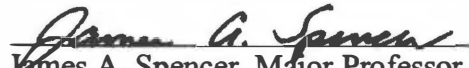


To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Jennifer Robin Hassell entitled "A Comparison of Residential Markets for Chain Retail Stores in the Central Business District of Knoxville with Residential Markets for Chain Retail Stores in the Central Business Districts of Birmingham, Lexington, and Greenville." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Planning, with a major in Planning.

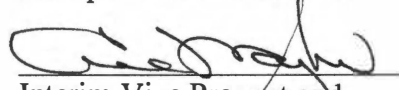

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**A Comparison of Residential Markets for Chain Retail Stores in the Central
Business District of Knoxville with Residential Markets for Chain Retail Stores in
the Central Business Districts of Birmingham, Lexington, and Greenville**

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Science in Planning
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Jennifer Robin Hassell
August 2001

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Sharon, Betty, Joe, Vickie, Silas, and Maynard in appreciation of their tremendous support.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

What is the outlook for business located in the centers of large American cities? The postwar experience in most metropolitan areas was that of large population shifts away from the central city to the suburbs. From this emerged conditions which adversely affected the economic future of 'downtown' business districts. Increased use of the family car, for one, resulted in the greater traffic congestion and difficult parking conditions, and, thereby, increased the reluctance of suburbanites to travel 'downtown' for shopping. In turn, such conditions encouraged the phenomenal growth of suburban shopping centers as a dominant factor in retail trade. (1)

Suburbanization of retail stores from central business districts of the nation occurred within the broader context of the massive movement of population from the central business districts to suburban areas. In the above statement, an excerpt from a 1957 study, Central Business Districts and Their Metropolitan Areas: A Summary of Geographic Shifts in Retail Sales Growth, 1948-54, Murray D. Dessel noted this population trend and the increased use of the automobile that enabled it. The suburbanization of retail stores was most accelerated during the middle of the twentieth century and resulted in the serious decline of the retail role of modern central business districts across the nation.

The exodus of retail stores from central business districts did not occur without some attempt to retain them. Beginning during the middle of the twentieth century, various programs were implemented. Later and until the present, a variety of programs were implemented to revitalize a retail role in central business districts.

Vacancy of retail space is high within and near the Knoxville, Tennessee central business district, the historical center of commercial activity in Knoxville. Many of the

buildings of the central business district are in poor condition. The deterioration of the central business district of Knoxville has been the product, as in most middle and small sized towns, of age and suburbanization. This trend to move away from the central business district, beginning in Knoxville around the middle of the twentieth century, was enabled by the proliferation of automobile ownership.

As construction of new residences began and continued in the outlying areas of most cities, construction of shopping centers to serve the new residents began and continued. The most profound examples of suburban shopping centers are malls, which are often regional shopping centers. In Knoxville, West Town and Knoxville Center serve the historical function of the central business district and are regional shopping centers.

Need for Study

A potential solution for the problem of high vacancy of retail space in the central business district of Knoxville may be revitalization of the retail role of the central business district. The role may not be equal to the once vital historical role. In other words, the role may not be as a regional center but rather a center to serve the needs of the community within and surrounding the central business district. This new role may be secondarily supported by the cultural opportunities of the central business district. These opportunities are the focus of tourism from the surrounding metropolitan area, region, and nation.

This new role may include chain retail stores. Chain retail stores, often located in regional shopping centers or malls, will be defined as any store that is represented on a national level for the purpose of this thesis. Specifically, any store that is located in, at least, four metropolitan areas and, at least, three states will be included in this study.¹ These chain retail stores may operate through corporate offices or franchise agreements.

Research Objectives and Questions

In comparison to central business districts of Greenville, South Carolina; Birmingham, Alabama; and Lexington, Kentucky, which contain a greater number and variety of chain retail stores, is there any reasonable possibility that the Knoxville central business district can support chain retail stores? How does the residential market surrounding the Knoxville central business district compare to the markets surrounding these central business districts?

Methodology

For the scope of this thesis, an assumption will be made that three levels of suitability requirements must be met in order for a retail store to be located in a central business district. First, a market for the product of the chain retail store must exist.

¹ The 1977 edition of *Shopping Center Development Handbook* defined national chain, local chain and independent stores. National chain stores were stores operated in, at least, four metropolitan areas in, at least, three states. Independent stores were operated in not more than two locations in a metropolitan area. Local chain stores were stores that did not meet the criteria of national chain or independent stores. (70)

Second, a suitable location must be available at which the chain retail store can locate. Third, a suitable mix of other retail establishments with an appropriate gravitational quality must exist in the context of the site location. This gravitational quality, referred to as agglomeration by Richard Kateley in “Analyzing Market Demand for Shopping Centers”, is determined by the selection, convenience, and comparability of goods offered by a shopping center in which a variety of merchants providing comparable goods have located (120). This thesis will address only the first of these three requirements through examination of residential markets within five miles of central business districts.

Comparison of Markets

Residential neighborhoods are within walking distance and within the range of public transportation from the central business district of Knoxville. Some of these residential neighborhoods have experienced some reinvestment after a period of decline. The neighborhoods of Old North Knoxville and Fourth & Gill are examples. Also, although the historical fabric of the neighborhood has been rapidly disappearing, many students of the University of Tennessee, adjacent to the central business district, live in the Fort Sanders neighborhood. What is the population and income of the neighborhood residential population surrounding downtown Knoxville? How is the population and income of neighborhoods different than the population and income of neighborhoods found in and near the central business districts of Birmingham, Greenville, and Lexington? How is the proximity of neighborhoods of various ranges of total income to

the central business district of Knoxville different than the proximity to the central business districts of Birmingham, Greenville, and Lexington?

Working populations also utilize the downtown area of Knoxville. A variety of office and professional buildings are located in the downtown area. How is the size and demography of the working population different than the size and demography of the working population found in the central business districts of Birmingham, Greenville, and Lexington?

Finally, tourists visit the Knoxville central business district. How does the number and demography of tourists visiting the central business district of Knoxville compare to the number and demography visiting the central business districts of Birmingham, Lexington, and Greenville?

The Knoxville central business district will be evaluated as a community scale shopping center. Community scale shopping centers serve a primary trade area within a radius of 3-5 miles around shopping centers (Beyard and O'Mara 46). In order to compare the residential markets, 1990 and 1998 estimates of population and income of census blocks within 5 miles of the central business districts of Greenville, Birmingham, and Lexington will be compared to 1990 and 1998 estimates of population and income of census blocks within a 5 miles radius of the central business district of Knoxville. Further, the educational facilities with residential populations at Birmingham, Greenville, and Lexington will be compared to the University of Tennessee at Knoxville through enrollment population and proximity to the central business district.

Working and tourist retail markets will not be considered in this thesis. These areas of the total retail market deserve attention in the context of a separate study. This thesis will be limited to the study of residential markets.

In order to set the context in which these central business districts exist and examine the market beyond the primary trade area of each central business district, various demographics related to the cities in which they exist will be compared within this thesis. Demographics of each city from *2000 County and City Extra: Annual Metro, City, and County Data Book* will be compared. The information comparison will include 1990 population and 1989 income. Finally, effective buying income in each city according to the 2000 edition of *Sales & Marketing*, a magazine often referred to by the private sector in retail endeavors, will be compared. The magazine defines effective buying power as “money income less personal tax and non-tax payments-a number often referred to as ‘disposable’ or ‘after-tax’ income” (214). The purpose of this comparison is to determine differences in the amount that individuals are able to spend in each compared city.

Site Location Potential

The square footage of a particular retail store is, to a great extent, based on the volume of sales that the store is expected to attract and the particular demands of a type of store. Further, various chains may also have specific requirements that differentiate them from other chains. Much of the information about chain store operations is proprietary. Generally, the volume of sales that the store is expected to attract is based on

the market that surrounds a particular location. No estimation of the square footage that might be desired in the Knoxville market will be made within this thesis.

Furthermore, no estimation of demand for a particular type of chain retail store, other than the mention that a particular chain retail store has located in the central business district of a compared city, will be made in this thesis. Percentages spent on particular goods can be obtained through The Consumer Survey of the United States Census Bureau and various marketing publications and used to estimate demand for a particular type of store. This type of research is the obvious next step after the research of this thesis.

Information on buildings in the Knoxville central business district is available in Downtown Knoxville: Inventory and Analysis, a 1998 Knoxville Metropolitan Planning Commission publication. The suitability of various buildings in the Knoxville central business district deserves attention in a separate study and will not be addressed within this thesis.

Thesis Organization

Following this chapter, Chapter 2 will consist of a review of literature about retail suburbanization and revitalization. Chapter 3 will consist of a general description of the central business districts and retail facilities in Knoxville, Birmingham, Greenville, and Lexington and a comparison of population and income within the four cities. Finally, Chapter 4 will present the conclusions of the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Initial Threats to Central Business Districts

Kenneth Jackson in Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States discussed the first threats to the retail role of central business districts. These threats were the movement of department stores to suburban areas and retail development along streets outside the central business district. Sears was the first department store to enter suburban areas with the opening of “A” stores in New York and Chicago. Sears department stores in the suburbs of other cities followed. Robert E. Wood, Vice President, was responsible for the location decision in 1925. His decision was spurred by his realization that motor vehicle registrations had outnumbered parking spaces in central business districts. Initially, these stores stood alone without other retail shops in the proximity. The development of retail along streets outside the central business district began during the 1920’s. This development initially occurred along streets radiating from the city to serve automobile traffic. These strips were, for the most part, independent shops without any unified design or plan. (257-8)

Dero A. Saunders In “Race for the Suburbs”, a 1951 article, discussed the concerns of early branch department stores in the suburbs. The adequacy of parking was an important concern. Moreover, a large number of department stores interests had discovered that suburban department stores had not been constructed large enough to meet the current demands of the suburban market. Finally, the most aggravating concern

of department store interests, according to the article, were stores that had located near the suburban branches. These stores capitalized on the ability of department stores to attract customers. The additional traffic caused by these stores resulted in congestion, especially where the parking lots of branches were used to access these stores. (101-2)

In a 1949 article in Architectural Forum titled “Markets in the Meadows”, supermarkets, chain stores, and retail mail order retail outlets built during the depression years were credited as the forerunners of suburban shopping centers. The article noted that supermarkets had evolved to become a common feature of small and medium sized suburban shopping centers of the time. The article explained that department stores were lately capitalizing on the same market already tapped by the forerunners. The article further discussed the concerns of the suburban shopping centers, including parking accommodations and controlled balance of stores. (114-8)

Some trends were manifested in retail stores, especially supermarkets, as they entered suburban areas. In the book Making a Middle Landscape, Peter G. Rowe explained that the trend toward self-service, diversification of products, and the rise in the number of chain operations began prior to the twentieth century were attributable to a rising cost of labor and attempts to spread profit margins. Self-service practices, while increasing the size of stores, saved labor costs. Diversification of the selection of products that were sold within these larger stores enabled the balance of profiting through a range of products at various associated profit margins. Finally, operation of chain stores enabled standardization and, therefore, greater efficiency. Greater efficiency resulted in lower costs. (136-7)

According to Michael D. Beyard, Peter O'Mara, et al., in the 1999 edition of Shopping Center Development Handbook, shopping centers were not a new phenomenon in the nation during the middle of the twentieth century. Among the early shopping centers was Roland Park in Baltimore. Constructed in 1907, the shopping center was a series of shops within a single building. The shops were setback from the road to accommodate carriage traffic. Moreover, the shopping center was the first to include such management aspects as protective covenants, land use regulation, and physical site requirements. (25)

Rowe described Shaker Square Shopping Center, an early neighborhood shopping center. Shaker Square Shopping Center opened in 1929 in Cleveland, Ohio. The center was embedded in a residential neighborhood and designed to form a square rather than line a thoroughfare, a more common arrangement of shopping facilities during the period in which the center was opened. (112)

The first modern suburban shopping center was Country Club Plaza in Kansas City according to Jackson. The center opened in 1923 and included a leasing policy to control the composition and concentration of stores. Thus, according to Jackson, the center marked the beginning of the concept of the planned shopping center. Jackson also credited Country Club Plaza as the first automobile oriented shopping center. The center offered ample parking lots. (258)

Conversely, Bul and Ordway in "Shopping Center Innovations: the Past 50 Years", explained that Highland Park in Dallas was the first planned shopping center. The shopping center was developed in 1931. In the article, the authors explained that the attributes that defined Highland Park as the first planned shopping center were a

consistent image, control by one owner, parking related to demand, and “a single site not bisected by public streets”. (22)

The discussion of Highland Park by Beyard and O’Mara, et al. explained that Highland Park was “the prototype for today’s planned shopping center”. In explanation, the qualities of the center described by Bul and Ordway were described. (26)

Rowe described Highland Park as the first shopping center to be oriented away from a major thoroughfare. Earlier shopping center developments were constructed parallel to a street. The outer buildings of Highland Park faced inward toward a central building. (121-2)

Jackson described the variety of stores found in Highland Park. The author noted department, drug, and food stores, banks, a theater, barber and beauty shops, offices, and studios. Proprietors of stores were charged a fee to maintain the grounds of the shopping center. (259)

World War II and the Great Depression slowed the development of shopping centers. By 1946, only eight existed. These shopping centers included Upper Darby (1927) in West Philadelphia, Suburban Square (1928) in Ardmore, Highland Park Shopping Village (1931) near Dallas, River Oaks (1937) in Houston, Hampton Village (1941) in St. Louis, Colony (1944) in Toledo, Shirlington (1944) in Arlington, and Bellevue Square (1946) in Seattle. (Jackson 259)

Rowe described later retail centers. He noted the placement of parking at either the front or rear of centers. Further, with regard to location, Rowe noted that intersections of major thoroughfares became valuable. The tendency to build in anticipation of suburban development was also noted by the author. Rowe described

these automobile oriented developments as often having an architecture that was “reasonably coherent in it’s expression of a singular image”. The author included the examples of Port Edwards Shopping and Civic Center in Wisconsin, Glen Oaks in New York, City Line Center in Philadelphia, and Foster Village Center in New Jersey. All of these centers were opened during the late 1940’s or early 1950’s. (112)

Rowe also described farmers markets. Farmers markets were especially popular in the western cities during the late 1940’s and early 1950’s. Most were located at the edge of urban development where good access was available to customers and suppliers. (121)

In addition, Rowe described a type of contemporary retail store that operated in the suburbs outside of shopping centers. Roadside franchises included convenience stores, gas stations, and motels. Roadside franchises were commonly located along major thoroughfares in the suburbs. This type of retail business heavily emphasized consistency in the product and services offered and promoted this concept through heavy advertising. (116)

Murray D. Dessel, in the previously mentioned 1957 study, described the scale at which suburbanization of retail stores was occurring more than three decades after the first threats were launched, according to Jackson, against the retail role of central business districts. Dessel noted that from 1948 to 1954, retail sales in the United States increased significantly, specifically from \$126.5 billion to \$165.5 billion with an 11 percent consumer price increase during the six years. Dessel attributed this significant increase to a 10 percent increase in real per capita disposable income and an 11 percent United States population increase during the six years. Dessel noted that, while in 45 census defined

standard metropolitan areas of the United States a 32.3 percent increase in retail sales was experienced, only a 1.6 percent increase was experienced in the 48 central business districts of the standard metropolitan areas during the six years. (3-6)

Dessel also described retail sales in the various kinds of stores in the central business districts and standard metropolitan areas. Nine kinds of retail stores were studied. These kinds of stores were related to food, eating and drinking, general merchandise, apparel and accessories, furniture and appliances, automotive, gasoline, building materials, and drugs. A final category of store was miscellaneous and included stores related to the sale of liquor, jewelry, books, stationary, sporting goods, bicycles, flowers, and music. (6-7)

Declines in retail sales in central business districts occurred in general merchandise, apparel and accessories, and drug stores. Each category declined approximately three percent. According to Dessel, the effects of the declines in each category were obvious, as the three categories had accounted for three-fifths of all central business district sales during 1948. In the standard metropolitan statistical areas, increases in retail sales were experienced in each category. The sales of general merchandise stores increased 9.8 percent. The sales of apparel and accessory stores increased 13.0 percent. The sales of drug stores increased 30.6 percent. (6-7)

Increases in retail sales in the central business districts and the standard metropolitan areas occurred in all other categories, except food related, with the greatest increase experienced in the standard metropolitan areas. Eating and drinking related retail sales increased 6.5 percent in the central business districts and 23.5 percent in the standard metropolitan areas during the six years. Furniture and appliance related retail

sales increased 13.3 percent in the central business districts and 35.3 percent in the standard metropolitan areas. Retail sales related to automobiles increased 20.5 percent in the central business districts and 54.1 in the standard metropolitan areas. Gasoline related retail sales increased 24.3 percent in the central business districts and 78.6 in the standard metropolitan areas. Retail sales related to building materials increased 6.7 percent in the central business districts and 35.7 percent in the standard metropolitan areas. Retail sales related to the miscellaneous category of Dessel's study increased 4.4 percent in central business districts and 20.5 in standard metropolitan areas. Finally, food related sales neither increased nor decreased in the central business districts during the six years and increased 39.7 percent in the standard metropolitan area according to the study. (7)

Dessel also explored the relationship of city size and central business district retail sales. Based on his research, larger cities with a population of 1,000,000 or more people experienced the largest decrease, 1.5 percent, in central business district retail sales during the six years. Sales in smaller cities with a population of 100,000 to 249,000 people experienced the greatest increase, 11.4 percent, of retail sales in the central business district during the six years. Cities with a population of 250,000 to 499,999 people experienced a 3.3 increase in retail sales in the central business district during the six years. Cities with a population of 500,000 to 999,999 people experienced a .9 percent increase in retail sales in the central business district during the six years. (8-9)

The increases and decreases in retail sales in the central business districts occurred simultaneously with increases in retail sales in the standard metropolitan areas that contained the central business districts. The standard metropolitan areas of the

highest population category experienced a 32.3 percent increase in retail sales during the six years. The standard metropolitan areas of the lowest population category experienced a 43.0 percent increase in retail sales during the six years. Finally, the intermediate population categories, from lowest to highest, experienced a 28.4 and a 29.3 percent increase in retail sales respectively during the six years. (8-9)

Edgar M. Horwood and Ronald R. Boyce in Studies of the Central Business District and Urban Freeway Development, published in 1959, also discussed a relationship between city population and the amount of retail decentralization that occurred in cities between 1948 and 1954. The authors compared total central business district retail sales and central business district retail sales by various categories and 1950 population of the urbanized areas of sixty-nine cities. The authors also studied variations of importance of kinds of retail stores in cities with regard to population.

A positive relationship between central business district retail sales and urbanized area population existed according to Horwood and Boyce. In other words, central business district retail sales were higher in larger cities. However, within the relationship, central business district retail sales increased at a lower rate as urbanized area population became greater. Further, comparison of the same relationship during 1954 indicated a relatively lesser rate of increase of central business district retail sales as urbanized area population increased than the 1948 comparison. Therefore, decentralization was more pronounced in larger cities between the six years. (32)

The study of various categories of retail sales by Horwood and Boyce were limited to general merchandise, apparel, and furniture. Comparison of sales in each category between the six years indicated that decentralization of each category had been

greatest in larger cities. However, apparel had decentralized at the greatest rate, more rapidly than total retail sales. Finally, comparison of the percentage of central business district retail sales of each category to urbanized area population indicated that the general merchandise category, including department stores, was more prominent in larger cities while apparel and furniture were more prominent in smaller cities. (37-8)

Finally, Horwood and Boyce discussed the impact of planned regional shopping centers on central business district sales. After comparing gross retail sales of a sample of planned regional shopping centers that had been built since 1950 to the total retail sales of the city in which the centers were located and nearby older shopping districts, the authors concluded that, while decreases in central business district retail sales were attributable to the development of outlying shopping centers, planned regional shopping centers did not directly compete with central business districts. The central business districts drew customers from the entire urban area while the centers drew customers from a 30 minutes radius. (38)

James D. Tarver in a study that was published in 1957 titled "Suburbanization of Retail Trade in the Standard Metropolitan Areas of the United States, 1948-54" compared the changes in the number of retail establishments and retail sales in central cities and the 168 standard metropolitan areas of 1954 between 1948 and 1954. Tarver divided the standard metropolitan areas into eight categories by central city size in order to make these comparisons. The study by Tarver supported the findings of the studies of Dessel and was supported by Horwood and Boyce by the conclusion that decentralization occurred most during the six years studied in larger standard metropolitan areas.

Tarver found that the number of retail establishments in standard metropolitan areas increased in all categories during the six years. In general, the greatest increases occurred in medium sized standard metropolitan areas and the smallest increases occurred in the largest standard metropolitan areas. However, while the number of retail establishments in central cities of lower population increased, the total number of retail establishments decreased in central cities with a population of 750,000 or more people. Further, the greatest increases in number of establishments in standard metropolitan areas without consideration of central cities occurred in standard metropolitan areas with central cities that contained a population of 750,000 or more people. (428)

Tarver's comparison of retail sales in central cities and standard metropolitan areas produced similar conclusions to the conclusions drawn from comparison of total number of establishments in central cities and standard metropolitan areas. Retail sales increased in all of the categories of standard metropolitan areas. While central cities of all categories experienced an increase in retail sales, central cities of a population of 750,000 or more people experienced the lowest relative increase in retail sales. Further, the greatest increases in retail sales in standard metropolitan areas without consideration of central cities occurred in standard metropolitan areas with central cities that contained a population of more than 750,000 people. (430)

Tarver also researched changes in the number of retail establishments and retail sales in central cities and standard metropolitan areas in the various regions of the nation during the six years. Tarver studied nine census divisions. (431)

The number of retail stores increased in all divisions with the exception of the Middle Atlantic division. The number of retail establishments decreased 1.3 percent.

The number of retail establishments in central cities increased in all divisions except the New England and Middle Atlantic divisions. The number decreased 1.6 and 3.9 percent respectively. The number increased most in the Mountain and W.S. Central divisions. The number increased 25.0 and 20.4 percent respectively. Finally, in the standard metropolitan areas without consideration of the central cities, the number of retail establishments increased in all divisions except the E.S. Central and W.S. Central divisions. The number decreased 8.1 and 13.5 percent respectively. The number increased most in the Pacific and Mountain regions. The number increased 14.6 and 13.8 percent respectively. From this research, Tarver concluded that while central city retail business had outpaced suburban retail business in the S. Atlantic, E.S. Central, W.S. Central, and Mountain divisions, suburbanization of retail stores had been greatest in the Pacific, Mountain, and New England divisions. (431)

Retail sales increased in all divisions. Sales increased most in the Mountain and W.S. Central divisions. Sales increased 38.7 and 32.8 percent respectively. Sales increased least in the Middle Atlantic and W.N. Central divisions. Sales increased 17.4 and 18.7 percent respectively. Sales in the central cities increased in all divisions. Sales increased most in the Mountain and W.S. Central divisions. Sales increased 33.7 and 32.5 percent respectively. Sales increased least in the Middle Atlantic and W.N. Central divisions. Sales increased 7.2 and 11.6 percent respectively. Finally, in the standard metropolitan areas without consideration of the central cities, sales increased in all divisions. Sales increased most in the S. Atlantic and Mountain divisions. Sales increased 64.2 and 62.0 percent respectively. Sales increased least in the E.S. Central and W.S. Central divisions. Sales increased 35.1 and 35.0 percent respectively. From

this research, Tarver concluded that while in the W.S. Central division retail sales in the central city increased at a rate somewhat close to the rate at which suburban retail sales increased, the rate of retail sales increase in the suburbs of most divisions was far greater than the rate of increase in central cities.

Robert B. Reynolds in a 1960 study titled "Retail Specialization of Central Business Districts" described the degree of specialization of retail store variety in central business districts of 90 cities by 1954. The author explained that (by the time that the article was written) the specialization of central business districts in department stores and clothing stores was common knowledge. Further, the absence of food stores and service stations in central business districts was (by the time that the article was written) common knowledge. However, the degree to which various types of retail stores were important in central business districts of the nation was not quantitatively known. The author applied specialization quotients to cities. The quotient was the number by which the percentage of retail sales in a central business district could be obtained through multiplication by the corresponding national percentage. Therefore, a specialization quotient greater than one indicated greater specialization in retail sales than the nation. A specialization quotient less than one indicated less specialization in retail sales than the nation. The result of the analysis was, in general, that larger cities tended to be more specialized in their central business districts than smaller cities. In explanation, the author explained that smaller central business districts often had such retail stores as food stores and automobile dealerships. These businesses in larger cities had more often moved to outlying areas. (313-6)

George G. Eberle in a 1946 article titled “Metropolitan Decentralization and the Retailer” compared the advantages and disadvantages of shopping in central business districts from the perspective of potential customers. According to Eberle, surveys indicated that many suburban residents rarely visited central business districts. The reasons for the infrequency of trips were the long amount of time taken and distance traveled to reach central business districts, parking difficulties, expense, crowds, and the general lack of appeal of the central business district environment. On the other hand, larger variety of goods, lower prices, greater availability of credit service, and better exchange and return policies were to be found in central business districts than in suburban shopping centers. (92)

Dr. Hubert E. Brice in a 1953 article, “Shopping Opportunity in Suburban Shopping Centers” discussed various kinds of shopping centers in relation to the central business district and the various kinds of stores within the shopping centers and central business districts that had evolved. The author described four types of shopping centers; the central business district, secondary shopping centers, uncontrolled suburban shopping centers and controlled shopping centers. The central business districts served the entire metropolitan area. Secondary shopping centers had evolved in neighborhoods to serve residents. Uncontrolled and controlled suburban shopping center served outlying areas. Controlled shopping centers included neighborhood, community and regional classes. (1)

The various classes of shopping centers served different functions according to the author. Neighborhood shopping centers often offered convenience goods.² A grocery

² Beyard and O'Mara defined the term in *Shopping Center Development Handbook*. “Convenience goods are those that consumers need immediately and frequently and are therefore purchased where it is most

store was often included. Community centers typically included such stores as delicatessens, bakeries, hardware stores, apparel stores, shoe stores, and appliance stores and served a larger pool of customers that typically lived within three miles. Regional stores had a greater concentration of stores and served a larger pool of customers that typically lived within eight miles. (2)

The shopping centers in suburban areas were serving a predominantly middle-income population. Brice noted that the shift in population to the suburban areas occurred within the context of an increase in the middle-income population of the nation. The author further noted that members of the middle-income group accounted for two-thirds of the shopping goods trade and were the highest proportion of people moving to the suburbs.³ (2)

The competition of these centers with the central business districts was, according to Brice, dependent on the ability of the centers to offer selection and convenience. The owner controlled the mix of stores in controlled shopping centers. Brice researched this mix in 100 controlled centers. Based on his research, the author concluded that the most common store in controlled shopping centers was the grocery store. Drug stores, barber and beauty shops, cleaners and laundries, bakeries, restaurants, variety stores, shoe stores, gift shops, hardware stores, and various clothing stores were also common. (3)

convenient for shoppers. Shoppers as a rule find it most convenient to buy such goods near home, near work, or near a temporary residence when traveling." (7)

³ Beyard and O'Mara defined the term in *Shopping Center Development Handbook*. "Shopping goods are those on which customers spend the most effort and for which they have the greatest desire to comparison shop. The trade area for shopping goods tends to be governed by the urge among shoppers to compare goods based on selection, service, and price. Therefore, the size of the trade area for shopping goods is affected most by the overall availability of such goods in alternate locations." Further, Beyard and O'Mara defined trade area in the book. "Trade area is that geographic area containing people who are likely to purchase a given class of goods or services from a particular shopping center or retail district. The trade area varies based on the shopping center type and size, tenant categories, proximity of competitive centers, population density, and accessibility. The trade area is usually expressed as primary or secondary." (7)

The first fourteen types shown in Table 2-1 were, according to the author, most often found in suburban community and regional centers. The author concluded that the collection of stores offered in controlled shopping centers of the suburbs was not competitive with the shopping experience provided in central business districts. The main concern was that controlled shopping centers lacked retail stores that offered a single line or specific range of goods. The ability to compare goods occurred at the cost of convenience. The author suggested that the merchants of central business districts competitively capitalize on the shortcomings of suburban controlled shopping centers.

