

CHANGES IN THE LOCATION AND COMPOSITION
OF MAJOR SHOPPING CENTERS IN WICHITA,
KANSAS, 1955 TO 1983

by

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The economic structure of an urban area is a product of a dynamic, constantly changing system. Many factors such as the size and distribution of the population, location and size of industrial areas, size of the city's hinterland, and local and regional transportation linkages influence changes in the economic structure. This thesis examines one aspect of urban economic structure, retail shopping centers and transportation network changes. It observes the changes in the number, distribution, and composition of planned retail shopping centers as influenced by demographic factors and changes in the transportation network serving a city. Particular interest is focused on the effects of highway improvements on the distribution and composition of centers. Wichita, located in southcentral Kansas, is used as the site for the study. To assess the impact of highway improvements and demographic changes upon shopping centers, surveys of the centers' location and composition were taken after each major highway improvement over the period 1950 to 1983.

Many studies in the past have examined retail structure in American cities. Most were done between 1930 and 1960 and concentrated on formulating schemes to categorize retail store types, and offer some explanation of where differing clusters of shops occurred in a city. The works of I.K. Rolph (1929), M.J. Proudfoot (1937), R.U. Ratcliff (1949), and H.G. Canoyer (1946) have contributed greatly to our present knowledge of the dynamic structure of retail activity in our cities.

A flood of later studies followed the passage of the Federal

Aid Highway Act in 1956. The federal government funded many of these projects and authorized studies to be done on a wide range of areas affected by highway improvements. However, despite the efforts of a few researchers, such as William Garrison, most of the studies were completed very rapidly and had little value beyond being used as public relations ploys to convince local officials that the proposed highway improvements were in the best interests of their communities. The studies did not fully examine the impact of highway improvements in many areas such as local employment, tourism, wholesale trade area changes, changes in peripheral agricultural production, changes in the economic base, effects on urban renewal projects, and effects upon regional economies (including regional retail economies).

Past research on retail structure has done little to examine the long-run effects of highway improvements upon shopping center development. Studies focusing on the internal morphology and hierarchical changes of existing centers were lacking in the literature. This may be due in part to the fact that planned shopping centers are a relatively recent phenomena on the urban retail scene. Little work has been done on existing shopping centers whose relative location (refers to a site's accessibility versus other retail sites) changes with the introduction of highway improvements and the arrival of new centers which locate at sites which use those improvements to increase their accessibility. By examining the changes that occur, we can better formulate a model which can predict future retail structural changes resulting from the introduction of highway improvements and major route changes in urban areas, which significantly alter a retail businesses' relative location in the city.

Shopping Centers Examined in the Study

This study is limited to the examination of shopping centers that are regional or community in size, based on their effective market area. Centers of neighborhood size or smaller are not examined. There are two reasons for this. First the smaller centers are affected more by conditions in an immediate area and are not as affected by larger changes such as highway improvements. For example, a small neighborhood center, which is dependent upon the immediate area for customers, is not likely to realize a change in business from a new peripheral highway being built across town. However, the placement of a new traffic light that allows customers to access the center easily would greatly affect the center. A larger center, on the other hand, would not be greatly affected by a new traffic light, but would be affected by the construction of a new highway which could change its competitive position in the community or regional market.

The smaller neighborhood retail centers do not constitute a major force in the retail market due to their small percentage of total sales. Because of this, the amount of time and effort which would be required to survey and inventory all of these numerous centers would not yield an additional amount of new information.

Retail outlets not located in a planned shopping center are also not included in this study. The reason for this is again the time and effort which would be required to locate and trace all the retail outlets in the city. Also retail strip developments are predominantly geared to one-stop non-pedestrian shopping and do not represent a substantial force in the retail market. For these reasons changes in arterial business patterns are not examined.

Site Analysis of Wichita Kansas

Wichita, Kansas was chosen as the site for this study for three reasons. First, Wichita is a regional center for a large trade area. The city is located in a relatively isolated region where few other cities exert any immediate influence on the retail market for intermediate and higher-order goods and services. Since Wichita has had a substantial network of limited-access highways and up-graded arterials developed around it, the city is an attractive testbed for an assessment of retail structural response to changes in the traffic circulation system. Highway improvements since 1950 include a radial bisecting the city, a circumferential circling the city, and a tangential toll road brushing the city's east side. As construction of the highways was completed at different dates, the effects associated with each improvement will be easier to assess than if all the highways were completed at the same time. Finally, my own familiarity with the city and its proximity to Kansas State University combine to make this a most acceptable study area.

Wichita's SMSA (standard metropolitan statistical area) population of 384,000 makes it the largest city in Kansas. It is a regional center of business, medicine, finance, and culture. Known as one of the transportation hubs of the midwest, Wichita is served by seven major highways, three of which are limited-access highways, and fifty-four trucklines. The city is also a rail and air transportation center with four major railroads and ten airlines servicing the needs of the city. Because of the rural environment which surrounds Wichita and the city's relatively low density of development, the automobile is the favored transportation mode for local

travel. The flat terrain has made road building relatively easy and links in the road network have proliferated. Wichita ranked second in the United States in 1978 in the number of car registrations per family (Miller). Because of a lack of mass transit during the growth period of the city, the city's development has been largely shaped by the automobile and the network of streets and roads built to accommodate vehicular traffic.

Wichita has changed a great deal from its humble beginnings as a rough cowtown straddling the Chisolm Trail. Originally a center for the collection and shipment of great herds of cattle, Wichita today is a center for industry and finance. It is the home of such corporations as the Coleman Company (a camping equipment manufacturer), Pizza Hut Corporation, Cessna Aircraft Company, Beech Aircraft Company, Learjet Aircraft Corporation, Boeing Military Aircraft Company, Davis Manufacturing, and Koch Industries (a petroleum exploration-consulting firm). The city has become a service center for the petroleum industry and profits from large oil fields in the area. It is also a world center for light aircraft production. Today over sixty-five percent of all light aircraft and aircraft parts in the western world originate in Wichita (Wichita Business, Oct. 1979).

Wichita's economy has in recent years been relatively healthy compared to many parts of the country. The light aircraft industry, which employs a large portion of the city's workers, prospered when rising fuel costs and lower national speed limits made small, fast, fuel-efficient planes more attractive to many businessmen. The area's rich agricultural production has also helped to generate local employment and so stabilize the local economy from outside

economic pressures.

Much of the change in Wichita has been in the growth and diversification of its economy. Between 1960 and 1973 manufacturing employment in Wichita dropped from 29.9 percent of the work force, largely aircraft workers, to 26.4 percent of the work force. Government employment was up to 12.3 percent from a previous 9.6 percent in 1960. Retail employment showed a growth with a 13.4 percent share of the work force increasing to 14.4 percent (Miller). These figures indicate a maturing, a diversification, of the economy away from such heavy dependence on manufacturing employment as the service, and governmental sectors of the economy expanded.

Wichita, because of its isolation from any city of comparable size, has also become a center of culture in the state. The state's largest city, it started to seriously attract national conventions in 1971 when a coordinated effort was made by the city to promote its attractions nationally. Wichita has a symphony, dinner theatres, museums, the Mid-America Indian Center, minor league baseball and football teams, and a successful indoor soccer team. The city has also built the Century Two convention and exhibition complex to handle many different activities, and the Kansas Coleseum used for livestock shows, sporting events, and concerts. Wichita is also the home of Wichita State University, Friends University, Kansas Newman College, and a branch of the University of Kansas Medical School, all of which attract many people to the city.

The importance of Wichita as a center of retail trade has also grown in recent years. With the completion of the Kansas Turnpike in 1956, Interstate I-235 in 1965, and Interstate I-135 in 1979, Wichita has enhanced connections to a large regional market area.

In 1980 Wichita attracted consumers from eighty-one Kansas communities, five communities in Oklahoma and other shoppers from Colorado and Arkansas. These shoppers spent over two billion dollars in 1979, up from 750 million dollars in 1970 (Wichita Business, Nov. 1980). In fact the trade volume more than doubled in Wichita between 1960 and 1974. This tremendous rise was not however, as significant as the changes in the physical patterns of retail distribution in the city (Miller).

In 1960 the major portion of the retail activity in Wichita was in the central business district. Over the years changing consumer buying habits and changes in the city's infrastructure have encouraged retail businesses to move away from the C.B.D.. Today only one department store, Macy's, remains in the downtown, a reminder of the splendor of a past role when the downtown was the principal shopping area in the city. By 1974 over thirty shopping centers had been built on the periphery to serve retail needs. Recently, very large, regional shopping malls have been developed on each side of the city, further changing the pattern of retail activity.

