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Case Study: Commercial Gentrification in the Pike/Pine Corridor

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**Abstract**

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The Pike/Pine corridor is a vibrant, densely populated area within the greater Capitol Hill neighborhood of Seattle. The area has distinct architectural character due to its history as Seattle's auto-row. After much of the auto industry left the area, a number of the buildings that previously housed automobile-related businesses were converted into affordable artist lofts. Concurrently, Seattle's LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer) community established itself on Capitol Hill. In the 1990s, the area became the center for grunge music. Low rents made Pike/Pine an attractive area for young entrepreneurs to experiment, and as a result, the area came to boast a diverse mix of gritty, unique businesses that contribute to a distinct local character.

In the past decade, there has been extensive real estate development activity in Pike/Pine. In 2009, Seattle created the city's first conservation district in Pike/Pine in an attempt to manage change and protect neighborhood character. There is a public perception that the neighborhood is gentrifying and that its quiriness and grittiness are being diluted. Working within the academic context of gentrification and neighborhood character, this work presents four redevelopment projects in Pike/Pine in order to clarify the phenomenon that people are observing and evaluate the efficacy of the Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District (PPCOD) as a tool to preserve neighborhood character.

## **Acknowledgements**

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## **Dedication**

TMB. On to the next pitch.

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## Chapter 1 Introduction

The Pike/Pine corridor is located just east of Downtown Seattle, within the larger neighborhood of Capitol Hill. The corridor, whose area is less than a quarter mile square, gets its name from Pike Street and Pine Street, the two east-west thoroughfares that serve as its dual-backbones. The boundaries of Pike/Pine are Interstate 5 to the west, 15th Avenue to the east, Olive Street to the north, and Union Street and Madison Street to the south.

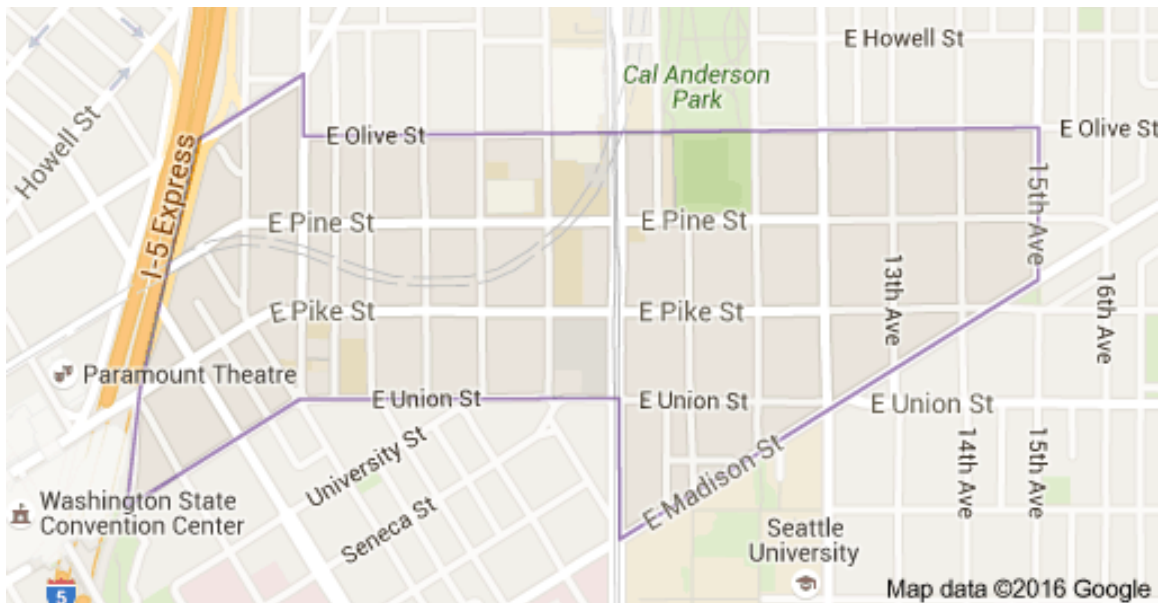


Figure 1.1 Map of the Pike/Pine Corridor (Image: Google Maps, February 2016)

Pike/Pine is a vibrant corridor with a growing residential population, an active nightlife and a mix of commercial uses. Pike/Pine first began to develop in the late

1800s when trolley lines connecting downtown Seattle to the streetcar suburbs of Capitol Hill<sup>1</sup> were established along Pike Street.<sup>2</sup>

After the first automobile reached Seattle in 1900, car dealerships and mechanics established their businesses along Pike and Pine. The built character of Pike/Pine is a legacy of the corridor's "auto row" history. As a result, the archetypal Pike/Pine building is vernacular, meaning that it was designed to be functional rather than monumental, with low-rise buildings of masonry and glass, often with garage doors, and open-floor plans that historically served as auto showrooms.



Figure 1.2 The Melrose Building (pictured prior to redevelopment) is an example of a typical auto row era building in the Pike/Pine Corridor (Source: Capitol Hill Seattle Blog)

Pike/Pine remained Seattle's auto row until well after World War II, but by the 1970s additional auto-oriented commercial areas were established outside the city center. At the same time, many of the wealthy residents who established Capitol Hill also

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<sup>1</sup> Casey Rosenberg and W.G. Hook, *Streetcar Suburb: Architectural Roots of a Seattle Neighborhood* (Seattle: Fanlight Press, 1989), 2.

<sup>2</sup> "Seattle Neighborhoods: Capitol Hill, Part 1," *The Free Online Encyclopedia of Washington State History*, [http://www.historylink.org/index.cfm?DisplayPage=output.cfm&File\\_Id=3188](http://www.historylink.org/index.cfm?DisplayPage=output.cfm&File_Id=3188) (accessed Feb. 13, 2016).

moved to the suburbs.<sup>3</sup> As the auto industry and old money disinvested, the area entered a period of decline, and, the door was opened for first wave gentrification<sup>4</sup>, a phenomenon in which so-called “urban pioneers” move into neighborhoods that are considered less desirable by the middle-class.

Capitol Hill at large became a tolerant home to a diverse set of lifestyles. A newspaper profile from 1986 describes the variety of people you might find on Broadway, the north-south thoroughfare that bisects Pike/Pine: “close-cropped mustached men in...armless T-shirts with chest hair showing, single gold earring (left ear), tight jeans,” “little old ladies crowbarred over shopping carts,” “crazed empty-eyed winos,” and “purple-topped headbangers.”<sup>5</sup> Another piece describes the neighborhood as somewhere “the rich and poor, gay and straight, singles and families live together in a certain harmony.”<sup>6</sup>

A number of the buildings that previously housed automobile-related businesses were converted into affordable lofts where artists lived, worked, and performed. Concurrently, Seattle’s LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer) community established itself on Capitol Hill<sup>7</sup> and opened up business in Pike/Pine at a

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<sup>3</sup> “Seattle Neighborhoods: Capitol Hill, Part 2,” *The Free Online Encyclopedia of Washington State History*, [http://www.historylink.org/index.cfm?DisplayPage=output.cfm&file\\_id=9841](http://www.historylink.org/index.cfm?DisplayPage=output.cfm&file_id=9841) (accessed Feb. 13, 2016).

<sup>4</sup> Gentrification is a type of neighborhood transition generally define as a “*particular type of neighborhood ascent that includes the reinvestment of capital, displacement of existing residents, the entry of middle- or upper-class residents, and a change in the social, economic, cultural, and physical landscape of previously disinvested neighborhoods.*” (Owens 2012). See Chapter 2 for a more robust discussion of gentrification.

<sup>5</sup> Paul Andrews, “Cruisin’ Broadway for a meal, a high, a date, a friend, a thrill, a handout, a bruising’, everything except a parking place,” *Seattle Times/Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Jun. 1, 1986.

<sup>6</sup> Marcia Friedman, “Capitol Hill Presents a Tapestry of Lifestyles,” In *Neighborhood Profiles: Seattle’s Communities Close Up*, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 1986.

<sup>7</sup> “Seattle Neighborhoods: Capitol Hill, Part 2.”

time when areas that tolerated LGBTQ businesses were not considered attractive to “reputable” businesses.<sup>8</sup>

In the 1990s, music venues proliferated and the area became the center for grunge music. Low rents and open minds made it possible for young entrepreneurs to experiment. A 1994 *Seattle Times* profile of the “funky” Pike/Pine business district notes a pagan coffee shop, a cheap barber shop, a gay and lesbian bookstore, an upscale garden store, and a sex shop, among the 26 businesses that had opened in the proceeding few years. According to one business owner, “Here people are willing to take a chance. You can afford to take chances with the lower rents, of course. The businesses are still personal, and they’re still pretty informal.”<sup>9</sup>

Now “legitimized” by pioneer residents, Pike/Pine has entered a second wave of gentrification. Its historically low rents, proximity to downtown and quirky retail brought students and professionals into the community and attracted significant investment from real estate developers. Another contributing factor to the increase in Pike/Pine real estate investment is the 2004 upzone. This change in policy was an attempt to promote sustainability through increased density and mixed-use development. The result was a rapid replacement of older low-rise buildings with newer, taller buildings.<sup>10</sup>

Today (2016), cranes and scaffolding are ubiquitous elements of the landscape as infill and redevelopment projects proliferate. The increase in mixed-use development

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<sup>8</sup> Amber Piona, “Protecting Neighborhood Character: Pike/Pine’s Conservation Overlay District” (master’s thesis, University of Washington, 2015), 1.

<sup>9</sup> Joe Haberstroh, “Funky Town – Pike-Pine Corridor Comes Alive with Diverse Shops, Cafes,” *Seattle Times*, Jul. 17, 1994.

<sup>10</sup> Manish Chalana, “Balancing History and Development in Seattle’s Pike/Pine Neighborhood Conservation District,” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 82, no. 2 (2016), 182.

means today's Pike/Pine has many more residential units alongside retail space and residential growth has far exceeded projections.<sup>11</sup>

As rents rise, higher-end businesses proliferate, and auto row buildings are gutted and filled with new mixed-use development; the very elements that contributed to the establishment of the district are being removed and there is a perceived loss of neighborhood character. Expressions of dismay that the neighborhoods quirkiness and grittiness are being diluted take many forms including scathing graffiti scribbled across the ubiquitous land use notification signs, and obituaries for shuttered businesses run in *The Stranger*, Seattle's alternative weekly newspaper.<sup>12</sup>

The City has responded to this loss of neighborhood character through legislation. In 2009, Seattle created the city's first conservation district in Pike/Pine in an attempt to manage the change and protect neighborhood character. The 2008 *Pike/Pine Neighborhood Conservation Study* described identified five elements of Pike/Pine neighborhood character: (1) vernacular auto row architecture and harmonious new construction, (2) a "gritty and authentic" mix of diverse uses including independent small-scale retail, performance spaces, gay-specific businesses, eating and drinking establishment, residential, nightlife and education, (3) culture that includes gay,

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<sup>11</sup> Offices of City Councilmembers Tom Rasmussen and Sally Clark, "Staff Report: Proposal to Amend the Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District," (Staff Report, Seattle City Council, 2013).

<sup>12</sup>Eric Grandy, "Beerly Deloved: We Are Gathered Here Today to Mourn the Death of the 500 Block of East Pine Street", *The Stranger* (November 09, 2007).

