A NEW DOWNTOWN IN WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

A CASE STUDY OF THE

INTERMEDIATE COMMERCIAL DISTRICT

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INTERMEDIATE COMMERCIAL DISTRICT

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ABSTRACT

Urban areas have undergone significant changes in spatial form due to the suburbanization of Central Business District (CBD) functions. It is believed in many cases that CBD functions have relocated and flourished in commercial nodes located intermediately between the CBD and the urban fringe. The objectives of this study were to: (1) isolate one such "Intermediate Commercial District" (ICD), (2) develop a conceptual framework within which to assess the ICD as it is affected by changes in the commercial character of the total urban area over the period of analysis, and (3) assess the future viability of the ICD.

Functional analysis, the mapping and graphing of functional change through time, was employed to determine past and present changes within the research area. Determining the present and future viability of commercial activity in the area was assessed by administering a consumer behavior questionnaire to a sample of shoppers within the commercial district.

It was found that the commercial node began on the urban fringe and over a period of about twenty years, gradually increased in retail functions. As urban growth and the suburbanization process expanded functional limits of the city, the commercial district became internalized and continued to become more concentrated, incorporating functions other than retail that traditionally were viewed as exclusively housed within the CBD. As for the future, it appears that the ICD will see a continued expansion of its CBD functions, with its economic viability thus ensured.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express appreciation to my thesis committee members, Dr. Robert Reiman and Dr. Roger Winsor for their expert guidance in my preparation of this thesis. To my committee chairman, Dr. Ole Gade, I owe a special thanks for his patience, guidance and support in conducting research on this topic.

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CHAPTER I

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The spatial organization of cities undergoes continued change--change that is generated by complex social and economic forces. As a result, today's urban areas have in many cases a structure much different from that of the 1950s. Much of the reorganization of space within and around cities is attributed to geopraphic processes which have intensified in their impact in recent decades.

Deconcentration and the spread of urban functions to rural areas is one process that led to major changes in the American city. This began with the wide-spread introduction of the automobile in the 1920s and the process accelerated greatly since the late 1950s. Another major process that influenced the structure of urban areas was the decentralization of commerce and industry in the Central Business District.[1] For retailing, a significant development which influenced decentralization was the advent of planned shopping centers in the 1920s. However, their impact was not felt in a significant degree until the 1950s.[2]

As these two processes intensified a new urban form emerged, the suburb.[3] Muller expanded this somewhat older term into what he calls the "outer city" to indicate the importance of the function of the suburban area. He concluded that the single-core urban region was transformed into a widely dispersed multi-nodal area. This simply means that the city

experienced the evolution of commerical nodal areas throughout the urban region. These commerical nodes in varying degrees supplanted the traditional role of the Central Business District (CBD). For this reason center-periphery models of metropolitan spatial structure, which focused on the CBD as the dominant area of urban commercial activity, are no longer inclusive enough for the understanding of contemporary urban geography.[4] Berry and Cohen have also recognized that decentralization replaced centralization and the core orientation implied by the use of the term "central city."[5] They summarized their findings as follows:

> Today's urban systems appear to be multi-nodal, multi-connected social systems in action, in which the traditional centralization of the population into metropolitian areas has been counter balanced by a multi-faceted reverse thrust of decentralization.[6]

Baerwald characterized the rapid development along Suburban Freeway Corridors (SFC) as the functional successor of the CBD.[7] Although this was a realistic proposition and showed the importance of deconcentration in central cities, it is not necessarily true that the SFC is the major new commercial development area in all cities.

This brief overview of contemporary urban spatial change provides the basic framework for understanding the context of this research project. The purpose of this thesis is to gain a better understanding of the contemporary multi-nodal urban condition by isolating and investigating a specific commercial node in a suitable urban area; and by observing its evolving relationship to other nodes in the city.

A particular condition which exists in many places and may possibly be a consistent urban spatial phenomena is the presence of commercial districts which are located intermediately between the old city center

and the urban fringe. Much research is conducted on the CBD and its urban fringe, however, the intermediate commercial area(s) of the city seems largely to have been ignored. The Intermediate Commercial District (ICD) is herewith proposed as a meaningful concept characterizing the occurrence of major retail centers outside the CBD but within the central city.[8] The ICD is essentially a node of business functions of a size and complexity appropriate for giving the area the potential of becoming a new "downtown."

The city of Winston-Salem, N. C. appeared to have development patterns which parallel the historic suburbanization process. Also, it was sufficiently large enough to possess nodes of economic development which were easily recognizable. It was primarily for these reasons that Winston-Salem has been chosen as the case study area. In Winston-Salem major retail centers other than the CBD were identified by the U. S. Bureau of the Census as early as 1958.[9] By 1963 these included Thruway, Northside, and Parkway Plaza; and by 1972 Cloverdale Plaza, Reynolda Manor, and Park View were added (Figure 1.1).[10] The specific area (ICD) delineated for research in this thesis comprises the two major retail centers of Thruway and Cloverdale, identified on Figure 1.1 as reference 2 and 5, and on Figure 1.2 in terms of the ICD's location relative to the CBD and the new Hanes regional shopping mall.

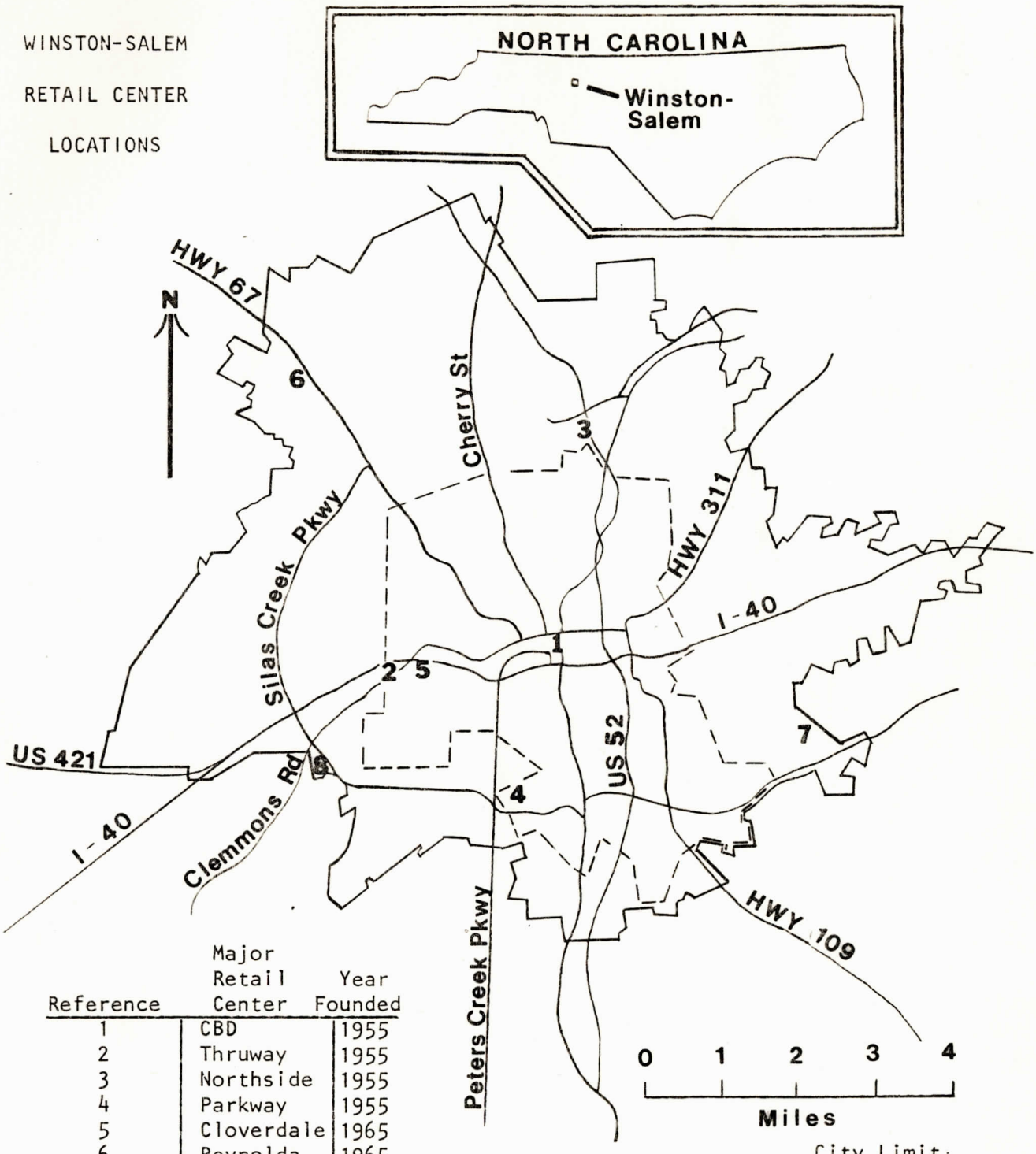
Commercial Sprawl and Decentralization of Retailing Functions

Decentralization, deconcentration, and thus suburbanization, in Winston-Salem seems to reflect the national pattern. Muller points out that the arrival and diffusion of large shopping centers accounts for the expansion of postwar suburban retailing. "In the late forties and early

WINSTON-SALEM

RETAIL CENTER

LOCATIONS



Reference	Major Retail Center	Year Founded
1	CBD	1955
2	Thruway	1955
3	Northside	1955
4	Parkway	1955
5	Cloverdale	1965
6	Reynolda	1965
7	Park View	1965
8	Hanes Mall	1974

FIGURE 1.1

Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1963 Census of Business, Vol. 3, Major Retail Center Statistics, pt. 2; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1972 Census of Retail Trade, Vol. 3, Major Retail Center Statistics, pt. 2.

