

Executive Summary

We Create White Center Neighborhood Action Plan



University of Washington Urban Design and Planning

In partnership with:

White Center Community Development Association

Public Safety &
Pedestrian
Environment Element



Downtown
Element



Workforce
Element



Housing
Element



Civic Capacity
Element



Land Use
Element



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White Center Community Development Association

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King County

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Introduction

Vision

During a community meeting held on November 14, 2006, a vision was created for White Center. This vision was an integral part of a larger plan-making process that extended from 2006 to 2007. The intention of the process was to bring residents and stakeholders together to discuss their ideas for White Center, the things they wanted to preserve and change, and how the neighborhood should look in the future. The following vision statement was prepared:

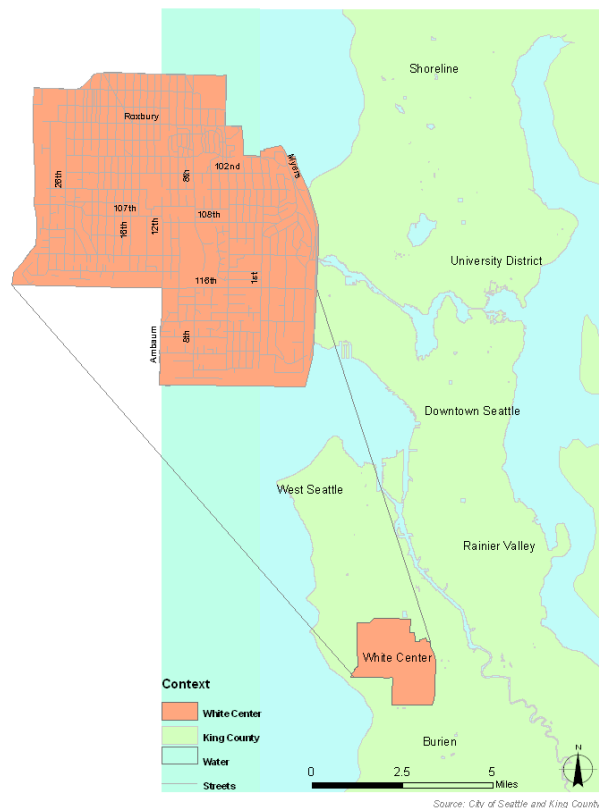
In the future, White Center will be a thriving community of ethnically and economically diverse residents, where the small-town character is preserved in the business district, where the streets and parks are safe to walk in at all times of the day, where there is a mix of job opportunities, where youth thrive and live healthy lives, and where White Center is known for its quality of life, clean and safe environment, and family friendly atmosphere.

The current document represents a plan to achieve this vision.

White Center History and Context

In order to understand the importance of a community-driven vision and plan for White Center, it is necessary to first identify the area's physical location and boundaries and to discuss its history. White Center is located in an unincorporated area in southwest King County. According to the community-identified boundary, it lies adjacent to Seattle, while its southern border touches the municipality of Burien, as shown in Map 1: Context Map. The physical boundary of the area includes the entire unincorporated area west of State Route 509 plus the area north of SW Roxbury Street, and the northern border of this area follows SW Henderson Street, from 4th Avenue SW to Delridge Way, continuing

Map 1: Context Map of White Center



west as SW Barton Place, until it meets the neighborhood's western boundary at 30th Avenue SW. As defined, the White Center area comprises approximately 3.67 square miles.¹

White Center has a rich and varied cultural history. The community began to develop early in the 20th century as more people moved to the Seattle area, and it attracted growth because of its abundance of low cost, vacant land. Business and commercial development in the area soon began expanding along 16th Avenue SW because this street served as the midpoint destination for an electric streetcar connecting White Center to Burien, Seattle, and the adjacent shipyards and industrial areas. The first commercial building was constructed in 1915 at the corner of SW Roxbury Street and 16th Avenue SW and housed

¹ White Center Community Development Association, 2007.



the White Center Theater, a restaurant with a dance hall above.² White Center's first housing boom occurred along the streetcar route during the 1920s, and the need for defense industry workers during World War II, coupled with White Center's convenient access to regional commercial and industrial areas, led to a second housing boom in the 1940s.³ From 1936 to 1958, the number of lots in White Center increased from 58 to 263.⁴ The construction and operation of State Route 509, a heavily used route adjacent to White Center, further encouraged development in the 1960s, and since then numerous waves of immigrants and refugees have settled in the community as White Center continues to develop its cultural identity.