<http://www.thestranger.com/seattle/beerlydeloved/Content?oid=449526>

alternative, youth and students, (4) housing, and (5) a community of neighbors that is diverse in terms of age, income, appearance and sexual orientation.<sup>13</sup>

In contrast to an historic district whose purpose is to regulate “the appearance and historical integrity of structures and public spaces”<sup>14</sup>, the purpose of a conservation district is to maintain the area’s neighborhood character while allowing for continued growth and change. Community involvement is key in conservation districts and, unlike in a historic district, the community defines what is valuable.<sup>15</sup> The Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District (PPCOD) uses zoning incentives to encourage projects that reflect neighborhood values such as compatible scale, small and diverse local businesses, pre-1940s character structures, and arts and cultural uses.<sup>16</sup>

I first became interested in the public perception of development activity shortly after moving to Seattle in 2012 when, after buying an espresso at Bauhaus Coffee, I observed graffiti on a land use notification sign on the Melrose Building. Construction on that building is now underway and Bauhaus moved into what was meant to be a temporary location across the street; however, it has now permanently closed. Though I hardly knew the original Bauhaus, I came to love its quirkiness including the missed connection clipped from *The Stranger* taped up by the bathrooms. I felt a loss when it and other such businesses close. This work is inspired by that graffiti and the many

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<sup>13</sup> Lund Consulting, *Pike/Pine Neighborhood Conservation Study: Neighborhood Character and Recommendations*, 2008, ii-iii.

<sup>14</sup> “Historic Districts,” *Seattle Department of Neighborhoods*, <http://www.seattle.gov/neighborhoods/programs-and-services/historic-preservation/historic-districts> (accessed Feb. 13, 2016).

<sup>15</sup> Robert E. Stipe, *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

<sup>16</sup> “Staff Report: Proposal to Amend the Pike/Pine Conservation District.”

other public reactions to change around Pike/Pine. My purpose is to clarify the phenomenon that people are observing and evaluate the efficacy of the Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District as a tool to preserve neighborhood character.

In chapter two, I explore two bodies of literature that will provide context for this case study. The first is body of literature on gentrification; the second is on the role of retail in neighborhood character. I begin by exploring definitions gentrification starting with its first mention in 1964. I then discuss select dimensions of gentrification including phasing, displacement and invasion. After discussion gentrification and establishing that it involves a change in neighborhood character, I then explore the components of neighborhood character, and the role that small retail plays in terms of character, diversity, affordability and economic value.

In chapter three, I outline the multiple case methodology that I employ in this study in order to clarify the phenomenon of changing retail character in the Pike/Pine Corridor. The case study has two elements. The first is an inventory of recent development projects, and in chapter three, I describe my sources and parameters for the inventory. The second is a comparative analysis of retail use in four of those projects before and after redevelopment, and in chapter three, I describe how I selected the sample, where I collected the information, and how I will analyze it in the case study. Finally, I also discuss caveats and opportunities for further study.

In chapter four, I present the multiple case study of four projects in Pike/Pine and the resulting changes to retail. The first part of the case study is an inventory of recent development activity and the retail uses in the new developments. The purpose

is to paint a holistic picture of development activity. The second part is a comparative analysis of retail in a sample of four sites: Sunset Electric (1530 11<sup>th</sup> Avenue), REO Flats (1515 14<sup>th</sup> Avenue), Terravita (500 Pine Street) and Starbucks (1124 Pine Street) before and after redevelopment.

Finally, in chapter five, I reflect on the transformation of retail as revealed by the cases and find that while retail remains relatively small and local, it is becoming less eclectic and higher end. I also evaluate the efficacy of the PPCOD and find that while it has been effective from an architectural and economic perspective, maintaining the diverse neighborhood character with legislation remains out of reach. Finally, I recommend that if Seattle continues attempt to regulate the neighborhood character of Pike/Pine that it consider use along with size, and experiment with extinguishable incentives – that is incentives that offer a reward only the first one or two developers to include a desired use – in order to encourage a diversity of uses.

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## Chapter 2 Literature Review

In order to better understand the ongoing drivers and patterns of transformation in Pike/Pine, this chapter reviews two bodies of literature: (1) gentrification, and (2) the role of retail in neighborhood character.

### Gentrification

Sociologist Ruth Glass coined the term *gentrification* her 1964 report *London: Aspects of Change*:

***“One by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes -- upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages -- two rooms up and two down -- have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences.... Once this process of "gentrification" starts in a district, it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced, and the whole social character of the district is changed.”***

Today, scholars generally define gentrification as a *“particular type of neighborhood ascent that includes the reinvestment of capital, displacement of existing residents, the entry of middle- or upper-class residents, and a change in the social, economic, cultural, and physical landscape of previously disinvested neighborhoods.”*<sup>17</sup>

While this definition is commonly accepted, many aspects of it are relative.<sup>18</sup> For example, the displaced population of one gentrifying neighborhood could be of high

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<sup>17</sup> Ann Owens, “Neighborhoods on the Rise: A Typology of Neighborhoods Experiencing Socioeconomic Ascent,” *City & Community* 11 (2012): 1.

<sup>18</sup> Lance Freeman, “Displacement or Succession? Residential Mobility in Gentrifying Neighborhoods,” *Urban Affairs Review* 40, no. 4 (2005), 470.

socioeconomic status relative to another. “The notion that low-income households originally populated gentrifying neighborhoods begs the question of lower incomes than what?”<sup>19</sup> In fact, in many neighborhoods, including Pike/Pine, gentrification has two phases and the displaced and displacing populations in each phase vary in terms of their cultural and economic characteristics.

According to Petra Doan and Harrison Higgins, in first wave gentrification, so called “urban pioneers” move into neighborhoods that are considered less-desirable by the middle-class. For pioneers, the benefits of living in these neighborhoods, such as location, low rents, and a more tolerant social structure,<sup>20</sup> outweigh disadvantages such as crime or disinvestment. Pioneers typically put sweat equity into their home, legitimizing the neighborhood and attracting attention. Urban pioneers tend to be young singles or childless couples, and they sometimes come from traditionally marginalized or alternative groups.

LGBTQ urban pioneers formed a significant part of the first wave gentrification of Capitol Hill, including Pike/Pine, where they sought community and solidarity away from less tolerant areas. Similar movements led to reinvestment in such famous neighborhoods as San Francisco’s The Castro and New York City’s Chelsea.<sup>21</sup> Artists and musicians also played a significant role in first wave gentrification, as Pike/Pine was host to Seattle’s famous grunge scene.<sup>22</sup> While income and occupation are the typical

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<sup>19</sup> Freeman, 470.

<sup>20</sup> Petra Doan and Harrison Higgins, “The Demise of Queer Space? Resurgent Gentrification and the Assimilation of LGBT Neighborhoods,” *Journal of Planning and Education Research* 31, no. 1 (2001): 7.

<sup>21</sup> Doan and Higgins, 6.

<sup>22</sup> Tyrone Beason, “Seattle’s Pike/Pine Corridor Does Density Right,” *The Seattle Times*, Jan. 23, 2012.

measures of socioeconomic differences between gentrifying and displaced populations, one scholar, Lance Freeman, has accounted for this by measuring increase in educational attainment rather than income. Freeman argues that it is a better marker of class and could help identify first wave gentrifiers such as artists and young professionals who may have relatively low incomes but high levels of educational attainment.<sup>23</sup>

Today, Pike/Pine is experiencing the second wave of gentrification. According to Doan and Higgins, second-wave gentrification is characterized by outside corporate investment and in an influx of middle class residents. In Pike/Pine, many of those residents are part of Seattle's flourishing tech economy. With the influx of residential development, today's neighborhood population is considerably larger comprising younger professionals and students.<sup>24</sup> Higher-end shops and services follow the new residents and more original residents are displaced than in the first wave.<sup>25</sup>

Most definitions of gentrification, including the two cited here, mention displacement of existing populations as well as the influx of new residents. Research and policy have focused more on displacement, however Freeman argues that displacement is less ubiquitous than assumed and that the bigger change is who is now moving in: "a major concern regarding gentrifying neighborhoods is that these become neighborhoods that are no longer available to low-income households."<sup>26</sup> Moving is expensive, and "people are likely to be more sensitive to neighborhood characteristics

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<sup>23</sup> Freeman, 471.

<sup>24</sup> Beason.

<sup>25</sup> Beason.

<sup>26</sup> Freeman, 485.

when choosing what neighborhood to move into rather than whether they should move at all.”<sup>27</sup> Though Freeman is talking about residents when he asserts that “in-movers rather than out-movers are the driving force behind neighborhood change in gentrifying neighborhoods.”<sup>28</sup> This may well be true for businesses in gentrifying neighborhoods. For this reason, the comparative analysis in chapter four considers the businesses moving into the area along with those that have left.

One could argue that increased investment in previously disinvested areas is a good problem to have, and indeed, there are benefits, which is partly why gentrification is such a controversial issue in Seattle and other American cities. However, urban scholars and neighborhood activists remain concerned about the negative externalities of gentrification, in particular, the threat of population displacement.<sup>29</sup> In Pike/Pine, the loss of neighborhood character and identity is also a significant concern. Indeed, the language Glass used to first define gentrification – *invasion, occupation, displacement, change in social character* – resembles that used by critics of the change that is occurring today the Pike/Pine. But where does neighborhood character come from?

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<sup>27</sup> Freeman, 487.

<sup>28</sup> Freeman, 487.

<sup>29</sup> Freeman, 463.

## The Role of Retail in “Neighborhood Character”

By and large, the academic literature on gentrification and neighborhood ascent is focused on population changes and their effect on neighborhood character. However, there is evidence that use – including commercial use – also plays a role in neighborhood character. In his 1976 book, *Place and Placelessness*, Edward Relph explores the nature of place and human relationships with physical spaces. Calling on an essay by Albert Camus, Relph posits that the identity of a place has three components: the physical setting, activities, and meanings.<sup>30</sup> Thus, the nature of a place derives from the people who use and how they use it, and not just from the structures it contains. According to Relph, places with distinct identities, like the Pike/Pine neighborhood, “are manifestations of a deeply felt involvement with those places by the people who live in them, and that for many such a profound attachment to place is as necessary and significant as a close relationship with other people.”<sup>31</sup>

Jane Jacobs has famously argued that fine grain urbanism is important to neighborhood character. In a 2014 report, the Preservation Green Lab used three cities – Seattle, San Francisco, and Washington DC – to test Jacob’s hypothesis “that neighborhoods containing a mix of older, smaller buildings of diverse age support greater levels of positive economic and social activity than areas dominated by newer, larger buildings.” They did this by creating a character score to serve as a quantitative

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<sup>30</sup> Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, (London: Pion Limited, 1976), 47.

<sup>31</sup> Relph, preface.

measure of urban vitality based on median building age, building age diversity and granularity.<sup>32</sup>

Using this character score to compare neighborhoods, the report found that older buildings provide space that is more affordable and more flexible for entrepreneurs and a diverse group of business owners<sup>33</sup> leading to “a significantly higher proportion of new businesses, as well as more women and minority-owned businesses than areas with predominantly larger, newer buildings.”<sup>34</sup> The report also found older, mixed-use neighborhoods including Pike/Pine support the creative economy as demonstrated by a significantly greater concentration of creative jobs per square foot of commercial space in older, smaller structures.<sup>35</sup> This helps explain how Pike/Pine came to incubate a diverse mix of small, new businesses and music venues that might not have been accepted in other parts of Seattle following the decline of the automotive business. These “eclectic, one-of-a-kind retail spaces, dive bars, corner stores, and affordable apartments” defined Pike/Pine’s neighborhood character.<sup>36</sup>

In her 1961 classic *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs cites the value of retail for neighborhood safety arguing that stores “...give people—both residents and strangers—concrete reasons for using the sidewalks.”<sup>37</sup> According to

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<sup>32</sup> Preservation Green Lab, *Older, Smaller, Better: Measuring how the Character of Buildings and Blocks Influences Urban Vitality*, (National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2014), 22.