THRUWAY-CLOVERDALE ICD RELATIVE TO THE CBD AND HANES MALL-CITY LIMIT

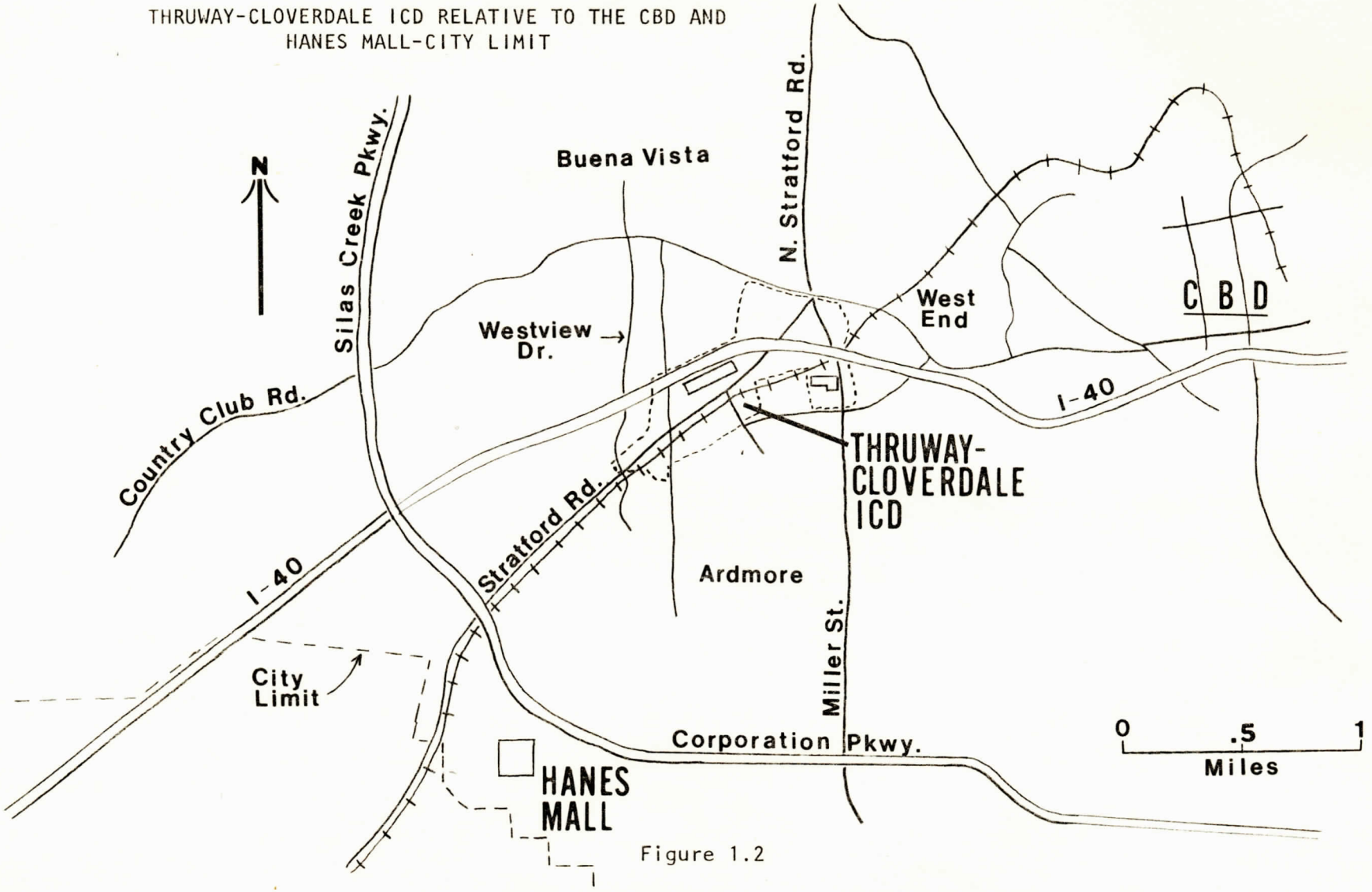


Figure 1.2

Source: Modified by author from land use map from "Travel Demands and Recommended Transportation Plan," by Wilbur Smith and Associates, 1968.

fifties outlying retail centers spread slowly . . . as consumer and retailer ties to the CBD were relinquished reluctantly."[11] This is consistent with the emergence of the outlying shopping center development in Winston-Salem (Figure 1.1).

Concerning the evolution of major retail centers it was appropriate to review the classification scheme developed by Epstein. This was based on the shift of retail developers from following suburban development to leading it into an undeveloped area. Consequent and catalytic were the two terms he used to describe this development pattern. Consequent commercial sprawl involved the concentration of development as a result of an observed, established market potential; whereas catalytic commercial sprawl was characterized by the large shopping center which produced commercial concentration and was related to settlement patterns and highway systems.[12] In general, during the 1960s retail deconcentration shifted from the consequent stage of development to the catalytic stage.[13] This meant that speculative commercial developers built in undeveloped outlying areas from the CBD in hopes of luring suburban development around them. It was difficult to classify the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD as consequent or catalytic; however, it appeared that the Thruway retail center at its start was catalytic. During 1964 a sizable addition to Thruway put it more into the classification of consequent. Due to Cloverdale's proximity to an older and more highly developed area it was classified as consequent. A good example of catalytic development and typical of the super-regional mall of the 1970s, was the construction of Hanes Mall in 1974 (Figure 1.2).[14]

In the fifteen largest metropolitan areas of the United States the trend for deconcentration of retailing was accelerating. Total Standard

Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) retail sales between 1963 and 1972 rose from 43.5 to 65 percent.[15] This compared to a broader range of increase for Winston-Salem of 18 to 72 percent (Table 1.1).[16] Winston-Salem can, therefore, be established as a characteristic study area in regard to the suburbanization process for research purposes.

TABLE 1.1

SELECTED DATA ON THE DECONCENTRATION OF RETAIL COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY IN WINSTON-SALEM

		1958	1963	1972
Total retail sales in millions	SMSA	190	242	1624
	City	165	199	464
	CBD	81	86	38
Total employees	SMSA	*	9009	33279
	City	*	7684	11336
	CBD	*	3678	2795
CBD sales as percent of City sales		49	43	19
CBD sales as percent of SMSA sales		42	36	6

Note: Asterisks indicate data unavailable.
Sources: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1963 Census of Business, Vol. 3, Major Retail Center Statistics, part 2; and U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1972 Census of Retail Trade, Vol. 3, Major Retail Center Statistics, part 2.

Emergence of the Thruway-Cloverdale Intermediate Commercial District

A major reason for supporting the proposition that ICD's are a consistent urban spatial phenomena is the development of the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD parallel with known historical suburban development patterns. The diffusion of planned shopping centers in Winston-Salem during 1959 is a good example. Thruway retail center was built in 1952 as one of the first planned shopping centers in Winston-Salem. The national trend was to orient these centers to more affluent sectors

of cities, before the idea further diffused to lower-income suburbs.[17] The southwest portion of Winston-Salem contained two of the largest and most prosperous neighborhoods of the city. In succeeding years several other major planned community shopping centers were built (Figure 1.1). As indicated on Figure 1.1 these included Northside (1955), Parkway (1955), Reynolda (1966), and Park View (1966). These are examples of the shopping center idea diffusing to lower-income suburbs during later time intervals.

As the suburbanization process continued and the periphery of Winston-Salem expanded, developers once again built a shopping center. This time a regional mall (Hanes Mall) was built (1974) in close proximity to the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD. The ICD already intermediate in terms of location relative to the CBD and urban fringe, resulting from city limit extention, now became intermediate in terms of commercial areas. The decentralization effect of the new mall was to remove major retailers from the CBD including the large department stores of J. C. Penny and Sears Roebuck. The mall also incorporated some of the same stores as those residing in Thruway retail center. These facts would seem to predict doom for the CBD and Thruway-Cloverdale ICD. That this was not the case for the ICD with Hanes Mall in operation for approximately five years, may be because of the restructuring of economic functions which must have been the key for success. Muller pointed out that nodes in multi-nodal cities offer attractive locational oppotunity for CBD activities such as corporate headquarters and financial institutes.[18] This was the development trend for the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD. Though time and purpose did not permit an indepth examination of the effect upon the CBD, it was obvious that a determination of past and current growth patterns would yield a better understanding of the ICD's evolution

vis-a-vis all multi-nodal areas. Such understanding may aid in resolving the problems of the contemporary CBD.

Many new businesses have moved into the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD, incorporating functions more commonly associated with CBD's. These included: banks, savings and loan offices, corporate headquarters, and administrative offices. Conversely, the retail component of the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD was a declining influence because of increased competition from Hanes Mall.

Statistics from the 1963 Census of Business and the 1972 Census of Retail Trade supported the contention that the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD was a major center of economic development (Table 1.2).[19] A comparison of Thruway Shopping Center to Northside Shopping Center and Parkway Plaza Shopping Center (Table 1.2), in 1963, indicated that in terms of total sales Thruway conducted approximately half the amount of the business. In 1972 however, Thruway had grown in physical size, Cloverdale had been built on a nearby site, and the combined sales volume made the ICD the largest shopping area in the city. The decentralization of retail trade was further evidenced by comparing the percent of CBD sales of the total city sales, which for the years 1958, 1963, and 1972 was 49, and 19.1 percent, respectively.[20]

Research Design

The trend of research in the spatial organization of urban areas has shifted in the past twenty years. The investigations of urban economic functions have changed from analyzing spatial form to striving for a better understanding of evolving economically symbiotic relationships. As Cook stated: ". . . there has been increasing concern for dynamic spatial

interrelationships and systems growth and change."[17]

TABLE 1.2

SELECTED DATA ON THE GROWTH OF MAJOR RETAIL AREAS IN WINTSON-SALEM

	1963	1972
Thruway Shopping Center		
Total stores	24	40
Total sales (dollars)	5,481,000	29,389,000
Cloverdale Shopping Center		
Total stores	*	13
Total sales (dollars)	*	8,978,000
Northside Shopping Center		
Total stores	24	23
Total sales (dollars)	9,062,000	12,867,000
Parkway Plaza Shopping Center		
Total stores	27	33
Total sales (dollars)	10,553,000	28,801,000

*Not developed
Sources: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1962 Census of Business, Vol. 3, Major Retail Center Statistics, part 2; and U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1972 Census of Retail Trade Vol. 3, Major Retail Center Statistics, part 2.

Robson suggested that empirical historical data concerning the evolution of city regions, derived through case studies, was needed for a more complete understanding of urban growth.[22] Since metropolitan areas were in a seemingly continued state of growth and decline, specific case studies could provide valuable data for further understanding, and predicting such urban change. In addition, they may provide solutions as well as raise new questions concerning urban problems.

It was toward this view that the study of the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD was conducted. Though there may be many other intermediate economic areas similar to this one which would be just as appropriate for research purposes,

the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD was chosen since the writer was a recent employee of a Thruway business and therefore possesses in-depth knowledge concerning the character of recent changes.

Although there appeared to be an abundance of literature on urban market areas, shopping centers, central business districts, and the urban fringe, there was generally only casual reference to that economic space existing between major shopping areas unless it was classified as either a commercial strip or nodal area. Berry was one of the few researchers to note the existence of the Intermediate Commercial District:

> Regional functions of highest threshold are at the core (in urban places) . . . . at the periphery are personal service establishments of neighborhood level. The intermediate zone contains a mixture of regional and community level uses.[23]

Baerwald described a similar phenomena found on the urban periphery by his interpretation of Suburban Freeway Corridors (SFC).[24] Muller also addressed the trend of multi-nodality in urban places by referring to them as "suburban minicities."[25]

This research was conducted to add to the meager store of case studies of urban spatial dynamics. The objective of the study was to trace the spatial and temporal development of the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD, for a better understanding of the evolution of and change within intermediate commercial districts. An historical assessment provided a detailed picture of the composite economic activities in this area during its development.

From this research objective, four hypotheses were formulated.