(4)

The advantages and disadvantages of shopping in central business districts and suburban shopping centers from the perspective of potential customers was later explored by C.T. Jonassen in The Shopping Center Versus Downtown: A Motivation Research on Shopping Habits in Three Cities, published in 1955. The author studied twenty-three variables through a survey of citizens of Columbus, Houston, and Seattle. In conclusion, most of the variables were associated with advantages to shopping in central business districts. Specifically, shopping trips that were associated with the need for easy access were preferably made in suburban shopping centers while shopping trips associated with the need for comparison of goods were preferably made in central business districts. In Table 2-2, the variables are grouped by the designation as an advantage of either the central business districts or suburban shopping centers by the majority of respondents in each city. (39-43)

Jonassen also studied specific kinds of goods that were purchased in the central business districts and suburban shopping centers of the case study cities. Food shopping

Table 2-1

Retail Establishments in Controlled Shopping Centers by Kind of Business During 1953

Type	Number of Centers Containing Type	Number of Type in Centers
Grocery Store	100	132
Drug Store	97	116
Barber & Beauty Shops	85	140
Cleaners & Laundries	80	99
Bakeries	67	70
Restaurants	66	79
Variety Stores	66	71
Shoe Stores	66	80
Gift Shops	63	83
Hardware Stores	63	74
Women's, Misses' Clothing	62	131
Infants' Children's' Wear	60	70
Men's Boys' Clothing	60	73
Jewelry Stores	57	64
Banks	50	57
Books, Stationary Stores	40	44
Liquor Stores	40	40
Radio, TV, Music	39	42
Candy, Confectionary	39	41
Theaters	39	39
Department Stores	38	45
Yard Goods Stores	36	36
Post Offices	33	33
Furniture Stores	33	48
Delicatessens	33	35
Community Buildings	32	35
Household Appliances	27	38
Self-Serve Laundries	24	24
Photo Supplies	24	24
Floor Covering	22	25
Sporting Goods	19	19
Opticians	16	16
Cigar Stores	13	13
Luggage, Leather Goods	10	10
Bars and Taverns	9	10
Housewares	5	7
Auto Accessories	3	3
Pet Shops	3	3

Source: Brice, Hubert E. "Shopping Opportunity in Suburban Shopping Centers." Miami Business Review 25.2 (1953): 4.

Table 2-2

Advantages of Shopping in Central Business Districts and Suburban Shopping Centers

Advantage of Central Business District	Advantage of Suburban Shopping Center
Greater Variety of Styles and Sizes	The Right People Shop Here
Greater Variety and Range of Prices and Quality	Cost of Transportation Less
More Bargain Sales	Keep Open More Convenient Hours
Best Place to Meet Friends from Other Parts of the City for a Shopping Trip Together	Less Walking Required
Better Places to Eat Lunch	Easier to Take Children Shopping
Better Place to establish a Credit Rating	Less Tiring
More Convenient to Public Transportation	Takes Less Time to Get There
Better Delivery Service	
Cheaper Prices	
Goods More Attractively Displayed	
Better Place to Combine Different Kinds of Shopping and Other Things One May Want to Do	
Easier to Return and Exchange Goods Bought	
Easier to Establish a Charge Account	
More Dependable Guarantees of Goods	
Better Quality of Goods	
It's a Better Place for a Little Outing Away from Home	

Source: Jonassen, C.T. Shopping Center Versus Downtown: A Motivation Research on Shopping Habits And Attitudes in Three Cities. Columbus: Bureau of Business Research, College of Commerce and Administration, Ohio State University, 1955: 41-2.

was done in the suburban shopping centers by 98 to 100 percent of the shoppers.

Medical visits and movie attendance also most often occurred in suburban shopping centers. However, clothes, shoes, and house furnishings were most often purchased in central business districts. (27-9)

Finally, Jonassen studied the rankings of various advantages and disadvantages of shopping in the central business districts and advantages and disadvantages of shopping in suburban shopping centers of each city. The responses in each city were similar. The highest ranked disadvantages of shopping in central business districts were lack of parking and crowding. The highest ranked advantages were larger selection of goods and the ability to do several errands in one location. The highest ranked advantages of shopping in suburban shopping centers were proximity to home and, in Columbus and Seattle, ease of parking. In Houston, the second highest ranked advantage was casual dress. The highest ranked disadvantages of shopping in suburban shopping centers were lack of selection and lack of kinds of businesses. (48-9)

Decline of Central Business Districts

According to Peter O. Muller in Contemporary Urban America, shopping centers in suburban areas through the late 1950's were mostly "small isolated clusters of moderate-order convenience goods establishments interspersed with a few widely scattered concentrations of high-order shoppers goods stores". The centers were marked by a lack of major chain stores and a proliferation of locally owned retail stores. In explanation, higher order goods have larger geographic areas from which customers

travel to shop than lower order goods. However, a few early regional centers were built during this period. These included Shopper's World in Boston, Northgate in Seattle, and Lakewood in Los Angeles. (122-3)

The first regional shopping center was Northgate Plaza. The shopping center opened in Seattle in May of 1950. A department store was a central feature of the development. The department store, linked to the various shops of the development by a pedestrian path, was intended to generate the primary gravity to attract customers to the various shops. The complex, constructed adjacent to a highway, faced inward and was surrounded by a parking lot. Most of the site of the development was occupied by the parking lot. Eventually, the development included a gas station, drive-in bank, a movie theatre, and a bowling alley. (Rybczynski 206)

Bul and Ordway also discussed Northgate Plaza. The authors noted that Northgate Plaza was the first suburban shopping center to include a department store. Another noted feature of the shopping center was an underground service delivery system. (23)

B. Earl Puckett, President of Allied Stores Corporation, the developer of Northgate Plaza, in a 1956 article titled "Planned Growth for Retailing", described ideal sizes of shopping centers and current demand for shopping centers. Following a description of kinds of shopping centers; convenience, community, and regional; Puckett explained that convenience shopping centers should have from 25,000 to 75,000 square feet, community shopping centers should have 100,000 to 300,000 square feet, and regional centers should have 400,000 to 1,500,000 square feet. Moreover, one-third of regional shopping centers should contain a department store. Puckett explained that

while hundreds of convenience shopping centers and more community shopping centers were needed in the nation, only a few dozen regional centers could be supported. Finally, Puckett explained that retail development should occur in central business districts and suburban shopping centers, but only after justification by real estate and market analysis on an individual basis. (11-2)

Puckett also advised the location of department stores. The author explained that various branch stores in suburban areas had been profitable. However, noting the tendency for other retail stores to locate around initially isolated department stores, Puckett explained that the department store was more intelligently placed in a planned shopping center with coordinated and integrated facilities. (12)

In a 1952 article titled “Planned Postwar Shopping Centers Come Big”, a variety of characteristics of the new regional shopping centers were described. Shopping centers sold primarily to middle-income families. Also, many department store owners were beginning to become shopping center owners also. The motivation for these investments was the high percentage of square footage in shopping centers occupied by department stores. Further, promotion was an important tool in the attraction of shoppers.

Promotions at Shopper’s World included square dances, dog shows, fashion shows, and outdoor cooking exhibitions. Night and weekend business was important. The article explained, “Centers that stay open only two nights a week are conservative.” Some shopping centers were open four nights a week. Another characteristic was highly planned pedestrian and automobile traffic patterns. Planning impacted profitability through management of automobile congestion, a problem in central business districts, and pedestrian exposure to goods. Finally, competition was encouraged. A greater

number of stores offered a variety similar to central business districts. In contrast, in general, a trend in larger centers was to contain fewer but larger stores. A list of recently constructed planned regional shopping centers in the article included Fresh Meadows (1948) in Flushing, Northgate (1950) in Seattle, Lakewood (1951) in Los Angeles, Shopper's World (1951) in Framingham, Park Forest (1951) in Chicago, Westlake (1951) in San Francisco, Broadway (1951) in San Francisco, Lincoln Village (1951) in Chicago, Stonestown (1952) in San Francisco, Evergreen Park (1952) in Chicago, Metropolitan (1952) in Wilmington, Lincoln Plaza (1953) in Shrewsbury, an unnamed shopping center (1953) in Philadelphia, Hillsdale (195-) in San Mateo, Old Orchard (195-) in Skokie, an unnamed shopping center (195-) in Detroit, an unnamed shopping center (195-) in Minneapolis, an unnamed shopping center (195-) in St. Louis, Southdale (195-) in Minneapolis, and Stanford University (195-) in Palo Alto. All of these shopping centers included a department store. (126-7)

Rowe noted that regional pedestrian malls during the 1950's were first outdoor and later temperature controlled and enclosed.⁴ The malls were typically located in close proximity to a freeway and attempted to serve a population well beyond the surrounding community. Often these centers were built beyond the edge of suburban development. (123-4)

Victor Gruen developed the Northland Shopping Center in Detroit and the first enclosed and climate controlled pedestrian shopping center, Southdale, in Minneapolis. Northland Shopping Center was complete in 1954. Rowe noted that Northland Shopping Center was widely known as the first modern pedestrian shopping center. However, the

⁴ An assumption has been made that the author was referring to regional shopping centers.

author also noted that Shopper's World in Framingham opened earlier. Southdale opened in 1955. (126-8)

Gruen in Shopping Towns U.S.A.: The Planning of Shopping Centers, published in 1960, described the importance of environment in shopping centers. Protection of the architectural unity of shopping centers was essential. Specifically, in addition to the architecture of the buildings, consistency of overhangs covering pedestrian paths, spaces between buildings, and common areas was important. Further, indoor and outdoor public spaces were important. Southdale, for example, included a large interior central space. Art, fountains, and landscaping were important elements of public space. Events, for example fashion shows, social functions, and holiday celebrations, were to be held in these public spaces. Finally, snack bars and outdoor cafes were important elements of these spaces according to the author. (144-9)

Gruen also described three categories of shopping centers. The three categories were regional, intermediate, and neighborhood shopping centers. Department stores anchored regional centers. Junior department stores, variety stores, and supermarkets, in conjunction, typically anchored intermediate shopping centers. Supermarkets anchored neighborhood centers. (192)

Further, Gruen described the kinds of stores typically found in regional shopping centers in addition to department stores. Supermarkets were described as important tenants in the completion of a full range of goods offered. A full range of apparel stores was described as important in the ability to comparison shop. Other kinds of typical stores included small specialty food stores (bakeries, candy stores, delicatessens, etc.),

variety stores, hardware stores, furniture stores, eating and drinking facilities (lunch counters, cafeterias, restaurants), and various small retail and service stores. (192-6)

A 1950 article titled "Suburban Retail Districts" in Architectural Forum described Northgate Plaza. According to the author, the shopping center was being constructed. However, a department store on the site had been open a few months. Sales in the department store were about two-thirds of the volume of the downtown store. The article further noted that Allied Stores, the owner of the shopping center and original department store, were planning to lease space to a second competitive department store. (106)

The article discussed Northgate Plaza in the context of a discussion of the emergence of shopping centers. The article emphasized that shopping centers, retail districts that were under a single ownership, were replacing the freestanding branch department store in suburban areas. The motivation for this new development was the ability to offer comparative shopping, the ability to compare products in a variety of stores. In reference to the ability to comparison shop in the suburbs that was to be enabled by the shopping centers, the article claimed, "This means a suburban retail district that will be the first real threat to downtown stores, long nervous at the rate cities are leapfrogging over their boundaries out to the suburbs." (106)

The article also discussed important benefits of retail store location in shopping centers. Only the most profitable stores with the highest credit rating were typically included. This aspect of control ensured the high quality of neighboring stores and profitability for the center. Typically higher rents also excluded stores with lower profitability. Further, the location of stores was controlled. In other words, the location of stores was chosen based on the most economically sensible location with regard to the

movement of customers. Other benefits to retail store location in shopping centers were related to the ability to lower costs through shared facilities and programs that central business districts did not offer. These shared expenses were delivery facilities, parking, storage, restaurants, beauty shops, nurseries, and advertising. (107-9)

Department stores, known to attract customers by the offer of a wide assortment of many types of merchandise, in the context of these shopping centers were beginning to carry a wider assortment and greater number of goods. Early suburban department stores had carried limited ranges of products and goods relative to central business district operations. In the Northgate Plaza development and another development mentioned by the article, Eastland Plaza in Detroit, furniture was planned for introduction into the suburban department stores. Further, plans for competitive furniture stores within the shopping centers existed. ("Suburban Retail Districts" 108)

Gordon H. Stedman in "The Rise of Shopping Centers", a 1955 article, described the demographic influences that had led to the need for suburban shopping centers. The author noted increased birth rate, the expansion of the middle-income class, and suburbanization. Residents of the suburbs were, in high proportion, middle-income. Among the characteristics of these residents were casual lifestyle with an outdoor emphasis, automobile ownership, home ownership, and family orientation with emphasis on child rearing. (11-2)

In addition to describing the three basic types of suburban shopping centers; neighborhood, community, and regional, described by Brice in his earlier study, Stedman described the ideal characteristics of the shopping centers that served suburban populations according to Gruen. These characteristics included basis on market analysis

of shopping potential in the area, easy accessibility, built on a suitable site, offering adequate parking on the site, balanced tenant mix, separated pedestrian and automobile facilities, offering protection from the weather for window shoppers, architectural continuity, temperature control, and integration with the residential area in which the shopping center is located. The author described these characteristics in order to differentiate between planned shopping centers and more simple collections of stores.

(13-5)

Stedman also discussed the operation of regional shopping centers to mimic the function of central business districts. He noted that earlier shopping centers had controlled tenant mix to preserve the competitive edge of particular kinds of stores within each center. In other words, only one representative of a kind of store was typically allowed in the mix of stores of each center. However, shopping center interests soon realized that the ability to comparison shop was an attractive quality of shopping centers. This ability was offered in central business districts. (22)

Richard L. Nelson in The Selection of Retail Locations, published in 1958, described the contemporary functions of central business districts. The author explained that loss of metropolitan retail business was offset by gains in local business. Further, regional business had not changed. In explanation, the author described the three categories of business in terms of shoppers in central business districts. Regional business was done with customers from outside the city. These visits were infrequent but often resulted in large and many purchases. Metropolitan business was done with customers from outside the central business district but within the city. These shoppers visited the city for occasional purchases, but daily shopping was done in the suburbs.

Finally, local business was done with residents of the central business district or nearby neighborhoods. The central business district served as a neighborhood shopping center for these shoppers. Employees in the central business districts also used the shopping facilities of the central business district. (20-1)

Nelson also discussed important retail trends that impacted site location. The author noted increasing size of stores, diversification of goods, and hours of business. Increasing size, especially with regard to supermarkets, was associated with the use of self-service procedures and chain operation. Larger stores with parking accommodations required larger sites. Some sites were as large as four or five acres. The impact of diversification of goods on site location was difficult to predict. With regard to evening hours, the author suggested that stores avoid locations near buildings that housed evening events in order to avoid decreased access by automobile congestion. (37-41)

In central business districts, Nelson described two kinds of locations of retail stores, as interceptors and in retail districts. As interceptors, the best location of retail stores was along the primary paths between offices and retail districts. Within retail districts, the best location was as close as possible to downtown department stores. However, the author cautioned, only ten central business district department stores had been built since 1929. (81-8)

In a 1958 article titled "Public Policy and the Outlying Shopping Center", Edgar M. Horwood described problems associated with planning for shopping centers in outlying areas. Horwood noted that public agencies were unprepared for the first regional shopping centers. Comprehensive plans, distinguished from zoning ordinances, had been adopted by few cities. The role and function of comprehensive plans was still

being debated. A major problem associated with shopping center development was the debated appropriate timing at which these developments took place. Most municipalities were not prepared to regulate timing of shopping center development, as the facilities were needed in a municipality. The article prescribed a public utility approach to regulating shopping center development in which such items as financial statements and economic analyses might be obtained. In addition, procedures to determine the priority of applications and criteria for comparison should be established in the event that the developments of competing applicants must be compared. (217-21)

Shift from Central Business Districts

According to Muller, still successful downtown department stores and lack of experience in mass merchandising techniques manifested in a reluctance on the part of most large chains to move into the new territory of suburbs during the 1950's. Suburban department stores were constructed only where a large residential population was settled. Initially, during the late 1950's, suburban department stores located separately. This process continually divided markets until the early 1960's when location in shopping centers with other department stores, a relationship similar to the relationship of department stores in central business districts, was learned to be more beneficial. This period marked "the transition from stores passively following a decentralizing population to the dynamic leadership of center developers actively shaping the growth of the outer suburban ring by attracting people and other activities to locate around their new malls". (122-3)

George Sternlieb in The Future of the Downtown Department Store, published in 1962, described the decline of central business district department stores. The author explained that investment in suburban department stores was occurring instead of rehabilitation of central business district department stores within many companies. Rehabilitation of central business district department stores, which typically incurred high costs, more often could not be justified, especially in consideration of declining central business district markets. Further, many developers of suburban shopping centers offered lower rents and, in some cases, bonuses on fixtures. (37)

Muller described the context in which shopping centers were developed from 1960 to 1970. Shopping center development continued, especially as developers capitalized on continued suburban residential development and rising incomes during the middle and late 1960's. The author noted Cherry Hill, a large regional shopping center developed by the Rouse Corporation in the suburbs of Philadelphia. The shopping center opened in 1961. Regional shopping centers were often located at junctions of highways. (123-4)

In a 1972 study titled "A Statistical Exploration of Some Factors Responsible for Decline of Central Business Districts", George C. Kottis and Athena Kottis hypothesized that "the per cent of SMSA retail sales realized in CBD is a function of the industry mix of the area, the population size and growth rate, the per cent of the population of the area living in the central city, the ratio of median family income in central city over median family income in SMSA and the interaction between size of SMSA and growth".⁵ The

⁵ The authors' use of the term "CBD" is an abbreviation for Central Business District. The authors' use of the term "SMSA" is an abbreviation for Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.

authors studied a sample of 98 standard metropolitan statistical areas with populations of 100,000 or more people. Population growth in the standard metropolitan statistical areas was examined between 1950 and 1960 through the Census of Population. Median family income was researched through 1960 data. All other variables were researched through 1963 data. The relationship of variables was tested through regression analysis. In conclusion, the authors found that the percentage of standard metropolitan area retail sales transacted in central business districts was positively impacted by the percentage of the population living in the central cities and negatively impacted by a fast growth rate of the standard metropolitan statistical areas, population size of the area, and the percentage of total employment in the standard metropolitan statistical areas associated with manufacturing.

According to the authors, industry mix was related to retail sales. The authors compared the manufacturing sector to the service sector. Establishments of the service sector typically located in central business districts in order to take advantage of the opportunity to interact offered by high densities within central business districts. Retail business capitalized on the population of people working, often during day hours, in the central business district in the service sector. In contrast, manufacturing industries typically paid relatively well and in level distribution. Thus, the residential movement of workers to suburban areas was enabled. The authors noted that most heavy manufacturing establishments were located in suburban areas. (170)

The size of standard metropolitan statistical areas impacted retail sales in central business districts according to the authors. Larger standard metropolitan statistical areas encouraged the spread of suburban shopping centers, especially along radial and

circumferential transportation routes. Further, larger metropolitan areas typically contained greater congestion problems that encouraged further suburbanization. (170)

According to the authors, population growth, associated with increased employment and rising income, led to increased suburbanization by the beneficiaries of increased employment and rising income. Simultaneously, the attraction of lower income individuals to prospering cities also occurred. Typically, these individuals, having lower purchasing power, lived in the lower rent areas in the central city. (170-1)

Jackson noted several enclosed climate-controlled malls that followed Southdale. Jackson also explained that several of these malls were located in central business districts. Suburban malls included Paramus Park and Bergen Mall in New Jersey, King's Plaza, Cross Country outside Gotham, and Raleigh Mall in Memphis. An example of a central business district mall was Midtown Plaza in Rochester. The suburban malls were on highways and held enormous trade areas. (259)

In a 1969 article titled "Shopping Center Location and Retail Mix in Metropolitan Areas", John Casparis studied the relationship between standard metropolitan statistical area population and the existence of and mix of retail sales in suburban shopping centers and central business districts. Casparis studied the 116 standard metropolitan statistical areas defined by the 1963 Census of Business. Within the standard metropolitan statistical areas, the author examined the existence of major retail centers, including planned shopping centers and strip and neighborhood development, in relation to central business districts. The information gained from this examination was compared to population. (144)

The author found that 972 major retail centers existed in the 116 standard metropolitan statistical areas. Larger standard metropolitan statistical areas included more major retail centers. The mean number of major retail centers ranged from 2 in smaller standard metropolitan statistical areas to almost 45 in larger standard metropolitan statistical areas. Standard metropolitan statistical areas with a population between 1.2 million and 2.4 million people included at least one large major retail center that included an average of 127 stores. (145)

Casparis explained that central business districts maintained a competitive edge over major retail centers. The number of stores in central business districts outnumbered stores in major retail centers. The author explained that the central business districts of the smallest standard metropolitan statistical areas contained a higher mean number of stores than major retail centers in the largest standard metropolitan statistical areas. (145)

According to Casparis, all standard metropolitan statistical areas showed similar patterns of retail store location. Sales of shopping goods in central business districts were concentrated at the most accessible places by public transportation and pedestrians in the central business districts. Shopping goods sales were concentrated in suburban areas with access to parking accommodations. Convenience goods were primarily found dispersed, not in nucleated centers, in suburban areas. Typically, stores that sold convenience goods concentrated near stores that sold shopping goods in central business districts and suburban areas in order to benefit from the traffic generated by these stores. (147)

Finally, Casparis found, by comparing the mix of retail sales in central business districts to retail sales mix in standard metropolitan statistical areas, some differences and

similarities in content. Shopping goods generated between 50 and 60 percent of sales in central business districts and standard metropolitan statistical areas. However, convenience goods generated higher sales in standard metropolitan statistical areas than central business districts. Further, other retail stores, including many specialty retail stores, generated more sales in central business districts than standard metropolitan statistical areas. (147-8)

Casparis explained differences and similarities in content. The importance of shopping goods and other retail stores in central business districts was attributed to the many specialty retail stores that still located in central business districts. In major retail centers, these goods were often included in stores selling convenience or shopping goods. For example, books were often sold in drug stores. Also, jewelry was often sold in department stores. Furthermore, automobile dealerships and gas stations, while found in central business districts, were not often found in major retail centers. Finally, the greater importance of convenience goods in standard metropolitan areas was attributed to the influence of supermarkets. (148)

Margaret Crawford in "The World in a Shopping Mall" described the exclusion of stores offering practical goods, such as groceries, hardware, and drugs, from malls. These stores were initially included to provide shoppers with a complete array of goods at one location. However, malls became increasingly focused on shopping as a recreational activity. The range of stores included in malls was increasingly limited to specialty

stores⁶. Fast-food restaurants were also included. Stores offering practical goods dispersed to locations along commercial strips. (22)

According to Rowe, during the late 1960's, mixed-use supermalls began to appear. The Houston Galleria, opened in 1971, was an example. Initially, the mall included 788,000 square feet of retail space, almost 1 million square feet of office space and 400 hotel rooms, parking for 7,000 cars, and a recreational facility. The Houston Galleria was anchored by a department store. (130)

Muller explained that the increasing size of regional shopping centers after 1970 led to the designation of superregional malls. Muller described Woodfield Mall in Schaumburg as a superregional mall. Woodfield Mall was the largest mall in the world at the time of construction and included four anchor department stores and 230 stores in 2.2 million square feet on three levels. (124)

Jackson noted the emergence of the super regional mall. The author gave examples of Tyson's Corner in Virginia, Roosevelt Field in Long Island, and the Houston Galleria. The author noted that proponents of malls claimed that the malls were replacing central business districts as public gathering places. Jackson explained that, in fact, malls were unlike central business districts. Malls were enclosed, controlled, and dominated by stores that served middle-class customers. (260)

Gurney Breckenfeld in a 1972 article titled "Downtown' Has Fled to the Suburbs" described the use of regional shopping centers as public gathering places. The author

⁶ An assumption has been made that specialty stores are the purveyors of specialty goods. Beyard and O'Mara, in *Shopping Center Development Handbook*, offered a definition. "Specialty goods are those on which shoppers spend greater effort to purchase. Such merchandise has no clear trade area, because customers will go out of their way to find specialty items wherever they are sold. By definition, comparison shopping for specialty goods is much less significant than for shopping goods." (7)

described various events and amenities offered in regional shopping centers. Events included various club meetings, various types of product shows, political campaign appearances, beauty contests, and proms. To encourage public gatherings, amenities of regional shopping centers included courtyards, seating, halls, gardens, fountains and art. The author explained that “regional centers have turned into mini-cities”. Moreover, regional shopping centers, unlike central business districts, accommodated the needs of automobiles. (82)

Breckenfeld also discussed the impact for development around shopping centers to compel developers of shopping centers to purchase larger sites and develop at the edges of suburban development. This clustering commercial development sought to capitalize on the power of shopping centers to attract customers. Often, the development was disorderly. (83)

Finally, Breckenfeld discussed crime in malls. Some of the problems that were noted by the author included auto-theft, unruly behavior by young people, and shoplifting. The author noted that the Supreme Court had recently ruled that shopping centers had the right to control the distribution of political pamphlets on premises. In explanation, privately owned shopping centers, although widely used by the public, held rights to private property. (88)

A 1973 article titled “How Shopping Malls are Changing Life in the U.S.” described trends that were occurring in malls. The article noted that Americans spent an increasingly great deal of time in malls. Young people often used malls as gathering places. Demand for noncommercial activities in malls was growing. Finally, some malls were experiencing problems of crime. (43)

A 1975 article titled “Spaced-Out at the Shopping Center” described the degree of control that was implemented in shopping centers.⁷ The author noted that shopping centers had typically been constructed on two levels and enclosed. The external appearance of the shopping centers was “like a pile of blocks”. Further, the external appearance bore little relationship to the surrounding environment. Within shopping centers, shoppers were separated from outside elements. The author explained that music and lighting were among the devices utilized to achieve this sense of separation. (24)

Victor Gruen in Centers for the Urban Environment, published in 1973, expressed concern for the internal environment of shopping centers and the environment beyond shopping centers. The first chapter of the book described various ecological problems. The chapter described the decline of central business districts in terms of an escape from ecological problems through suburbanization. The author stated, “To trace the conditions of characteristics of centers within the existing urban agglomerations and to outline the emerging pattern of new types of centers or revitalized old ones aiming for a better urban environment is the task I have set myself in this book.” (3-11)

In the book, Gruen proposed, as an improvement of regional shopping centers, multifunctional centers. The concentration of human activities would result in less emphasis on mobility. Although regional centers contained some accessory activities, multifunctional centers, according to Gruen, contained separate functions. The author gave the example of combined shopping facilities and offices. (96-7)

⁷ The author did not state any particular classification of shopping center. An assumption has been made that the author referred to regional shopping centers, also known as malls.