<sup>33</sup> Preservation Green Lab, 2.

<sup>34</sup> Preservation Green Lab, 3.

<sup>35</sup> Preservation Green Lab, 3.

<sup>36</sup> Chalana, 182.

<sup>37</sup> Jane Jacobs, *Death and Life of Great American Cities*, (New York: Random House, 1961), 36.

Jacobs, having people on the street paying attention to what is going on and noticing when something is amiss is what makes streets safe.

In his 2011 book on community design, Sidney Brower asserts that the notion that retail contributes to neighborhood character by promoting social interaction and engendering a sense of belonging is widely accepted in the fields of architecture and urban planning.<sup>38</sup> With that context, he goes on to present a study on the value of small, independent stores in the “creation or strengthening of community” in the Canton neighborhood in Baltimore, Maryland.

The study found that while the type and mix of retail uses that engender community vary, the appearance and management of neighborhood retail are important: “stores must be attractive and inviting, unobtrusive, blend in with the neighborhood, and have clear and uncluttered signage” and “stores must be well run, respectable, and managed by “good people”—preferably local residents.”<sup>39</sup> A survey of residents and storeowners found that both groups felt the stores fostered a valuable sense of community. Shopkeepers said they feel a part of the local community and that the neighbors watched out for them. Many were also directly involved in the community by supporting local schools and community organizations. In addition to appreciating the convenient location of the stores, residents liked the role they play as a meeting place that established community. Finally, Brower asserts that the efforts of

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<sup>38</sup> Brower 2011, 128.

<sup>39</sup> Brower, 135.

many cities to retain and promote neighborhood retail confirm its value to community design.

Ray Oldenburg's book, "The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons, and Other Hangouts at the Heart of Community" also validates the role of retail in community building. Oldenburg uses the term "third place" to describe a place other than work and home where people spend time. He argues that the single-use residential areas created by Euclidian zoning in post-war suburbs isolate people in their homes and cripple community. When there is no corner store or neighborhood pub, Oldenburg argues, there is no chance to run into a neighbor accidentally or meet for a beer after work. Rather, in such communities, social interactions must be carefully planned and hosted and therefore are more work and less frequent.<sup>40</sup>

Interestingly, big box retailers that thrive in single-use, car-oriented areas are recognizing the demand for small, urban retail and augmenting their businesses model accordingly. In 1999, Bloomberg Businessweek quoted retail and marketing consultant Wendy Liebmann as saying, "some of the same major retailers that rushed to create one-stop shopping environments are now realizing that there is growing opportunity for the small stores." In 2012, Target opened a store in downtown Seattle that is smaller than its traditional stores but still quite large by neighborhood retail standards.

These stores are undoubtedly convenient for city dwellers, and if located in mixed-use areas they have the potential for the casual interactions a third place

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<sup>40</sup> Ray Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons, and Other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. New York City: Marlowe & Company, 1999.

provides. However, as formula businesses with a standardized appearance, business model, and large staff, they do not contribute to place identity and community the same way a locally owned store can.

The PPCOD calls for small retail. That size is important, not just because it fits with existing retail development in the area, but also because small size means affordability and a variety of uses. Rent is charged by the square foot, and therefore smaller units have comparatively lower rents. Smaller size also mean a greater supply of units, which also translates to lower rents. Small units also positively affect the pedestrian experience by breaking up a façade with multiple doorways.

A 2008 study conducted in San Francisco by Rocco Pendola and Sheldon Gen explored the relationship between the physical environment and sense of community. Particularly, does a pedestrian-oriented, “main street” experience promote a sense of community?

In the study, the authors looked at four neighborhoods of varying density. The authors classified two neighborhoods, West Portal and Bernal Heights, as main street towns, one neighborhood, Sunset, as a mix of single-family residential, multifamily residential, mixed-use and small commercial; and Nob Hill as very dense mixed use.<sup>41</sup> They found a significantly higher sense of community in the two main street towns. This suggests that a lively pedestrian oriented core surrounded by single-family homes offers the strongest sense of community and corroborates one of the primary assumptions of

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<sup>41</sup> Rocco Pendola and Sheldon Gen, “Does ‘Main Street’ Promote a Sense of Community? A Comparison of San Francisco Neighborhoods,” *Environment and Behavior* 40, no.4 (July 2008).

the PPCOD: that protecting character retail would support the sense of community and neighborhood character. On the other hand, the typology emerging in Pike/Pine is closest to the very dense mixed use found in Nob Hill and the findings of the study suggests that would detract from sense of community.

While this case study of Pike/Pine is concerned primarily with the cultural value neighborhood retail, the economic value should be mentioned as well. Brad Ritter covers the multiplier effect of local businesses in depth in his 2009 Evans School degree project “Creation and Preservation of Affordable Commercial Space in Seattle’s Neighborhood Business Districts.” As Ritter explains, the multiplier effect includes the *direct* benefits of supporting a local business such as “local wages, profits, procurements and services, and charitable donations made by the local businesses” as well as the *indirect* benefits derived from “the second round of spending that occurs when the original revenue is circulated again through the local economy, minus the inevitable leakages from spending on nonlocal products and services.”<sup>42</sup> This effect can be substantial. According to one study on food-related businesses in the Puget Sound Region, “a shift of 20% of our food dollars into locally directed spending would result in a nearly half billion dollar annual income increase in King County alone and twice that in the Central Puget Sound region.”<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Brad Ritter, “Creation and Preservation of Affordable Commercial Space in Seattle’s Neighborhood Business Districts,” Degree project, University of Washington, Daniel J. Evans School of Public Affairs, 2009, 22.

<sup>43</sup> Viki Sonntag, “Why Local Linkages Matter,” *Sustainable Seattle*, April 2008, vii.

Furthermore, the Preservation Green Lab report found that neighborhoods like Pike/Pine with smaller, older building stocks “support higher levels of small businesses and non-chain business, helping to keep dollars in the local economy, and providing more resilience against future economic storms.”<sup>44</sup>

While the benefits of small, locally owned retail are considerable, they are not immune to negative externalities with regard to social equity. “Because commercial streets take such a central role in building local neighborhood identity, they are fundamental to understanding the process of inclusion and exclusion at the neighborhood level.”<sup>45</sup> In his 2007 study of Abbot Kinney Boulevard in Venice, California, Andrew Deener presents a commercial corridor doing many things “right” – it is devoid of chain stores and full of lively interactions – but at the same time the phenomenon is *symbolically owned* by one social group. As a result, the area is losing diversity and is no longer the “economic and racial mixing ground” old residents remember.<sup>46</sup> This reveals how confusing and complicated the impacts of gentrification can be. There is the potential for the changes in Pike/Pine to result in a neighborhood that is objectively better in many ways while simultaneously “overlooking the ways in which these cumulative changes overshadow the interests of long-term residents who now feel excluded.”<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Preservation Green Lab, 3.

<sup>45</sup> Andrew Deener, “Commerce as the Structure and Symbol of Neighborhood Life: Reshaping the Meaning of Community in Venice, California,” *City & Community* 6, no. 1 (2007), 294.

<sup>46</sup> Deener, 292.

<sup>47</sup> Deener, 295.

The outcry about gentrification in Pike/Pine suggests that residents do feel the *profound attachment* to place that Relph described, and that they see their *meanings*, for example LGBTQ mecca, and *activities*, for example connecting with friends, displaced. While historic preservation tools can protect physical spaces, what can be done to protect the other elements making up identity of place? Can a legislative tool like the PPCOD protect neighborhood character while allowing for growth?

Melissa Baldock explores preservation of the intangible character of place, in her article “Preserving the Honky-Tonk: Coney Island’s Future in its Amusement Past.” While traditional preservation places value in historically important uses and architectural significance, Baldock demonstrates the value in preserving something intangible and vernacular. She argues that in the case of Coney Island, an amusement park and an iconic playground of the middle class, it is more important to preserve its recreation use and low-brow honky-tonk atmosphere than its structures.<sup>48</sup> This suggests that a successful vernacular conservation strategy should look not just at physical structures but also the relationships between people and place.

### The Call of the City

It is not surprising that there is a renewed interest in urban living for middle-class professionals in Seattle and across the country. This phenomenon can be interpreted as a backlash against single-use residential communities that lack third places. The middle-class return to cities is half of the phenomenon coined “the great inversion” by Alan

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<sup>48</sup> Melissa E. Baldock, “Preserving the Honky-Tonk: Coney Island’s Future in its Amusement Past,” *Future Anterior* 1, no. 1 (2004).

Ehrenhalt in his book *The Great Inversion and the Future of the American City*. The other half is the movement of lower-income groups, particularly immigrants to the suburbs. Ehrenhalt identifies retail as one of the factors driving the middle class to the cities.<sup>49</sup> Pike/Pine with its quirky shops, music venues, active streets, and nightlife, would naturally attract those people seeking to live in communities where social interactions occur organically outside of the home.

Amongst these urban migrators is the group Richard Florida describes as the creative class. Florida writes, “What [the creative class] looks for in communities are abundant high-quality amenities and experiences, an openness to diversity of all kinds, and above all else the opportunity to validate their identities as creative people.”<sup>50</sup> Florida’s focus on this so-called creative class as drivers of economic development has gained much popularity; however, it has also been criticized for taking a narrow view of diversity and ignoring issues of inequality.<sup>51</sup>

Pike/Pine with its density, arts and diverse culture has the economy and resources that appears to be what these creative professionals want. However, Florida emphasizes that they seek authenticity of experience rather than a commercialized package.<sup>52</sup> As Pike/Pine redevelopment is fueled by demand from these groups, and experiences are manufactured, there is the risk of losing that very authenticity. The Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay seeks to preserve that authenticity and unique

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<sup>49</sup> Alan Ehrenhalt, *The Great Inversion and the Future of the American City*, New York: Vintage Books, 2013.

<sup>50</sup> Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, New York: Basic Books 2002, 218.

<sup>51</sup> Edward J. Blakely and Nancey Green Leigh, *Planning Local Economic Development: Theory and Practice*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2010, 93.

<sup>52</sup> Florida 2014, 187.

neighborhood character against the changing forces of gentrification. This study explores those changes and evaluates the PPCOD's efficacy.

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## Chapter 3 Methodology

In order to clarify the phenomenon of changing retail character in the Pike/Pine Corridor, I will present a case study of the current state of development in the neighborhood. The first element of the case study is an inventory of recent development projects. The second element is a comparative analysis of retail use in four of those projects before and after redevelopment.

### Development Inventory Methodology

The purpose of this element is to document the current state of the Pike/Pine corridor in terms of retail transformation. In order to document retail transformation, I began with an inventory of redevelopment projects in the Pike/Pine Corridor from 2010 to today. I chose this time frame for several reasons. First, by using a short window I can look specifically at recent changes. Second, by starting in 2010 the sample data coincides with census data, which is helpful both for the purpose of this project and for potential future research. Third, the sample includes projects vested before and after the PPCOD was adopted in July 2009.

I collected this information (1) by contacting the Office of Planning and Community Development (previously the Department of Planning and Development), (2) by accessing public property records via the King County Parcel Viewer<sup>53</sup> and the City of Seattle Permit and Property Record Search tool<sup>54</sup>, and (3) reconnaissance in Pike/Pine.