As I have mentioned, Wichita is a city undergoing constant change. New highways and new shopping centers have greatly changed the retail structure of the city. Succeeding chapters will examine these changes and the forces behind them.

Method of Study

This study is divided into two major phases. Phase one centers on the acquisition of data, and phase two consists of the ordering and analysis of the data. In the first phase the location and store types in each shopping center were determined. Shopping center locations were initially obtained from a Chamber of Commerce

publication, Wichita Area Economic Facts (1971). A field survey was then done to determine the current status of centers and to record the current types of businesses in each center. All centers were field checked to ascertain whether they were indeed community or regional shopping centers (Note: criteria for this classification is presented later in this text). Centers which seemed close to being of sufficient size were included in the study until it was ascertained that at no time in the past were they large enough to be considered as a community center. If a shopping center was community or regional in size at any time in its history, it was included in this study.

Different business types found in each center were recorded as were any vacancies. General overall appearance of a center was also recorded as a measure of the capital reinvested back into the center for upkeep and renovation. A shopping center's location was also recorded as a measure of the accessibility of a center to its market area, and its location relative to competing centers.

Determining the past composition of older shopping centers proved to be more difficult than finding the present status of each center. As no complete listing of shopping center composition, at different times in the past, was available, information had to be collected from several sources. The first source exploited was the Beldon study done semi-annually since 1972 by the Wichita Eagle and Beacon in conjunction with Beldon Associates of Dallas, Texas. This source provided a detailed inventory of the retail composition of the entire city for the years 1972 and 1974. From it I obtained a listing of all shopping centers and the businesses in those centers for as far back as 1972. This source did not list any vacancies

which might have been in the center at the time the data were collected. A more complete listing of the businesses located in the centers was obtained by tracing the addresses of individual stores in past issues of the City Directory of Wichita. Complete information as to the status of a business at a given address was obtained from this source. However, some addresses changed from year to year due to the consolidation of smaller stores into larger stores and the breakup of larger businesses into smaller retail outlets. Completion dates for some centers was ascertained from issues of the City Directory by noting years in which they first appeared.

Assembly of historical data for shopping centers focused on four complexes constructed in 1955, 1956, and 1960. These shopping centers were the only major competitors with the downtown shopping district for a number of years. Changes which have taken place in these large centers were examined closely. The management of each center was contacted and questioned as to any policy or leasing changes that had occurred since their completion. Management was also questioned about the types of businesses desired in the center and the steps being taken to make the center more attractive to such businesses.

Phase two of the study is devoted to an analysis of data collected in phase one. This phase is subdivided into three facets: location of centers, classification of centers, and composition of centers. Locations of centers were mapped on a series of maps depicting the arrangement of centers for the years 1955, 1960, 1972, and 1983. These dates were selected since they represent intervals before and after each major highway improvement. These maps include all major

arterials, highways, and limited-access highways as well as the locations and ranks of all centers included in the study. Most importantly, these maps illustrate the relationship of limited-access highways and urban arterials to shopping center locations.

Shopping centers were categorized as to whether they were regional, community, neighborhood, or specialty centers. This categorization is done to determine if any of the centers have moved up or down the hierarchy of shopping centers. The following criteria, based on an examination of relevant literature, were chosen to differentiate shopping centers (see: Kelley, Garrison, Hoyt, Applebaum, Smith, Berry 1963 b, Imus, Epstein):

Neighborhood Shopping Center

- 1) 7 - 15 retail outlets.
- 2) Contains supermarket or convenience store.
- 3) Contains several of the following: dry cleaners, beauty shop, barber shop, shoe repair shop, laundry, variety store, cafe, tavern, hardware store, realty office, bakery, optical shop, and an arcade.
- 4) Serves from 10,000 to 20,000 people.

Community Shopping Center

- 1) 16 - 35 retail outlets.
- 2) Contains all neighborhood functions plus several of the following: one or two supermarkets, radio-tv repair, childrens specialty clothing, womens clothing, mens clothing, candy store, liquor store, theater, florist, restaurant, department store branch, jewelry store, drug store, branch bank, and some public services such as branch libraries and social service offices.
- 3) Serves between 20,000 and 100,000 people.

Regional Shopping Center

- 1) 35 - 100 or more retail outlets.
- 2) Newer centers sometimes do not contain supermarkets.
- 3) Contains all community center functions plus several of the following: two or more department stores, all convenience and specialty goods, national fast food franchises, a large variety of clothing boutiques specializing in mens, womens, and childrens clothes, specialty gift shops, and open space for community events.
- 4) Serves 100,000 to over one million people.

Specialty Shopping Center

- 1) 15 - 75 retail or non-retail businesses.
- 2) Contains businesses which are closely related to one another such as: a home improvement center containing furniture stores, carpet stores, appliance stores, bedding stores, household variety stores, and home decorating stores.
- 3) These centers are conspicuous by their lack of department stores, variety stores, and clothing stores.

The composition of the shopping centers was examined to note any changes in the mix of store types over time. Particular interest was focused on the loss or gain of any large, magnet stores, stores large enough to attract customers. This could lead in turn to a consequent loss or gain of smaller, specialty stores which depend on the larger stores to draw customers. By examining the array of store types present, one can determine the degree to which the composition of the center has changed or remained the same over time.

Businesses found in shopping centers were grouped into several categories, based on a scheme developed by Brian Berry for a study

of Spokane Washington in 1968 which I have modified substantially. (Garrison p 69) These categories reflect the presence of magnet stores, hard and soft dry goods stores, personal services, retail food stores, business and community services, and non-retail businesses. Each category was further subdivided to better describe individual store types. Some store types were combined under one subcategory, reflecting functional similarity, in order to reduce the number of subcategories.

The first category, magnet stores, consists of "full line" department stores such as Penny's, Sear's, Macy's etc.; variety stores such as T.G.&Y's, K-Mart's, Target stores etc.; and supermarkets. These stores act to attract consumers to a shopping center, providing a source of customers for the smaller stores.

The next category, hard and soft dry goods, includes those stores which sell dry goods: hardware, furniture, appliances, jewelry, clothing (men, women, children), family clothing, gifts (includes bookstores, greeting card shops, and pet stores), sporting goods, drugs, music stores (instruments, recording-playing devices, and recorded music), fabrics, camera supplies, and shoes. These stores serve as a support group for the larger magnet stores.

Retail food businesses, the third category, includes all those stores, except supermarkets, selling or serving edible goods; fast food franchises, restaurants, taverns and private clubs, liquor stores, bakeries, candy stores and ice cream parlors, and specialty food stores (health food, foreign foods, natural foods, meat markets etc). These stores serve both a neighborhood population as well as shoppers drawn to the center from beyond the immediate area.

The fourth category, personal services, includes those businesses

that cater to individual wants and needs on a daily basis. This includes: beauty shops (includes pet grooming), barber shops, shoe repair shops, florists, laundries, dry cleaners, pool halls and arcades, theaters, tailors, optical shops, figure salons (includes tanning salons, cosmetic shops, and health clubs), and photographers (includes studios and photo-developing services). Most of these functions serve a local or community clientele.

The fifth category, business and community services, includes those professional services which serve a larger more diversified population. They are: realty offices, insurance offices, medical offices (includes doctors, veterinarians, dentists, and chiropractors), financial offices (includes banks, savings and loans, and brokerage firms), and community services (includes libraries, social service offices, license and permit renewal offices, and city, county, and state offices).

The last category, non-retail businesses, are those businesses that have little or no contact with the general public. This would include corporate offices, professional consulting firms, collection agencies, periodical publishing offices, dance schools, cosmetology schools, self defense schools, and other non-retail businesses.

The general composition of a shopping center is determined by the variety and number of each store type. A retail center can be classed as regional, community, or neighborhood based on the incidence of the first four categories (magnet stores, hard and soft dry goods stores, retail food businesses, and personal services) with a greater number of stores in the hard and soft dry goods category. Shopping centers having a preponderance of store types in one category may be specialty centers.

Some store types or the absence of stores from a center may provide a measure of a shopping center's competitiveness and ability to attract businesses and hence customers. In addition to relying on what is in a center, vacancies also provide a measure of a center's competitiveness. Also, some business types such as dance studios, self defense studios, bingo parlors and small religious or political headquarters which do not generate a large profit and can not pay high rents, may be evidence of a center's inability to attract consumers to support retail businesses. Thus it is important to note combinations of activities and how they change over time to "type" a shopping center.

To provide a context for this study, the next chapter will be a literature review of relevant works in the fields of urban retail structure and highway development. The review is divided into sections on urban highway studies, urban retail structure studies, retail movements to the city's periphery, hierarchical classification of nucleated shopping centers, and the effects of urban highway improvements upon retail structure.