Suburban Retail Trends During the Last Twenty Years

George Strenlieb and James W. Hughes described the efforts of shopping center developers to further profit in a market that was becoming saturated. In a 1985 article, “Shopping Centers Pull Up the Anchor”, the authors explained five trends. Middle markets, lower density metropolitan areas, were targeted for shopping center development. Further, areas, often in central city neighborhoods, between existing markets were targeted. Also, older industrial cities in which central business district revitalization efforts had been made were targeted. Older shopping centers were updated. Finally, theme and specialty shopping centers were developed. The authors speculated that a future trend in shopping center development was the disappearance of anchors. The authors noted that better specialty chain stores in many cases were competitively more important than department stores. (35, 48)

In addition to neighborhood, community, and regional shopping centers, the Urban Land Institute described variations of types of shopping centers in Shopping Center Development Handbook of 1977. Variations occurred within each type of shopping center.

The vertical center was a multi-level variation of the regional center. The variation reduced walking distances within and ground coverage of regional shopping centers. The reduction of land cover was related to the need to conserve land and environmental protection efforts. The vertical center was replacing the horizontal mall.

(9)

Regional shopping centers were of various sizes. Smaller regional malls emerged from the need to serve middle markets and use well located but smaller than typical sites. Super-regional malls were large regional malls. These super-regional malls were often constructed in multiple levels and included a mix of uses in some cases. (9-10)

The book also noted the emergence of mini-mall centers during the 1970's. Mini-mall centers were enclosed centers that had been adapted to community needs. Typical tenants of these centers included junior department, variety, drug, and food stores. A variety of specialty stores and services typically surrounded these typical tenants. (9)

The book also noted variations of neighborhood centers. The mini-mart offered a limited selection of groceries and other various goods. Mini-marts were found freestanding and within neighborhood centers. (10)

Other variations that were noted by the book included superstores, specialty or theme centers, and fashion centers. Superstores, a concept imported from Europe, were rare. Superstores incorporated utilitarian atmospheres in which large volumes and varieties of goods were offered at inexpensive prices. Specialty or theme centers were operated in the context of an unusual market segment. Fashion centers included a collection of apparel and accessory kinds of stores. (10-1)

According to the book, various kinds of stores and other business, as described in Table 2-3, were typically located in each type of center. Further, the book addressed the composition of national chain, local chain, and independent stores located in shopping centers. The book noted that well performing local chain and independent stores were

Table 2-3

**Twenty Most Frequently Found Kinds of Stores and Other Business in Neighborhood,
Community, and Regional Shopping Centers, 1977**

Kind of Store	Neighborhood Shopping Center Ranking	Community Shopping Center Ranking	Regional Shopping Center Ranking	Super-Regional Shopping Center Ranking
Supermarket	2	2	N/A	N/A
Restaurant without Liquor	8	17	12	13
Ice Cream Parlor	20	N/A	N/A	N/A
Restaurant with Liquor	N/A	20	N/A	19
Candy and Nuts	N/A	N/A	9	10
Fast Food/Carryout	N/A	N/A	17	9
Variety Store	14	13	18	N/A
Junior Department Store	N/A	6	N/A	N/A
Department Store	N/A	N/A	14	18
Ladies' Specialty	15	14	6	3
Ladies' Ready to Wear	7	1	1	1
Men's Wear	N/A	7	2	2
Family Shoe	N/A	5	3	6
Family Wear	N/A	N/A	11	15
Ladies' shoe	N/A	N/A	7	5
Men's and Boys' Shoe	N/A	N/A	20	8
Unisex/Jean Shop	N/A	N/A	N/A	17
Yard Goods	18	11	13	11
Radio, TV, Hi-Fi	19	19	N/A	N/A
Hardware	16	N/A	N/A	N/A
Drugs	4	8	19	N/A
Cards and Gifts	10	10	4	N/A
Liquor and Wine	12	N/A	N/A	N/A
Jewelry	N/A	12	5	7
Books and Stationary	N/A	N/A	8	12
Cosmetics	N/A	N/A	N/A	4
Banks	13	16	15	14
Insurance	N/A	18	N/A	N/A
Medical and Dental	3	3	16	N/A
Real Estate	9	N/A	N/A	N/A
Beauty Shop	1	4	10	16
Barber Shop	6	9	N/A	N/A
Cleaners and Dyers	5	15	N/A	N/A
Coin Laundries	11	N/A	N/A	N/A
Service Station	17	N/A	N/A	N/A
Optometrist	N/A	N/A	N/A	20

Source: Urban Land Institute, Shopping Center Development Handbook. Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1977: 74-6.

increasingly being included in shopping centers.⁸ (77)

The 1985 edition of the Shopping Center Development Handbook updated the 1977 version. Foremost, the edition offered a retrospective of the context in which and a description of the major trends that occurred since the 1977 edition had been written.

Several trends emerged in relation to regional shopping centers. Regional centers experienced increased specialization and diversification. Specialization occurred through the focus of regional shopping centers on market segments. Differentiation of shopping centers resulted. Diversification occurred through the development of other commercial uses in conjunction with shopping centers. Diverse development, especially office development, occurred adjacent to and within regional shopping centers. (14)

The edition described kinds of specialty shopping centers that had emerged. The festival shopping center was typically focused on an entertainment theme. Festival shopping centers primarily offered impulse goods and unique food. Much of the business was conducted through tourism. Fashion shopping centers typically offered high quality expensive goods and food. Outlet shopping centers, like fashion shopping centers, typically offered high quality goods. However, the goods, typically name brand, were offered at lowered prices. Typically, specialty centers did not include a traditional anchor. (7-9)

Some trends also related to community and neighborhood centers. While the mini-mall disappeared, community shopping centers, traditionally anchored by junior department stores or large variety store and supermarket combination, increasingly

⁸ The book defined national chain, local chain and independent stores. National chain stores were stores operated in, at least, four metropolitan areas in, at least, three states. Independent stores were operated in not more than two locations in a metropolitan area. Local chain stores were stores that did not meet the criteria of national chain or independent stores. (70)

formed around new anchors during the decade. The new anchors included such stores as discount department, highly diversified drug, hardware, home improvement, and warehouse furniture. The latter three kinds of stores traditionally stood alone. Finally, supermarkets became increasingly larger and drug stores offered more diverse goods within neighborhood shopping centers. (14-5)

Further the author noted the existence of convenience shopping centers and strip commercial development. According to the author, these types of shopping developments were difficult to define as shopping centers. Convenience shopping centers consisted primarily of convenience stores. A variety of national and regional chain convenience stores had emerged. Convenience stores typically stood alone or in conjunction with other convenience type stores, for example coin laundry operations or beauty shops. The author explained that strip commercial development occurred either on independent lots or as part of a single site but with little management beyond basic leasing. (7)

The 1985 edition also offered, as described in Table 2-4, updated information about the kinds of stores and businesses that were located in various types of shopping centers. Further, the 1985 edition described the inclusion of local chain and independent stores in shopping centers. However, unlike the 1977 edition, the 1985 edition did not note a trend to include these kinds of stores. The edition simply explained that a developer or owner might opt to include these kinds of stores. (159)

In “Industry Profiles”, a 1982 article, the range of sizes of some kinds of stores

Table 2-4

**Twenty Most Frequently Found Kinds of Stores and Other Business in Neighborhood,
Community, and Regional Shopping Centers, 1985**

Kind of Store	Neighborhood Shopping Center Ranking	Community Shopping Center Ranking	Regional Shopping Center Ranking	Super- Regional Shopping Center Ranking
Supermarket	2	5	N/A	N/A
Restaurant without Liquor	8	10	20	N/A
Restaurant with Liquor	4	7	12	15
Candy and Nuts	N/A	N/A	16	14
Fast Food/Carryout	9	9	2	2
Junior Department Store	N/A	13	N/A	N/A
Discount Department Store	N/A	18	N/A	N/A
Department Store	N/A	N/A	14	10
Ladies' Specialty	17	12	6	9
Ladies' Ready-to-Wear	10	1	1	1
Menswear	N/A	N/A	4	3
Family Shoes	N/A	4	3	4
Ladies' Shoes	N/A	N/A	8	5
Men's and Boys' Shoe	N/A	N/A	15	11
Unisex/Jean Shop	N/A	N/A	11	8
Special Apparel-Unisex	N/A	N/A	17	13
Radio, Video, Stereo	13	8	13	16
Records and Tapes	N/A	N/A	N/A	20
Drugs	12	20	N/A	N/A
Cards and Gifts	14	11	7	7
Liquor and Wine	16	N/A	N/A	N/A
Jewelry	19	14	5	6
Books and Stationary	N/A	16	9	12
Other Retail	5	3	10	17
Banks	18	19	18	N/A
Savings and Loan	20	N/A	N/A	N/A
Medical and Dental	7	15	N/A	19
Real Estate	15	N/A	N/A	N/A
Other Offices	3	2	19	18
Beauty Shop	1	6	N/A	N/A
Barber Shop	11	N/A	N/A	N/A
Cleaners and Dyers	6	17	N/A	N/A

Source: Urban Land Institute, Shopping Center Development Handbook. Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1985: 154-7.

was compared to the range of sizes of newly built stores of each kind. As described in Table 2-5, some kinds of stores were growing larger.

In addition to the types and variations described by the 1977 and 1985 editions of *Shopping Center Development Handbook*, the 1999 edition described power shopping centers. Power shopping centers, a variation of community shopping centers, emerged during the late 1980's and early 1990's. Several anchors were typically included in power shopping centers. The primary anchor, perhaps a large discount department store or home improvement store, was supported by, at least, four category specific stores. A few smaller retail stores might be included. (14-5)

The 1999 edition also offered a retrospective of trends in regional shopping center Table 2-5

Size Ranges of Existing Kinds of Stores Compared to Newly Built Stores of Each Kind, 1982

Kind of Store	Size Range of Existing Stores (Sq. Ft.)	Size Range of Stores Opened 1981-2 (Sq. Ft.)	
Variety	13,000-42,500	15,000-50,000	Increase
Discount (large)	70,000-100,000	70,000-100,000	Same
Discount (small)	40,000-50,000	43,000-65,000	Increase
Department (large)	100,000-179,000	100,000-170,000	Decrease
Department (small)	42,500-50,000	25,000-65,000	Increase and Decrease
Supermarkets	22,000-36,000	30,000-48,000	Increase
Home Center	10,000-60,000	35,000-60,000	Increase
Drug Store	10,000-15,000	9,000-13,000	Decrease
Specialty	2,500-6,000	2,900-7,500	Increase

Source: "Industry Profiles" *Chain Store Age Executive* July 1982: 26-38.

development of the 1980's. The decade was marked by the saturation of shopping center markets. Overbuilding had occurred. Furthermore, financial problems among department stores led to a shortage of anchors for regional shopping centers. (32)

W. Paul O'Mara, et al. in Developing Power Centers discussed the demand for power shopping centers. The author explained that retail space was oversupplied; however, the supply of big-box retail space, as found in power shopping centers, was inadequate.⁹ In contrast, the author noted that regional shopping centers and super regional shopping centers had high vacancy rates. In order to remain competitive, regional and super-regional centers strove to evolve as entertainment and community centers by including such entertainment elements as cinemas, amusement parks, playgrounds, and theme restaurants and public elements such as libraries and post offices. (5-6)

Howard C. Gelbtuch, in "The Formats Employed in New Retail Strategies", explained the competitive edge of category killers.¹⁰ Category killers offered a specialized category of products. The stores were competitive through better inventory and price of products within the specialized category. Some examples of category killers were Staples, Marshall's, Home Depot, Circuit City, and Best Buy. (175)

The problems of department stores were discussed in a 1997 article titled, "The Department Store Saga". The article noted the end of debt related problems and discussed low sales, competition, and mediocrity as continuing problems. Department store sales were declining. Many of department stores had ceased to carry such goods as

⁹ The author defined "big-box store" as "a store contained within one large, usually single-story building that is surrounded by several acres of parking". Here, however, an assumption has been made that use of the term related only to the size of retail space.

¹⁰ O'Mara explained that "category killers" were the typical tenants of power shopping centers.

furs, bridal, furniture, curtains, sporting goods, toys, and appliances. Restaurants were also rare. The author noted that, by limiting the selection of goods, department stores were “melting into big specialty stores”. (2)

O’Mara, et al. explained that investment in category killer anchors increased following a period of financial problems and lack of growth of department stores and a lack of new mall construction (9). The size ranges of major anchor stores other than department stores are described in Table 2-6.

Retail Revitalization Attempts in Central Business Districts

Early Problems and Solutions

In his book, published in 1958, Nelson discussed parking problems in central business districts in relation to retail store location. The author explained that the problem was largely not due to the amount of parking but the location of parking. The best location for retail stores was near parking accommodations that were offered for the purpose of shopping and unlikely to serve working populations. The author noted that metered parking was created to solve this working and shopping conflict of interest in parking lots. Further, some cities attempted to reverse rate scales for parking by charging less rather than more for the first increments of time parked. According to the author, these attempts proved ineffective for shoppers. (90)

A previously published 1952 article titled “Covered Sidewalks for Existing Downtown Shopping Areas” offered another solution to accommodate automobiles along shopping streets in central business districts. The authors, Robert C. Weinberg and Alvin

Table 2-6

Size Ranges of Major Anchor Stores Other Than Department Stores

Store Type	Size Range (sq. ft.)
Biggs, IKEA	>150,000
Warehouse Clubs (Sam's, Costco)	100,000-135,000
General Discounters (K-Mart, Venture, Wards, Wal-Mart, Target)	100,000-130,000
Home Improvement (Home Depot, Lowe's, Hechinger)	100,000-130,000
Supercenters	125,000-180,000
Combo Stores (Kroger, Albertson's, Vons, Giant, Fiesta, Ukrops)	55,000-75,000
Sporting Goods (Sportstown, Oshmans, Sports Authority, REI)	50,000-60,000
Catalog Showroom (Service Merchandise)	50,000
Toys "R" Us	45,000
White Goods (Linens'n Things, Bed Bath & Beyond, Homeplace)	35,000-50,000
Furniture (Homelife)	35,000-40,000
Baby Goods (Baby Superstore)	35,000
Home Electronics (Circuit City, Best Buy)	32,000-58,000
Books (Border's, Barnes & Noble)	25,000-45,000
Soft Goods (TJ Maxx, Marshalls, Ross Dress for Less, Steinmart)	25,000-45,000
Super Pet Stores	20,000-35,000
Computers (CompUSA, Computer City)	25,000-45,000
Office Supply (Office Max, Staples, Office Depot)	20,000-45,000
Athletic Shoes (World Foot Locker, Nike Town)	20,000
Music (Virgin, Tower)	15,000
Drugstores (Eckerd's, Walgreens)	8,600-15,000

Source: Beyard, Michael D. and Paul O'Mara, et al. Shopping Center Development Handbook. 3rd Ed. Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1999: 135.

Gershen, promoted arcaded sidewalks. The construction of arcaded sidewalks consisted of creating a recess at street level by removing the front of a building at street level. Thereby, covered sidewalks could be installed under the overhanging floor. Curb parking or an additional lane could be added in place of the former sidewalk. (164-5)

Other solutions to the congestion problem that were noted by the authors included elevated streets, sidewalks and street widening. The support structures of elevated streets reduced property values and, therefore, were not good options for central business districts. Elevated sidewalks required climbing, encountered psychological resistance, and were legally questionable with regard to the right to attach them to buildings. Finally, street widening was expensive. Arcaded sidewalks could be leased from owners. Stores would simply be recessed into the building. (167-72)

Charles Abrams in a 1961 article titled "Downtown Decay and Revival" also noted problems of central business districts associated with the accommodation of automobiles. The author noted the diminishing supply of pedestrian amenities in central business districts. Specifically, the author noted shrinking sidewalks and disappearing benches. Further, the author noted the replacement of stores by parking lots. (6)

Abrams noted that central business districts had become "places to get in and out of as quickly as possible". Suburban residents that worked in central business districts left after business hours. Further, shoppers visited for special bargains or sales and promptly left. Contributions to this problem included parking meters that were set for half hours and lunch counters that were designed for fast business in central business districts. Abrams explained that central business districts must be planned to encourage longer day and evening visits. More stores and amenities were needed. (7-8)

According to Carl Abbott in “Five Downtown Strategies: Policy Discourse and Downtown Planning Since 1945”, typical proposals for central business districts during the late 1940’s were focused on the construction of circumferential highways around central business districts in order to improve access and separate residential neighborhoods. Plans gave little recognition to central business districts as unique concerns. (9)

Bernard J. Frieden and Lynne B. Sagalyn in Downtown Inc. How America Rebuilds Cities explained that mayors and representatives of downtown organizations supported the construction of urban freeways. Urban freeways were initially proposed to bypass urban areas. Construction of freeways was less expensive in suburban areas. However, downtown interests viewed urban freeways as necessary to the revitalization of central business districts. Mayors of large cities were especially concerned about the benefits of urban freeways with regard to congestion alleviation. (20-1)

Gruen, in a 1960 article titled “Cities in Trouble-What Can Be Done”, described the impact of freeway construction on central business districts. Gruen explained that freeways were being built from only an engineering perspective, from one point to another by the shortest distance. The freeways disrupted communities. Homes, schools, and shopping centers were separated by the construction of freeways. (86)

Gruen in The Heart of Our Cities, published in 1964, discussed reasons that money was not being spent in central business districts. These reasons included difficulty getting into central business districts, getting out of central business districts, and getting around central business districts. Further, the author explained that public transportation was viewed as undesirable and parking was difficult to find. Also, values were better in

suburban areas. Finally, central business districts were dangerous. The author noted that central business districts primarily functioned as places where people worked. (95)

Abrams also noted other problems. Within central business districts, the multitude of ownerships, according to the author, spawned inequity among landlords. In explanation, the author cited a situation in which a landlord reduced lease rates to attract a profitable retail store and, later, neighboring landlords increased lease rates as the profitable retail stores generated increased customer traffic. According to the author, this type of failure to operate for the common good contributed to central business district decline. Further, the author explained that lot sizes in central business districts were too narrow to accommodate modern profitable operations. (6)

The author explained that urban renewal programs, although not well, had been utilized to address these concerns. The advice of the author was that one trustee be charged to coordinate central business district retail efforts. A kind of stock pool for owners might be arranged in which profits would be accrued as rents rose. Further, the city should be asked to cooperate in the improvement of street and amenities. (6)

Frieden and Sagalyn discussed the impact of Urban Renewal on retail in central business districts. Various land uses were developed separately within the program. Blocks of open space, roads, ramps, and parking areas often separated buildings and were uninviting to pedestrians. The thought underlying this separation was that various land uses were incompatible. Thus, other than convenience stores, shopping facilities were considered incompatible with other kinds of development and separated. (41-2)

Abbott explained that, during the early 1960's, reactions against urban renewal programs occurred. The focus of the criticism was the failure of the program to operate

better than the private market. The destruction of viable low-income communities by the program was a specific criticism. The latest views held that downtown areas were comprised of sets of districts of distinct activity with distinct needs. (13)

According to Abbott, by the early 1960's, the decline of central business districts in terms of retail and service business was fairly commonly understood. Contributing to this understanding was sales and employment information of the 1958 Census of Business and population information of the 1960 Census of Population. The census indicated, respectively, suburbanizing retail sales and declining population in central business districts. A response to these discoveries was the formation of business groups to specifically address the problems of central business districts. These groups were focused on the enhancement of retail and service business in central business districts. (11-2)

Adolf Novak advised consolidation and more productive use of space for downtown stores in a 1959 article titled "How to Cut the High Cost of a Downtown Building". For many large downtown stores, excess space resulted in a great deal of overhead cost. Suburban development was reducing sales volumes in central business districts. Smaller sales floor area incurred less cost. For example, fewer salespeople and supervisors were required. Novak explained that sales floors might be reduced through the use of fixtures and the resulting vacant space might be used for consolidation of stores. Multiple stores, perhaps with separate entrances and window displays, might locate in a single building. According to the author, the great benefit was cost saving associated with the use of common facilities. These facilities included restrooms, telephone switchboards, and receiving areas. (18)

Pedestrian Malls

In a 1959 article, titled "Downtown Mall Fever Stirs Retailers Across the Nation", Sam Gottesfeld described the implementation of downtown malls across the nation. The author explained that the basic concept of a downtown mall included the closing of shopping streets to vehicular traffic, landscaping, and the placement of seating. The mall offered separation of vehicles and pedestrian and shopping environments like suburban malls. The author cautioned that downtown malls should occur in the context of comprehensive plans to address the entire central business district, especially with regard to transportation issues. Other cities that had recently opened or planned downtown malls included Akron, Ann Arbor, Atlanta, Baton Rouge, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Covington, Denver, Des Moines, Detroit, Eugene, Flint, Fort Worth, Glen Cove, Harrisburg, Hartford, Hempstead, Jamaica, Jamestown, Kalamazoo, Kansas City, Knoxville, Lincoln, Lubbock, Middletown, Milwaukee, Newark, New York, Ottawa, Peekskill, Peoria, Rochester, Reno, Raleigh, Rock Island, San Diego, Springfield, St. Joseph, Stockton, Tampa, Toledo, Waco, West Palm Beach, and Winston-Salem. The author noted delayed plans by Gruen for the downtown Fort Worth mall.

Laurence Alexander in a 1959 article titled "Some Second Thoughts on Downtown Malls" cautioned against the "danger spots" of downtown malls. Alexander noted that downtown malls hurt some stores, depending on location in relation to the mall, while helping other stores. Further, downtown malls often were promotional tools. The short-term success of a mall was not equal to a long-range plan for revitalization. Finally, downtown malls were not guaranteed to work in every city. (55-6)

In the previously mentioned 1960 article, Gruen discussed downtown malls.¹¹ Gruen supported downtown malls but was concerned about mistakes being made in the development. Gruen cautioned that malls should be developed in conjunction with arrangements for improved public and private accessibility. Gruen proposed loop roads circling central business districts. Parking lots and public transportation terminals would adjoin these loop roads. According to Gruen, mall experiments occurred by simply closing streets to automobile traffic without enough consideration to accessibility. (87-8)

Robert D. Erickson, in "Updating the Mall Record", explained that the Downtown Research and Development Center identified sixty-four downtown pedestrian malls in the United States in 1975. The sixty-four identified malls included only malls that were completely closed to vehicular traffic with certain improvements for pedestrians. Twenty-six of the malls were located in cities with a population below 50,000 people. Fifteen malls were located in cities with a population between 50,000 and 100,000 people. Finally, twenty-two malls were located in cities with a population more than 100,000 people. Downtown malls were located in cities in every region. California had a great concentration of ten downtown malls. (55-6)

Erickson, noting requests for information about enclosed downtown malls, explained that one mall in the United States was enclosed. Another mall that was enclosed was located in Canada. A transparent arched roof was being constructed over a pedestrian mall in Paterson, New Jersey. Funding for the project occurred through Federal Urban Renewal Funds. (56-7)

¹¹ The author noted that Gruen had developed a downtown mall in Kalamazoo. (86)

Phyllis W. Haserot in a 1975 article, "Analysis and Interpretation of the Downtown Research and Development Center Survey of Public Attitudes on Downtown Malls", described public perception of downtown malls and the degree to which downtown malls had been utilized by the public. The survey of twenty questions was conducted through the mail to cities of various populations that had contained a mall for, at least, one year. Cities that contained a population of less than 35,000 people were considered small. Medium cities contained a population of 70,000 to 110,000 people. Large cities contained a population more than 300,000 people. (24)

Nine out of ten people surveyed had been to the downtown mall. Table 2-7 describes the frequency that people visited the downtown mall. Further, twice as many people typically went to the mall during weekdays as on Saturday. Relatively few people visited the malls on Sundays. The author noted that few stores were open on Sundays. Only a third as many people visited the mall after 6:00 PM as the morning and afternoon.