Hypothesis A: The Thruway-Cloverdale area constitutes an intermediate commercial district characteristic of continually expanding urban places.[26] While this was a unique condition in Winston-Salem it may also have been

typical of other metropolitan cities; therefore, it was appropriate to introduce a new descriptive term such as "intermediate commercial district" to refer to this spatial phenomena.

Rationale: It was viewed that the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD began as a compact shopping area in the urban fringe when Thruway Shopping Center was built in early 1950. Since then the urban fringe moved outward from the CBD leaving the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD in a position intermediate between the urban fringe and the CBD. During the development period it was overrun by urban expansion which included the incorporation of many centralized functions other than strictly retail activities that were characteristic to major shopping areas which became internalized by urban expansion.

Procedure: Assessing this hypothesis involved two research steps. First, the area occupied by the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD was delimited, based upon the criteria of economic function and recognized as intermediate by showing its location relative to the urban fringe and CBD. This was a functional analysis technique which Dickinson explained as: ". . . classification and mapping of land uses, of building types, of industry and commerce, of the density, and occupations of the population, and of the density of traffic on roads and at nodal points."[27] Functional analysis was used to the extent of classifying land uses on a base map for the purpose of delimiting the area.

The second step for assessing Hypothesis A required a historical analysis of the study area. This analysis followed the evolution of the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD as it appeared on the urban fringe at earlier points in time and its continued growth to what was the urban fringe

during the study period, thus showing how it acquired its intermediate position. This technique required the development of a series of maps indicating functional change over a time period of twenty-five years. The maps were corroborated by field investigation.

Hypothesis B: An intermediate commercial district, in order to remain viable in the face of continued urban change, will reflect a continuity of change in its economic structure. To effectively assess this hypothesis it was necessary to break it into sequential parts.

1. From the initial stage of development as it evolves in the periphery as a regional center, the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD is dominated by retail functions

2. During a transitional time period as the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD begins to occupy a more intermediate position, its economic functions start to include more functions other than retail.

3. In the face of competition from a major new regional shopping mall in the urban fringe, retail functions in the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD change in the following ways: (1) In the relative importance to banking and administrative type functions, and (2) in the structure of retail functions.[28]

Rationale: Since the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD continued to be viable and operated as an economic area, then historical functional change within the area was likely to hold the key to understanding its viability. Evidence of these changes were documented and used to assess Hypothesis B.

Procedure: Economic changes that occured within the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD were shown graphically, using a time series graph to represent the functional base during the study period. The classification of

functions as low threshold, high threshold, retail, and non-retail at different time periods during evolution, was also used to determine whether or not the conditions existed as hypothesized.

Hypothesis C: If previous hypotheses are found to be supportable, then the combination of retail functions with other functions will cause a spatial differentation within the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD so that functions are located discretely.

Rationale: Spatially, the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD seemed to resemble the organization of a CBD. By classifying functions on the base map, sections which might be classified as "nodal" in character emerged within the area. Nodal areas were defined as centers possessing centralized functions closely associated with the surrounding settlement.[29]

Procedure: A map of present functions in the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD, in conjunction with derived consumer behavior data, was used to assess Hypothesis C (Appendix 1 is a copy of the consumer behavior questionnaire which was administered to a sample of shoppers from Thruway Shopping Center). A questionnaire, in conjunction with a survey conducted by Bellomy-Carrigg, was used to analyze consumer decision to patronize Thruway.[30]

Hypothesis D: The The Thruway-Cloverdale ICD will continue to grow with the inmigration of functions characteristic to CBD's.

Procedure: Consumer satisfaction, measured by the consumer behavior questionnaire, was used to assess Hypothesis D. The extent to which people within Thruway Shopping Center were satisfied in terms of the functions present indicated the immediate changes which must occur for the area to remain economically viable. Historic data, coupled with consumer

behavior data, provided information necessary to make a reasonably accurate prediction of the future structure of activities within the study area.

Summary

By monitoring business functions over time and across space, it was possible to derive an understanding of the evolution of and change within the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD. Historical information, in combination with input from those directly involved in the operation of Thruway as a commercial district, provided necessary data for assessing past, present and future restructuring of the area.

Findings of the study are used to assess the following conditions:

(1) the future viability of the CBD
(2) the potential changes for the regional shopping
(3) existing urban growth models
(4) the degree to which the ICD idea, and the conceptual framework provided in this thesis, can be generalized and applied to other intermediate commercial areas.

Chapter II begins the detailed historical analysis of the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD. This part of the study was directed toward recounting the major events in developing the area through time. Included are comparisons of the area with the urban fringe and comparisons of functional change during evolution.

Chapter III present the methodology and results of the consumer questionnaire. Since a survey was done recently for Thruway Shopping Center by Bellomy-Carrigg (January 1978), comparisons were made to their conclusions.

Finally, Chapter IV presents the summary of findings and conclusions with some predicitions of the future for the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD and comments on directions for future research.

ENDNOTES

[1]Deconcentration refers to the general increase of people or activity in the suburbs with respect to the central city; decentralization refers to the specific relocation of people and activities from city to suburb. Peter O. Muller, The Outer City: Geographical Consequences of the Urbanization of the Suburbs, Resource Paper No. 75-2 (Washington, D. C.: Association of American Geographers, 1976), p. 1.

[2]Brian J. L. Berry and Yehoshua S. Cohen, "Decentralization of Commerce and Industry: The Restructuring of Metropolitan America," in The Urbanization of the Suburbs, eds. Louis H. Masotti and Jeffrey K. Hadden, Vol. 7, (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications for Urban Affairs Annual Review, 1973), p. 451.

[3]Suburb: A settlement of urban or semi-urban density which is near, and perhaps adjacent to a large urban settlement; Norval D. Glenn, "Suburbanization in the United States Since World War II," in The Urbanization of the Suburbs, eds. Louis H. Masotti and Jeffrey K. Hadden, Vol. 7, (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications for Urban Affairs Annual Review, 1973), pp. 51-52

[4]Muller, The Outer City, p. 1.

[5]Berry and Cohen use the concept of central city to connote only that portion of the city normally defined as the CBD. The U. S. Bureau of the Census definition, used in the remainder of this paper defines the central city as that area bounded by the city's corporate limits.

[6]Berry and Cohen, "Decentralization of Commerce and Industry," p. 453.

[7]Thomas J. Baerwald, "The Emergence of a New 'Downtown'," Geographical Review (July 1978): 308.

[8]The center, however, frequently includes functions other than retail and therefore deserves the more comprehensive nomenclature.

[9]U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1963 Census of Business, Vol. 3, Major Retail Center Statistics, pt. 2, pp. 115/ - 10.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Muller, The Outer City, p.29.

[12]Bart J. Epstein, "The Trading Function," in Metropolis on the Move: Geographers Look at Urban Sprawl, eds. Jean Gottman and Robert A. Harper (N. Y.: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), pp. 94, 97.

[13]Muller, The Outer City, p. 29.

[14]Super-regional Mall: Planned shopping centers with three or more large department stores (anchor stores) with a floorspace in excess of 300,000 square feet which serve clientele on a regional basis as opposed to a clientele from a neighborhood or community.

[15]Muller, The Outer City, p. 29.

[16]Census data for 1972 compares the city of Winston-Salem with the Greensboro, Winston-Salem and High Point SMSA.

[17]Berry and Cohen, "Decentralization of Commerce and Industry," p. 451.

[18]Muller, The Outer City, p. 40.

[19]U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1963 Census of Business, Vol. 3, Major Retail Center Statistics, pt. 2, pp. 34/26 - 40.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Gillian Cook, Spatial Dynamics of Business Growth in the Witwatersrand (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 1.

[22]Brian T. Robson, Urban Growth: An Approach (London: Methuen and Co., 1973), p. 87.

[23]Brian J. L. Berry, Geography of Market Centers and Retail Distributions (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967), p. 51.

[24]Baerwald, "Emergence of a New 'Downtown'," p.308.

[25]Muller, The Outer City, p. 40.

[26]In general this includes Thruway Shopping Center, Cloverdale Shopping Center, and commercial activities near these two centers along South Stratford Road and Miller Street.

[27]Robert E. Dickinson, "The Scope and Status of Urban Geography," in Readings in Urban Geography, eds. Clyde F. Kohn and Harold M. Mayer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 17.

[28]Administrative type functions include office building space and those businesses or services that locate in such space. By structure of retail functions, it is meant that the dominant types of retail stores have changed to provide the needs of a neighborhood clientele.

[29]Dickinson, "Scope and Status of Urban Geography," p. 13.

[30]Bellomy-Carrigg, Inc., Shopping Center Attitude and Usage Survey, Winston-Salem, 1978.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF STUDY AREA

The procedure and techniques discussed in this chapter relevant to the data gathered for this thesis were used for the purposes of assessing Hypothesis A, B, and C. In general, this included the delineation of the area and subsequent development of a base map with a representation of functional development and change through time. Another map was devised to show the relationship of the ICD to the CBD and city limit through time for the assessment of Hypothesis A. Also included in this chapter is an explanation of the time series graphs which illustrate functional data for the assessment of Hypothesis B.

Delineation of the Study Area

The basis for delineation of the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD was the concentration of commercial functions. Generally, this lead to clear-cut boundaries. Most of the area to the north and south of the ICD was residential (the neighborhoods of Buena Vista to the north and Ardmore to the south) which prevented expansion in those directions (Figure 1.2). The boundary on the east was not as clearly defined since residential and commercial activity existed intermittently, however, the delineation was made since business activity was not as concentrated. Commercial activity also existed farther south on South Stratford Road, towards and up to Hanes Mall, but the boundary was made at about Westview Drive

based on the following: commercial activity was less concentrated and, commercial activity was more highway and thus strip oriented.[1]

A detailed map of the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD revealed two factors which led to the spatial structure present during the study period (Figure 2.1). These were the existence of the railroad track and Interstate 40 which acted as physical barriers. In the case of Thruway-Cloverdale ICD these transporation modes had influenced development. Interstate 40 was a restricting force for development to the north. It may have been the obstacle preventing the two neighborhoods of Admore and Buena Vista from merging prior to economic development in the area. The railroad on the south edge of the ICD was also a major inhibiting factor being located close to South Stratford Road on the east portion of the area. This resulted in limited development on the southeast side of South Stratford Road. Even though the railroad was a major inhibitor of development, Knollwood Street, Oakwood Drive, and Miller Street provided adequate access to overcome this barrier within the Thruway-Colverdale ICD. The result was the development of what may be called sub-nodal type areas (Figure 2.1).

Specifically, the sub-nodal areas developed in the following sequence: initially (1) Cloverdale-Plaza Area, during 1965-1968; then (2) Knollwood Street Area, during 1966-1970; and then (3) Oakwood Drive Area, during 1970-1978. The general construction dates for commercial structures in the places indicated above reflected the ICD expansion beyond the railroad barrier.