Throughout history humans have banded together in settlements for the advantages offered them in protection and prosperity. More security from attack, access to a place of worship, and a market full of goods from a wide area, were possible only in a city. The city as a center for commercial activity has survived the functions of the city as a place free from attack and as a center of religion.

The Greek agora can be described as the first large structure built for retail activity (Gruen). Athen's agora was an open market surrounded by covered pedestrian walkways called stoas. This idea of centralizing commercial activity in one area, while protecting the shoppers from the elements is the basis for our modern shopping centers.

Planned, cohesive shopping centers are a relatively recent innovation and have come about due to forces which have restructured urban morphology. Downtown areas evolved from the market squares of medieval Europe. The market square was the hub about which village life revolved. The city hall, guild hall, and cathedral all faced on, or were close to the market square. With the onset of the agricultural and industrial revolutions, the amount of goods and services provided by a city expanded greatly. Soon the competition for space to sell goods in the market of the central city was so great that buildings began to grow taller to allow more people access to the central market. While the buildings grew, the space devoted to the city streets below, used to move people and products in and out of the city, did not enlarge. As a result it was not long before traffic congestion and a lack of space became synonymous with the central city.

New inventions in transportation such as the train, auto, and truck eased the congestion in the city for a short while. But soon people began to use these new modes of transportation to move themselves out of the city and into fringe areas and suburbs. Railways distributed population along their tracks which radiated out from the city's center. Increased auto ownership facilitated infilling areas between the tracks, completing the decentralization of the city.

The streets of the modern city soon became congested with the mass of humanity trying to get into different parts of the city. In 1900 automobile registration in the United States was 8,000. By 1930 the figure had risen to 26,000,000 (Levin, p29). In this same period there was very little expansion of the existing road network. In the next fifteen years another five million autos were added to the total already on the roads, despite a world-wide depression and the Second World War. This great mass of cars on America's highways led the federal government to act, to relieve the congestion, by building both a network of interstate highways, and by providing matching grants for urban arterial and circumferential highway improvements.

The first federal support for highway improvements came in the Federal Aid Road Act of 1916. The purpose of this bill was to stimulate intercity highway construction. It is important to note that at this time the United States Bureau of Public Roads was in the department of Agriculture and the emphasis was on non-urban road programs. With the depression and high unemployment across the country, the National Recovery Act of 1933 and the Hayden-Cartwright Act of 1934 were passed. Both of these acts allocated

more funds to highway construction programs (Levin).

It was not until 1944 that urban areas received any direct federal aid to ease urban transportation problems. The Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944 allocated forty-five percent of federal transportation funds to primary roads in the federal system, thirty percent to secondary roads, and twenty-five percent to urban areas of over 5,000 people (Levin). These federal programs improved roads into and out of the cities, but did not address the problem of traffic movement inside the city. Such programs encouraged people to move out of the city and contributed greatly to our present urban sprawl.

The Interstate System

The greatest change to the national highway transportation system came in 1956 when congress, in an attempt to ease post-war traffic congestion, implemented the 1956 Federal Aid Highway Act. The reasons for, and the objectives of, the interstate highway system resulting from this legislation were summed up in the Interregional Highway Report of 1944. The Report stated that, "...the cities and metropolitan areas of the country are known to include the sources and destinations of much the greater part of the heavy flow of traffic that moves over the nation's highways. The system of interregional highways proposed, within the limits of the mileage adopted, connects as many as possible of the larger cities and metropolitan areas regionally and interregionally. For this reason, although in miles it represents scarcely over one percent of the entire highway and street system, it will probably serve not less than twenty percent of the total street and highway traffic." (Smith, p 2)

The interstate system of over 41,000 miles of highways was designed to accomplish ten objectives:

- 1) Join major centers of population.
- 2) Connect primary centers of industrial activity and natural resources with labor and material supply centers and major shipping points.
- 3) Provide access to military installations and defense activities.
- 4) Connect as many seats of government as economically feasible.
- 5) Provide access to major recreational areas.
- 6) Provide for continuity of travel into, through and around urban areas from rural freeway approaches.
- 7) Provide for large traffic movements between population and industry within urban areas.
- 8) Provide for needed capacity in traffic corridors.
- 9) Connect with major highways of adjacent states.
- 10) Provide an integrated system, with a minimum of stops or spurs, to permit general traffic circulation (Smith, p 3).

It is extremely important to note that there were no provisions made at this time for the effect these new highways would have upon the urban milieu. The impacts of new highway developments were felt as soon as construction was begun on the new highway system. In the early sixties this problem was recognized by the federal government and monies were made available for studies on highway impacts through a large number of federal agencies. So much money was made available in fact that many meaningless and totally useless studies were completed using these federal funds.

URBAN HIGHWAY STUDIES

Funding and effectiveness

The issue of highway improvement impacts was addressed in the

Highway Act of 1962. This act stated that future federal highways in urban areas must conform to a plan for comprehensive development of an entire region. A deadline of 1965 was attached and seventy-five million of the five billion dollars of highway funds was to be used for impact studies (Levin). The fiasco created by numerous state, local, and regional governing bodies proposing studies for federal financing was very costly. Many of the resulting studies took months and years to complete whereas decisions on where to route highways were being made in weeks. This meant that many of the studies on where to place the highways were completed after the fact. This led many transportation planners to label the majority of these studies as worthless (Levin). Another criticism of studies done during this period was that academic institutions were too busy evolving new techniques of study and doing little research of direct applicability to problems facing decision makers. Finally, many of the studies were judged to have no value at all except as propaganda to sell the idea that a highway improvement was good for a city and an entire metropolitan region.

The majority of studies done in the field of highway impacts appeared between 1950 and 1966. This does not include highway impact studies done for the National Environmental Protection Agency, which tended to concentrate on environmental issues and not commercial impacts. Many studies were federally funded by the 1962 Highway Act and by section 210 of the Highway Revenue Act of 1956. The 1956 act contained provisions to ascertain who would benefit from new highway improvements so that they could be taxed accordingly to pay the cost of the highway construction and maintenance. These studies were done by the Bureau of Public Roads in the Department of Commerce and were of several different types:

1) General analyses of the social and economic effects of highway improvements, 2) studies of land-use changes, 3) studies of land-value changes, 4) studies on the effects of by-pass roads, and 5) studies on changing traffic patterns including origin and destination studies and their relationship to land-value and land-use changes. These studies were carried out in three ways:

1) directly by state highway departments, 2) by a university or other research organization in cooperation with state highway departments, or 3) by a university or other research organization. The second method was used in Kansas.

Study Types, By-Pass Studies, Circumferentials and Radials

Many of the studies were by-pass studies done to determine the effects of placing a highway around small and medium-sized communities and thus by-passing a congested business district. Most of these studies were poorly done and orientated to selling the idea to downtown merchants (National Research Council). There were several notable exceptions, such as the Marysville, Washington study done by W.L. Garrison from the University of Washington. Like most of the studies done, he used sales tax data to determine changes in the retail structure of the city. The results showed that overall retail sales generally did not decline, but sales in automobile related services such as motels, restaurants, and service stations did suffer a serious drop in sales (National Research Council). Aggregate sales downtown increased, due to better access to businesses, reduced congestion, and more parking space. Marysville was also made more attractive as a suburb because of the lack of congestion downtown and the better connection to Seattle offered by the new highway (Garrison).

Other studies examined the effects of circumferential highways built to carry traffic around larger cities and towns. These studies focused primarily on land-use and land-value changes. It was found that adjacent agricultural land use decreased an average of 37.5 percent. Land-value increased 53.5 percent, when adjacent to the highway, and ninety-three percent in the community areas directly served by the highway (National Research Council). The new land uses which appeared along the circumferentials were residential, industrial, and commercial.

Some work was also done on the effects of radial highway improvements upon adjacent land-use and land-values. The most significant finding was that the value of vacant lots along the route of the highway increased 200 to 300 percent (National Research Council). Other sites along the radial already occupied by a non-agricultural use of some type, did not show any change in this short-term study.

Studies of the Central Business District and Urban Freeway Development

One set of studies that is cited in the literature with some regularity are those conducted by a group from the University of Washington, led by W.L. Garrison, in conjunction with the bureau of Public Roads and the Washington State Highway Department. Of particular interest is the two volume publication, Studies of the Central Business District and Urban Freeway Development. The first volume, Studies of Highway Development and Geographic Change, (Garrison) deals with impacts upon the urban milieu brought about by highway improvements. It examines specifically the impact of highway improvements upon urban retail structure and the placement

of planned shopping centers.