Today, White Center is a diverse neighborhood that is home to many racial and ethnic groups. The population of White Center includes an extremely diverse working class, with people of color making up nearly 50% of the community. In addition, over a quarter of the residents in the area are people under the age of 18.⁵ This vibrant character and unique diversity is White Center's greatest asset, but the community faces substantial challenges as well. Income, employment, and education levels in White Center are lower on average than those in the rest of King County, and crime and health problems tend to be higher than elsewhere in the county.⁶ Compounding these problems is the fact that White Center is an unincorporated area of King County and does

not have the resources to address many of these issues.

With the adoption of the Growth Management Act in 1990, unincorporated areas of Washington State located in urban areas have faced pressure to incorporate into nearby existing cities or establish their own cities. Due to the urban nature of White Center, the neighborhood has the need for high levels of service typically provided by cities, but it cannot satisfy this need without help from the county and adjacent cities. Future annexation of White Center into either the City of Burien or the City of Seattle is likely and may act as a remedy to some of these service problems.

Looking to the Future

White Center is a neighborhood in transition due to inherent pressures from population growth, poverty, annexation discussions, and the threat of gentrification. Maintaining the diversity and character of the neighborhood in the midst of change will be a challenge, yet the community has clearly indicated that preserving the unique character of the neighborhood is vitally important. To clarify the intention of the community during this time of change, a document that clearly states the goals, visions, and desires of White Center has been created. This neighborhood plan is a written document that expresses the community vision in the face of future annexation and new development and it can be used to communicate to decision makers what is important to the community.

Project Background

This neighborhood plan was created through a collaborative effort between the White Center Community Development Association (WCCDA) and the University of Washington's Department of Urban Design and Planning (UDP).

The WCCDA is a community-focused, non-profit organization that promotes three goals to

² *White Center: Main-Street Use and Design Guidelines*. Seattle: UW Architecture Storefront Studio, 2004.

³ During this second housing boom, White Center Heights (later known as Park Lake Homes I) was created. This large housing development has recently been redeveloped into Greenbridge and is projected to be completed by 2012.

⁴ Cote, Katie. "The Rise of the Working Class Suburb: Settlement and Growth of White Center from Streetcar Town to Blue Collar Suburb 1910–1950." Seattle: University of Washington, 2007.

⁵ King County, "White Center and Boulevard Park Community Data," King County Web site, <http://www5.metrokc.gov/reports/health/>, 2000.

⁶ Making Connections, "A Profile of White Center," King County Public Health Department.

improve the quality of life for the residents of White Center:

- Promoting the economic development of White Center, particularly in the downtown business district
- Preserving and creating quality affordable housing
- Building a strong community through advocacy and community engagement

The WCCDA recognized that the community needed a plan to identify problems and develop useful recommendations. To this end, graduate students from the Department of Urban Design and Planning of the College of Architecture and Planning at the University of Washington worked with the WCCDA to develop a neighborhood plan for White Center. Through a process that included community outreach efforts, extensive in-depth research, and field data collection, the students were able to formulate a neighborhood plan that offers suggestions for how to guide development in the White Center community.

Work on the neighborhood plan took place over two academic quarters of coursework at the University of Washington. The winter quarter White Center Studio, from January to March 2007, required students to develop an Initial Conditions Report that incorporated information from previous White Center studies and self-collected data to evaluate the current state of White Center. This part of the process ended with a community workshop on February 28, 2007, at which further information was gathered from the public that allowed the class to proceed with the next step.

During the spring quarter White Center Studio, from March to June 2007, the students worked closely with community members and stakeholders to develop alternatives, recommendations, and

steps for implementing specific projects for six focus areas identified by the community.

These focus areas, which have become elements of the neighborhood plan, are (1) public safety and the pedestrian environment, (2) business district development, (3) employment opportunities, (4) affordable housing options,⁷ (5) increased civic capacity, and (6) identification of future land uses to meet plan goals. The findings of these groups were presented to the community at a public meeting held on May 31, 2007.

This report discusses how these six elements were pursued, discusses progress to date, and offers recommendations for further planning of the development of White Center so that it can accommodate the growth pressures being imposed on it while at the same time retaining the neighborhood character that the residents value. Following is a summary of each element.

⁷ The area of housing was not mentioned in the original community vision but was included based on the perceived importance of housing in White Center as determined at the community workshop on February 28, 2007.





Element One: Public Safety & Pedestrian Environment

Developing a pedestrian-friendly community can increase social interaction and lead to a decrease in crime and other social problems. Research shows that walkable neighborhoods are more likely to have residents who are politically and socially engaged in their communities, and a walkable neighborhood can also bolster the economic development and health of communities by reducing commuting costs, attracting tourists, decreasing automobile emissions, and increasing the activity level of residents. A healthy, thriving pedestrian environment that encourages mobility for all residents also can contribute to perceptions of safety.