A Comparison of Retail Development With the Expanding Functional City

The evolution of retail centers in Winston-Salem followed the general trend of suburbanization in the nation of building shopping centers at

the edge of the old city.[2] From Figure 1.1 it can be seen that in the mid-1950s when the major shopping centers of Thruway, Northside, and Parkway Plaza were built, their construction sites were located on or near the city limit. A decade later Reynolda Manor and Park View were constructed when their sites were at the city's edge. This was similar to the case for the siting of Hanes Mall in 1974.

The development of Cloverdale Plaza was the one exception to this pattern of change in Winston-Salem. The city grew leaving Thruway Shopping Center in an internalized situation, and, as retail census data indicated (Table 1.2), the retail growth rate of Thruway was substantially greater than other shopping areas of the city. It appeared that Thruway, during 1968 had reached the point that it was economically feasible for expansion and thus Cloverdale Plaza was built. This did not follow the traditional pattern of the suburbanization process. It might, however be an indicator of what can be expected in ICD's.

By 1968 the Thruway area had become an Intermediate Commercial District since the city's edge had expanded well beyond Thruway's boundary. Also, the development of Cloverdale Plaza had added much retail trade to the ICD and greatly accelerated the growth rate in response to the expanding marked potential (Figure 1.1, Figure 1.2). This sequence of events can be fitted to the classification scheme developed by Epstein in which he classified areas built as a result of an observed established market as consequent development.[3] It would seem that in ICD's, consequent development as proposed by Esptein is likely to result with the lack of spatial constraints. In the case of Cloverdale Shopping Center, the site was an open field prior to development.

It was established in Chapter I that the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD

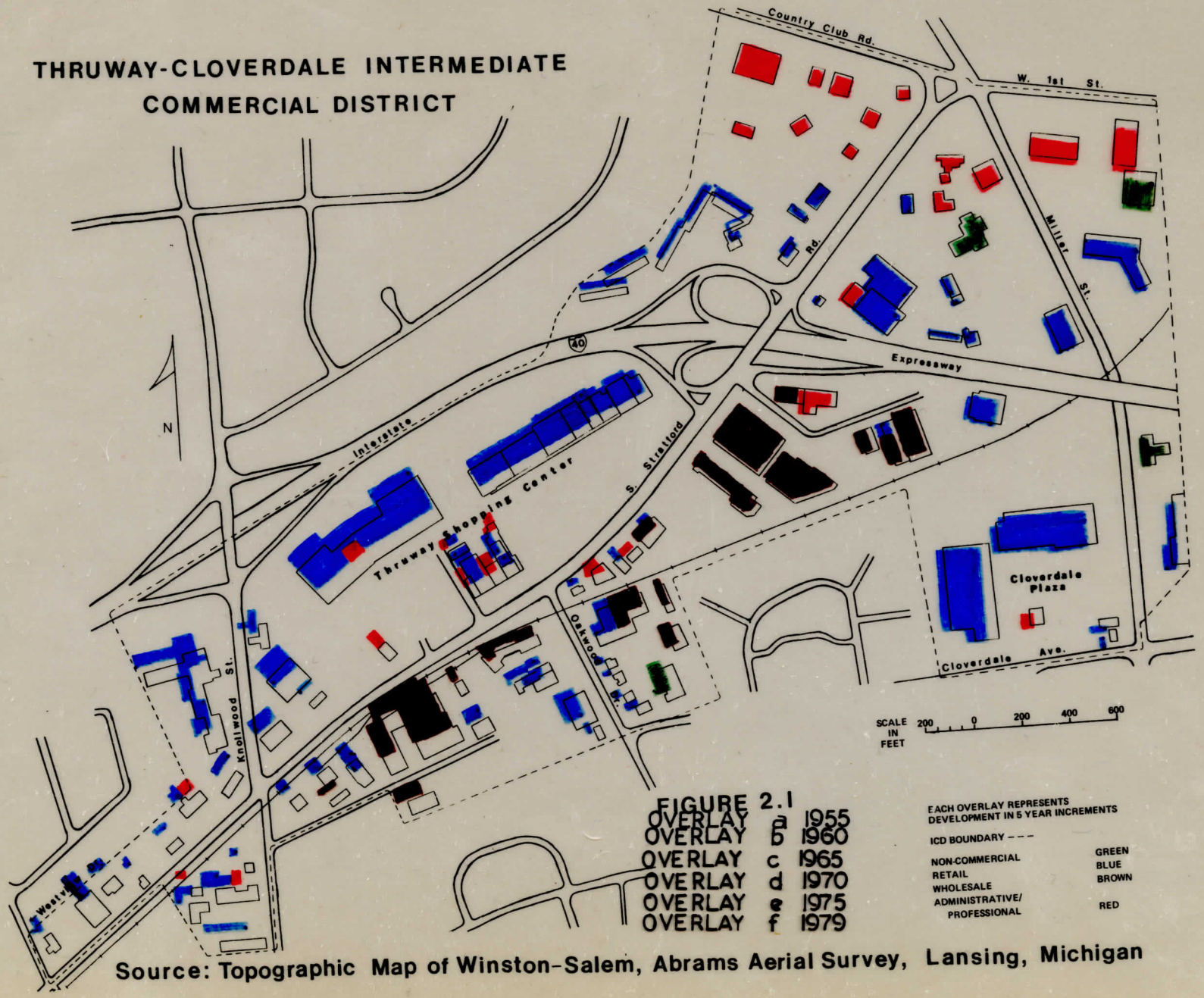
became the largest retail shopping area in Winston-Salem (Tables 1.1 and 1.2). Figure 1.1 clearly shows the time frames that placed the ICD in an internalized position and the relationship to other shopping areas in the city. These characteristics fulfill the criteria required for an area to be classified as an ICD and strongly support Hypothesis A which restated was: The Thruway area constitutes an intermediate commercial district characteristic of continually expanding urban places.

Illustration of Functions Through Time by Mapping

Functional change over time was illustrated by several methods in order to make valid comparisons of the data. The first method used was the map (Figure 2.1) which indicated functional growth from 1950 to 1979 in the three general commercial categories of (1) wholesaling (2) retailing, and (3) professional/administrative. The category "other" included churches, lodges, and parking decks which supported but did not contribute to the commercial nature of the ICD. Functional data for the map and other illustrations was gathered by field research and by studying property appraisal records in the Winston-Salem Tax Office.

Data were gathered for the category professional/administrative with the category divided into its two components. However, after looking at the two groups of data it seemed more appropriate to aggregate them. The retail functional data were gathered in subcategories for determining discrete spatial locations of functions, and will be analyzed at a later point.

Figure 2.1 depicts three variables, all of which were interdependent; they must be analyzed in conjunction with one another to show the complete picture. The variables were as follows: (1) types of functions, (2) spatial



Source: Topographic Map of Winston-Salem, Abrams Aerial Survey, Lansing, Michigan

location of functions, and (3) inception of functions. The base map (includes Overlay a) shows the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD as it was in 1955. Prior to 1950 the functions present were inconsequential, consisting of two wholesale establishments, one of which was still in existence, during the study period and a retail business. As each of the overlays is added the sequential progression of development of the functional groups, both spatially and historically, can be observed. It should be noted that functional changes subsequent to initial development were not illustrated on the overlays. In any case, these were very minor in nature and of no consequence in this illustration of overall patterns.

Several developmental patterns, which closely follow the sub-urbanization process, were seen in the ICD. First, wholesale functions occurred in the area prior to major retail development, which was consistent with development in urban fringe areas. Wholesaling generally requires large areas of space in close proximity to market areas, and requires low overhead expense. The wholesaling function continued moderately through 1960. However, the time period 1960 - 1965 indicated a noticeable increase of the retail function. The retail function continued to gain at a slower rate through 1970. The remaining time increments shown by the overlays of 1970 to 1975 (Overlay e), and 1975 to 1979 (Overlay f), indicated a substantial gain of the administrative/professional functions.

Figure 2.1 with all the overlays in place portrays some discrete aspects of functional location. For example, the wholesaling function was located along the railroad track on property within the ICD which was least accessible to consumer traffic.

The administrative/professional functions although scattered through-

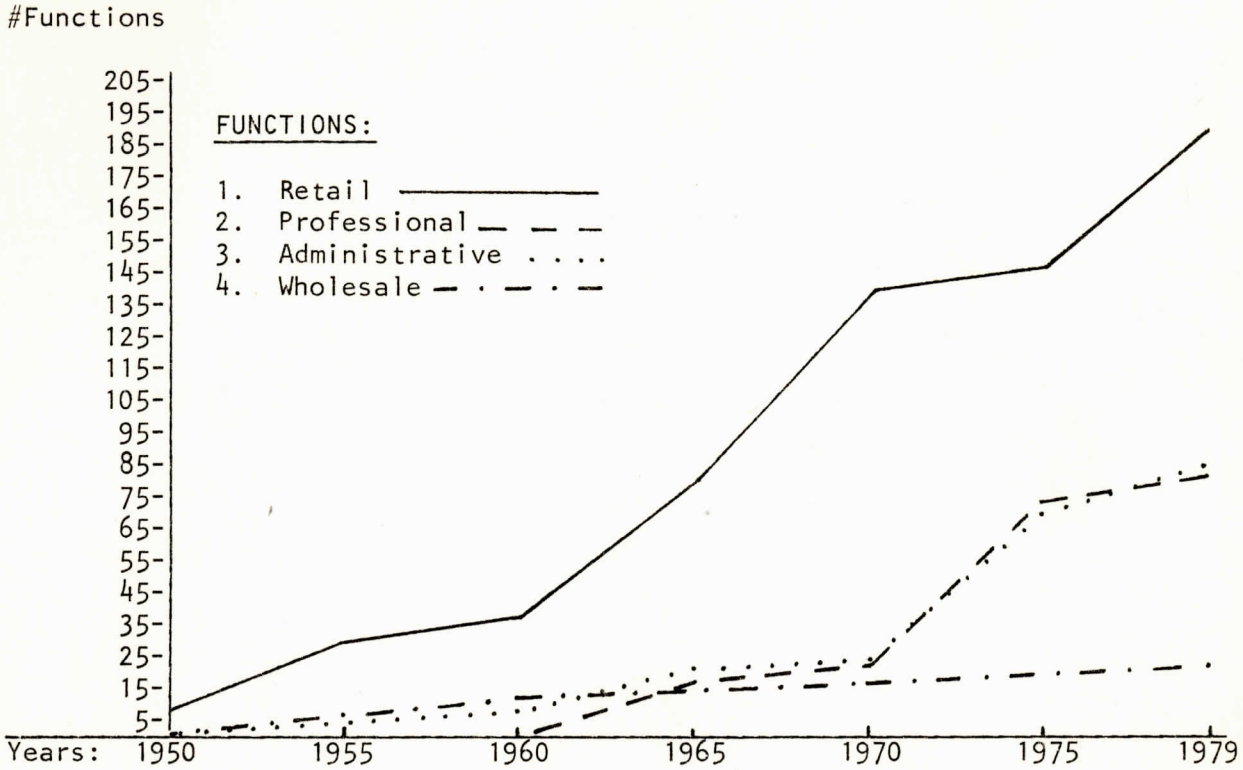
out the ICD, had their greatest concentration on the property shown in the northeast corner of the map. Since this type of development occurred mainly since 1970 it was a good indication of the deconcentration of these functions within the CBD. Normally, these functions are generally located exclusively in the CBD. This supported recent theories of the suburbanization process which proposed that "downtowns" are moving to the suburbs.[4] Unlike the administrative/professional and wholesale functions, the retail functions were not located discretely.

