Protecting Neighborhood Character:
Pike/Pine's Conservation Overlay District

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Abstract

Protecting Neighborhood Character:

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In 2009 Seattle established the city's first conservation district in the Pike/Pine neighborhood. This conservation district was a significant new approach to preservation in Seattle. Seattle has a robust historic preservation program for the past 45 years, including eight historic districts and over 450 individual landmarks. The Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District (PPCOD) is not a historic district. While Seattle's historic districts are primarily concerned with the protection of historic resources, the conservation district attempts to integrate historic preservation into broader neighborhood planning goals and in so doing maintain the neighborhood's essential cultural identity while still allowing for growth and change over time. Rather than

preserve architectural character, the PPCOD is focused on preserving “neighborhood character,” a term which in this context includes the architecture, culture/use (specifically arts and LGBTQ or queer uses), housing, and social/income diversity characteristics of the neighborhood.

This work looks at how Pike/Pine’s neighborhood character has been defined in planning documents, how the PPCOD functions and how the character as defined by the PPCOD has changed since it was established. One of the major appeals of the Pike/Pine neighborhood to developers has been the vibrancy, the authentic quirkiness of the neighborhood. The PPCOD was designed to help balance the newer, wealthier businesses with the older quirky ones. The goal is not to freeze the neighborhood in time, but to maintain visual (i.e. the neighborhood’s past as a visible and unifying element in the neighborhood) and cultural continuity (that the community is not completely replaced). A study of how well (or poorly) the Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District is at protecting what the various elements of what gives this neighborhood a unique sense of place is useful to see the strengths of existing neighborhood planning policy and see places in which could be improved..

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DEDICATION

For Miles Turner Piona

Chapter 1: Introduction

The Pike/Pine neighborhood extends east from Interstate-5 along Pine St and Pike St (which turn into E Pine St and E Pike St east of Melrose Avenue) to 15th Avenue in Capitol Hill. The neighborhood has a distinct architectural character which dates back to the early twentieth century, when it was Seattle's first Auto Row, however auto-related businesses no longer make up any substantial part of the area.

The Pike/Pine neighborhood has undergone a lot of change in the past thirty years or so. In the 1970s the neighborhood was rundown and considered undesirable, however it had affordable warehouses (many of which were former automobile-related businesses) that had been modified into spaces where artists could live and perform. At the same time, many LGBTQ businesses began migrating from Pioneer Square to Pike/Pine. In the middle of the twentieth century, these businesses were generally only tolerated in areas that were unattractive to "reputable" businesses (it is not a coincidence that the previous concentration of gay bars was located in Pioneer Square, also known as Skid Road).[1]

Starting in the 1990s the neighborhood began to revitalize, gaining a reputation for being quirky as well as gritty. Rachel Venning, owner of the sex shop Toys in Babeland (now Babeland, located at 707 E Pike St), said in 1994, "This area just has this funkiness...all kinds of hole-in-the-wall places."[2] This quirkiness is not an accident of geography, the low rent of the buildings in Pike/Pine allowed business owners to

experiment, as Chuck Zimmerman, owner of the Puss Puss Café (formerly at 514 E. Pike St.) said, “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.”[3] Businesses that were economically viable stayed. As urban theorist Jane Jacobs wrote in *Death and life of Great American Cities*, “As for really new ideas of any kind—no matter how ultimately profitable or otherwise successful some of them might prove to be—there is no leeway for such chancy trial, error and experimentation in the high-overhead economy of new construction. Old ideas can sometimes use new buildings. New ideas must use old buildings.”[4]

Within the last fifteen years, new development in the neighborhood has scaled up from the one to three story buildings with local small businesses to developments like the Terravita building. The Terravita building is a six story mixed-use building along the entire 500 block of E Pine that replaced seven small buildings (including the gay bar Manray Video Bar). Residents became concerned about how this change was affecting the neighborhood. As the Seattle alt-weekly *The Stranger* noted about the development of 500 block of E Pine, “Capitol Hill is no stranger to change. People come and go, shops open and close...But sometimes so much change happens so fast that it can induce a collective panic, sending a whole neighborhood into shock.”[5]

In 2009 Seattle established the city’s first conservation district in the Pike/Pine neighborhood. This conservation district was a significant new approach to preservation in Seattle. Seattle has a robust historic preservation program; in the last 45 years Seattle has created eight historic districts and designated over 450 individual landmarks.[6] The Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District (PPCOD) is not a historic district. While

Seattle's historic districts are concerned with the protection of historic resources, primarily defined in architectural terms, the conservation district attempts to integrate historic preservation into broader neighborhood planning goals and in so doing maintain the neighborhood's essential cultural identity while still allowing for growth and change over time.[7] Rather than preserve architectural character alone, the PPCOD is focused on preserving "neighborhood character," a term which in this context includes the architecture, culture/use (specifically arts and LGBTQ, or queer, uses), housing, and social/income diversity characteristics of the neighborhood.

A note about language, I am using "queer" here as an all-encompassing term for the many identities included in LGBTQ.[8] Although gay is often used as a blanket term, gay as an identity was originally and is still used to describe homosexual men, using gay to stand for all non-straight, non-cis experience places gay men as normative and de-emphasizes other sexualities and gender identities. Queer is useful in that it rejects binarism (gay/straight, trans/cis) instead encapsulating a spectrum of sexual and gender identities. In addition it has the benefit of avoiding the politics of hierarchy and inclusion inherent in acronyms where which identities are included and in what order is contentious and ever-changing negotiation. LGB, GLBT, LGBT, LGBTQ, LGBTIQQA: all of these acronyms have been used within the community at one time, and in some cases are still being used, but invariably come with their own political drawbacks.

This work looks at how Pike/Pine's neighborhood character has been defined in planning documents, how the PPCOD functions and how the neighborhood character as defined by the PPCOD has changed since it was established. One of the major appeals of the Pike/Pine neighborhood to developers has been the vibrancy, the authentic

quirkiness of the neighborhood. The website for Cue Apartments (1525 Harvard Ave) outlines the neighborhood features:

> Bike, board, or unicycle, you can get to where you need to be when you choose Cue. Sports fiends, scholars, artists, performers, yarn hoarders, and animal lovers alike will find harmony in living just off Broadway. With a prime location that caters to all walks of life, tense afternoons spent locked in traffic quickly become a fading memory. The neighborhood also benefits by being close to downtown and pedestrian-friendly.[9]

Other advertisements call Pike/Pine "the neighborhood that has it all. The best restaurants and bars, the best indie retail, the best people watching!...a flavor for every personality."[10] Pike/Pine, as a designated Urban Village, is also a city target area for adding density; the expectation is that Pike/Pine will grow.

The PPCOD was designed to help balance newer developments with older quirky ones. The goal is not to freeze the neighborhood in time, but to maintain visual (i.e. the neighborhood's past is a visible and unifying element in the neighborhood) and cultural continuity (that the community is not completely replaced). A study of how well (or poorly) the Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District is at protecting what the various elements of what gives this neighborhood a unique sense of place is useful to see the strengths of existing neighborhood planning policy and see places in which could be improved.

Chapter two presents a literature review that includes historic districts, conservation districts, queer neighborhoods, the back to the city movement, and neighborhood character. Chapter two also outlines my methodology. Chapter three introduces the neighborhood character of the Pike/Pine neighborhood and provides an examination of the planning history of the PPCOD. Chapter four looks at how the

neighborhood has changed since the establishment of the PPCOD. Chapter five is a reflection on the PPCOD's effectiveness as neighborhood character preservation tool.

Notes

[1] Barbara Weightman, “Gay Bars as Private Places,” *Landscape* 24, no.1 (1980): 11.

[2] Joe Haberstroh, “Funky Town – Pike-Pine Corridor Comes Alive with Diverse Shops, Cafes,” *Seattle Times*, July 17, 1994, http://community.seattletimes.nwsource.com/archive/?date=19940717&slug=1920709.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961)188.

[5] Erica Barnett, “The Death of Pike/Pine,” *The Stranger*, November 30, 2006, accessed November 5, 2015, http://www.thestranger.com/seattle/Content?oid=111746.

[6] City of Seattle, Department of Neighborhoods, “Seattle Landmarks,” accessed November 10, 2015 http://www.seattle.gov/neighborhoods/historic-preservation/landmarks.

[7] Seattle, Washington, Municipal Code 23.73.002, Purpose and Intent.

[8] This should not be confused with how “queer” is used in the field of post-structuralist critical theory known as queer theory.

[9] “Cue Apartments: Location,” Cue Apartments, accessed December 10, 2015, http://www.cueapartments.com/Apartments/module/map_and_directions/property%5Bid%5D/160606.

[10] “The neighborhood” REO Flats, accessed December 10, 2015, http://www.reoflats.com/neighborhood.html.

Chapter 2: Neighborhood Character-- a Literature Review

In order to understand how the Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District and its goal of preserving neighborhood character came to be established, it is useful to place it in greater policy context. Although the PPCOD is a conservation district not a historic district, an understanding of historic districts, as well as the problems with historic districts, is central to understanding why Pike/Pine never pursued historic district status even though Seattle has had historic districts for over 40 years. Because Pike/Pine has been a queer neighborhood for several decades, looking at how queer neighborhoods have been understood academically and how they have been ignored in planning decisions is useful in understanding how the PPCOD positions its neighborhood culture and diversity. Pike/Pine, like many neighborhoods in Seattle, has been experiencing a significant increase in development, which is both a consequence of changing tastes of some (people valuing city neighborhoods) as well as the result of the city's planning process.

Historic Districts

Historic preservation and planning have a long history in the United States. Although the earliest preservation efforts in the United States in the 19th century focused on preserving individual sites (buildings associated with important political or historical figures) and were the efforts of concerned individuals, by the early 1930s two local

governments in the south began to preserve groups of buildings as a way of maintaining a local identity or sense of place.[1]

The Vieux Carré in New Orleans (1925) and especially the Old and Historic District in Charleston (1931) were two early models of historic districts. These districts were established and managed through special zoning ordinances.[2] Zoning was a very new planning tool; its legality was established in 1926 with the U.S. Supreme Court case *Ambler Realty v. Euclid, Ohio*.[3] Dividing land up by use, height and area was determined to be a legal exercise in police power for local governments. Historic preservation in these early districts were classified as a type of use, and the design standards put in place were created to protect the architectural elements of the buildings. Protecting the architectural character of the buildings within the district would protect neighborhood identity which was in the interest of the welfare and well-being of the neighborhood residents.[4] This connection between zoning and historic districts proved to be foundational to how historic preservation is managed at a district scale.

Historic preservation in general and historic districts in specific became formalized in the 1960s in response to the reshaping of the urban fabric brought on by urban renewal. The Housing Act of 1949 allowed federal funds to be used to purchase and clear "blighted" urban neighborhoods and the Urban Renewal Act of 1954 authorized the federal funds for the rehabilitation of urban neighborhoods. Although in many jurisdictions, Urban Renewal funds were used to simply remove older structures outright, they also provided the means to fund preservation (often called "beautification") efforts at an area or district scale.[5]

At the same time, preservation formalized and gained a national structure and language. The passage of the 1966 Historic Preservation Act established the National Register of Historic Places, which recognized the historic district (along with the building, structure, object and site) as an entity for the evaluation of historic significance. The National Register defines historic significance as the importance of a property to the history, architecture, or culture of a community, state or the nation.[6] Properties are able to convey their significance through their historic authenticity, known as historical integrity. Historical integrity is expressed through the composite of seven qualities: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association.[7] Of these seven aspects, the last two are the least quantifiable. Feeling is defined as "the quality that a historic property has in evoking the aesthetic or historic sense of a past period of time," and association, the "direct link between property and the event or person which the property is significant," is the combination of the previous six qualities.[8] Although the National Register formalized the language for assessing historic properties, and nomination adds federal recognition of historic properties' significance, it does not provide protection for or regulate the listed properties. Any control over properties determined to be historic comes from local designation and regulation.

Problems with the Historic District Approach

This approach to the preserving of the history of our built environment has been much critiqued. The emphasis on the physical integrity of the building, particularly integrity of design and materials, means that a disproportionate number of historic districts (and individual historic sites) represent an elite history: buildings created with

materials that last and populated by people with the means to maintain them.[9] This approach also favors homogenous spaces: places that have a unified design. Additionally, an architectural/design focus privileges high-style buildings over vernacular forms, meaning that many local lists of historic buildings have more banks and civic buildings than they do restaurants or boarding houses. As architectural historian Michael Schwarzer notes, this focus on monumentality and homogeneity also creates zones of permanence and frontiers of transience where the history and cultural values of the elite that are embedded in the history of the preserved monumental high-style buildings become associated with permanence, while other groups' history and cultural values embedded in vernacular architecture are associated with the transient.[10] Sociologist Melinda Milligan argues that historic districts are representative of preservation's focus on the history of buildings rather than the history of events or people, and that the emphasis on authenticity in the built environment also allows for potentially difficult or painful histories represented in parts of the built environment to be ignored.[11] The Pike/Pine neighborhood has for the last 40 plus years been a queer neighborhood with mostly non high-styled buildings.

Historic districts also have an uneasy relationship with economic development. Historic commercial districts, generally historic downtowns, often leverage their local history as a unique experience for tourists. Historian Judy Mattivi Morley notes that in the western United States especially, cities have through their preservation efforts created an imagined past to attract tourists that often destroys the truth it was created on.[12] Mattivi Morley notes that Seattle's Pioneer Square was originally designed to try and preserve the "grit" of the area, but that efforts to revitalize the area removed the

"Skid Road" elements from the neighborhood.[13] James H. Carr and Lisa J. Servon examine this phenomenon by looking at what they term the urban vernacular culture (the unique, locally rooted characteristics of a neighborhood) as a potential economic asset. They conclude that a successful economic development strategy based on vernacular culture requires an anchor of place (if not several) and identify public markets, arts-and-culture venues/districts and "ethnic areas" and heritage sites as place anchors.[14] Carr and Servon acknowledge that neighborhood revitalization can displace low-income people (especially low-income people of color) and that the revitalization of historic sites often erases the "gritty aspects" of the neighborhood that sustain the neighborhood's inhabitants, which is particularly relevant to what is occurring in Pike/Pine.[15]

Historic Preservation in Seattle

The historic preservation program in Seattle today originated in the 1960s fight to save Pioneer Square/Skid Road from urban renewal. Although often portrayed within the traditional narrative of a grassroots "people's movement," Sohyun Park Lee, through her study on early preservation in Seattle, has argued that the motivating force behind the preservation movement in Seattle was the efforts of what she terms the "cultural elite." Park characterizes the conflict over Pioneer Square as the contest between two elite groups, a business elite (city officials and downtown business leaders) and a group of artists and architects representing cultural elites, over how Seattle's downtown should look. The fight over Pioneer Square was not for or against urban renewal, but instead about how that renewal should take place [Figure 1].[16] The district was nominated for

inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places in 1969. The nomination emphasizes the pioneer history of the site. There is no mention of queer history in the

Figure 1. Demonstration against the demolition of Pike Place Market 1971 (Image: Museum of History and Industry).

nomination, either in 1969 original nomination or the 2007 update; the period of significance ends in 1931, just three years before the gay bar Double Header Tavern was established.[17] The city locally recognized the district in 1970 as a Landmark District, with its own advisory board; the Landmark District does not explicitly mention queer history, although it does note that the neighborhood had become a "honky-tonk district of taverns, entertainment houses and bawdy hotels."[18] In 1970 the Pike Place Market

Historical District was established, itself a part of the larger Pike Place Urban Renewal Project.

These early districts were very regulatory. Historic districts generally regulate exterior architectural changes and only have limited control over uses. In an effort to maintain the historic character of Pike Place, the Pike Place Preservation and Development Authority was created to have final say on who could sell in the market and what types of products were allowed. It was not until two years later in 1973 that the city established a Landmarks Preservation Ordinance, based on the program in New York City, which created a city-wide program and established the landmarks preservation board. This ordinance does not mention historic districts; each individual district in Seattle was passed as a separate ordinance. Seattle's preservation program is fairly strong, but has faced legal challenges. In 1996 the Washington Supreme Court heard First United Methodist Church of Seattle v. Hearing Examiner for the Seattle Landmarks Preservation Board, and found that the preservation ordinance was illegal because the review and approval process for changes to a landmark building constituted a burden on the exercise of the freedom of religion.[19]

Currently there are eight landmark districts. The majority of these districts were designated in the 1970s, with only one district (Sand Point Naval Air Station) nominated since the 1980s. Every landmark district has its own review board (which includes members of the landmarks board which oversees individual landmarks in Seattle) and dedicated planner. The creation of historic districts in Seattle is a long and political process. The city took twelve years from the Landmarks preservation board's first review of twenty five structures within the Fort Lawton historic district in 1976, providing

limited protection to some structures, to its designation as a Landmark district in 1988. The most recent district, Sand Point Naval Air Station District, can also trace its designation to the 1970s, beginning with the 1975 Sand Point Park Plan, making the 2011 designation the result of over thirty years of preservation planning.[20]

Conservation Districts

Since the 1980s many local governments have experimented with implementing alternative preservation tools. When characterizing the points of contention in establishing alternatives to existing forms of designation, Paul Bentel notes that two significant positions exist within modern preservation: the avant-garde preservationists who believe that establishing pre-determined categories of significance (including the characterizations of high and low culture) is intellectually indefensible, and the pragmatists who note that distinctions between significant heritage (and its implied counterpart, insignificant heritage) are necessary for the legal thesis that supports preservation.[21] The conservation district is a tool that attempts to negotiate these two viewpoints.