White Center has public and pedestrian safety strengths and challenges. This diverse neighborhood has many invested residents devoted to effecting positive change, but complicating the pursuit of change are difficult challenges, including deficient infrastructure and lack of consistent funding, combined with negative perceptions of public safety.

Vision

In the future, White Center will be *a community with viable, multi-modal transit options and development patterns that enhance and promote an interconnected pedestrian network offering safe, welcoming, attractive, and accessible routes.*

All of the recommendations for improvements to public safety and the pedestrian environment are guided by the goals of accessibility, connectivity, education, quality, and personal safety. Pedestrian routes were identified to provide connections to key destinations in White Center and are displayed in Map 2. These routes served as the basis for many of the recommendations that are offered in this element, but priority focus was on low-cost solutions that could be easily implemented and high-priority long-term solutions.

The following low-cost solutions for pedestrian safety in White Center can be implemented in the near term.

Low-Cost Route Improvements

Maintenance Improvements

Improve crosswalk markings at intersections and repaint street lane markings, repaint “school zone” markings, trim tree branches on pedestrian walkways, and repair the cyclone fence at the north entrance of Lakewood Park.

Safety Improvements

Install crosswalk signs and a vehicle speed radar reader board, remove parking on Roxbury Street from 15th Avenue SW to 16th Avenue SW, install walking flags to better identify pedestrians when they are crossing.

Perception Improvements

Encourage business owners to keep lights on at night, and place plantings in entranceways.

Civic Capacity Building

- Create walking maps for White Center.
- Begin *White Center Walks* pedestrian awareness campaign.
- Improve neighborhood block watch groups.
- Sponsor community clean-up events.

Education, Enforcement and Evaluation Programs

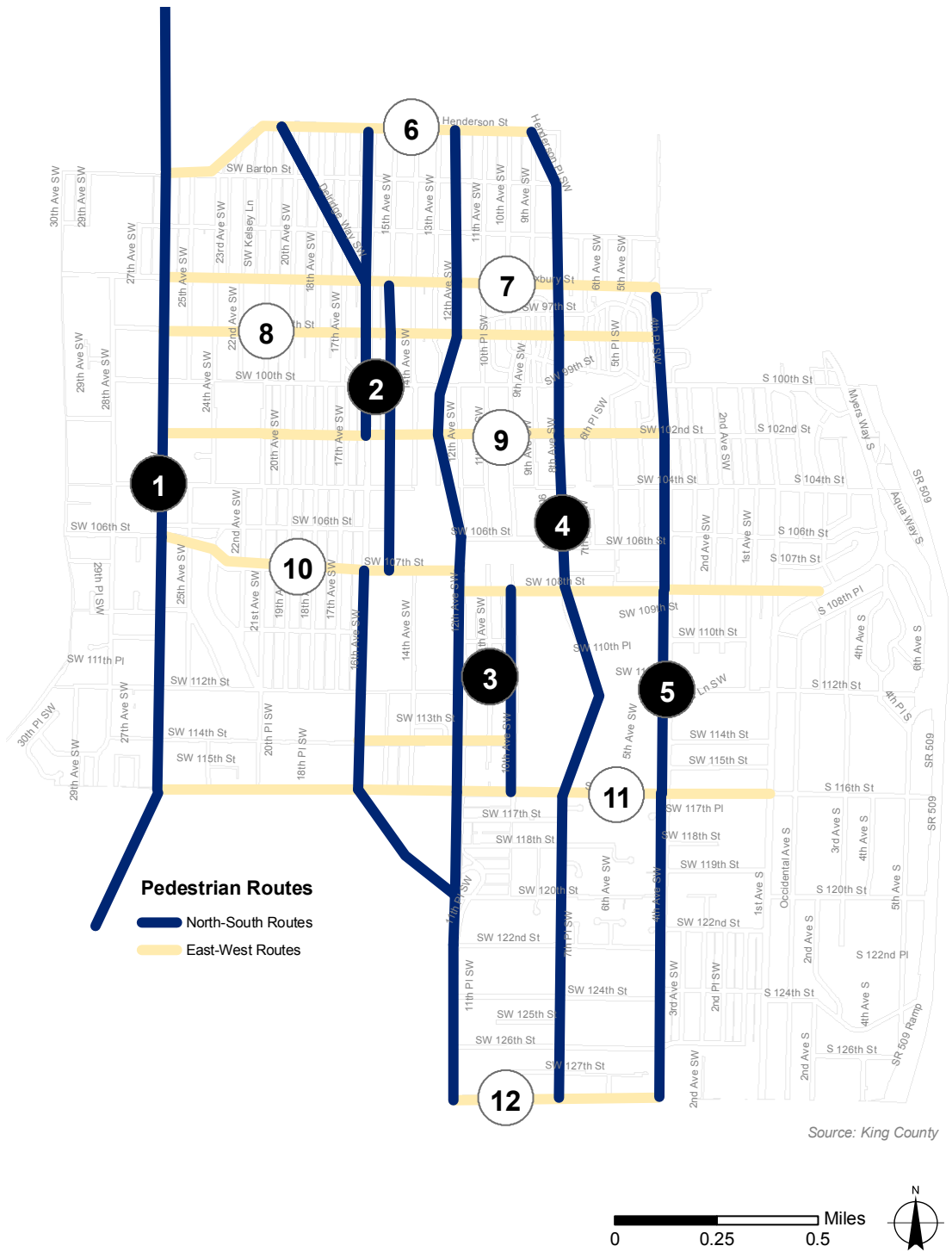
- Enhance enforcement activities.
- Implement an evaluation program to measure changes in pedestrian traffic over time.

