuse of religious facilities to non-religious, community uses are commonly seen in the predominantly middle aged adult neighborhoods of Chicago.

The percentage of children under 18 is highest in these neighborhoods compared to all other groups and the city of Chicago. However, nearly all of the community areas for this group experienced a decrease in children under 18 over all 30 years except for the most southern one, South Deering, which is illustrated in Figure 4.29. Thus, just like the non-community new use group there seems to be an inverse relationship between the adaptively reused religious facilities to non-religious, community uses and the number of families with children living around those sites. Again, planners can consider how adaptively reused religious facilities in the future can help families with children live in Chicago.

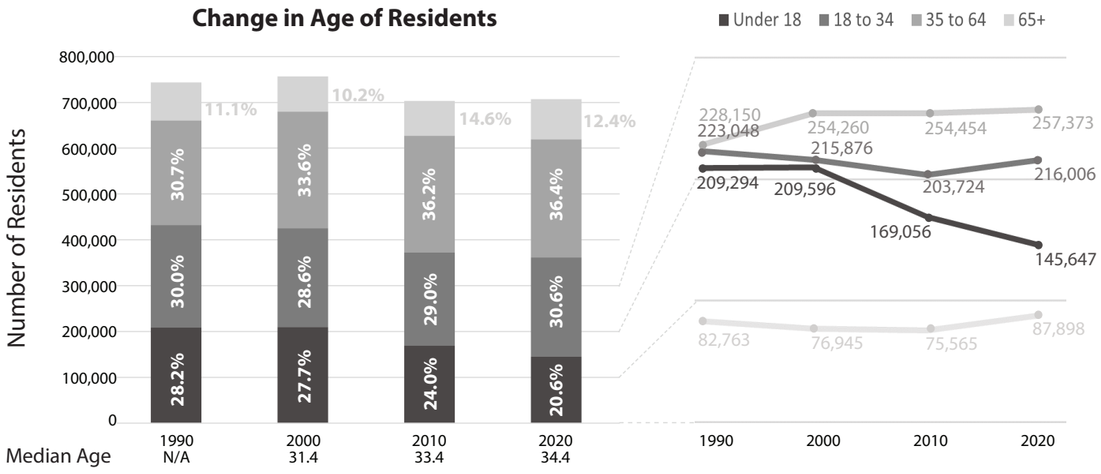


Figure 4.28

Depicts the change of age from 1990 to 2020 in select community areas of Chicago (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

Household Income

As shown by the graphic in Figure 4.30, the populations living in areas where religious facilities were adaptively reused into non-religious, community uses mostly earn between $75,000-$100,000 household income range similar to the non-religious, non-community use group. Just like the non-religious, non-community group, the number of residents earning less than $10,000 is consistently high in these community areas over the last 30 years and there has been a sizable increase of residents earning the highest household income range (over $200,000) lately. These community areas were below the median income of Chicago from 1990 to 2000, and between the median income of Chicago and the non-community use group from 2010 to 2020. Since the median incomes for this group stayed below those of the non-community use group for all thirty years despite having similar trends, this shows that there are more residents earning lower incomes here than in the non-community use group areas. Thus, the adaptive reuse of religious facilities to

non-religious, community uses is often found in more moderate areas of the city of Chicago that are less well-off than the ones in the non-religious, non-community group.

Age of Residents

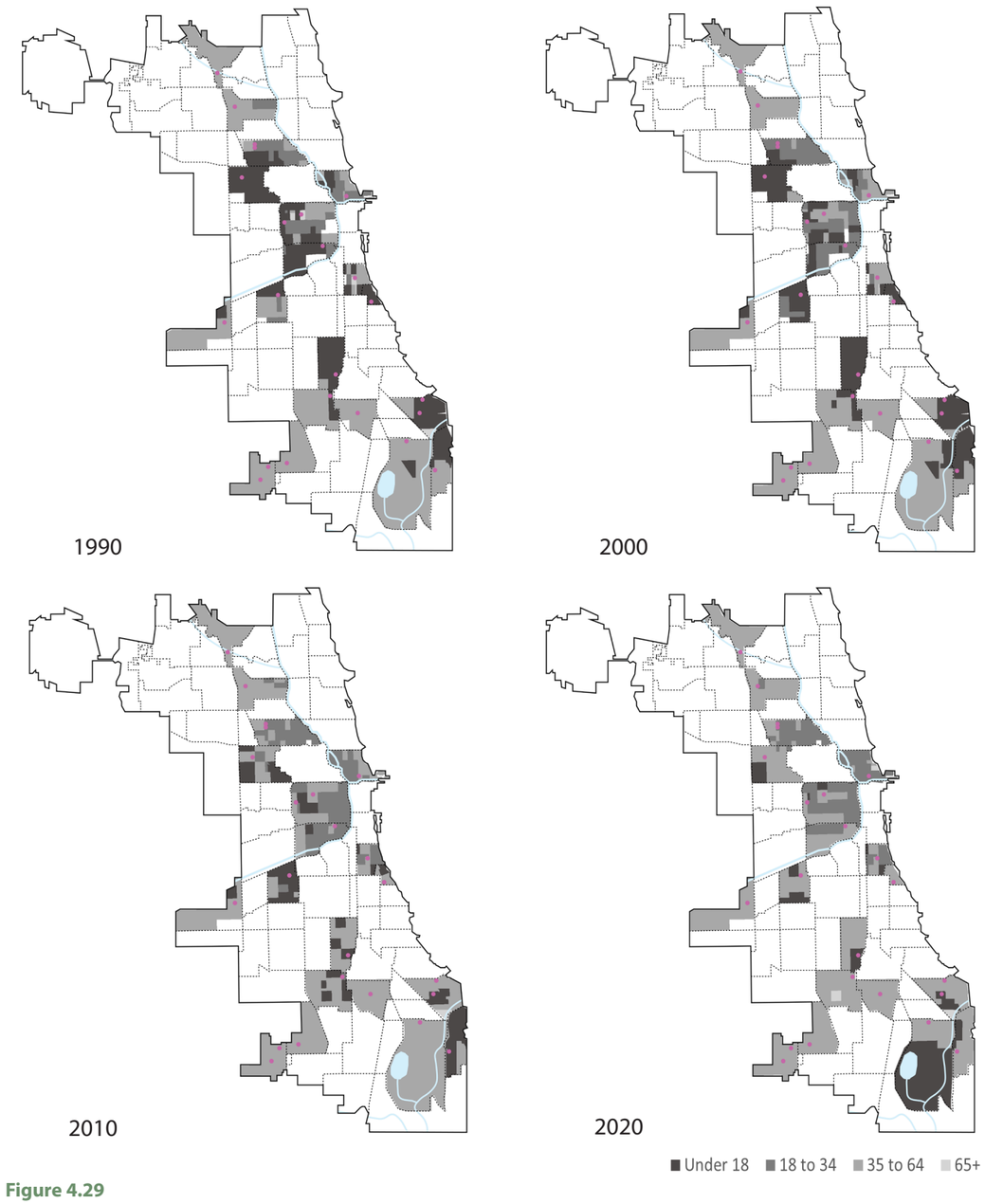


Figure 4.29

Shows where the age of residents changed in select Chicago community areas from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

Change in Household Incomes (Adjusted to 2020 Dollars)

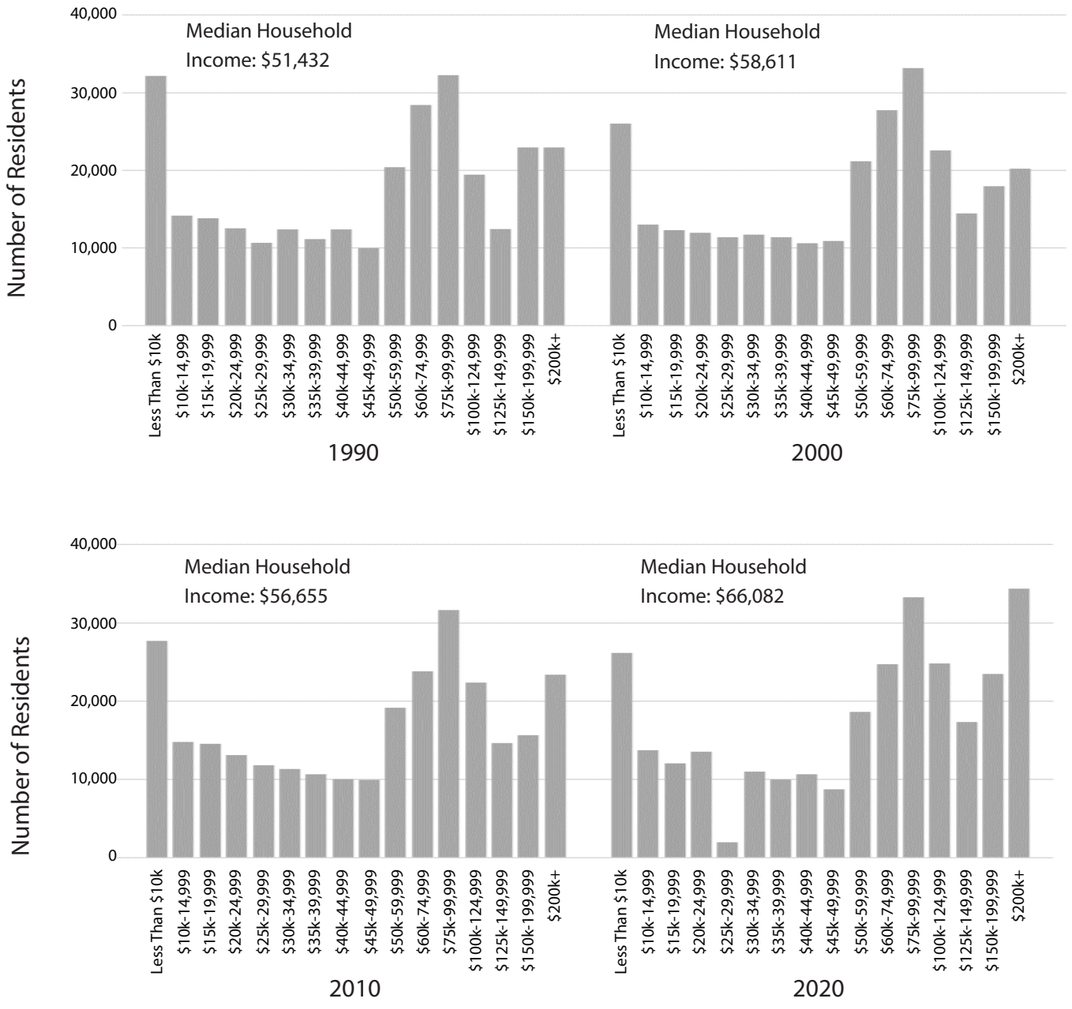


Figure 4.30
Shows the change in household income ranges that Chicago residents made from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

Figure 4.31 displays that the household income increased slightly in most of the community areas over the last thirty years, except for the southeastern community, South Deering, which declined in household income. The few community areas with two adaptive reuse sites instead of one did not have more growth or decay in household incomes than the others. Overall, there seems to be a correlation where areas with adaptively reused religious facilities to non-religious, community uses have less change in household income earned by the residents there. Planners should consider how future adaptively reused religious facilities in these community areas can bring new careers or educational options so residents have more opportunities to advance their skills and income levels in these areas.

Household Incomes (Adjusted to 2020 Dollars)

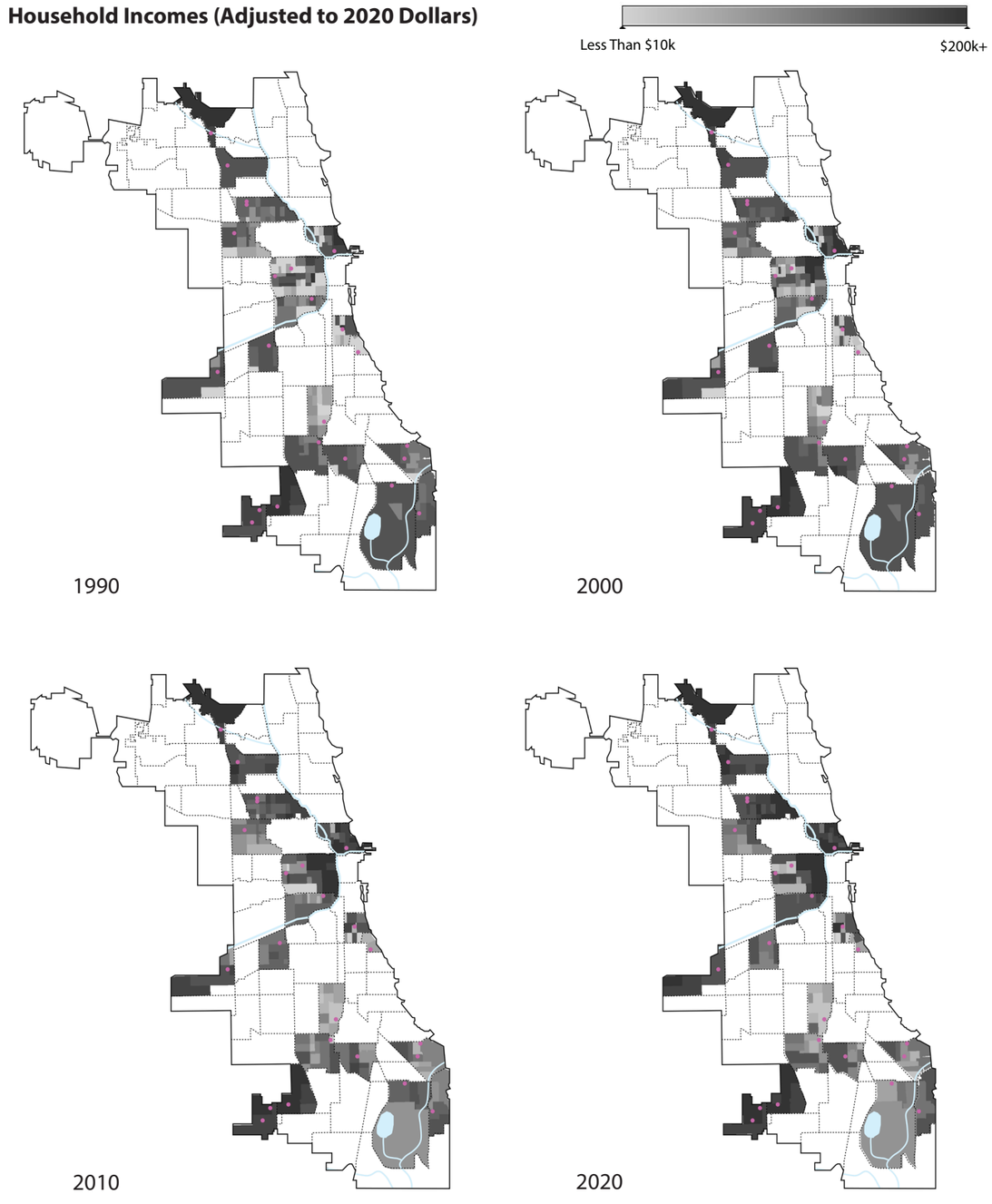


Figure 4.31
Depicts where changes of household income happened in select community areas of Chicago from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

House Values

Housing within the community areas with sites from the non-religious, community use group is worth mostly between $150,000 and $300,000. This is the same as the city of Chicago but slightly lower than the the non-religious, non-community group ($300,000 to $500,000). One of the more noticeable changes is seen in Figure 4.32 from 1990 to 2000 where houses worth in the $150,000-$300,000 range drastically increased and the median house value went up. For the last 30 years the median house values in the community use group areas have stayed very close to those of Chicago and those of the non-community use group. The quailty of the neighborhoods for this group is overall average and not as high as the non-community use group. Planners can think about how future adaptively reused religious facilities can provide more quality housing for these areas.

In Figure 4.33 the house values increased slightly across all community areas over the last 30 years, with the southeast community areas seeing some of the least change. The southeast community areas are where household incomes and house values follow the same trend of increasing from 1990 to 2010 and then decreasing by 2020. The areas with two adaptive reuse sites did not have more increase or decrease in house value than the others. Ultimately, the adaptive reuse of religious facilities to a non-religious, community use is associated with moderate change of house values in their surrounding community areas.