The conservation district has proven to be the most popular form of alternative local preservation. As of 2010, 93 local governments in 36 states have established conservation districts.[22] No single definition of conservation districts exists, however urban planner and policy expert Marya Morris argues that conservation districts are overlay methods "used to preserve neighborhood character, retain affordable housing and protect an area from inappropriate development by regulating new construction."[23] Conservation districts are an exclusively local preservation tool; they have no federal definition or counterpart. Land-use lawyer and academic Adam Lovelady argues that

the renewed interest in conservation districts correlates with the increased interest in in-city living and the corresponding development pressure on city neighborhoods.[24] Conservation districts incorporate preservation as one aspect of the retention of neighborhood identity or character.

Carole Zellie, in her influential article "A Consideration of Conservation Districts," evaluates twenty conservation districts in the United States. She argues that conservation districts tend to be applied to areas that are unsuitable to historic designation because of either historic integrity concerns or because that designation was considered incompatible with the needs of low and moderate-income homeowners (that the restrictions on development and rehabilitation as well as the extra level of design review would create a financial burden for this group of homeowners).[25] Planners Zellie categorizes conservation districts as preservation-focused, acting as substitutes for historic districts (often called "rules lite" conservation districts) or as planning-focused, being fully integrated into neighborhood planning.

This second type of conservation district is similar in approach to the conservation area, a theoretical approach to preservation suggested by professor of urban design and historic preservationist Robert Stipe. Stipe's conservation area was a non-regulatory series of planning guidelines that deemphasized architectural design as the metric for preservation, instead focusing on form, character and visual qualities that create a local identity and livable atmosphere.[26] Most likely because it lacks measurable criteria, does not use zoning, and requires strong political commitment, the conservation area, unlike the conservation district, remains a theoretical alternative

planning approach; though a few local governments have referenced Stipe's ideas, no one appears to have adopted his conservation area approach.[27]

Queer Neighborhoods

Although planning has acknowledged the existence of ethnic enclaves or neighborhoods, LGBTQ or queer neighborhoods have often been overlooked in planning. Visibly queer neighborhoods exist in many cities, with several dating back nearly fifty years.[28] Queer neighborhoods serve important functions; they are home to important social services/queer organizations and provide safe spaces for their residents/visitors. Academics began to be interested in studying gay neighborhoods starting in the late 1970s and 1980s. Early researchers were interested in spatially defining the gay neighborhood, gay territory or what Martin Levine called the "gay ghetto."[29] Sociologist Manuel Castells established criteria for determining the location of gay neighborhoods in San Francisco in 1980; these criteria included mapping gay businesses, interpreting voting distribution (specifically areas in which people voted for the city's first openly gay elected official Harvey Milk in 1977), and asking the community itself.[30] The limitations of these studies are that they primarily focused on gay men. Castells explicitly excluded lesbians; his reasoning that "Lesbians, unlike gay men, tend not to concentrate in a given territory, but establish social and interpersonal networks," is an unsupported gendered assumption about how men and women relate to space (that men are territorial and women social) and has been the subject of academic criticism.[31] Later studies acknowledged the existence of lesbian spaces, but did not address the existence of other non-binary sexual orientations or gender identities.

Rose Mesec's 1992 study of Seattle queer population is a local example of this; she looked only at gay and lesbian spaces and inexplicably removed all respondents who identified as bisexual from her survey (she did not mention and was perhaps unaware of transgender or other non-binary people).[32]

Sociologist Amin Ghaziani's *There Goes the Gayborhood?* is the most recent and inclusive study of queer neighborhoods. Although Ghaziani mostly focuses on Chicago gayborhoods (Andersonville and Boystown neighborhoods), he also identified four criteria for identifying queer neighborhoods or "gayborhoods:" geography, culture, residences and organizations.[33] Ghaziani has suggested that queer neighborhoods are in the process of changing; as the greater visibility of gays and lesbians has increased general acceptance, many queer people are choosing to move out of gay neighborhoods to live in other parts of the city, often settling in smaller diffused groups.[34] It's important to note that tolerance is not available to all queer people equally. As Petra Doan and Harrison Higgins note, visibly queer people of color and gender-variant individuals are most at risk for discrimination (in both housing and employment), and often those in most need of the safe spaces that queer neighborhoods can provide.[35]

For a variety of possible reasons (ranging from difficulties in defining the queer population to general discomfort with queer people), urban theorist Ann Forsyth notes that queer lives are often ignored or only referred to obliquely in planning documents.[36] Silence regarding queer neighborhoods in planning documents can cause the needs of these residents to be overlooked when planning neighborhood "revitalization," and queer neighborhoods can be negatively impacted by planning decisions.[37]

This silence applies to historic preservation as well as other neighborhood planning areas. Queer history is drastically underrepresented in historic preservation; the first LGBTQ property included in the National Register was in listed in 1999 and as of the writing of this paper there are a total of 5 out of over 80,000 listed properties, which represent 1.4 million individual resources.[38] Recognition is more prevalent on the local level than the federal; in 1998 Chicago installed 20 foot tall rainbow pylons along Halsted Street to mark Boystown as a gay neighborhood. [39] Urban historian Dolores Hayden in *The Power of Place*, writes about the importance of place in the establishment of identity and how many people do not experience it, noting that "the power of place—the power of ordinary urban landscapes to nurture citizen's public memory, to encompass shared time in the form of shared territory—remains untapped."[40]

Back to the City

Although during the 1960s, 70s and 80s urban neighborhoods in the United States experienced a period of depopulation and disinvestment, in some cities there has been a movement to revitalize urban neighborhoods. New Urbanism, an urban design movement that began in the 1990s, touts the benefits of traditional (pre-World War II) urban form with dense, walkable, mixed use neighborhoods.[41] Although it is controversial to claim that there is a strong nation-wide back-to-the-city movement, many single city studies of places like Washington D.C. and Chicago have noted downtown population increases associated with the revitalization of low-income neighborhoods.[42] In Washington State, the Growth Management Act encourages this process. The Growth Management Act of 1990/1991 was passed to limit urban sprawl;

rather than continue to geographically expand, local governments must accommodate future development within designated urban growth areas. Pike/Pine has surpassed the growth targets set by Seattle's planning process. Pike/Pine's location next to downtown combined with changes in zoning, the prevalence of low density (one to three story) pre-World War II architecture and its gritty eclectic vibe make it an attractive location for redevelopment. Tom Slater argues that neoliberal urban policy has promoted the desire for an urban social mix as a justification by local governments for wooing luxury-level development in former working class neighborhoods. This logic frames gentrification as a positive step, but is never (or rarely and often over protest) used to encourage low-income development in formerly exclusively middle class neighborhoods.[43]

At the same time that many cities are actively marketing their neighborhoods as attractive places for redevelopment, academics have been concerned with the effect that revitalization may have on the existing population, namely that gentrification of inner city neighborhoods is displacing existing residents. Kathe Newman and Elvin K. Wyly defined displacement as those who move because they have difficulty paying the rent, those move because of landlord harassment, and those who were displaced by private action (condo conversion or landlords taking over units for their own living space).[44] Exactly how much displacement this revitalization/gentrification process causes is a question of much scholarly debate, although recent studies by Newman and Wyly and Lance Freeman indicate that displacement in gentrifying neighborhoods in New York City is occurring in small but significant numbers (Newman and Wyly estimate that just under 7% of all local moves were due to displacement).[45] Derek Hyra, in his examination of Washington D.C., argues that literature on back-to-the-city movement has focused on

residential displacement, but ignored political displacement (when low-income long-term residents, usually racial or ethnic minorities, are out-voted by new higher-income, usually white, residents) and cultural displacement (where the norms, behaviors, and values of the new resident cohort dominate over those of the long-term residents).[46] The cultural displacement aspect of revitalization is significant when looking at the changes happening in Pike/Pine. Although Hyra was looking specifically at cultural changes related to ethnicity, this same lens can be used for evaluating the cultural shift from a "gayborhood" to a more mixed neighborhood forming in Pike/Pine.

Neighborhood Character

The term "neighborhood character" does not have one concrete definition; loosely, it is used to describe the look and feel of a neighborhood. In the local planning context, neighborhood character is often used as a catch-all for what makes a neighborhood unique and recognizable. The "look" of neighborhoods is usually interpreted as meaning the architecture of the built environment (which is why neighborhood character and historic preservation are often connected); however the "feel" is the difficult to pin down component. Discussions on how to maintain neighborhood character occur in city planning departments across the country. Recently in Los Angeles, the city passed a neighborhood conservation ordinance to prevent new residential development that was out of scale with existing neighborhoods ("mansionization"); similar public discussions have occurred in places like Baltimore, MD and Las Cruces, NM.[47] The American Planning Association's (APA) annual list of Great Neighborhoods includes neighborhood character and personality as an aspect of

great neighborhoods. The APA considers the following questions in determining neighborhood character and personality:

> 2.1 What makes the neighborhood stand out? What makes it extraordinary or memorable? What elements, features, and details reflect the community's local character and set the neighborhood apart from other neighborhoods?
>
> 2.2. Does the neighborhood provide interesting visual experiences, vistas, natural features, or other qualities?
>
> 2.3 How does the architecture of housing and other buildings create visual interest? Are the houses and buildings designed and scaled for pedestrians?
>
> 2.4 How is local history retained, interpreted, and used to help create a sense of place?
>
> 2.5 How has the neighborhood adapted to change?[48]

The APA's definition of neighborhood character does not address the social component of the neighborhood and that is reflected in the neighborhoods that are chosen. Geographers Emily Talen, Sunny Menozzi and Chloe Schaefer in their study of the APA's Great Neighborhood Program found that the neighborhoods the APA designated had become less affordable and more white since the program started in the 1970s, even though these neighborhoods have a diversity of housing types and land uses. Talen et al. argued that the APA's Great Neighborhoods represent a classic conception of a gentrifying urban neighborhood, walkable, dense and increasingly less socially diverse and affordable.[49]

It is outside the scope of this work to create a definition applicable to all neighborhoods. In discussing neighborhood character in Pike/Pine I will be using the characteristics identified by the city of Seattle when creating the Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District (PPCOD). The report emphasizes the auto-row era architecture (one to three story, early twentieth century warehouses and automobile retail), the uses (small-

scale retail, artist work/performance space and gay specific businesses), culture (gallery and performing spaces, gay culture), housing (high percentage renters as well as a significant percentage of subsidized housing), and the diversity of the neighborhood (in age, income, and sexual orientation).[50] Although the Conservation Study separates uses and culture, the uses that make this neighborhood unique really are tied to the neighborhood's culture, namely artist spaces and queer spaces, as such I will be considering them together.

Methodology

In order to contextualize history of Pike/Pine and the Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District I completed a literature review of historic districts, conservation districts, queer neighborhoods, revitalization of city neighborhoods and neighborhood character. From this review I realized that although preserving character and a sense of place is often used as a goal of historic preservation, within academic circles there was no one accepted definition of what neighborhood character is and how it might be quantified. I decided the most appropriate method to approach this topic was to use the case study method and chose to use the definition the city itself used for the neighborhood's character: architecture, uses/culture, housing, and "a community of neighbors" which they defined as a "diversity of people with respect to ages, incomes, appearance, and sexual orientation."[51]

I conducted historic research to understand how the neighborhood developed these characteristics. This research included both primary research (archives, newspapers, historic photos, maps) as well as secondary source research; in addition to existing local histories on auto-row and queer history, several geography theses written

in the mid-to-late 20th century provided valuable insight on how the neighborhood was understood at the time. Additionally, I looked at how the neighborhood is characterized in planning documents, both contemporary and historical.

For my case study I looked at the qualities of neighborhood character I previously identified and used a mix of qualitative and quantitative data to analyze how the design guidelines and incentives provided by the PPCOD were affecting neighborhood character. For architecture I looked at new development within the PPCOD using city permit information to evaluate size of new development, and for new projects that retained character structures. For uses and culture, I compared changes in art spaces and queer businesses, using Yelp to find queer businesses and the Cultural Overlay District Advisory Committee's information on art spaces. To get a picture of how residents and visitors perceived the changes happening in Pike/Pine I examined local news websites (the *Capitol Hill Seattle Blog*, *the Stranger*, and *the Seattle Times*), their comments sections, reviews of local businesses (Yelp), as well as attended public meetings for the neighborhood. For housing information I used city permit data, census data, as well as information from the Office of Housing's Multifamily Tax Exemption Credit Program. Demographic data came from the 1990, 2000, and 2010 U.S. Decennial Census tract-level data, as well as the 2009-2013 American Community Survey tract level data. Pike/Pine is roughly divided in half by King County census tracts 75 and 84, census statistics were derived by estimating the percentage of the census tract areas that included Pike/Pine's area and applying that percentage to the census tract data.

Notes

[1] D.A. Hamer, *History in Urban Places: The Historic Districts of the United States* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 5-6.

[2] Vieux Carré was established with an advisory body in 1925, the ordinance was created later in 1937; Hamer, *History in Urban Places,* 5-6.

[3] Village of Euclid v. Ambler Realty Co., 272 U.S, 365 (1926).

[4] Hamer, *History in Urban Places*, 6.

[5] Hamer, *History in Urban Places,* 19.

[6] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin #16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Printing Office, 1997): 3.

[7] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin #16A*, 4.

[8] United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin* 34. Section 8, "Integrity."

[9] Mitchell Schwarzer, "Myths of Permanence and Transience in the Discourse on Historic Preservation in the United States," *Journal of Architectural Education* 48, no.1 (September 1994): 9.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Melinda J. Milligan, "Buildings as History: The Place of Collective Memory in the Study of Historic Preservation," *Symbolic Interaction* 30, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 107.

[12] Judy Mattivi Morley, *Historic Preservation and the Imagined West: Albuquerque, Denver and Seattle* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2006).

[13] Mattivi Morley, *Historic Preservation and the Imagined West*, 83.

[14] James H. Carr and Lisa J. Servon, "Vernacular Culture and Urban Economic Development: Thinking Outside the (Big) Box," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 75, no.1 (Winter 2009): 28-40.

[15] Carr and Servon, "Vernacular Culture,"36.

[16] Sohyun Park Lee "Conflicting Elites and Changing Values: Designing two historic districts in downtown Seattle." *Planning Perspectives* 16, no. 3 (2001): 248.

[17] National Register of Historic Places, *Pioneer Square-Skid Road District*, Seattle, King County, Washington, National Register #70000086, 14.

[18] Seattle.gov, "Seattle Department of Neighborhoods: Pioneer Square," accessed November 5, 2015, http://www.seattle.gov/neighborhoods/historic-preservation/historic-districts/pioneer-square.

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[20] City of Seattle, Parks and Recreation, Warren G. Magnusen Park- Sand Point Historic District: Planning Framework—Plans Developed 1965 to the Present (Seattle: City of Seattle, n.d.) 1.

[21] Paul Bentel, "Where do we draw the line? Historic Preservation's Expanding Boundaries," *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism* 1, no.2 (Fall 2004): 48.

[22] Jessie McClurg, *Alternative Forms of Historic Designation: A Study of Neighborhood Conservation Districts in the United States* (Duluth: Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, 2011), 63-73.

[23] Marya Morris, *Innovative Tools for Historic Preservation* (Chicago; American Planning Association, 1992), 13.

[24] Adam Lovelady, "Broadened Notions of Historic Preservation and the Roles of Neighborhood Conservation Districts," *Urban Lawyer* 40, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 154.

[25] Carole Zellie, "A Consideration of Conservation Districts and Preservation Planning," in *Cultural Resources Partnerships Notes Issues Paper: Conservation* Districts (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1993), 11.