The second volume, Studies of the Central Business District and Urban Freeway Development (Horwood, 1959), examines highway improvements and their effects upon the central business district. This volume also recognizes the impacts of different types of highways (i.e., radials, circumferentials, and inner distributor loops). Radials are shown to be effective in the centralization of many functions. Circumferentials affect clustering and dispersal of land-use types. Circumferentials were also found to sometimes interfere with businesses in peripheral areas, by breaking linkages with businesses in the central business district (Horwood, 1959).

Though many informative studies were done on the impacts of highway developments on urban systems, many important effects and impacts were not studied. For example, no studies were done on the effects of highway improvements on local employment, tourism, economic base industries, and urban renewal projects (National Research Council). There is still a need for studies dealing with the relationship between highway development and residential, commercial, and industrial developments. Other areas needing attention are regional economic changes, central place importance, and the threshold limits of cities and the effect that highway improvements have upon them.

URBAN RETAIL STRUCTURE STUDIES

Any time a highway is built or improved there will be benefits derived from it. There are benefits for those using the new highway, such as reduced travel time and easier access to locations along the highway. There are also non-vehicular benefits which affect land adjacent to, or served by, the highway. These benefits

may take the form of increased land values, higher rents, or increased sales. These non-vehicular benefits are a major consequence of change in a city's circulation system. The socio-economic entity that we refer to as a city is constantly changing its shape and form. Before we can study any changes we must start with some situation or set of facts as a base point. Any facts differing from this starting situation are referred to as change. In this case we are examining change in the retail structure of the city. To determine what changes have taken place as a result of highway improvements and population change we must determine what the pre-highway city's retail structure was. The next few sections of this chapter are devoted to reviewing studies done on urban retail structure through the years of changes in the circulation systems, 1920 through 1960.

Retail Shopping Area Classifications

One major function in the city is the buying and selling of goods. This economic function can be further refined to include only the retailing of goods and services. The physical patterns of distribution of these activities can be described as the retail structure of a city. Several important empirical studies were done, prior to the Second World War, to determine the retail structure of the modern metropolis. The first such study was done by I.K. Rolph in 1929 in the city of Baltimore, Maryland. Rolph identified five distinctive types of retail locations in the city (Garrison). The first of these was the central business district which consisted of general merchandising stores, apparel shops, jewelry stores, furniture stores, and household goods stores. Away from the downtown area Rolph identified "retail subcenters"

which consisted of food and apparel stores. Also in the city were traffic arterials lined with stores which Rolph termed "string streets". These consisted of auto sales, furniture stores, general merchandise stores, and apparel shops. The remaining retail locations, which Rolph identified, were "neighborhood facility groups" and non-concentrated businesses. Neighborhood facility groups consisted of food stores, lumber yards, and building supply stores. The non-concentrated businesses were of no particular types other than the fact that they all did not fit into any regular pattern of distribution.

A more complete empirical study was conducted by M.J. Proudfoot on the cities of Chicago, Atlanta, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Des Moines in 1937. Like Rolph who preceded him, Proudfoot identified five major groupings of retail activity. The first was again the central business district which contained the entire range of store types found in the city. Proudfoot also identified "outlying business centers" which were smaller copies of the central business district at transportation focal points. Leading to these focal points were "principal business thoroughfares", along which were found auto accessory sales, auto sales, and grocery stores. Similar to the thoroughfares were "neighborhood business streets" with bakeries, meat markets, drug stores, and food markets. The remaining retail activities were classified as "isolated store clusters" (Garrison).

A measure of the overwhelming importance of the central business district in 1937 can be illustrated by Proudfoot's statement: "Experiments have revealed that retail structures of cities of less than 250,000 inhabitants are for the most part centralized to such

a degree that aside from a few scattered outlying business streets and outlying stores, there is little business done outside the central business district." (Garrison, pp. 40-41) This is significant when one realizes that in many cities of this size today the majority of retail business takes place outside the central business district.

A more concise and straight-forward characterization of urban retail structure came from the studies of R.U. Ratcliff done in 1935 and 1949. Using the city of Detroit as a study area, Ratcliff again identified the central business district as the center of retail activity in the city. Ratcliff thought this was so because of "... intense retail activity at the convergence of all the traffic and transportation routes." (Garrison, p. 42) Ratcliff was one of the first researchers to connect retail activity to transportation networks.

Beyond the central business district, Ratcliff recognized two basic retail location types. The first of these were "string street developments" along traffic arterials in the city. Ratcliff termed these to be linear developments. The other type of retail location was termed "business nucleations". In analysing these nucleations Ratcliff noted that certain businesses had "affinities" for other retail types. Here, for the first time, we see recognition that some retail types are sorting themselves and seeking out retail business types with which they are compatible.

This form of nucleated development evolved to maximize positive aspects of competition. By locating near competitors, businesses could attempt to capture their customers, and together with their competitors act as a larger magnet to draw consumers to that

location. Another strategy involved locating next to a compatible store that attracted the same type of customer for a different product. This strategy takes advantage of what is known as multiple-purpose shopping trips, and impulse purchasing. By locating close together a group of businesses make a long shopping trip with many stops into a one-stop trip. This concept of clustering store types together in one location to gain a competitive advantage is one of the bases for the modern planned shopping center.

Specifications of a Spatial Organization of Retail Nucleations

In 1946 H.G. Canoyer reviewed all the previous studies done on the retail structure of the city. She noted that market areas are dynamic and good locations in that market may change over time with changes in population distribution and transportation routes. Therefore, she argued, the retail structure of the city itself was dynamic and always changing (Garrison).

Canoyer identified two major types of retail locations; string streets and cluster types. String streets were characterized by a narrow corridor of retail businesses with very low pedestrian traffic. Most of those shopping in such retail outlets were the users of the traffic arterials along which the stores were located. Most of the stores were not together to facilitate multiple-destination trips and did not have the parking facilities for consumers to stay any length of time to visit other stores in the area.

The cluster types, on the other hand, had a maximum of pedestrian traffic and consumers did stop for multiple-visit shopping trips. The cluster types were subdivided into three types; the central business district, major sub-centers, and neighborhood

centers. The central business district had the greatest traffic flow and the greatest variety of stores and store types. The major sub-centers were similar to the C.B.D. but served an adjacent or immediate shopping district rather than a region as did the C.B.D.. Neighborhood centers consisted of convenience stores and service facilities such as barber shops and grocery stores which served the immediate neighborhood. Canoyer, by determining market areas for the cluster types, had evolved a method to classify shopping centers and retail clusters in the future.

One of the most comprehensive studies done on urban retail structure was that of W.L. Garrison in 1950. Garrison used the pre-war empirical studies done by Rolph, Proudfoot, and Ratcliff as a basis for classifying different locational configurations and compositions of retail activity. He then went on to describe the frequency and centrality of each location type. Using Chicago as a study area Garrison also looked for any changes in the frequency of occurrence and changes in the spacing of retail locations in the city (Garrison). He noted that new retail centers often occurred in peripheral areas where development was less dense than the central areas of the city. Garrison did not examine the effects these new retail centers had upon the existing retail structure.

Garrison identified twelve community retail centers in Chicago, which averaged 144 establishments each, with fifty-three different store types. He also noted that there were concentrations of certain business types which re-occurred in the city. These concentrations were, no doubt, the affinities of which Ratcliff referred. All of the community centers located central to mass-transit facilities and suffered from vehicular and pedestrian

congestion during rush hours. Because of the proximity to mass-transit facilities and the high congestion, it is likely that many of these centers were older clusters, which had arisen around the train depots, and were not well suited to modern retailing needs of parking space and vehicular access.

Garrison found thirteen neighborhood centers located at smaller mass-transit stations and bus stops. Business types included laundries, furniture stores, household goods, radio sales, automotive services, beauty shops, and barber shops. These centers occurred more frequently than the community centers and were spaced much closer together. The market for these centers was probably the immediate local area, judging by the business types found there.

Business thoroughfares were also examined in this study. Twenty-one were identified which served a variety of needs such as automobile services and beverage sales. Once again, based on the types of businesses involved, stores were clearly not pedestrian-orientated nor multiple-shopping trip destinations.

In another study of Chicago in 1962, B.J.L. Berry, a student of Garrison's from the University of Washington, examined retail structure of that city in minute detail. Berry elaborated on the structure and processes of change in the retail structure of the city (Berry, 1963 b). He claimed there seemed to be three different types of retail locations. The first of these is the "ribbon developments", which were located along major traffic arterials. Most of the business types here were geared to high auto traffic flows and offered front-door parking. Access was vitally important to these businesses as each business had to rely on its own drawing capacity to attract customers. Functions of these businesses varied and included auto repair shops, furniture

stores, discount stores, office equipment stores, funeral parlors, nurseries, lumber yards, plumbers, and radio-tv shops. Since many of these services were used infrequently by any one household, they needed a high-profile location to be visible to a large potential market (Berry, 1963 b).