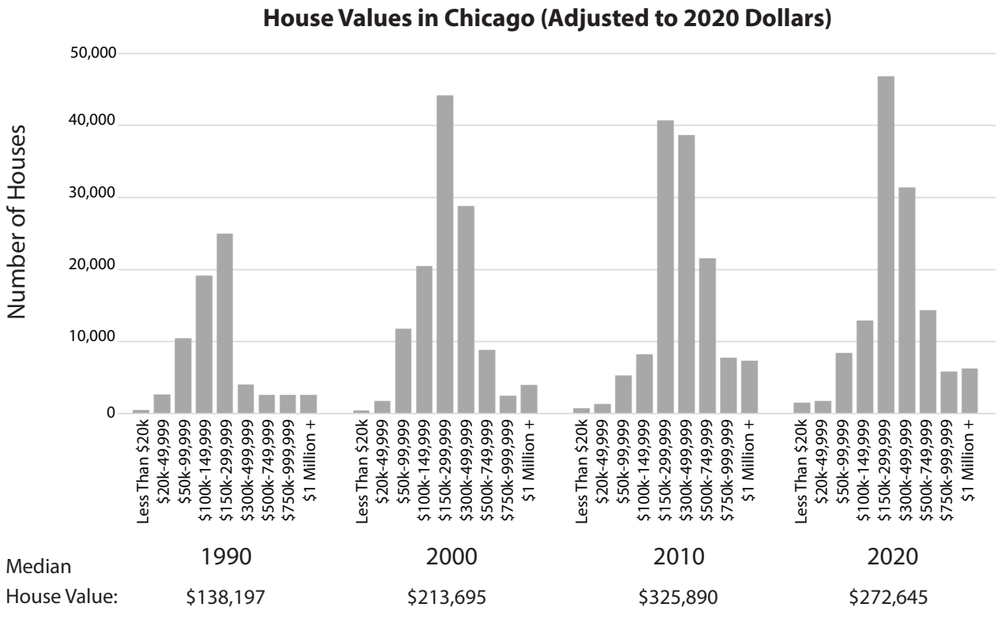


Figure 4.32

Shows the change of house values within Chicago from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

Occupancy

As shown by the graphic in Figure 4.34, the community areas with sites from the community use group have seen an increase in its supply of housing over the last 30 years like all across Chicago. These communities have a more balanced mix of renters and owners, but occupancy has fluctuated between 85 and 90 percent occupied which is lower than the non-community group and slightly lower than the city as a whole. Therefore, religious facilities adaptively reused to non-religious, community uses are typically found in less desirable areas to live in Chicago.

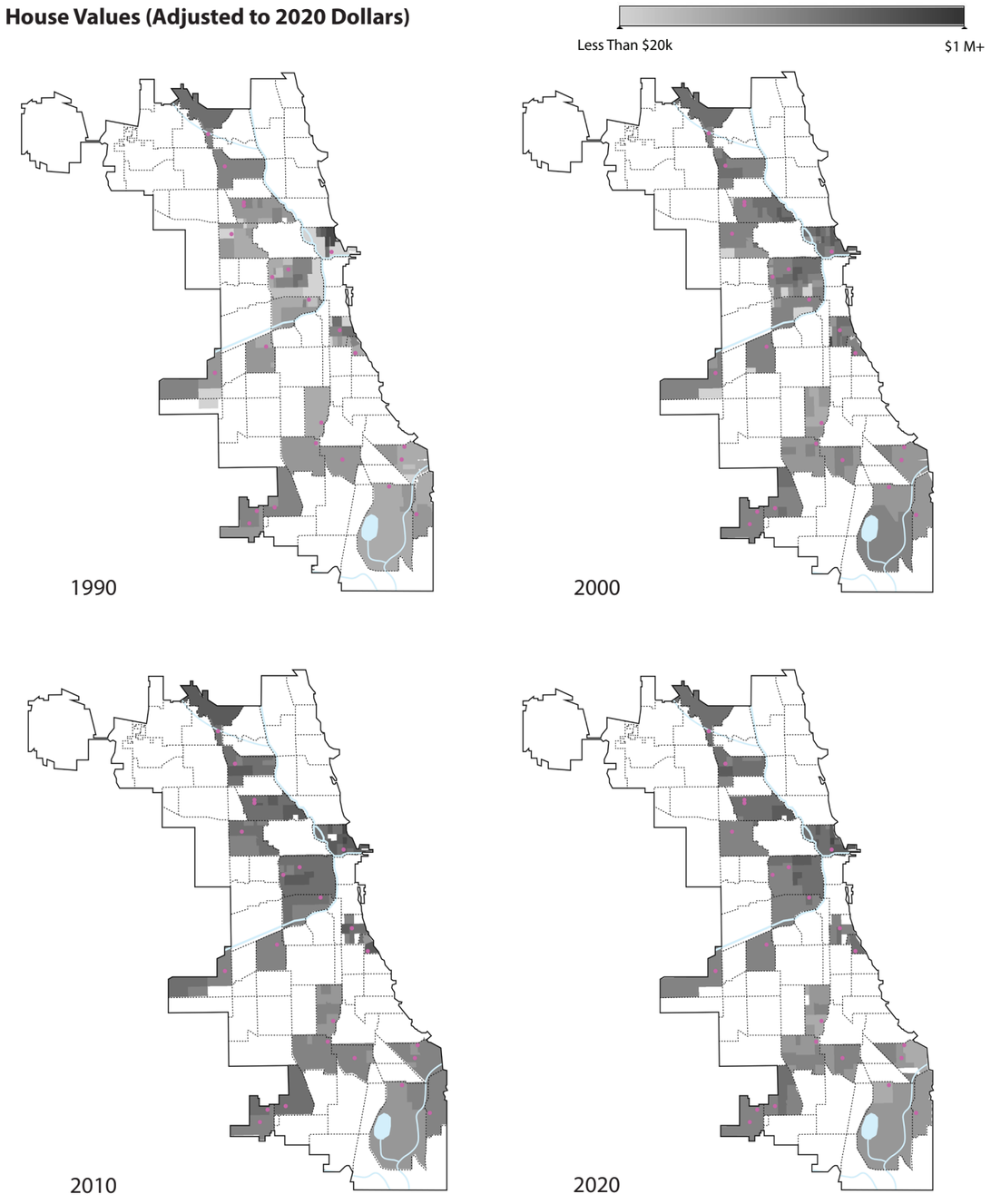


Figure 4.33

Depicts where changes of race and ethnicity occurred in Chicago's community areas from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

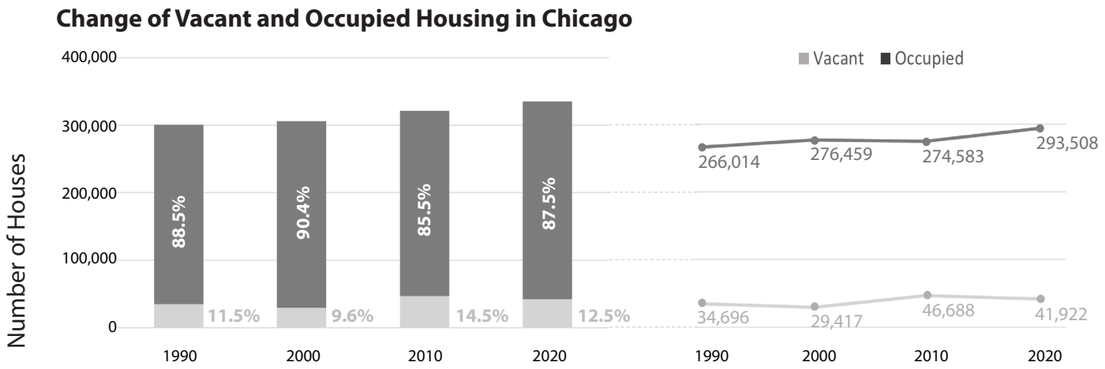


Figure 4.34

Shows the change in vacancy rates for select community areas of Chicago from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

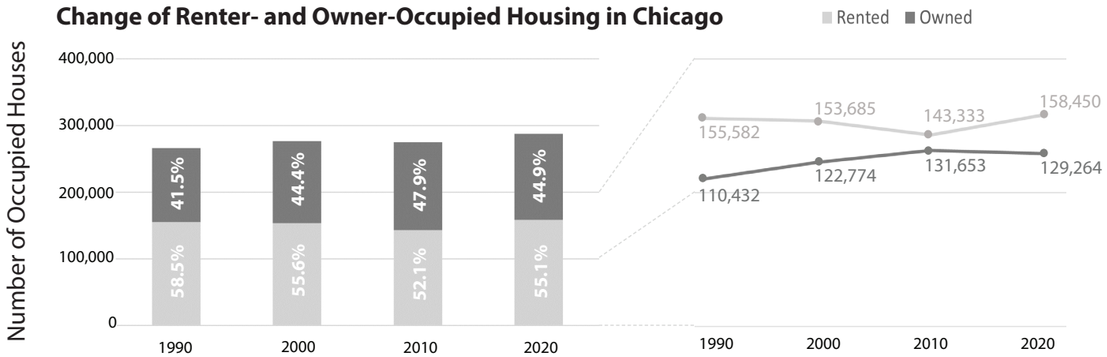


Figure 4.35

Illustrates how renter- and owner-occupied housing has changed in select Chicago neighborhoods from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

The increase of housing seen from 1990 to 2010 is mostly owner-occupied housing according to Figure 4.35. The maps in Figure 4.36 show that these newer owner-occupied housing units were created mostly in the central community areas, primarily the ones closest to downtown. However, recently more rental properties are being created than owner-occupied, especially in the southeastern most community area, South Deering. This goes along with the household income and house values decreasing in South Deering over time. Overall, there seems to be a correlation where areas with adaptively reused religious facilities to non-religious, community uses have pretty even opportunities to rent and buy houses. Coupled with the modest home values, this makes living in these neighborhoods more attainable.

Conclusion

The religious facilities that were adaptively reused to non-religious, community uses appear to be correlated with areas that had modest socioeconomic changes over time. These community areas remained diverse, offering a better mix of housing at more affordable values, and overall presenting characteristics close to the average of Chicago during all thirty years. The community capitals likely did not change as much in these areas at the same time. With more minority residents, the opportunities for social capital to develop between groups with different backgrounds and for cultural capital could be higher in these neighborhoods. More opportunities for human capital and improvements to built capital in the future might help boost the quality

of the neighborhoods to be more desirable areas of Chicago and allow residents to grow their work skills and better support themselves.

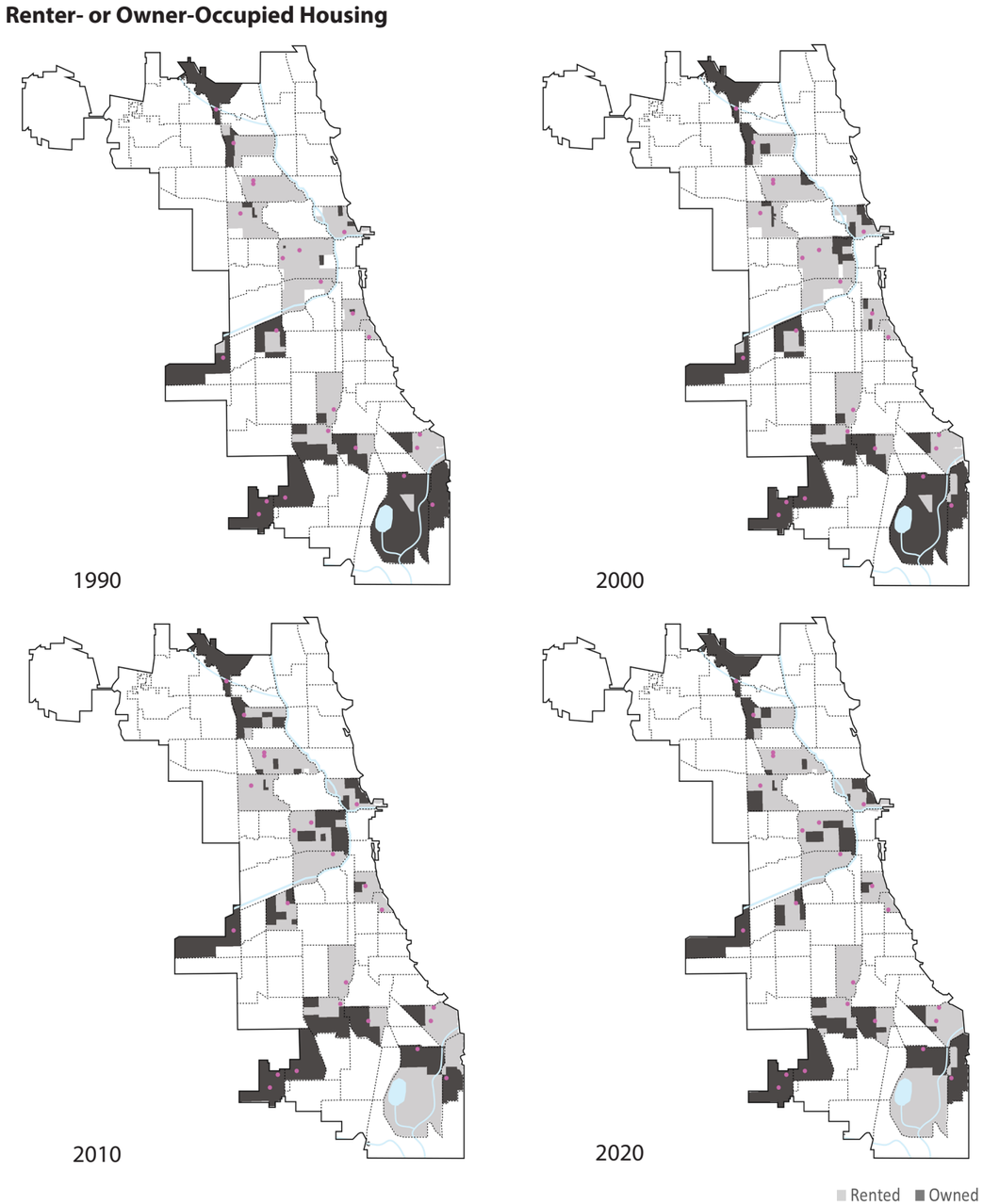
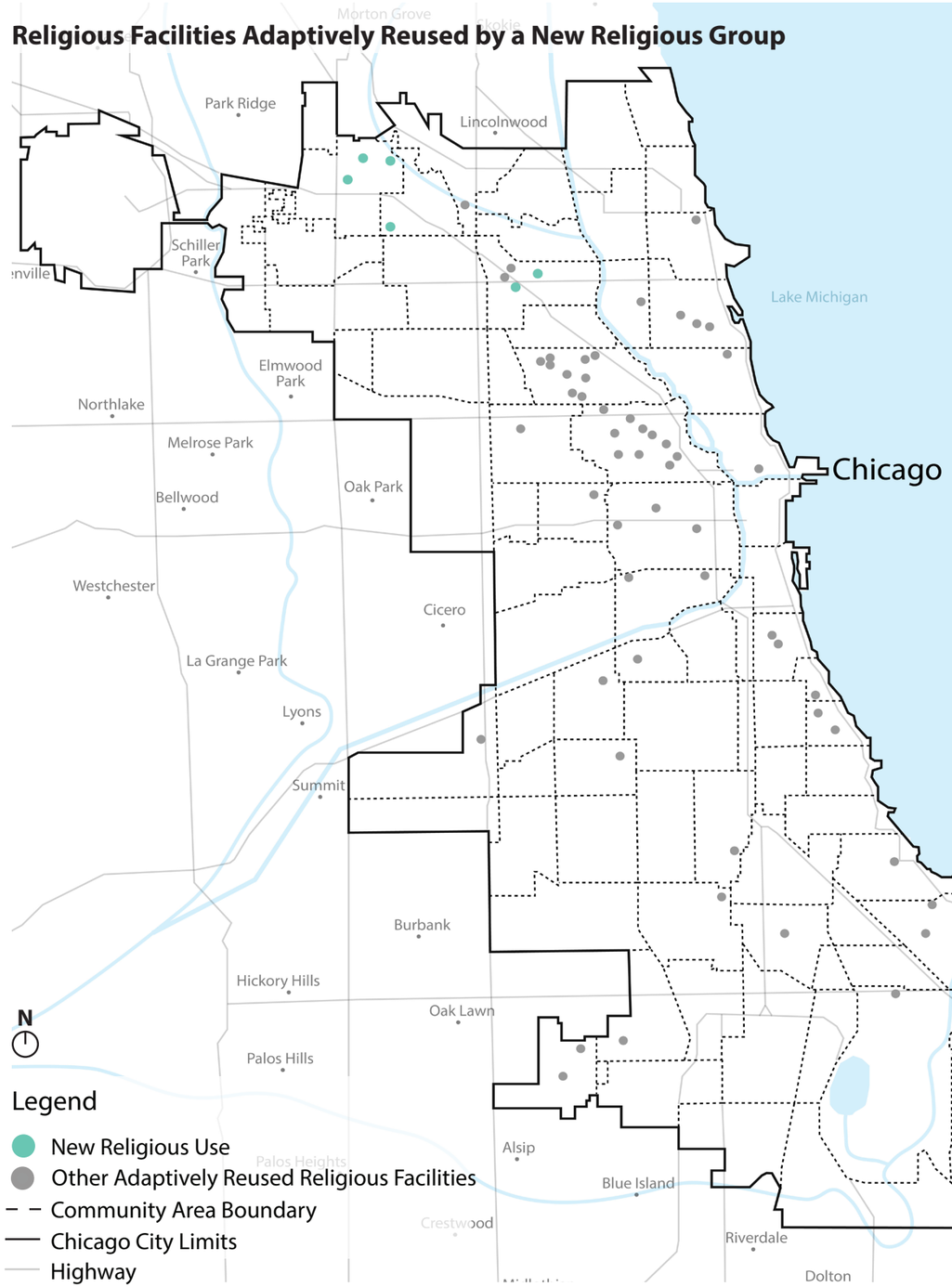


Figure 4.36

Pictures where changes of house values occurred in Chicago's community areas from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

Religious Facilities Adaptively Reused by a New Religious Group



6 Adaptively Reused Religious Facilities in 3 Community Areas

1. Norwood Park
2. Jefferson Park
3. Forest Glen
4. Irving Park
5. North Center
6. Uptown
7. Lake View
8. Logan Square
9. Lincoln Park
10. Humboldt Park
11. West Town
12. Near North Side
13. East Garfield
14. Near West Side
15. Lower West Side
16. McKinley Park
17. Brighton Park
18. Gage Park
19. Garfield Ridge
20. Douglas
21. Oakland
22. Kenwood
23. Englewood
24. Auburn Gresham
25. Beverly
26. Mt. Greenwood
27. Chatham
28. South Shore
29. South Chicago
30. East Side
31. South Deering

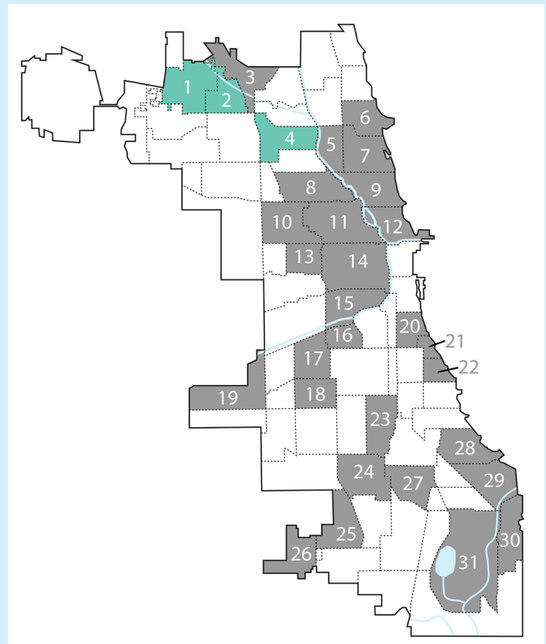


Figure 4.37
Shows the locations of adaptively reused religious facilities by new religious groups in Chicago since 2000

Religious Facilities to New Religious Uses

Locations

The fewest adaptively reused religious facilities became spaces used by a new religious group. Figure 4.37 illustrates that 6 of the 62 total adaptively reused religious facilities fall into this category. These sites are also located in the fewest community areas, 3 out of 31, and are clustered in the northwest communities Norwood Park (3 sites), Irving Park (2 sites), and Jefferson Park (1 site).