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<sup>53</sup> "Parcel Viewer2.0," *King County GIS Center*, <http://www.kingcounty.gov/operations/GIS/PropResearch/ParcelViewer.aspx>

<sup>54</sup> "Permit and Property Record Search," *The City of Seattle*, <http://web6.seattle.gov/dpd/edms/>

My initial inventory yielded 32 projects that are under construction, recently completed, or in the permitting process. Because I am especially interested in current retail uses I eliminated six projects that are currently under construction, eight that are in the permitting stage, one that is constructed but still in the process tenant improvements, and one – a school gymnasium – that contains no retail uses. This yielded an inventory of 17 projects with active commercial use. I then inventoried all of the retail tenants, supplementing the information I collected by observation in Pike/Pine, with information from Yelp.com<sup>55</sup> and individual business websites.

### Comparative Analysis Methodology

After establishing the current state of development in Pike/Pine, I sought to clarify the perceived change in commercial uses by taking a close look at a sample of projects identified in the inventory. As established in chapter one, there is a perception that recent developments are diluting the gritty, quirky, local character of Pike/Pine by creating large, sterile, high-end environment geared towards newly arrived young professionals rather than existing residents. The following four properties comprise a diverse sample in terms of location, size of retail, and types of tenants. Together, they stand to clarify changes in nature of commercial uses pre- and post-redevelopment as well as promote a discussion of the importance of size versus the value of use:

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<sup>55</sup> Yelp.com is a website with crowdsourced reviews of local businesses.

- Sunset Electric (1530 11<sup>th</sup> Avenue)

*This project, vested after the PPCOD was adopted, was the first to be completed. It now has one large single-tenant retail space. Previously, the space had no retail.*

- REO Flats (1515 14<sup>th</sup> Avenue)

*This project was also vested after the PPCOD was adopted. It had multiple retail spaces before and after redevelopment and some of the tenants have returned.*

- Terravita (500 Pine Street)

*This project was vested before PPCOD was adopted and is archetypal of the kind of development that inspired conservation overlay. Previously, the block-long site had multiple retail spaces, now it has two large units.*

- Starbucks (1124 Pine Street)

*This is one of very few single use projects in the study area. It is currently one large commercial use. In these ways it is different than the other three sample projects and cannot be directly compared with them. However, I have included it because it stands to reveal the importance of use rather than size as well as the importance of a diversity of sizes.*

In order to clarify the perceived change in commercial uses, I analyzed the projects by posing three questions. These questions allow me to measure the extent to which new developments meet the intent of the PCCOD legislation in terms of encouraging

small, diverse, local businesses. I used the following City materials to establish legislative intent and develop the questions:

- The 2008 Pike/Pine Neighborhood Conservation Study,<sup>56</sup> a preliminary report on neighborhood character and recommendations commissioned by the City. Its findings are based in part on interviews with neighborhood stakeholders. Referred to as the 2008 conservation study.
- The 2009 Proposed Amendments Report produced by the City,<sup>57</sup> which followed the 2008 conservation study and informed the first PPCOD ordinance adopted in 2009. Referred to as the 2009 report.
- The 2013 Proposal to amend the Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District,<sup>58</sup> a staff report that informed the most recent amendment of the PPCOD ordinance and responded to larger than anticipated developments between 2011 and 2013. Referred to as the 2013 staff report.
- The current PPCOD ordinance adopted in 2014,<sup>59</sup> which is the fourth iteration of the PPCOD ordinance since its 2009 adoption. Referred to as the PPCOD ordinance.

The 2008 conservation study, 2009 report and the 2013 staff report explicitly indicate that encouraging small, diverse local businesses is one of the intentions of the

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<sup>56</sup> Lund Consulting, Pike/Pine Neighborhood Conservation Study: Neighborhood Character and Recommendations, 2008.

<sup>57</sup> Department of Planning and Development, *Proposed Amendments to the Pike/Pine Overlay District and Related Rezones Phase 1 Report and Recommendation*, Seattle, Feb. 1, 2009.

<sup>58</sup> Offices of City Councilmembers Tom Rasmussen and Sally Clark, "Staff Report: Proposal to Amend the Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District," (Staff Report, Seattle City Council, 2013).

<sup>59</sup> Seattle, Washington, Council Bill Number: 118096, Ordinance Number: 124503, adopted June 16, 2014.

PPCOD ordinance. Based on that language, the first question I pose for each property in the sample is:

- **Are the businesses small?** According to the PPCOD ordinance, “all structures that include more than 5,000 square feet (sq. ft.) of commercial uses<sup>60</sup> at street level...shall include commercial spaces at street level for small, individual business establishments that average 2,000 sq. ft. or less in size. Therefore, for the purpose of the case study I consider a small business to be one that occupies approximately 2,000 sq. ft. of space. If available, I used data acquired from the City to determine square footage.

The second question I pose for each property is:

- **Are the businesses diverse?** The word “diverse” does not appear in the PPCOD ordinance. According to the 2008 conservation study, diverse uses, as well as diverse culture, are key elements of the neighborhood character.<sup>61</sup> More specifically, the mix of uses that defines the neighborhood include “arts-related uses, gay and lesbian bars and dance clubs, straight nightclubs and other neighborhood gathering places such as coffee shops.”<sup>62</sup> Neighborhood stakeholders cited concern that “there are now fewer gay bars and clubs...than before”<sup>63</sup> and envisioned a future for Pike/Pine that retains the “small scale, individualistic retail businesses that give the neighborhood character.”<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Floor area used for performing arts theaters, arts facilities, parking and access is excluded.

<sup>61</sup> The other elements cited are architecture, housing, and a community of neighbors. Lund Consulting, 23.

<sup>62</sup> Lund Consulting, 27.

<sup>63</sup> Lund Consulting, 24.

<sup>64</sup> Lund Consulting, 23.

Therefore, for the purpose of the case study, I consider how individualistic the businesses are, and whether or not they include neighborhoods signature uses such as arts, gay and lesbian specific uses, nightclubs and other gathering places.

Finally, the third question I pose for each property is:

- **Are the businesses local?** The word “local” also does not appear in the PPCOD ordinance. The 2008 conservation study cites local uses as a key element of neighborhood character<sup>65</sup> and indicates that “the relative paucity of major chain stores contributes....to the neighborhood’s unique and independent flavor and look.”<sup>66</sup> According to that same document, stakeholders consider this one of the most important elements to conserve. According to stakeholders, archetypal Pike/Pine businesses “are owned and frequented by people who live in the neighborhood” and rely “almost entirely on neighborhood food traffic.”<sup>67</sup> Therefore, for the purpose of the case study, I consider whether or not the businesses are locally owned and if they are part of a larger chain. I also consider if their clientele are primarily residents.

In order to help answer these questions and analyze the projects, I recorded the following information about each property:

- The size (if available) and number of commercial units before and after redevelopment. If available, I include a street level floor plan for the current development.

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<sup>65</sup> Lund Consulting, 23.

<sup>66</sup> Lund Consulting, 25.

<sup>67</sup> Lund Consulting, 28.

- The commercial uses and tenants before and after redevelopment.

In order to provide the reader with context for the projects, I recorded the following information about each property:

- The location and size of the lot
- The number of character structures on the site prior to redevelopment and their current status
- The year the redevelopment was completed, the number of stories and the gross floor area. If available, I also include the square footage and unit count for all current uses (e.g. residential).
- Photographs of the façade(s) before and after redevelopment<sup>68</sup>

Finally, for the reader's reference, I also included:

- Parcel number
- Project number

I collected this information (1) by contacting the Office of Planning and Community Development (previously the Department of Planning and Development), (2) by accessing public property records via the King County Parcel Viewer<sup>69</sup> and the City of Seattle Permit and Property Record Search tool<sup>70</sup>.

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<sup>68</sup> When possible I used my own photos. Photos that are not my own are attributed to the author and meet the fair use guidelines indicated by the University of Washington Libraries.

<sup>69</sup> "Parcel Viewer2.0," *King County GIS Center*, <http://www.kingcounty.gov/operations/GIS/PropResearch/ParcelViewer.aspx>

<sup>70</sup> "Permit and Property Record Search," *The City of Seattle*, <http://web6.seattle.gov/dpd/edms/>

## Caveats

Like all case studies, this one can be used to describe a particular situation, but cannot be used to determine cause and effect. Case studies are subject to expectancy biases meaning that as the sole researcher, my biases may have subconsciously affected the way I collected and interpreted information. Because Pike/Pine is an atypical area, a case study is an effective tool of inquiry, however, for the same reason it is not appropriate for generalization and application to other neighborhoods.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 3rd ed. Applied Social Research Methods Series; v. 5. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2003.

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## Chapter 4 Case Study

### Development Activity

From auto row, to LGBTQ community hub, to cradle of grunge music, to quirky retail corridor, the identity of the Pike/Pine Corridor has evolved through the years and it continues to transform today. Nowadays, density and rapid growth are part of what make Pike/Pine special. Pike/Pine is physically small, its area is just 26 square blocks,<sup>72</sup> and unusually dense. The two census tracts that overlap with Pike/Pine have a population density of approximately 30,000 people per square mile<sup>73,74</sup> putting them well above the Seattle's overall density of 7,962 and just above New York City's overall density of 28,056.<sup>75</sup> They are among only 10 tracts in Seattle with a population density greater than 27,000 people per square mile. With the exception of two tracts in the University District, the others are all located near Pike/Pine in Capitol Hill, First Hill, and Downtown.

Since 2010, thirty-two redevelopment projects (see Figure 4.1) have been completed in the Pike/Pine Corridor and there are 10 more in progress. Given the intense redevelopment activity, it comes as no surprise that Pike/Pine is also one of the fastest growing neighborhoods in Seattle. In fact, since the 2010 census, one of the two

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<sup>72</sup> Preservation Green Lab, *Older, Smaller, Better: Measuring How the Character of Buildings and Blocks Influences Urban Vitality*, (Seattle: Preservation Green Lab, 2014), 44).

<sup>73</sup> The actual population densities are 28,438 (Census Tract 75) and 31,502 (Census Tract 84).

<sup>74</sup> Gene Balk, "Seattle Among Top 10 Most Densely Populated Big Cities in the U.S. for First Time Ever," *Seattle Times*, Feb. 7, 2016.

<sup>75</sup> Balk.

Pike/Pine census tracts grew at a staggering 40.3% making it the fourth greatest<sup>76</sup> increase in the city.

Twenty-eight of the 32 projects are mixed-use, meaning that each site has both residential use in the form of apartments or condominiums, and commercial use. The commercial use is primarily retail although there are some that also feature office space or live/work units on the ground floor. Two of the mixed-use projects also feature cultural space: 12<sup>th</sup> Avenue Arts (1620 12<sup>th</sup> Avenue) features two theater spaces and Hugo House (1634 11<sup>th</sup> Avenue) is a community center for writers. Of the four remaining projects, three are commercial only, and one is an athletic facility for a private school.

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<sup>76</sup> It's growth has been exceeded only by two tracts in South Lake Union and one in Lower Queen Anne, all of which are still less dense than the both Pike/Pine tracts. See Balk.