[26] Robert E. Stipe, "Conservation Areas: A New Approach to an Old Problem," in *Cultural Resources Partnerships Notes Issues Paper: Conservation Districts* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1993), 4.

[27] A few communities, including Riverside and San Jose, have "Conservation Areas" but these operate exactly as conservation districts: they primarily focus on architecture, they are zoning-based, and regulatory.

[28] Examples include the Castro District in San Francisco and the city of West Hollywood, both established as gay neighborhoods in the late 1960s (West Hollywood was incorporated in 1980, prior to that it was a neighborhood), and Boystown in Chicago (1970).

[29] Martin Levine, "Gay Ghetto" *Journal of Homosexuality* 4, no. 4 (1979): 634.

[30] Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983): 145-146.

[31] Castells, *The City and the Grassroots,* 140; for a critique of Castells see Sy Adler and Johanna Brenner's "Gender and Space: Lesbians and Gay Men in the City, "*International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 16 (1992): 24-34.

[32] Rose Mesec, "A Gender and Space Analysis of Seattle's Lesbian and Gay Communities"(Thesis, University of Washington, 1992), 62.

[33] Amin Ghaziani, *There Goes the Gayborhood?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014) 272-273.

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[36] Ann Forsyth, "Sexuality and Space: Nonconformist Populations and Planning Practice," *Journal of Planning Literature* 15, no. 3 (2001): 345.

[37] Forsyth, "Sexuality and Space," 343.

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[43] Tom Slater, "The Eviction of Critical Perspectives from Gentrification Research, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 30, no. 4 (December 2006): 750.

[44] Kathe Newman and Elvin Wyly, "The Right to Stay Put, Revisited: Gentrification and Resistance to Displacement in New York City," *Urban Studies* 43, no. 1 (January 2006), 29.

[45] Newman and Wyly, "The Right to Stay Put, Revisited, 51; Lance Freeman, "Displacement or Succession?: Residential Mobility in Gentrifying Neighborhoods," *Urban Affairs Review* 40, no. 4 (March 2005): 479.

[46] Derek Hyra, "The Back-to-the-City Movement: Neighbourhood redevelopment and processes of political and cultural displacement," *Urban Studies* 52, no. 10 (2015), 1754.

[47] Dakota Smith, "No More McMansions in Los Angeles for Two Years Says Council," *Los Angeles Daily News*, March 25, 2015, accessed November 2, 2015, http://www.dailynews.com/government-and-politics/20150325/no-more-mcmansions-in-los-angeles-for-two-years-says-council; Steve Kilar, "Zoning proposals intended to maintain neighborhood character," *Baltimore Sun*, November 25, 2012, accessed November 3, 2015, http://articles.baltimoresun.com/2012-11-25/business/bs-bz-transform-housing-20121124_1_front-entry-code-new-homes; Sun-News Reports "Council to discuss Mesquite Neighborhood," Las Cruces Sun-News, October 17, 2015, accessed November 2, 2015, http://www.lcsun-news.com/story/news/2015/10/17/council-discuss-mesquite-neighborhood/74133226/.

[48] American Planning Association, "Great Places in America: Neighborhoods, Characteristics and Guidelines of Great Neighborhoods," accessed November 2, 2015 https://www.planning.org/greatplaces/neighborhoods/characteristics.htm.

[49] Emily Talen, Sunny Menozzi and Chloe Schaefer, "What is a 'Great Neighborhood'? An analysis of APA's Top-Rated Places," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 81, no. 2 (Spring 2015) 132.

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[50] City of Seattle, *Pike/Pine Neighborhood Conservation Study, Phase 1 Report: Neighborhood Character and Recommendations,* Lund Consulting (Seattle: City of Seattle, 2008), iii.

[51] Ibid.

Chapter 3: Pike/Pine

The *Pike/Pine Conservation Neighborhood Study*, prepared by the Lund Corporation for the City of Seattle in 2008, identified five characteristics of Pike/Pine's character. These five categories of neighborhood character are: architecture, uses, culture (nightlife, art spaces, businesses that cater to the LGBT community), housing and what the report characterizes as "a community of neighbors."[1] This section provides an introduction to these elements of Pike/Pine, placing them in the context of the history of the neighborhood. Of these categories, the architecture is the oldest (with many buildings built in the 1920s); the other categories really emerge in the 1970s as the neighborhood begins to come out of a period of decline.

Architecture

The architecture of Pike/Pine is the oldest characteristic of the neighborhood and dates back to the early 20th century. In the late 19th century the Pike/Pine neighborhood was mostly single family homes, and formed the southern border of Capitol Hill.[2] By the early twentieth century the area had been taken over by manufacturing activity and automobile dealerships. At this time automobiles were luxury items and the early dealerships were showpieces, sturdy masonry or reinforced concrete structures, generally two to four stories tall, with large windows on the ground floor, automobile ramps (or automobile elevators), and façade ornamentation.[3]

Figure 2. N&K Packard Dealership, corner of E. Pike and Belmont c. 1909 (Image : Museum of History and Industry).

Because the Pike/Pine commercial area was located between Capitol Hill and First Hill, two wealthy residential neighborhoods, it was an ideal location for luxury automobile dealerships, and in 1909 Arthur Nute and J. Trafton Keena established N&K Packard Dealership on the corner of what is now E. Pike and Belmont [Figure 2]. In 1925 all 25 auto dealers in the city directory were located in the Pike/Pine/Broadway area.[4] Around these dealerships, related car-related businesses appeared, including repair shops, parts dealers, and used car stores, causing this area to be known colloquially as “Auto Row.”

By the late twenties the increased affordability of automobiles led to a greater demand than the Pike/Pine area could support, and new businesses appeared throughout the city, especially along the Lake Union area. During the Great Depression, the automobile industry suffered and many dealerships moved into selling used cars.[5] After World War II, the design of the automobile dealership changed from multistory warehouses with an office and showroom on the first floor to large outdoor lots with small one-story offices, and new dealerships were located in places that were able to support this design. Very few of the automobile retail businesses remained in this area after the Great Depression, although a number of automobile repair and auto parts shops remained in the neighborhood until the early 1990s.[6] The development of I-5 in the mid-1960s coincided with the general decline of Capitol Hill. The Interstate severed the area's easy connection with downtown and created the area's western border. In the 1970s the neighborhood was considered rough and the buildings in poor repair. In 1975, the Seattle Times investigated building safety code enforcement in Capitol Hill and the International District found that the city rarely fined property owners for safety violations, and even more rarely collected on the fines it issued.[7] In a 1977 survey of southwest Capitol Hill residents listed that crime as a major problem where over one third of residents had personally experienced a crime in the neighborhood and one fourth were afraid to go out at night.[8] Residents also cited deteriorated housing as a problem, with the majority laying the blame on lack of maintenance by absentee landlords.

The distinctive architectural style of the neighborhood has been recognized as a neighborhood asset since at least the 1970s. The auto-row commercial architectural

style features large open interior spaces and has lent itself to adaptive reuse. In 1977, the Pike/Pine Improvement Club applied for a grant (not funded) from the National Endowment of the Arts, seeking to create design guidelines for future growth as well as to create adaptive reuse guidelines for what they considered to be Landmark-quality structures.[9] In 1991, over 75% of the buildings in Pike/Pine were built prior to 1940.[10]

Culture

The culture of Pike/Pine is defined in the *Conservation Study* as including a vibrant nightlife, with art spaces and LGBT businesses. This can be traced back to the late 1970s and early 1980s when Pike/Pine was a gritty, rundown area with affordable rents and warehouse/loft space that lent itself to becoming a bohemian, artsy and queer center. Culture and use in this neighborhood are connected. Pike/Pine is a largely queer retail district; it is made visible through its queer businesses (gay bars and nightclubs, sex shops, and LGBTQ services and organizations). Similarly the artsy characteristic of the neighborhood is expressed in the use of art space, including galleries and performance space. Because one can both work in the arts and be queer, these two uses can overlap.

Queer Spaces

Queer neighborhoods are often formed in spaces that are generally considered undesirable for other uses. It's important to note that not all queer people are equally represented in queer neighborhoods, and that white gay men have often created the most visible urban spaces and this is especially true of queer retail spaces. While discrimination was a very real part of many gay men's experiences in the twentieth

century, white gay men generally have greater access to capital and have been able to better navigate existing systems of power, allowing for greater visibility on the urban landscape.[11] Lesbians and queer people of color have historically been less visible. In many cities, gay men and lesbians have lived and socialized in separate neighborhoods; a modern political focus on inclusive queer identity has occasionally erased this historical fact.[12]

Prior to the 1960s the gay and lesbian social scene in Seattle was primarily located in the Pioneer Square, also known as "Skid Road" or "Fairyville." A small strip of bars and cabarets opened in the neighborhood in the early 1930s, including the Spinning Wheel and the Double Header with the Casino afterhours club below it. Of these the Double Header is the only one extant.[13] Additionally, lesbian-owned spaces appeared in the area in the 1950s, including the Hub, the Madison Tavern and Sappho's Tavern.[14] The area coexisted with other "vice" businesses in the area, with bars/cabarets paying protection to the police in order to avoid being shut down. This practice was exposed in 1967 by bar owner Maciver Wells and two Seattle Times reporters, although the fact that it was gay establishments that were being targeted was not made explicit in the newspaper reports.[15] After a federal investigation, the extortion system ended in the early 1970s.[16]

During the late 1960s a queer neighborhood began to develop in Capitol Hill, with the Pike/Pine corridor as a part of it. The Dorian Society, a gay activist organization (referred to at the time as a homophile society), was founded in 1967, and opened the Seattle Counseling Services for Homosexuals in Capitol Hill in 1969.[17] Lesbian resources, including the Lesbian Resource Center, developed in the University District.[18]

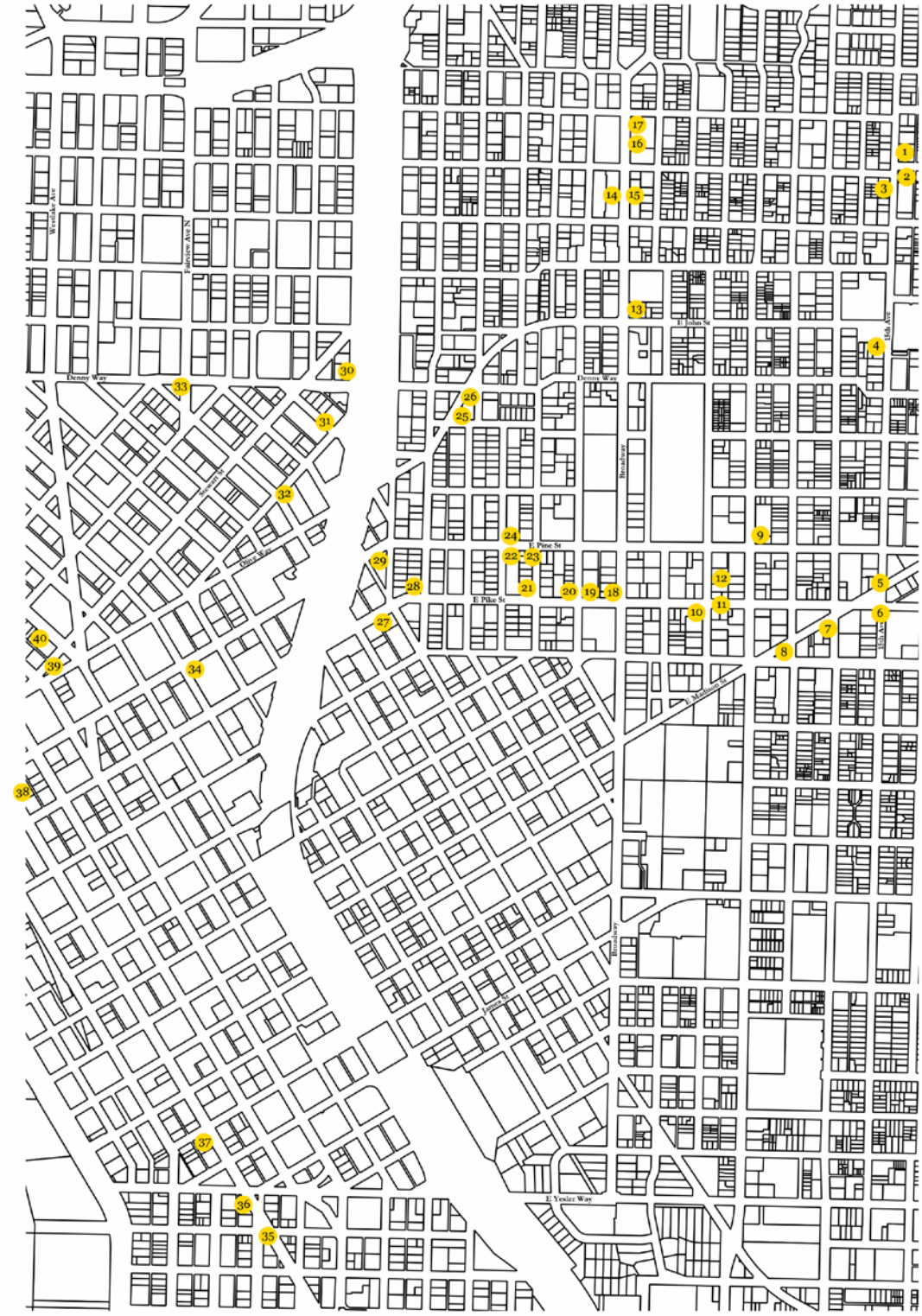

Figure 3. Gay and Lesbian Businesses and Institutions in Seattle, 1991. Data from Rose Mesec "A Gender and Space Analysis of Seattle's Lesbian and Gay Population" (Thesis University of Washington, 1992).

Table 1. Gay and Lesbian Businesses and Institutions, 1991

1. City People's Mercantile	31. Rockcandy
2. Red and Black Books	32. Re-Bar
3. The Ritz	33. Timberline Tavern
4. Giogina's Pizza	34. Sonya's
5. Thumpers	35. Hollywood Underground
6. Mike's on Madison	36. The Double Header
7. Hombres	37. 611 Tavern
8. Madison Pub	38. Golden Crown
9. Lesbian Resource Center	39. George's Bar and Grill
10. Wildrose, The Crypt	40. Weathereo Wall
11. Spags	
12. Encore	
13. Broadway Espresso	
14. Hamburger Mary's, Night Mary's	
15. Bailey/Coy Bookstore	
16. Jade Pagoda	
17. Elite Tavern	
18. Neighbors	
19. The Brass Connection	
20. Fort Seattle, Seattle Gay News	
21. Beyond the Closet Bookstore	
22. Club Seattle Baths	
23. R Place	
24. Tugs, Storefront Press	
25. The Crescent	
26. Changes Too	
27. Club "Z"	
28. The Eagle	
29. Stonewall Recovery	
30. Off Ramp Cafe	

In 1978, when gay activists mobilized against the passage of Initiative 13 (which sought to repeal the city's anti-discrimination legislation protecting gays and lesbians), the more radical group, Seattle Committee Against Thirteen (SCAT), was located in E. Pike. By the early 1990s at least 20 gay businesses were clustered in the Pike/Pine corridor in the old auto-row buildings, some of which (such as the R-Bar at 619 E. Pine St) are extant [Figure 3 and Table 1].[19]

Art Spaces

The emergence of arts in the Pike/Pine neighborhood also dates back to the 1970s. Queer neighborhoods and art spaces can overlap, both because of the general social liberalism within the art world and because the regulation of both groups to liminal urban spaces. In 1976 the *Capitol Hill Times* reported that there was a "higher per capita ratio of artists living in this community [Pike/Pine Corridor] than anywhere else in the city."[20]

The role that artists can have in the gentrification of urban spaces has been much explored in gentrification literature. Many scholars have outlined how artists fit into the narrative of gentrification as follows: affordable rents and large spaces that could be repurposed for artistic endeavors that existed in older, run-down inner city commercial/industrial neighborhoods in the mid-twentieth century attracted artists. These artists were able to both invest in the neighborhood and create a vibrant community. Developers, capitalizing on this trend, redevelop the area to attract more affluent residents (both residential and commercial) through marketing the "authenticity" of the neighborhood. This process displaces the previous residents, both the artists and the residents who lived in the neighborhood during the economic

downturn.[21] . Sociologist Richard Lloyd notes that in addition to affordable spaces, what he calls neo-bohemians are attracted to neighborhoods that are rundown, socially/racially diverse, and gritty. That this grittiness is perceived to be an authentic urban experience and is directly opposed to the assumed homogeneity and safety represented by the suburbs and wealthier city neighborhoods.[22] Urban theorist Richard Florida has controversially argued that cities should actively market their bohemian neighborhoods as places to redevelop saying, "The... presence and concentration of bohemians in an area creates an environment or milieu that attracts other types of talented or high human capital individuals. The presence of such high human capital individuals in a region in turn attracts and generates innovative technology based industries."[23] Florida's conclusions have been much critiqued on methodological grounds, including but not limited to his use of a Gay Index as an aspect of measuring bohemianism.[24] The Gay Index is a metric which uses the concentration of gay and lesbian couples in a city as a way of measuring a city's general tolerance; this perpetuates a understanding of sexuality that continues to flatten queer experiences into one side of a binary (gay/lesbian versus heterosexuals) and re-contextualizes sexual identity as part of a consumer-oriented neoliberal vision of society and space.[25] Criticism aside, Florida's theories have proven very popular with urban policy-makers.[26]

During the late 1970s, while Capitol Hill as a whole was beginning to revitalize after several decades of decline, the Pike/Pine neighborhood was still a place of affordable rents and warehouse/loft space. The construction of I-5 (completed in 1967) not only cut off the Pike/Pine area from downtown, it also facilitated the flight of white residents from the city to the suburbs. Additionally, the Boeing bust of 1969-1970

contributed to a general reduction of population within the city.[27] While the automobile industry in former auto-row had declined, the buildings themselves remained and many were subdivided into artist loft space.