Social and Economic Character

Race and Ethnicity

As shown by the graphics in Figure 4.38, the residents in the community areas where religious facilities that were adaptively reused by new religious groups are majority White. Though these areas are gaining more Hispanic residents over time, this group is the least diverse of the three groups and the city of Chicago. There is a much higher percentage of White residents in these neighborhoods than the average neighborhood in Chicago or the other two groups for all thirty years. There is also a very low number of Black residents across the group's community areas at the same time compared to the average of Chicago or the other adaptive reuse groups. Therefore, the adaptive reuse of religious facilities to new religious uses typically occurs in some of the least diverse parts of Chicago. Planners should consider how the adaptively reused religious facilities in these community areas can better encourage or accommodate minority residents to reside there.

Figure 4.39 shows that the southernmost of the three community areas, Irving Park, had the greatest change over the last 30 years from being majority White to being majority Hispanic in parts of the neighborhood. Irving park has adaptive reuse projects from the non-community and community use groups that may also be contributing to the change over time there. The other two community areas, Norwood Park and Jefferson Park, did not show as much change in race and ethnicity over time. Generally, there seems to be a positive relationship where areas with religious facilities that were adaptively reused by new religious groups changed very little in race and ethnicity of the residents there. However, this group is still linked to areas that have far higher percentages of White residents than typically seen in other neighborhoods of Chicago.

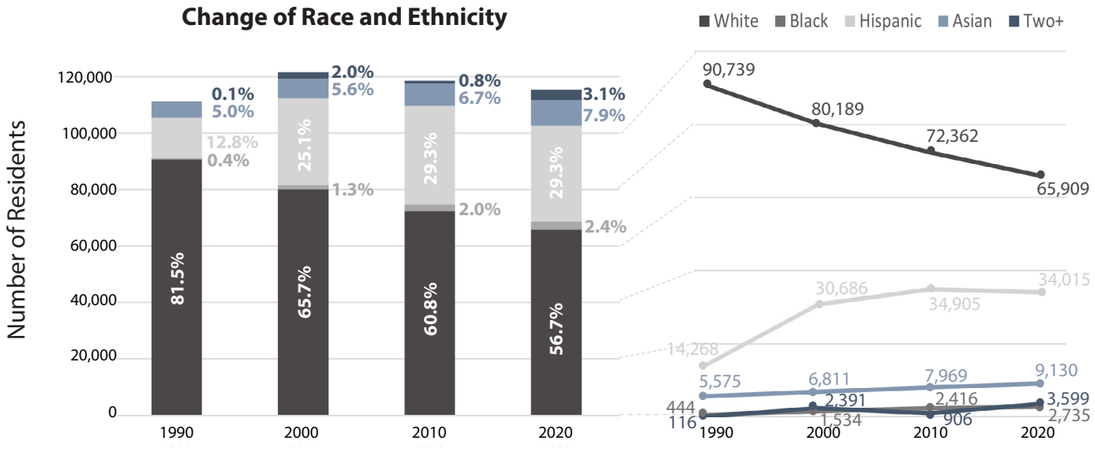


Figure 4.38

Depicts the change of race and ethnicity from 1990 to 2020 in select community areas of Chicago (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

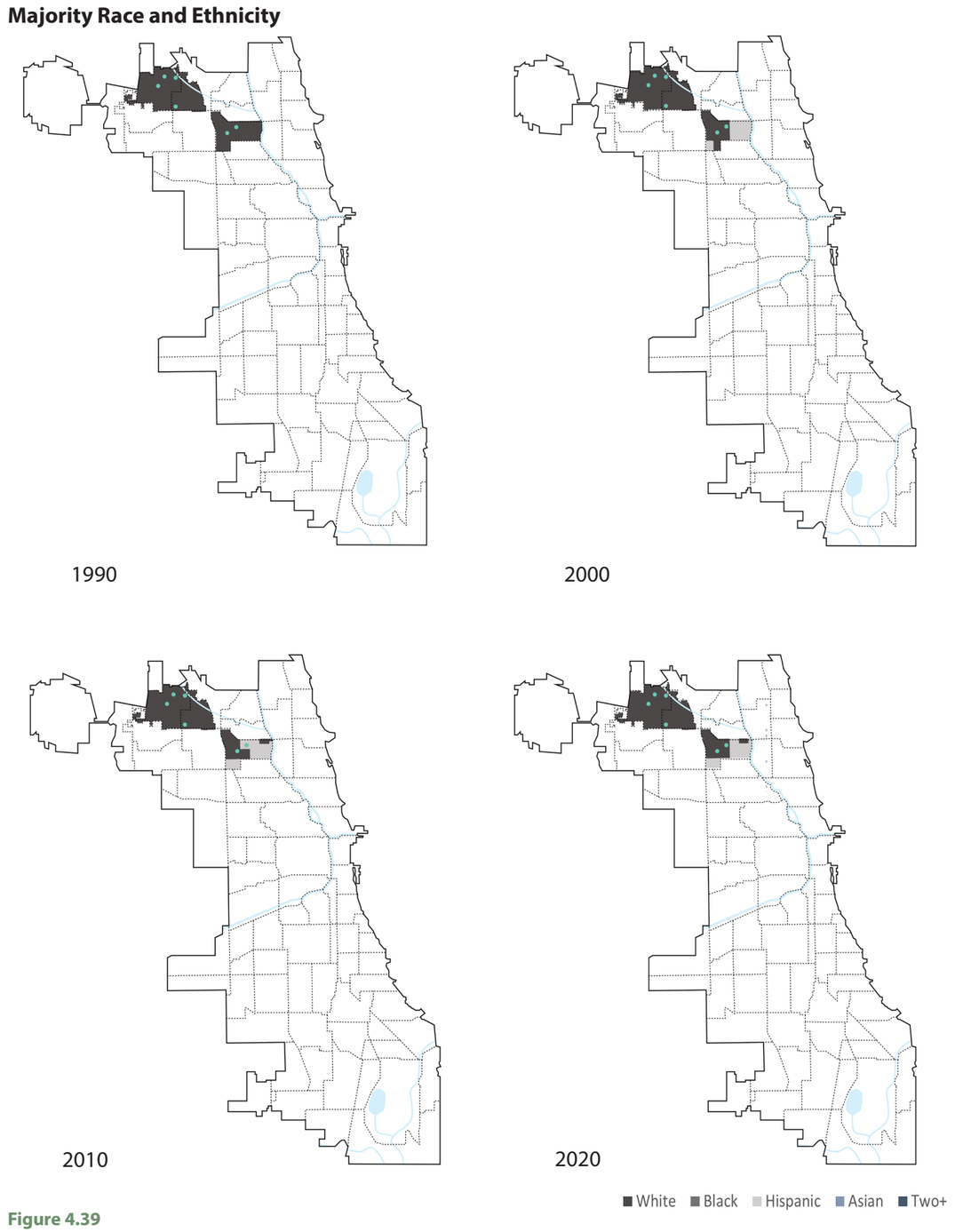


Figure 4.39

Depicts where changes of race and ethnicity occurred in Chicago's community areas from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

Age

The community areas with sites from the new religious use group have mostly middle aged adult residents 35-64 years, which is shown in Figure 4.40. These neighborhoods have the highest percentage of residents aged 35-64 and 65+ years old and the lowest percentage of young adult residents 18-34 years old compared to the non-community and community use groups and the city of Chicago. Children under 18 decreased more moderately over the thirty years in these neighborhoods than for the other groups and the city of Chicago. Therefore, the adaptive reuse of religious facilities by new religious groups are typically found in Chicago community areas with more older residents. These neighborhoods are more appealing for adults above middle ages and families than the other new use groups too.

Figure 4.41 shows there is very little change in the age of residents in Norwood Park and Jefferson Park. There is slightly more change in Irving Park, with an increase of residents aged 18 to 34 over time. Overall, there seems to be a relationship between community areas with the new religious use group sites and little change in the age of residents in those neighborhoods. However, the skew towards residents aged 35-64 in these areas creates an opportunity for planners to think about how the adaptively reused religious facilities in these community areas can better help people of all ages live there in the future.

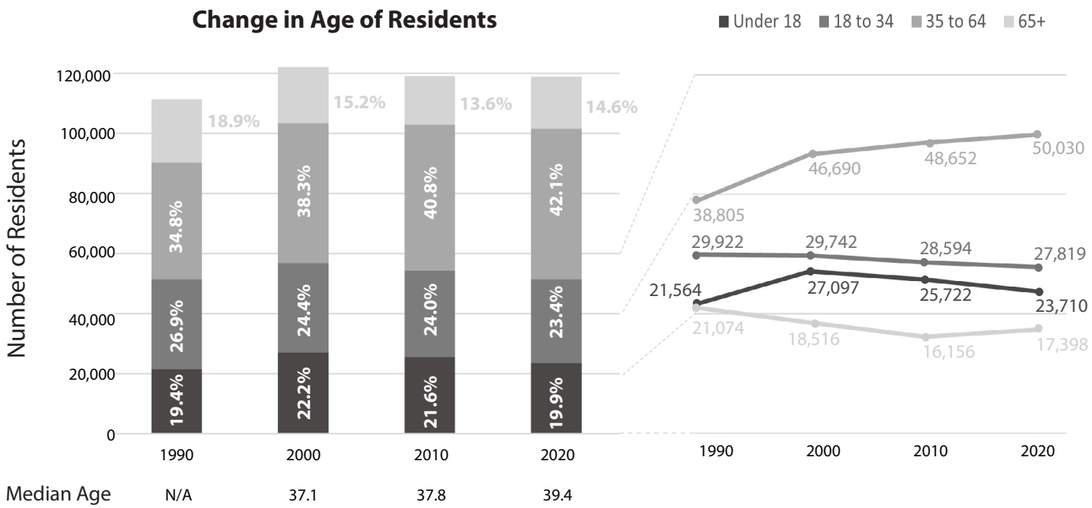


Figure 4.40

Depicts the change of race and ethnicity from 1990 to 2020 in select community areas of Chicago (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

Household Income

As shown by the graphic in Figure 4.42, the populations living in areas where religious facilities were adaptively reused by new religious groups mostly earn a household income in the $75,000-$100,000 range like the non-community and community use groups. Both the number of residents earning less than $10,000 household income and those making over $200,000 of household income are lower in these community areas than in the community areas of the other two new use groups. However, the median household income has been the highest for this group compared to the other groups from 1990 to 2020. The adaptive reuse of religious facilities to new religious uses is often found in areas of Chicago where residents have stable careers, with fewer people earning low or really high incomes compared to other parts of Chicago. Since these community areas have had the highest median income of the three groups for multiple years, affordability may be a barrier to some population groups here.

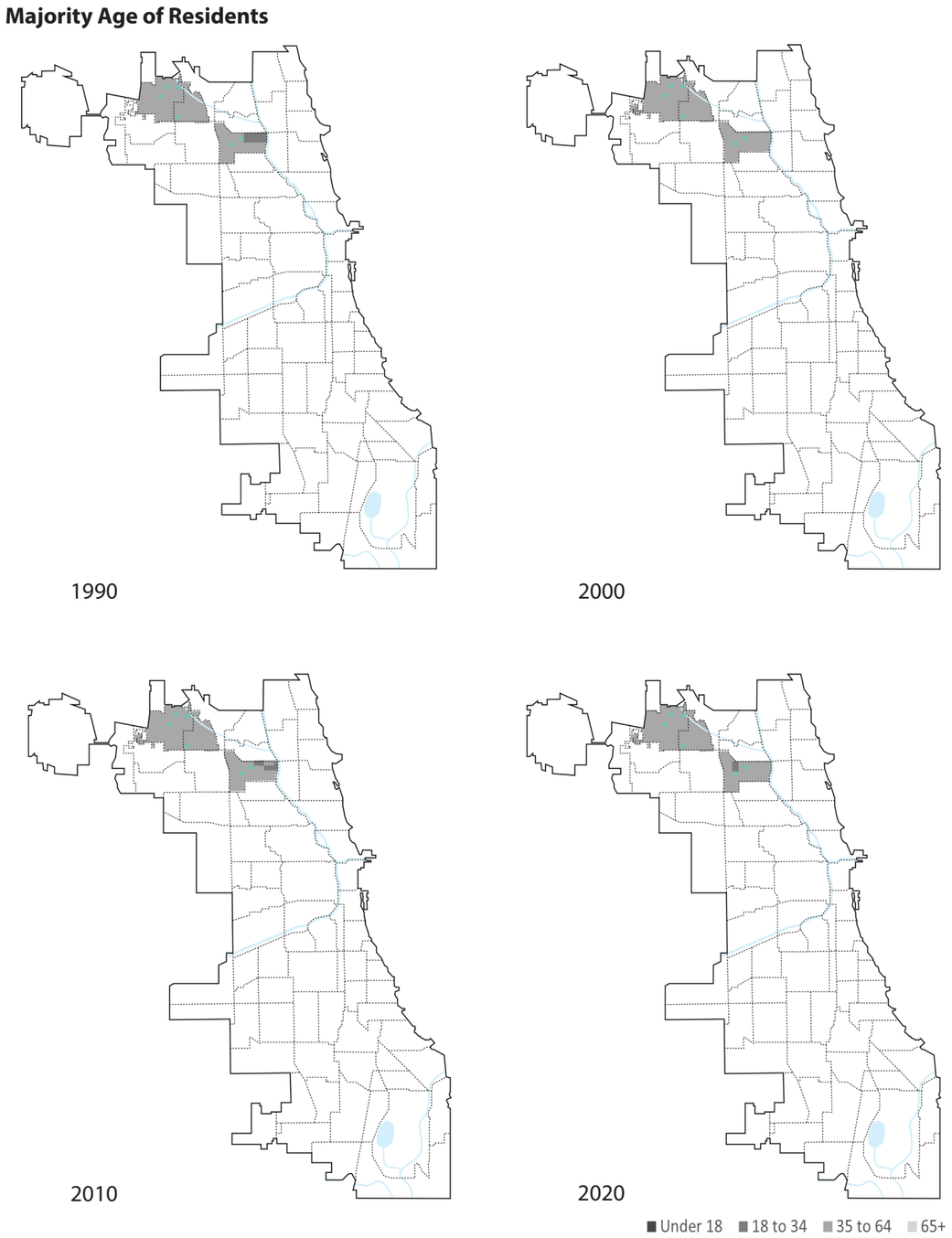


Figure 4.41

Shows where the age of residents changed in select Chicago community areas from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

Figure 4.43 shows that the household income remained pretty level from 1990 to 2020 in all three community areas. Overall, there seems to be a correlation where areas with adaptively reused religious facilities to new religious uses have little change in household income earned by the residents there. Planners can look for more opportunities to help residents of a wider range of incomes to live in these areas with future adaptive reuse of religious facilities.