Graphic Illustration of Functions Through Time

A second method used for illustrating the functional data was by time series graphs (Figures 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4). Figure 2.2 indicates the growth of retail, professional, administrative, and wholesale growth through time. The retail function is clearly shown as the leading growth function, especially during the years 1960, 1970, and 1975-79. Wholesaling increased only moderately, as might be expected in an area which was becoming more intensely dominated by retail activities. This resulted from increased property values making wholesaling overhead costs uneconomical. The administrative and professional functions tended to increase at a constant rate. The graph indicates that they do show substantial growth from 1970 to 1979 as was shown on the map.

A time series graph (Figure 2.3) was devised to indicate growth with the administrative and professional functions combined. This was done since they had a similar growth rate and were considered as traditional CBD functions. The combination of these functions showed more clearly the acceleration of growth of these functions within the ICD since 1970.

FIGURE 2.2

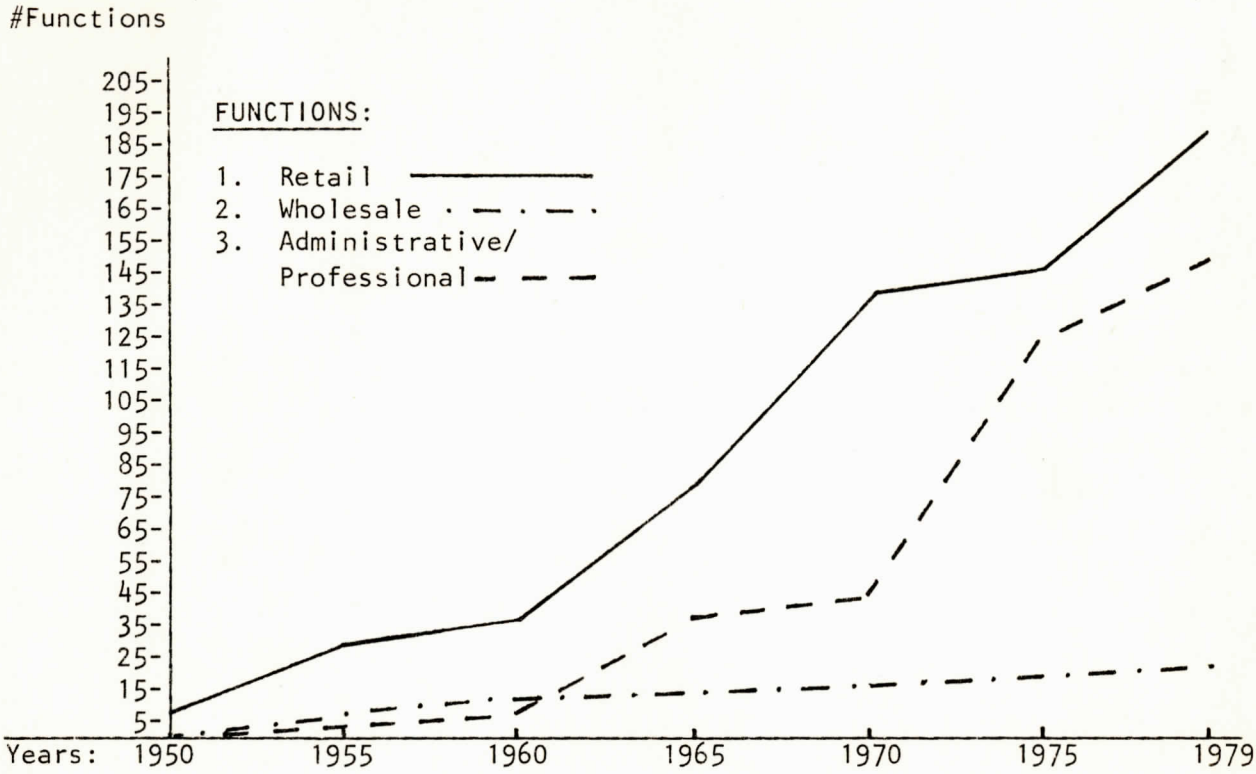


Comparative Functional Growth of the Retail, Wholesale, Professional and Administrative Functions for the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD.

Source: Calculated from field research data gathered by author.

A time series graph (Figure 2.4) showing comparative retail functional growth also revealed an expected growth rate. The "other" category included the following functions: (1) food, (2) lumber/building, (3) hardware, (4) funriture/household, and (5) automobile sales. The higher threshold functions, i.e. businesses requiring more customer traffic in order to survive economically, included in subgroup 2 show a substantial amount of growth since 1965. This group of functions includes specialty shops such as pottery stores, camera stores, gift shops, and so forth. Since it was hypothesized that the ICD assumed many of the roles the CBD once held exclusively, it was expected (as the graph shows) that the more specialized retail functions would locate there.

FIGURE 2.3



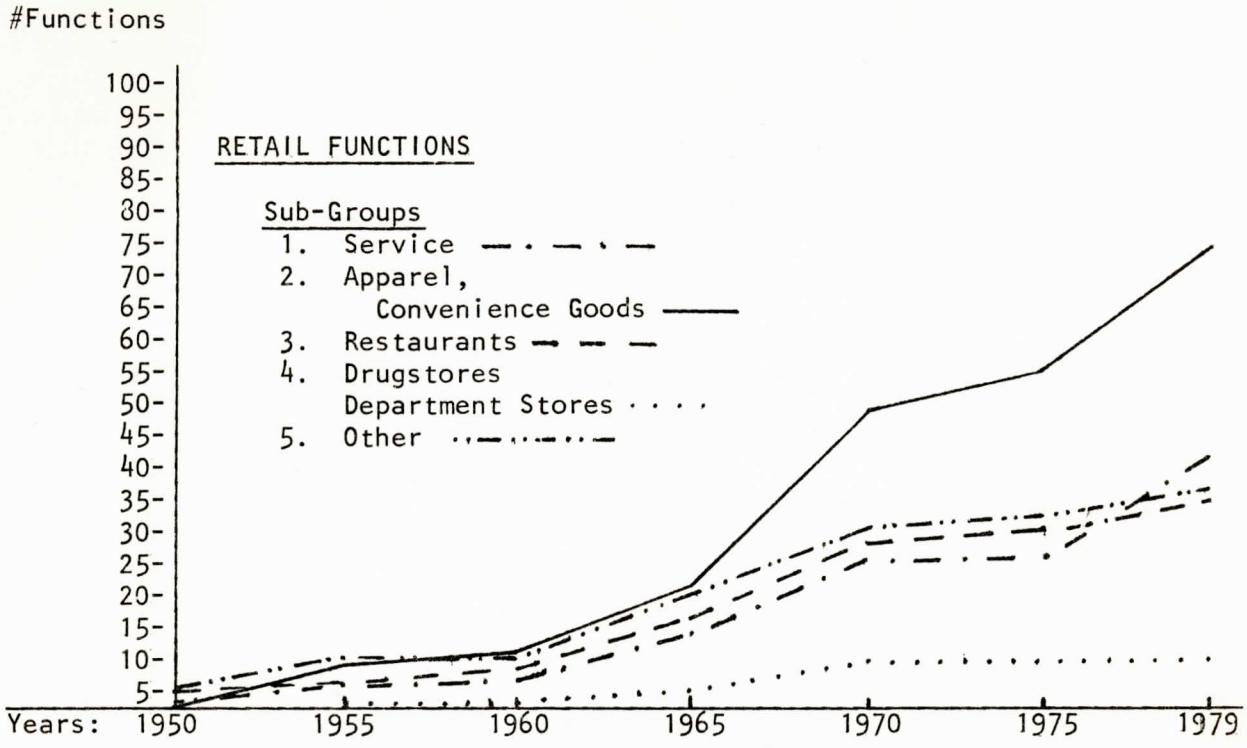
Comparative Functional Growth of Retail, Wholesale, Professional/ Administrative Functions for the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD.

Source: Calculated from field research data gathered by author.

Numerical Representation of Functional Growth Through Time

The third method of illustrating the functional data was with tables showing numerical increases through time. Table 2.1 was devised to show growth during five year increments, each of which was expressed as the percentage of increase compared with 1950. The one exception on this table is professional growth, which did not occur in the area until 1965, and, therefore was shown as a percentage increase compared with 1965. This clearly shows that administrative/professional functions increased at the highest rate compared to their original number. That function increased 7300 percent, most of which occurred in 1970 to 1979.

FIGURE 2.4



Comparative Retail Functional Growth for the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD

Source: Calculated from field research data gathered by author.

TABLE 2.1

THRUWAY-CLOVERDALE ICD: GROWTH PERCENTAGES BASED ON FUNCTIONS PRESENT IN 1950

Functions	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1979
Wholesale	4*	175	250	350	400	425	475
Retail	6*	433	717	1400	2283	2467	3117
Professional	0*	0*	0*	14*	135	443	514
Administrative	2*	250	350	900	1000	2900	3700
Administrative/ Professional	2*	250	350	2500	1950	6000	7300

Note: Functional Growth expressed as percent of growth by year compared to original number of functions present in 1950. Asterisked numbers represent number of establishments. Percentages for Professional growth calculated from year 1965.
Source: Calculated from Table 2.3.

In terms of percentage growth from one time increment to the next (Table 2.2), the administrative/professional functions made their biggest gains in 1965 and 1975 when they increased from 78 percent and 68 percent respectively. This compared with a retail gain of 49 percent and 7 percent for the same time increments. Table 2.3 illustrates the growth through time by the actual number of functions in each category during the five year increments. The administrative/professional gains in this table are consistent with Tables 2.1 and 2.2. These facts support the proposition that these "downtown" functions were indeed emerging and flourishing in an area other than the CBD. This was consistent with the suburbanization process, which included the deconcentration of basic CBD functions to suburban areas.

TABLE 2.2

THRUWAY-CLOVERDALE ICD: GROWTH PERCENTAGES BY FIVE YEAR INTERVALS

Functions	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1979
Wholesale	4*	42	30	29	13	6	11
Retail	6*	77	40	49	39	7	21
Professional	0*	0	0	100	26	69	14
Administrative	2*	60	29	61	1	66	22
Administrative/ Professional	2*	60	29	78	18	68	18

Note: Functional Growth expressed as percent of growth compared to previous growth interval. Asterisked numbers represent number of establishments.
Source: Calculated from Table 2.3.