Table 2-7

Frequency that People Visited the Downtown Mall

Percent of People Surveyed	Frequency of Visits
15	More Than Once a Week
20	Twice a Month
50	More than Once a Month
37	Once a Month

Source: Haserot, Phyllis. "Attracting People: Analysis and Interpretation of the Downtown Research and Development Center Survey of Public Attitudes on Downtown Malls." *Downtown Malls: An Annual Review* Vol. 1. Ed. Laurence A. Alexander. New York: Downtown Research and Development Center, 1975: 25.

The author noted that limited evening store hours might have contributed to this pattern.
(25)

Eighteen percent of people visited downtown more often since the mall was completed. People living in small cities more often indicated this tendency than people living in medium and large cities. People who had never visited the mall, 10 percent, most often indicated that the reason for not going was convenience related to access, distance, and selection of other places. Inadequate or difficult parking was a noted problem of downtown malls. (Haserot 25)

Erikson in another article, "Report on Mall Results Nationwide", published in 1975, described the impact of downtown malls with regard to retail sales, property values, store vacancies, pedestrian counts, private investment, off-street parking usage, and mass transit usage. The author researched the subject through information that had been collected by the Downtown Research and Development Center on various downtown malls. The author explained that the availability of information about each indicator in each city was inconsistent. Table 2-8 describes the findings of the author with regard to retail sales, private investment, property values and pedestrian counts.
(50-1)

Erikson researched pedestrian traffic, off-street parking usage, store vacancy, and private investment in the downtown mall of Kalamazoo, Michigan. Kalamazoo was the first city to develop a permanent pedestrian mall in 1959. Table 2-9 describes the findings of the author. (52-3)

Finally, Erikson discussed retail sales, private investment and mass transit usage in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The Nicollett Mall in downtown Minneapolis was

Table 2-8

Impact of Downtown Malls

Indicators	Findings
Retail Sales	Nineteen cities reported increases and one city reported a decrease after mall development ¹²
Private Investment	Twenty cities reported increases and no city reported a decrease in construction or rehabilitation
Property Values	Nine cities reported increases and one reported a decrease
Pedestrian Counts	Seven cities reported increases and no city reported a decrease

Source: Erikson, Robert D. "Report on Mall Results Nationwide." Downtown Mall: An Annual Report Vol. 1. Ed. Laurence A. Alexander. New York: Downtown Research and Development Center, 1975: 52.

¹² The author explained that retail sales had, after an initial increase, decreased in spite of a downtown mall in Riverside, California. The mall was opened in 1966. (54)

Table 2-9

Impact of Downtown Mall in Kalamazoo, Michigan

Indicators	Findings
Pedestrian Traffic	Increased by 40 percent
Off-street Parking Usage	Increased by 25 percent
Store Vacancy	Increased drastically, typically only lasting long enough for remodeling to accommodate a new tenant
Private Investment	Fifty-four of sixty-five stores experienced renovation or remodeling

Source: Erikson, Robert D. "Report on Mall Results Nationwide." Downtown Mall: An Annual Report Vol. 1. Ed. Laurence A. Alexander. New York: Downtown Research and Development Center, 1975: 53.

constructed to serve mass transit. Buses and taxis were allowed to use the central path of the mall. The author noted that Minneapolis was a major metropolitan area. The mall was the “most ambitious project of its type yet to be undertaken by a city of that size”.

Table 2-10 describes the findings of the author with regard to Nicollette Mall. (53)

In a 1982 article, “Pedestrian Malls: Twenty Years Later”, Ruth Eckdish Knack explained that few pedestrian malls had succeeded, as hoped, in revitalizing the retail role of central business districts. Some were planned for destruction, as in Kansas City (Kansas) and Laurel (Mississippi), or alteration, as in Louisville (Kentucky) where a portion of the mall was covered by a glass atrium and another portion reopened to traffic. In contrast, the mall in Kalamazoo was reasonably successful but not competitive with suburban shopping centers. (15-7)

Table 2-10

Impact of Downtown Mall in Minneapolis, Minnesota

Indicator	Findings
Retail Sales	Fourteen percent increase
Private Investment	Three hundred million dollars in construction or rehabilitation
Mass Transit Usage	Increase from 7,500 passengers discharged per day on Nicollette Avenue prior to mall completion to 35,000 passengers per day

Source: Erikson, Robert D. “Report on Mall Results Nationwide.” Downtown Mall: An Annual Report Vol. 1. Ed. Laurence A. Alexander. New York: Downtown Research and Development Center, 1975: 53-4.

Further, the authors explained, while pedestrian mall were still being constructed, a trend seemed to be toward construction of transit malls. The author noted that since the creation of the Urban Mass Transportation Administration in 1964, eighty percent of federal funding was available for malls that served transit. Also, competition for Community Development Block Grants to build pedestrian malls was increasing. (18)

A study, published in 1984, by Glen Weisbrod and Henry O. Pollakowski titled “Effects of Downtown Improvement Projects on Retail Activity” examined the effects of eight retail district improvement projects. The projects were Trenton Commons (Trenton, New Jersey), Lexington Mall (Baltimore Maryland), Old Town Mall (Baltimore, Maryland), Mid America Mall (Memphis, Tennessee), Portland Mall (Portland Oregon), State Street Mall (Madison, Wisconsin), Capitol Concourse (Madison, Wisconsin), Canal Street Median Project (New Orleans, Louisiana), and Downtown Crossing (Boston, Massachusetts). The projects were chosen to represent a range of populations in project cities. Improvements were made in each project between 1973 and 1978. Projects included, although not found in each case, improvements to physical image and transit service, traffic restrictions, and regulations and assistance programs for building improvements. (150)

Retail composition within each project, the surrounding central business district, and a comparison area were studied over time through Dun’s Market Identifiers. Specifically, the number, rate of entry, rate of exit, and change in employment size of firms was studied. Retail composition was examined before, during, and after the construction of each project. (151-2)

Substantial variations occurred within the projects of the study. With regard to entries and exits, the number of establishments increased in projects in Madison, Portland, Boston, and Old Town Mall in Baltimore. The number decreased in the projects in Memphis and Trenton, and Lexington Mall in Baltimore. Increases in the number of restaurants and apparel stores were noted in the projects in Madison, Portland, and Boston. The proportion of chain to independent stores increased in New Orleans, Portland, and Boston but decreased in Lexington Mall in Baltimore, and the projects in Memphis and Trenton. In central business districts, the proportion of chain stores increased in the five largest cities. In Madison and Trenton, the smallest cities, the proportion of chain stores did not increase. Further, with regard to employment growth, the projects in Memphis and Trenton lost establishments; however, employment in existing establishments grew. In contrast, the project in Portland gained establishments; however, employment declined in exiting firms. Only Lexington Mall in Baltimore lost firms and experienced a decline in employment in existing firms. The project in Madison gained firms and experienced growth of employment in existing firms. Finally, no evidence was found that any of the projects affected retail or service business in the rest of central business districts. The authors noted that the success of a particular downtown project was difficult to measure due to numerous elements beyond projects that impact commercial activity. (157-8)

The authors also examined the effects of ownership type, establishment size, establishment type, project completion, and other economic variables on rate of entry and exit of firms and employment growth rate through regression analysis. The authors found that the projects did not have a significant impact on growth or exits of existing firms but

had significant positive effects on new firm entry. Also, the strength of the local economy, represented by the inverse of the unemployment rate, had a significant positive effect on the rate of entry of new firms but relatively no impact on growth rate or exits of existing firms. The importance of the central business district in the context of metropolitan retail sales positively effected growth of existing firms with relatively no effect on entry and exit of firms. Further, large establishments grew less and entered and exited the study areas less often than small establishments. Finally, restaurants grew faster and entered and exited more often than other kinds of establishments. Apparel and general merchandise, services, and other kinds of establishments had no significant variation in growth, entry, or exit rates. (158)

Kent A. Robertson in “Downtown Retail Revitalization: A Review of American Development Strategies” explained that, contributing to overall failure, pedestrian malls failed to attract chain stores, simultaneously emerging in suburban shopping centers. This failure, according to the author, was related to the familiarity of chain stores with the design, retail mix, and organizational structure of suburban shopping center operation. (389)

Impetus for Downtown Shopping Center Development

Kent A. Robertson in “Downtown Retail Activity in Large American Cities 1954-1977”, published in 1983, noted continued suburbanization in spite of revitalization efforts. Robertson studied ninety-one cities that contained a population of 100,000 or more people, except New York City, and not dominated by a larger city within the same

standard metropolitan statistical area. The cities were divided by region. The author studied retail sales of central business districts, percentage of standard metropolitan statistical area retail sales in central business districts, and central business district retail sales per city resident. Census data of 1954, 1958, 1963, 1967, 1972, and 1977 was used for the study. (314)

The study indicated that downtown retailing had declined in the cities that were studied. The most severe decline began in the 1970's. This period, according to Robertson, was "the decade when the revitalization of downtown retailing was supposedly gaining momentum in many cities". (315)

The author studied variations in the decline between sunbelt and frostbelt cities and large, with a population of more than 200,000 people, and small cities. The author explained that populations in sunbelt cities had been increasing and decreasing and increasing little in frostbelt cities. Little variation was found. With regard to population, the author found that while small cities had experienced the greatest rate of decline, small cities maintained higher levels of retail sales in central business districts. The author explained that suburbanization had occurred later in small cities as developers sought opportunities outside saturated suburban markets of larger cities. Further, the author added that by the 1980's, shopping center developers targeted suburban areas of smaller cities and central business districts of large cities. (320-3)

Frieden and Sagalyn explained that, during the 1970's, under the influence of environmental concerns in addition to market saturation, interest in downtown by some shopping center developers grew. Cost of construction was increasing as energy prices rose, time was increasingly consumed by increasing growth regulations in suburban

areas, and reluctance of suburban governments to share infrastructure costs increased. Further, parking facility restrictions were drawn for suburban areas by the Environmental Protection Agency in 1973. (81-3)

In a 1978 article, “Introversion and the Urban Context”, the author described, in addition to the rising cost of suburban construction, incentives to shopping center development in downtown areas. The author noted Urban Development Action Grants, local tax abatement and increment programs, and zoning incentives. Several downtown shopping centers were described in the article. (50)

Stephen A. Baum in “New Environmental Problems and How to Solve Them”, published in 1975, described the effectiveness of downtown shopping center development in efforts to meet environmental goals. The author described restrictions of the EPA that were scheduled to be effective on January 1, 1975.¹³ In the context of these restrictions, some characteristics of downtown shopping center development were significant. Mass transit was typically already available. High density of downtown areas was supportive of mass transit usage. Dense automobile transportation networks offered opportunities to disperse traffic. Replacement and rehabilitation of commercial uses could be measured in terms of relative increase in traffic generation. Finally, parking facilities could be arranged to meet demand for uses that peaked at different hours. (14-6)

In a 1979 article, “A Battle No Longer One-Sided”, Howard Rudnitsky described, in addition to environmental restrictions and gasoline shortages, the positive impact of government programs related to shopping center development in downtown areas. The

¹³ The author noted that the effective date of these regulations had been delayed. (14)

author noted numerous examples of downtown shopping center developments during the previous eight years period. Specifically, the author noted Glendale and Pasadena, cities in California that had taken advantage of the pioneering state urban investment law.¹⁴ The developments in these cities were made competitive with suburban shopping centers through the law. Further, the author noted use of Urban Development Action Grants in Long Beach to fund transit in conjunction with a shopping center development.

J. Thomas Black, et al. also described reasons that downtown retail development was increasing in Downtown Retail Development: Conditions for Success and Project Profiles, published in 1983. The authors noted the growth of central business district office employment, a growing appreciation of specialty and festival shopping and urban lifestyles, public participation in real estate development, a reduction in the quality of opportunities in suburban areas, and the existence of successful projects in downtown areas. (2)

Further, the authors advised the role of the public sector in retail development. The authors explained that an assessment of retail opportunity and strategy for retail development should be provided by the public sector. Further, downtown retail projects without some public sector financial assistance were rare. The authors noted that public sector organizations were slowed by political limitations; however, quasi-public development corporations had been successful alternatives. Quasi-public development corporations were described as non-profit organizations, governed by a board of directors

¹⁴ According to the 1977 edition of Shopping Center Development Handbook, the California Community Redevelopment Law enabled “communities to acquire, clear, and redevelop blighted areas through a partnership of public and private interests”. The law allowed that redeveloped land could be offered at prices that were competitive with suburban land. The community was also enabled to identify the intended use of redeveloped land. (220)

with members from the public and private sector. According to the authors, public sector participation occurred through leveraging (the use of public funds to attract private investment), deal making, private developer designation, and public accountability. (14-7)

Festival Markets

According to Abbott, during the late 1970's and early 1980's, downtowns were viewed as "less a set of distinct social environments than a collection of opportunities for individual experiences". Tourism and recreation became increasingly important in visions for downtown areas. Meanwhile, as suburbs grew, some suburban retail design ideas were transplanted in central business districts. Abbott further explained that downtown festival markets gained success after the opening of Faneuil Hall in Boston and Baltimore's Inner Harbor. (15-7)

Frieden and Sagalyn explained that development around themes, a common practice in suburban malls, manifested in a downtown location in 1964 with the opening of Ghirardelli Square in San Francisco. The shopping center featured unique goods and foods within a unique space, a renovated factory building, without an anchor department store. A similar kind of retail development, the Cannery, soon opened nearby. These developments set the scene for later downtown retail developments of the same concept. Faneuil Hall in Boston was among these later developments. (74-5)

In a 1978 article titled "Jim Rouse Shows How to Give Downtown Retailing New Life", Gurney Breckenfeld described the efforts of Jim Rouse, developer of Faneuil Hall

and the Gallery at Market Street East in Philadelphia. The Faneuil Hall development included three large buildings; the Quincy and the South and North markets. The buildings were 150 years old and had formerly served as warehouses. Rouse's development included food markets, restaurants, offices, and retail shops. In Philadelphia, Rouse redeveloped a decayed shopping street into a four level glass enclosed shopping mall. The mall linked two department stores. Rouse was the chairman and chief of Rouse Company. The Company had developed twenty-nine shopping centers and also operated as a mortgage-banking subsidiary. (85)

The author explained that Rouse had encountered some difficulty obtaining funding for the projects. Local banks in Boston were concerned about the lack of retail development near the site, department stores as anchors, and parking. In Philadelphia, the development was, although frequented by office workers, the primary shopping area of low-income people. (86, 90-1)

In a 1985 article, "If Baseball Can't Save Cities Anymore, What Can a Festival Market Do?", Judith A. Martin questioned the prudence of festival marketing. The author expressed concern that the popularity of the concept would soon end as more cities built festival markets. Further, the author expressed concern that festival markets might be built in hopes of economic benefits in cities that were economically unable to support the concept. According to the author, the most exciting festival markets had been built in cities with a historic mercantile function: New York, San Francisco, Baltimore, and San Francisco. (41-2)

In a 1988 article, "Jim Rouse May Be Losing His Touch", Jim Webber and Stephen Phillips explained that festival markets in some smaller cities were failing. The

problems of festival markets in smaller cities included poor tenant mix, inadequate market areas, lack of tourists, and stressed local economies.

Mixed Use Developments and Suburban Transplants

The Downtown Idea Exchange in “Data on Downtown Shopping Centers” described the number of shopping centers that were planned, being constructed, or existed in 1974 in downtowns by population ranges. Shopping centers to which the article referred were defined in the article as “substantial, integrated shopping centers constructed within existing downtowns or as immediate extensions of the edge of downtown”. The developments might have included other components, for example office and residential components, and been new construction or rehabilitation projects. Eleven downtown shopping centers were counted in cities with a population of 25,000 or less people. Ten downtown shopping centers were counted in cities with a population between 25,000 and 50,000 people. Sixteen cities with a population between 50,000 and 100,000 people contained or were planned to contain downtown shopping centers. Eighteen cities with a population between 100,000 and 500,000 people contained or were planned to contain downtown shopping centers. Finally, five centers were counted in cities with a population of 500,000 or more people. (32-3)

The 1977 edition of Shopping Center Development Handbook described shopping centers that were developed in conjunction with a mix of kinds of development in central business districts. Retail was among four elements of these developments. The other elements were office, hotel and motel, and residence. Typically, office development

consumed the greatest proportion of square footage in these mixed-use developments.

Further, the retail element typically supported other elements. (265)

In a 1974 article, “New Directions for Downtown and Suburban Shopping Centers”, the author described three downtown retail developments; Broadway Plaza in Los Angeles, Baystate West in Springfield, and Crown Center.¹⁵ These developments included retail in conjunction with other kinds of development. Broadway Plaza was the first development to include retail, office, and hotel developments in one structure. (137-8)

According to the author, the developments were designed without linkages to such external elements as pedestrian and transit systems, cultural resources, and landmarks. According to the author, this lack of connection to surrounding urban environments limited the extent to which these developments contributed to the revitalization of the surrounding urban environment. (143)

The author noted that the planning of the Gallery at Market Street East in Philadelphia had begun. Development of the seven blocks between City Hall and Independence Mall had been a goal of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission for many years. The designers of the development described the shopping center component of the development as part of ‘a unique urban mini-city containing most of the major uses found in a city core’. According to the author, the design of the development complimented the existing civic and cultural elements of the area and street patterns. (146-50)

¹⁵ The author noted that Crown Center was in Kansas City. (144)

In a 1982 article, "American Cities Come Alive With Help From Urban Retailing", Margaret Opsata described, in addition to mixed-use developments and specialty shopping centers, retail developments that incorporated existing downtown department stores as anchors and traditional suburban shopping centers in downtown areas. The author described the Gallery as an example of the former. Examples of the later included Glendale Galleria (1976), Plaza Pasadena (1980), and Santa Monica Place (1981). (30-1)

Black, et al. also described categories of downtown retail developments; retail restructuring, festival retailing, expansion of conventional retailing, retail combined with other uses, and renovation of existing retail. Retail restructuring combined new and old developments. The Gallery at Market Street East was an example. Festival retailing was exemplified by Faneuil Hall. The expansion of conventional retailing included development of large anchors and stores. Sometimes the development occurred in conjunction with other uses. Finally, the author explained that some cities had renovated existing retail facilities. Pedestrian and transit malls were described as this kind of development. A common management was sometimes implemented. The author noted that these types of downtown retail development occasionally overlapped. (2-3)

John L. Heller in a 1975 article, "How to Fit a Shopping Center into Downtown", explained a crucial problem with the design of downtown shopping centers. Downtown shopping centers, transplantations of suburban designs, were typically self-contained and bore no relationship to the surrounding area. The author prescribed that this problem should be avoided through a realistic appraisal of downtown retail roles and efforts toward integrated relationships between old and new development. Efforts described by

the author included simultaneous improvements to old development and designs that related to the surrounding area. (5-7)

Roberta Brandes Gratz in a 1981 article titled “Downtown Devitalized” also described the poor relationship of downtown shopping centers that were built on suburban models to surrounding urban environments. The author explained that suburban shopping centers were designed to serve automobiles. According to the author, continued development in downtowns to serve automobiles was destroying downtowns. Gratz explained that successful revitalization competed with suburban malls by enhancing the existing fabric of downtown areas. The author praised the efforts of the Main Street Project of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. (82)

Main Streets

Abbott explained that, as many cities added cultural facilities and exhibition space, festival markets were popular projects during the 1980’s. Further, aesthetic qualities of downtown areas were treated through preservation, especially after the institution of federal programs that allowed increased rates of depreciation for historic structures in 1976 and investment tax credits in 1981. (17-8)

According to Linda S. Glisson in Main Street: Open for Business most downtown revitalization efforts until the 1970’s ignored the historical assets of downtown areas, often destroying such assets, and were inadequate in addressing the needs of downtown areas. The programs did not address public-private partnerships in and management and marketing of the unique qualities of downtown areas. (6)

In 1977, the National Trust for Historic Preservation launched the Main Street Project, a pilot project. The project was born from concern for the continuing decay of architecture in downtown areas of small cities. Efforts of the project were focused on economic development in the context of historic preservation. In 1980, the project was expanded through the opening of the National Main Street Center to serve as a technical reference center. Initially, the programs supported cities of populations less than 50,000 people. (Glisson 6)

Cities chosen for the Main Street Project were Galesburg (Illinois), Hot Springs (South Dakota), and Madison (Indiana). Assistance to each city included analysis, including architectural and market profiles, of assets and needs. Moreover, a project manager, funded by a grant, was hired for each city. (Glisson 9)

The success and popularity, including the support of numerous federal agencies, of the Main Street Project led to another demonstration project. This project was offered to states following the reason that local efforts should be coordinated with the states in which localities exist. The National Trust for Historic Preservation partnered with the International Downtown Executives Association in this project. The selected states were Colorado, Georgia, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Texas. Each state chose five towns to participate in the project. (Glisson 15)

The Main Street approach included organization, promotion, design, and economic restructuring efforts. Organization efforts included development of effective management for the revitalization of downtown areas. Promotion efforts included the organization of festivals and sales events. Design efforts were extended to buildings, storefronts, signs, displays, and landscaping. Economic restructuring included recruiting

new stores in efforts to provide an effective retail mix and converting unused spaces.
(12-3)

In New Directions for Urban Main Streets, Suzanne G. Dane described an Urban Demonstration Program of the National Trust for Historic Preservation that was scheduled from 1985-8. Eligible cities contained a population of 50,000 or more. Central business districts in cities with population between 50,000 and 250,000 were considered project sites. Neighborhood business centers were considered in cities with a population that exceeded 250,000 people. The cities in the Urban Demonstration Program were Cheyenne (Wyoming), Dubuque (Iowa), Joliet (Illinois), Knoxville (Tennessee), Albuquerque (New Mexico), Boston (Massachusetts), Chicago (Illinois), and Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania). (9-11)

Centralized Retail Management

Susanna McBee, et al. in Downtown Development Handbook described problems of retail in downtown areas. In addition to the geographic distribution of people and buying power in suburban areas, poorly configured retail space in downtown areas, and high costs of land, the author noted decentralized management. Shopping centers operated under centralized management. Techniques of centralized management included mandated store hours, security and maintenance organization, and advertising and promotion. (130-1)

In a 1987 article, 'Showcasing Downtown Management', Nancy Fletcher described the concept of downtown management. The concept was driven by the private

sector and entrepreneurial. A return on investment was expected. The author explained that most downtown organizations would define downtown management as “a coordinated public and private approach to influence and control the downtown environment in order to make it an attractive, secure, clean place in which people will want to work, shop, enjoy themselves, and live”. Activities of programs included public space, retail, and transportation management. Specifically, programs served such functions as coordination of operating hours, special events programming, working with public transportation providers, and management of security. According to the author, some aspect of downtown management was incorporated into more than 100 downtowns. Projects were voluntary. However, while participation could not be legislated, funding for programs could be legislated through special assessment. Other types of funding included membership dues, contributions, grants, and earned income through such income generating endeavors as parking lots or street vending. (87-8)

In a 1987 article, “Making Downtown Competitive Again: The Promise of Centralized Retail Management”, Jack R. Stovis referred to his 1984 article, “Why Can’t Downtown Be More Like a Mall?”.¹⁶ The earlier article discussed the benefits of centralized retail management. In late 1985, the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, Urban Mass Transit Administration, and International Downtown Association partnered in a national competition for assistance in downtown revitalization. The goal of the project was complete centralized management. Sixteen

¹⁶ An assumption has been made that “centralized retail management” and “downtown management” refer to the same program.

cities were chosen. While complete centralized management had not been achieved in any city, impressive gains had been made in most cities. (7-8)

James A. Cloar in Centralized Retail Management: New Strategies for Downtown, published in 1990, explained that centralized retail management programs varied in specific focus and function. Variables included the health of the downtown area and the retail development contained, population of city, size of the geographic area to which the program is applied, and the relationship between the public and private sector. (5)

Recent Downtown Retail Trends

Robertson explained that, while downtown retail facilities historically served the general population, downtown retail facilities had evolved to serve suburban residents, office workers, and tourists. These shoppers were familiar with the goods offered in suburban shopping centers. Downtown retail facilities were increasing upscale and national chains. (“Downtown Retail Revitalization: A Review of American Development Strategies” 385)

Michael E. Porter in “New Strategies for Inner-City Economic Development” explained that the consumer market for inner-city residents, while containing a low average income but high population densities was underserved with few competitors. According to Porter, in terms of buying power, the density offset low average income of these neighborhoods. Several supermarket chains, Rite-Aid, and Payless Shoes were noted with plans for growth in urban areas. (14-5)

In “Inner-City Retail Opportunities”, Lloyd W. Bookout described the concerns of retail stores in urban areas. Through interviews with various grocery store representatives, the author explained that, while high population densities and low competition provided a consumer market, urban stores operated differently than suburban stores. Ethnic consumer markets were common. Therefore, the goods that were offered should reflect the consumer community. Further, transactions were often made with cash. Security was an important concern. Sales volumes fluctuations, attributed to public subsidy check dispersal, were more common in urban stores than suburban stores. The author further noted through interviews with grocery store representatives that public sector partnerships were important in the development of urban stores. The author explained that community development corporations were increasingly instrumental in these partnerships. (17-9)

Roberta Brandes Gratz in *Cities Back from the Edge: New Life for Downtown* explained that, due to suburban market saturation, national chains were locating downtown. The authors noted the importance of guidelines for the location of national chains in downtown areas in order to preserve pedestrian shopping streets. In reference to big box retail stores, the authors noted a lack of experience in urban locations. The authors explained that urban stores operated in higher density environments. Therefore, customers were drawn from a smaller area. In addition, window displays were important in urban areas in the attraction of pedestrians. The authors also gave examples of stores that had successfully located fit into urban locations. Wal-Mart located in a former Woolworth’s building. The Gap often scattered stores into departments. Finally, some supermarkets located on two floors in urban areas. (185-7)

Summary

Retail facilities were, prior to the middle of the twentieth century, concentrated in central business districts. Cities were relatively compact. The dispersion of retail facilities to suburban sites occurred within the greater context of decentralization, a process that began with residential suburbanization and in which a shift from urban centers to multi-nucleated metropolitan areas occurred.