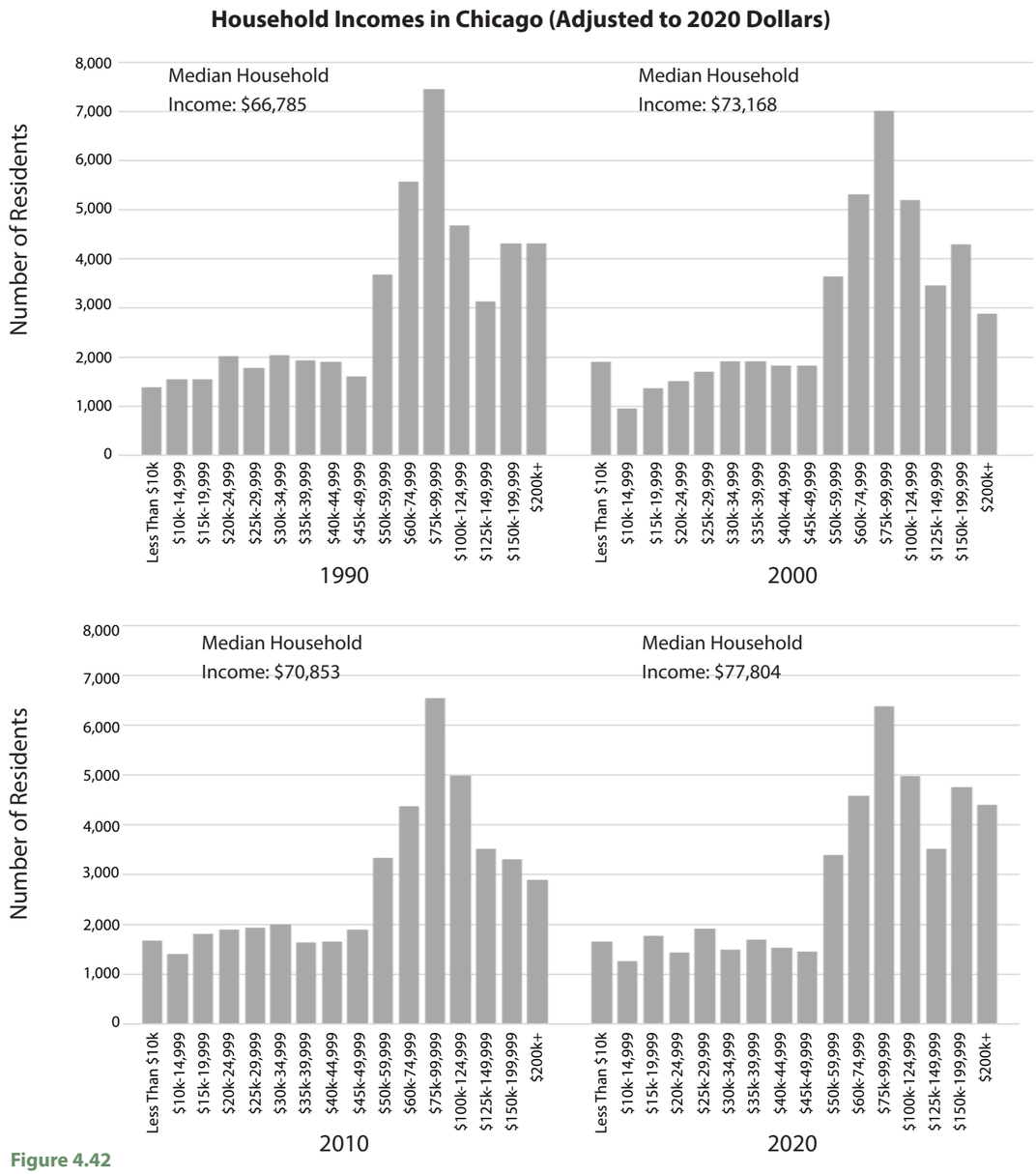


Figure 4.42
Shows the change in household income ranges that Chicago residents made from 1990 to 2020. (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

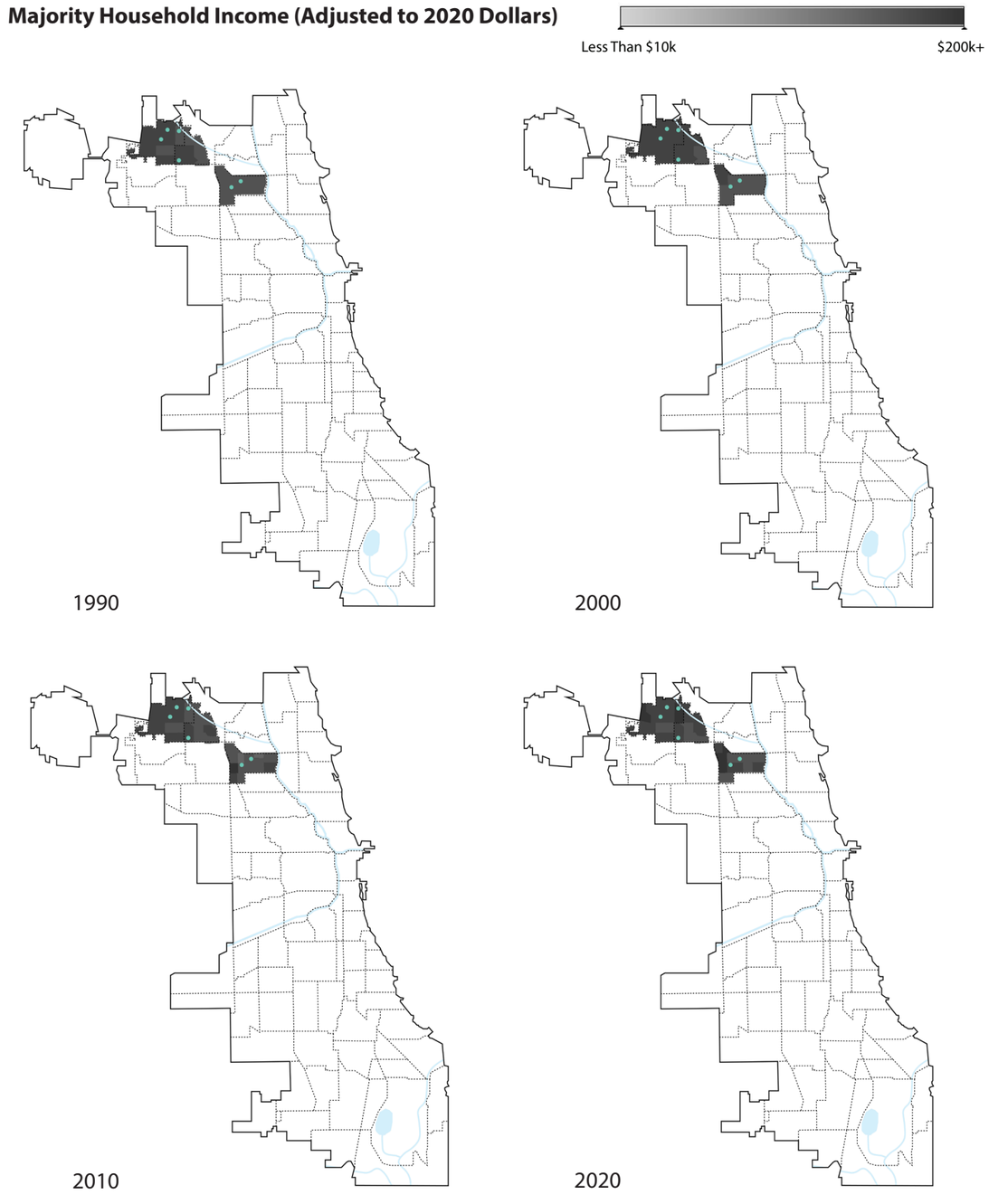


Figure 4.43
Depicts where changes of household income happened in select community areas of Chicago from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

House Values

The housing in the new religious use group community areas is mostly worth from $300,000 up to just under $500,000, which is similar to the non-community use group. The greatest change is seen from 1990 to 2000 where houses worth in that $300,000 range drastically increased as displayed in Figure 4.44. The number of houses valued in the $300,000 range and the median values have gone up and down together over the last thirty years, which is a different trend than the non-community and community new use groups. There seems to be no consistent relationship with adaptively reused religious facilities to a new religious use and change in surrounding house values.

From 1990 to 2020 the median house values for these community areas has been higher than Chicago and the community use group, but lower than the non-community use group. In Figure 4.45 the house values increased moderately across all community areas over the last 30 years. Overall, these community areas are more desirable to live in than the average Chicago neighborhood. The housing in these areas is worth above the average of the city but is more affordable with fewer houses in the very top ranges of value than the non-community use group neighborhoods.

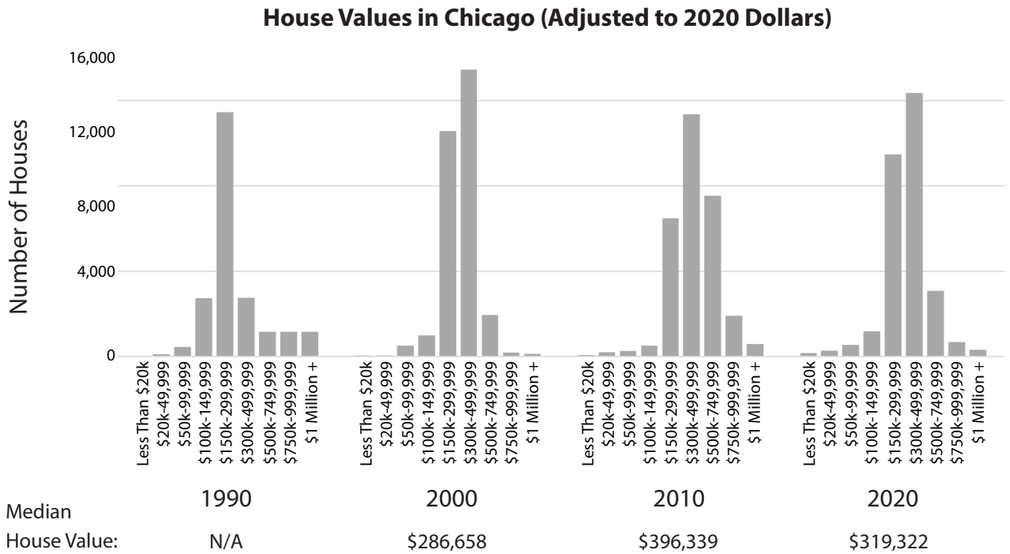


Figure 4.44

Shows the change of house values within select Chicago community areas from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

Occupancy

The community areas with sites in the new religious use group have seen an increase in its supply of housing over the last 30 years according to Figure 4.46, which is similar to the non-community and community new use groups. Houses have remained over 90 percent occupied by majority owners in these areas from 1990 to 2020, which was higher than Chicago and the other two adaptive reuse groups most of the time. Compared to the non-community and community use groups, the new religious use group is the only one with majority owner occupied housing as shown in Figure 4.47. Therefore, the adaptive reuse of religious facilities by new religious groups are typically found in Chicago community areas with more single family homes where residents typically live there longer and can better establish families with more living space than what the housing of the other new use groups may provide.

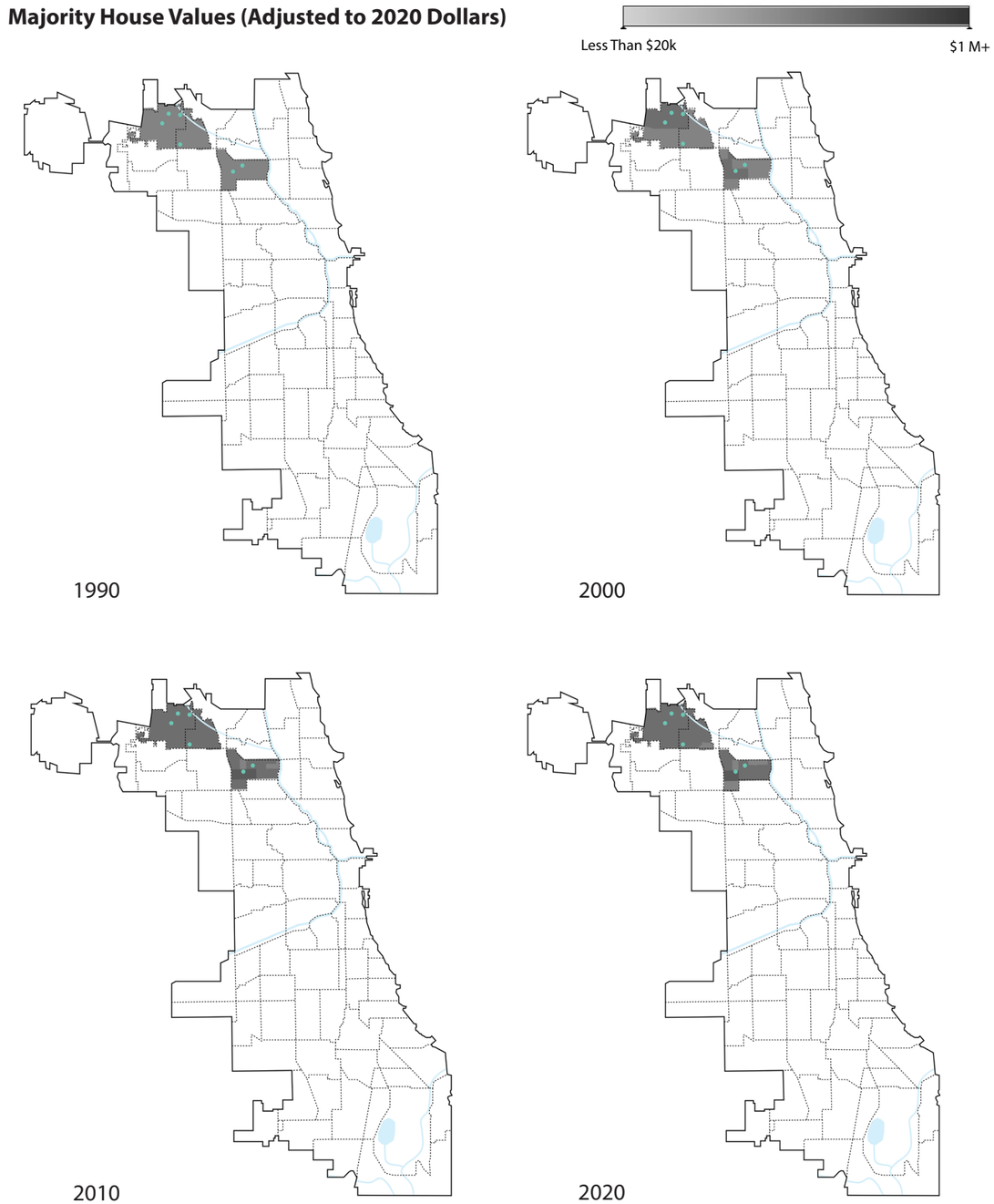


Figure 4.45

Pictures where changes of house values occurred in select Chicago community areas from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

Figure 4.48 shows that new owner-occupied housing units were created from 1990 to 2010 mostly in the Irving Park community area. However, recently more rental properties are being created than owner-occupied in Irving Park again. There are adaptively reused religious facilities from the non-community and community use groups in the Irving Park community area too that may be contributing to the changes in occupancy there. In contrast, the Norwood Park and Jefferson Park neighborhoods have remained majority owner occupied housing for all thirty years. Overall, there seems to be little change in occupancy for the community areas with adaptively reused religious facilities to a new religious use. Though the neighborhoods for the new religious use group are among the more desirable places to live in Chicago due to low vacancy rates and more moderately-high housing values, planners can consider how future adaptively reused religious facilities can help younger residents or people with lower incomes live there.