In this chapter the spatial and temporal aspects of the functional growth data for the area were assessed by illustrating sequential change. The data was represented by the use of maps, time series graphs, and numerical growth tables. In each case the results were supportive of Hypotheses A, B, and C. Findings of Hypothesis A were establised previously. The remaining Hypotheses B and C are restated below:

Hypothesis B: An ICD, in order to remain viable in the face of continued urban change, will reflect a continuity of change in its economic structure.

1. From the initial stage of development as it evolves in the periphery as a regional center, the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD is dominated by retail functions.

2. During a transitional time period as the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD begins to occupy a more intermediate position, its economic functions started to include more functions other than retail.

3. In the face of competition from a major new regional shopping mall in the urban fringe, retail functions in the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD change in the following ways: (1) In the relative importance to banking and administrative type functions, and (2) In the structure of retail functions.

Hypothesis C: The combination of retail functions with other functions will cause a spatial differentation within the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD so that the functions are located discretely.

TABLE 2.3

THRUWAY-CLOVERDALE ICD: FUNCTIONAL GROWTH THROUGH TIME

Functions	1950	1955		1960		1965		1970		1975		1979	
	#	#	CT	#	CT	#	CT	#	CT	#	CT	#	CT
Wholesale	6	20	28	17	43	41	84	53	137	11	148	39	187
Retail	4	3	7	3	10	4	14	2	16	1	17	2	19
Professional	0	0		0		14		5	19	43	62	10	72
Administrative	2	3	5	2	7	11	18	2	20	38	58	16	74
Administrative/ Professional	2	3	5	2	7	25	32	7	39	81	120	26	146

Note: # columns represent the actual number of businesses in that category.
CT columns represent cumulative totals.
Sounce: Tabulated from field data collected by author.

Summary

Functional data shown by the map (Figure 2.1) and the time series graphs (Figures 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4), establishes the domination of the retail component of the ICD up until 1970. From this the initial segment of Hypothesis B was concluded to be supportive. By utilizing information from the above mentioned map and graphs it has been shown that from 1970 to present the administrative/professional commercial component increased markedly. Table 2.2 indicates a growth rate for administrative/professional functions of 69 percent from 1970 to 1975, compared with 7 percent for retail functions during the same time span. The time series graph (Figure 2.3) reveals the consistent increase of high threshold functions. All of the afore mentioned data supports the latter segments of Hypothesis B. From this it was concluded that Hypothesis B is supportable as stated.

The map (Figure 2.1) shows discrete locations of retail, wholesale, amd administrative/professional functions and thus it was concluded that Hypothesis C was also supportable.

ENDNOTES

[1]This is a characteristic of traffic arteries which are variously called "business thoroughfares" or "business streets". Property abutting the street has fluctuating commercial density with retail use of property rarely developing down intersecting streets. From "Internal Arrangement of Land Uses" by Richard U. Ratcliff, Readings in Urban Geography, Harold M. Mayer and Clyde F. Kohn eds., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 411, 412.

[2]Homer Hoyt, "Classification and Significant Characteristics of Shopping Centers", Readings in Urban Geography, Harold M. Mayer and Clyde F. Kohn, eds., (Chicago: University of Chicage Press, 1965), pp. 411, 412.

[3]Bart J. Epstein, "The Trading Function", in Metropolis on the Move: Geographers Look at Urban Sprawl, eds. Jean Gottman and Robert A. Harper, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), pp. 94, 97.

[4]Thomas J. Baerwald, "The Emergence of a New 'Downtown'," Geographical Review (July 1978): 308.

CHAPTER III

CONSUMER ATTITUDE AND BEHAVIOR

The forces that caused the tremendous growth in the Intermediate Commercial District (ICD) which began about 1960 (Figure 2.2) were obscure. As it was shown in Chapter II, retail functions dominated, but around 1970 administrative and professional activities began to make substantial gains (Figure 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, and Tables 2.2, 2.3). It also has been established that the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD generally fits the classification of "consequent" in Epstein's theory of retail development.[1] Since these commercial activities were in existence as a "consequence" to the observed existing market potential, it was appropriate to study consumer behavior in the ICD in order to make predictions for the future of the area. In this regard, a questionnaire was administered to a sample of shoppers in Thruway Shopping Center to determine the following: (1) the consumer image of Thruway; (2) the profile of Thruway consumers; (3) and the consumer perception of Thruway as compared with the CBD and Hanes Mall.

Methodology

The questionnaire (Appendix 1) administered systematically to a sample of 150 consumers by interview technique, was comprised of three basic types of items: (1) factual information about shopping habits (questions A-G); (2) attitudes about Thruway (question H); (3) and soci-economic information (questions I-K).

In order to eliminate bias, several sampling precautions were taken. First, interviews were conducted both on weekdays and Saturdays to ensure that all consumers (working and otherwise) had an equal opportunity to be interviewed. Also, interviews were conducted in a spatial sampling frame so that the variability of responses included consumers from different parts of the shopping center and samples were drawn systematically by asking every fifth shopper encountered for an interview. It was found that interviews conducted in groups of ten were the most convenient amount at one visit to the shopping center due to time constraints and fatigue for the interviewer.

During each interview session, questionnaires were edited immediately and only complete questionnaires were counted. In many cases this required many more than ten consumers to be approached at one session. The total number of people asked for an interview was 466. Of those, 297 refused and nineteen did not answer all questions and thus were not counted. Appendix 2 is the interview schedule showing the interview dates and places; the number refusing to be interviewed; and number of incomplete interviews.

The Likert Attitude Scale

For purposes of determing consumer image of Thruway it was necessary to measure shopper attitude. This was done by a group of "attitude" questions on the consumer questionnaire (question H) which measured the degree of satisfaction for "desirable" shopping center characteristics. They were arranged so that an attitude score could be derived based on a scale similar to the Likert Method.[2] Likert's technique required the gradation of items with five responses , "Strongly agree" through" Neither agree or disagree" to "Strongly disagree." "The direction of the weighting

of responses to an item would be determined a priori, from knowledge of its content, which could be checked by item analysis."[3] The score is a summation of each category.

For the questionnaire used, the questions were stated in a positive and negative manner to reduce the "halo effect" by utilizing a forced-choice technique.[4] This arrangement of questions necessitated the reversal of the Likert Scale for items a, c, and h so that the negative scores would "score" as positive. The attitude being measured is the degree of satisfaction in terms of agreement or disagreement to the variables (questions) as a group. This group of questions represent shopping characteristics which are viewed as desirable qualities for determining consumer patronage. The possible range of scores for the attitude scale of 150 respondents is shown in Table 3.1.

TABLE 3.1

ATTITUDE SCALE

	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neither Agree or Disagree		Disagree		Strongly Disagree
Scale:	150		300		450		600		750
		225		375		525		675	

Source: Derived by author based on range of attainable scores.

The results of the attitude portion of the Consumer Questionnaire (question H) produced a mean score of 364 with a standard deviation of 43 (Table 3.2). This score falls within the "Agree" category indicating an attitude favorable to the shopping characteristics represented as a whole. The desired and ideal attitude score whold be 150. This indicates that although there was a generally favorable agreement for those shopping characteristics

TABLE 3.2

THRUWAY-CLOVERDALE ICD: CONSUMER BEHAVIOR QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

Question	1		2		3		4		5		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
A	16	11	21	14	33	22	39	26	41	27	
B	19	13	31	21	38	25	27	18	35	23	
C	46	31	25	17	10	07	4	03	65	43	
D	29	19	59	39	6	04	12	08	44	29	
E	13	09	16	11	18	12	11	07	92	61	
F	2	01	20	13	58	39	51	34	19	13	Likert
G	31	21	43	29	27	18	36	24	13	09	Scale
H_a	5	03	43	29	38	25	55	37	9	06	Score
b	33	22	76	51	29	19	11	07	1	01	321
c	3	02	11	07	102	68	28	19	6	04	427
d	35	23	87	58	23	15	5	03	0	00	298
e	13	09	17	11	37	25	55	37	28	19	382
f	35	23	68	45	30	20	15	10	1	01	331
g	38	25	46	31	54	36	11	07	1	01	341
h	4	03	15	10	48	32	67	45	16	11	374
i	19	13	59	39	56	37	13	09	3	02	372
I	17	11	133	89							
J	0	00	42	28	58	39	36	24	14	09	
K	3	02	13	09	29	19	62	41	43	29	
									Mean Likert Score		364

Note: Total Male = 55 (37%), Total Female = 95 (63%).

Consumers considering themselves as strictly Thruway patrons = 95 (63%). Consumers not considering themselves as strictly Thruway patrons = 55 (37%).

Source: Calculated by totaling responses of a consumer questionnaire administered during February 1979 to May 1979 at Thruway Shopping Center by author.

presented, an individual analysis of items might reveal a more indepth assessment for why consumers patronize Thruway.

Questionnaire Item Analysis

In order to determine some specific characteristics about the consumers interviewed, it was necessary to examine the responses for individual items of the questionnaire. The data for these responses were summarized in Tables 3.2 through 3.6. For comparative purposes, some of the data was compared with data from a similar study of Thruway by Bellomy-Carrigg which was conducted in January, 1978. In general, the percentages expressed by respondents in the Bellomy-Carrigg report were in agreement with those of this study. This tends to validate the reliability of both questionnaires. It should be noted, however, that the Bellomy-Carrigg methodology was different in the following respects: First, the interviews were conducted by telephone rather than face to face. Second, the population was selected from the telephone directory rather than from consumers within the study area. Third, the main emphasis was to determine advertising effectiveness and strategies rather than to determine consumer behavior.

The results of the questionnaire administered for this thesis indicated that a profile of the typical consumer at Thruway was a white female under 45 years of age with a family income above $15,000 per year who considered herself a strict patron of Thruway Shopping Center. In reference to Thruway, (Tables 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5) over half of this group (53 percent) lived less than four miles away, (63 percent) worked less than four miles away, (52 percent) shopped there one or more times per week, and (88 percent) at least "sometimes" shopped at other business within the ICD.

TABLE 3.3

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA FROM SAMPLE OF CONSUMERS INTERVIEWED AT THRUWAY SHOPPING CENTER

	TOTAL		TOTAL
SEX		RACE	
1. Male	37%	1. Black	11%
2. Female	63%	2. White	89%
		3. Other	0%
AGE		INCOME	
1. Under 18	00%	1. Under $7000	2%
2. 18-29	28%	2. $7000-$10000	9%
3. 30-44	39%	3. $10000-$15000	19%
4. 45-64	24%	4. $15000-$25000	41%
5. Over 65	9%	5. $25000 & Above	29%

Source: Calculated by totaling responses of a consumer questionnaire administered during February 1979 to May 1979 at Thruway Shopping Center by author.