Suburban sites served automobile rather than pedestrian traffic. First, suburban retail facilities spread in strips along major thoroughfares radiating from central business districts. Eventually, retail facilities concentrated in suburban neighborhood and community shopping centers. Finally, regional shopping centers evolved. Power shopping centers are the latest trend.

The saturation of suburban markets is occurring through this evolution and proliferation of suburban shopping centers. In central business districts, attempts to slow the decline of or revitalize retail activity have focused on a variety of programs. Suburban shopping centers have been emulated through early pedestrian malls and later suburban regional mall transplants in central business districts. Specialty retail developments, especially festival markets, have been attempts to capitalize on tourist retail markets in central business districts. Retail facilities in mixed-use developments have attempted to draw business from working, tourist, and residential populations within those developments. Finally, retail facilities have been included in efforts to promote the qualities of traditional downtowns through historic preservation. As the saturation of suburban markets and programs to promote retail in central business districts continue,

can retail development, specifically chain retail development, play a supporting role in central business districts?

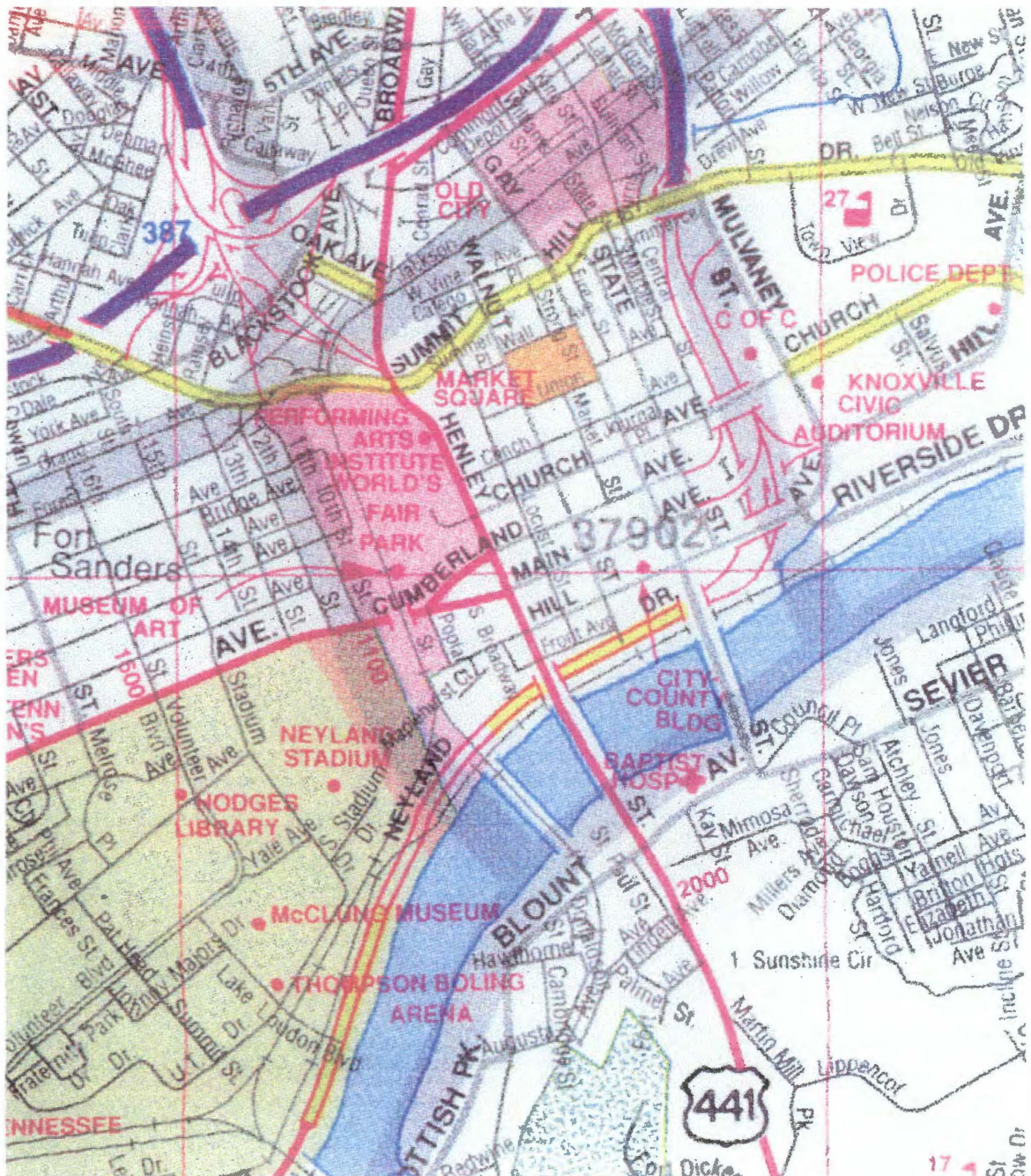
CHAPTER 3 CASE STUDIES

Description of Retail Facilities Within Central Business Districts of Cities

Knoxville

The Knoxville central business district and vicinity is illustrated in Figure 3-1. The central business district is bound to the east and south by an interstate highway. The Tennessee River is also at the southern edge of the central business district. To the west, the central business district is bound by Henley Street. The Worlds Fair Park is across Henley Street from the central business district. Notably, the University of Tennessee campus, beyond the Worlds Fairs Park, is southwest of the central business district. The central business district is bound to the north by a railroad bed. An interstate highway is north of and generally parallels for a short distance the railroad bed.

Retail facilities in the Knoxville central business district extend beyond but are concentrated in Market Square and Old City and along Gay Street. Retail activity within retail facilities is currently most concentrated in Old City. Old City, a district at the edge of the central business district, is located at the intersection of West Jackson and Central avenues. Plate 3-1 illustrates retail facilities in Old City. Gay Street, the main street of the central business district, extends roughly northwest from the Tennessee River. Plate 3-2 illustrates retail facilities along Gay Street. Market Square, a downtown pedestrian mall, lies one block west of Gay Street and is contained by a city block. Plate 3-3 illustrates retail facilities in Market Square.



Source: Knoxville. Map. Racine: Seeger Map Company, Inc., 1998.

Figure 3-1

Knoxville Central Business District



Plate 3-1

Retail Facilities in Old City in the Knoxville Central Business District



Plate 3-1 Continued



Plate 3-1 Continued

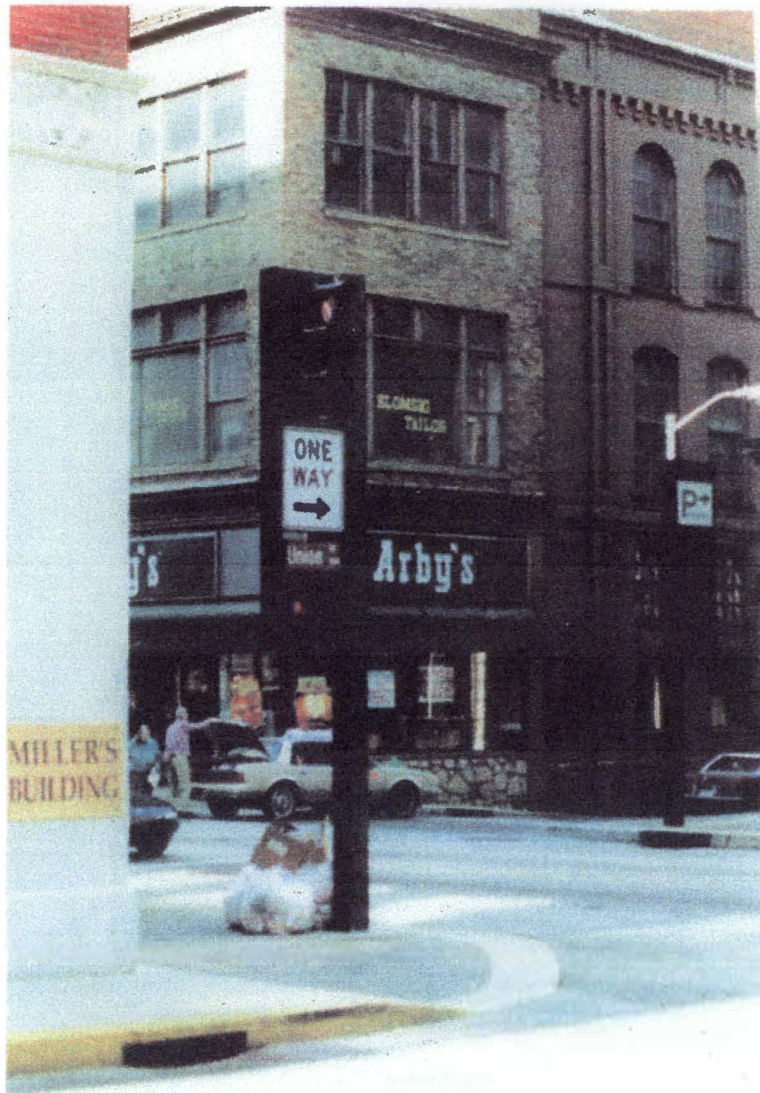


Plate 3-2

Retail Facilities Along Gay Street in the Knoxville Central Business District

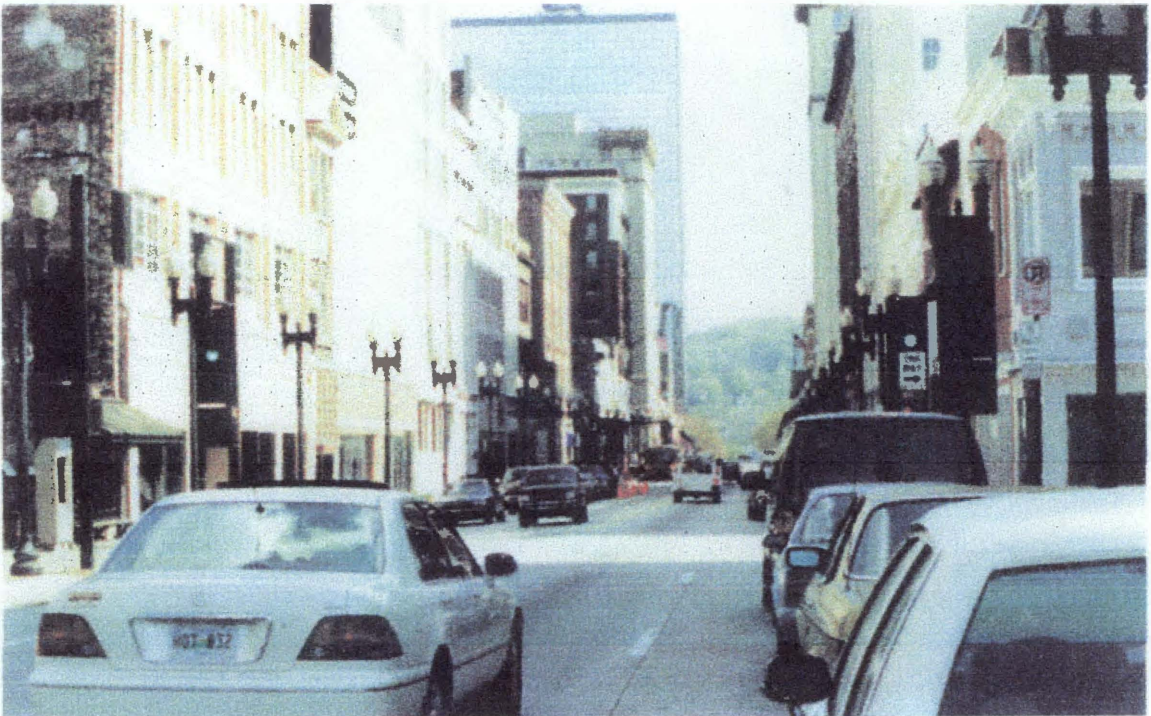


Plate 3-2 Continued



Plate 3-3

Retail Facilities in Market Square in the Knoxville Central Business District



Plate 3-3 Continued

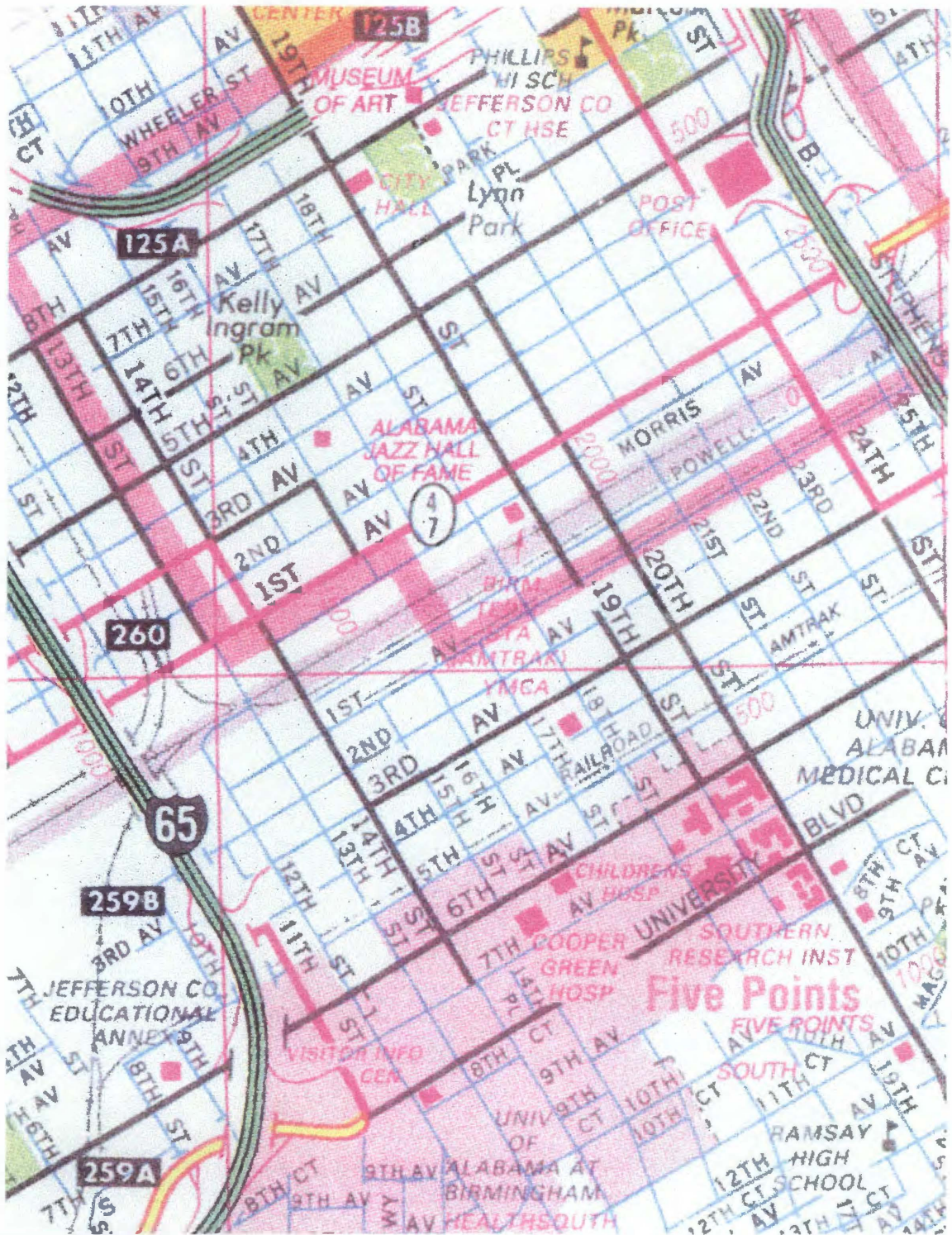
Arby's, Chick-fil-a, and Subway, fast food restaurants, are the only chain retail stores in the Knoxville central business district. Arby's is located along Gay Street. Subway is located in Market Square. Chick-fil-a is located in the Plaza Tower on Gay Street. Chick-fil-a opened in 1996 (Wiggins). Subway opened in 1993 (Milligan). The date that Arby's opened could not be obtained for this study.

Birmingham

The Birmingham central business district, larger than the Knoxville central business district, is illustrated in Figure 3-2. The Birmingham central business district is bound to the west, east, and north by interstate highways. The University of Alabama campus anchors the central business district to the south. An east to west railroad bed bisects the central business district.

Retail facilities in the Birmingham central business district are concentrated along Twentieth Street but extend for several blocks west of Twentieth Street and north of First Avenue. According to Adam Snyder, Development Coordinator at Operation New Birmingham, retail facilities in the city were historically racially segregated. Retail facilities that served African-American customers were concentrated to the west of Twentieth Street (Snyder). Currently, retail activity is concentrated in retail facilities along Twentieth Street. Plate 3-4 illustrates retail facilities along Twentieth Street.

Twentieth Street extends into Five Points South, a district at the southern end of the central business district. Five Points South is adjacent to the University of Alabama campus. Plate 3-5 illustrates retail facilities in Five Points South.



Source: Birmingham. Map. Skokie: Rand McNally, 1998.

Figure 3-2

Birmingham Central Business District



Plate 3-4

Retail Facilities Along Twentieth Street in the Birmingham Central Business District



Plate 3-4 Continued



Plate 3-4 Continued



Plate 3-5

Retail Facilities in Five Points South in the Birmingham Central Business District

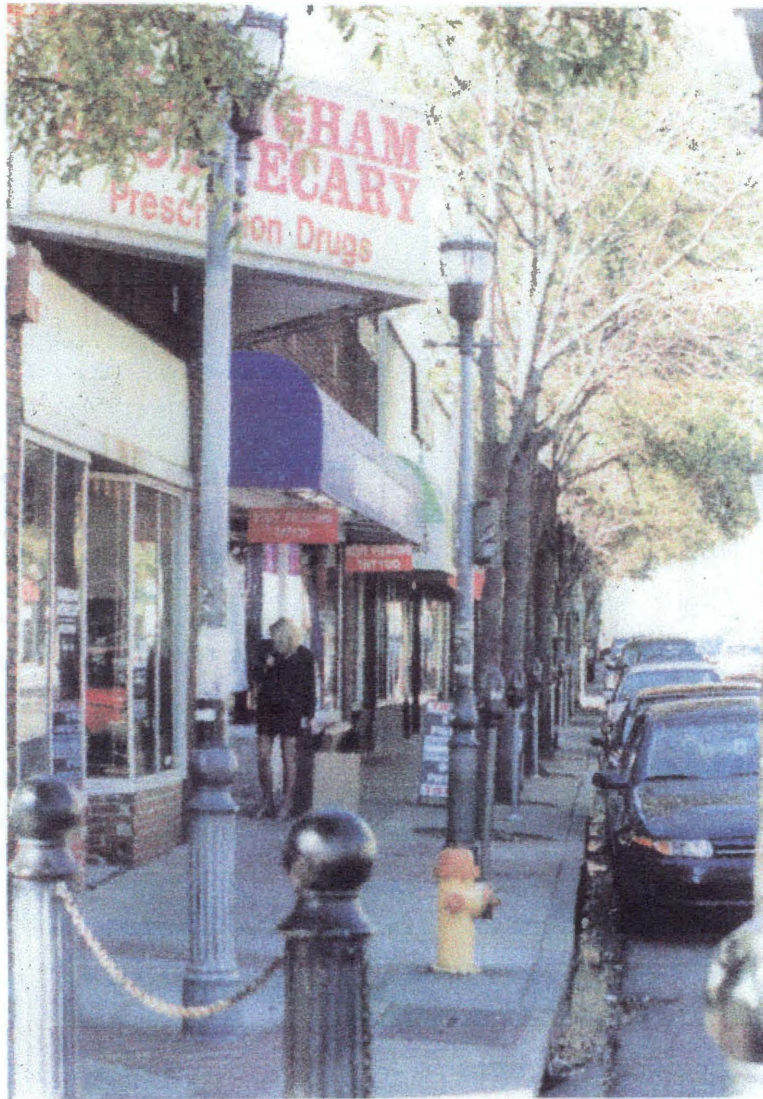


Plate 3-5 Continued



Plate 3-5 Continued

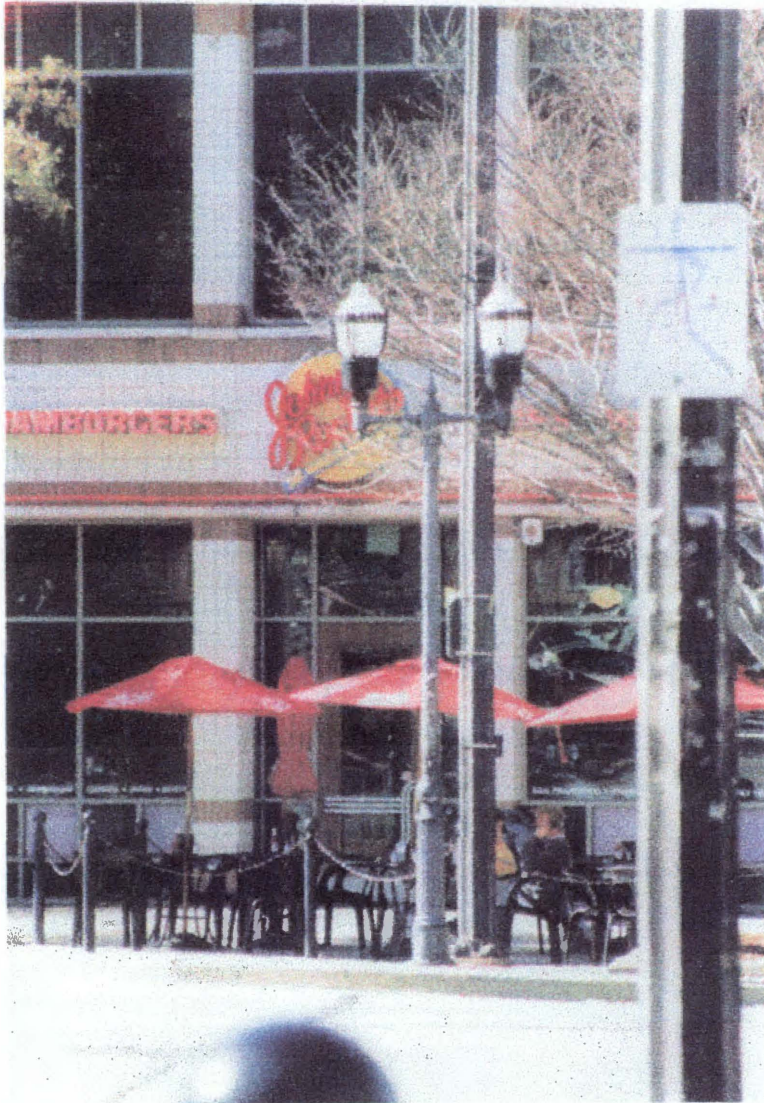


Plate 3-5 Continued



Plate 3-5 Continued

The Birmingham central business district contains a variety of chain retail stores. A Parisian department store is located on Twentieth Street, near Lynn Park. McDonalds, a fast food restaurant, and CVS, a drugstore, are located along Twentieth Street between Lynn Park and the intersection of Third Avenue North. Kinko's, a copy store, is located along Twentieth Street between Third Avenue North and Five Points South. Gap (a clothing store), Joe Muggs (a coffee shop), Johnny Rockets (a restaurant), and Ruby Tuesday (a restaurant) are located in Five Points South. Starbuck's, a coffee shop, will soon be located in Five Points South.

Ruby Tuesday opened in 1994 (Thompson). Kinko's opened in 1994 (Martin). Joe Muggs opened in 2000 (Woodall). Parisian, at various locations in downtown Birmingham since 1920, opened at the present location in 1990 (Robinson). Johnny Rockets opened in 1989 (Jones). McDonalds opened in 1983 (Howard). Gap opened in 1999 (Scroggins). An opening date for CVS could not be obtained for this study.

Pickwick Place is a mall in Five Points South. The mall is accessed from the street. Several stores are located in the mall; however, none of the stores are of a chain.