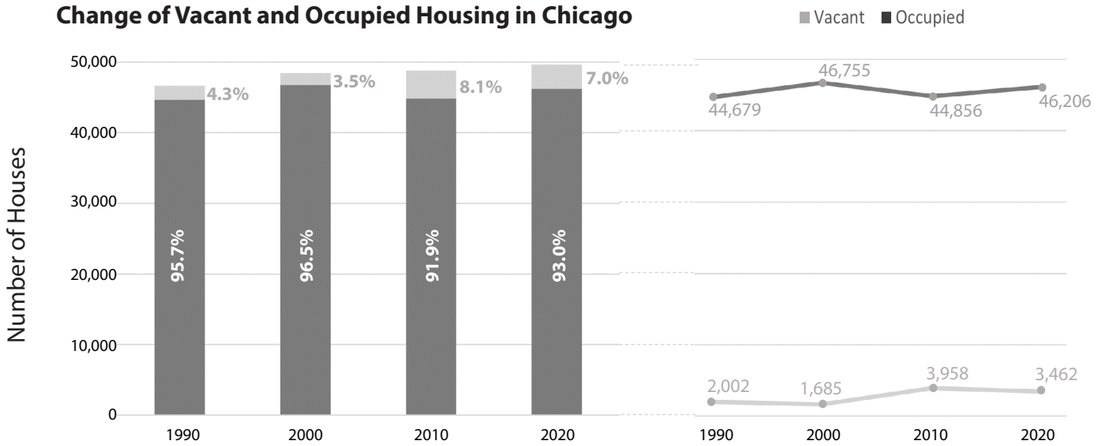


Figure 4.46

Shows the change in vacancy rates for select community areas of Chicago from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

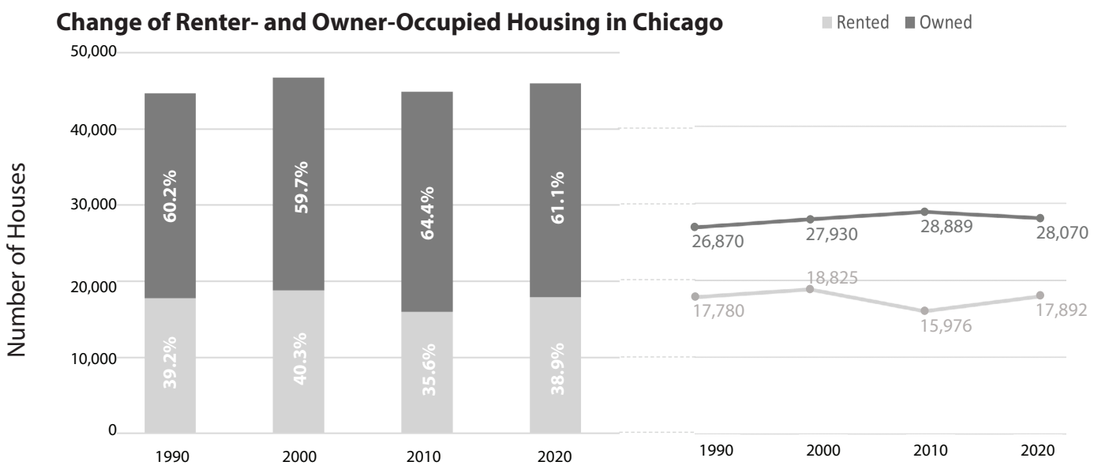


Figure 4.47

Illustrates how renter- and owner-occupied housing has changed in select Chicago neighborhoods from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

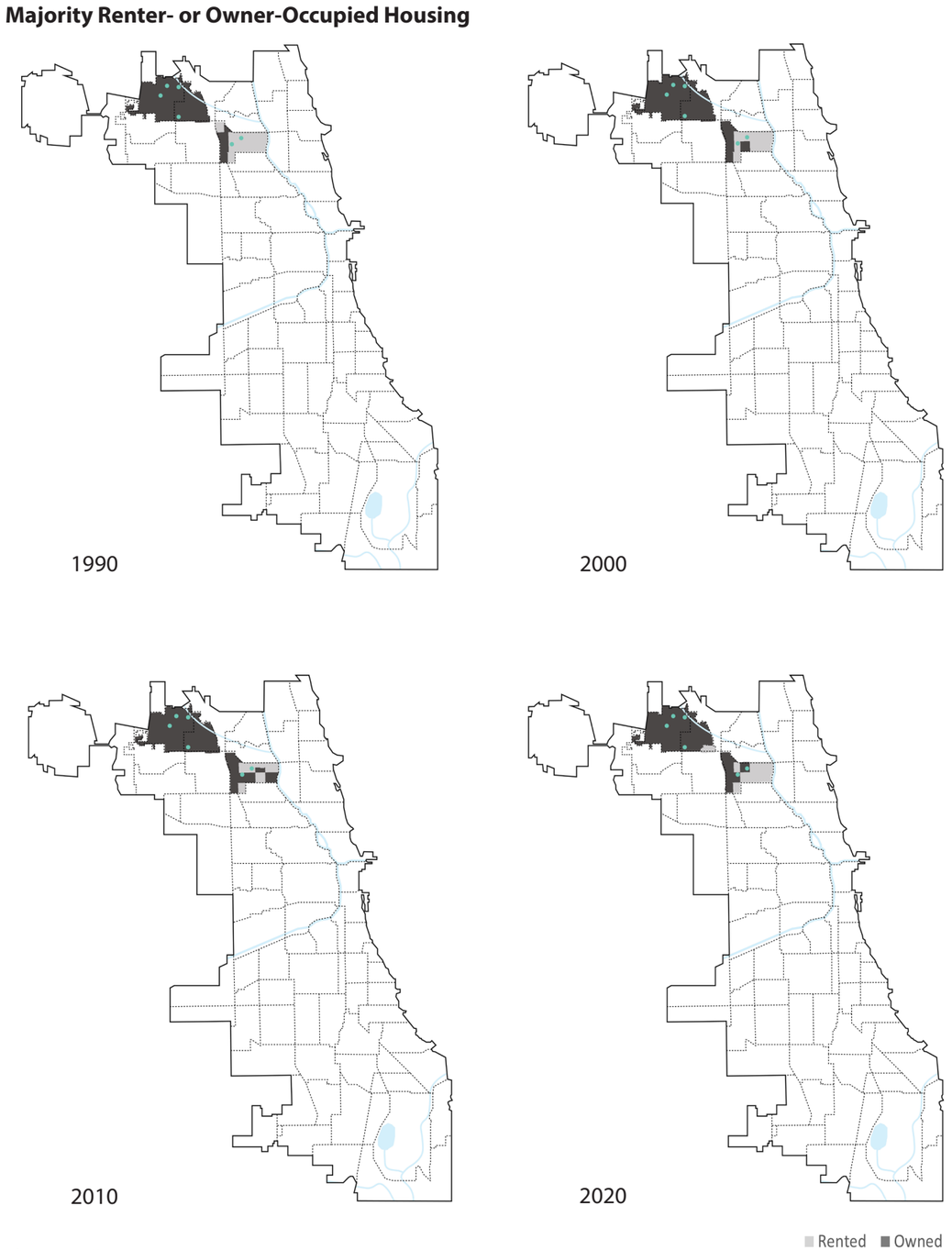


Figure 4.48

Pictures where changes of rental and owner-occupied housing occurred in Chicago's community areas from 1990 to 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau and Social Explorer, 2020)

Conclusion

The religious facilities that were adaptively reused for new religious purposes appear to be correlated with areas that had little socioeconomic changes over time. These community areas were consistently the least diverse of the new use groups and the average of Chicago from 1990 to 2020, with fewer minority residents, more middle aged and older adults, and more residents owning their houses than renting. Similar to the community use group, the community capitals likely did not change as much in these areas over the last 30 years. With fewer minority residents, the opportunities for social capital to develop between groups with different backgrounds and for cultural capital could be low in these neighborhoods. More opportunities for these two community capitals in the future might help create stronger community networks and have more inclusion there.

Summary of Social and Economic Character for Each New Use Group

The previous sections provided detailed narrative of the socioeconomic changes over 30 years for the three new use groups. This part provides a simpler recap and side by side comparison of those findings.

Non-Religious & Non-Community Group

As seen in Table 4.2, the non-community use group had the highest percentage of residents aged 18-34 years old and the lowest percentages of all other age ranges. This group also had the highest median housing values and the highest percentage of renter-occupied housing. Overall, the communities of the non-religious and non-community use group can be described as mostly young urban professionals who earn higher than average incomes in Chicago, live in higher-end rental units, do not have children, and are not as diverse as most of the city. The social and economic characteristics of this group has changed a lot over the last 30 years and it is expected that the community capitals have changed similarly at the same time. Opportunities for social and cultural capital may be low in these community areas because the residents are less diverse there.

Non-Religious & Community Group

Table 4.2 shows that the community use group had the most diversity and the highest percentage of children under 18 years old. These community areas also had the lowest median income and housing values, and the lowest occupancy rates. The social and economic characteristics for this group was nearly the same as those of all of Chicago. Therefore, the communities of the non-religious, community group can be described as mostly diverse families that earn low to average wages and live in more modest rental units within less desired neighborhoods of Chicago. The social and economic characteristics of this group changed moderately over the last 30 years, so the community capitals likely remained similar in these areas over the same period of time. Opportunities for social and cultural capital may be high and human capital may be low because there is high diversity of residents but low household incomes and housing values in these community areas.

New Religious Use Group

As seen in Table 4.2, the new religious use group had the highest percentages of residents aged 35-64 and over 65 years old, but the lowest percentage of residents aged 18-34 years old. This group also had the lowest diversity, highest median household income, highest occupancy rates, and highest percentage of owner-occupied housing. Thus, the communities of the new religious use group can be described as mostly White, middle aged to older professionals who have established careers with much higher than average incomes in Chicago and who live in houses that they own with or without any children. The social and economic characteristics of this group changed moderately over the last 30 years, so the community capitals likely stayed fairly consistent in these areas over the same period of time. Opportunities for social and cultural capital may be low in these community areas due to the little diversity of residents in these neighborhoods.

Side by Side Comparison of Social and Economic Characteristics for Each New Use Group

As of 2020	Non-Community	Community	New Religious Use
Race			
Most Diverse		■	
Least Diverse			■
Age			
Highest % of Under 18		■	
Lowest % of Under 18	■		
Highest % of 18-34	■		
Lowest % of 18-34			■
Highest % of 35-64			■
Lowest % of 35-64	■		
Highest % of 65+			■
Lowest % of 65+	■		
Household Income			
Highest Median Income			■
Lowest Median Income		■	
House Values			
Highest Median Value	■		
Lowest Median Value		■	
Occupancy			
Highest Occupancy Rates			■
Lowest Occupancy Rates		■	
Highest % of Owner-Occupied			■
Lowest % of Owner-Occupied	■		
Highest % of Renter-Occupied	■		
Lowest % of Renter-Occupied			■

Legend: ■ Yes; No

Table 4.2
Highlights the most recent social and economic characteristics of the three new use groups

So far the background compared social and economic character for similarities among adaptively reused religious facilities within their groups. The next part of this research uses findings from the literature review and background information to look for similarities across the three new use groups. All outcomes of the comparison process are provided in the following section of this chapter. The three most similar sites (one site from each new use group) for every category of comparison are also identified in the next section of this chapter. Lastly, the three sites most similar for all categories of comparison collectively are used as case locations for the descriptive, multiple case study in the subsequent chapters.

Most Similar Adaptively Reused Religious Facilities Across the Three New Use Groups

Comparison of Demographics, Building Character, and Location Character

As discussed in the literature review previously, the results of Simons and Choi (2010) and Simons, DeWine, and Ledebur (2017), both of which studied what factors influence the decision of new land uses for former religious facilities, show that demographics, building character, and location character are important to how religious facilities become reused after they are vacated. Therefore, the previous socioeconomic information plus data for building character (year built, square feet, number of stories, building material, and building design features) and location character (distance to the nearest park, airport, body of water, and highway) as defined by the two aforementioned studies were collected for the 62 sites and compared. The three final selected case location sites, one from each new use group, were the most similar in all three categories (demographics, building character, and location character).

Most Similar by Demographics

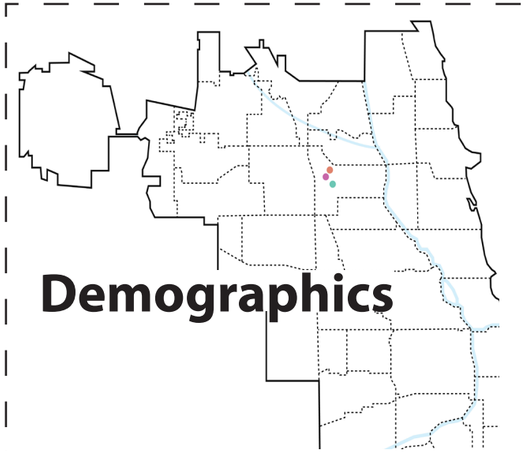
Irving Park was the only community area with all three types of new uses. Therefore, the non-community group site at 4154 West Berteau Avenue, the community group site at 4240 West Irving Park Road, and the new religious use site at 3801 North Keeler Avenue were considered the most similar demographically based on their shared community area.

Most Similar by Building Character

The three adaptively reused religious facilities considered most similar in building character were the non-community group site at 2900 West Shakespeare Avenue, the community group site at 6950 South Stewart Avenue, and the new religious use site at 3801 North Keeler Avenue. These three were the only combination of sites from each new use group that were within 25% of each other by square feet, had the same number of floors, and contained many of the same building design elements such as a gabled roof, brick masonry, battlements, and limestone capping.

Most Similar by Location Character

For the adaptively reused religious facilities most similar in location character, they include the non-community group site at 2900 West Logan Boulevard, the community group site at 8401 South Saginaw Avenue, and the new religious use



Non-Community

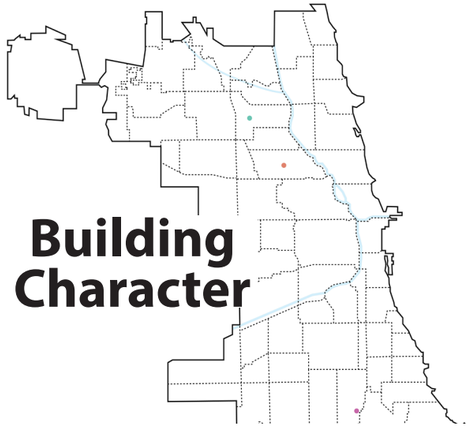
Community Area: Irving Park
Majority Race: White & Hispanic
Majority Income: $75k-$100k
Majority Rent or Own: Slightly more residents own than rent
Majority House Values: $300k - $500k

New Religious Use

Community Area: Irving Park
Majority Race: White & Hispanic
Majority Income: $75k-$100k
Majority Rent or Own: Slightly more residents own than rent
Majority House Values: $300k - $500k

Community

Community Area: Irving Park
Majority Race: White & Hispanic
Majority Income: $75k-$100k
Majority Rent or Own: Slightly more residents own than rent
Majority House Values: $300k - $500k



Non-Community

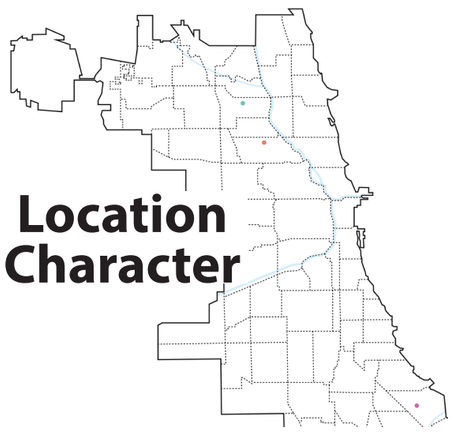
Year Built: 1908
Number of Stories: 2
Square Feet: 13,100
Exterior Building Material: Brick Masonry
Roofline: Gabled
Ornamentation: Battlement, Limestone Capping, Two Towers, Corbelling

New Religious Use

Year Built: 1908
Number of Stories: 2
Square Feet: 14,200
Exterior Building Material: Brick Masonry
Roofline: Gabled
Ornamentation: Battlement, Limestone Capping, Two Towers, Corbelling

Community

Year Built: 1907
Number of Stories: 2
Square Feet: 14,000
Exterior Building Material: Brick Masonry
Roofline: Gabled
Ornamentation: Battlement, Limestone Capping, Two Towers



Non-Community

Distance to Nearest Park: 0.30 miles
Distance to Nearest Body of Water: 0.71 miles
Distance to Nearest Highway: 0.28 miles
Distance to Nearest Airport: 9.95 miles

New Religious Use

Distance to Nearest Park: 0.22 miles
Distance to Nearest Body of Water: 1.17 miles
Distance to Nearest Highway: 0.10 miles
Distance to Nearest Airport: 9.65 miles

Community

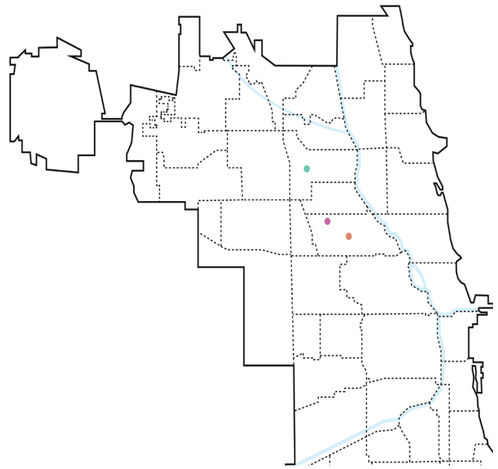
Distance to Nearest Park: 0.18 miles
Distance to Nearest Body of Water: 1.05 miles
Distance to Nearest Highway: 0.54 miles
Distance to Nearest Airport: 9.90 miles

site at 3617 West Belle Plaine Avenue. These three locations were the only combination of sites from each new use group that were within 1/2 mile difference of each other for every distance recorded.

Most Similar for All Three (Demographics, Building Character, and Location Character)

No combination of adaptively reused religious facilities met all the parameters for demographics, building character (building square feet within 25% of each other, same number of floors, etc.), and location character (no more than 1/2 mile difference in distances measured) together. Therefore, the criteria was expanded for the location character measured distances to a difference of more than 1/2 mile. The building square feet also increased so the three sites could be more than 25% apart in square feet. The most similar sites from each new use group for all three comparison categories with the expanded criteria turned out to be the same combination for most similar building character. However, the site at 6950 South Stewart Avenue is not yet completed. In order to measure opportunities of community capitals provided by all three adaptively reused religious facilities in the descriptive multiple case study, all sites need to be complete. Therefore, the next most similar community group site to the non-community group site at 2900 West Shakespeare Avenue and the new religious use site at 3801 North Keeler Avenue was chosen. This new combination of sites was still considered more similar than all other combinations of adaptively reused religious facilities from the three new use groups.

These three most similar sites overall are the non-community group site at 2900 West Shakespeare Avenue, the community group site at 3324 West Wrightwood Avenue, and the new religious use group site at 3801 North Keeler Avenue. These three sites are used as the case locations for the multiple case study conducted in the next chapters of this report.