Table 3.6 indicates that the greatest proportion of the female shoppers (33 percent) responded that closeness to home or work was their main reason for shopping at Thruway rather than Hanes Mall with 39 percent citing "other" reasons. For the total group surveyed, 31 percent indicated they patronized Thruway rather than Hanes Mall because it was closer to home (Table 3.2). Forty-three percent cited "other" reasons for shopping at Thruway than Hanes Mall. Among the reasons written by the respondents in blanks provided on the questionnaire for "other"; "like it better", "favorite restaurant", and "has more of the stores I like", were the most frequently used.

The greatest percent of female shoppers (39 percent) responded that "easier parking" was the main reason for shopping Thruway rather than Downtown with 26 percent citing "other" reasons. Thirty-nine percent

TABLE 3.4

PROXIMITY OF HOME AND WORK STATIONS TO THRUWAY

Distance of Residence	Sex		Age		Race		Income			T'way Customer	
	M	F	<45	45&>	B	W	<15	15-25	25&>	NO	YES
1. Up to 1 Mile	11%	11%	5%	21%	6%	7%	19%	8%	7%	6%	14%
2. 1 to 2 Miles	5%	19%	9%	23%	6%	15%	12%	11%	23%	6%	19%
3. 2 to 4 Miles	21%	23%	16%	32%	13%	23%	7%	29%	25%	2%	33%
4. 4 to 10 Miles	32%	23%	35%	9%	63%	22%	42%	21%	18%	49%	13%
5. More than 10 Miles	32%	25%	34%	15%	19%	28%	21%	32%	27%	39%	22%
Distance of Work Place											
1. Up to 1 Mile	14%	13%	9%	19%	6%	18%	19%	11%	9%	7%	16%
2. 1 to 2 Miles	16%	24%	15%	30%	31%	19%	21%	19%	23%	17%	23%
3. 2 to 4 Miles	24%	26%	24%	28%	13%	27%	12%	33%	28%	13%	32%
4. 4 to 10 Miles	19%	16%	19%	15%	31%	16%	30%	13%	12%	26%	13%
5. More than 10 Miles	28%	22%	33%	8%	19%	25%	19%	25%	28%	37%	17%

Note: Income indicates annual income in thousands of dollars. Thruway Customer category indicates whether or not the consumer perceives himself as strictly a patron of Thruway Shopping Center.
Source: Calculated by totaling responses of a consumer questionnaire administered during February 1979 to May 1979 at Thruway Shopping Center by author.

TABLE 3.5

CONSUMER SHOPPING HABITS AT THRUWAY

Shopping Center Visits	Sex		Age		Race		Income			T'way Customer	
	M	F	<45	45&>	B	W	<15	15-25	25&>	YES	NO
1. 2 or 3 times per week	18%	23%	15%	30%	25%	20%	30%	16%	16%	27%	9%
2. 1 time per week	28%	29%	25%	36%	19%	29%	14%	25%	45%	41%	7%
3. 1 time every 2 weeks	16%	18%	19%	15%	19%	17%	21%	20%	7%	15%	22%
4. 1 time per month	26%	24%	30%	15%	21%	24%	30%	28%	11%	14%	44%
5. 1 time every 3 months	12%	6%	11%	4%	6%	9%	5%	3%	20%	4%	17%
Years Shopped at Thruway											
1. 1 year	10%	5%	9%	4%	19%	7%	2%	5%	14%	3%	15%
2. 2 years	4%	14%	4%	4%	38%	7%	5%	14%	7%	5%	19%
3. 3 years	5%	14%	12%	9%	13%	11%	9%	13%	9%	13%	9%
4. 4 years	9%	7%	4%	15%	0%	8%	2%	3%	16%	7%	7%
5. More than 4 years	71%	60%	61%	68%	31%	68%	47%	65%	55%	72%	50%
Shop Elsewhere in ICD											
1. Never	2%	9%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	2%	0%	2%
2. Infrequently	19%	12%	15%	13%	6%	16%	14%	14%	14%	15%	15%
3. Sometimes	30%	43%	36%	43%	44%	37%	40%	40%	36%	35%	35%
4. Frequently	37%	31%	32%	36%	19%	35%	23%	37%	39%	26%	26%
5. Very Frequently	12%	14%	15%	8%	31%	11%	23%	10%	9%	22%	22%

Note: Income category signifies annual income in thousands of dollars. Thruway Customer category indicates whether or not the consumer perceives himself as strictly a patron of Thruway Shopping Center.
Source: Calculated by totaling responses of a consumer questionnaire administered during February 1979 to May 1979 at Thruway Shopping Center by author.

TABLE 3.6

COMPARATIVE DATA FOR SHOPPING THRUWAY RATHER THAN DOWNTOWN (CBD) OR HANES MALL

Thruway Rather than Hanes Mall	SEX		AGE		RACE		INCOME			T'WAY CUSTOMERS	
	M	F	<45	45&>	B	W	<15	15-25	25&>	NO	YES
1. Closer to home	25%	35%	25%	28%	31%	32%	40%	25%	34%	09%	45%
2. Easier parking	18%	16%	15%	19%	13%	18%	02%	33%	07%	11%	20%
3. Closer to work	05%	06%	03%	02%	00%	06%	07%	10%	00%	09%	04%
4. Greater number of stores/services	02%	03%	02%	04%	00%	03%	07%	02%	00%	02%	03%
5. Other	51%	39%	49%	32%	56%	41%	44%	30%	59%	69%	28%
Thruway Rather than Downtown											
1. Closer to home	16%	20%	11%	30%	13%	19%	26%	09%	23%	04%	26%
2. Easier parking	40%	39%	39%	40%	31%	40%	33%	50%	30%	31%	44%
3. Closer to work	02%	04%	04%	02%	13%	02%	05%	05%	00%	06%	02%
4. Greater number of stores/services	05%	11%	10%	06%	25%	07%	17%	06%	05%	13%	06%
5. Other	38%	26%	35%	23%	19%	32%	19%	30%	43%	46%	22%

Note: Income category signifies annual income in thousands of dollars. Thruway Customer category indicates whether or not the consumer perceives himself as strictly a patron of Thruway Shopping Center.

Source: Calculated by totaling responses of a consumer questionnaire during February 1979 to May 1979 at Thruway Shopping Center by author.

of the total group surveyed indicated "easier parking" as the main reason they shopped Thruway rather than Downtown, with 29 percent citing "other" reasons. Among the "other" reasons, "better selection", "convenience", and "they close too early" were the most frequent reasons given.

Of the questions used to determine "attitude" of the Thruway consumer (question H), responses to item "a" indicated that choice of shops and businesses were not a major reason for or against shopping Thruway. Responses to item "b" strongly indicated that accessibility was a major reason for shopping Thruway. From Figure 2.1 it can be seen that the streets and highways serving this area offered good access to regional shoppers and neighborhood shoppers. Interstate 40 provided easy access for those shoppers coming from distant places. The major traffic arteries of Stratford Road, 1st Street, and Country Club facilitated access for neighborhood shoppers. This was probably an important interrelationship for the economic viability of the area. It would seem that although Thruway relied heavily on neighborhood consumers, it needed to have easy access as an alternative source of consumer goods for the regional shopper who originally planned to visit Hanes Mall. Responses to item "c" indicated that accessibility by bus was not of great concern to the customers of Thruway. This was not suprising since the "typical" shopper was in the $15,000 per year or above income bracket and probably did not need to rely on that transportation mode.

Results from question "d" verified that the parking arrangement at Thruway was a highly favorable characteristic for shoppers because it was easier to get to certain stores than other shopping areas. In terms of security (question "e"), 56 percent disagreed that other shopping areas gave them a feeling of more protection than Thruway.

The combination of being more familiar with the stores at Thruway (question "f") and having more of the favorite stores (question "g") were two highly favorable characteristics for the shopping center. Even though the arrangement of stores was in a linear configuration, consumers disagreed that they had to walk further from store to store than in other shopping areas (question "h"). This may have been related to the accessibility facilitated by the parking arrangement. Finally, from the attitude portion of the questionnaire, results from item "i" revealed that consumers believed that they felt less crowded shopping at Thruway than at other shopping areas.

Comparative Data of Previous Questionnaire Analysis

The comparison of results of the questionnaire used in this study to the results of a similar survey done by Bellomy-Carrigg indicated some notable agreement and contrasts to shopping characteristics. For example, 66 percent of the consumers who consider themselves as "mostly a Thruway patron" lived within a four mile radius. This compared with two-thirds who shop Thruway most often, living within the same radius reported by Bellomy-Carrigg.[5] In addition, that report stated that "accessibility is the most liked characteristic" (represented by 32 percent of those sampled) of Thruway.[6] Comparatively, this research found that 73 percent agreed that Thruway was "easier to get to".

From the question asking the "number of years the consumer has shopped Thruway", it is evident that there was much return traffic. Seventy-two percent of those considering themselves as "Thruway patrons" have shopped there for more than four years. In a similar question, Bellomy-Carrigg reported that 72 percent of their respondents who visited Thruway most often lived in Winston-Salem for more than ten years.[7]

This indicated an attitude of "satisfaction" for growth and changes which have occured within the ICD since many reported that they shopped elsewhere within the ICD also.

A major factor not investigated by Bellomy-Carrigg was proximity to work. This should have been a major factor especially since rapid employment growth was occurring in other parts of the ICD. It was found that 63 percent of consumers surveyed worked within four miles of Thruway. Seventy-one percent of those considering themselves as "Thruway customers" worked within this radius. Another aspect of shopping habits not investigated by the Bellomy-Carrigg report was consumer patronage of other businesses within the ICD. Eighty-four percent reported that they did so at least "sometimes".

In contrast to Bellomy-Carrigg, who reported that only 16 percent surveyed believe that Thruway had the best choice of retail stores, this study found that 43 percent of the total surveyed disagreed that "other shopping areas offered a greater choice of shops and serivces."[8] This did not necessarily indicate that Thruway did or did not have the greatest choice of retail facilities, but to those patronizing the shopping center, the perception was that Thruway had the greatest choice.

Summary

Accessibility seemed to be the most liked characteristic of Thruway Shopping Center and most of the shoppers lived and worked nearby which indicated a neighborhood rather than a regional draw of consumers. However, since 27 percent interviewed did live more than ten miles away it is obvious that there was a subustantial regional draw. Another important attribute of Thruway Shopping Center was the large number of respondents shopping there for more than four years. This return traffic was an

important indicator of consumer "satisfaction" for growth and change within the area. The perception of shoppers within the shopping center that "it has the best choice of shops and services", and that "they are more used to the stores" at Thruway are also good indicators that consumers were satisfied.

In general, the Likert Scale Score indicated an attitude of "satisfaction" for the shopping characteristics presented. Since the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD was growing with a substantial influx of administrative and professional activities, it is concluded that this general trend of growth will continue. The data analyzed was consistent and supportive of Hypothesis D: The Thruway-Cloverdale ICD will continue to grow with the inmigration of functions characteristic to CBD's.