Greenville

The Greenville central business district is bound to the east, west and north by uncontrolled access highways. The West End district, a small district at the edge of the central business district, anchors the central business district to the south. The district is separated from the main area of the central business district by a river and roadway. However, a pedestrian and automobile bridge links the district with the main area of the central business district. The Governor's School for the Arts and Humanities is adjacent

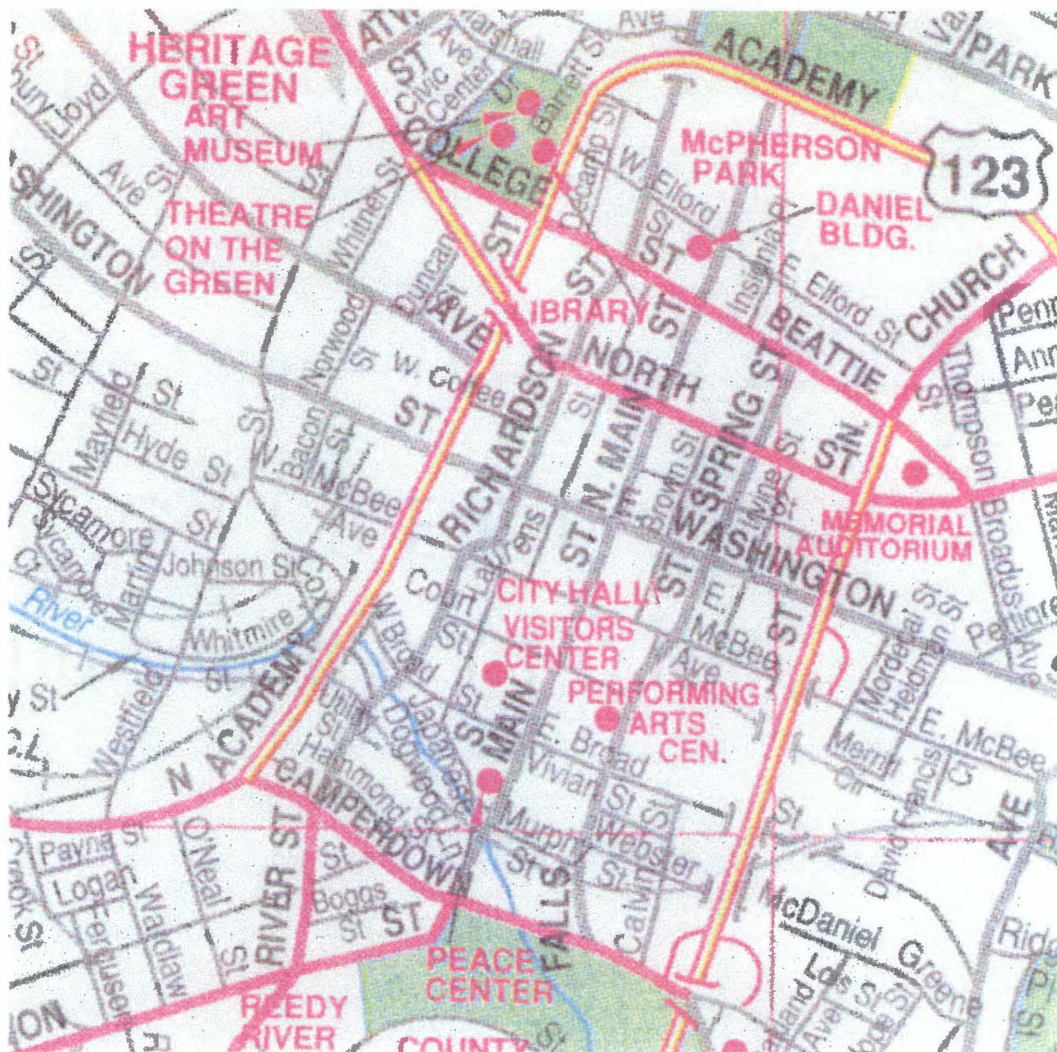
to the West End district. Another educational facility, Bob Jones University, northeast of the central business district, is farther from the central business district but within a five mile radius of the central business district. Figure 3-3 illustrates the Greenville central business district.

Retail facilities in the Greenville central business district are concentrated along Main Street between McBee Avenue and College Street and in the West End district. Plate 3-6 illustrates retail facilities along Main Street between McBee Avenue and College Street. Plate 3-7 illustrates retail facilities in the West End district along Main Street.

Chain retail stores are located between McBee Avenue and College Street along Main Street. Many of the chain retail stores are fast food restaurants. These restaurants include Blimpie, Subway, Jersey Mikes, and Chick-fil-a. However, GNC, a health product store, and the Coffee Beanery, Ltd., a coffee shop, and the Marble Slab, an ice cream store, are also located along Main Street. Further, Fudruckers, a service restaurant is located along Main Street.

GNC opened in 1999 (Davis). The Coffee Beanery, Ltd. opened in 1997 (Ledwick). The Marble Slab opened in 2000 (Eull). Fudruckers opened in 1992 (Daniels). Chick-fil-a opened in 1994 (Wiggins). Subway opened in 1989 (Wiggins). Opening dates of Blimpie and Jersey Mikes could not be obtained for this study.

Main Street extends into the West End Historic District. The West End Historic District contains several antique stores and gift shops but does not include any chain retail stores.



Source: Greenville. Map. Racine: Seeger Map Company, Inc., 1996.

Figure 3-3

Greenville Central Business District



Plate 3-6

Retail Facilities Along Main Street Between McBee Avenue and College Street in the Greenville Central Business District



Plate 3-6 Continued

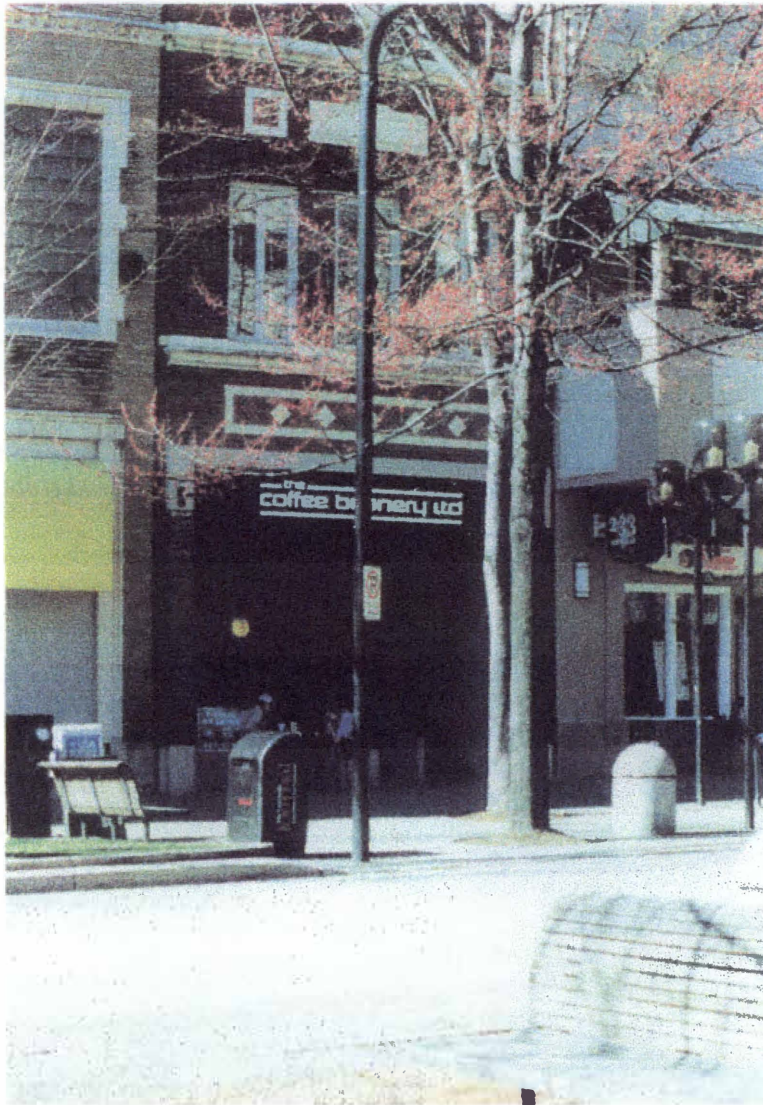


Plate 3-6 Continued



Plate 3-7

**Retail Facilities in the West End Historic District Along Main Street in the Greenville
Central Business District**



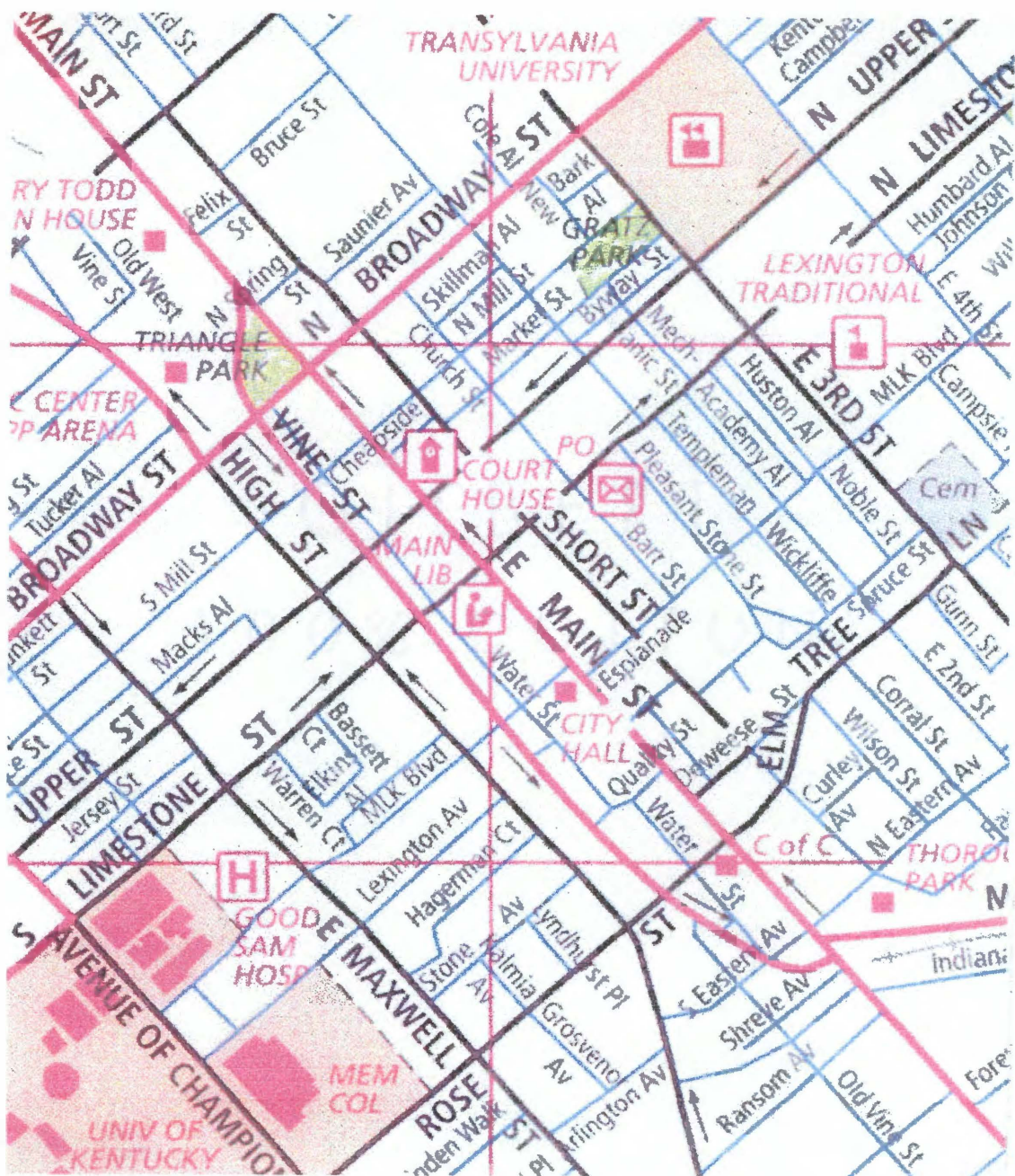
Plate 3-7 Continued

Lexington

The Lexington central business district is bound by Jefferson Street, to the northwest, Maxwell Street, to the southwest, East Third Street, to the northeast, and Rose Street, to the southeast. The University of Kentucky campus is at the southwestern edge of the central business district. The campus of Transylvania University is at the northeastern edge of the central business district. A controlled access interstate highway partially loops the Lexington central business district. However, the loop is larger and more distant from the central business district than partial loops in Birmingham and Knoxville. Access to the central business district is available along surface highways from various directions. Figure 3-4 illustrates the Lexington central business district.

Retail facilities in the Lexington central business are mostly concentrated along Main Street between Rose Street and Victorian Square, an enclosed downtown mall at the corner of Broadway. A festival market facility is located near Victorian Square; however, the festival market no longer contains festival retail stores. Plate 3-8 illustrates retail facilities along Main Street between Rose Street and Victorian Square. Plate 3-9 illustrates retail facilities at Victorian Square.

Chain retail stores in the Lexington central business district are located along Main Street, especially in Victorian Square. Talbot's Surplus Store and Laura Ashley, clothing stores, are located in Victorian Square. Rite-Aid, a drug store, is located between Rose Street and Victorian Square on Main Street. Hallmark, a gift shop, is located in the Civic Center. The Civic Center is across the street from Victorian Square and adjacent to Triangle Park at the corner of Main Street and Broadway.



Source: Lexington. Map. Skokie: Rand McNally, 1997.

Figure 3-4

Lexington Central Business District



Plate 3-8

Retail Facilities Between Rose Street and Victorian Square in the Lexington Central Business District



Plate 3-8 Continued



Plate 3-8 Continued



Plate 3-9

Retail Facilities at Victorian Square in the Lexington Central Business District



Plate 3-9 Continued

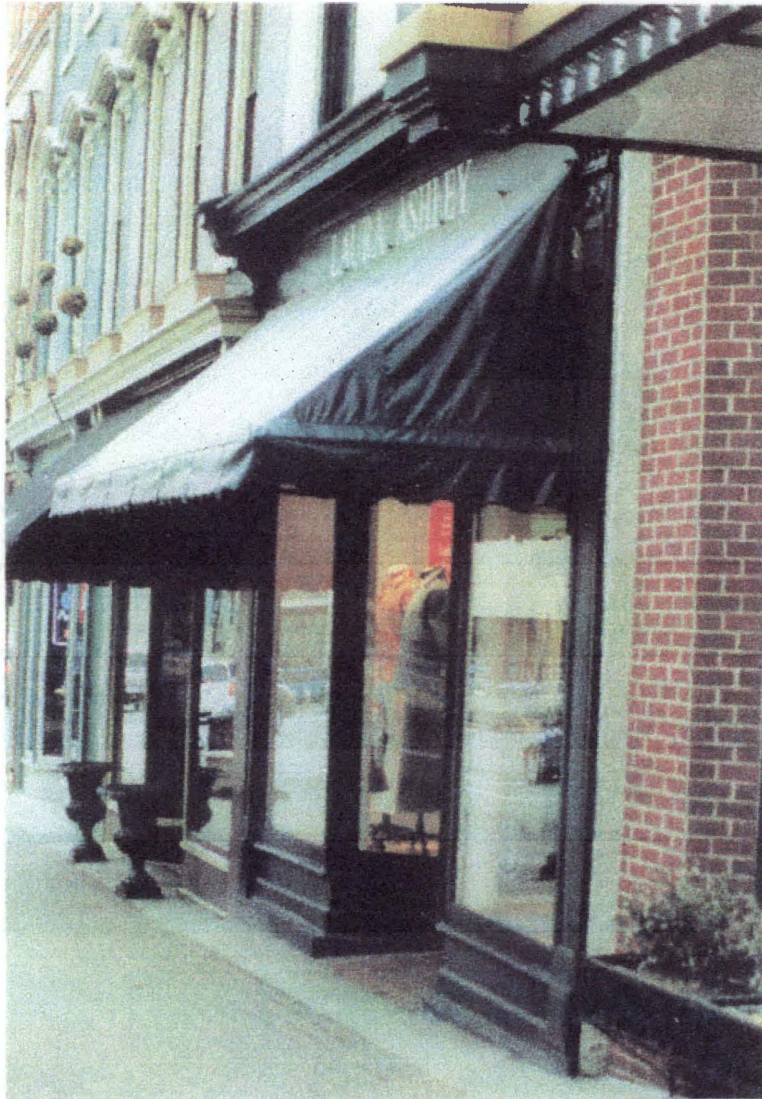


Plate 3-9 Continued



Plate 3-9 Continued

Talbot's Surplus Store opened in 1993 according to a representative of the customer service department of the company. Laura Ashley opened in 1987 (Milburn). Rite-Aid opened in 1988 (Shackleford). An opening date for Hallmark could not be obtained for this study.

Comparison of Case Study Cities

Table 3-1 describes differences in 1990 population and 1989 per capita income of the case study cities. Birmingham contained the highest population, 265,347 people, in 1990. Lexington contained 225,366 people. Knoxville contained 169,761 people. Finally, Greenville, containing the lowest population, contained 58,256 people.

Table 3-1

Population and Per Capita Income of Cities

1990 City Population			
Knoxville	Birmingham	Greenville	Lexington
169,761	265,347	58,256	225,366
1989 City Per Capita Income			
Knoxville	Birmingham	Greenville	Lexington
\$ 12,108.00	\$ 10,127.00	\$ 14,708.00	\$ 14,962.00

Source: Gaquin, Deidre A. and Katherine A. Debrandt. Eds. 2000 County and City Extra: Annual Metro, City, and County Data Book. 9th ed. Lanham: Bernan Press, 2000.

Table 3-2 describes total income, derived by multiplying total population and per capita income, in the case study cities. Lexington contained the highest total income, \$3,371,926,092. Birmingham contained a total income of \$2,687,169,069. Knoxville contained a total income of \$2,055,466,188. Greenville, containing the lowest total income, contained a total income of \$856,829,248. Knoxville contained the third highest 1990 population of the case study cities and the third highest total income of the case study cities.

Current effective buying income, as described by the 2000 edition of Sales & Marketing Management, in each city is described in Table 3-3. Lexington contained the highest effective buying income, \$4,771,056. Birmingham contained \$3,407,140. Knoxville, containing the third highest effective buying income, contained \$2,944,466. Finally, Greenville contained \$934, 752.

Table 3-2

Total Income of Cities

1990 City Total Income			
Knoxville	Birmingham	Greenville	Lexington
\$ 2,055,466,188.00	\$ 2,687,169,069.00	\$ 856,829,248.00	\$ 3,371,926,092.00

Table 3-3

Effective Buying Income of Cities

2000 Effective Buying Income			
Knoxville	Birmingham	Greenville	Lexington
\$ 2,944,466.00	\$ 3,407,140.00	\$ 934,752.00	\$ 4,771,056.00

Source: "Metro & County Totals" Sales & Marketing Management, 2000.

Location of Census Tract Block Groups Containing Central Business Districts of Cities

Knoxville

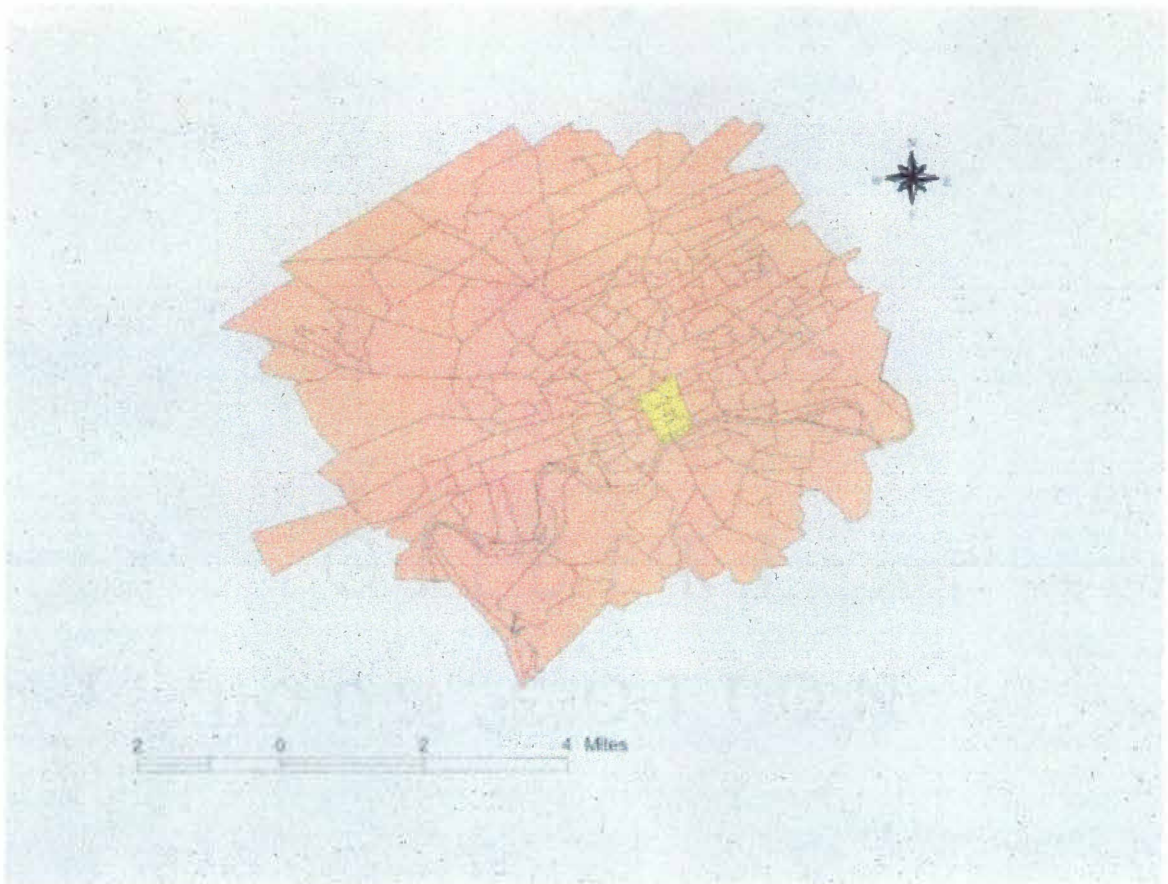
The central business district of Knoxville is contained by census tract 1. Figure 3-5 illustrates census tract 1 in the context of census tract block groups within a radius of five miles of the central business district of Knoxville.

Birmingham

Census tracts 27, 45, and 49 contain the central business district of Birmingham. Figure 3-6 illustrates census tracts 27, 45, and 49 in the context of census tract block groups within a radius of five miles of the central business district of Birmingham.

Greenville

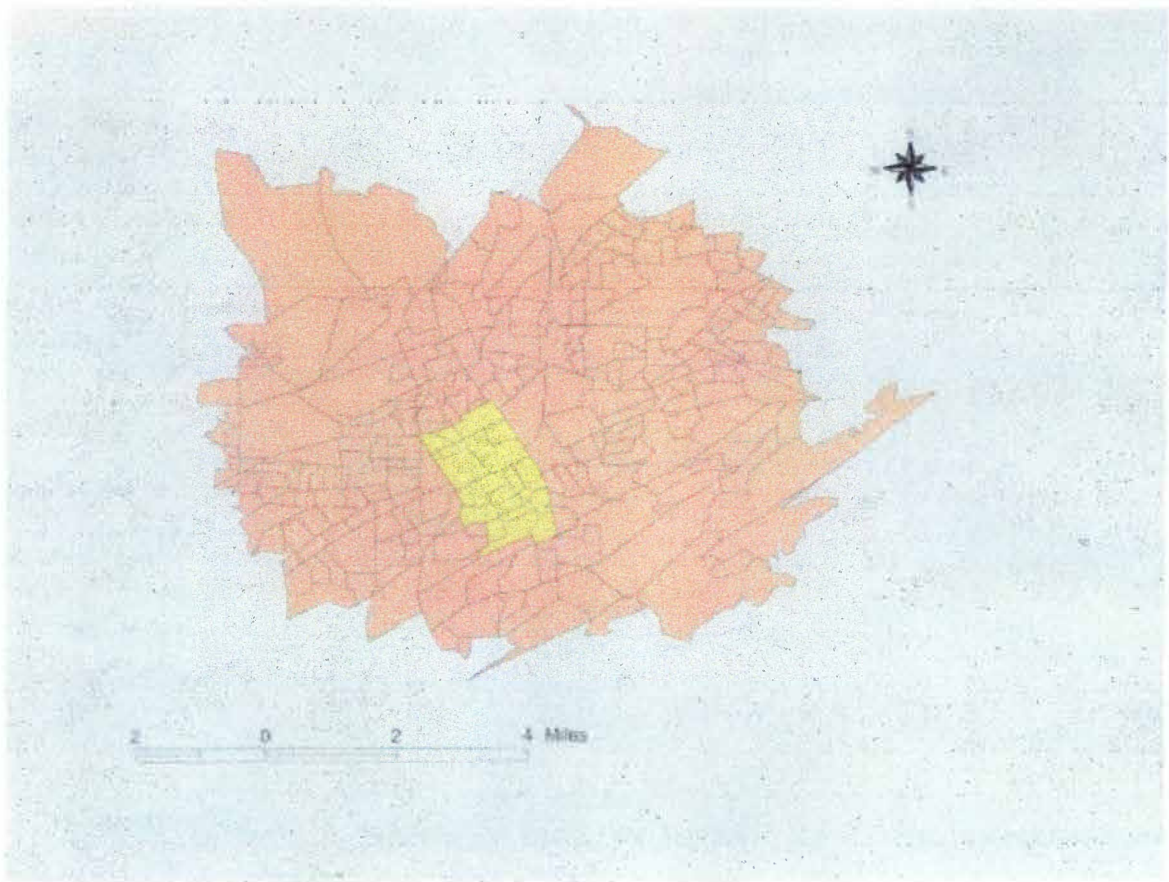
The central business district of Greenville is contained by census tract 2. Figure 3-7 illustrates census tract 2 in the context of census tract block groups within a radius of five miles of the central business district of Greenville.



Source: CensusCD + Maps: The Complete Census Reference Plus Maps on a Single CD.
Brunswick: Geolytics, Inc., 1990.