Art-related businesses increased throughout the 1980s, going from 14 in 1980 to 59 in 1989.[28] This includes organizations like the League of Fringe Theaters (LOFT), established in 1989, which had over 25 small theaters at its peak in the mid-1990s before it declined and merged with Theater Puget Sound.[29] In the early 1990s, the presence of art spaces contributed to the growing perception of the Pike/Pine neighborhood as a quirky and offbeat place, which soon morphed into the perception of it as a quirky and offbeat place potentially under threat, with articles like "Corridor at a Crossroads".[30]

Housing

The majority of housing in the Pike/Pine neighborhood is rental, multi-family housing. During the 1970s, in a study of gentrification in Capitol Hill, geographer Francis Sheridan characterized the Pike/Pine neighborhood as having the highest proportion of multi-family dwellings in greater Capitol Hill.[31] In 1989 the city conducted a housing survey of Pike/Pine and found that 88% of the neighborhood's housing units were in multi-family rental housing, 8% condominiums, and 0.81% single-family housing (either rental or owner-occupied), compared to the city average of 48.4% multi-family units.[32] The study also noted that low-cost housing (housing affordable to households making less than 50% of the median income), was available in over 75% of the residential buildings in Pike/Pine neighborhood, but that subsidized housing made up a very small percentage (6%) of all units.[33]

Table 2. Pike/Pine and Seattle Demographics 1990, 2000 and 2010 Census

	1990		2000		2010	
	Pike/Pine	Seattle	Pike/Pine	Seattle	Pike/Pine	Seattle
Race (percentage)						
Percentage white	78.44%	75.32%	75.00%	70.1%	75.12%	69.5%
Percentage black	9.50%	10.06%	8.27%	8.4%	6.31%	7.9%
Percentage Asian	6.70%	11.78%	8.86%	13.1%	10.43%	13.8%
Percentage Native American/Pacific Islander	1.54%	1.42%	1.85%	1.5%	1.1%	1.2%
Multi-Racial	N/A	N/A	4.2%	4.5%	5.39%	5.1%
Other	N/A	N/A	2.4%	2.4%	1.65%	2.4%
Age (percentage)						
Under 18	4.39%	16.45%	4.51%	15.6%	5.1%	15.4%
18-24	20.36%	12.06%	16.98%	12%	15.36%	11.8%
25-44	51.97%	39.78%	54.95%	38.6%	54.24%	37.2%
45-64	13.27%	16.52%	15.62%	18.9%	17.08%	24.9%
Over 65	10.05%	15.19%	7.92%	12%	8.22%	10.7%
Average Household Size	1.42	2.06	1.42	2.08	1.43	2.06
Percentage Owner Occupied	9.70%	48.88%	11.23	48.4	16.6	48.1
Percentage Renter Occupied	90.30%	51.12%	88.77	51.6	83.4	51.9
Median Household Income	$17,221	$29,353	$28,366	$45,736	$42,366	$65,277
Per Capita Income	N/A	N/A	$28,784	$30,306	$42,321	$39,886

Data from the U.S. Decennial Census, 1990, 2000 and 2010. Pike/Pine data derived as a geographic percentage of tracts 75 and 84.

Population

Although the Pike/Pine Conservation Study characterizes the neighborhood as diverse, that diversity is hard to see using population statistics. In 1990, Pike/Pine had a higher concentration of white residents than the city overall; Pike/Pine was 78% white compared to Seattle's 75% [Table 2]. The neighborhood was not very diverse in age

either, in Pike/Pine had fewer children and people over the age of 65 than the rest of the city. It's likely that the "diverse population" here refers to the LGBTQ community. Although there is no relevant U.S. census data before 2000, a local geography study does provide a demographic glimpse into the neighborhood. In 1992 Rose Mesec conducted a demographic survey of 1,200 gay and lesbian residents of Seattle. She found that gay men were significantly concentrated in west Capitol Hill (20% of male respondents), and that the smaller lesbian population (7.86% of female respondents) who lived in Capitol Hill were more likely to be younger, single and childless than other lesbians in the city.[34]

The Pike Pine Conservation Overlay District

Although the Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District was not adopted until 2009, the overlay has been a part of Pike/Pine's planning history for over twenty years. In 1991, the neighborhood developed a study, the *1991 Planning Study* that recommended the development of an Urban Neighborhood Overlay. Seattle's comprehensive plan, *Towards a Sustainable Seattle 1994-2014*, established the city's Urban Village strategy. Pike/Pine's 1998 *Urban Center Village Neighborhood Plan*, expanded on the *1991 Planning Study*. *The Pike/Pine Neighborhood Conservation Study* outlines the character of the neighborhood, and was used as the foundation for the Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District (PPCOD). Looking at all these documents as well as the PPCOD and its 2014 amendments, it is clear that these documents highlight the neighborhood character and connect that character to the built environment.

The *1991 Planning Study* for Pike/Pine recognizes the architectural character of the neighborhood. The Land Use committee (one of five committees that were created in the planning process, along with Housing, Commercial Activity, Crime and Security and Parking) noted that 75% of the buildings in the neighborhood were constructed before 1930 and mapped the "icon" buildings from Historic Seattle's 1975 survey.[35] The architectural character was recognized in the *1991 Planning Study*, however the study did not recommend that the area become a historic district, saying instead that that "design elements which appear throughout the area can be defined and should be respected by rehabilitation or new construction."[36] The document creates guidelines which address scale, articulation, exterior materials, horizontal definition, fenestration and color.[37] The Planning Study recommended that these voluntary design guidelines be sent with Master Use Permit applications.

Architectural character was identified as a significant aspect of the neighborhood's character, however design guidelines were voluntary. Regulation was instead created to control land use in the neighborhood. The study recommended that an Urban Neighborhood Overlay be developed. This overlay was designed to preserve the mixed-use nature of the neighborhood and prevent high-density commercial development from encroaching eastward over Interstate-5 from downtown. The overlay applied to the areas zoned Neighborhood Commercial 3 (NC3). NC3 zoning (with height limits of 40' and 60') made up the majority of the Pike/Pine neighborhood. The overlay, which was adopted in 1995, limits commercial development to fifty percent of floor space or no more than two floors and included an affordable housing criteria for new

residential-only where 40% of units had to be affordable for people earning 30-60% of the area median income.

The *1991 Planning Study* served as a base for the *1998 Pike/Pine Urban Center Village Neighborhood Plan*. Seattle's comprehensive plan, *Towards a Sustainable Seattle 1994-2014* established the Urban Village strategy. Neighborhoods within Seattle were designated as urban villages and developed neighborhood plans to manage growth as well as address specific neighborhood needs. Pike/Pine was designated as the smallest of four urban villages within the First Hill/Capitol Hill Urban Center; the other three are Capitol Hill, First Hill and South Capitol Hill. Included in the goals for the neighborhood plan is to "Preserve, to the extent possible, the neighborhood's built environment of auto-row architecture...Encourage additional affordable and market rate housing growth...[and] Increase housing, studio, performance and gallery spaces that allow musicians and artists to live, work and thrive in the neighborhood."[38] Although the report mentions that a significant portion of the neighborhood residents identified as gay or lesbian, the existence of LGBTQ businesses/spaces were not mentioned, much less considered a community asset.

The preservation of neighborhood character is one the five key integrated strategies listed in the *1998 Pike/Pine Urban Center Village Neighborhood Plan*.[39] Key Strategy A reads "Strengthen the neighborhood's existing mixed-use character and identity by encouraging additional affordable and market-rate housing as well as preservation of existing housing."[40] The major recommendation that came from this strategy was to include Pike/Pine as a participating neighborhood in the city's Multi-Family Tax Exemption program, and to loosen parking requirements for residential

buildings. Key strategy B reads: "Sustain the character of the Pike/Pine neighborhood through implementation of urban design recommendations and neighborhood-wide policy changes."[41] These design recommendations included ways to make the neighborhood more pedestrian friendly as well as meet historic preservation goals. The plan recommended the formation of a Community Heritage or Conservation District within Pike/Pine as a "major priority," and recommended that a review board for that district include a representative from the local arts community.[42] In articulating why a conservation district would be appropriate for Pike/Pine, and implicitly why a historic district would not be appropriate, the planning committee cites the vernacular nature of the neighborhood:

> Portions of the City of Seattle that create the urban fabric of a neighborhood can be difficult to determine as deserving of preservation or historic designation. These areas often can impart a sense of the past and the 'common' history of a place through the human experience e.g. a place where people have worked, lived and participated in the simplest of daily activities – activities as modest as choosing a car or having it repaired.[43]

The planning committee also cited flexibility and the potential for economic development as the major motivations for pursuing a conservation district.

As a part of the planning process, the committee conducted a survey of business and property owners. The survey had 58 participants (out of 80 invited) and found that 80% of those participated were in favor of a conservation district; those opposed to a district expressed concerns regarding marketability and future returns of their property. The rationale of those in favor of a conservation district included: promoting economic vitality, maintaining architectural character, placing value on neighborhood's cultural history, pursuing the National Trust for Historic Preservation's main street program eligibility, increasing property values and providing tax incentives for historic

preservation and rehabilitation.[44] The *Neighborhood Plan* recommended that, using the city of Portland as model, the conservation district be established within the boundaries of the existing overlay and that a special design review board be formed to review projects within the district. The city, in reviewing the recommendations of the neighborhood plan, felt the pedestrian/transportation recommendations could be implemented, but that further analysis was needed before the conservation district recommendation could be considered.[45] Preservation within the potential conservation district was framed in the context of urban design; new development would retain design elements linking it to historic structures, rather than a historic district's emphasis on retaining historic fabric. The City Council adopted Ordinance 119413 which amended the city's Comprehensive Plan to include goals from the *Urban Center Village Plan*, adding as a goal to "sustain the character of Pike/Pine through implementation of urban design recommendations and policy changes" as well as to "consider a conservation district for the neighborhood."[46]

In 2000 the Land Use code was updated to implement the *1998 Pike/Pine Urban Center Village Plan*. At this time the C2 zoning located south of East Pike and east of Broadway was changed to NC3 65' P1 (the P1 indicates that it is a pedestrian-designated zone) however this area was still listed as outside the Pike/Pine Overlay District. Pedestrian zones are those zones established to "preserve or encourage intensely retail and pedestrian-oriented shopping districts where non-auto modes of transportation to and within the district are strongly favored." They do this through various requirements, including prohibiting surface parking and driveways that cut through sidewalks, and requiring that new development have overhead weather

protection for street traffic. [47] This change in zoning was in keeping with the neighborhood desire to remain a pedestrian-oriented mixed use area. The voluntary design guidelines were adopted however the conservation district recommendation was not implemented, possibly because the weak wording of the Comprehensive Plan (to "*consider* a conservation district," emphasis mine) made this item, which was listed in the policy adoption matrix as a high priority item appear a low priority one.[48] In 2006 the city adopted the Neighborhood Business District Strategy which made major amendments to the commercial zoning regulations and created pedestrian-designated zones outside the overlay.[49] In 2009, the Pike/Pine Overlay District underwent substantial amendments and became the Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District. The amendments to the overlay removed conflicting zoning overlays, expanded the district to current boundaries (adding the area south of East Pike and east of Broadway as well the blocks along Broadway between East Olive and Union), established East Pike and East Pine as principle pedestrian streets and developed a preservation strategy for the neighborhood. The overlay was renamed to the Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District (PPCOD) to reflect the district's new emphasis.

The preservation of neighborhood character is central to the goals of the PPCOD. The objectives of the new amendments to the overlay include preserving existing architectural character, land use and culture [Table 3]. Although culture is listed as an objective, architectural character and land use are the focus of the PPCOD. Architectural preservation is incentivized by relaxing land-use regulations for projects that preserved architectural character.

Table 3. PPCOD Objectives

Objectives for the Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District
Continue to promote new mixed use and residentially-oriented development as intended under the original provisions of the overlay
Expand the scope of the overlay to promote new development that is more compatible in scale with existing conditions in the area
Provide flexibility to retain "character structures"—buildings that are 75 years old or older—as part of new development
Increase opportunities and flexibility to encourage the continued use of existing buildings
Promote conditions that allow small, diverse local businesses to continue to operate in the area
Provide incentives for retaining existing art and cultural uses and attracting similar new activities to the area

City of Seattle, Department of Planning and Development, "Proposed Amendments to Pike/Pine Overlay District: Report" (Seattle: City of Seattle, April 2009) 1.

The earlier percentage cap on non-residential uses within the overlay was replaced with a Floor Area Ratio (FAR) limit of 2FAR, with at least 50% of all floor space for buildings taller than 30 feet being residential. Additionally the overlay included a maximum street level frontage of 50 feet for a single business, in order to retain the neighborhood's historic pattern of a diversity of uses on the street level. The overlay provided exemptions from certain building requirements, including extending the height requirement by 10 feet and exemptions to FAR and street level frontage, for buildings that retain character structures (or at least the building envelope or façade).