	Non-Community	New Religious Use	Community
	 2900 W Shakespeare Ave	 3801 N Keeler Ave	 3324 W Wrightwood Ave
Demographics	**Community Area:** Logan Square **Majority Race:** White **Majority Income:** $75k-$100k **Majority Rent or Own:** More residents rent than own **Majority House Values:** $300k - $500k	**Community Area:** Irving Park **Majority Race:** White & Hispanic **Majority Income:** $75k-$100k **Majority Rent or Own:** Slightly more residents own than rent **Majority House Values:** $300k - $500k	**Community Area:** Logan Square **Majority Race:** White **Majority Income:** $75k-$100k **Majority Rent or Own:** More residents rent than own **Majority House Values:** $300k - $500k
Building Character	**Year Built:** 1908 **Number of Stories:** 2 **Square Feet:** 13,100 **Exterior Building Material:** Brick Masonry **Roofline:** Gabled **Ornamentation:** Battlement, Limestone Capping, Two Towers, Corbelling	**Year Built:** 1908 **Number of Stories:** 2 **Square Feet:** 14,200 **Exterior Building Material:** Brick Masonry **Roofline:** Gabled **Ornamentation:** Battlement, Limestone Capping, Two Towers, Corbelling	**Year Built:** 1907 **Number of Stories:** 2 **Square Feet:** 10,500 **Exterior Building Material:** Brick Masonry **Roofline:** Gabled **Ornamentation:** Battlement, Limestone Capping, Two Towers, Corbelling
Location Character	**Distance to Nearest Park:** 0.30 miles **Distance to Nearest Body of Water:** 0.71 miles **Distance to Nearest Highway:** 0.28 miles **Distance to Nearest Airport:** 9.95 miles	**Distance to Nearest Park:** 0.10 miles **Distance to Nearest Body of Water:** 1.78 miles **Distance to Nearest Highway:** 0.18 miles **Distance to Nearest Airport:** 9.05 miles	**Distance to Nearest Park:** 0.05 miles **Distance to Nearest Body of Water:** 1.25 miles **Distance to Nearest Highway:** 0.73 miles **Distance to Nearest Airport:** 9.80 miles

2900 W. Shakespeare Ave., Chicago, IL

CHAPTER FIVE
CASE STUDY ONE

Non-Religious & Non-Community New Use Case Location

Purpose

The first case location focused on in this chapter is the non-religious, non-community new use site selected from the combination of overall most similar sites from all three new use groups. This section lays out the opportunities for cultural, social, human, and built capitals present at the site itself and in its surrounding neighborhood up to a 1/2 mile in radius. These details will provide better insight into what a former religious facility that has been adaptively reused into a non-religious, non-community new use would offer to strengthen its community through community capitals.

History of the Site

This first case site is located at 2900 West Shakespeare Avenue in the Logan Square neighborhood of Chicago, as shown in Figure 5.1. It is a 13,000 square feet, two-story brick masonry building located in the heart of the Logan Square community area. This religious facility was built in 1908 by the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Saron Church. In 1979, the church disbanded, leaving the Greater Garfield Park Missionary Baptist Church to eventually move in. By 2015, Garfield Park Missionary Baptist Church also moved out of the facility and sold it within a year. Today the site is used as Multifamily Residential with 10 condos. These condos are called "Sanctuary on the Square" and are selling between $500,000 and $600,000 recently.

Figure 5.1
Maps where 2900 W. Shakespeare Ave. is located within Chicago and its community area.

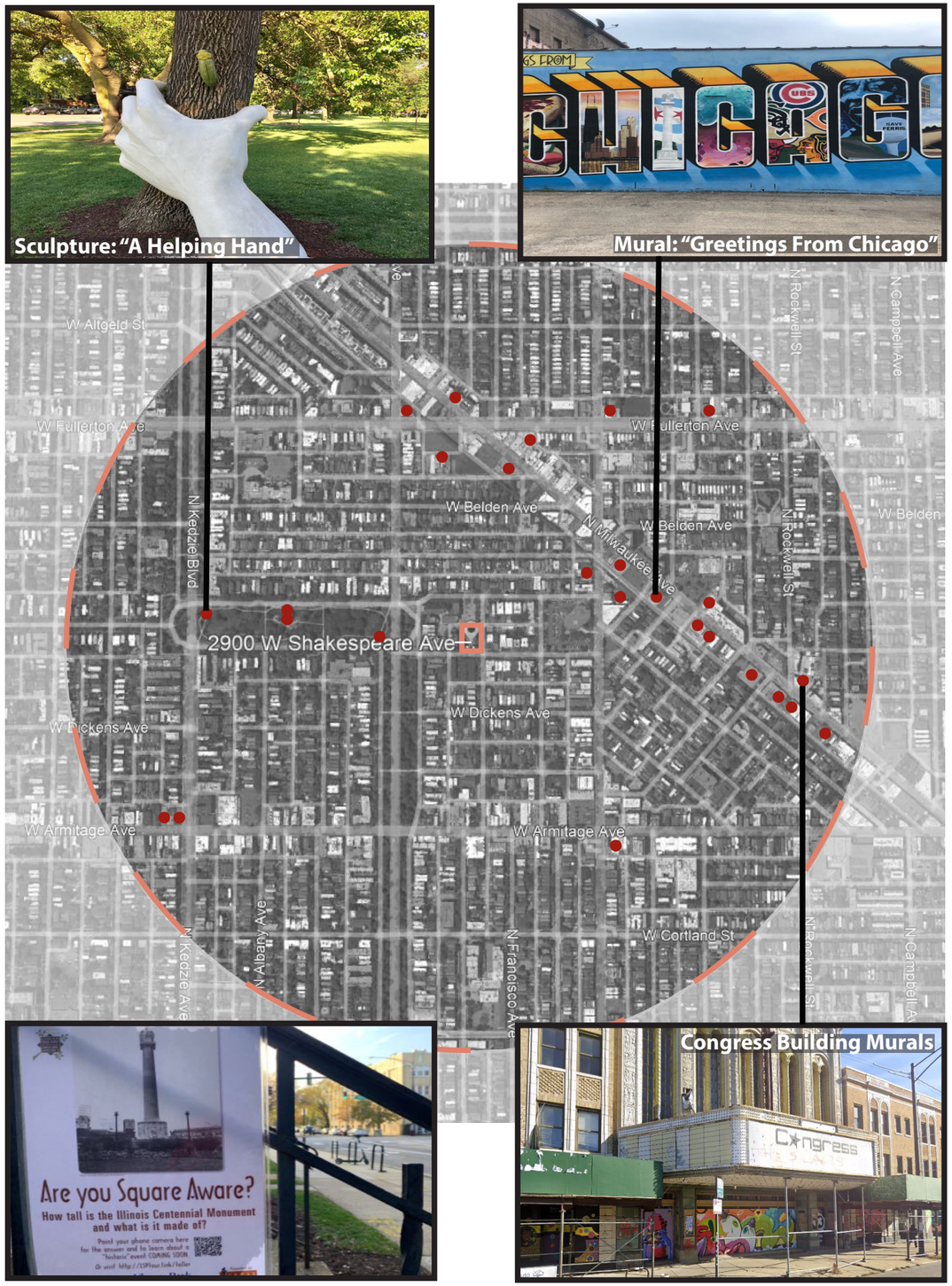


Figure 5.2
Locates the local art within the case study area (marked by red dots) that create opportunities for cultural capital.

Opportunities for Cultural Capital

Cultural Capital is defined by Flora, et. al., (2015) as group assumptions about how the world works and the explanations of why. It is most often seen as values and symbols of a collective community reflected in clothing, music, machines, art, language, knowledge, and behavior (Flora, et. al., 2015). To look at the opportunities for cultural capital present at 2900 West Shakespeare Avenue and in its surrounding community, the following were measured: art (murals, sculptures, etc.), signs, and symbols displayed in the area.

Cultural Capital Opportunities on Site

The building at 2900 West Shakespeare Avenue and in the center of Figure 5.2 does not present any opportunities for cultural capital today. This site building consists of ten condos that have separate entrances and no community room or shared space that can hang flyers and posters for the community. There are no signs welcoming their residents to the building or identifying as a part of the greater Logan Square area. Also there are no sculptures or other art work from the community displayed on the property. Overall, the building is very private in use and lacks any efforts to express shared ideas and events of the area or even acknowledge its larger neighborhood.

Existing Art in the Study Area

On the other hand, there are many opportunities for cultural capital expressed in art forms throughout the study area. The locations of these opportunities are represented by red dots in Figure 5.2. One main form of cultural capital that is present in this part of Logan Square is murals. There are over 50 murals located in the whole Logan Square community area. This study area alone contains 23 murals created by local artists in the area. Some of the more recognized murals among these 23 include the iconic "Greetings from Chicago", "Quincy Jones", and now the recent individual murals on all boarded windows wrapping the vacant Congress Building. These murals are expressing a variety of ideas that the commuity shares, from pride in the landmarks and teams that are in Chicago to pop culture that is relevant to the city.

Palmer Square Park located east of 2900 West Shakespeare Avenue also provides several sculptures that add to the area's cultural capital. For instance, the sculpture found at the far west edge of the park is a large hand wrapped around the base of a tree. The title of the sculpture is "A Helping Hand" which speaks to the values that Logan Square embodies in helping each other as a community.

Signs and Symbols in the Study Area

Lastly, there are multiple signs that are posted all over the study area that help build cultural capital. First, there is the sign asking "Are You Square Aware?". The signs are posted everywhere in the study area, from fence posts and telephone poles to business fronts. They all contain QR codes encouraging residents to walk around more of their neighborhood, including Palmer Square Park, to find historic sites and get to know the history of the area. This effort is trying to develop appreciation among the community for its historic character. There are also advertising signs found along the busier roads in the study area that are written in multiple languages, including Spanish, English, and Polish. These signs communicate to the greater community what groups of people are present, welcome, and accepted in the area.

Overall, the adaptively reused religious facility does not provide opportunities for cultural capital as a non-community use. There are no pieces of art on the property and no signs such as "Are you Square Aware" displayed for the community on the fence like other properties do. In this case though the surrounding neighborhood still offers many opportunities through its local art and signs to express cultural beliefs and ideas of the community.

Figure 5.3
Maps the places within the case study area that allow groups to gather (shown as red dots) as opportunities for social capital.

Opportunities for Social Capital

Social Capital is defined by Flora, et. al., (2015) as the relationships and networks developed and utilized among social groups. There are two types of social capital identified in Flora, et. al., (2015):

1. Bridging social capital - connecting diverse groups together
2. Bonding social capital - connections between individuals or groups with similar backgrounds

Social capital is most often seen in areas where groups can gather. To look at the opportunities for social capital present at 2900 West Shakespeare Avenue and in its surrounding community, the following types of places were identified: parks, active religious facilities, rentable even spaces, schools, exercise gyms, breweries or bars, coffee shops, large outdoor spaces, libraries, and more.

Social Capital Opportunities on Site

2900 West Shakespeare Avenue does not offer any opportunities for bridging or bonding social capital. This site building is designed with no community room, clubhouse, or other shared space for the residents to meet in. The yard is sectioned off by privacy fencing between units too, so the residents do not share a greenspace outside. Also the balconies are only attached to the individual units and do not connect or allow access to the space from any other unit. These condos ultimately do not encourage interaction between residents.

Social Capital Opportunities in the Surrounding Community

The community exhibits multiple places that foster both bridging and bonding social capital, as shown by the red dots in Figure 5.3. One of the more abundant types of spaces found in the study area that helps with bridging social capital is breweries or bars. There are 19 bars and breweries located throughout the study area that many groups in the community can go to and mingle. A handful of exercise gyms in the study area also enhance bridging social capital in the community by offering workout classes and spaces open for all residents to use towards reaching their fitness goals. The exercise gyms that encourage partnering with workout buddies or group support during workouts especially create opportunities to connect with strangers. Schools are another place that helps many social groups come together. The six schools in this study area place children from all over the community in classes together and offer other chances to interact with a new mix of social groups in extracurricular activities like sports and band. On the weekends an open playground, basketball court, or field at these schools continue to bring diverse residents together for pick up games or playing on the playground. One last place that helps with bridging social capital within the study area is the local library. The library often attracts residents of all ages and backgrounds together for activities like book clubs or childrens programs.

Just like bridging social capital, there are several opportunities for bonding social capital in the community. All of the coffee shops in the study area for example are good spaces to bond one on one with close friends and peers. Finally, active places of worship and event spaces provide opportunities for bonding social capital. In both spaces a smaller group or individuals can limit who they interact with by reserving rooms to close off from other groups. Many times these spaces are also flexible to be used for larger events with multiple groups attending, thus promoting chances for bridging social capital as well. Multiple community organizations in Logan Square also add to both kinds of social capital with their meetings and social events open to everyone in the area.

Conclusion

Overall, the adaptively reused religious facility as a non-community use in this case does not provide opportunities for social capital. There are no places in the design of the building for residents to share or come together. However, the surrounding neighborhood still offers many opportunities for bonding and bridging social capital through its breweries, fitness classes, churches, parks, local library, and more.

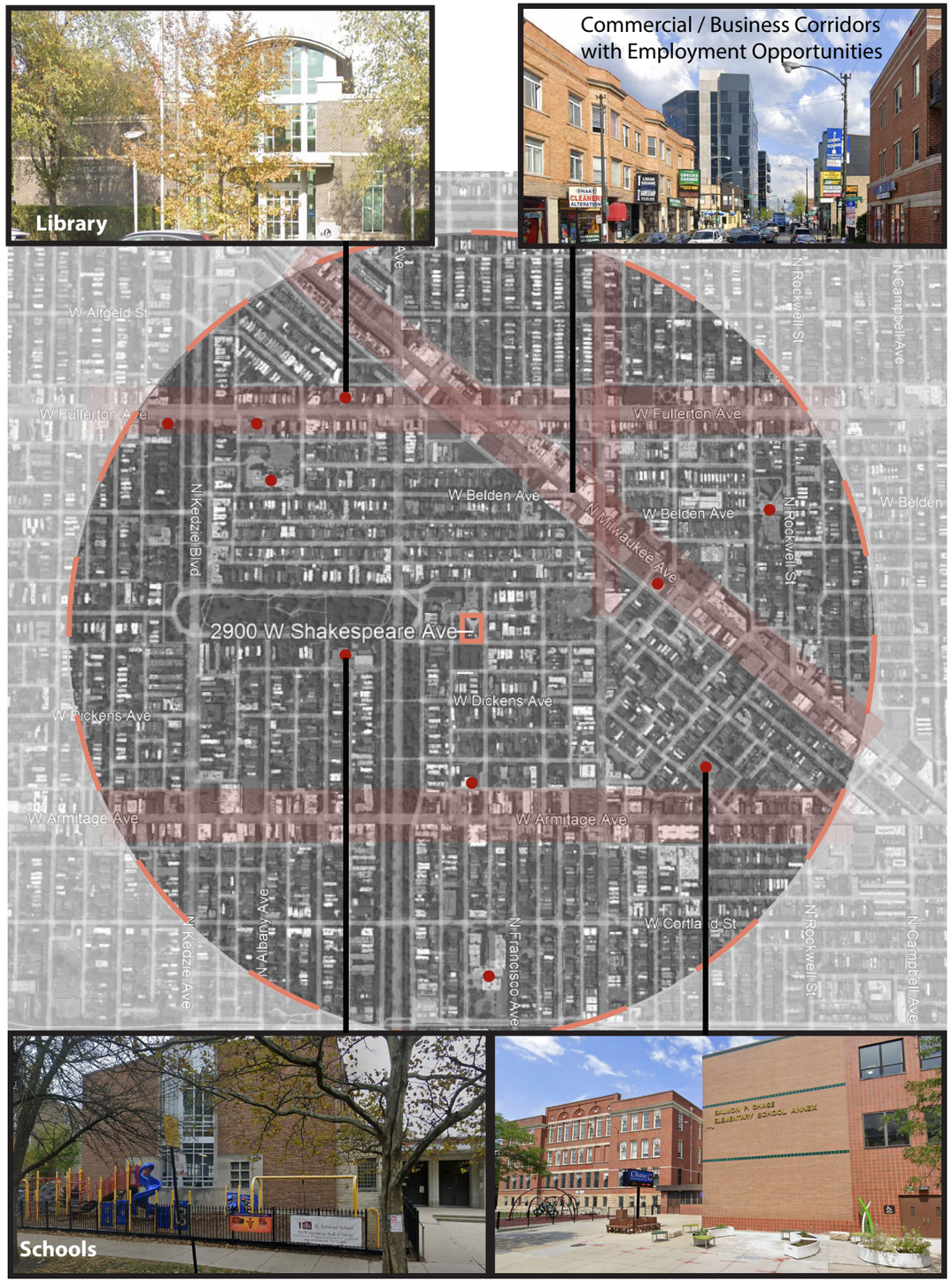


Figure 5.4
Maps the places that provide education and promotes skill building in the community.

Opportunities for Human Capital

According to Flora, et. al., (2015) Human Capital is the total assets each person possesses: health, formal education, skills, knowledge, leadership, and potential. Education plays a major part in the skill and health of communities. To measure opportunities for human capital present at 2900 West Shakespeare Avenue and in its surrounding community, the following types of places were mapped: schools, adult education programs, daycare facilities, places with employment opportunities, and more.

Human Capital Opportunities on Site

The building at 2900 West Shakespeare Avenue does not offer any opportunities for human capital. There are no educational or skill building programs offered in this adaptively reused religious facility. No daycare services are provided on site to the residents or the community either. Lastly, the site buidling does not offer amenities, such as a pool or club house, or have a front desk that would create a few management or customer service type job positions for residents of the community.