Effective Development and Design Standards for All Projects That Occur in White Center

- Encourage effective design standards.
- Require future development to enhance the pedestrian experience.



Map 2: Pedestrian Routes



The medium- and high-cost recommendations have been prioritized according to safety implications, cost, need, and impact of the project. These priority projects are as follows.

- **High-Priority Route Improvements**
 - **Infrastructure Improvements**
Install left-turn signals and sidewalks, restore and enhance 98th street pedestrian/bicycle corridor.
 - **Safety Improvements**
Install crosswalk countdown signals.
 - **Perception Improvements**
Install pedestrian-scale street lighting, improve aesthetics of vacant and private lots.
 - **Physical Improvement**
Install gateway features in downtown White Center.
 - **Feasibility Studies**
Explore feasibility and reasons for a ditch enclosure and shoulder and asphalt improvements, conduct a feasibility study of traffic-calming measures.
- **Create a Wayfinding System for White Center**
 - Develop a wayfinding system that meets community needs.

These recommendations are described in further detail in the Public Safety and Pedestrian Element of the plan.



Source: ourfounder.typepad.com/leblog/management/index.html ; spacing.ca/wire/?p=1082

Figure 1: Wayfinding can meet community needs, such as signage that is multilingual or caters to bicyclists



Element Two: Downtown

White Center's downtown is characterized by numerous small, locally owned businesses that function within a diverse community, but residents and community activists have expressed a desire to create a more vibrant downtown. Keeping with this vision, the Business District and Economic Development element establishes a methodology for identifying the economic, physical, and social character of downtown district redevelopment while balancing residents' needs with development pressures.

White Center's downtown businesses face increasing economic pressure, and their continued existence is critical for maintaining the downtown's distinct character. Concurrently, the communities adjacent to the neighborhood are becoming increasingly expensive, creating an escalating pressure for growth and redevelopment in White Center. Thus, White Center faces the challenge of protecting the small, locally owned businesses while simultaneously promoting building and safety improvements necessary to increase the vibrancy of the downtown.

Community Alternatives

Recognizing that the community has two complementary visions for downtown, two preliminary community alternatives were drafted, each representing different sets of community goals and requiring the successful completion of multiple projects. The downtown alternatives provide descriptions of two distinct futures and show how two different downtowns could be created using the different sets of projects. The alternatives are not designed to be end products, but instead are meant to inform the preferred scenario, which will guide the future downtown. They share the overarching goal of increasing the vibrancy of downtown while maintaining its inclusiveness.

Alternative 1: Community Hub

This alternative attempts to strengthen the downtown's ability to provide cultural, commercial, and residential uses that are attractive to the residents of White Center. To realize this vision, the Community Hub alternative expands locally owned downtown business opportunities and increases their success by providing technical support and networking programs for business owners. Suggestions for new businesses address gaps in existing services and retail opportunities, with a focus on increasing self-sustaining and family friendly venues.

Alternative 2: Destination Place

This alternative attempts to create a downtown that increases the appeal of White Center for those living outside the community. The Destination Place alternative strives to cultivate a thriving and accessible downtown by recruiting destination businesses that attract visitors from neighboring communities and by significantly enhancing the downtown's design and character to form a unified and welcoming streetscape.