The second component of the retail structure of Chicago which Berry identified was what he termed "specialized function districts". These districts may have evolved out of the affinities of which Ratcliff referred to in 1949. Some were identified as furniture districts, and automobile sales districts (sometimes referred to as automobile row). These districts arose from a need for the retailers to simplify the consumers task of finding stores that sold certain commodities. By grouping together the competition between businesses was greater, but this was offset by the advantage of a greater magnetism for comparison shoppers and a higher profile to a larger consumer market.

The last component of retail structure described by Berry, was the hierarchical business structure both planned and unplanned. "Unplanned centers" refers to those retail clusters which have arisen store by store without a preconceived notion or plan of building such a nucleated business cluster. Berry classified these centers as regional centers, shopping goods centers, community centers, and neighborhood centers. Stores present at the regional level included large department stores, clothing stores, shoe stores, hobby shops, music stores, and photographic supply shops among many others (Berry, 1963 b).

Shopping goods centers were specialized in their functions and consisted of varying store types. They were similar in function to the specialized districts in that they offered certain store

types a higher profile. An example of a shopping goods center would be a center that specialized in home improvement stores such as furniture stores, hardware stores, carpet stores, paint stores, and other related businesses. Community centers were smaller than the regional centers and did not have as many stores or as many retail store types. Community centers usually had a grocery store, a small department store, a drug store, variety store, and many smaller stores of varying functions.

It is important to recognize that Berry reported differences between planned and unplanned centers of the same size. While planning affected the design of centers, it did not affect their functions. Planned centers did, however, tend to have less duplication of store types and eliminated businesses which were not well suited to the center, such as furniture repair shops and printers, which frequently appeared in unplanned centers. It is also very important to point out that the planned centers had a much better chance of capturing a larger share of the retail market due to better parking facilities and less traffic congestion around the center. The unplanned centers are slowly losing their important position in the retail structure of the city because they can not compete well against the new planned shopping centers.

RETAIL MOVE TO THE PERIPHERY

With the increasing use of the private automobile as the major mode of transportation in our country, many of the streets in our cities became terribly congested because of the numbers of autos competing for space. Access to the central business district, the traditional retail sales center, became increasingly difficult. Once in the central business district, finding an empty parking

space could become difficult or costly if one had to pay for a space. Businesses located in the downtown area soon realized that in order to retain or expand their sales they would have to find a more accessible location. Simply put, businesses needed to be in an accessible, large-inventory, shopping area with adequate free parking. To meet this need the planned shopping center evolved. The planned, regional shopping center, which replaced many of the retail functions of the central business district, has been called the, " ... most outstanding institutional development in retailing of the years following World War Two." (Kelley pp.1-2)

Financing New Planned Shopping Centers

Shrewd investors in the nation's cities made capital for construction of these new shopping centers relatively easy to obtain. There were many sources for such funds. Some centers were financed by large department store chains, professional retail developers, or land developers, who set aside tracts of land in residential developments on which shopping centers would be built. Other centers were funded by institutions such as insurance companies, financial institutions, and universities, as in the cases of the University of Wisconsin and Stanford University which both funded the construction of shopping centers near to their campuses (Gruen).

Locational Criteria Of New Planned Shopping Centers

The availability of financial backing did not solve the problem of where to build the new centers. Several location factors were considered. One was the accessibility of the site. A site had to be accessible to as large a population as possible. A site also had to be large enough to accommodate parking needs, as well as

retail floor space. A site had to be available to the builders at a reasonable price in addition to all other factors. These criteria meant that the central business district, with its high land values and lack of space, was unlikely to be the site of a new, planned shopping center.

Another factor examined in the process of evaluating location alternatives were retail sales projections of the proposed center. Estimates of the potential sales of a center were calculated using population size, purchasing power, and the accessibility of the site. Of these factors, access to the site was critical since it controlled the size of the population which had access to the center (Gruen).

Potential growth of the market area was also very important in the decision of where to locate new centers. During the decades of the fifties and sixties, when many of these new centers were built, economic growth in the city was almost guaranteed. This factor became more important when the retail sales market in many cities became saturated in the late sixties and early seventies. The potential sales of a proposed store could be predicted by subtracting sales of the competition from the total estimated market demand. By using this method a developer could establish whether a market existed for a new shopping center.

With a more competitive environment, location factors were refined. The important factors now were the arterial traffic patterns, distribution of the competition, population distribution, influence of physical and cultural barriers, strength of principal stores in a proposed center, and the professionalism of the center's management (Garrison). Canoyer summed up the importance of location to a retailer in 1946: "The location of a retail store plays a vital part in its success, regardless of the size of the store or

the kinds of merchandise offered for sale, the location must be suitable or sales volume will suffer, profits will be restricted, and failure may be the ultimate result. Although good location frequently offsets deficiencies in retailing, poor locations seriously handicap the most skillful merchandisers." (Garrison p. 43)

HIERARCHICAL CLASSIFICATION OF NUCLEATED SHOPPING CENTERS

Shopping centers were being planned around the automobile as early as 1947. By 1961 over 1,300 centers had been built, comprising over sixty-two million square feet of retail floor space. Over one-hundred of these were regional centers of 400,000 square feet or more of floor space (Smith). The planned shopping center was quickly becoming one of the most important components of retailing in the nation.

Planned centers exist within a hierarchical structure similar to that expected from central place theory. The spatial distribution of central places and shopping centers of each rank is critically conditioned by the distribution of purchasing power. Where purchasing power is more available, because of a concentration of consumers in a small area, centers of like rank are closely spaced. If purchasing power is more dispersed, centers of like rank will be more widely distributed. Also, as one increases the rank of the centers, they become more widely spaced and access a larger market area, similar to central place cities of a higher rank (Garrison).

V.L. Lung's Classification of Nucleated Shopping Centers

One of the first researchers to classify shopping centers into hierarchical ranks was V.L. Lung. His method, which has been refined in later studies, was based on the different functions found in shopping centers. By looking at both the number and type of functions

found in a center, Lung was able to classify the center as either a neighborhood, community or regional shopping center (Garrison).

According to Lung, neighborhood centers were conspicuous due to the locally-oriented business types in the center. Such business types as grocery stores, beauty shops, barber shops, cafes, taverns, service stations, dry cleaners, drug stores, hardware stores, realty offices, small variety stores, bakeries, apparel stores, and gift shops were characteristic of these centers. Lung divided these functions and others into lists of those functions that were always found, frequently found, sometimes found, and rarely found in each shopping center rank (Garrison).

The next rank of center in the hierarchy was the community center. In addition to functions found in the neighborhood center, the community center could also include radio-tv shops, specialty clothing stores, tailors, restaurants, candy stores, florists, and occasionally a theater. These centers very often contained a large supermarket and a small department store. The center served an estimated population of 20,000 to 100,000 and consisted of 16-35 businesses. The suburban center, also identified by Lung, was identical to the community center except that it was located in the suburbs of a city (Garrison).

Regional centers were described as servicing an estimated 50,000 people or more, and contained fifty to one-hundred stores. Often found in these centers, in addition to all community center functions, were a large department store and a high number of convenience and luxury specialty shops.

Eugene Kelley's Classification of Nucleated Shopping Centers

Eugene Kelley in 1956 described an identical set of shopping

center ranks as those described by Lung. Kelley estimated that the neighborhood center served 10,000 to 20,000 people and usually contained a small supermarket, a drug store, beauty shop, barber shop, shoe repair shop, laundry, variety store, and other locally oriented businesses (Kelley).

The community center could have all neighborhood center functions and could contain several of the following: radio-tv shops, candy stores, liquor stores, childrens clothing stores, restaurants, florists, and womens clothing shops. The community center served an estimated 15,000 to 100,000 people (Kelley).

The suburban center differed in Kelley's study from the description given by Lung. The major difference was that it served a larger estimated population, 30,000 to 100,000 people, and contained a supermarket and a department store branch in addition to all community shopping center functions.

The regional shopping center was identified by Kelley as serving an estimated 100,000 to one million people. In addition to all suburban center functions, the regional center would have one, but usually two large department stores and many other high-order functions requiring a large market base (Kelley).

Kelley also made the statement that the regional center was "... equivalent to a downtown ..." (Kelley p. 7). This statement was countered by the research group at the University of Washington in Studies of the Central Business District and Urban Freeway Development. They stated that "... regional centers are not really regional in their market drawing capacity, but rather community centers and thus did not compete with the central business district in the regional market." (Horwood, 1959 p. 38)

The fact remains however, that regional centers have captured customers at the expense of the central business district, replicating shops once found only in the C.B.D., and now often having replaced the C.B.D. as the locus for some shops.