Human Capital Opportunities in the Surrounding Community

The most human capital opportunities for this case study area come from the schools. Four public and three private schools provide education and skill development services to the children of Logan Square. There are several places that build human capital for children, but not as much for adults. No colleges, technical schools, or other adult education programs were found within the 1/2 mile radius from the site. There may be adult classes like English as a Second Language provided by some of the active churches in the area that were not well advertised. The Chicago Public Library, Logan Square Branch regularly provides group classes for all ages of residents to learn about various topics and try new skills. Finally, the highlighted sections in Figure 5.4 are commercial corridors. These heavily trafficked streets are lined by businesses that provide employment opportunities to the community. Many of the businesses along the highlighted streets are smaller and only have the means to hire a few staff members. Most of these businesses also consist of more part-time positions with lower wages like baristas, bar tenders, fast food workers, or servers at restaurants. There are some smaller medical related businesses like dentists and eye doctors that provide higher level employment along these busier streets too.

Conclusion

Overall, the adaptively reused religious facility at 2900 West Shakespeare Avenue does not provide any opportunities for human capital, but the surrounding community does. Particularly, there are multiple public and private schools that foster human capital among children in the area. Not as many places promote education and skill building for adults though. The jobs available in the study area also limit adults in human capital development since most are smaller businesses with few staff or more part-time work with lower wages. Most of the employment opportunities in this case study area may not advance residents much in a career, but there are several businesses here for residents to earn money and develop work skills that are essential to human capital.

Built Capital Opportunities in Study Area

Figure 5.5
Maps the vacant lots, infrastructure improvements, and other renovation projects in the area.

Opportunities for Built Capital

Built Capital is considerd by Flora, et. al., (2015) to be any man-made structure and utilities that are part of the built environment. In this case the opportunities for built capital include vacant lots providing potential to develop in the future, infrastructure projects, and other property renovations that improve the built environment.

Built Capital Opportunities on Site

The site building has been a part of the built capital for over 100 years now. The recent adaptive reuse project helped improve the built capital of the area by upgrading materials and systems, repairing any damages to the building, and preserving its ornate design details. There were also changes to the infrastructure servicing the building since the building added more units and residents.

Built Capital Opportunities in the Community

There are not many vacant lots in the community area that create chances for development in the future. Only four lots are undeveloped within the ring and they are currently used for gravel parking or a large yard.

Infrastructure improvements are seen along a few roads in the study area. One of the higlighted roads on the map to the left has been torn up to replace the pipes beneath it and then repaved. Along both higlighted streets there are newer protected bike lanes. Lastly, the most improvements to built capital in this area since the site adaptive reuse was completed are renovations to the exteriors of homes and demolition and new construction of slightly more dense housing. Almost every street in the study area has newly constructed homes or homes with new modern facades mixed with buildings that have their original designs.

Conclusion

Overall, the site and surrounding community have made improvements to the built capital by upgrading and creating new housing units. New road and bike infrastructure have also created more built capital for the area. Opportunities for increasing built capital with new development on vacant lots is very limited here though. Existing buildings will need to be demolished or expanded on for new built capital opportunities.

3324 W. Wrightwood Ave., Chicago, IL

CHAPTER SIX
CASE STUDY TWO

Non-Religious & Community New Use Case Location

Purpose

The second case location of focus in this chapter is the non-religious, community new use site selected as part of the three most similar sites across all three new use groups. This section lays out the opportunities for cultural, social, human, and built capitals present at the site itself and in its surrounding neighborhood up to a 1/2 mile in radius exactly like the first case study.

History of the Site

This second case study location is at 3324 West Wrightwood Avenue. As shown in Figure 6.1, this site is in the Logan Square neighborhood of Chicago like the first case study location. It is a 10,500 square feet, two-story brick masonry building. This religious facility was built in 1907 and originally used by the St. Matthew Evangelical Church. By 2015 the facility became vacant and after one year of sitting vacant the former religious facility was bought by Aloft Circus Arts Studio. Today the site is used as an indoor participant recreation facility that offeres circus performance classes regularly to children and adults in the community.

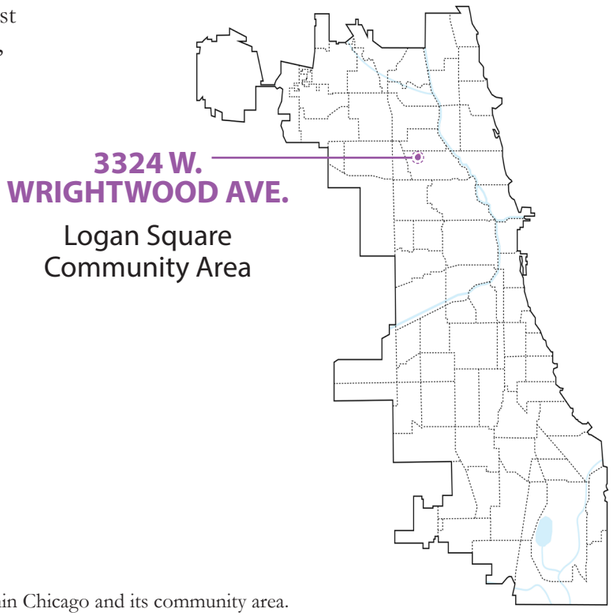


Figure 6.1
Shows where 3324 W. Wrightwood Ave. is located within Chicago and its community area.

Figure 6.2
Shows the local art marked as purple dots within the study area as opportunities for cultural capital.

Opportunities for Cultural Capital

The same process for measuring opportunities for cultural capital were used for this case study as the first case study.

Cultural Capital Opportunities on Site

The building at 3324 West Wrightwood Avenue has opportunities for cultural capital today. This site is a circus arts studio that brings community members together to move their bodies artistically. Music, dance, and acrobatic movements allow residents to express themselves individually and in partnerships with others. This site is also keeping circus culture that was once an important part of the American society alive by opening this center within the Chicago community.

Existing Art in the Study Area

Figure 6.2 shows that there are opportunities for cultural capital expressed in art forms throughout the study area, but not as many as in case study one. The main form of cultural capital that is present in this part of Logan Square is murals. There are around four murals created by local artists in this case study location. One of the more recognized murals among these four include the city funded mural by Logan Square transit stop that speaks to gentrification in Chicago. Other pop culture and sports are referenced in the other three seen throughout this part of Logan Square. Again these murals are concentrated along Milwaukee Avenue like in case study one. Most of the remaining study area is residential where art is not displayed.

Logan Square Park located east of 3324 West Wrightwood Avenue also provides a prominent monument that adds to the area's cultural capital. The monument serves as an identifiable landmark that symbolizes and celebrates a significant piece of history for the area.

Signs and Symbols in the Study Area

Lastly, there are multiple signs that are posted in the study area that help build cultural capital. First, the "Are You Square Aware?" signs found in the first case study are also found throughout the more southern half of this study area. The signs are posted along fences, telephone poles, business fronts, and other similar places to entice residents to walk around the historic boulevard connecting Logan Square Park and Palmer Square Park and to identify many historic structures in the area. This effort again is to develop appreciation of the historic character and significance that this area has. There are also advertising signs found along Milwaukee that are written in Spanish, English, and Polish. Towards the northwest edge of the study area is a sizable population of Polish residents, so the signs are reflecting the local residents language and culture. These signs ultimately communicate to the greater community what groups of people are present and should feel welcome or accepted in the area.

Conclusion

Overall, the adaptively reused religious facility adds a key opportunity for cultural capital as a community use. There are signs outside of the building welcoming community members to join in on events and the classes build cultural capital through circus arts performances. In this case the surrounding neighborhood did not offer as many opportunities through its local art and signs to express cultural beliefs and ideas of the community.

Social Capital Opportunities in Study Area

Figure 6.3
Maps the places that allow groups to gather (shown as purple dots) within the study area as opportunities for social capital.

Opportunities for Social Capital

The same process for measuring opportunities for social capital were used for this case study as the first case study.

Social Capital Opportunities on Site

The site building at 3324 West Wrightwood Avenue has opportunities for both bridging and bonding social capital. The Circus Arts studio provides classes open to all residents of different backgrounds in the community. These classes provide a space where adults and children of all races and ethnicities may be together and interacting where they would not otherwise cross paths in their typical day. This is also a place where friends and families who are similar and enjoy circus performance can bond.

Social Capital Opportunities in the Surrounding Community

Figure 6.3 displays that the community exhibits multiple places that foster both bridging and bonding social capital. The opportunities for this case study are located along the busier roads Milwaukee Avenue and Fullerton Avenue, which is unlike case study one where the social capital opportunities weave throughout most of the study area. One of the more abundant types of spaces found in the study area for bridging social capital is churches. Eleven active churches provide places where residents of all different backgrounds can come together for many activities, such as worship, weddings, baby showers, and more. The churches provide opportunities for bonding social capital too. There are also bars and breweries located throughout the study area that many groups in the community can go to together, but not as many as seen in case study one. A handful of exercise gyms in the study area also enhance bridging social capital in the community by offering workout classes and spaces open for all residents to use. Four schools are other places that help many social groups come together to attend classes together or participate in group extracurricular activities like sports or band. On the weekends these schools continue to bring diverse residents together at their outdoor playgrounds. The Logan Square Park is a large open space where groups of diverse people can gather for various activities. One last place that overlaps with the first case study and adds to bridging social capital within the study area is the library. The Logan Square branch often brings residents of all ages and backgrounds together for a range of group activities.

The opportunities for bonding social capital in the community include a few coffee shops in the study area, which are frequently used for smaller meetings with friends or coworkers. Multiple restaurants with outdoor seating provide spaces for groups of people to gather and socialize. Finally, community organizations in Logan Square also add to both kinds of social capital by being open to the community for meet-ups or events.

Conclusion

Overall, the adaptively reused religious facility as a community use in this case does provide opportunities for social capital. The space is designed for groups of people to come together and practice circus performance. The surrounding neighborhood along the two main roads Milwaukee Avenue and Fullerton Avenue also offers many opportunities for bonding and bridging social capital through its restaurants, bars, fitness facilities, churches, a park, and more.

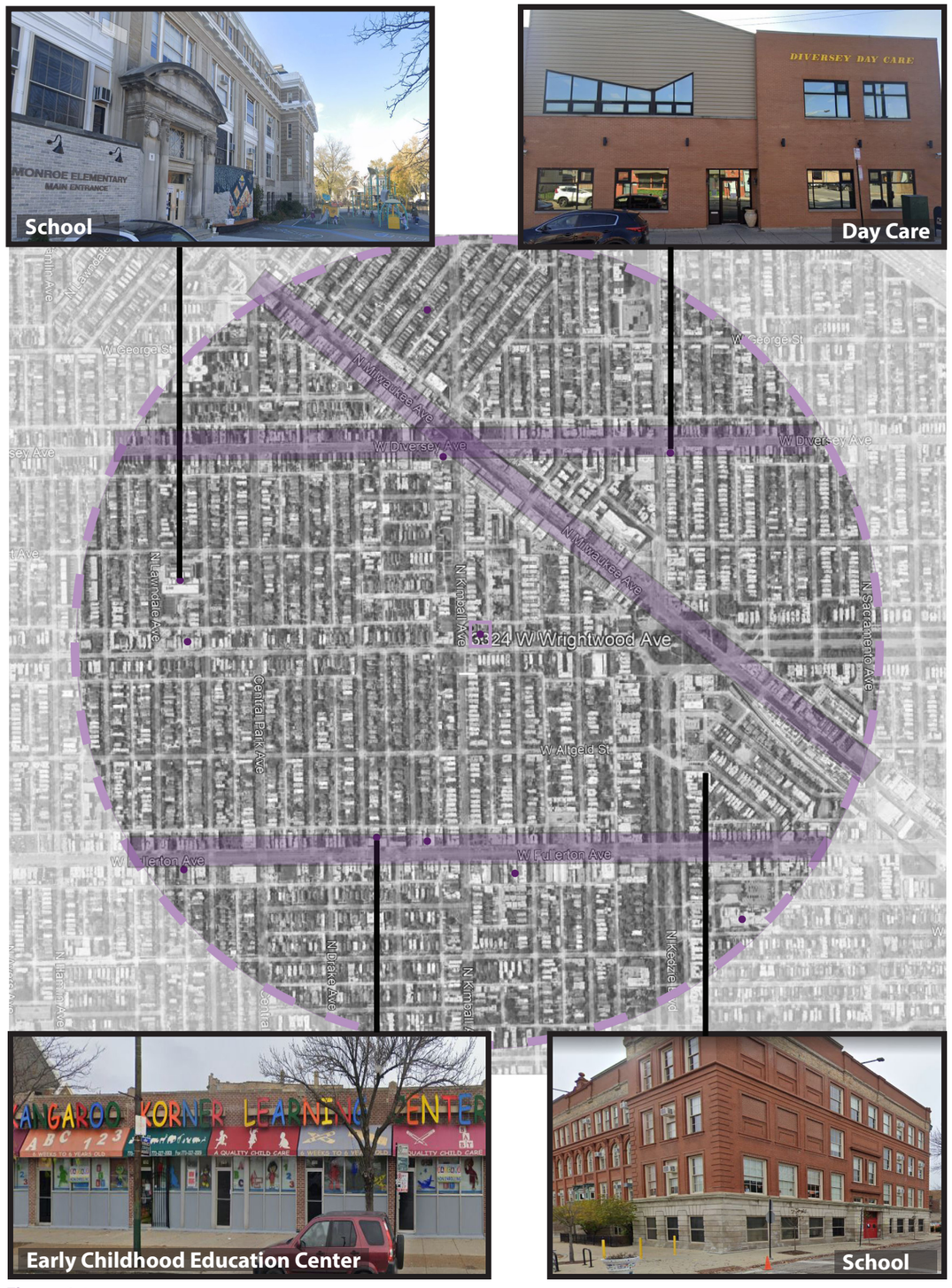


Figure 6.4
Maps the places that provide education and skill building in the community.

Opportunities for Human Capital

The same process for measuring opportunities for human capital were used for this case study as the first case study.

Human Capital Opportunities on Site

The site building for this case study provides opportunities for human capital. There are regular educational or skill building programs offered in this adaptively reused religious facility. A few jobs as circus performance instructors were also created by adaptively reusing the former religious facility in this way.

Human Capital Opportunities in the Surrounding Community

Figure 6.4 shows that there are a few places that have opportunities for human capital within the community. The most human capital opportunities for this study area come from day cares, which is different than the first case study that had mostly schools. Six day care facilities provide education and developmental skills to the children in the community. Four schools also supply education to the children of Logan Square. No adult education programs were found here like the first case study, but there may be adult classes some of the churches. Finally, three commercial lined streets run through the study area and contain businesses with employment opportunities. Many of the businesses along the highlighted streets are similar to the first case study, smaller business with less staff and lower paying positions.

Conclusion

Overall, the community use site itself provides opportunities for human capital through classes and instructor jobs. The community has several chances to build human capital among children in the area and less for adults like seen in the first case study. The jobs available for the study area again provided limited skill building and job opportunities essential to human capital.

Figure 6.5
Maps the vacant lots, infrastructure improvements, and other renovation projects in the area.

Opportunities for Built Capital

The same process for measuring opportunities for built capital were used in this case study as the first case study.

Built Capital Opportunities on Site

The building on site has been a part of the built capital for many years and has more recently helped improve the built capital of the area through adaptive reuse. This former religious facility updated the interior of the space to fit large installations that support acrobatic movements and other equipment for circus related tasks.

Built Capital Opportunities in the Community

There were two vacant undeveloped lots found in the community area. Therefore, there are few chances to increase the built environment with manmade structures in the future. Residents would have to add on to existing structures, demolish the current buildings and rebuild new ones, or build on top of current parking lots.

Infrastructure improvements are seen along Milwaukee Avenue like in the first case study. The addition of bike lanes extends between these two study areas. Also, improvements to built capital include the renovations to exteriors of homes seen throughout this study area. There seems to be less demolition and new construction of homes here than the first case location.

Conclusion

Overall, the site made improvements to the built capital by upgrading and creating new housing units. The surrounding community has contributed less to built capital improvements than seen in the first case study. New road and bike infrastructure have been created along Milwaukee Avenue in this area too for more built capital. Opportunities for increasing built capital in the future with new development on vacant lots is very limited here though. Existing buildings will need to be demolished or expanded on for new built capital opportunities since there are few unused and undeveloped lots.

3801 N. Keeler Ave., Chicago, IL

CHAPTER SEVEN
CASE STUDY THREE

New Religious Use Case Location

Purpose

The final case location focused on in this chapter is the new religious use site selected as one of the overall most similar of three sites from the three new use groups. This section also lays out the opportunities for cultural, social, human, and built capitals present at the site itself and in its surrounding neighborhood up to a 1/2 mile in radius.

History of Site

This third case site is located at 3809 North Keeler Avenue, as shown in Figure 7.1. It is a two-story brick masonry building with 14,200 square feet located in the Irving Park community area of Chicago. This religious facility was built in 1908 and used for many years by the Irving Park United Methodist Church. However, in 2019 Irving Park United Methodist Church listed their religious facility for sale and the same year Vivekananda Vedanta Society bought it. Today the site is used by the Hindu congregation for new religious purposes.