Table 4.1 Pike/Pine development projects 2010 - present

Project Name & Address	Vested Prior to PPCOD	Status	Residential	Commercial
Bellevue Terrace 1623 Bellevue Ave	Yes	Complete	x	x
Citizen Aparments 1222 E Madison	Yes	Complete	x	x
Vox 1527 15th Ave	Yes	Complete	x	x
Terravita 514 E Pine Street	Yes	Complete	x	x
Evolve 954 E Union	Yes	Complete	x	x
Three20 320 E Pine (1605 Bellevue Ave)	Yes	Complete	x	x
Viva 1111 E Union St	Yes	Complete	x	x
Collins on Pine 1222 E Pine Street	Yes	Complete	x	x
Optimism 1158 Broadway		Complete		x
REO Flats 1515 14th Avenue		Complete	x	x
Sunset Electric 1530 11th Ave		Complete	x	x
12th Avenue Arts 1620 12th Ave		Complete	x	x
Starbuck's 1124 Pike Street		Complete		x
Lark 952 E. Seneca Street		Complete		x
Chophouse Row 1424 11th Avenue		Complete	x	x
Cue Apartment 721 Pine Street		Complete	x	x
Pine + Minor 1519 Minor Ave		Complete	x	x

As demonstrated in the chapter two, commercial uses are a contributing factor to neighborhood character. While gentrification is often discussed in terms of demographic changes, in mixed-use neighborhoods change is also accompanied by the

opening and closing of businesses. A walking tour of Pike/Pine appears to confirm the perception of higher-end price points for the goods and services available in the new developments. To test that, and to generally understand what types of businesses are opening in Pike/Pine, I inventoried all of the businesses in the 17 projects with active commercial spaces (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Commercial inventory

Project Name & Address	Businesses
Bellevue Terrace 1623 Bellevue Ave	Broadcast Coffee Roasters (Coffee & Tea) \$
Citizen Apartments 1222 E Madison	Banner Bank (Banks & Credit Unions) The Growl Store (Beer Bar) \$\$ Emerald City Spinal Care (Chiropractors, Massage Therapy) LYU Boutique (Women's Clothing, Men's Clothing)
Vox 1527 15th Ave	Naka (Japanese) \$\$\$\$
Terravita 514 E Pine Street	Rival Fitness (Gyms, Trainers) 500East (American (New), Beer, Wine & Spirits) \$\$
Evolve 954 E Union	The Gokan by Musashi (Sushi Bars, Asian Fusion) \$\$ vacant space
Three20 320 E Pine (1605 Bellevue Ave)	Kizuki Ramen & Izakaya (Ramen, Vegetarian) \$\$ Cherry Street Coffee (Coffee & Tea, Café) \$
Viva 1111 E Union St	Likelihood (Shoe Stores, Men's Clothing ) \$\$\$\$ Essentials London (Hair Salons) \$\$ Ines Patisserie (Bakeries, Coffee & Tea, Chocolatiers) \$\$\$
Collins on Pine 1222 E Pine Street	Vivra (Wine Bars, French) \$\$ Manao (Thai) \$\$ Pure Barre (Barre Classes, Gyms)
Optimism 1158 Broadway	Optimism Brewing Company (Breweries) \$
REO Flats 1515 14th Avenue	Omega Ouzeri (Greek) \$\$\$ Nue (Tapas/Small Plates, Cocktail Bars) \$\$ Porchlight Coffee & Records (Coffee & Tea, Vinyl Records) \$ Blue Sky Cleaners (Dry Cleaning & Laundry) \$\$\$
Sunset Electric 1530 11th Ave	STOUT (Pubs) \$\$
12th Avenue Arts 1620 12th Ave	U:Don Fresh Japanese Noodle Station (Japanese, Soup) \$ Pel'Meni Dumpling Tzar (Russian) \$ Rachel's Ginger Beer (Specialty Food, Breweries) \$\$
Starbuck's 1124 Pike Street	Starbucks Reserve Roastery & Tasting Room (Coffee & Tea) \$\$
Lark 952 E. Seneca Street	Lark (Tapas/Small Plates, American (New)) \$\$\$
Chophouse Row 1424 11th Avenue	Amandine Bakeshop (Bakeries) \$\$ Empire Espresso (Coffee & Tea) \$\$ Chop Shop Cafe & Bar (Bars, Cafes) \$\$\$ NICHE outside (Home & Garden) Kurt Farm Shop (Cheese Shop, Ice Cream & Frozen Yogurt) \$\$ PLAY on the Hill (Pet Boarding/Pet Sitting)
Cue Apartment 721 Pine Street	Bill's Off Broadway (Pizza) \$\$ Vacant Space Killion (Men's Clothing) \$\$
Pine + Minor 1519 Minor Ave	Xplore CrossFit (Trainers, Gyms) Vacant Space
<p>Price information from Yelp.com indicated when available: Retail: \$\$\$\$ ultra-high end, \$\$\$ pricey, \$\$ moderate, \$ inexpensive. Restaurants: \$\$\$\$ (\$61 or more per dish), \$\$\$ (\$31-60), \$\$ (\$11-30), \$ (\$10 or less)</p>	

Of the 37 businesses now open, the overwhelming majority (see Figure 4.1) are eating and drinking establishments such as restaurants, bars, coffee shops, and bakeries. Eight businesses provide personal services such as fitness, dry cleaning, hair car, and pet boarding. Only four are retail shops, three of which sell clothing, the other is a home and garden store. One of the coffee shops, Porchlight Coffee & Records (1517 14th Ave) also sells vinyl records could be considered a fifth retail store. See Table 4.3 for a full list.

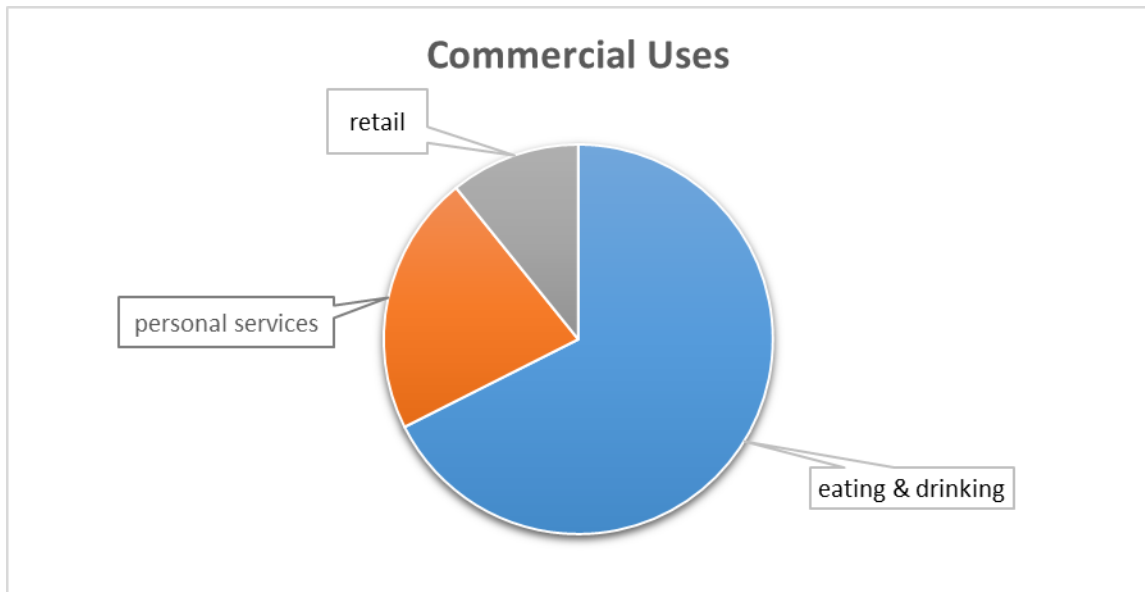


Figure 4.1 Commercial uses by category

Table 4.3 Commercial uses

Project Name	Business Name	Category	Description
Terravita	500East	eating & drinking	New American, Beer, Wine & Spirits
Chophouse Row	Amandine Bakeshop	eating & drinking	Bakeries
Cue Apartments	Bill's Off Broadway	eating & drinking	Pizza
Bellevue Terrace	Broadcast Coffee Roasters	eating & drinking	Coffee & Tea
Three20	Cherry Street Coffee	eating & drinking	Coffee & Tea, Café
Chophouse Row	Chop Shop Cafe & Bar	eating & drinking	Bars, Cafes
Chophouse Row	Empire Espresso	eating & drinking	Coffee & Tea
Viva	Ines Patisserie	eating & drinking	Bakeries, Coffee & Tea, Chocolatiers
Three20	Kizuki Ramen & Izakaya	eating & drinking	Ramen, Vegetarian
Chophouse Row	Kurt Farm Shop	eating & drinking	Cheese Shop, Ice Cream & Frozen Yogurt
Lark	Lark	eating & drinking	Tapas/Small Plates, New American
Collins on Pine	Manao	eating & drinking	Thai
Vox	Naka	eating & drinking	Japanese
REO Flats	Nue	eating & drinking	Tapas/Small Plates, Cocktail Bars
REO Flats	Omega Ouzeri	eating & drinking	Greek
Optimism	Optimism Brewing Company	eating & drinking	Breweries
12th Avenue Arts	Pel'Meni Dumpling Tzar	eating & drinking	Russian
REO Flats	Porchlight Coffee & Records	eating & drinking	Coffee & Tea, Vinyl Records
12th Avenue Arts	Rachel's Ginger Beer	eating & drinking	Specialty Food, Breweries
Starbucks	Starbucks Reserve Roastery & Tasting Room	eating & drinking	Coffee & Tea
Sunset Electric	STOUT	eating & drinking	Pubs
Evolve	The Gokan by Musashi	eating & drinking	Sushi Bars, Asian Fusion
Citizen Apartments	The Growl Store	eating & drinking	Beer Bar
12th Avenue Arts	U:Don Fresh Japanese Noodle Station	eating & drinking	Japanese, Soup
Collins on Pine	Vivra	eating & drinking	Wine Bars, French
Citizen Apartments	Banner Bank	personal services	Banks & Credit Unions
REO Flats	Blue Sky Cleaners	personal services	Dry Cleaning & Laundry
Citizen Apartments	Emerald City Spinal Care	personal services	Chiropractors, Massage Therapy
Viva	Essentials London	personal services	Hair Salons
Chophouse Row	PLAY on the Hill	personal services	Pet Boarding/Pet Sitting
Collins on Pine	Pure Barre	personal services	Barre Classes, Gyms
Terravita	Rival Fitness	personal services	Gyms, Trainers
Pine + Minor	Xplore CrossFit	personal services	Trainers, Gyms
Cue Apartments	Killion	retail	Men's Clothing
Viva	Likelihood	retail	Shoe Stores, Men's Clothing
Citizen Apartments	LYU Boutique	retail	Women's Clothing, Men's Clothing
Chophouse Row	NICHE outside	retail	Home & Garden

According to Yelp.com, more than half of the eating and drinking establishments in the new buildings are moderately priced, about half of the remainder are inexpensive and the rest are pricey to ultra-high-end (See Figure 4.2). Yelp.com does not collect price information for all other types of businesses and therefore, there is not enough price range data available for the personal services and retail categories to make a meaningful comparison.