These community alternatives and their associated projects were developed with community input and are based on extensive background research.

Preferred Scenario: The Vibrant Core

The two community alternatives informed the creation of the final preferred scenario. Projects from each alternative were analyzed based upon their likelihood of achieving the vision of the preferred scenario and their probability of implementation. The vision of this preferred scenario is to create a downtown that provides cultural and commercial uses that are attractive to both the residents of White Center and those living outside the community.

The Vibrant Core

The vision of the preferred scenario is a downtown that invites visitors while accommodating the needs of White Center residents. Vision elements include a flourishing business climate, housing opportunities, a pedestrian orientation, and structural improvements to the downtown buildings and streetscape. The preferred scenario emphasizes safety and a diversity of businesses to make the downtown both lively and accessible.

Recommended Projects

To achieve the vision of a vibrant downtown, the following projects are recommended:

- Encourage the creation of an outdoor plaza, a cultural center, and an international market to provide community gathering places, support existing businesses, and assist residents in starting new businesses.

- Recruit a local bookstore and a specialty movie theater to fill gaps in the current business mix and attract visitors to the downtown while providing essential family friendly anchor businesses⁸ for the residents.
- Ensure that a business association meets downtown business owners' needs.
- Promote the redevelopment of vacant and redevelopable lots, and increase building height allowances to four stories to encourage density downtown.
- Install gateway features and street furniture to create a welcoming atmosphere.

The Downtown Element of the plan describes these community alternatives, the preferred scenario, and the recommended projects in greater detail.



Source: <http://www.a-project-playground.com/park-bench-2.htm>; <http://www.a2dda.org/images/hydrantashley.jpg>; University of Washington UDP

Figure 2: Simple treatments like street furniture, fire hydrant painting, and branding with banners provide an opportunity for the community to express its individuality.signs in White Center

⁸ An anchor business is a business that attracts a large number of customers, who then may shop at other, smaller stores nearby. "Economic Development Strategies," City of Berkeley, CA. May 17, 2007. <<http://www.ci.berkeley.ca.us/planning/landuse/plans/southshattuck/strategies.htm>>.



Element Three: Workforce Development & Employment

This section examines the issues, barriers, and assets surrounding worker and employment development within the White Center area. It provides an overview of White Center's current demographics and inventories of all educational (secondary and post-secondary), occupational, and service programs available. The section concludes with an analysis of potential shortfalls within the existing structure and makes recommendations for improvement based on an established set of criteria.

All communities share the need to be financially anchored. To provide a stable economic environment, both community businesses and a well-trained and educated workforce are needed. This section reviews the status of White Center's workforce, its business community, and its educational resources and provides recommendations and implementation strategies.

White Center is an ethnically diverse community with many assets and resources. Yet the community faces a variety of workforce development challenges due to decades of economic decline that crosses many economic, educational, and cultural classifications. These challenges include:

- A lack of information coordination among service providers
- Lower economic status, compared with King County, resulting from employment in less desirable sectors of the economy
- Parents' inability to be involved in educational support because of financial demands
- Persons not having sufficient verbal or written English skills to take part in the economy
- Persons without the educational skills or credentials (such as a high school diploma or GED) for continuing education or training
- Immigrants without legal documentation
- The presence of school violence, teen

pregnancies, and drug use

- Lower academic performance (WASL scores) of students within secondary schools compared with students in neighboring jurisdictions.

Fortunately, the existing workforce development agencies, their component training service providers, and the local secondary school district have programs in place to address many of these issues.

However, these organizations and programs are overwhelmed by the existing number of cases, and they are under-funded, are unknown to many potential clients, and need to be more closely coordinated to be effective. Some of these programs include the Duwamish Apprenticeship Center (part of South Seattle Community College), the New Start Program (Highline Public Schools), and Making Connections (Anne E. Casey Foundation). For a comprehensive listing of programs and services, please see the plan Appendix 3.2.1.

Community Goals and Options

Based on input from the February Community Meeting, interviews with local workforce development leaders, and background research conducted on White Center, the following goals were established to address the issues listed above and to guide the development of potential solutions:

- Coordinate and augment existing association services, focusing on expansion of White Center's employment opportunities.
- Resolve short-term financial crises in order to facilitate the long-term well-being of individuals and families.
- Focus on long-term improvement of occupational skill sets and the educational achievement of White Center residents.

In order to identify viable, effective solutions to the issues facing White Center, evaluation criteria were distilled from the goals above. The evaluation criteria then validated the possible solutions presented (please see the Workforce Element of the plan for a detailed discussion of the development and use of the evaluation criteria).