The overlay classified buildings that are over 75 years old that the Department of Neighborhoods had determined to have high historical integrity as "character structures" [Figure 4, Table 4]. Character structures, as a classification, was created for

the PPCOD to be distinct from landmark buildings, buildings that had the potential to become landmark buildings, or buildings that were designated as contributing to a historic district. The Phase 1 report on neighborhood character defined the design goals of a conservation district as "sav[ing] the architectural *characteristics* of the best older buildings" (emphasis added).[50]

The creation of the PPCOD was the first in three phases for the district. In 2010, a design guideline was published for the PPCOD. These guidelines address site planning, massing, architectural design, pedestrian environment and landscaping. Although the design guidelines focus on the architectural aspects of neighborhood character, the introduction does touch on a broader definition of neighborhood character. This definition references small businesses and art uses, "Protecting this resource of existing structures is important to the community for a variety of reasons. In addition to their architectural and historic value, they support a rich diversity of businesses and arts organizations that help define the neighborhood's identity."[51]

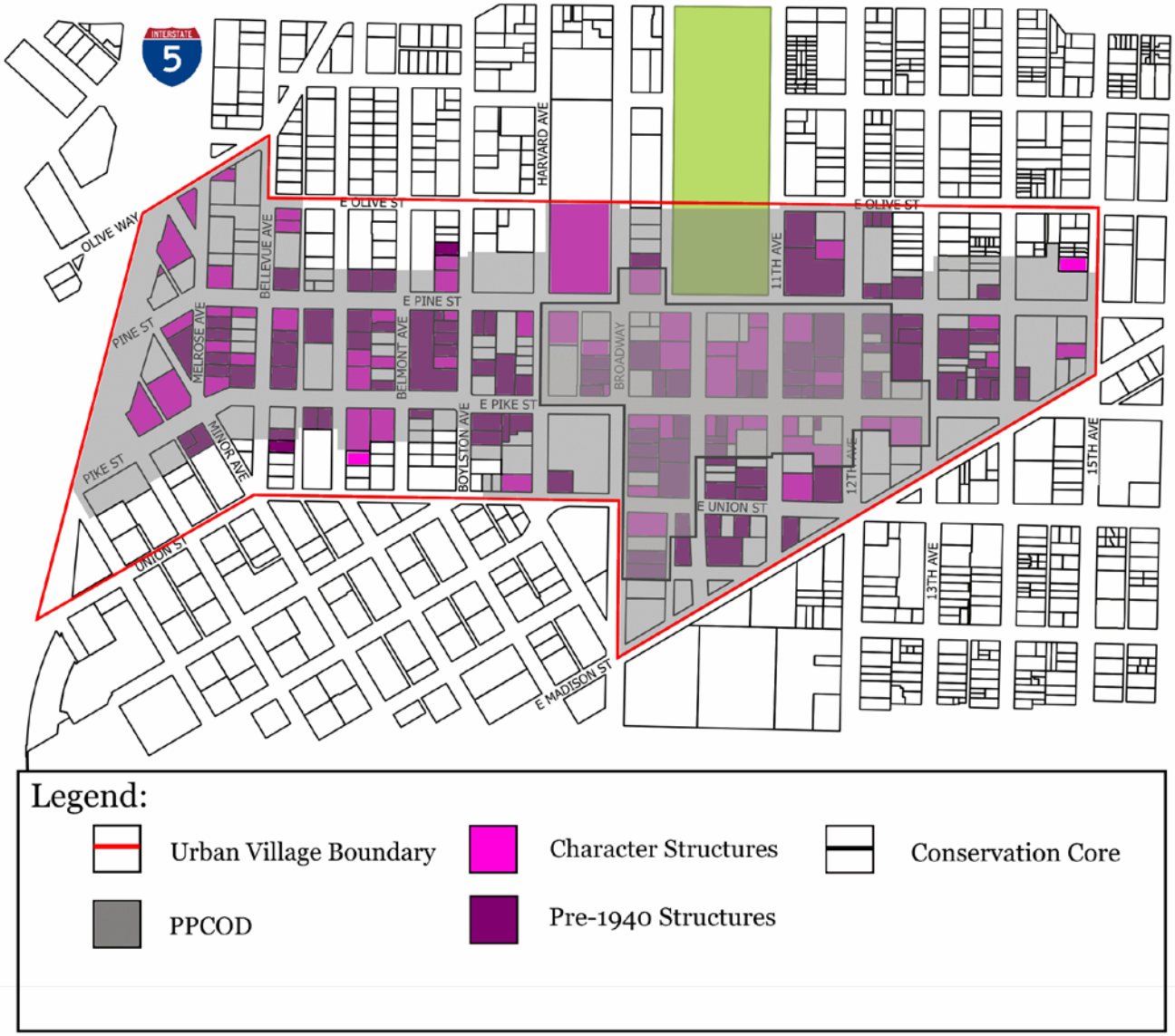

Figure4. Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District

Table 4. List of Character Structures

Address	Historic Name	APN
1520 10th Ave.		6003500360
1521 10th Ave.		6003500470
1525 11th Ave.	Bocker Building (Kelly-Springfield Motor Truck Company)	6003500420
1530 11th Ave.	Sunset Electric	6003500305
1417 12th Ave.		6003500255
1515 12th Ave.	Ballou & Wright	6003500335
1621 12th Ave.		6003500575
1515 14th Ave.		6003000260
1521 15th Ave.		1728800070
1615 15th Ave.		1728800115
1514 Bellevue Ave.	New McDermott Apartments	8804900855
1515 Bellevue Ave.	Louis Arms	8725600285
1535 Bellevue Ave.	Tinken Roller Bearing Co.	8725600305
1628 Bellevue Ave.		8725600485
1531 Belmont Ave.		8804900825
1511 Boylston Ave.	Glencoe Apartments	8804900370
1533 Boylston Ave.		8804900345
1611 Boylston Ave.	Universal Repair Shop	8804900470
1158 Broadway		1978201295
1400 Broadway	Johnson & Hamilton Mortuary	6003000010
1519 Broadway	Eldridge Tire Co.	6003000505
1625 Broadway	Broadway High School	6003000600
1520 Melrose Ave.	Melrose Apartments	8725600255
1633 Melrose Ave.		660002565
405 E Olive Way		8725600480
1351 E Olive Way	Conelson Grocery	8725600115
1106 Pike St.	Hotel Avondale	660001875
1124 Pike St.	Packard Seattle	660001920
300 E Pike St.	Gallagher's Fine Cars	8725600270

500 E Pike St.	Greenus Building/Mills Motor Company	8804900865
501 E Pike St.	Puget Sound Motors	8804900975
517 E Pike St.		8804900910
824 E Pike St.	Broadway State Bank	6003000525
905 E Pike St.	Triangle Parts/Graham/REO	6003000035
915 E Pike St.	Graham Motor Cars	6003500005
1000 E Pike St.		6003500345
1001 E Pike St.	Triangle Auto Parts	6003500085
1011 E Pike St.	Reliable Auto Painting	6003500090
1023 E Pike St.	Lorraine Court Apartments	6003500115
1101 E Pike St.	Liebeck Garage/Baker Linen	6003500190
1205 E Pike St.	Stan	6003000065
1217 E Pike St.	S.L. Savidge	6003000070
1201 Pine St.	Central Auto Top	660002765
300 E Pine St.	Butterworth Mortuary	8725600160
301 E Pine St.	Thornton Auto Equipment	8725600240
401 E Pine St.	Carr Brothers Auto Repair	8725600445
610 E Pine St.		8804900480
721 E Pine St.	Safety Service Co.	6003000550
801 E Pine St.	Masonic Temple	6003000470
900 E Pine St.	Boone & Co. Pontiac	6003000605
909 E Pine St.		6003000442
915 E Pine St.	I.O.O.F. Temple	6003500460
1021 E Pine St.	Colyear Motor Sales Co. (White Motor Company)	6003500395
1323 E Pine St.		6003000240
1412 Summit Ave.		8804900955
1512 Summit Ave.	Beaumont Apartments	8804900880
722 E Union St.	Knights of Columbus	7502500045
1100 E Union St.	Chrysler Auto Parts	6003500155
1617 Yale.		660002545

The third phase was the creation of a Transfer of Development Potential (TDP often called Transfer of Development Rights) program for the PPCOD in 2011. TDPs are exchange programs in which developers are allowed to exceed existing height limits by buying development rights from property owners in areas that a local government does not want developed. In this case, character structures within a defined conservation core in the PPCOD can send (sell) development rights to other receiving (non-character) parcels in the district, thus increasing the maximum building height to 75 feet from 65 feet and increasing FAR by 25%, as long as the sending site retains the character structure. This TDP is limited to the PPCOD, which limits how many properties are able to take advantage of it. In 2011 the city estimated that 21 parcels within the PPCOD could potentially take advantage of the incentives offered by the TDP.[52] Additionally, the city further estimated that within twenty years, 10 sending sites could sell TDP to meet potential demand; meaning that 10 character structures could potentially be preserved through this method, which represented 7% of all lots in the PPCOD that contain character structures at that time.[53]

Notes

[1] City of Seattle, *Pike/Pine Neighborhood Conservation Study, Phase 1 Report: Neighborhood Character and Recommendations*, Lund Consulting (Seattle: City of Seattle, 2008), iii.

[2] R. L. Polk & Co., *Seattle City Directory* (Seattle: R.L. Polk & Co., 1925); Jacqueline Williams, *The Hill with a Future, Seattle's Capitol Hill, 1900*-1946 (Seattle: CPK Ink, 2001), 154.

[3] BOLA Architecture and Planning, "Early Concrete Buildings and Structures in Seattle" in *Landmark Nomination 1205 East Pine St* (Seattle: City of Seattle, June 2007), 9-10; Mimi Sheridan, *Historic Property Survey Report: Seattle's Neighborhood Commercial Districts* (Seattle: City of Seattle, November 2002), 23-24.

[4] Polk & Co., *Seattle City Directory*; Jacqueline Williams, *The Hill with a Future*, 154.

[5] Williams, *The Hill with a Future*, 154.

[6] Pike/Pine Steering Committee, *Pike/Pine Planning Study* (Seattle: City of Seattle, April 1991), 70.

[7] "More complaints on building safety," *Seattle Times*, January 16, 1975, A1

[8] "Capitol Hill residents call it as they see it," *Seattle Times*, July 17, 1977, D7.

[9] City of Seattle, Department of Neighborhoods, Pike Pine Urban Neighborhood Coalition, *Pike/Pine Urban Center Village Neighborhood Plan: Final Draft* (Seattle: City of Seattle, 1998), 5.

[10] Pike/Pine Steering Committee, *Pike/Pine Planning Study*, 9.

[11] Petra Doan and Harrison Higgins, "The Demise of the Queer Space? Resurgent Gentrification and the Assimilation of LGBT Neighborhoods." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 31, no.6 (January 2011): 8.

[12] Ibid; Lawrence Knopp, "Sexuality and Urban Space: Gay Male Identity Politics in the United States, United Kingdom and Australia," in *Cities of Difference*, edited by Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs (New York: Guilford, 1998): 150.

[13] Chrystie Hill, "Queer History in Seattle, Part 1: to 1967," *HistoryLink.org*, last modified December 20, 2005, http://www.historylink.org/index.cfm?DisplayPage=output.cfm&file_id=4154; Northwest Lesbian & Gay History Museum Project, "Queen City Comes Out: Exploring Seattle's Lesbian and Gay History: Pioneer Square Oral Histories," accessed February 28, 2015 http://www.outhistory.org/exhibits/show/queen-city-comes-out/pioneer-square/pioneer-square-oral-histories.

[14] Hill, "Queer History in Seattle, Part I."

[15] John Wilson and Marshall Wilson, "Tavern Operator Describes 'Payoffs'" *Seattle Times*, January 16, 1967, p.4.; John Wilson and Marshall Wilson, "$30-a Month Payoff Grew to $370, Says Club Operator," *Seattle Times*, January 17, 1967, p. 19.

[16] Gary Atkins, *Gay Seattle: Stories of Exile and Belonging* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003).

Notes (Cont.)

[17] Northwest Lesbian & Gay History Museum Project, "Queen City Comes Out: Exploring Seattle's Lesbian and Gay History."

[18] Northwest Lesbian & Gay History Museum Project, "Queen City Comes Out: Exploring Seattle's Lesbian and Gay History;" Rose Mesec, "A Gender and Space Analysis of Seattle's Lesbian and Gay Communities" (Thesis, University of Washington, 1992) 45.

[19] Rose Mesec, "A Gender and Space Analysis of Seattle's Lesbian and Gay Communities," 46; Pike/Pine Steering Committee, *Pike/Pine Planning Study*, 72.

[20] Mary Lewis, "Hill Topics," *Capitol Hill Times*, August 10, 1976.

[21] Sharon Zukin outlined this process in her study of SoHo in the 1970s, Richard Lloyd's study of Wicker Park in Chicago in the 1990s also found basically the same process. See Sharon Zukin, *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982) and Richard Lloyd, *Neo-Bohemia: Art and Commerce in the Post-Industrial City* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

[22] Richard Lloyd, "Neo Bohemia: Art and Neighborhood Redevelopment in Chicago," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 24, no. 5(Winter 2002): 529.

[23] Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class* (New York: Basic Books, 2002) 3.

[24] Edward Glaeser, "Review of Richard Florida's *Rise of the Creative Class," Regional Science and Urban Economics* 35, no. 5 (2005): 593-596; Cian O'callaghan, "Let's Audit Bohemia: A Review of Richard Florida's 'Creative Class' Thesis and its Impact on Urban Policy," *Geography Compass* 4, no. 11 (2010): 1606-1617.

[25] O'callaghan, "Let's Audit Bohemia," 1614; Alexia Sperentini, "Inappropriate, Irrelevant, Important: Richard Florida's 'Gay Index' and the Quest for Creativity" (Thesis, King's College London, 2013), section 2.0.

[26] O'callaghan, "Let's Audit Bohemia," 1607.

[27] Francis Eugene Sheridan, "The Gentrification of the Capitol Hill Community of Seattle in the 1970s," (Thesis, University of Washington, 1979), 8.

[28] Pike/Pine Steering Committee, *Pike/Pine Planning Study*, A.5.

[29] "Historical Note" in League of Fringe Theater Records, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle, Washington.

[30] Joe Haberstroh, "Funky Town—Pike-Pine Corridor Comes Alive with Diverse Shops, Cafes," *Seattle Times*, July 17, 1994 accessed October 20 2013.; Stanley Holmes, "Corridor at a Crossroads—Can Pike and Pine Street Corridor Maintain its Funky, Offbeat character As More Mainstream Businesses Move in?," *Seattle Times*, September 22, 1996, accessed October 20 2013.

[31] Sheridan, "The Gentrification of the Capitol Hill Community," 65.

[32] Pike/Pine Steering Committee, *Pike/Pine Planning Study*, 31.

[33] Pike/Pine Steering Committee, *Pike/Pine Planning Study*, 41-43.

[34] Mesec, "A Gender and Space Analysis," Tables 6 and 7.

Notes (Cont.)

[35] Pike/Pine Steering Committee, *Pike/Pine Planning Study*, *10*.

[36] Pike/Pine Steering Committee, *Pike/Pine Planning Study*, 25.

[37] Pike/Pine Steering Committee, *Pike/Pine Planning Study*, 25-26.

[38] City of Seattle, Department of Neighborhoods, Pike Pine Urban Neighborhood Coalition, *Pike/Pine Urban Center Village Neighborhood Plan: Final Draft* (Seattle: City of Seattle, 1998), 13.

[39] Pike/Pine Urban Neighborhood Coalition, *Pike/Pine Neighborhood Plan*, 75.

[40] Pike/Pine Urban Neighborhood Coalition, *Pike/Pine Neighborhood Plan*, 2.

[41] Pike/Pine Urban Neighborhood Coalition, *Pike/Pine Neighborhood Plan*, 16.

[42] Pike/Pine Urban Neighborhood Coalition, *Pike/Pine Neighborhood Plan*, Appendix II, n.p.

[43] Pike/Pine Urban Neighborhood Coalition, *Pike/Pine Neighborhood Plan*, 65.

[44] Pike/Pine Urban Neighborhood Coalition, *Pike/Pine Neighborhood Plan*, Appendix II, n.p.

[45] City of Seattle, Department of Neighborhoods, Pike Pine Urban Neighborhood Coalition, *Pike/Pine Approval and Adoption Matrix* (Seattle: City of Seattle, March 1999), 13.

[46] City of Seattle, Department of Neighborhoods, *Analysis and Decision of the Director of the Department of Planning and Development: Pike/Pine Conservation Strategy* (Seattle: City of Seattle), 2.

[47] City of Seattle, "Frequently Asked Questions about Pedestrian Zones," (Seattle: City of Seattle, no date), 1.

[48]Pike Pine Urban Neighborhood Coalition, *Pike/Pine Approval and Adoption Matrix*, 13; City of Seattle, Department of Planning and Development, *Proposed Amendments to Pike/Pine Overlay District and Related Rezones Phase 1: Report and Recommendation* (Seattle, City of Seattle, April 5 2009) 5.

[49] The zoning designation was changed to from NC 65' P1 to NC3P 65, which represents the same concept as the earlier zoning, but updated to better align with the other changes to Seattle's zoning code.

[50] City of Seattle, *Pike/Pine Neighborhood Conservation Study, Phase 1 Report: Neighborhood Character and Recommendations*, Lund Consulting (Seattle: City of Seattle, 2008) iii, emphasis mine.

[51] City of Seattle, Department of Planning and Development, *Design Guidelines: Pike/Pine Urban Center Village Design Guidelines* (Seattle: City of Seattle, 2010) v.

[52] City of Seattle, Department of Planning and Development, *Proposal to Establish a Transfer of Development Potential (TDP) Program in the Pike/Pine Neighborhood* (Seattle: City of Seattle, July 16 2011), 4b. This estimation assumes that only properties over 8,000 square feet can be practically redeveloped with structures over 65 feet tall.

[53] City of Seattle, Department of Planning and Development, *Proposal to Establish a Transfer of Development Potential (TDP) Program*, 4c.

Chapter 4: Neighborhood Character in Pike/Pine since the PPCOD

In the six years since the establishment of the Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District, the Pike/Pine neighborhood has continued to undergo significant changes. This section will evaluate the neighborhood character since the PPCOD was established, looking at what effect, if any, the conservation overlay has had on the various elements of neighborhood character.

Architecture

The development boom in the Pike/Pine neighborhood over the past six years has been on a larger scale than the neighborhood had anticipated. The overall size of development projects has gone up. Between 2011 and March of 2013, only one project out of 13 which reached the development stage was larger than 21,000 square feet (the 12th Avenue Arts Building), however as of June 2013, out of the 9 projects in the permitting process for the neighborhood, 4 projects are larger than 21,000 square feet (three of those over 44,000 square feet).[1] The PPCOD awarded height bonuses to projects that saved at least the façade of a character structure, wording which did not anticipate that more than one character structure might be involved a single project.