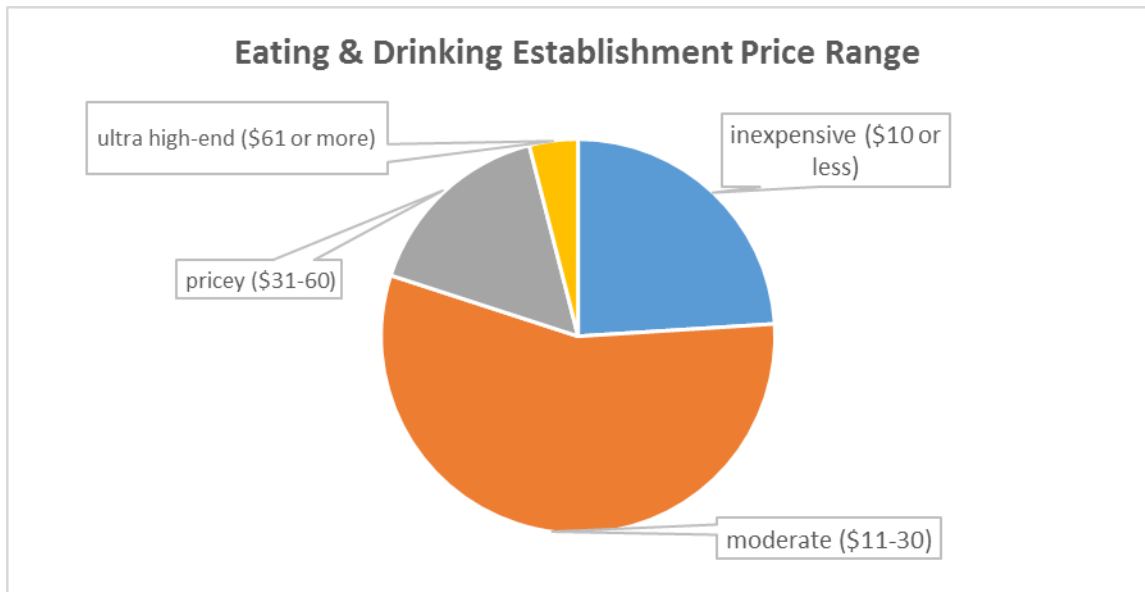


Figure 4.2 Eating & drinking price range by price per plate (Source: Yelp.com)

## Comparative Analysis

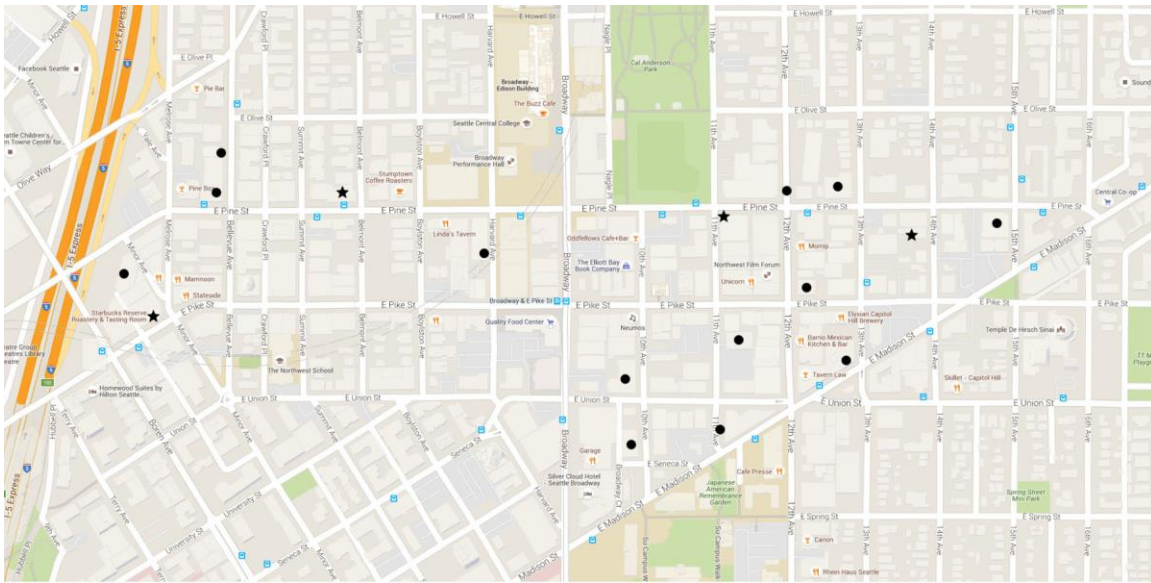


Figure 4.3 Map of commercial inventory properties, stars indicate properties from the comparative analysis sample. (Source: Google Maps, February 2016)

### Sunset Electric (1530 11<sup>th</sup> Avenue)

Sunset Electric was the first project to be permitted after the PPCOD was established. The property is located on a 14,404 square foot lot on the southeast corner of Pine Street and 11<sup>th</sup> Avenue.

Table 4.4 Sunset Electric site<sup>77</sup>

Sunset Electric Site	
Parcel Number	6003500305
Lot Size	14,404 sq. ft.
Character Structures?	One, façade retained

<sup>77</sup> Data in all tables was collected from the City of Seattle.

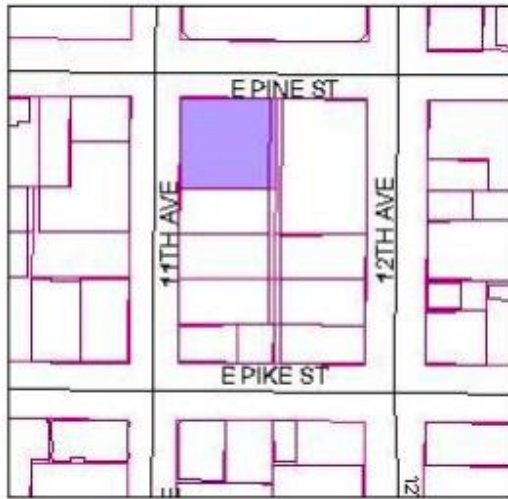


Figure 4.4 Sunset Electric Location (Source: City of Seattle)

The current development is a seven-story mixed-use building with 92 apartment units, one 5,700 sq. ft. retail unit, and 34 parking spaces. There are three street-level live/work spaces opening onto the alley parallel to 11th Avenue. It retains the façade of the original 1926 character structure. It also retains some design elements of the historic internal structure: a naturally lit central courtyard calls back to the skylights of the original building and the most visible portion of the commercial space, on the corner of Pike and 11th, retains the original ceiling height. The latter was a condition established during the design review process that allowed the developer to add mezzanines in other, less prominent parts of the street level commercial space.<sup>78</sup>

Prior to redevelopment, there was one structure on the site. Previous uses included an auto paint shop and garage, an auto electrical supply showroom and most recently a used sporting goods store. That store closed in the 1990s when REI left its

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<sup>78</sup>Department of Planning & Development, “Final Recommendations of the Capitol/FirstHill/Central Area Design Review Board,” (Report, July 21, 2010), 6.

original location on the same block. The site then remained vacant, becoming a bulletin board of sorts known as the “poster wall” because it was constantly plastered with advertisements.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Bryan Cohen, “Poster Wall’s Future May be Short,” *Capitol Hill Seattle Blog*, July 23, 2009.



Figure 4.5 Sunset Electric in 2011, before redevelopment (Source: Seattle Department of Neighborhoods), and in 2014, after redevelopment (Source: Sunset Electric Apartments)<sup>80</sup>

Table 4.5 Sunset Electric development and structures

<b>Sunset Electric Development and Structures</b>	
<b>Project Number</b>	3010451
<b>Year Completed</b>	2014
<b>Stories</b>	7
<b>Gross Floor Area</b>	103,100 sq. ft.

Table 4.6 Sunset Electric current uses

<b>Sunset Electric Current Uses</b>	
<b>apartments</b>	92 units
<b>apartments (gross floor area)</b>	92,300 sq. ft.
<b>retail</b>	1 units
<b>retail (gross floor area)</b>	7,400 sq. ft.
<b>parking</b>	34 spaces
<b>parking (gross floor area)</b>	3,400 sq. ft.

Early plans called for five commercial units ranging from 1,463 to 2,151 sq. ft. each (see figure 5.6). However, today Sunset Electric has only one 5,700 sq. ft. site occupying the 11<sup>th</sup> Avenue frontage including the prominent corner with Pine Street. The retail tenant, Stout, is a beer-focused restaurant owned by Paul Reder, an established business owner, who also owns The Tap House Grill which has locations in downtown Seattle and Bellevue.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Justin Carder, "Stout makes plans for big pour in Pike/Pine," *Capitol Hill Seattle Blog*, May 27, 2014.



**FLOOR PLAN - STREET LEVEL**

SCALE: 1" = 20'-0"

Figure 4.6 Sunset Electric street level floor plans from 2010 design review (Plan image created by Weber Thompson. Source: Department of Planning & Development)



Figure 4.7 Sunset Electric street level floor plans today (Source: Sunset Electric Apartments)

Table 4.7 Sunset Electric uses before and after redevelopment

Sunset Electric Commercial Uses		
Former	Current	
Vacant immediately prior to redevelopment	STOUT (pub)	5,700 sq. ft.

### Sunset Electric Analysis

*Are the businesses small?* No. At 5,700 sq. ft., Stout is nearly three times bigger than the average size of 2,000 sq. ft. that the PPCOD ordinance gives for small businesses. In fact, Stout is larger than most Capitol Hill restaurants.<sup>82</sup> An early plan from 2009, proposed five smaller units.

*Are the businesses diverse?* Somewhat. In terms of use, Stout is a pub and gathering place so it fits the list of signature uses<sup>83</sup> in Pike/Pine. While not a chain, it is not particularly individualistic. Its high ceilings and locally designed furnishings<sup>84</sup> make give it an inviting and cool feel. Its upscale menu and squeaky-clean design are in keeping with the new Pike/Pine; however, it lacks the grittiness and individualism of past Pike/Pine.

*Are the businesses local?* Yes, but less so than before. Stout is not a chain; however, the owner is an area restaurateur with properties in Bellevue and downtown Seattle. That is departure from Pike/Pine business of the past, which were individual businesses owned by people who live in the neighborhood.

<sup>82</sup> Carder, 2014.

<sup>83</sup> Arts, gay and lesbian specific uses, nightclubs, and other gathering places. See chapter 3.

<sup>84</sup> Stout, <http://www.stoutpubs.com/> (accessed Feb. 16, 2016).

## REO Flats (1515 14<sup>th</sup> Avenue)

The REO Flats was the third project permitted after the PPCOD was established and the first that also had retail prior to redevelopment. The property is located on a mid-block parcel on 14<sup>th</sup> Avenue between Pike Street and Pine Street.

Table 4.8 REO Flats site

REO Flats Site	
Parcel Number	600300-0260
Lot Size	20,475 sq. ft. One, façade retained
Character Structures?	One, demolished
Noncharacter Structures?	One, demolished



Figure 4.8 REO Flats Location (Source: City of Seattle)

The current development is a seven-story mixed-use building with 108 apartment units and 6,572 sq. ft. of retail. It retains the façade of one character structure.

Prior to redevelopment, there were three structures on the site. Two of them were character structures but only one, the Porch Light Building, was incorporated into the redevelopment. The other two buildings were demolished. In a nod to the area's auto history, an REO Speed Wagon mural adorns the southern wall.



Figure 4.9 From top to bottom: Porch Light building in 2011 before redevelopment (Source: Seattle Department of Neighborhoods), in 2016 after redevelopment (Source: author), and again, after redevelopment (Source: author)

Table 4.9 REO Flats redevelopment and structures

<b>REO Flats Development and Structures</b>	
<b>Project Number</b>	3012652
<b>Year Completed</b>	2014
<b>Stories</b>	7
<b>Gross Floor Area</b>	118,800 sq. ft.

Table 4.10 REO Flats current uses

<b>REO Flats Current Uses</b>		
<b>apartments</b>	108	units
<b>apartments (gross floor area)</b>	73,000	sq. ft.
<b>retail</b>	4	units
<b>retail (gross floor area)</b>	6,572	sq. ft.
<b>parking</b>	111	spaces
<b>parking (gross floor area)</b>		sq. ft.