Preferred Scenario

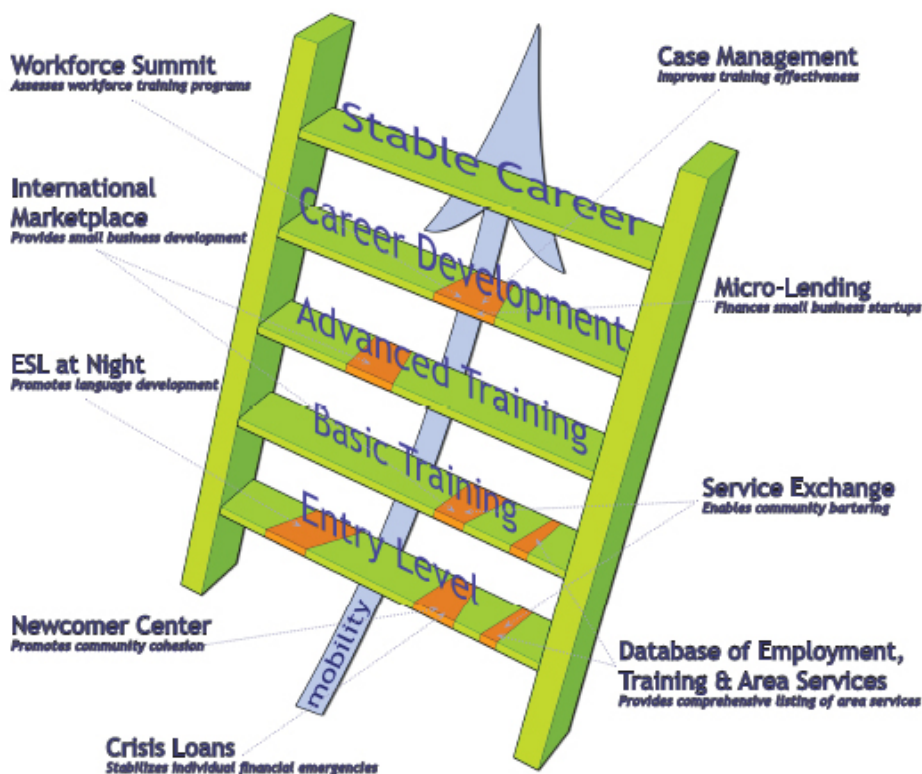
There are many employment and workforce development organizations providing needed services in White Center. The preferred scenario is to build from the successes in workforce development, provide coordination of available services, and address any gaps in existing programs.

Projects and Recommendations

The top three recommended projects to improve employment in White Center are:

- 1) **Database of Area Workforce Services.** This program would create a database of all workforce development organizations available and their services and programs.
- 2) **Workforce Coordination Summit.** A workforce coordination summit would bring together workforce service providers, major employers, and community leaders to discuss the major employment challenges and issues.
- 3) **Service Exchange.** Service exchange is a barter-based system in which people offer services in their skill area in return for goods and services that they need.

Improving the Career Ladders in White Center: Proposed Programs



Filling gaps while fulfilling needs.



Element Four: Housing

The White Center community and housing element identifies housing challenges in White Center and addresses these challenges with the goal of creating affordable and attractive housing. White Center's housing stock faces three major challenges:

Challenge 1: Rising Housing Costs and the Threat of Gentrification

White Center has remained relatively affordable while housing prices in the Seattle metropolitan area have risen until homes are out of reach for many regional residents. Due to its proximity to downtown Seattle, White Center's housing stock has become an attractive option for those priced out of other neighborhoods. Affordable homes sit on large lots, making them desirable for renovation and redevelopment. Since 2000, these factors have dramatically increased housing prices in the area, leading to concerns of gentrification and displacement.

Challenge 2: Creation of Aesthetically Pleasing Housing

Some White Center property owners are financially or physically unable to maintain their homes. Absentee landlords not interested in maintaining their properties tend to own dilapidated properties. King County rehabilitation loan programs are available to help residents maintain and improve single-family and multi-family homes.

A lack of design guidelines poses another aesthetic risk. Redevelopment within White Center is guided only by land-use codes and zoning ordinances without any guiding design principles.

Challenge 3: Resident Concerns About More Diverse Housing

Many White Center residents are accustomed to their neighborhood being composed of single-family homes on large lots, and they are wary

of denser, multi-family developments because some apartment complexes have been the sites of past crimes. This history, combined with a belief that a diverse, dense housing stock equates to obtrusive developments, has sparked community opposition to creating a more diverse housing stock within White Center.