Spokane Planning Commission Shopping Center Classification

In order to present a review that does not concentrate on one viewpoint, I will discuss a classification system that was used in Spokane, Washington. The classification system evolved from an effort by the city planners of Spokane to better coordinate the development of shopping centers in the city. Centers were divided into two ranks, neighborhood and community centers. It is important to note that this classification system was not derived from an empirical study, but rather was imposed upon the existing retail structure of Spokane. The method derived for assigning a proper number of centers to a class assumed that each family would spend fifty percent of their income on retail goods and services. Of this total, one-third was to be spent in the existing C.B.D., one-third in community shopping centers, and one-third in neighborhood centers. The city was zoned either "B1" for neighborhood shopping centers, or "B2" for community shopping centers, in addition to non-retail zoning classifications. This plan was very tightly structured, very simple in scope, easy to implement, but fundamentally wrong (Garrison).

The empirical evidence from all other studies indicates that the retail structure of a city is much more complex. First there are three ranks of shopping centers below the central business district, not two. Also in the Spokane plan, there was no provision for arterial business types or specialized arterial functions.

And most important, if there is a bi-modal difference in the retail structure of a city, it is between arterial businesses and nucleated businesses, not between community shopping centers and neighborhood shopping centers. Since the empirical evidence of subsequent studies has supported the findings of Lung and Kelley, this study will accept their classifications.

AFFECTS OF URBAN HIGHWAY DEVELOPMENT UPON RETAIL STRUCTURE

The contention that highway development and freeway construction affects the retail structure of the city has been accepted by most geographers and other social scientists who have studied such phenomena. Wilbur Smith, in discussing the role of freeway development in shaping the urban milieu observed: "Freeways are catalysts in shaping landuse patterns within the modern metropolis and exert a positive influence on land uses. They stimulate new, carefully planned developments; they stabilize land uses by delimiting basic long-range patterns, and by giving an aspect of permanence to new freeway-orientated developments." (Smith, p.35).

Arterial Business Changes Due To Highway Improvements

If this contention that highway improvements have affected the retail structure of the city is accepted, one must then ask, how has this structure been changed? W.L. Garrison, in Studies of Highway Development And Geographic Change, addressed the question of long-range changes in the retail structure of the city. Garrison divided his analysis into two parts; changes in arterial business types, and changes in nucleated business types. In the first case, Garrison noted that arterial businesses are directly linked to urban freeway development. Arterial businesses contribute to the congestion and traffic flow problems that have provoked the

the building of many limited-access highways. However, arterials are not replaced by limited-access highways. The role of the traffic arterial remains that of moving traffic between the major industrial, commercial, and residential sections in a city. Many arterial business types are not well suited to nucleated locations and will continue to exist along the traffic arterials where they do the best business. For example, gas stations, lumber yards, building supply stores, and fast food franchises all require short-term parking and fast loading and unloading facilities; understandably these are found in an arterial location. These businesses need a convenient location to deliver goods and services to the consumer. A good example of a business type that is dependent upon arterial traffic flows for visibility and accessibility is the automobile sales district found in most cities. Because of the space required for display and storage of inventory, and the need for access to consumers, this business type is poorly suited to a nucleated location (Garrison).

The affect that a limited-access highway development has upon arterial businesses is not immediatly apparent. All of the different business types critical to through traffic will tend to congregate at intersections with limited-access highways. These functions would include service stations, restaurants, and motels. Indeed, it is the area immediately surrounding an intersection which will undergo the most change. Other arterial business types will with time move toward the intersections because of better access offered by a limited-access highway and to be more visible to highway users. It is important to note that while the arterial businesses will move along the arterial, they do not usually leave the arterial

location (Garrison).

Nucleated Business Changes Due To Highway Improvements

Nucleated business types are affected in a different way by the development of limited-access highways than are arterial business types. Nucleated centers, now usually planned centers, are likely to increase in number as highway developments progress. There are several reasons for this, one being the zoning and planning done by city governments. The desire to control change and carefully plan retail growth which is attractive and beneficial for the image of a city is very important in shaping the arrangement of retail activity in the city. New nucleated shopping centers located in good locations would attract a large market, and would not have the problems of uncontrolled growth which afflicts unplanned business concentrations.

The optimal location for a shopping center would be one that had good access to the people of the city, plenty of free parking, a low site acquisition cost, and a location able to exploit markets outside the city, via both new highways and existing roads. The locations that fit this ideal are at limited-access highway intersections with urban arterials or at intersections with other highways. At such a location the market outside the city would be accessible via the highway, and the market inside the city via the highway and arterials. With access to a larger number of potential shoppers, conferred by such a location, developers will bid for the land, and through competition, more likely opt for the returns from a higher-order center. Thus, higher-order centers will increase in number faster than the local population increase would otherwise dictate. Smaller shopping centers will lose some functions

of a higher-order to these new centers, but will capture higher-order functions from even smaller convenience clusters and from scattered locations (Garrison).

The smaller centers will suffer somewhat if they do not change because of changes in consumer buying patterns. Studies have shown that consumers do not always go to the nearest center for a particular good. Often consumers will travel farther to a larger center which offers a greater variety of goods. The effective attraction range of goods at a smaller center is less than the range of the same good at a larger center. Thus, it is not just a matter of which functions are present that dictates consumer attraction, but rather the variety of items and shops from which to choose (Clark). Since the introduction of limited-access highways will mean better access for certain locations, and a larger market for centers at these new locations, then the number of larger centers will increase and the competition with smaller centers will also increase.

Since the greatest changes from the introduction of limited-access highways and other highway improvements are with regard to the planned nucleated shopping centers, it is in this area that this study focuses. Research has shown that these new centers can compete and even overtake the central business district in terms of retail attraction. But the question of what happens to existing shopping centers as new larger centers are built has not been addressed. The next chapter in this thesis will examine the changes in individual shopping centers in Wichita Kansas.

SHOPPING CENTER CHANGE IN WICHITA, 1955 - 1983

This section examines what has occurred in Wichita's planned shopping centers in terms of location, composition, and number of centers. It is the contention of this study that these centers have been affected by changes in population distribution, limited-access highways, and arterials serving the city. Since the only major change, beyond physical expansion of the built up area, that has occurred in the city in the past twenty-five years is the construction of limited-access highways and arterial improvements, it is reasonable to assume that they played some role in changing the retail structure of the city. Up until 1960 the bulk of retail trade in the Wichita area was conducted in the central business district. Since that time the major change in the retail structure in Wichita has been the dispersal of retail activity away from the downtown.

Limited-Access Highways in the Wichita Area

The first limited-access highway to serve the city was the Kansas Turnpike (I-35) in 1956. This highway connected east and south Wichita to the cities of Emporia, Topeka, Kansas City, Oklahoma City, and Dallas-Ft. Worth. Perhaps because it is a toll road, retail development did not develop around the interchanges of the turnpike. A more likely reason is the lack of access along the turnpike to small cities and to Wichita. The first exit on the route north of Wichita is Eldorado which is twenty-one miles away. To the South Wellington is twenty-three miles away. Small towns in between these widely spaced exits have no access to the toll road. Also, since Wichita has only three exits on the turnpike,

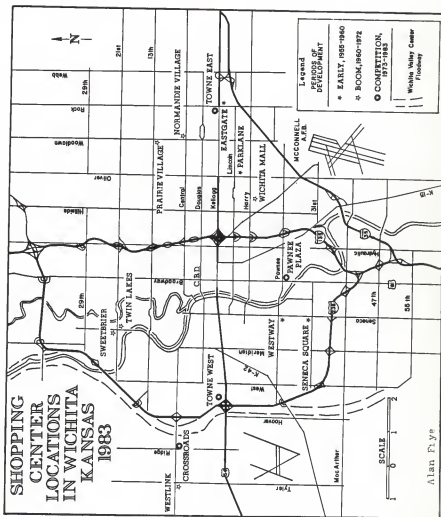
there has been little use of the route by local traffic. The only intersection that has developed any retail activity is where US-54 (Kellogg) intersects the turnpike (Fig. 1). Eastgate shopping center was established at that location in 1960.

The next major addition to Wichita's highway network was I-235 (the western by-pass) completed in 1965. Connected on its southern extreme to the Kansas Turnpike, I-235 circles the city to the west joining with I-135 which travels north to Newton, Salina, and intersects with I-70. The Wichita-Valley Center Floodway follows the route of I-235 on its west side and forms a barrier to any development along that side of the highway (Fig. 1). The opening of the highway made development of the western half of the city much more desirable to businessmen. The intersection of US-54 with I-235 in particular, has been a focus for retail development.