The architectural style of the new buildings often does not relate well to the existing character structures. The design guidelines for the PPCOD offer three approaches to incorporating a character structure and the new portions of the project:

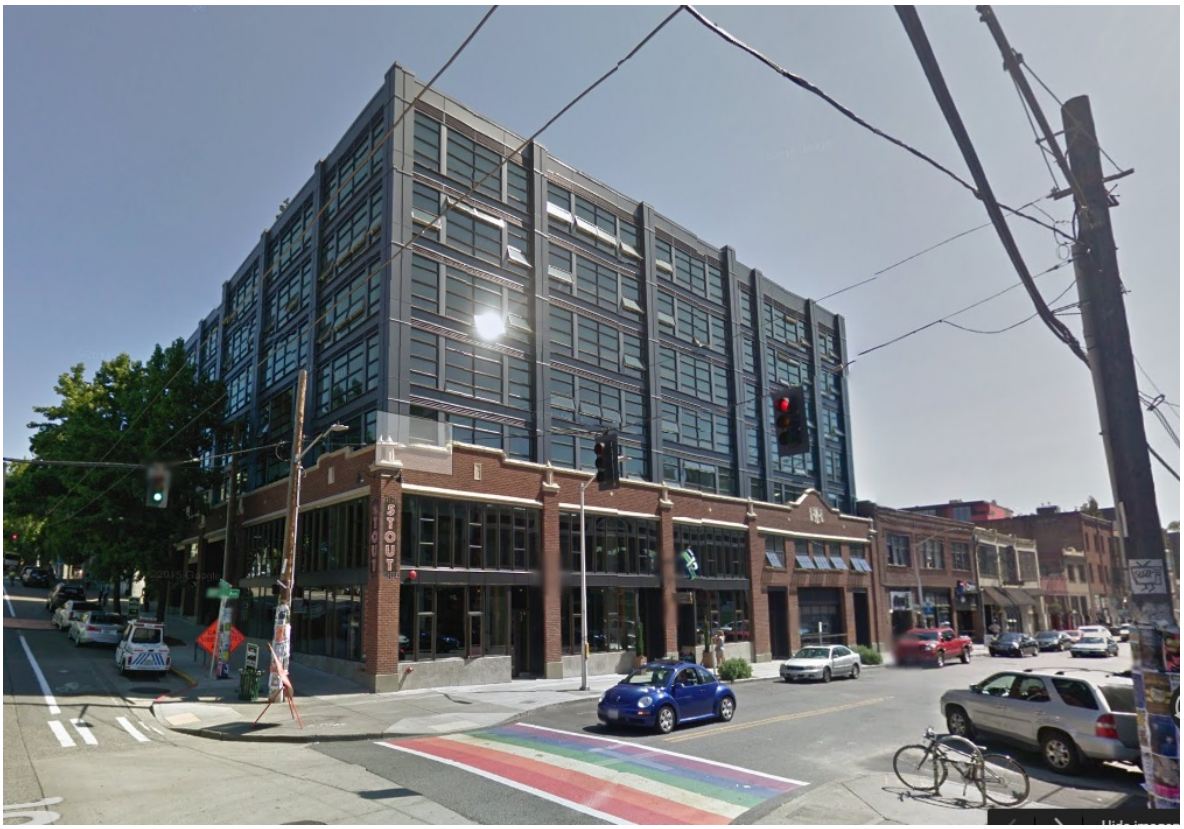

Figure 5. Sunset Electric Apartments, 1530 11th Ave (Image Google Earth, August 2015)

contrast (where the new portion is differentiated in materials, color, ornamentation and detailing), transition (where the new design has a transitionary section between old and new) and background (where the impact of the new is minimized).[2] Most of the new projects that incorporate character structures appear to use the contrast design approach, including the first building permitted after the establishment of the PPCOD the Sunset Electric Building (1530 11th Ave) [Figure 5]. The new structure does not relate well to the character structure below it; the architects used cast iron buildings as a historical precedent for the upper metal façade rather than the masonry examples that were dominant in the neighborhood.[3] Although the rhythm of the window bays is maintained, the new building has a strong horizontal orientation which contrasts with

Figure 6. 1414 10th St, very little historic fabric left to these two character structures (Image: Manish Chalana)

the character structure's vertical orientation, giving the upper levels a heavy squat appearance.

The Alliance project at 1414 10th Ave. demonstrated the gap between the intention of the ordinance and how developers were interpreting it. The project included four character structures and the original design presented in March of 2012 took advantage of the height bonus and preserved the facades of just two structures, the Madison Park Group buildings at 1401 and 1405 11th Avenue, arguing that preserve the other two structures would not pencil out financially [Figure 6].[4] This design was met with loud criticism from both local residents and local developers who lobbied that a third

building, the Davis Hoffman building (1406 10th Ave) be preserved as well. As Mike Oaksmith of Hunter Capital said, "There are only 35 or 40 of these auto row buildings left, it's a travesty that this building is going to get crashed down and the reason is that we can't afford to save it."[5]

At the end of a protracted, nine-month debate, the final design included an agreement to preserve a third structure, the David Hoffman building (1406 10th Ave). The completed project retains only the shell of the character structures, which is a practice known as "façadism." Façadism preserves the look of a building from the street level, but does not retain the rest of the form. The development at 10th and Union is not an isolated case; several recent projects in the neighborhood meet this definition [Figure 7]. Eugenia Woo, director of Historic Seattle, argues against the use of façadism in Pike/Pine saying,

> One might argue that at least facade "preservation" is better than nothing. But is it? Wouldn't it be better to see new projects that are well designed, perhaps the landmarks of tomorrow, cohesively knitted into the streetscape? Instead, we get the illusion of preservation with the pastiche of the old unsuccessfully jumbled with the new. While not outright demolition, façadism is less preservation and more a begrudging compromise between the past and the future.[6]

In June of 2014 amendments to the Conservation Overlay were passed to address some of the large preservation issues. These amendments included eliminating the height bonus if developers do not preserve at least the façade of all character structures in a proposal, and that the bonus can only be added to one part of the new structure (rather than over a character structure). The design review board was given authority to grant a departure from this directive for the demolition of wood-frame character structures that

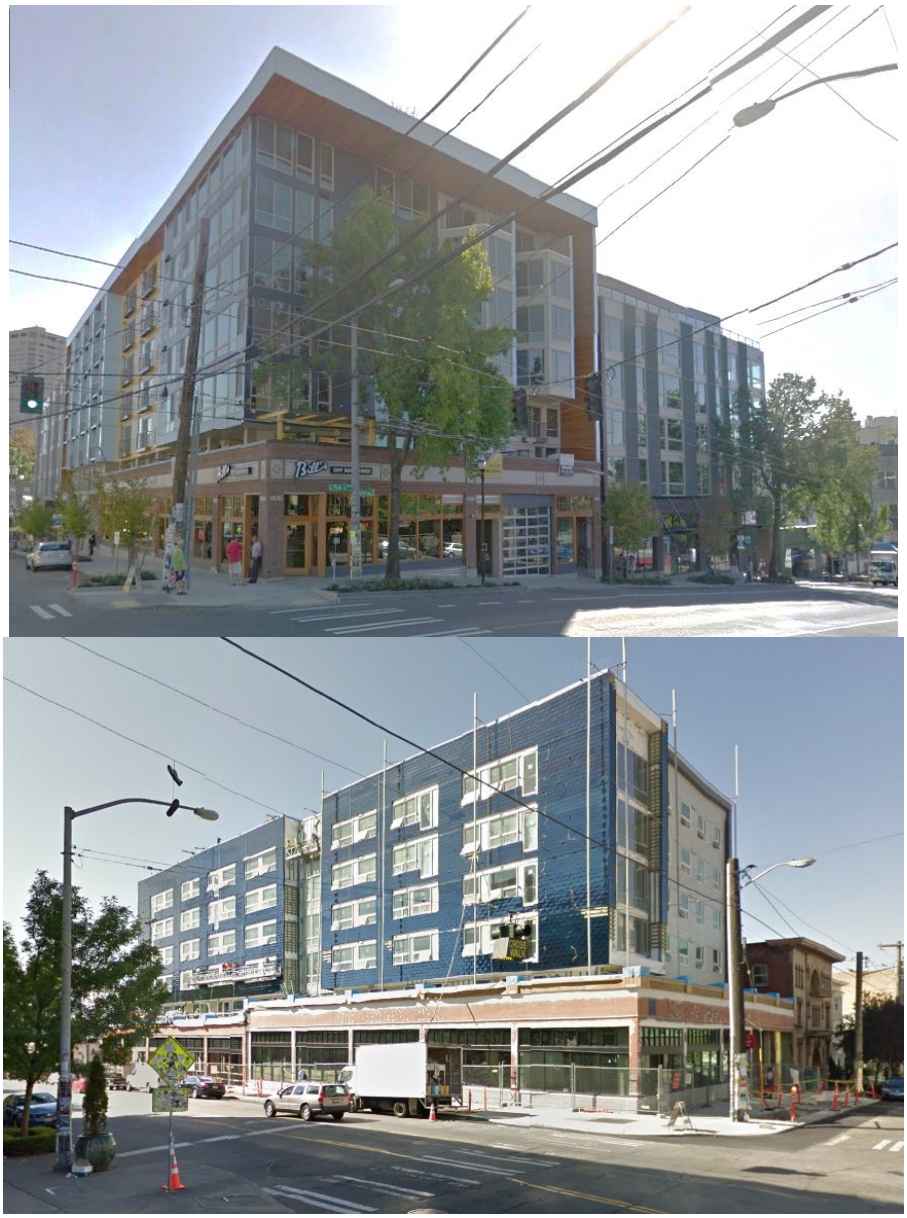

Figure 7. Examples of facadism in Pike/Pine. Top- 725 E Pine St.; Bottom- 1525 Boylston (Images Google Earth, August 2015).

were originally single-family homes or ancillary structures such as garages. The amendments also allow the design review board to consider the architectural integrity of buildings built before 1940 that are not listed character structures and whether or not they are representative and compatible with the neighborhood's building typology.[7] The

original wording of the PPCOD limited non-commercial uses to 2 FAR for lots over 18,000 feet, the amendment adjusted this limit, allowing the area of a character structure to be excluded from maximum lot size if the entire character structure (i.e. not just the façade) is maintained. The amendments also added maximum width and depth limits within the conservation core to include lots that do not have a character structure, rather than only lots with character structures. [8]

Culture and Uses

Culture and uses are aspects of Pike/Pine's neighborhood character that are not specifically protected or incentivized in the PPCOD, but are intended to be supported through either architectural preservation or other complementary city program. Arts spaces and queer spaces are treated differently; the disappearance of queer spaces treated as passive product of a more tolerant society and the disappearance of art spaces as a broader cultural loss that can be mitigated through development incentives.

Queer Neighborhoods

Currently, a number of LGBTQ organizations are located in Pike/Pine, including the Greater Seattle Business Association (400 E. Pine St), Gay City Health and Wellness Clinic (517 E. Pike St), Lifelong AIDS Alliance Client Services Center (1016 E. Pike St), Seattle Counseling Service (1605 12th Ave.), Seattle Pride (1605 12th Ave.) and Diverse Harmony (1111 Harvard Ave.). All of them but one (Diverse Harmony, a queer-straight alliance youth chorus) have been in the neighborhood for over 20 years. Although Seattle Pride is located in Pike/Pine, the Seattle Pride Parade itself moved downtown in 2006 (a smaller event separate from Seattle Pride, Capitol Hill Pride Festival March and

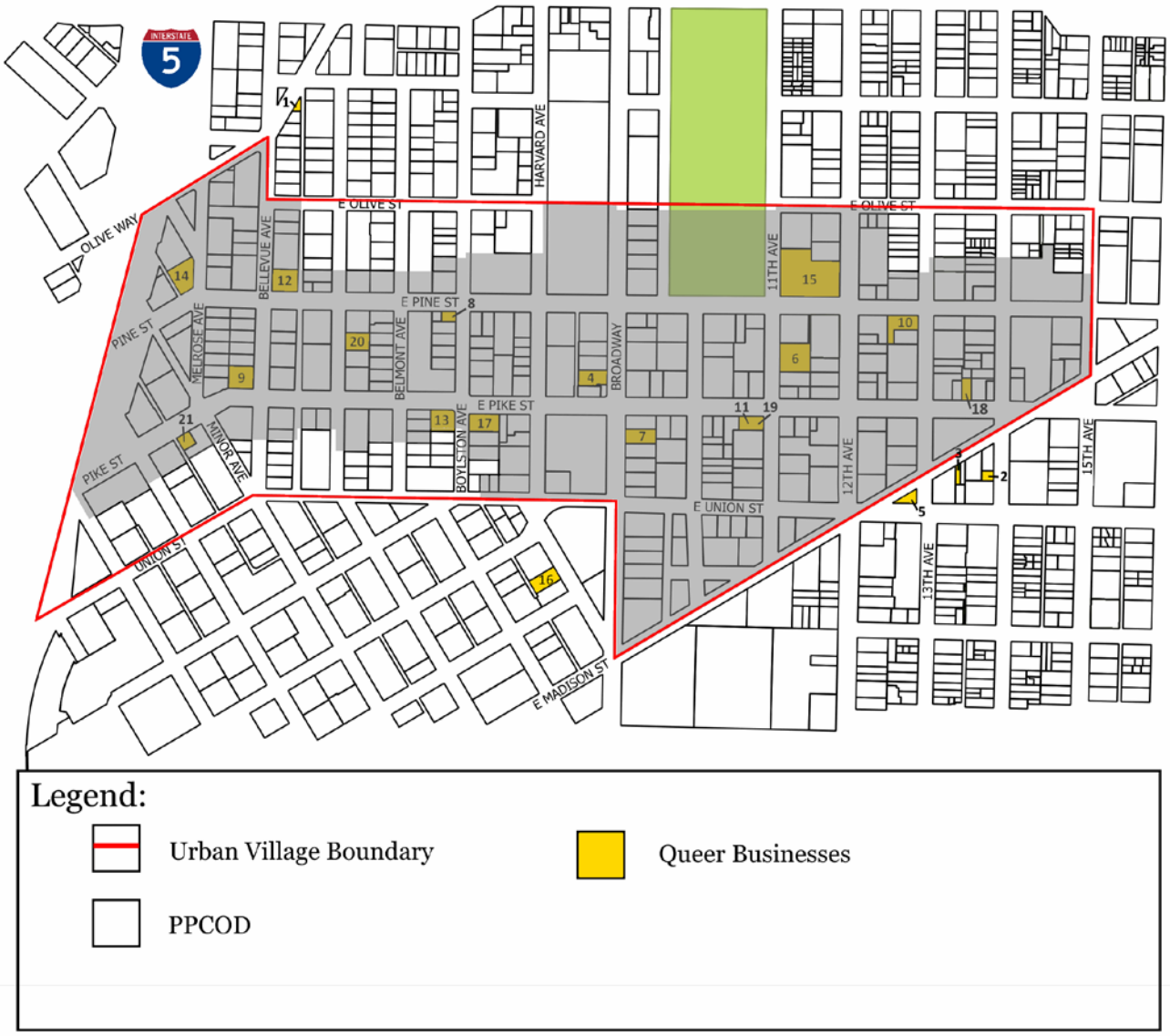

Figure8. Queer Businesses, Pike/Pine 2015

Table 5. Queer Businesses in Pike/Pine, 2015

Type of Business	Name	Address
Bars/Nightclubs		
	1. Crescent Lounge	1413 E. Olive Way
	2. Diesel	1413 14th Ave.
	3. Madison Pub	1315 E. Madison St.
	4. Neighbors	1509 Broadway
	5. Pony	1551 E. Madison Ave.
	6. Purr Cocktail Lounge	1511 11th Ave.
	7. Q	1426 Broadway
	8. R Place	619 E. Pine St.
	9. Seattle Eagle	314 E. Pike St.
	10. The Cuff Complex	1533 13th Ave.
	11. Wildrose Tavern	1021 E. Pike St.
Sex Shops		
	12. Babeland	707 E. Pike St.
	13. Castle Megastore	1312 E. Pike St.
	14. Doghouse Leathers	1017 E. Pike St.
Bathhouse		
	15. Club Z	1117 Pike St.
	16. Steamworks	1520 Summit Ave.
LGBTQ Organizations		
	17. Diverse Harmony	1111 Harvard Ave.
	18. Gay City	517 E. Pike St.
	19. Greater Seattle Business Association	400 E. Pine St.
	20. Lifelong AIDS Alliance Client Service Center	1016 E. Pike St.
	21. Seattle Counseling Service	1216 Pine St.
	22. Seattle Pride	1605 12th Ave.