Figure 3-5

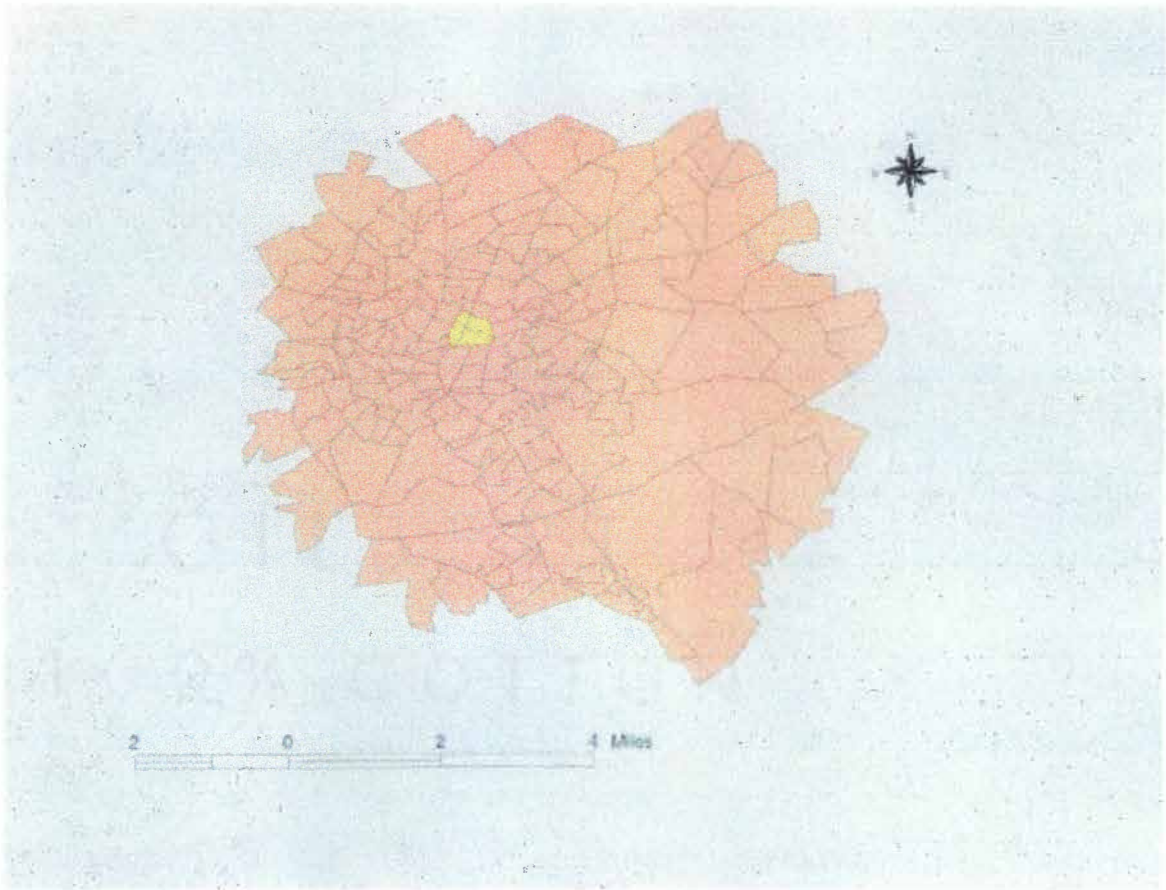
Census Tract 1 in the Context of Census Tract Block Groups Within a Radius of Five
Miles of the Central Business District of Knoxville



Source: CensusCD + Maps: The Complete Census Reference Plus Maps on a Single CD.
Brunswick: Geolytics, Inc., 1990.

Figure 3-6

Census Tracts 27, 45, and 49 in the Context of Census Tract Block Groups Within a Radius of Five Miles of the Central Business District of Birmingham



Source: CensusCD + Maps: The Complete Census Reference Plus Maps on a Single CD.
Brunswick: Geolytics, Inc., 1990.

Figure 3-7

**Census Tract 2 in the Context of Census Tract Block Groups Within a Radius of Five
Miles of the Central Business District of Greenville**

Lexington

The central business district of Lexington is contained by census tract 1. Figure 3-8 illustrates census tract 1 in the context of census tract block groups within a radius of five miles of the central business district of Lexington.

Comparison of Census Tract Block Groups Within Five Miles of Central Business Districts of Cities

Table 3-4 describes 1990 total population and per capita income in census tract block groups within five miles of the central business districts of each city. Birmingham contained the highest population, 200,796 people, within a radius of five miles of the central business district. Lexington contained 175,033 people. Greenville contained 145,982 people. Finally, Knoxville contained the least population, 138,948 people.

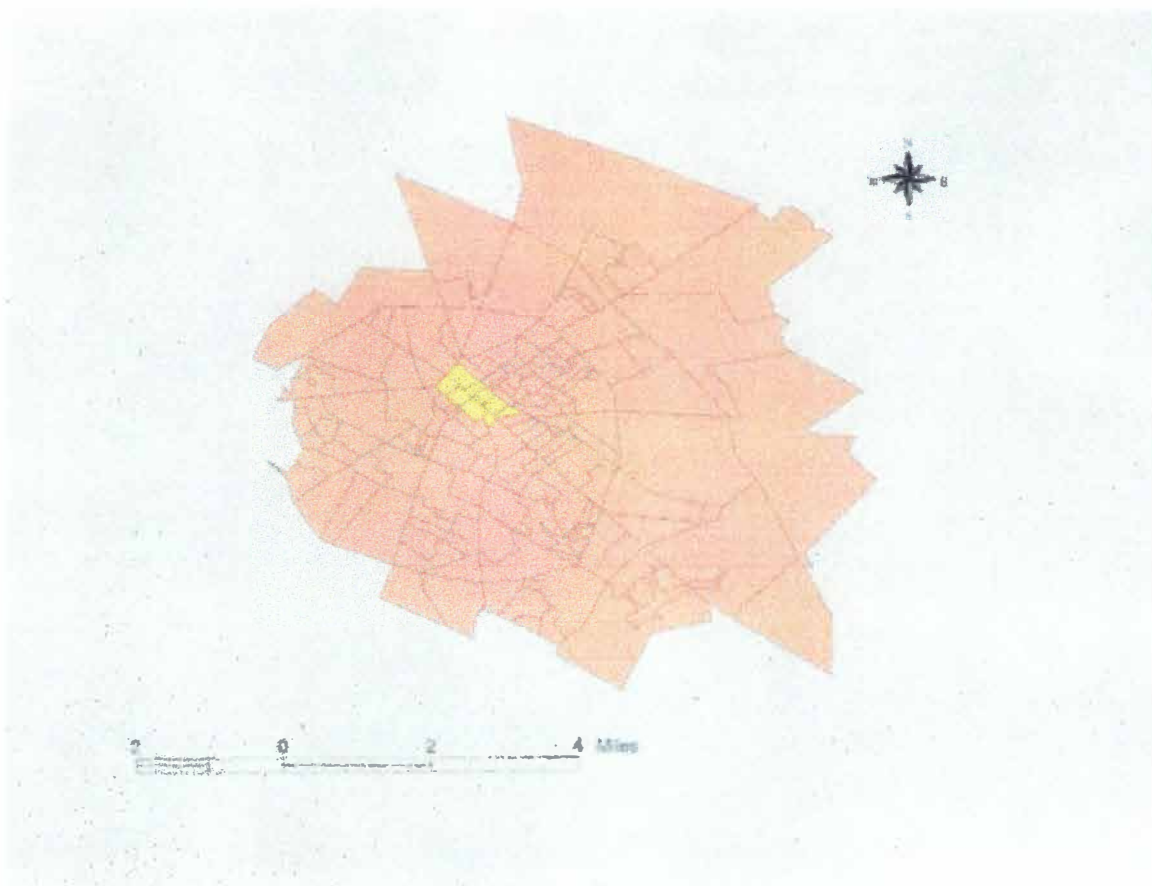
Table 3-5 describes 1998 estimates of total population and per capita income in census tract block groups within five miles of the central business districts of each city.

Table 3-4

1990 Total Population and Per Capita Income in Census Tract Block Groups Within a Radius of Five Miles of Central Business Districts of Cities

1990 Total Population			
Knoxville	Birmingham	Greenville	Lexington
138,948	200,796	145,982	175,033
1990 Per Capita Income			
Knoxville	Birmingham	Greenville	Lexington
\$ 11,020.00	\$ 12,931.07	\$ 13,686.90	\$ 14,164.33

Source: CensusCD + Maps: The Complete Census Reference Plus Maps on a Single CD.
Brunswick: Geolytics, Inc., 1990.



Source: CensusCD + Maps: The Complete Census Reference Plus Maps on a Single CD.
Brunswick: Geolytics, Inc., 1990.

Figure 3-8

**Census Tract 1 in the Context of Census Tract Block Groups Within a Radius of Five
Miles of the Central Business District of Lexington**

Table 3-5

1998 Estimates of Total Population and Per Capita Income in Census Tract Block Groups Within a Radius of Five Miles of Central Business Districts of Cities

1998 Total Population			
Knoxville	Birmingham	Greenville	Lexington
149,911	203,203	158,609	183,685
1998 Per Capita Income			
Knoxville	Birmingham	Greenville	Lexington
\$ 15,106.62	\$ 19,081.22	\$ 19,807.16	\$ 20,396.37

Source: CensusCD + Maps: The Complete Census Reference Plus Maps on a Single CD.
Brunswick: Geolytics, Inc., 1990.

The order of population size remained the same during 1998 as 1990 according to the estimate.

Table 3-6 describes 1990 total income of census tract block groups within a radius of five miles of the central business districts. Birmingham contained the highest total income, \$2,596,507,131.72. Similarly, Lexington contained \$2,479,225,172.89. Greenville contained \$1,998,041,035.80. Finally, Knoxville contained the least total income, \$1,531,206,960.

Table 3-6

1990 Total Income of Census Tract Block Groups Within a Radius of Five Miles of Central Business Districts of Cities

1990 Total Income			
Knoxville	Birmingham	Greenville	Lexington
\$ 1,531,206,960.00	\$ 2,596,507,131.72	\$ 1,998,041,035.80	\$ 2,479,225,172.89

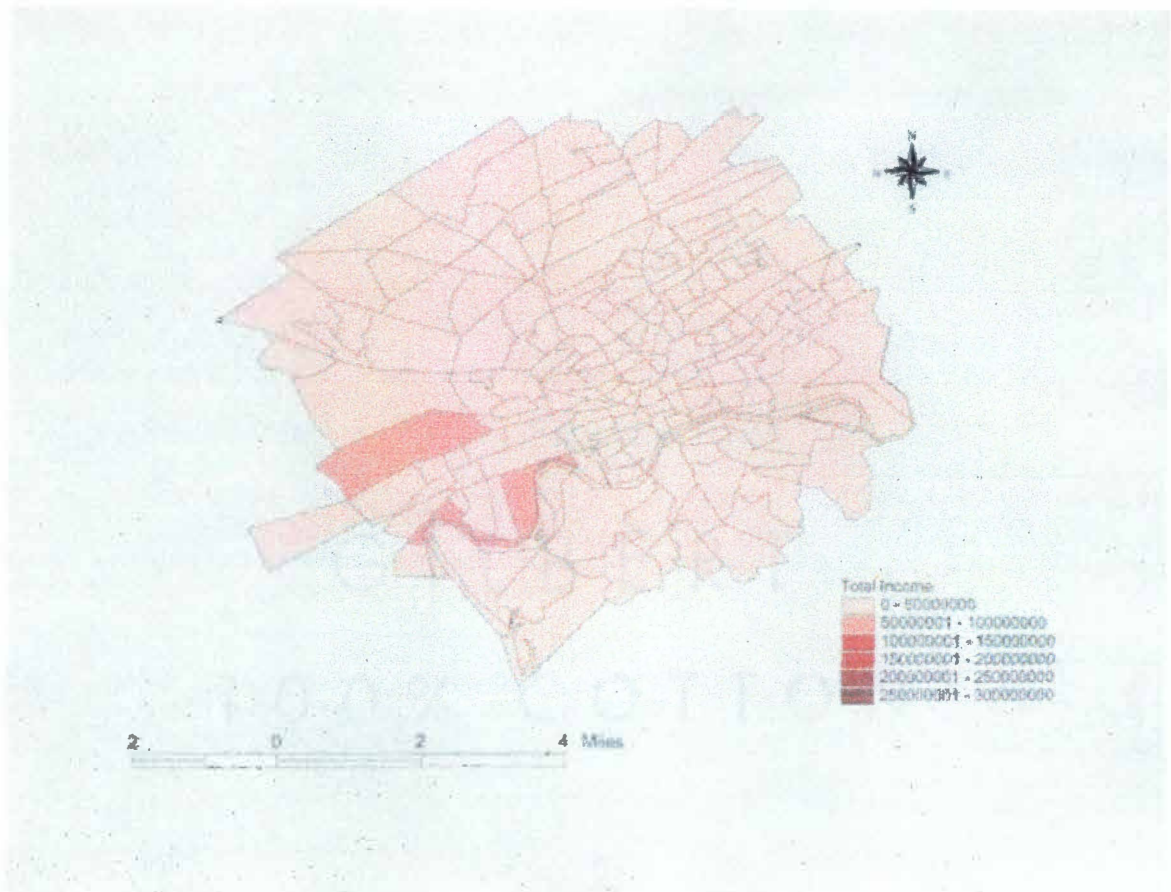
Table 3-7 describes 1998 estimates of total income of census tract block groups within a radius of five miles of the central business districts. The order of total income remained the same during 1998 as 1990 according to the estimate.

1990

The distribution of total income in census tract block groups in 1990 within five miles of each city was different. Figure 3-9 illustrates the distribution of total income in census block groups within five miles of the central business district of Knoxville in 1990. Census tract block groups containing total income between \$50,000,001 and \$100,000,000 were southwest of the central business district. The border of one of these two census tract block groups was approximately one and a half miles from the border of the census tract containing the central business district. All other census tract block groups within five miles of the central business district contained less than \$50,000,000 in 1990. Figure 3-10 illustrates the distribution of total income in census tract block groups within five miles of the central business district of Birmingham in 1990. Census tract block groups containing a total income of between \$500,000,001 and \$100,000,000 were located southeast and southwest of the central business district, near Table 3-7

1998 Estimates of Total Income of Census Tract Block Groups Within a Radius of Five Miles of Central Business Districts of Cities

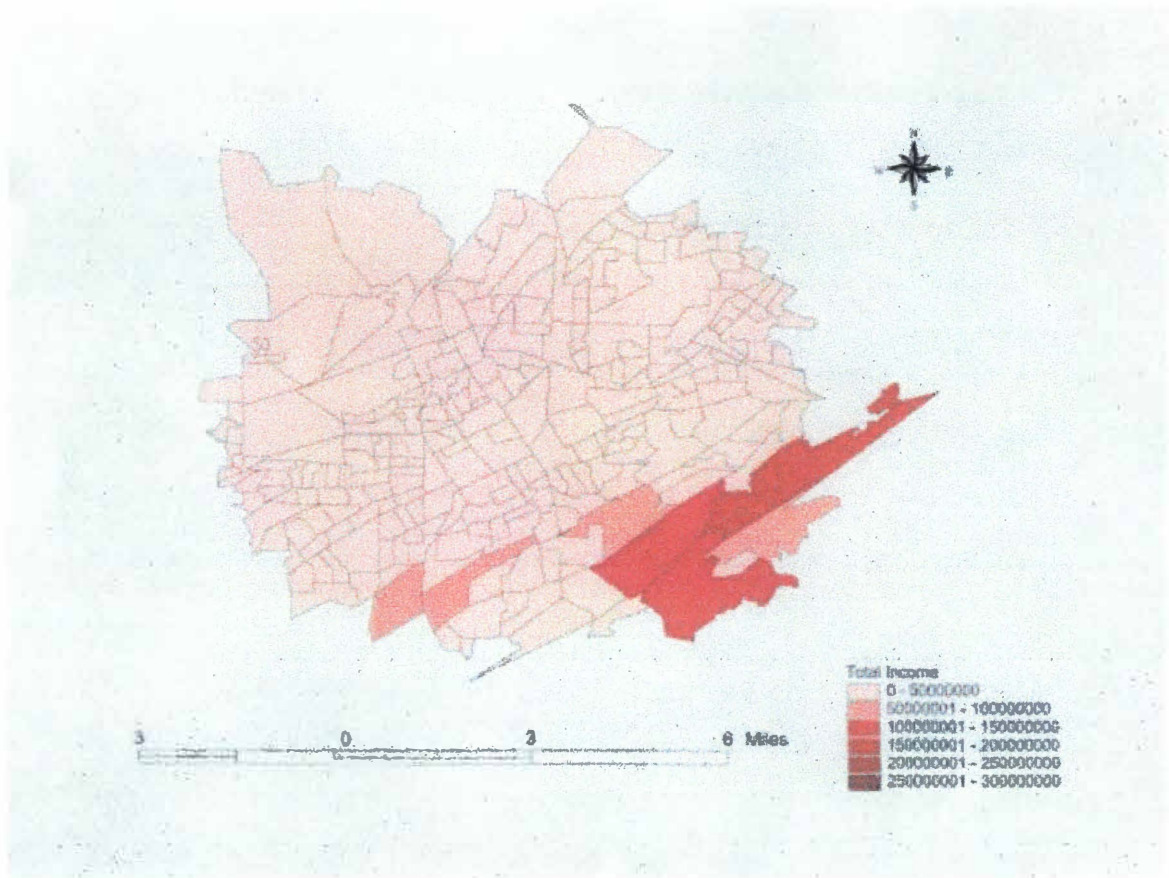
1998 Total Income			
Knoxville	Birmingham	Greenville	Lexington
\$ 2,264,648,510.82	\$ 3,877,361,147.66	\$ 3,141,593,840.44	\$ 3,746,507,223.45



Source: CensusCD + Maps: The Complete Census Reference Plus Maps on a Single CD.
 Brunswick: Geolytics, Inc., 1990.

Figure 3-9

**Distribution of Total Income in Census Block Groups Within a Radius of Five Miles of
 the Central Business District of Knoxville in 1990**

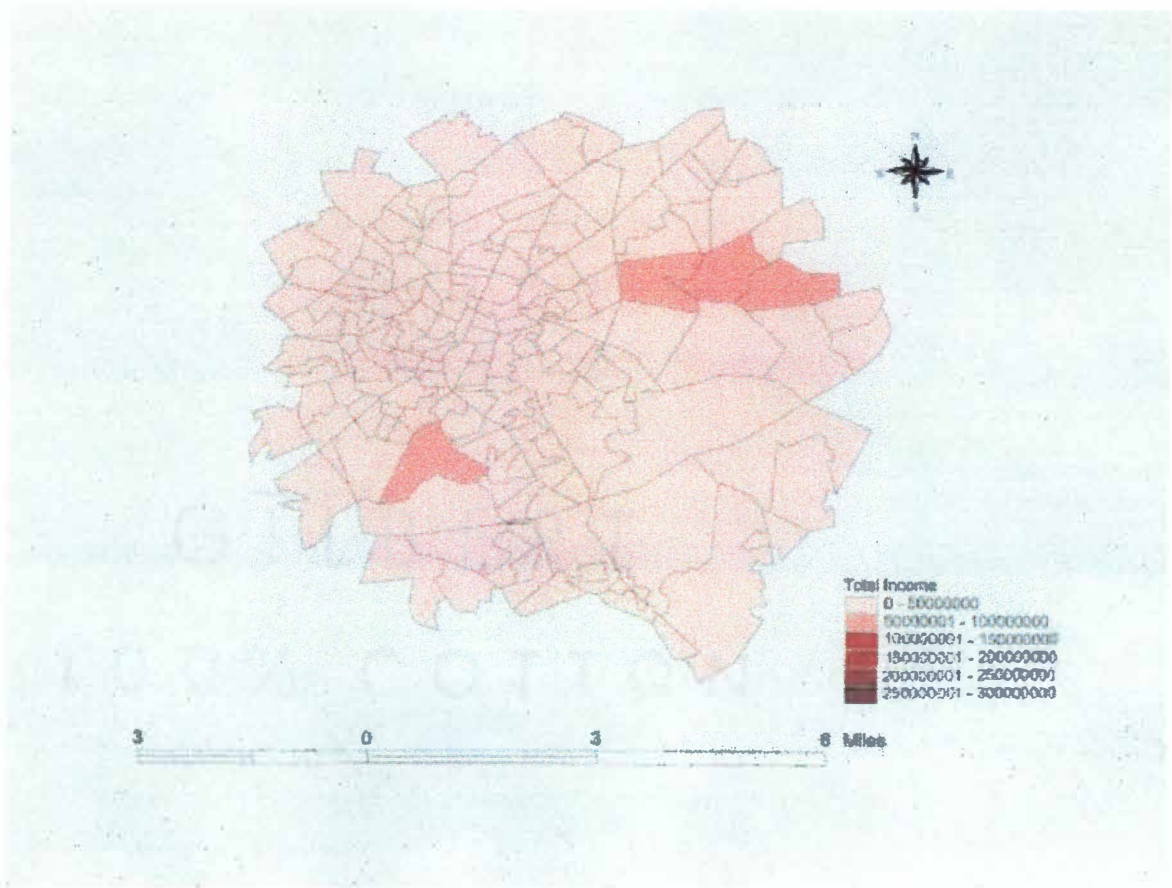


Source: CensusCD + Maps: The Complete Census Reference Plus Maps on a Single CD.
Brunswick: Geolytics, Inc., 1990.

Figure 3-10

Distribution of Total Income in Census Tract Block Groups Within a Radius of Five Miles of the Central Business District of Birmingham in 1990

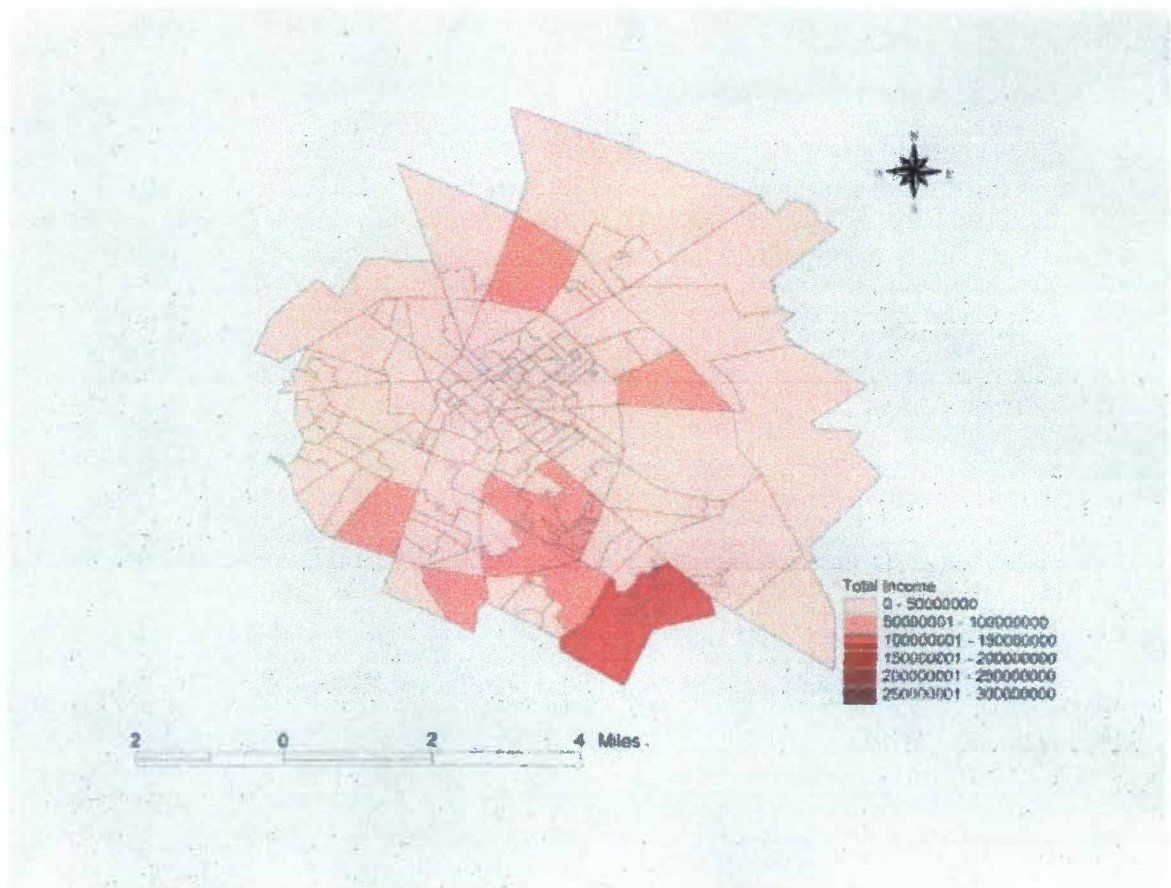
the Five Points South district. These census tract block groups bordered census tracts containing the central business district of Birmingham. Further, farther from the central business district, census tract block groups containing more than \$100,000,001 were located southeast of the central business district within five miles of the central business district. Other census tract block groups within five miles of the central business district contained a total income of \$50,000,000 or less. Figure 3-11 illustrates the distribution of total income within census tract block groups within five miles of the central business district of Greenville in 1990. Census tract block groups that contained total incomes between \$50,000,001 and \$100,000,000 were located northeast and southwest of the central business district of Greenville. The closest border of these census tract block groups to the border of the census tract containing the central business district of Greenville was near the same distance, approximately one and a half miles, to the border of census tracts containing the central business district of Greenville as the closest border of census tract block groups of the same range of total income within five miles of the central business district of Knoxville to the border of the census tract containing the Knoxville central business district. All other census tract block groups within five miles of the central business district contained total incomes of \$50,000,000 or less in 1990. Figure 3-12 illustrates the distribution of total income of census tract block groups within five miles of the Lexington central business district in 1990. Census tract block groups that contained total incomes between \$50,000,001 and \$100,000,000 were more numerous within five miles of the central business district of Lexington than census tract block groups of the same range of total income within five miles of the central business district of Knoxville. These census tract block groups were northeast, southeast, south,



Source: CensusCD + Maps: The Complete Census Reference Plus Maps on a Single CD.
 Brunswick: Geolytics, Inc., 1990.