The latest, major limited-access highway built to serve Wichita is the last leg of I-135, known locally as the canal route, which was completed in 1979. This route connected I-235 and I-135 in the north to I-235 and the Kansas Turnpike in the south. The highway runs through the heart of the city bisecting many established neighborhoods and disrupting residential areas. This routeway was designed to function as a linear park as well as a highway by having park space beneath its elevated roadbed. That condition, along with its young age, has discouraged retail development along its length. Development may take place in the future if zoning is changed and land becomes available. However, at this time the high land acquisition costs, and zoning along the route, discourage retail development.

Another highway improvement associated with I-135 is the

FIGURE ONE



improvement of US-54 at its intersection with I-135. At this location the arterial has been upgraded to a limited-access highway as far west as Broadway (Fig. 1). US-54 has also been upgraded to a limited-access highway west of the Arkansas River. The highway on its remaining stretches still has some traffic lights but is served by frontage roads to decrease congestion caused by arterial businesses. This route carries the bulk of the east-west traffic in the city today. As such it has had a significant effect on the placement of shopping centers within the city.

The rest of this chapter is devoted to the examination of changes occurring in individual shopping centers. This will be done by tracing each center's development from its inception through the present. Centers will be examined in chronological order starting with the oldest center. Key years in the survey of the centers are 1969, 1972 and 1983. These years were used because of the availability of data and because of extensive retail changes occurring in the late sixties and early seventies. Other data were collected for the year of a shopping center's inception. In some cases data are used for the year after completion because a center was not constructed in time to be included in the inception-year data source.

Parklane Shopping Center

The first planned shopping center to be built in Wichita was the Parklane Shopping Center (Fig. 1). It was built in 1955 at the intersection of Oliver and Lincoln streets. Oliver Street was then a major north-south arterial which accessed McConnell Air Force Base, the Cessna aircraft plant and Boeing aircraft company in the southern part of the city. When the center was built, this area

TABLE ONE

(45)

SHOPPING CENTER COMPOSITION

NAME PARKLANEBUILT 1955SIZE 74 (# STORES)

STORES		NUMBER OF BUSINESSES	
MAGNET STORES	Department Stores	1956	1969
	Variety stores		
	Supermarkets		
HARD AND SOFT DRY GOODS	Hardware		
	Furniture		
	Appliances		
	Jewelry		
	Shoes		
	Clothing Stores		
	(Mens)		
	(Womens)		
	(Childrens)		
	Gifts		
	Sporting Goods		
	Drug Stores		
	Music Recorded & Inst.		
	Fabric Stores		
	Camera Supplies		
RETAIL FOOD BUSINESSES	Fast Food Franchise		
	Restaurants		
	Taverns & Clubs		
	Liquor Stores		
	Bakeries		
	Candy Stores		
	Specialty Foods		
PERSONAL SERVICES	Beauty Shop		
	Barber Shop		
	Shoe Repair Shop		
	Florist		
	Laundry		
	Dry Cleaner		
	Pool Hall & Arcade		
	Theater		
	Tailor		
	Optical Shop		
	Figure Salon		
BUSINESS & COMMUNITY SERVICES	Photographer		
	Realty Offices		
	Insurance Offices		
	Medical Offices		
	Financial Offices		
NON-RETAIL BUSINESSES	Community Services		
	Dance Studios		
	Self Defense Studios		
	Business Offices		
	Others		

1956

1969

TABLE ONE CONT. (46)

SHOPPING CENTER COMPOSITION

NAME PARKLANEBUILT 1955SIZE 74 (F STORES)

STORES		NUMBER OF BUSINESSES	
MAGNET STORES	Department Stores	2	
	Variety stores		
	Supermarkets		
HARD AND SOFT DRY GOODS	Hardware	3	
	Furniture	1	5
	Appliances		
	Jewelry	3	1
	Shoes	1	1
	Clothing Stores	5	3
	(Mens)		
	(Womens)	5	
	(Childrens)	2	
	Gifts	5	3
	Sporting Goods		1
	Drug Stores	1	
	Music Recorded & Inst.	2	1
	Fabric Stores	2	1
	Camera Supplies		
RETAIL FOOD BUSINESSES	Fast Food Franchise		1
	Restaurants	1	2
	Taverns & Clubs	1	3
	Liquor Stores		
	Bakeries		
	Candy Stores		
	Specialty Foods	1	
PERSONAL SERVICES	Beauty Shop	2	2
	Barber Shop	1	1
	Shoe Repair Shop	1	
	Florist	1	1
	Laundry		
	Dry Cleaner	1	
	Pool Hall & Arcade	1	1
	Theater	1	
	Tailor		1
	Optical Shop	1	1
	Figure Salon	2	2
	Photographer	1	
BUSINESS & COMMUNITY SERVICES	Realty Offices	1	
	Insurance Offices	4	3
	Medical Offices	2	1
	Financial Offices	2	1
	Community Services	2	1
NON-RETAIL BUSINESSES	Dance Studios	1	1
	Self Defense Studios		1
	Business Offices		
	Others	10	10
		1972	1983

was relatively new and growing rapidly. Parklane is a two-level center with the upper level accessible from the west, facing Oliver, and the lower level accessible from the east. The upper level was predominantly used by retail functions while the lower level was predominantly used for professional offices and small, service orientated businesses.

When the center opened in 1955 it had two "anchor" department stores (Table 1). The center also had thirteen hard and soft dry goods stores (here-after referred to as H&S dry goods) including two hardware stores, a jewelry store, two shoe stores, six clothing stores, and two gift shops. Also in the center were three retail food stores, a fast food franchise, a restaurant, and a candy store. Personal service businesses in the center were represented by a barber shop, a beauty shop, dry cleaners, and photographers studio. Business and community services in the center were represented by a realtor, a doctor's office, and a financial institution. The center was a community shopping center based on its size and composition.

In the first thirteen years of its existence Parklane grew steadily. By 1969 the center had added another department store, a new variety store, and a supermarket, giving it five magnet stores. Eleven new H&S dry goods stores were added to the center, consisting of a hardware store, two furniture stores, an appliance store, two shoe stores, five clothing stores, two gift shops, a drug store, and a fabric store. A couple of taverns were added to the retail food group which also lost a candy store. Added personal services were represented by another beauty shop, a shoe repair shop, a florist, a laundry, a pool hall, an optical shop, and two

figure salons. However, the photographers studio was lost. In the business and community services category, the realty office was lost, but three insurance offices, three doctor's offices, two government social service offices, and another financial institution were added. Five non-retail businesses were also added to the center; a merchants association office, a church athletic association and three other businesses. Parklane shopping center at this time (1969) had sixty-three businesses and qualified as a regional shopping center (Table 1).

Over the next three years major changes were taking place in Wichita's retail structure and in Parklane center. Many new shopping centers, some with better locations, had been built in the city. The Mall shopping center at Harry and Oliver streets (Fig. 1) had just opened and immediately acquired some businesses from Parklane. First to leave were three magnet stores, returning the center to its 1956 level. Changes in the H&S dry goods category included losing a furniture store, and three shoe stores, while gaining two budget jewelry stores, a clothing store, a fabric shop, a gift shop, and two music stores. In the retail food category, a tavern and fast food franchise were lost and a specialty food store was gained. The personal services category lost the florist and laundry, and gained a small theater and two photographers. The business and community services category lost two doctor's offices, but added a realtor, an insurance office and a branch bank. The non-retail sector also added four more businesses for a total of nine (Table 1). Parklane at this time (1972) was still a regional center but, with six vacancies and nine non-retail businesses out of seventy-four total spaces available, the center

was not as healthy as it had been. Indeed, Parklane center was beginning to decline in importance due to the better locations of newer centers.

By 1983 Parklane had lost its two remaining department stores. The center also lost nineteen H&S dry goods stores; three hardware stores, nine clothing stores, two gift shops, the drug store, a fabric store, a music store, and two jewelry stores, while adding a sporting goods store, and four furniture stores. A new fast food franchise, restaurant, and tavern were added to the retail food category. The personal service category lost the shoe repair shop, dry cleaners, theater, and a photographer. A tailor and a bingo parlor were gained. The most unusual losses were seven business and community services which left the center. Those leaving included a realty office, an insurance office, a doctor's office, two financial institutions, and a government office. A gain of one business was made in the non-retail category. Parklane was left with twenty-three vacancies out of seventy-four spaces available for a vacancy rate of thirty-one percent (Table 1). The center now has many businesses which are attracted by low rents, such as bingo parlors and karate studios. This indicates that the center is no longer competitive enough with other shopping centers to attract establishments that can pay high rents. Traffic today by-passes Parklane on other routes, contributing to the center's downward shift from a regional center to a weak community center which it is today. With ten non-retail businesses in the center already, the management is trying to fill vacancies with non-retail functions. Parklane is becoming a combination retail-office center. Recently Parklane has advertised its space as available for office use and as an office park.