Rally, still exists in the neighborhood).[9] A number of gay bars, clubs and sex shops have closed in the past five years, including Lobby Bar (916 E Pike St), and the bathhouse Basic Plumbing (1504 10th Ave). There are a still significant cluster of these buildings in the neighborhood [Figure 8 and Table 5], however, the clientele is changing. Stephen A. in a Yelp review of Neighbours noted that the crowd is more mixed, saying, "This club can be fun but definitely watch out if you are bringing any female friends. I came here with my roommate, who is female, thinking we were going to drink and dance in a gay club... It seems like the crowd is mostly hetero and there is an unusually high amount of single straight guys trying to aggressively prey on women... Basically, this isn't a gay club, it's a straight club that wants gay people's money, too."[10] Brent Lerseth, manager at the Lobby Bar (a now-closed gay bar) articulated his discomfort with the changing crowd at gay bars: "There is something about having a safe haven where you know it's 'your people's place...And that's changing. It isn't as freeing as it used to be."[11] Some of this change may be attributed to the increased social tolerance that Amin Ghaziani cites as the major motivation behind the diffusion of the gayborhood, at the same time it's important to note that queer spaces do not have any kind of protection and very little recognition as a cultural asset. There are no development incentives for retaining a queer business, even a queer business that has been in the same location for decades. This is not surprising; although queer businesses are more tolerated than ever in Seattle, businesses that center on sexuality at all, much less sexuality considered outside the mainstream, like a gay bathhouse or a queer dive bar, are not celebrated. In June of2 015 the city took its first step towards officially recognizing Pike/Pine's queer significance, and installed 11 rainbow crosswalks in the neighborhood [Figure 9]. Seattle Mayor Ed Murray (the city's first openly gay mayor) said at the dedication ceremony

Figure 9. One of 11 rainbow crosswalks put in Pike/Pine, intersection of E Pine St. and Broadway (Image: Google Earth August 2015).

that "It says something about this neighborhood and it also says something about Seattle...This is a city of very diverse neighborhoods throughout with different character."[12]

Art Spaces

Because the arts nature of this neighborhood is dependent on the availability of affordable larger rental spaces, it is particularly vulnerable to development pressure. There is a sense that Pike/Pine's art scene is gaining greater recognition just as it is disappearing. In 2013 Pike/Pine was recognized as part of the top 12 ArtPlaces in the country by ArtPlace America, a nationwide collaboration of foundations, federal agencies and financial institutions dedicated to positioning art as an important part of planning.[13] Among the highlighted locations were the Vino Verite wine bar, which has

since moved to Columbia City, and Oddfellows Hall.[14] Oddfellows Hall at 915 E. Pine Street was home to several arts-related businesses including Velocity Dance, Reel Grrls, Freehold Theater, Annex Theater, Seattle Mime Theatre and Century Ballroom. In 2007, the property was bought for an estimated 8 million dollars, and rents were subsequently raised 300%; currently the Century Ballroom is the only performing arts business in the building.[15] Art-related businesses are still a significant part of the neighborhood.

At the same time that the PPCOD was being planned, a separate but related effort at preserving neighborhood character was being developed. The Cultural Overlay District Advisory Committee (CODAC), formed in 2009, was tasked with identifying ways to preserve arts and culture in Seattle. In its report *Preserving & Creating Space for Arts & Culture,* the Committee identified Pike/Pine as a neighborhood with a strong arts community and identified the existence of older buildings as important factors in fostering community arts and culture spaces. CODAC noted that:

> There is a wealth of early twentieth-century masonry and concrete frame former industrial buildings on Capitol Hill. These buildings are part of the intrinsic character and culture of this neighborhood. Their age and condition makes them, mostly, within the range of affordability of artists. Many of these buildings also appear to meet the spatial needs for artists.[16]

Although CODAC specifically looked at arts and culture, it placed these spaces within a greater neighborhood planning context and explicitly aligned its goals with those of historic preservation, affordable housing and sustainability. CODAC supported the creation of the PPCOD, especially the zoning changes that incentivized arts and cultural uses. Capitol Hill became the city's first Arts and Culture district in November of 2014. 35 out of the district's 42 arts and culture organizations are located within the Pike/Pine neighborhood [Figure 10 and Table 6].

Figure 10 Capitol Hill Arts and Culture District

Table 6. Arts Organizations in the Capitol Hill Arts and Culture District

Name	Address	Name (cont.)	Address
1. 12th Avnue Arts	1620 12th Ave	37. Studio Current	1417 10th Ave
2. Annex Theatre	1100 E Pike St	38. Three Dollar Bill Cinema	1635 11th Ave
3. Artist Trust	1835 12th Ave	39. Tmrw Party	1417 10th Ave
4. Blick Art Materiels	1600 Broadway	40. True Love Art Gallery	1525 Summit Ave
5. Broadway Performance Hall	1625 Broadway	41. Vachon Gallery	901 12th Ave
6. Capitol Hill Block Party	1122 E Pike St.	42. Velocity Dance Center	1621 12th Ave
7. Cassandria Blackmore Studio	1115 E Pike St	43. Vermillion Theater	1508 11th Ave
8. Century Ballroom	915 E Pine St	43. Washington Ensemble Theater	1620 12th Ave
9. Chop Suey	1325 E Madison St		
10. Contact Create	928 13th Ave		
11. Crybaby Studios	1514 11th Ave		
12. Eclectic Theater	1214 10th Ave		
13. The Egyptian Theater	805 E Pine St		
14. Elliott Bay Book Company	1521 10th Ave		
15. The Erickson Theater	1524 Harvard Ave		
16. Everyday Music	1520 10th Ave		
17. Frame Central	901 E Pike St		
18. High Voltage Music Store	910 E Pike St		
19. Hugo House	1634 11th Ave		
20. Kinsey Gallery	901 12th Ave		
21. KXSU Seattle	901 12th Ave		
22. Lee Center for the Arts/	901 12th Ave		
23. Longhouse Media	1515 12th Ave		
24. Ltd. Art Gallery	501 E Pine St		
25. M Rosetta Hunter Art Gallery	1701 Broadway		
26. Neumos	925 E Pike St		
27. New Century Theater Company	1620 12th Ave		
28. Northwest Film Forum	1515 12th Ave		
29. The Northwest School	401 E Pike St		
30. Photo Center Northwest	900 12th Ave		
21. Pound Arts	1216 10th Ave		
32. The Project Room	1315 E Pine St		
33. Rare Medium	1321 E Pine St		
34. Seattle Academy of Arts and Sciences	1100 12th Ave		
35. Scratch Deli	1718 12th Ave		
36. Strawberry Theater Workshop	1620 12th Ave		

The goals of the PPCOD and Arts and Culture district, though related, do not always align. The establishment of the district was celebrated in Richard Hugo House (1634 11th Avenue), which represented an interesting choice. Hugo House is a non-profit community writing center founded in the late 1990s in a 1903 Victorian-era house, and a part of the pre-auto row development of the Pike/Pine neighborhood [Figure 11]. The building is a character structure within the PPCOD. Although it was proposed as a potential city Landmark building in 2013, the Landmarks Preservation Board felt that the building lacked the historic integrity needed to be a landmark.[17] This building is currently to be redeveloped into a six-story structure that will continue to house the non-profit with 90 residential units, 12,300 square feet of commercial space and below-grade parking for 100 vehicles.[18] In July of 2015 the celebration of the new Arts and Culture District took place at Hugo House. Commenting on the news in the *Capitol Hill Blog*, reader Ryan Packer noted, "It is very ironic that the Hugo House has been chosen as the site of the launch of this program: I can think of no greater cultural landmark worth preserving than the Hugo House itself, and yet the institution's plan is to tear it down. I really am left to wonder what the cultural district will be put in place to preserve: could it have prevented this from happening?"[19]

In response, Tree Swensen, executive director of Hugo House wrote, "We were delighted that the launch was held at Hugo House...Our organization is an example of what we hope will be preserved on Capitol Hill – art! The people and programs who interact to make Hugo House a lively cultural landmark are what's important, not an old building that's already on the road to falling down."[20]

Figure 11. Richard Hugo House (1634 11th Ave.). Image courtesy of Joe Mabel.

Housing

The majority of the development in the past 15 years has been residential, and the PPCOD has not slowed that trend. Out of 33 new construction projects permitted in the neighborhood from 2000-2014 (of which 25 have been completed to date), all but one, the expansion of the Northwest School at 401 E Pike St., has been a mixed-use building with a focus on residential space. New projects within the PPCOD are continuing to add more housing; in the five years since the establishment of the PPCOD, 2,133 new housing units have been added (compared with 747 units that were added during the

Table 7. Permitted Projects in Pike/Pine, 2000-2015

Year Range	Permitted Projects	Housing Units	Median
2000-2004	4	299	69
2005-2009*	11	747	56
2009-2014*	17	2133	97

Data from Seattle Department of Planning and Development Permit and Property Records.

* The Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District was created in July of 2009 and changed height requirements in the neighborhood; therefore July 2009 is used as a cutoff point.

five years before the PPCOD), for an average of 119 units per project, which is nearly double the 68 units per project from 2005-2009 [Table 7]. Although new development has increased the amount of housing in the neighborhood, the new housing units are more expensive, and though not a large percentage of the total units, the number of condominiums has increased. Using census tract data for 1990, 2000, and 2010, the percentage of renter-occupied units in the neighborhood has dropped from roughly 90% in 1990 to 83% in 2013.[21]

Overall, the affordability of the neighborhood has gone down, although the number of subsidized units in the neighborhood has increased from 149 units in 10 buildings to 591 units currently in 17 buildings [Table 8].[22] The majority of affordable housing units are provided by non-profits dedicated to providing low-income housing (Capitol Hill Housing and Bellwether), or providing transitional housing for the homeless and substance abusers (Pioneer Human Services and Catholic Community Services). These organizations have been active in the neighborhood since the 1990s,

Table 8. Subsidized housing in Pike/Pine

Name	Address	Owner	Studio	1 BR	2 + BR	Total Units	AMI (%)
12th Ave Arts	1660 12th Ave.	Non-profit	8	72	8	88	60%
Annapolis	1531 Belmont Ave.	Non-profit	8	15	0	23	30-50%
Bellboy Apartments	1411 Boylston Ave.	Non-profit	17	0	0	17	30%
Bellevue/Olive Apartments	1641 Bellevue Ave.	Non-profit	8	24	16	48	50-60%
Beryl	1200 E. Pike St.	Private	14	7	0	21	65%-85%
Broadway Crossing	815 E. Pine St.	Non-profit	2	14	28	44	30-60%
Chamberlain House	1515 Belmont Ave.	Non-profit	16	4	0	20	N/A
Cue Apartments	721 E. Pine St.	Private	1	17	1	19	65-85%
Evolve	954 E. Union St.	Private	1	11	4	16*	65%-85%
Haines Apartments	1415 E. Olive St.	Non-profit	15	15	0	30	50-80%
Melrose	1520 Melrose Ave.	Non-profit	30	0	0	30	30-50%
Pardee Townhomes	1630 14th Ave.	Non-profit	0	0	9	9	40-50%
Pine + Minor	1519 Minor Ave.	Private	16	7	0	23	65-75%
REO Flats	1515 14th Ave.	Private	6	13	3	22	65-85%
Three20	320 E. Pine St.	Private	14	13	0	27	65%-85%
Villa Apartments	1106 Pike St.	Non-profit	40	22	0	62	30-50%
Wintonia Hotel	1431 Minor Ave.	Non-profit	92	0	0	92	N/A
TOTAL			288	234	69	591	

Data compiled from Department of Planning and Development Permits and Property Records, Capitol Hill Housing, Bellwether Housing, Catholic Community Services, Pioneer Human Services, and the Office of Housing Multifamily Tax Exemption Program.

with Capitol Hill Housing's presence dating back to 1976.[23] These organizations provide housing for people making between 30-85% of the area median income (AMI), with the majority serving households earning between 30-60% AMI.

Private developers in Pike/Pine have increasingly added rent-restricted units to take advantage of the city's Multifamily Tax Exemption (MFTE) program since Pike/Pine became an eligible neighborhood in 2008.[24] The MFTE program provides a 12-year tax exemption on residential improvements in exchange for property owner's setting aside a minimum of 20% of housing as rent restricted. In this program rents are set as affordable for people making 65% the median rent for the neighborhood (for studios), 75% (for 1-bedrooms) and 85% (for 2+bedrooms) of the median area income.[25] Using HUD's 2015 numbers, rentals in MFTE properties run $1,099 for a studio, $1,344 for a one-bedroom and 1,714 for two or more bedrooms.[26] Six private property owners in Pike/Pine currently participate in the MFTE program (all completed since 2010), and have set aside a total of 128 units as rent restricted; new subsidized housing makes up 10% of the total new units in the neighborhood.[27] None of these properties advertises their participation in the MFTE program on their website (that information is available at the city's Office of Housing website); someone looking for a rent-restricted unit would have to call individual leasing offices for information. For those same six properties market rate rents on studios run $1,400- $1,850, one-bedrooms from $1,795-$2,500 and two bedrooms from $2,597- $3,500.[28] One non-profit, Capitol Hill Housing has taken advantage of the MFTE program with the creation of 12th Ave Arts (1660 12th Ave), a new building built in 2014 that created 88 affordable units in a complex that included community meeting space, local retail and two theaters.

Population

At first glance the population of the Pike/Pine neighborhood appears to have changed little since the creation of the conservation district. The average age has remained steady at about 30 years old for the past 30 years, the average household size is low (1.42 in 1990 and 1.41 in 2010) compared to the city as a whole (2.09 in 1990 and 2.06 in 2010).[29] The neighborhood's racial and ethnic makeup has changed a bit, although the neighborhood is still over three quarters white; the Asian and African-American population has essentially switched from 9.5% African-American 6.7% Asian in 1990 to 6.3% African-American and 10.4% in 2010.

Demographically, the most visible change in the neighborhood has been the increase in the median household income and per capita income compared to that of the city as a whole. Although the median household income in Pike/Pine is lower than that of Seattle, for the last 25 years it has been increasing at a greater rate. The neighborhood's median income grew by 66% from 1990 to 2000, while the city's only grew 55%. Pike/Pine's median income grew 48% from 2000 to 2010 compared to the city's increase of 33%.[30] The per capita income for Pike/Pine surpassed the city as a whole by 2000; in 2010, the neighborhood's per capita income was $47,588, compared to $43,237 for Seattle. This is not surprising given that the average household size in Pike/Pine is smaller than that of Seattle. Twenty-two percent, or more than 1 in 5 households now make over 100,000 a year in Pike/Pine, compared to 1 out of 19 in 2000 [Figure 12]..[31]

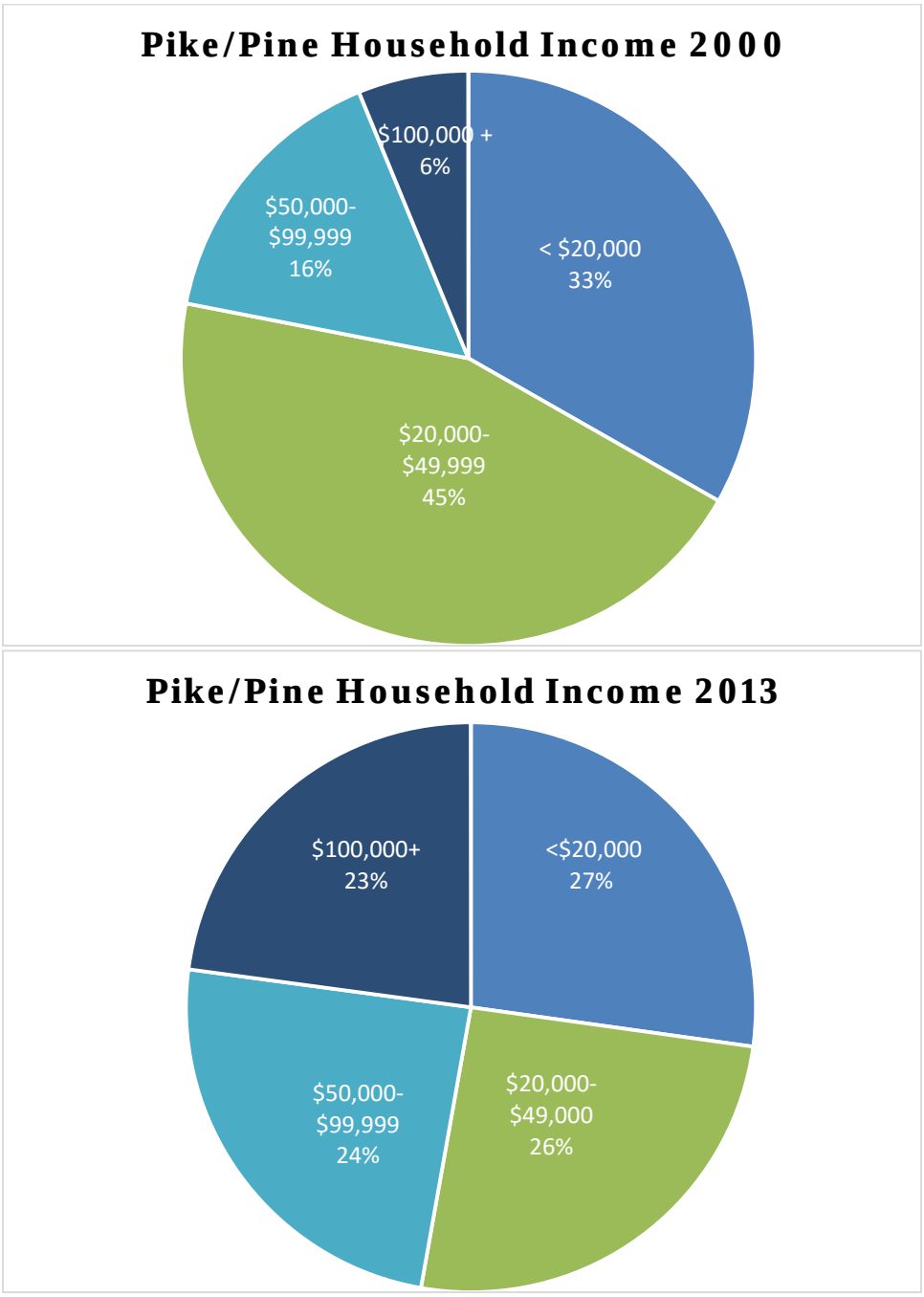

Figure 12. Pike Pine Population Comparisons. Data from: U.S. Census Explorer, U.S. 2000 Census, and American Community Survey 2013.