Defining Characteristics of White Center Housing

The majority of White Center's housing stock consists of small, single-family dwellings on large lots, which means that residents enjoy the privacy of single-family homes with yards where children can play safely.

Although single-family homes make up the majority of the housing stock, there are also 17 apartment complexes in the area, most providing one- or two-bedroom rental units. The King County Housing Authority (KCHA) is the main provider of subsidized units for the community and maintains five housing complexes in the area. KCHA is currently redeveloping the former Park Lake Homes community using federal HOPE VI funds, and the community, now known as Greenbridge, will include a mix of subsidized units and market-rate homes.

Community Tools

The community has a wide variety of options for addressing the housing challenges mentioned above. Regulatory adjustments, such as zoning changes, would provide the framework in which developers can build. Incentives would encourage the inclusion of affordable housing in new developments. Education on this issue would give the community the ability to affect its overall housing environment.

Preferred Scenario

A diverse housing stock should be created using approaches such as inclusionary zoning and

transit-oriented developments. Community workshops can help White Center residents feel more comfortable with diverse housing options and teach property owners how to obtain assistance in maintaining their homes.

Projects and Recommendations

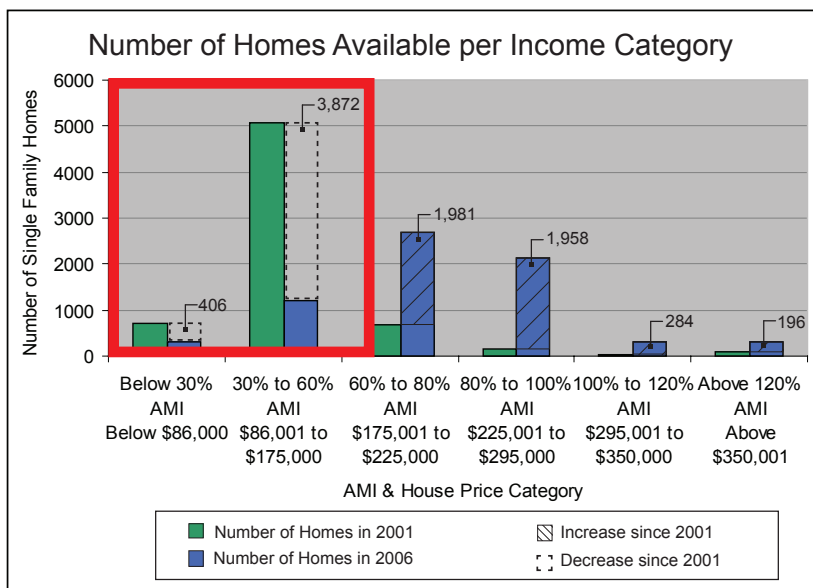
To create a vibrant and accessible housing stock within White Center, this element recommends the following projects, programs, and policies:

- Inclusionary zoning
- Accessory dwelling units
- Transit-oriented development
- Community land trusts
- Rehabilitation loan marketing campaign and mentor program
- Neighborhood clean-up projects
- Design guidelines
- Community seminars covering a variety of housing topics.



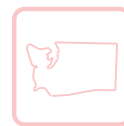
Source: University of Washington UDP

Figure 3: A Transit-oriented development can help create a diverse housing stock



Source: King County GIS Center Assessor Tax Data

This graph shows the number of single family homes available for each income group, including the house price interval each group can afford. Decreasing homeownership opportunities illustrate the threat of gentrification.



Element Five: Civic Capacity

The neighborhood planning process provides an opportunity to assess and recommend strategies to strengthen White Center's civic capacity, defined as the ability of the community's members to work together, identify their shared interests, and act collectively to define and achieve goals.

As mentioned above, White Center is a neighborhood in transition, with pressures from population growth, poverty, ongoing annexation discussions, and the threat of gentrification. Public safety concerns and the disconnection between youth and adults also challenge the neighborhood.

A defining characteristic of White Center is the diversity of its residents. People of color comprise 48% of the population, and 27% of the community is foreign-born. White Center includes large numbers of Asians and Latinos, as well as significant populations of East Africans

and Eastern Europeans. The presence of such a large immigrant community creates definite challenges. For example, limited networking across ethnic lines has contributed to social fragmentation, and limited English-language skills on the part of many residents have created barriers to employment, entrepreneurship, and participation in the political system.

White Center residents view cultural diversity as one of the neighborhood's greatest assets. The downtown is emerging as a vibrant place, offering excellent restaurants that feature foods from around the world. Seasonal street fairs and festivals showcase a variety of music, dance, and goods from various countries of origin, and a nascent arts scene includes the beginnings of a public art collection.