Prior to redevelopment, the site had five businesses. Three of them, a restaurant, clothing store, and photo shop, closed prior to construction. The other two, a dry cleaner and a hybrid coffee shop / record store, temporarily moved to a site nearby owned by the same landlord. They have since returned to their previous spaces. According to one of the business owners, the square footage of their units is similar to what it was before construction and the rent has increased but not significantly.

There are two new businesses, both restaurants. Omega Ouzeri, serves high-end Greek food and is named after its owner. Ouzeri also owns two moderately priced Greek restaurants in Seattle: Vios Café in Capitol Hill and Vios Café at Third Place Books in

Ravenna. The other restaurant, Nue, serves globally inspired small plates and is the first endeavor for its owner, Chris Cvetkovich.<sup>85</sup>



Figure 4.10 REO Flats street level floor plan (Source: REO Flats. Original plan created by Johnson Architecture and Planning LLC. Author cropped for legibility and added tenant labels)

<sup>85</sup> Justin Carder, "Nue Will Bring a Modernist's Global Street Food Journey to 14th Ave," Capitol Hill Seattle Blog, Sep. 4, 2014.

Table 4.11 REO Flats commercial uses before and after redevelopment

REO Flats Commercial Uses					
Former			Current		
Porchlight Coffee & Records (Coffee & Tea, Vinyl Records)			Porchlight Coffee & Records (Coffee & Tea, Vinyl Records)	670	sq. ft.
Blue Sky Cleaners (Dry Cleaning & Laundry)			Blue Sky Cleaners (Dry Cleaning & Laundry)	765	sq. ft.
Spun Collective (clothing store) - CLOSED			Omega Ouzeri (Greek)	4,097	sq. ft.
Meza (Restaurant) - CLOSED			Nue (Tapas/Small Plates, Cocktail Bars)	1,040	sq. ft.
60 Minute Photo - CLOSED					

### REO Flats Analysis

*Are the businesses small?* Yes, three of the four businesses are smaller than 2,000 sq. ft. and the average size of the four is less than 2,000 sq. ft.

*Are the businesses diverse?* Compared with the other new developments sampled this project has a remarkably diverse mix of businesses. In a sea of new restaurants, it is unusual to see some retained businesses and personal services. The coffee shop and restaurants are gathering places and therefore fit the list of signature uses. However, similar to Stout, the upscale menus and squeaky-clean designs are more in keeping with the new Pike/Pine. The coffee shop – which is also a record store – is one of the more individualistic businesses and fits with the musical legacy of the neighborhood.

*Is it local?* By and large, yes. Although there are two brand new restaurants, there are also two returning businesses, the coffee shop and dry cleaner, that cater to local clientele. Although the dry cleaner is a chain, it is locally owned and only has locations in

Seattle, Kirkland and Bellevue. The restaurants are on the higher end than might have existed ten or fifteen years ago in Pike/Pine, but they are owned by local businessmen, one of whom got his start with, Vios Café, another Capitol Hill restaurant.

#### Terravita (500 Pine Street)

Terravita was vested in 2007 prior to the Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay. It fills an entire block of Pine Street between Summit and Belmont. It was at the vanguard of the large mixed-use redevelopment projects in Pike/Pine that were the impetus for the PPCOD. The existing structures were razed in 2008 but construction was delayed by the financial crisis and a legal petition filed by a neighborhood activist.<sup>86</sup> The site was a gravel parking lot until work resumed in 2011. Work completed in 2012, well after the PPCOD was adopted.

Table 4.12 Terravita site

<b>Terravita Site</b>	
<b>Parcel Number</b>	880490-0790, 880490-0780
<b>Lot Size</b>	18,350 sq. ft.
<b>Character Structures?</b>	none

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<sup>86</sup> Justin Carder, "With Work Underway, What the Capitol Hill People's Parking Lot Development Will Look Like," *Capitol Hill Seattle Blog*, Jan. 31, 2011.



Figure 4.11 Terravita Location (Source: Google Maps)

The current development is a six-story mixed-use building with 108 apartment units and 12,602 sq. ft. of retail. All the structures that existed prior to redevelopment were non-character. They were all demolished.



Figure 4.12 Terravita before redevelopment (Source: Seattle In Memory) and after redevelopment (Source: Build Law PLLC)

Table 4.13 Terravita redevelopment and structures

<b>Terravita Development and Structures</b>	
<b>Project Number</b>	6135100
<b>Year Completed</b>	2012
<b>Stories</b>	6
<b>Gross Floor Area</b>	153,727 sq. ft.

Table 4.14 Terravita current uses

<b>Terravita Current Uses</b>	
<b>apartments</b>	108 units
<b>apartments (gross floor area)</b>	92,062 sq. ft.
<b>retail</b>	2 units
<b>retail (gross floor area)</b>	12,602 sq. ft.
<b>parking</b>	108 spaces
<b>parking (gross floor area)</b>	49,063 sq. ft.

Prior to redevelopment the site had seven businesses. Three of them relocated. Bimbo’s Bitchin’ Burrito Kitchen (now Bimbo’s Cantina) and Cha Cha are now located on Pike Street between 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> Avenues. The boutique moved to Olive Way, but has since closed. The three bars and the grocery all closed.

Early plans called for several commercial units,<sup>87</sup> and the drawings in the master use permit show seven retail spaces. However, today Terravita has only two. The

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<sup>87</sup> Robert Ketcherside, “Why Capitol Hill’s Bauhaus Block Matters,” *Capitol Hill Seattle Blog*, April 24, 2012.

tenants are Rival Fitness, a gym, and 500East Social House, an eating and drinking establishment. When it first opened, 500East was part of national chain World of Beer, but it has since gone independent.

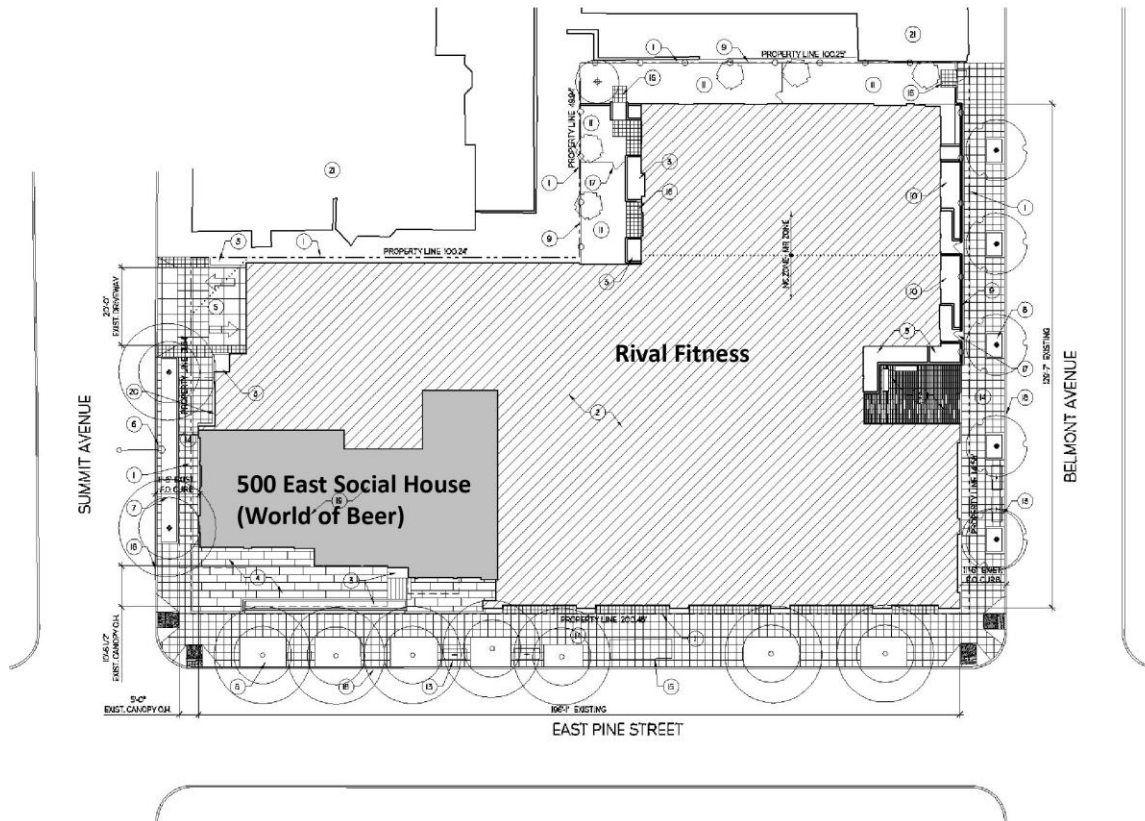


Figure 4.13 Terravita street level floor plans showing (Source: Department of Planning and Development. Original plan created by Slator + Associates LLC, author cropped for legibility and added tenant labels)

Table 4.15 Terravita commercial uses before and after redevelopment<sup>88</sup>

Terravita Commercial Uses	
Former	Current
Kincora (bar)	500East Social House <i>previously World of Beer</i>
Manray (gay bar)	Rival Fitness
Harry's Grocery	
Bus Stop (bar)	
Bimbo's Bitchin' Burrito Kitchen (restaurant)	
Cha Cha (bar)	
Winner's Circle (boutique)	

#### Terravita Analysis

*Are the businesses small?* No, although I was unable to identify square footage for this site, there are only two commercial units within a block-long building, which indicates that the spaces are larger than 2,000 sq. ft. each.

*Are the businesses diverse?* Overall no, Rival Fitness is not a signature use for the neighborhood though 500East Social House is a gathering place. Neither establishment is individualistic; they could exist in any neighborhood. It is also atypical in Pike/Pine for one block to have only two storefronts. As discussed in chapter two, this negatively affects the pedestrian experience on the block.

<sup>88</sup> Square footage not available.

Are the businesses local? Yes, in terms of ownership, both Rival Fitness and 500East Social House businesses are now locally owned. However, until recently 500East Social House was part of the World of Beer national chain.

Starbucks (1124 Pine Street)

The Starbucks project is one of only three non-residential projects permitted since the PPCOD was established. The property is located on the corner of Pine Street and Melrose Avenue, adjacent to where Minor Avenue meets Melrose.

Table 4.16 Starbucks site

Starbucks Site	
Parcel Number	066000-1920
Lot Size	23,000 SF
Character Structures?	Two*, retained
<i>*the buildings are one structure with no structural or fire separation.</i>	



Figure 4.14 Starbucks location (Source: Google Maps)

The Starbucks project is a two-story structure with 15,000 sq. ft. of commercial space that is an adaptation of an existing structure. Though technically it consists of two buildings, they do not have structural or fire separation.



Figure 4.15 Starbucks before redevelopment (Source: Seattle Department of Neighborhoods) and after redevelopment (Source: Starbucks)

Table 4.17 Starbucks redevelopment and structures

Starbucks Development and Structures	
Project Number	6384762
Year Completed	2015
Stories	2
Gross Floor Area	15,923 sq. ft.

Table 4.18 Starbucks current uses

Starbucks Current Uses	
office	1 units
office (gross floor area)	311 sq. ft.
retail	1 units
retail (gross floor area*)	15,621 sq. ft.
parking	unknown spaces
parking (gross floor area*)	16,200 sq. ft.

\*approximate

Constructed in 1920 to be a Packard showroom, over the years the site has been home to a variety of auto related businesses including several dealerships, an auto parts shop, and a garage. Most recently, the site housed a Volvo dealership and service center, an auto garage, and Utrecht, an art supply store. The businesses previously on the site closed before any plans for redevelopment were filed with the City.