Measuring the change in the queer population of the neighborhood is difficult to do. Census data for same-sex couple household only goes back to 2000, and even then that data only gives information on *unmarried couple* households, rendering all unmarried couples and queer folk who are not coupled invisible. In 2010 this category was changed to same-sex married and same-sex unmarried couples, although even then small reporting errors can substantially impact data.[32] Given that, the census's tendency to under represent renters, and the disproportionate percentage of queer homeless youth (in a 2015 King County survey of the county's homeless, 22% of respondents self-identified as LGBTQ), using census information to track the queer population in Pike/Pine's renter-heavy, young and predominantly single population will not provide a complete picture.[33] That being said, American Community Survey estimates found that while Seattle overall increased the number of same-sex households by 52% from 2000 to 2013, across Capitol Hill (including in the two census tracts that contain Pike/Pine, 75 and 84) the number of same-sex households dropped 23%.[34]

This data is backed up by the perception of people in the neighborhood. In January of 2015, a public art poster campaign was launched by #CaphillPSA, in which local artists contributed posters on their feelings on the changing neighborhood, with messages like "Tech Money Kills Queer Culture Dead" and "Welcome to the Neighborhood Agro Bro."[35] In March of 2015, the Seattle Times published a report on gentrification on Capitol Hill, "Cultures clash as gentrification engulfs Capitol Hill," which looked at the tension between newer, straight club/bar goers and the queer community. Adé Cônnére, a drag performer who was attacked in Pike/Pine in March of 2015, was reported as saying "There are certain areas that I have started to avoid...I can

deal with crackheads, but some of these frat boys that come into town...they behave so badly."[36] Shelley Brothers, co-owner of the Wildrose (1021 E Pike St.), Seattle's only lesbian bar, spoke on the tension:

> The thing that took us all by surprise was the degree of homophobia and misogyny that started all of a sudden with this influx of crowds. I got used to not being called a dyke or a bitch, or names at night... "[n]ow, it seems we're back to that...People have walked out onto the sidewalk and say to each other, 'Why are there so many fricken' gay bars up here?...The first time I heard it I was just like, 'Are you kidding me? You have no clue where you are.'[37]

The Capitol Hill Community Council held a forum in response to the issues raised by the article and multiple members of the public mentioned that there was a lack of understanding or respect on the part of the straight club-goers regarding the queer nature of the neighborhood. In order to make this neighborhood more visibly queer, in July of 2015, the city, led by Social Outreach Seattle (SOSea) and Mayor Ed Murray (Seattle's first openly gay mayor), installed 11 rainbow crosswalks in Capitol Hill between Broadway and 11th Street within the Pike/Pine neighborhood.

Notes

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Chapter 5: Conclusion

The Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District has very ambitious goals for preserving neighborhood character. The PPCOD defines neighborhood character in a multi-faceted way as a mix of architecture, uses, culture, housing and diversity. Unfortunately it is only able to conserve some aspects of the neighborhood's built environment. The traditional tools of historic preservation (designating individual landmarks or creating historic districts), and newer tools like conservation districts are most effective at preserving architectural aspects of a neighborhood's character. Since the passage of the PPCOD, the number of projects in the neighborhood has gone up, and the size of the new developments has increased. As it stands now, many projects that are taking advantage of preservation bonuses are engaging in façadism instead of creating projects that adapt historic resources for new uses and the design of new development often doesn't relate well to the older fabric. The 2014 amendments have changed the incentives to dis-incentivize facadism and promote preservation of entire buildings, as well as address issues of massing. Time will tell if these amendments prove effective. However, the amendments did not address other aspects of neighborhood character, meaning that the PPCOD hasn't, on its own, able to help preserve aspects tied to function or use of space.

Although new affordable housing units are being created, they are a small percentage of the total new units and they are subsidized rather than market rate. Since

the passage of the PPCOD new subsidized housing in Pike/Pine has come from the city's Multi-Family Tax Exemption program, with private development making up six out of the seven participants in the neighborhood. The seventh is 12th Ave Arts, a new development in Pike/Pine that includes affordable housing, performance space and small businesses. 12th Ave Arts is owned by the non-profit Capitol Hill Housing.

The gritty, queer, artsy character of the neighborhood, which was made possible by the affordability of the location and the adaptability of the built environment to local needs, is being pushed out by increasingly large mixed use projects. At a public panel on gentrification in Capitol Hill, when asked if the PPCOD was successful, panelist Michael Wells characterized the district's limited success solely in terms of how much architectural character was saved, and did not connect the overlay to other neighborhood concerns.[1]

Related efforts, like the Capitol Hill Arts and Culture District, approach the preservation of neighborhood character in a similar but fundamentally different way. The Office of Arts and Culture's implementation plan for the district is incentive based; the majority the plan consists of ways to alert visitors of the existence of the district (Right-of-way district identifiers, a way-finding program, art historic markers) and small art installations (creating art spaces in the windows of vacant buildings, establishing parklets in individual parking spots, creating a roster of street performers).[2] The program is developing a pilot certification program called Build ArtSpacE (B.A.S.E), envisioning it as a voluntary certification for commercial mixed-use developments to pursue (like LEED certification), as a way to reward developments that include arts and culture in their design.[3] There is no mention of affordability in the district's goals, nor of

the existing relationship between the historic buildings in Pike/Pine and art spaces, although the report for the district mentions both.[4]

Although some efforts are being undertaken to preserve art uses in Pike/Pine, queer uses are not treated the same way. Attempts to acknowledge Pike/Pine's history as a queer space, such as the instillation of rainbow sidewalks, exist as visual reminders but also do not preserve the *continued use* of the neighborhood as a queer space. Although art spaces are considered something that must be nurtured in order to thrive, the perception appears to be that queer spaces came into being because of oppression and will "naturally" diffuse as society continues to become more tolerant. Following this line of thought, the loss of queer spaces in Pike/Pine, while sad, isn't something that the city should necessarily prevent, because its dissolution is indicative of the city's progressivism. The people living in Pike/Pine have a more conflicted view about the neighborhood's changes, as represented in the #CapHillPSA public art campaign, several posters in the series emphasized the queer character of the neighborhood [Figure 13].

In addition to advocating for changes to the Pike/Pine Conservation Overlay District, which passed in June of 2014, local preservation advocates have also turned to more traditional historic preservation tools. In early 2015, two neighboring Auto Row-era properties in Pike/Pine were listed as individual city Landmarks: the REI Building, also known as the White Motor Company (1021 E. Pine St), and the Value Village or Kelly-Springfield Motor Truck Company Building (1525 11th Avenue). Both properties are part of a redevelopment project by Legacy Commercial to develop a 75 foot-tall office/commercial space. The developer submitted a landmark nomination for both

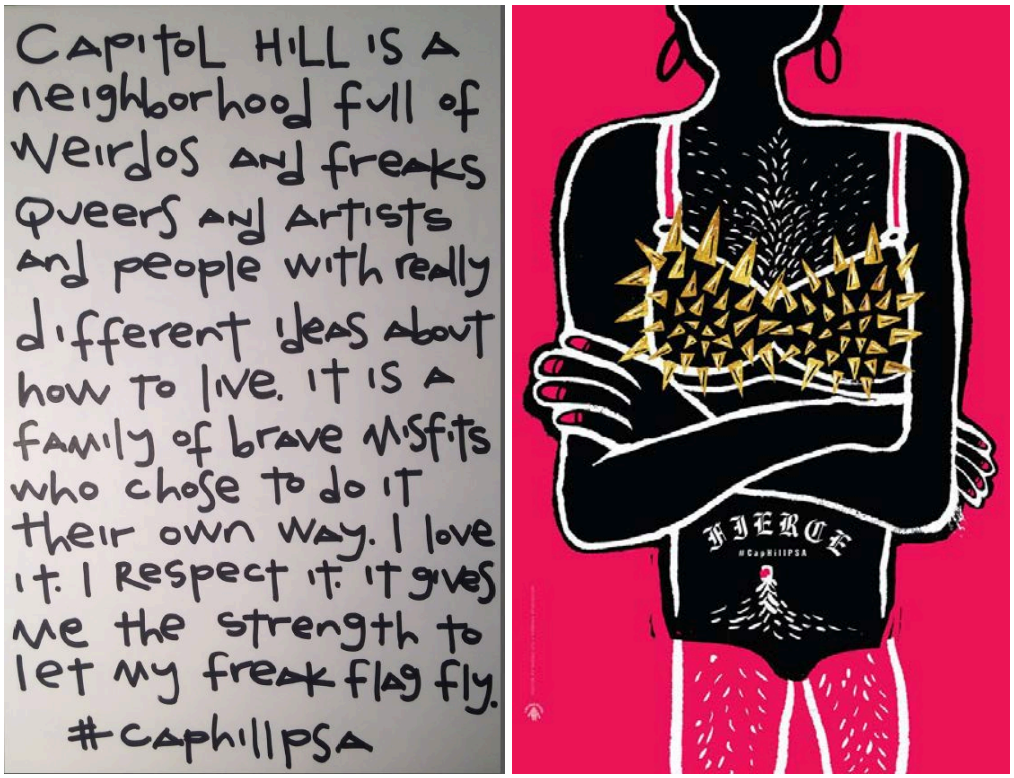

Figure 13 #CapHillPSA posters by Greg Lundgren (left), Shogo Ota (right).

buildings; however the nominations were prepared as "anti-nominations" with the intention that they would be rejected by the landmarks board and therefore preempt a discussion of either building's historical significance. Legacy was against the nomination of either property saying, "Legacy elected to proactive in addressing the City's request for the Landmark's Board to review the site...However we are hoping that the site is not determined to be a landmark to provide us the opportunity to realize our vision and the neighborhood's vision for the block."[5] The nominations did not have Legacy's intended outcome; both nominations were met with strong public support and were designated by unanimous vote of the landmarks board.[6] Although the review process is ongoing for Legacy's redevelopment project, the most recent version of plans before the landmarks board leaves the White Motor Company building entirely intact with four stories of new

stepped-back development planned above the Kelly Springfield building.[7] Landmark designation also convinced a local institution on Capitol Hill, the alt-weekly newspaper *The Stranger*, to stay in the neighborhood. Tim Keck, owner of *The Stranger*, said "We were going to leave, but the historical designation...that gave us a chance to re-look at our plans of leaving."[8]

It is unclear to what extent Pike/Pine will be able to balance the old with the new, the gritty with the upscale, and the queer with the straight, or, in much the same way the old automotive commercial aspect of the neighborhood is almost completely gone, whether the character will completely change over.

Looking forward, one of the ways we can better preserve neighborhood character is by having more standardized and quantitative ways of measuring it. The National Trust for Historic Preservation's Project Green Lab put out a report in 2014, *Older, Smaller, Better: Measuring how the character of buildings and blocks influences urban vitality* that assessed the contributions of older, smaller buildings to the economic, social and cultural vitality of neighborhoods. Significantly the report created a quantitative methodology for evaluating the performance of these buildings. They created a composite measure of building character: combining buildings median age assessment with one of building age diversity, as well as granularity (building and lot size) into a single statistic that could measure against other signs of urban vitality. [9] Although LGBTQ are not part of the Preservation Green Lab's metrics of urban vitality, they could easily be added. This kind of information is useful in both articulating the benefits of smaller older neighborhoods as well as in assessing changes. The report actually uses the Pike/Pine neighborhood as a case study, finding that the neighborhood

had a statistically significant character score, as well as a high number of non-chain businesses (96.6%), and higher ratio of jobs per square foot than the city as a whole.[10] At the same time, the report cautioned that the "hybrid approach" of the conservation district, the new larger development that retained only a portion of historic fabric will require future analysis to determine what effects they are having on the neighborhood's vitality.[11]

It is unclear to what extent Pike/Pine will be able to balance the old with the new, the gritty with the upscale, and the queer with the straight, or, in much the same way the old automotive commercial aspect of the neighborhood is almost completely gone, whether the character will completely change over.

Notes

[1] Comments transcribed from author's notes on the April 16th, 2015 Capitol Hill Community Council meeting held at the First Baptist Church in Seattle.

[2] City of Seattle, Office of Arts and Culture, *Attachment A: Seattle Arts & Culture Districts Program Implementation Program* (Seattle: City of Seattle, November 2014): 2-4.

[3] Office of Housing, Attachment A, 3.

[4] Cultural Overlay District Advisory Committee, *Preserving & Creating Space for Arts & Culture in Seattle*: *Final Recommendations* (Seattle: City of Seattle, April 2009), 3.

[5] jseattle, "Capitol Hill's Value Village Building—auto row era home of Kelly-Springfield Motor Truck Company—considered for Seattle Landmark Protection," *Capitol Hill Seattle Blog*, November 18, 2014, accessed November 12, 2015, http://www.capitolhillseattle.com/2014/11/capitol-hills-value-village-building-auto-row-era-home-of-kelly-springfield-motor-truck-company-considered-for-seattle-landmark-protection/.

[6] City of Seattle, Landmarks Preservation Board, "Meeting Minutes January 7, 2015." (Seattle: City of Seattle, 2015) http://www.seattle.gov/neighborhoods/historic-preservation/landmarks; City of Seattle, Landmarks Preservation Board, "Meeting Minutes January 21, 2015" (Seattle: City of Seattle, 2015), http://www.seattle.gov/neighborhoods/historic-preservation/landmarks; Bryan Cohen, "Thanks to auto row and REI Roots, The Stranger building to join neighboring Value Village as protected landmarks," *Capitol Hill Seattle Blog*, January 21, 2015, accessed November 12, 2015, http://www.capitolhillseattle.com/2015/01/thanks-to-auto-row-and-rei-roots-the-stranger-building-to-join-neighboring-value-village-as-protected-landmarks/.

[7] Bryan Cohen, "Developer abandons plans for The Stranger building after preservation board objects," *Capitol Hill Seattle Blog*, November 23, 2015, accessed December 8, 2015, http://www.capitolhillseattle.com/2015/11/developer-abandons-plans-for-the-stranger-building-after-preservation-board-objections/.

[88] Annie Zak, "After considering a move, The Stranger will stay on Capitol Hill," *Puget Sound Business Journal*, October 20, 2015, accessed December 8, 2015, http://www.bizjournals.com/seattle/news/2015/10/30/after-considering-a-move-the-stranger-will-stay-on.html.

[9] National Trust for Historic Preservation, Preservation Green Lab, *Older, Smaller, Better: Measuring how the character of buildings and blocks influences urban vitality* (Seattle: Preservation Green Lab, 2014), 28.

[10] Preservation Green Lab, *Older, Smaller, Better*, 48.

[11] Preservation Green Lab, *Older, Smaller, Better* 46

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