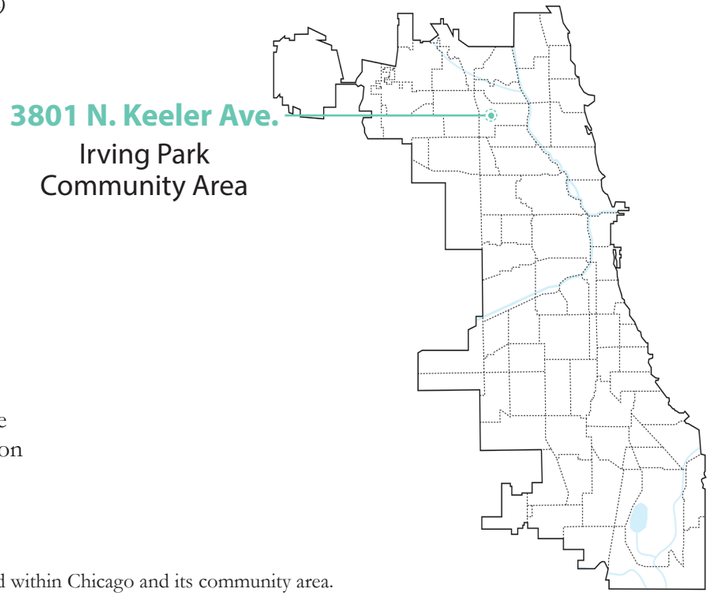


Figure 7.1
Shows where 3801 N. Keeler Ave. is located within Chicago and its community area.

Cultural Capital Opportunities in Study Area

Figure 7.2
Shows the local art marked as black dots within the study area as opportunities for cultural capital.

Opportunities for Cultural Capital

The same process for measuring opportunities for cultural capital were used in this final case study as the other two case studies.

Cultural Capital Opportunities on Site

The building at 3801 North Keeler Avenue offers a few opportunities for cultural capital by having signs outside of the building that express the beliefs of the religious group and their community. Music and ceremonies are also performed in this location that are important to cultural capital.

Existing Art in the Study Area

There are also limited opportunities for cultural capital expressed in art forms throughout the study area. The two identified areas are places with murals, which are seen at a restaurant and under a bridge. Unlike the other two case study locations, this area does not have parks with sculptures or monuments to add to the cultural capital there.

Signs and Symbols in the Study Area

Lastly, the signs that are posted throughout the study area also help build cultural capital. Most of the signs in this area are written in Spanish or English. Though Polish signs are not as common here as in the other two case locations, these signs are still multilingual and welcoming to more diverse residents there than in other neighborhoods of Chicago.

Conclusion

Overall, the adaptively reused religious facility provides some opportunities for cultural capital as a new religious use. There are no pieces of art on the property and no sculptures for the community like in other cases. In this case though the surrounding neighborhood also has few cultural capital opportunities with two murals and no sulptures in parks.

Figure 7.3
Maps the places that allow groups to gather (shown as black dots) within the study area as opportunities for social capital.

Opportunities for Social Capital

The same process for measuring opportunities for social capital were used in this final case study as the other two case studies.

Social Capital Opportunities on Site

3801 North Keeler Avenue offers opportunities for bonding social capital mostly. This site building is designed to bring people of similar religious backgrounds together to worship. There are chances for bridging social capital though when the space is used for weddings, community events, and other ways that are open to the whole community for diverse people to attend at the same time.

Social Capital Opportunities in the Surrounding Community

The community exhibits multiple places that create both bridging and bonding social capital opportunities. One of the more abundant types of spaces found in this study area that helps with bridging social capital is churches and schools. There are 7 active churches throughout the study area that many groups in the community can go to for worship and community occasions similar to the case location. These religious facilities also foster bonding social capital among residents with similar religious backgrounds. A handful of schools also bring diverse students together during the school year. Sports games and playgrounds also bring residents from the community together to cheer on their local team. Three gyms are in the study area, including one YMCA, which creates spaces open for all residents to use at the same time. The YMCA also creates sports leagues and exercise classes that may draw residents in from outside of the community area. A Brewery and a few bars provide places for many residents of any background to be together and interact with each other. The three coffee shops in the study area are good spaces for bonding social capital with close friends and peers. Finally, the community organizations in Irving Park also add to both kinds of social capital with their meetings and social events open to everyone in the area. Surprisingly the only green spaces in this study area were school sports fields. This was different than the other two case studies that each had a community park.

Conclusion

Overall, the adaptively reused religious facility as a new religious use in this case does provide opportunities for bonding social capital as well as for some bridging social capital. The surrounding neighborhood also offers many opportunities for bonding and bridging social capital through its YMCA, churches, schools, and more.

Figure 7.4
Maps the places that provide education and skill building in the community.

Opportunities for Human Capital

The same process for measuring opportunities for human capital were used in this final case study as the other two case studies.

Human Capital Opportunities on Site

The site building offers a few opportunities for human capital. There are occasionally skill building classes or retreats provided by the organization at this site. Jobs are also created by the new religious use for leadership positions to lead the religious organization and office management jobs to operate the religious facility day to day too.

Human Capital Opportunities in the Surrounding Community

In Figure 7.4 the most human capital opportunities for this study area are provided by the schools and day care facilities, similar to the other two case studies. Four schools in this part of Irving Park provide education to the children. There are also four day care facilities that contribute to education and skill development of children in the area. Unlike the other two case studies, there is one adult education programs in this study area, providing education and skill building opportunities to a wider range of residents than just kids. There may be adult classes like English as a Second Language provided by some of the churches. Finally, Pulaski Road and Irving Park Road and are two main streets within the study area that contain commercial businesses with employment opportunities. Many of the businesses along the highlighted streets are larger than the businesses seen in the other two case studies. Some examples of businesses along these two roads include car dealerships and meat packing facilities, which provide more careers rather than part-time lower wage jobs. There are also the smaller businesses such as restaurants and salons located along these busier streets. However, these employment opportunities are a better mix of career oriented, higher paying work in larger companies and lower wage part-time jobs with smaller businesses.

Conclusion

Overall, the new religious use site provides some opportunities for human capital. The community has several chances to build human capital among children and a smaller amount for adults. However, the one adult education facility is more than found in the other two case locations. The jobs available in the study area are also a better mix than the other two case studies with careers in larger companies that will provide more chances to grow in skills and education.

Built Capital Opportunities in Study Area

Figure 7.5
Maps the vacant lots, infrastructure improvements, and other renovation projects in the area.

Opportunities for Built Capital

The same process for measuring opportunities for built capital were used in this final case study as the other two case studies.

Built Capital Opportunities on Site

The site building has been a part of the built capital for over 100 years. The recent adaptive reuse project of the facility at 3801 North Keeler Avenue helped improve the built capital of the area by altering the interior or exterior of the building to meet the different needs that a Hindu religious group has compared to a Methodist religious group.

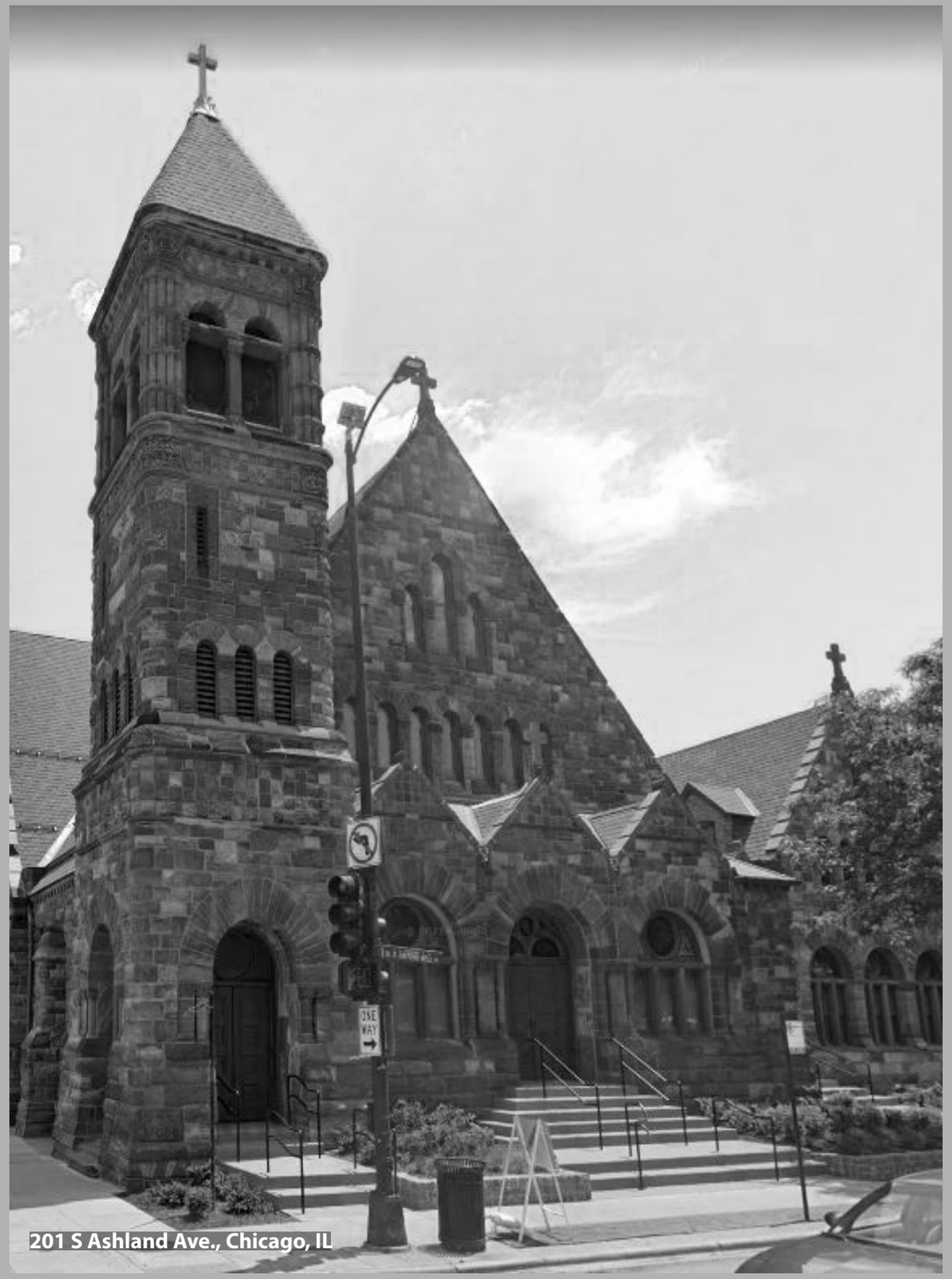
Built Capital Opportunities in the Community

There are three vacant lots in the community area that create chances for development in the future. The lots are mostly empty parking lots where existing structures were demolished. Therefore, there are similar opportunities to add to the built environment through new construction here as the first case study location.

No roads or sidewalks were being repaired recently. However, with a major highway and about four other busy roads running through the study area the infrastructure is likely to be updated in those areas over time. Lastly, the housing in this neighborhood was mostly older. Similar to the second case location, there is little new construction or drastic facade improvements in the mostly residential areas surrounding this site. Therefore, the opportunities for newer built capital are low in this case study location.

Conclusion

Overall, the site made improvements to the built capital by upgrading the building so it adheres to the different requirements of the new religion. The surrounding neighborhoods have not contributed as much to the enhancement of the existing built capital. However, there are a few empty lots that can be utilized in the future to expand the built capital with new structures.



201 S Ashland Ave., Chicago, IL

CHAPTER EIGHT
DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Findings

From the background analysis it was expected that opportunities for social and cultural capital may be low around the non-community and new religious use case study locations because they are in some of the least diverse neighborhoods of Chicago. In contrast, the community case study location was anticipated to have more opportunities for social and cultural capitals due to the higher level of diversity in that area. It was also expected that this study area would have fewer opportunities for human capital since residents in the areas with community new uses earned more moderate incomes and lived in less valuable housing.

The three case studies show that each site had a different combination of cultural, social, human, and built capital opportunities. No two sites had the same number or types of opportunities for each measured community capital. This is as expected because every community is unique and community capitals are not supposed to be perfectly balanced in any community. In addition to the four community capitals studied in this research project, there are other opportunities for commmunity capitals, such as financial and political capital, that are present in these communities and could influence the adaptive reuse process of vacant religious facilities.

Table 8.1 shows that the non-community use case location at 2900 West Shakespeare Avenue had the most number of opportunities for almost all of the community capitals. There were 26 opportunities for cultural capital within the study area for this case compared to 6 for the community case location at 3326 West Wrightwood Avenue and 3 for the new religious use case location at 3801 North Keeler Avenue. The non-community use site also had the most social capital opportunities with 53, followed by 32 for the community use site and 25 for the new religious use site. All opportunities for human capital were very similar across all three sites. The community use site led at 11, the non-community use site followed at 10, and the new religious use group ended with 9. Lastly, the non-community use site had the most opportunities and improvements for built capital with more vacant lots, bike infrastructure improvements, and more residential projects than the other two sites. Therefore, since there were more opportunities for community capitals present in the non-community use site, it can be considered stronger, healthier, and more resilient than the communities around the other two case locations. Similarly, the community with the new religious use site exhibited the fewest opportunities for community capitals and can be considered the least strong, healthy, or resilient.

Side by Side Comparison of Community Capital Opportunities for Each New Use Group

	Non-Community	Community	New Religious Use
Most Opportunities for Cultural Capital			
Least Opportunities for Cultural Capital			
Most Opportunities for Social Capital			
Least Opportunities for Social Capital			
Most Opportunities for Human Capital			
Least Opportunities for Human Capital			
Most Opportunities for Built Capital			
Least Opportunities for Built Capital			

Legend:
Yes
No

Table 8.1
Compares the case study findings for all three cases side by side

This study overall showed the differences in community capitals for each type of new use for former religious facilities. Since the non-religious, non-community new use had the most opportunities for cultural capital, social capital, and built capital, and was very similar in numbers to the non-religious, community site with the most opportunities for human capital, this would suggest that religious facilities that are adaptively reused in Chicago should not always be open for the public to use like some argue in the debate. In fact, the new religious use site had the least opportunities for many of the community capitals which does not support the argument to always have a community new use for vacant religious facilities. Communities can be considered strong and healthy with many community capitals when a non-religious, non-community use comes in to use the former religious facility. On the other hand, the communities of the non-religious and community use study area and the new religious use study area generally did not have as many opportunities for all four community capitals as the non-religious and non-community use area. Therefore, the times that the site itself provided opportunities for any of the four community capitals to the communities around the non-religious, community used location or the new religiously used location become very important as one of a limited number of places that strengthens the community with those opportunities. Ultimately, the argument should not be about preserving what the previous religious facility provided to the community by maintaining public accessibility with the new use. Instead, the more important issue is to understand what opportunities for community capitals are already present in the community and use that assessment to pick a new use that will supplement the capitals where needed to strengthen the community.

Next Steps

This study cannot be generalized to fully answer the debate of whether adaptively reused religious facilities should have a new community use or not. To be able to better answer that debate, a similar study at a larger scale comparing more than three adaptively reused religious facilities in Chicago would need to be completed. A larger scale study would help determine if the three sites from this study are similar in results to other sites in the city or if they were anomalies. The three selected sites for this study overlapped a little in the Logan Square neighborhood, so comparing three different sites that do not overlap could improve

the understandings of this type of study. Comparing results for adaptively reused religious facilities in other cities than Chicago would also continue to check the validity of this study's findings compared to findings of other locations.

This study is also limited by only looking at the existing places that provide opportunities for community capitals. Just because a site with opportunities is present does not mean that it is used by the community and other places may be used in unconventional ways that could build community capital. Future studies can be improved by observing how places in the community are used by residents to build each of the community capitals.

After reviewing the findings of this study, it has become clearer that financial capital plays a very important role for the adaptive reuse process of vacant religious facilities. Development often occurs where people can afford it. The amount of amenities that provide opportunities for community capitals in higher income areas are likely to be more than those in lower income areas because the larger tax base of the higher income areas can supplement the costs of more projects in their community than the smaller tax base of the lower income areas. Therefore, financial capital would be important to this kind of study as a way to understand how the wealth of the community influences the adaptive reuse projects for vacant religious facilities. Built capital was the hardest to measure and graphically represent at the larger scale in this study. Perhaps a separate research project looking at the changes in the built environment after the former religious facility was adaptively reused within only the surrounding neighborhood block would be more appropriate to understand the influence of built capital in those areas. If this study were conducted again in the future, built capital should be substituted by financial capital.

There are multiple factors that go into the decision to adaptively reuse a religious facility and the decision of what new use the former religious facility should become that were not part of this study's scope too. For example, tax credits and other financial incentives available within the City of Chicago since 2000 was not looked at in this study. Also, the political agendas of the Aldermen who approve the adaptive reuse projects in their community areas was not explored in this study. Development forces over the last 30 years was not investigated in this study either. Lastly, future studies can also look to further understand what attracts new religious groups to move into existing religous facilities, especially religious groups that practice a different religion than the previous religious group using the religious facility before.

Conclusion

These are a few examples of future studies that would further the understanding of what to do with vacant religious facilities. As churches, synagogues, temples, and other religious facilities continue to close from diminishing congregations and negative impacts of COVID-19, it is important to understand how the community is impacted by the loss of a prominant source of community capitals and plan how these vacant buildings can build strong and healthy communities with their new uses. This study suggests that vacant religious facilities should not always be adaptively reused as a community use. Further studies would have to be conducted to soundly support these findings though. Ultimately, this study is a start to the conversation about how religious facilities have been important in their communities and as they are continually closing we as planners and a community should be thinking more about how the new uses can help build stronger, healthier, more resilient places like those with many community capitals present.

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