Figure 3-11

Distribution of Total Income in Census Tract Block Groups Within a Radius of Five
 Miles of the Central Business District of Greenville in 1990



Source: CensusCD + Maps: The Complete Census Reference Plus Maps on a Single CD.
Brunswick: Geolytics, Inc., 1990.

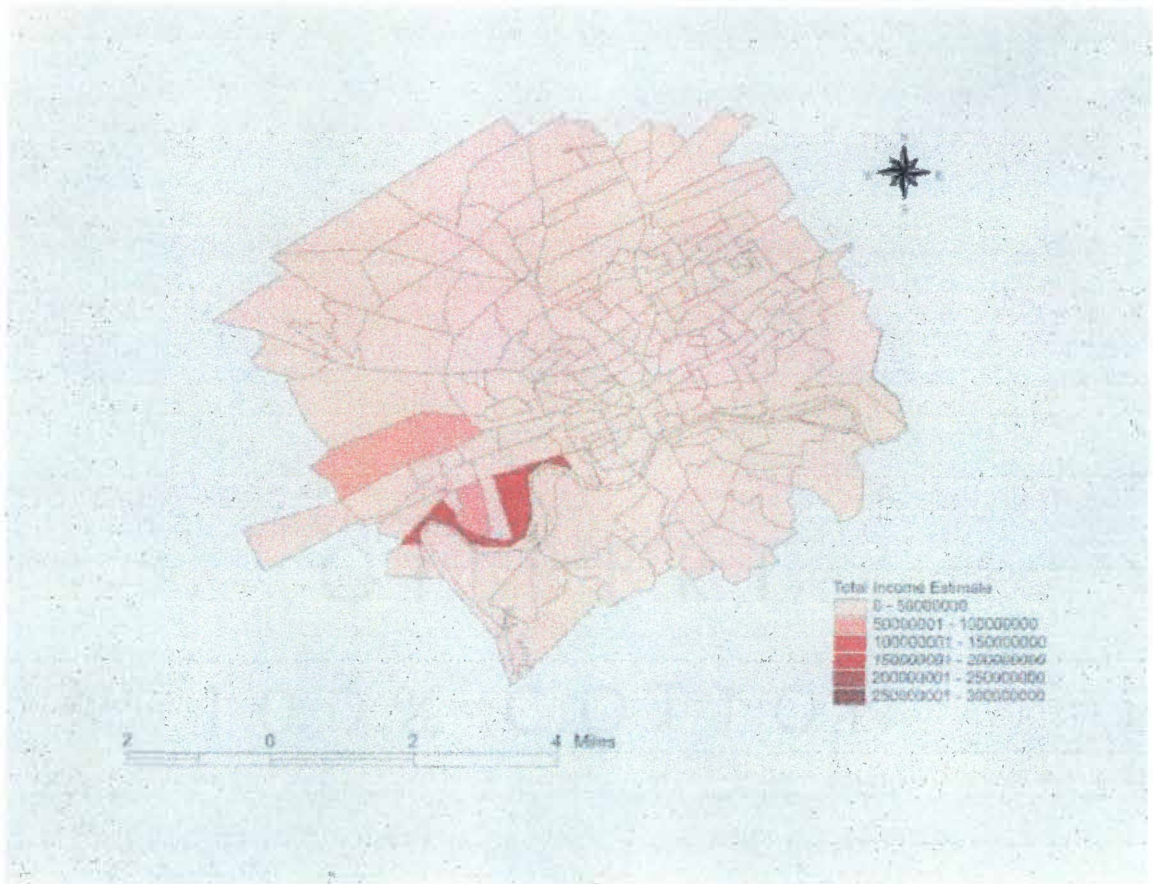
Figure 3-12

Distribution of Total Income in Census Tract Block Groups Within a Radius of Five Miles of the Central Business District of Lexington in 1990

and southwest of the central business district of Lexington. The closest border of these census tract block groups to the census tract containing the central business district of Lexington were of shorter distance, approximately one mile, than the closest border of census tract block groups of the same total income range within five miles of the central business district of Knoxville to the border of the census tract containing central business district of Knoxville. Further, at a farther distance from the central business district of Lexington, census tracts to the southeast contained total incomes between \$100,000,001 and \$150,000,000.

1998

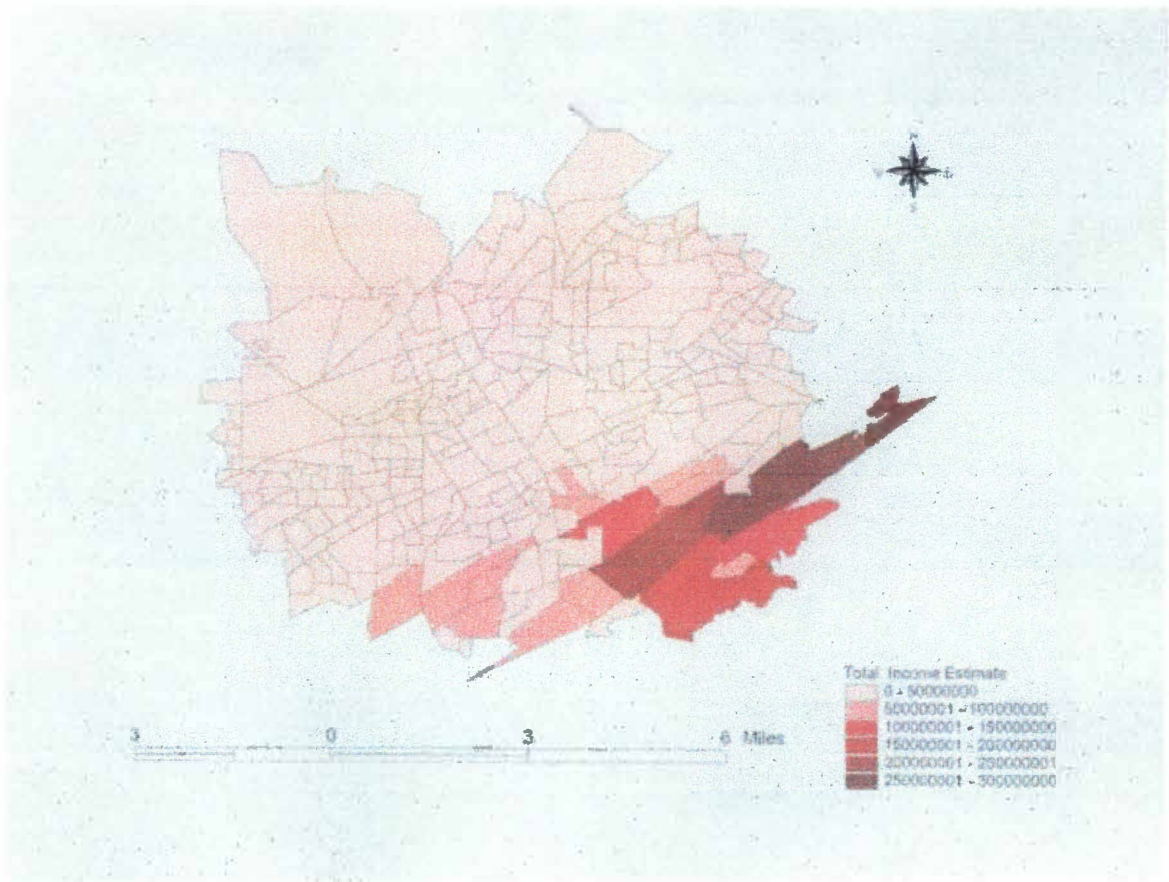
The distribution of total income in census tract block groups changed within five miles of each city between 1990 and 1998 estimates. Figure 3-13 illustrates the distribution of total income in census tracts within five miles of the Knoxville central business district in 1998. Total income increased from between \$50,000,001 and \$100,000,000 in 1990 to \$100,000,001 and \$150,000,000 in 1998 in one census tract block group southwest of the central business district of Knoxville. Also, total income in one adjacent census tract block group southwest of the central business district of Knoxville increased from \$50,000,000 or less to between \$50,000,001 and \$100,000,000. Total income remained the same in all other census tract block groups within five miles of the central business district of Knoxville in 1998. Figure 3-14 illustrates the distribution of total income in census tract block groups within five miles of the Birmingham central business district in 1998. Most notably, total income in two census tract block groups near the border of the census tracts containing the central business



Source: CensusCD + Maps: The Complete Census Reference Plus Maps on a Single CD.
Brunswick: Geolytics, Inc., 1990.

Figure 3-13

Distribution of Total Income in Census Tract Block Groups Within a Radius of Five Miles of the Central Business District of Knoxville in 1998

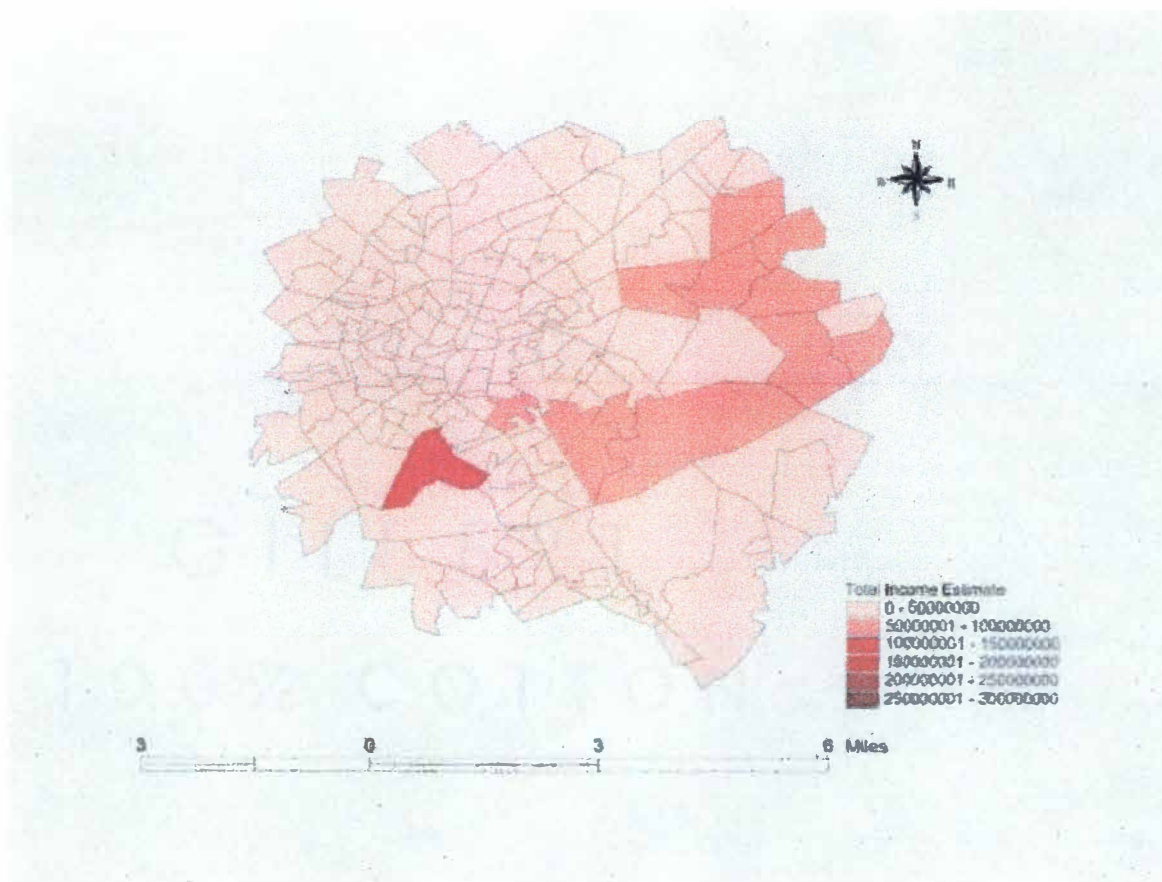


Source: CensusCD + Maps: The Complete Census Reference Plus Maps on a Single CD.
 Brunswick: Geolytics, Inc., 1990.

Figure 3-14

Distribution of Total Income in Census Tract Block Groups Within a Radius of Five Miles of the Central Business District of Birmingham in 1998

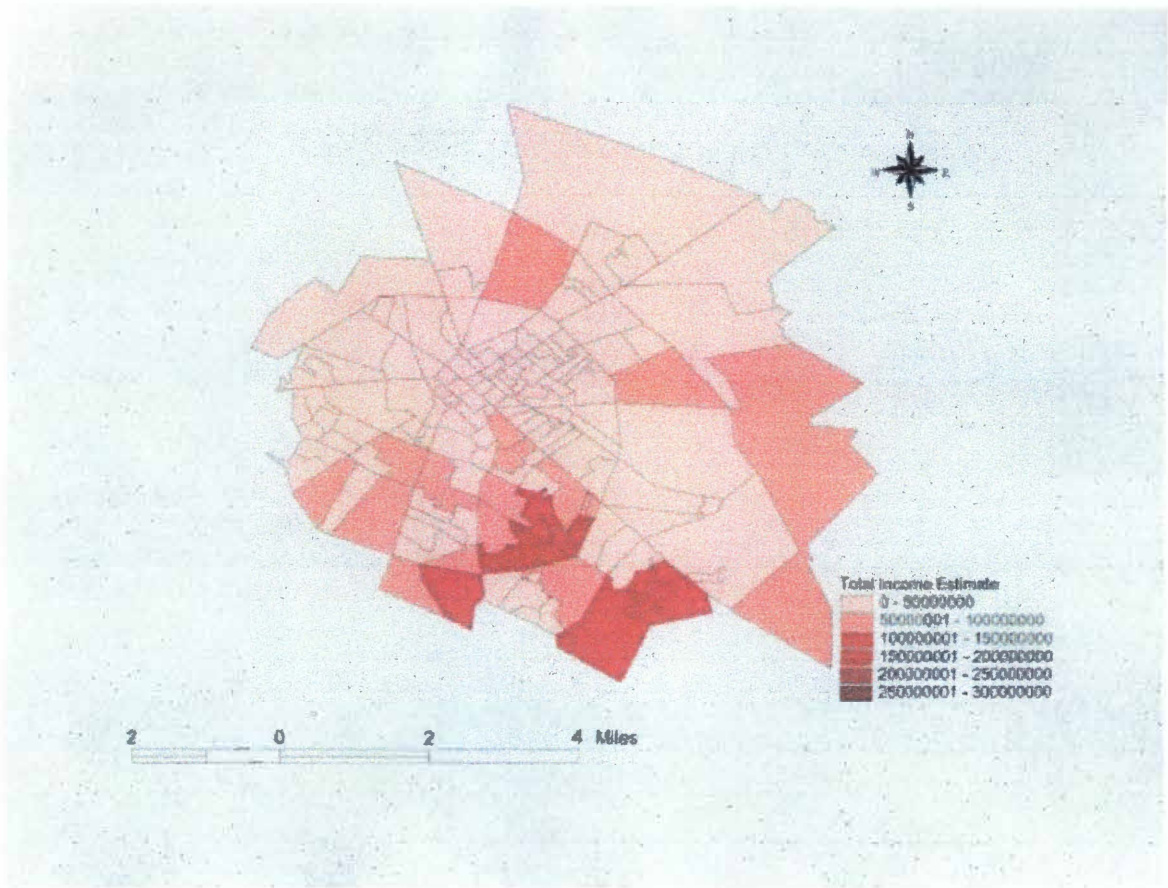
district of Birmingham increased from \$50,000,000 or less total income in 1990 to between \$50,000,001 and \$100,000,000 total income in 1998. These census tract block groups were near the Five Points South district. Further, total income also increased from \$50,000,000 or less to between \$50,000,001 and \$100,000,000 in four other more distant census tract block groups within five miles of the central business district. Hugo Isom, Vice President of Leasing at Sloss Real Estate Group, Inc. in Birmingham noted the high income of the area southeast of the central business district of Birmingham. Further, Gary W. Pharo, Real Estate Specialist at The Shopping Center Group of Alabama, Inc. in Birmingham explained that the success of Five Points South was dependent on the demographics of the University of Alabama campus and the nearby residential base. Figure 3-15 illustrates the distribution of total income in census tract block groups within five miles of the central business district of Greenville in 1998. Total income increased from between \$50,000,000 or less to between \$50,000,001 and \$100,000,000 in 1998 in eight census tract block groups within five miles of the central business district of Greenville. The border of one of these census tract block groups was within one mile of the border of the census tract containing the central business district. Further, total income in the census tract block group with the closest border to the border of the census tract containing the central business district and that contained a total income between \$50,000,001 and \$100,000,000 tracts in 1990 contained a total income between \$100,000,001 and \$150,000,000 in 1998. Figure 3-16 illustrates the distribution of total income in census tract block groups within five miles of the central business district of



Source: CensusCD + Maps: The Complete Census Reference Plus Maps on a Single CD.
Brunswick: Geolytics, Inc., 1990.

Figure 3-15

Distribution of Total Income in Census Tract Block Groups Within a Radius of Five Miles of the Central Business District of Greenville in 1998



Source: CensusCD + Maps: The Complete Census Reference Plus Maps on a Single CD.
 Brunswick: Geolytics, Inc., 1990.

Figure 3-16

Distribution of Total Income in Census Tract Block Groups Within a Radius of Five
 Miles of the Central Business District of Lexington in 1998

Lexington in 1998. Most notably, two census tract block groups near the border of the census tract containing the central business district increased from total incomes of \$50,000,001 or less in 1990 to between \$50,000,001 and \$100,000,000 in 1998. The closest of these two census tract block groups was adjacent to the border of the census tract containing the central business district, near Victorian Square. Further, total income in three more distant census tract block groups increased from between \$50,000,001 and \$100,000,000 in 1990 to between \$100,000,001 and \$150,000,001 in 1998. Ken Kerns, Chief Administrative Officer of the Lexington-Fayette Urban County Government, explained that some of the success of downtown retail stores was attributable to the existence of well maintained nearby residential neighborhoods in Lexington. The number and distribution of census tract block groups of total income greater than \$50,000,001 and increased total income in central business districts within five miles of the central business district from 1990 to 1998 support the perception of Kerns.

Educational Facility Residential Populations

Educational facility residential populations are located within five miles of the central business districts of Knoxville, Birmingham, Greenville, and Lexington. While these populations may be included in census counts, some amount of unreported income may be associated with these populations. This income may come from financial aid programs or parental support. The concern of this study are residential populations that may be located in university housing or in privately controlled housing near universities within five miles of central business districts. Total enrollment at the University of

Tennessee at Knoxville campus in 1999-2000 was 25,981 students (“1999-2000 Fact Book”). Total enrollment at the University of Alabama at Birmingham campus was 15,081 students in 2001 (“Office of Academic Records and University Registrar Enrollment Records”). In Greenville, the total enrollment at Bob Jones University was 4,500 to 5,000 students in 2001 (Pait). Further, total enrollment at the Governor’s School for the Arts and Humanities was 246 students during the last session (Stewart). In Lexington, total enrollment at Transylvania University was 1,075 students (“Quick Stats...Transy at a Glance”). Total enrollment at the University of Kentucky was 31,000 students in 2000 (“Quick Stats”).

CHAPTER 4 CONCLUSIONS

A greater number and variety of chain retail stores is found in the central business of Birmingham, Greenville, and Lexington than Knoxville. The greater population and income and the distribution of population and income within Birmingham, Greenville, and Lexington relative to the population and income and the distribution of population and income in Knoxville supports the greater number and variety of chain retail stores in the central business districts of Birmingham, Greenville, and Lexington.

In 1990, Knoxville contained a significantly lower population, 169,761 people, within the city than Lexington (225,366 people) and Birmingham (265,347 people). However, Knoxville contained a considerably higher population within the city than Greenville (58,256 people).

Also, total income, based on 1990 population and 1989 per capita income, within the cities was significantly higher in Knoxville (\$2,055,466,188) than in Greenville (\$856,829,248) but lower in Knoxville than in Lexington, containing the highest total income (\$3,371,926,092), and Birmingham (2,687,169,069). Interestingly, total income in Knoxville was significantly lower than Lexington but only slightly lower than Birmingham. Total income in Birmingham was lowered by a relatively low per capita income (\$10,127) within the city compared to Knoxville (\$12,108), Lexington (14,962), and Greenville (\$14,708).

Comparison of effective buying income of 2000 resulted in a similar pattern. Effective buying income in Knoxville (\$2,944,466) was significantly higher than

Greenville (\$934,752) and lower than Lexington (\$4,711,056) and Birmingham (\$3,407,140). However, the difference between effective buying income of 2000 in Knoxville and Birmingham was relatively small.

In 1990, Knoxville contained the lowest population within five miles of the central business district. While similar in terms of population to Greenville (145,982) within five miles of the central business district, the population within five miles of the central business district of Knoxville was significantly lower than the population within five miles of the central business districts of Birmingham, containing the highest population (200,796) within five miles of the central business district, and Lexington (175,033).

In spite of containing a similar population to Greenville within five miles of the central business district, total income in 1990 within five miles of the central business district was also lowest in Knoxville (\$1,531,206,960) relative to Birmingham (\$2,596,507), Greenville (\$1,988,041,036), and Lexington (2,479,225,173). In partial explanation, per capita income in 1990 was lowest within five miles of the central business district of Knoxville (\$11,020) relative to Birmingham (\$12,931), Greenville (\$13,686), and Lexington (\$14,164).

The order of population, per capita income, and total income within five miles of the central business districts remained the same in 1998 according to estimates. However, notably, total income in Knoxville (\$2,264,648,511) in 1998, according to estimates, was greater than total income in Greenville in 1990.

Interestingly, based on this similarity, the case might be made that Knoxville could support chain retail stores that existed in Greenville in 1990. Among chain retail

stores that are still in business and for which an opening date could be obtained for this study, Subway is the only chain retail store that opened prior to 1990 in Greenville. Subway in the central business district of Knoxville opened in 1993.

With regard to the distribution of total income within census tract block groups, census tract block groups in close proximity, with borders within approximately one mile of borders of census tracts containing central business districts, to borders of census tracts containing the central business districts of Birmingham and Lexington were of higher total income than census tract block groups in close proximity to the border of census tracts containing the central business district of Knoxville and Greenville in 1990. In 1998, total income did not increase in any census tract block groups in close proximity to the border of census tracts containing the Knoxville central business district; however, increases occurred in census tract block groups in close proximity to the borders of census tracts containing central business districts of Birmingham, Greenville, and Lexington. These census tract block groups were especially close to census tracts containing the central business districts of Lexington and Birmingham.

The University of Kentucky and Transylvania University at Lexington combined contained the highest number of students (32,075) compared to universities at Knoxville, Birmingham, Greenville, and Lexington. The University of Tennessee at Knoxville contained the second highest number of students (25,981). The University of Alabama at Birmingham contained the third highest number of students (15,081). Finally, Bob Jones University at Greenville contained the lowest number of students (4,500 to 5,000). The Governor's School for the Arts and Humanities in Greenville contained an additional 247 students.

Although the University of Alabama contained fewer students than universities at Knoxville and Lexington, the campus is more closely associated with the central business district of Birmingham than universities at Knoxville and Lexington. The campus stretches along Twentieth Street, the main street of central business district retail activity, and extends west.

In contrast, universities at Knoxville and Lexington border the central business district and are more removed from main streets of central business district retail activity. Further, Bob Jones University at Greenville is most significantly removed from the central business district in comparison to universities at Birmingham, Lexington, and Knoxville. While the Governor's School for the Arts and Humanities is in closer proximity to the central business district of Greenville, the educational facility contained significantly fewer students than other educational facilities within five miles of central business districts of cities of this study.

The distance of educational facilities from central business districts in each city may incorporate perceived or physical barriers between residential populations of those educational facilities and central business districts. Increased distance certainly allows for greater opportunity for such barriers. In Knoxville, an example of such a barrier between the central business district and the University of Tennessee is the World's Fair Park.

This potential problem of barriers may be applied to any residential population within five miles of central business districts. A separate study might focus on the degree to which barriers exist and impact the chain retail market of the central business district of Knoxville.

Finally, with the exception of chain retail stores in the central business district of Lexington, most chain retail stores for which dates could be obtained for this study within five miles of central business districts of this study opened after 1990. Dates for all chain retail stores in central business districts were not possible to obtain for this study. Further, no consideration of chain retail stores formerly located in central business districts was made in this study. A separate study might examine the opening and closing dates of chain stores in relation to changes in residential or other demographic markets.

In conclusion, in comparison to the central business districts of Birmingham, Greenville, and Lexington, the central business district of Knoxville contained a less supportive residential market in terms of population and income within five miles of the central business district in 1990 and 1998 to support the number and diversity of chain retail stores found in these central business districts. A market may also be drawn from working and tourist populations in the central business district of Knoxville; however, in order to develop a more supportive community residential chain retail market, per capita income or population must increase within five miles, especially within one mile, of the Knoxville central business district in order to raise total income to a level more attractive to chain retail stores.

Finally, the introduction of this thesis explained that new development of retail facilities in the central business district of Knoxville might serve as a potential solution for the problem of high vacancy of retail space in the central business district of Knoxville. A less supportive residential demographic market for chain retail stores surrounding the central business district of Knoxville in comparison to markets

surrounding the central business districts of Birmingham, Lexington, and Greenville hampers the potential of this solution.

Retail activity in the central business districts of Birmingham, Greenville, and Lexington contributes only minimally to activity in the entire central business districts. Chain retail stores do not significantly contribute to revitalization of the entire central business districts of Birmingham, Lexington, or Greenville. However, the potential amenity of chain retail stores in central business districts, especially in the context of other kinds of development, should not be overlooked in the central business district of Knoxville. Saturation of suburban chain retail markets may eventually lead to increased interest in central business district chain retail store site location. In addition to efforts to build residential, working, and tourist chain retail store markets surrounding the central business district of Knoxville, plans should be made for the accommodation of chain retail stores in the central business district of Knoxville. These plans might include aesthetic guidelines, management programs, and building and infrastructure renovations.

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