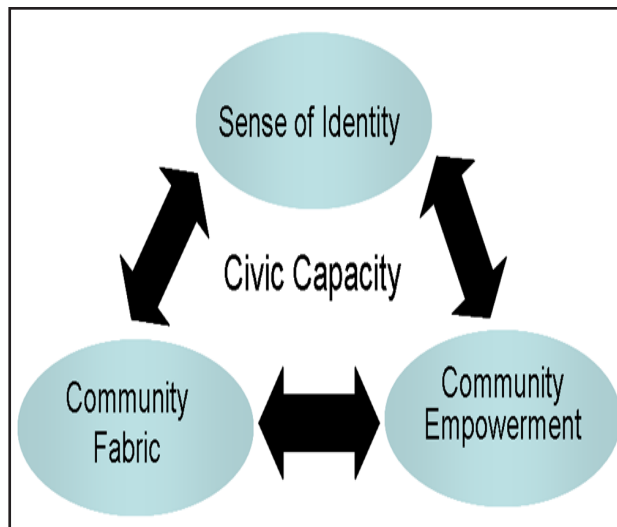
This section recommends fostering civic capacity in White Center by building upon these



Source: University of Washington UDP

Figure 4: Images of White Center

extensive cultural assets and the strengths of existing institutions. The strategies address three overarching goals: (1) building White Center’s sense of identity, (2) strengthening White Center’s community fabric, and (3) promoting civic engagement. Project recommendations include expanding arts and cultural programming in White Center, including the development of a community cultural center; creating an international market for small-business incubation that builds on the diverse skills and cultural capital of White Center immigrants; and development of a voter empowerment project to encourage citizens eligible to vote to participate in local governance.



Source: University of Washington UDP



Figure 5: The St. James property includes two main structures: the church building and an education facility. A steering committee comprised of Trusted Advocates and church representatives has engaged in a planning process to convert the two spaces into a cultural center.

Element Six: Land Use

The land use element of the plan contains several components: a land use analysis that depicts current use and current zoning, a buildable-lands analysis to identify vacant and redevelopable parcels to direct future development, and options that can be integrated into a future land-use map. Finally, a recommendation and implementation step is offered at the conclusion of this section.

The land-use analysis provides a review of existing land uses in White Center, with the goal of creating a recommendation that will either alter or reinforce current land use patterns to best serve the community. The issue is not whether development will occur in White Center but where it will occur. This analysis looks to past and present development patterns to determine alternative futures for the community. The current land-use map shows present development patterns in White Center, specifically with regard to the location of residential-, commercial-, industrial-, recreational-, institutional-, and religious-use parcels. The current zoning map outlines the most recent designations of residential, commercial, and industrial lands in White Center.

The Buildable Lands Analysis estimates the amount of growth that is likely to occur as a result of current land use and zoning. This information, in turn, can determine if White Center can accommodate its projected population growth. Second, this analysis can predict how and where development may or may not occur, which can further determine where infrastructure, such as streets and sewers, can be built to accommodate the projected development. Third, the analysis can also influence development—for example, by recommending the rezoning of areas where more development would be desirable. Finally, a buildable lands analysis can help a community understand the shape that the community will likely develop into if current trends continue.

As a result, a community can better plan and influence its future, either by preparing for the expected development or by working to alter its direction toward more desirable outcomes.

Current zoning, current use, and the Buildable Lands Analysis all lead to options for creating White Center's future land use map that takes into consideration projected population growth and development patterns. Proposed options include changing specific zoning codes, taking no action, creating multiple nodes, reinforcing existing auto-oriented commercial businesses along 16th Avenue SW by extension of the commercial zoning area one block east and west, and creating a central commercial district between Park Lake Homes and 1st Avenue South within the Top Hat district (along Myers Way South).

Ultimately, this analysis recommends the *Multiple Nodes* option, which organizes future residential and commercial development into three compact areas so that the total amount of commercial area would decrease to encourage healthy commercial centers by reducing the amount of underutilized and vacant commercial and retail spaces. This recommendation can be implemented by building upon King County's overlays. Currently, King County uses a special overlay zone that covers much of the commercially zoned properties in White Center. The special overlay district offers some benefits to the parcels within it that are intended to encourage redevelopment or expansion of existing commercial buildings. Specific recommendations to change the code include reducing parking requirements, requiring a minimum amount of housing units for new development, and changing the boundaries of the overlay to only include the proposed nodes.

Map 3: Proposed Neighborhood Nodes