ENDNOTES

[1] Epstein, "The Trading Function," in Metropolis on the Move: Geographers Look at Urban Sprawl, eds. Jean Gottman and Robert A. Harper (N. Y.: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), pp. 94, 97.

[2] J. P. Guilford, Psychometric Methods, (New York: Mc Graw-Hill Book Co., 1954), p. 458.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Halo Effect is described as a constant error involving irrelevant criteria to which every judge falls victim. Psychometric Methods (p. 279).

[5] Bellomy-Carrigg, Inc., Shopping Center Attitude and Usage Survey of Winston-Salem and Thruway Shopping Center, Winston-Salem, 1978.

[6] Ibid., p. 44.

[7] Ibid., p. 52.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The preceding chapters of this thesis report on the research of the commercial area near and including Thruway Shopping Center and Cloverdale Plaza Shopping Center in Winston-Salem, N.C. This Intermediate Commercial District is examined from functional and historical percpectives, for the purpose of gaining a better general understanding of commercial nodes located outside the CBD but within the central city. The literature reveals that a few studies have been conducted on this aspect of urban development but that much more research is needed in this regard. Recent studies indicate that the development of major commercial nodes outside the CBD, spurred by the development of planned shopping centers, are the result of the suburbanization process. The related aspects of decentralization and deconcentration of CBD's hold the key for understanding the development of commercial nodes within the city.

The Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework was established, based on the suburbanization of CBD functions. Simply stated, this consisted of the relocation of commercial functions to the urban fringe. The study area was shown to have closely followed the development pattern indicated by the conceptual framework. It was found that Thruway Shopping Center was first established on a site located at the city limit boundary. As the city limit expanded, due

to urban growth, Thruway Shopping Center became internalized and intermediate, relative to the CBD and urban fringe.

It was perceived that basic CBD functions other than strictly retail functions were also beginning to concentrate in this commercial node. Therefore, it was speculated that this area made up of commercial functions, was increasingly becoming another "downtown" in Winston-Salem. This phenomena is believed to be an urban development process that most probably is replicated in many cities. For this reason, the term Intermediate Commercial District was applied to the area so that similar commercial nodes may be more easily recognized and assessed in future instance.

If ICD's are to be recognized as regular urban forms, then they must be characterized in terms of spatial constraints and functional components. In the case of the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD, spatial boundaries were defined by the location and extent of the commercial functions in the area. This method can be generalized for use in identifying other ICD's. Further evidence that the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD was beginning to acquire the semblance of a "downtown", was shown both graphically and cartographically by the influx of administrative and professional functions.

Analysis of Consumer Functions

In Winston-Salem the evolution of retail centers outside the CBD followed the general nationwide trend of shopping center development on the periphery of cities. Thruway Shopping Center was typical of this development pattern. The area encompassing Thruway had potential growth ability which was not fully utilized even though the periphery had expanded well beyond the Thruway area. Space was available and demand was present to support an increased number of functions, so Cloverdale-

Plaza Shopping Center was built. In terms of the conceptual framework, this was consequent development. This is an indication that during a time when much of the literature was concentrating on decentralization of the CBD to the suburbs, there was actually a substantial amount of this relocation to ICD's. Statistics from the Census of Retail Trade and the Census of Business verified the tremendous growth of the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD.

The cartographic displays revealed that in its early stages, the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD was sparsely developed and contained a larger ratio of wholesale to retail functions than at later time periods, which was typical to fringe area development at that time. Through time, retail functions steadily increased and during the past few years, there was a marked increase of administrative and professional functions. A detailed examination of functions revealed some discrete locations of functional groups. In general, retail functions were spread throughout the ICD, but wholesale activities tended to be located on less accessible sites along the railroad track (Figure 2.1). The more recent development of administrative/professional functions were concentrated in the northeast end of the ICD. In terms of the conceptual framework, the development in this area was also an indication of consequent development, since as the space became available, it was developed in response to an already existing clientele.

Analysis of the time series graph showed different aspects of comparative functional growth. It was found that higher threshold functions typically found in CBD's were increasing in the ICD. The graphs also verified the marked increase of the administrative/professional

functions from 1975 to 1979, a time which showed increased competition of a major new regional shopping mall in the urban fringe.

The overall attitude toward shopping center characteristics expressed in the consumer questionnaire was favorable. It was found that the typical Thruway Shopper was a white female, under forty-five years of age, with a family income above $15,000 per year who considered herself a strict patron of Thruway Shopping Center (as opposed to one who frequented the nearby regional shopping mall). This reflected the population of the surrounding neighborhoods, although a substantial number of respondents of the questionnaire lived more than ten miles away, a fact that indicated a sizeable regional draw.

An important indicator of satisfaction for the continuity of growth and change within the ICD was the large percentage of shoppers who reported that they have shopped at Thruway for more than four years. Consumers also indicated a satisfaction for the variety of stores and the accessibility of the area. Since the ICD was economically viable and had changed during the years 1975 to 1979 with the influx of administrative and professional functions then it was concluded that this trend will continue.

Suggestions for Future Research

Existing center-periphery models of urban spatial structure are not inclusive enough to indicate what happens to these internal commercial nodes. In this case study, it has been shown that the area began in the periphery of the city and as the city limit expanded it became internalized, thus becoming appropriately termed an Intermediate

Commercial District (ICD). By analyzing functions, it has also been shown that many CBD activities had developed within the ICD; they were discretely located and had given the area the character of a new "downtown".

In terms of the future development of the ICD, the results of a consumer behavior questionnaire indicated general satisfaction for the shops, services, and access to the area. It is feasible that the trend of immigration of previously exclusive CBD functions will continue in the future and even more consumers will patronize the area and avoid the CBD. It is not belived however, that this will be the deciding force for the viability of the CBD. It would seem that continued deconcentration of the CBD and subsequent gains in the ICD could result in the eventual demise of the CBD.

The regional shopping mall located in the periphery during the time period of this study, with origins similar to those of the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD will also eventually become internalized as suburban growth continues in the southwest portion of the city. However, it has the potential of becoming a Suburban Freeway Cooridor (SFC) since it was located on a beltline expressway around the city. Commercial areas within cities (outside the CBD) are easily recognizable would be more useful to urban planners if the concept of ICD's were better understood.

Only a few facts have been established about ICD's by this study obviously due to the complexity of their make-up. Further research would be helpful in understanding this development pattern. In the case of the Thruway-Cloverdale ICD it is suspected that the impact of administrative/professional functional growth was not shown as great as it actually exists. This is because the mapping technique does not indicate a third dimension of space needed to emphasize the space occupied

by three office towers built in the area during the years 1970 to 1979 which house much of the administrative/professional activity. This might be more accurately shown by using a method that utilizes square footage space per function for analysis. Since this research provided some basic documentation for this particular area, it would be helpful to see what changes actually take place at a future point in time to determine the effect of deconcentration and suburbanization on the area.

In terms of establishing some regularity in the nature of ICD's, research is needed in other such areas for comparative purposes. It is suspected that in many declining CBD areas where suburbanization is a strong force, that ICD's are being overlooked as a major development phenomena.

APPENDIX I

CONSUMER BEHAVIOR QUESTIONNAIRE

A. Approximately how far do you live from this shopping area?
   1. Up to 1 mile
   2. 1 to 2 miles
   3. 2 to 4 miles
   4. 4 to 10 miles
   5. More than 10 miles

B. Approximately how far do you work from this shopping area?
   1. Up to 1 mile
   2. 1 to 2 miles
   3. 2 to 4 miles
   4. 4 to 10 miles
   5. More than 10 miles

C. Why are you shopping here rather than Hanes Mall?
   1. Closer to home
   2. Easier parking
   3. Closer to work
   4. Greater number of stores and services
   5. Other_____

D. Why are you shopping here rather than downtown?
   1. Closer to home
   2. Easier parking
   3. Closer to work
   4. Greater number of stores and services
   5. Other_____

E. How long have you shopped in this shopping area?
   1. 1 year
   2. 2 Years
   3. 3 years
   4. 4 years
   5. More than 4 years

F. Do you shop <u>just</u> at Thruway Shopping Center or do you patronize other stores and businesses in this area?
   1. Never
   2. Infrequently
   3. Sometimes
   4. Frequently
   5. Very frequently

G. How often do you shop at this shopping area?
   1. 2 or 3 times per week
   2. 1 time per week
   3. 1 time every 2 weeks
   4. 1 time per month
   5. 1 time every 3 months

H. For the following <u>9</u> statements, circle the number next to the statement indicating its importance in influencing you to shop here <u>or</u> not to shop here. The rating scheme is as follows:
   1. Strongly agree
   2. Agree
   3. Neither agree nor disagree
   4. Disagree
   5. Strongly disagree

a. Other shopping areas offer a greater choice of shops and businesses than this shopping area.

1 2 3 4 5

b. This shopping area is easier to get to than other areas in this city.

1 2 3 4 5

c. Other shopping areas are easier to reach by bus than this shopping area.

1 2 3 4 5

d. The parking arrangement here makes it easier to get to certain stores than other shopping areas in this city.

1 2 3 4 5

e. I feel more security for myself and automobile while shopping in other areas than in this shopping area.

1 2 3 4 5

f. I am more used to the stores and businesses here than other shopping areas in this city.

1 2 3 4 5

g. This shopping area has more of the stores I like to shop at than other areas. (Such as_____)

1 2 3 4 5

h. It takes longer to walk (I have to walk further) from store to store here than in other shopping areas.

1 2 3 4 5

i. I feel more crowded shopping in other areas than I feel while shopping here.

1 2 3 4 5

I. Race:
1. Black 2. White 3. Other

J. Age:
1. Under 18
2. 18 to 29
3. 30 to 44
4. 45 to 64
5. 65 and over

K. Estimated yearly family income:
1. Under $7000
2. &7000 to $10,000
3. $10,000 to $15,000
4. $15,000 to $25,000
5. $25,000 and above

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Interview Session	Date	Place	Number Refusing	Incomplete
1	2-17-79	Norman Stockton	19	0
2	2-17-79	Hickory Farms	15	2
3	2-26-79	Ed Kelly	25	3
4	2-28-79	Roses	22	1
5	3-10-79	Rosenthal's	14	0
6	3-10-79	Sam's	20	0
7	3-15-79	Davis	10	0
8	3-17-79	Thalhimers	14	1
9	3-19-79	L. Roberts	12	1
10	3-30-79	Robins	28	2
11	4-7-79	Library	14	1
12	4-20-79	Sam's	26	3
13	4-27-79	Woolworth	25	1
14	5-5-79	Food Fair	18	0
15	5-7-79	Thalhimers	35	4
		TOTALS	297	19

Note: Place denotes approximate location from which consumers were interviewed.

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