Today, the site is home to only one business, Starbucks, though it is unlike any other Starbucks facility. Inside there's a retail store, café, and a roasting facility. The products, both consumables and goods, are notably more expensive than those in a regular Starbucks store.

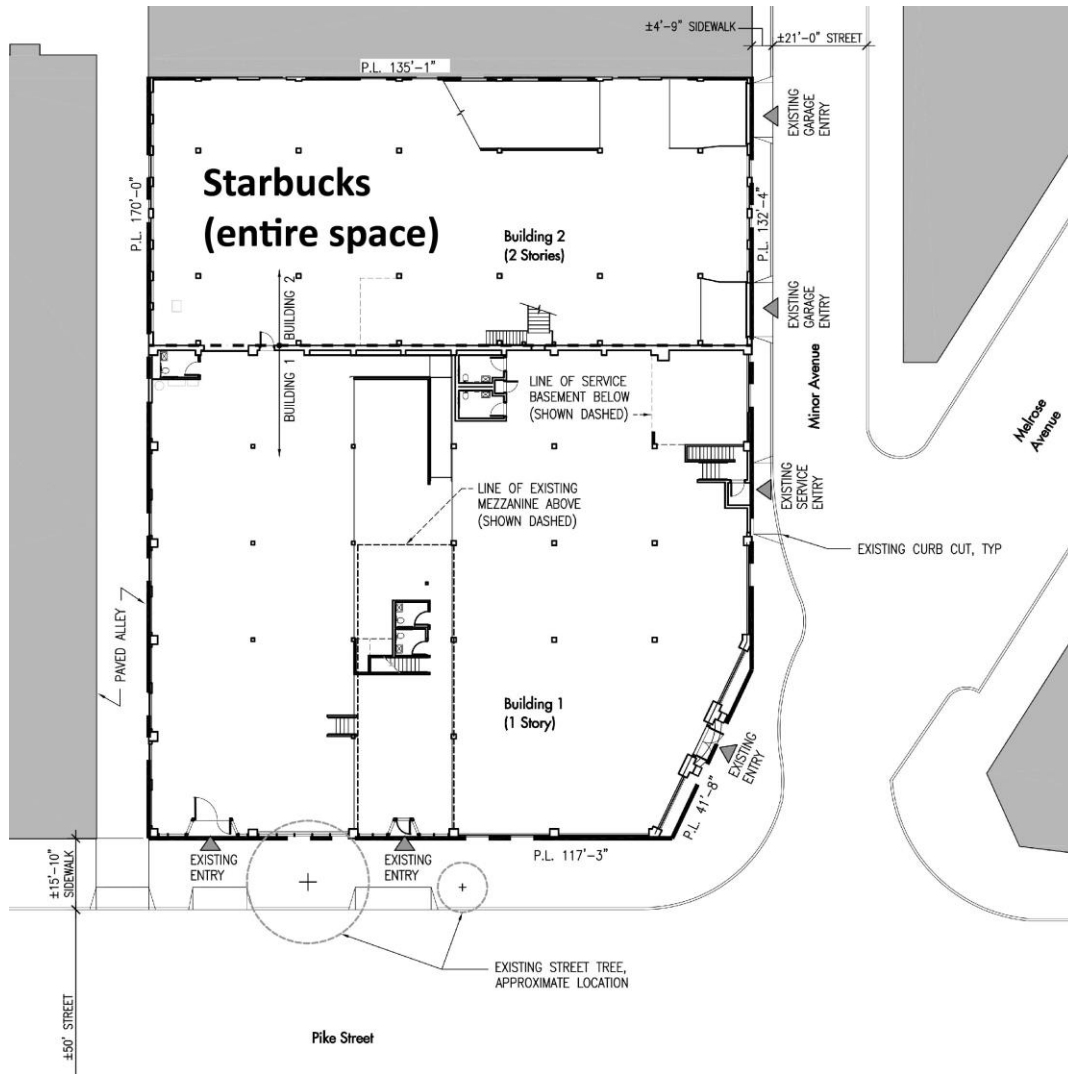


Figure 4.16 Starbucks street level floor plan (Source: Department of Planning and Development. Original plan created by Graham Baba Architects, author cropped for legibility and added tenant labels)

Table 4.19 Starbucks commercial uses before and after redevelopment

Starbucks Commercial Uses	
Former	Current
Utrecht (Art Supply Store)	Starbucks Reserve Roastery & Tasting Room 15,621 sq. ft.
Bob Byers Volvo (Auto Dealership and Garage) Two-story auto repair garage. 12 accessory parking spaces	Two-story parking garage 16,200 sq. ft.

## Starbucks Analysis

*Are the businesses small?* No, Starbucks is nearly seven times larger than 2,000 sq. ft.

*Are the businesses diverse?* Starbucks is a coffee shop and gathering place, two Pike/Pine signature uses. However, as part of a major international chain, it cannot be considered individualistic.

*Is it local?* No, although technically it is owned locally, it is part of a publically traded chain. This shop caters more to visitors than to neighborhood residents. While the three businesses that occupied the site previously provided services and retail geared at residents, the Starbucks Roastery is essentially a tourist attraction.

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(accessed Feb. 15, 2016).

## Chapter 5 Reflections, Lessons and Recommendations

As established in the introduction and literature review, Pike/Pine's eclectic mix of diverse retail contributes to its unique character as a neighborhood. This unique mix can be attributed to an availability of flexible and affordable retail spaces thanks to the declining auto row industry and an openness to urban pioneers, including the LGBTQ community. Now, as the neighborhood rapidly redevelops, there is a perception that the gritty, quirky, local character is being diluted by large, sterile, high-end business geared towards newly arrived young professionals rather than existing residents. The PPCOD was established in part to encourage the small, diverse local businesses that contribute to the Pike/Pine neighborhood character. The four cases analyzed in this study confirm that retail is changing and serve to clarify the nature of the transformation with regard to the size, diversity and localness of the businesses.

In terms of size, all three of the sample projects that had retail prior to redevelopment – REO Flats, Terravita and Starbucks – now have fewer retail spaces than they did before. Therefore, it's likely that on average, the individual spaces are larger than they were previously. However, I cannot confirm this because I was unable to acquire square footage for the commercial spaces prior to development. Of the sample projects, only REO Flats has commercial spaces that averages 2,000 sq. ft. or less and are therefore considered "small" according to the PPCOD ordinance. The most dramatic change in commercial space size is in the Terravita building which went from having seven businesses previously to only two. This was also the only sample project vested

prior to the PPCOD which suggest that the ordinance has been successful in preventing additional extreme changes in commercial space size.

In terms of diversity, businesses are less diverse than they were previously.

According the 2008 conservation study the signature uses that contribute to Pike/Pine neighborhood character are “arts-related uses, gay and lesbian bars and dance clubs, straight nightclubs and other neighborhood gathering places such as coffee shops”.

There are no arts-related uses, no gay and lesbian bars and no nightclubs in the sample projects. There are, however, some neighborhood gathering places so these new developments are not a complete departure from neighborhood character. In terms of the individualistic businesses that stakeholders value it is hard to be conclusive.

However, only one business, Porchlight Records stands out. As a hybrid coffee shop and record store it is unique, and it is a neighborhood gathering place. The four new restaurants and the Starbucks are gathering places as well, but they are higher-end and lack the quirk and grit of the past. Furthermore, the redevelopment of the Terravita property led to the closure and displacement of several gathering places including Manray, a gay bar.

Finally, the businesses are still local, but less so than before. In terms of ownership, with the exception of Starbucks there is still a relative paucity of national chains in the new buildings. All the businesses are owned or headquartered in the Seattle area, however probably not owned by people who live in the neighborhood. In terms of clientele, it is likely that the gym and dry cleaner primarily serve local resident and that Starbucks attracts clients from outside the neighborhood and even the City. However, it

is hard to say for certain without conducting surveys how much the businesses rely on local residents versus visitors.

In sum, retail in the Pike/Pine corridor is less small, less local and less diverse than it was previously. The character of the neighborhood retail has changed and the overwhelming majority of new businesses are moderate-to-high end eating and drinking establishments. Given the role that retail plays in sense of place, it is not surprising that some of the people who live in and visit Pike/Pine perceive changes to neighborhood character.

While the PPCOD has been unable to prevent the dilution of neighborhood character, it has seen some economic and architectural successes.<sup>89</sup> The conservation overlay has been successful in that the neighborhood is economically viable and remains a destination. Financially speaking, it has created sustainability through adding density to an existing framework and expanded the tax base. The redevelopments vested after the adoption of the PPCOD have by and large been more creative, interesting and stylish than what came before. Both the REO Flats and Sunset Electric redevelopments show considerably more sensitivity to the built character of the neighborhood than Terravita, which was vested prior to the PPCOD. Other new projects not covered in this inventory – such as Chophouse Row—do even more in terms of creative reuse of space.

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<sup>89</sup> This study does not focus on architecture; however, it is worth noting that height bonus incentives have resulted in the retention of many historic building facades thereby maintaining the street level appearance of auto row buildings. The value in maintaining just one element of the auto row buildings is debatable.

For Seattle and other cities that value unique neighborhood character, this study is evidence that it is extremely difficult to create or maintain that character through legislation. Interventions such as the PPCOD can regulate size of retail and can encourage economic vitality, but so far they have been unable to proscribe or maintain a certain character.

Indeed, in terms of neighborhood character, it appears the size of retail may not be as important as use. As Baldock asserts in her 2004 article cited in chapter two, a successful vernacular conservation strategy should look not just at physical structures but also how people use the space. While most of the new retail units are relatively small, the high-end, less diverse uses that occupy many of them still contribute to neighborhood character change. On the other hand, there are existing large retail spaces in the area, such as the hardware store on 12<sup>th</sup> Avenue, that accommodate diverse uses, and the Starbucks project, which is very large, replaced other large businesses. Furthermore, one of the biggest criticisms of the overlay district is that preserving just the facades of character structures is not sufficient for preserving neighborhood character. The idea that use is more important than physical size or structure should inform future PPCOD amendments.

Additionally, the City has repeatedly indicated that an intent of the PPCOD is to encourage small, diverse local businesses, however the ordinance does not use the words *diverse* or *local*, nor does it make any specific attempts at encouraging those types of businesses. If the City is serious about maintaining these elements of neighborhood character, it needs to employ incentives and tools that specifically

address diversity and localness. One tool that could encourage diversity are extinguishable incentives that offer a reward only the first one or two developers to include a desired use. In addition to providing incentives to developers, the City should consider offering technical assistance or financial support to businesses that are locally owned or that fit the signature neighborhood uses.

Another lesson is the importance of fine-grain urbanism for pedestrian experience and diversity of use. The PPCOD has been successful in responding to developments like Terravita that take over entire blocks, but the other advantages of small grain urbanism have still been lost – affordable retail, diversity and flexible spaces. Cities that value small and diverse retail should recognize the value of fine-grain urbanism.

Ultimately, change is natural and inevitable. The case of Pike/Pine shows that in evaluating success, perspective matters and change is not objectively bad or good. While established residents of the neighborhood are disappointed in the changes, newer residents who do not know the difference and still find the area to be vital and exciting. Furthermore, the neighborhood continues to draw residents and visitors from near and far. But as Deener argued, it is important to remember that even “good change” can exclude certain populations and that even if an area remains vital, the existing community may feel excluded.

Moving forward, the City should embrace the changing reality of the neighborhood and continue to adapt the legislation so that it remains relevant in changing conditions. It should help the area avoid stagnation or decline if growth eventually plateaus. If the

City does choose to try to preserve or change neighborhood character – which may well be futile – it should think creatively about use and choose flexible solutions.