Seneca Square Shopping Center

The second center to appear in Wichita was Seneca Square, constructed in 1956 on the city's south side (Fig. 1). The center is located at the intersection of Seneca Street and Thirty-First Street south. At the time it was built the center was on the periphery of the city. Unlike the Parklane center, Seneca Square is a small center that has been updated and modified several times in attempts to keep it competitive. The center in 1957 had one magnet store, a supermarket. It had twelve H&S dry goods stores: two hardware stores, a jewelry store, two shoe stores, five clothing stores, a gift shop, and a drug store. The center also contained a restaurant, a beauty shop, a barber shop, a shoe repair shop, and a doctor's office (Table 2).

Few changes were made to Seneca Square in the next twelve years and in 1969 the center had much the same composition, though a department store had been added to make the center more attractive to shoppers. Little change was recorded in the H&S dry goods category. A gift shop and shoe store were replaced by a hardware store and fabric store. The restaurant and doctor's office had left the center. They were replaced by an automobile license bureau and three financial institutions (Table 2). Overall this was a very stable period for the center. Seneca Square was in 1969 a firmly established, community shopping center.

In an effort to make the center more attractive and competitive with newer centers, it was expanded in 1970 and made into an enclosed mall. These changes proved to be very beneficial as a variety store was added to give the center three magnet stores. Also added to the center were an appliance store, shoe store, two gift shops, and a music store which replaced a clothing store and a

TABLE TWO

(51)

SHOPPING CENTER COMPOSITION

NAME SENECA SQUARE BUILT 1956 SIZE 35 (# STORES)

STORES		NUMBER OF BUSINESSES	
MAGNET STORES	Department Stores		•
	Variety stores		
	Supermarkets	•	•
HARD AND SOFT DRY GOODS	Hardware	••	••••
	Furniture		
	Appliances		
	Jewelry	•	•
	Shoes	••	•
	Clothing Stores	•	•
	(Mens)		
	(Womens)	••••	••
	(Childrens)	•	•
	Gifts	•	
	Sporting Goods		
	Drug Stores	•	•
	Music Recorded & Inst.		
	Fabric Stores		•
	Camera Supplies		
RETAIL FOOD BUSINESSES	Fast Food Franchise		
	Restaurants	•	
	Taverns & Clubs		
	Liquor Stores		
	Bakeries		
	Candy Stores		
	Specialty Foods		
PERSONAL SERVICES	Beauty Shop	•	•
	Barber Shop	•	•
	Shoe Repair Shop	•	•
	Florist		
	Laundry		
	Dry Cleaner		
	Pool Hall & Arcade		
	Theater		
	Tailor		
	Optical Shop		
BUSINESS & COMMUNITY SERVICES	Figure Salon		
	Photographer		
	Realty Offices		
	Insurance Offices		•
	Medical Offices	•	
NON-RETAIL BUSINESSES	Financial Offices		••••
	Community Services		•
	Dance Studios		
	Self Defense Studios		
	Business Offices		
	Others		
		1957	1969

TABLE TWO CONT. (52)

SHOPPING CENTER COMPOSITION

NAME SENECA SQUARE BUILT 1956 SIZE 35 (= STORES)

STORES		NUMBER OF BUSINESSES	
MAGNET STORES	Department Stores	•	
	Variety stores	•	
	Supermarkets	•	•
HARD AND SOFT GRY GOODS	Hardware	•••	••••
	Furniture		
	Appliances	•	
	Jewelry	•	
	Shoes	••	•
	Clothing Stores	•	•
	(Mens)		
	(Womens)	•••	••
	(Childrens)		•
	Gifts	••	•••
	Sporting Goods		
	Drug Stores	•	•
	Music Recorded & Inst.	•	•
	Fabric Stores		
	Camera Supplies		
RETAIL FOOD BUSINESSES	Fast Food Franchise	••••	
	Restaurants	•	•
	Taverns & Clubs	•	
	Liquor Stores	•	•
	Bakeries		
	Candy Stores		
	Specialty Foods		
PERSONAL SERVICES	Beauty Shop	•	••
	Barber Shop		
	Shoe Repair Shop	•	•
	Florist		•
	Laundry		
	Dry Cleaner	•	•
	Pool Hall & Arcade		•
	Theater		
	Tailor		
	Optical Shop	•	••
BUSINESS & COMMUNITY SERVICES	Figure Salon	•	•
	Photographer	•	•
	Realty Offices		•
	Insurance Offices	••	
	Medical Offices		
NON-RETAIL BUSINESSES	Financial Offices	•••	••
	Community Services	••	••
	Dance Studios		
	Self Defense Studios		
	Business Offices	•	•
	Others		•
		1972	1983

fabric store. The retail food category was renewed with the addition of three fast food franchises, a restaurant, a tavern, and a liquor store. The personal service category lost a barber shop, but gained a figure salon, a photographer, optical shop, and a dry cleaners. Also added were an insurance office and branch of the public library (Table 2). The period 1969 to 1972 was the most successful for this particular shopping center.

By 1983 Seneca Square suffered several setbacks. The department store, which had attracted many shoppers to the center, was lost because of liquidation of the owner's assets. The variety store moved to a new location in another center. This left Seneca Square with only the supermarket as a magnet store. The H&S dry goods category lost an appliance store, a jewelry store, and a shoe store, offset only by the gain of a gift shop. The personal services category gained another beauty shop, an optical shop, pet grooming shop, and a bingo parlor. They replaced two insurance offices and a financial institution. Also added to the business and community services category was a realty office. A church has occupied the space formerly occupied by the variety store (Table 2).

Seneca Square is now a neighborhood shopping center, a drop from its former status as a community center. The bingo parlor and church functions indicate that the center is having some difficulty in finding retail tenants. Today there are three vacancies out of thirty-five businesses. So despite remodeling and changing to a mall structure, the center cannot compete in the retail market as a community center against newer centers with better locations.

Eastgate Shopping Center

The Eastgate Shopping Center was built in 1960 near the intersection of the Kansas Turnpike and US-54 (Kellogg Ave.) (Fig. 1). Eastgate differs from the first two shopping centers examined in that its location has stayed highly competitive since its inception. When it first opened Eastgate had three department stores, a variety store, and a supermarket, giving it five magnet stores. The center also had eleven H&S dry goods stores: four clothing stores, a hardware store, a jewelry store, three shoe stores, and two fabric stores. Eastgate also had a fast food franchise, a beauty shop, a shoe repair shop, two dry cleaners and a realty office to complete its compliment (Table 3). At this point in its history Eastgate was a community shopping center. It did not qualify as a regional center because of the low total number of stores in the center.

By 1969 Eastgate was prospering. It had added another supermarket to give it six magnet stores. The H&S dry goods category lost a clothing store, but gained two new clothing stores, a shoe store and an appliance store. The center had also lost a dry cleaner and the realty office which were replaced by a liquor store, an insurance office, and a branch bank (Table 3). Eastgate had shown strong viability in the period 1960 to 1969 and, though growing, remained a community shopping center. With six magnet stores, three of which were department stores, Eastgate and the businesses along the arterials near the center most likely acted as a regional attraction despite the low number of stores in the shopping center proper. However this was a relatively short-lived condition. The growing number of new shopping centers in the city

TABLE THREE

(55)

SHOPPING CENTER COMPOSITION

NAME EASTGATEBUILT 1960SIZE 32 (# STORES)

STORES		NUMBER OF BUSINESSES	
MAGNET STORES	Department Stores	••••	••••
	Variety stores	•	•
	Supermarkets	•	••
HARD AND SOFT DRY GOODS	Hardware	•	••
	Furniture		
	Appliances		•
	Jewelry	•	
	Shoes	••••	•••••
	Clothing Stores	•	
	(Mens)		•
	(Womens)	••	••
	(Childrens)	•	•
	Gifts		
	Sporting Goods		
	Drug Stores		
	Music Recorded & Inst.		•
	Fabric Stores	•	•
RETAIL FOOD BUSINESSES	Camera Supplies	•	
	Fast Food Franchise	•	•
	Restaurants		
	Taverns & Clubs		
	Liquor Stores		•
	Bakeries		
	Candy Stores		
	Specialty Foods		
PERSONAL SERVICES	Beauty Shop	•	•
	barber Shop	•	•
	Shoe Repair Shop	•	•
	Florist		
	Laundry		
	Dry Cleaner	••	•
	Pool Hall & Arcade		
	Theater		
	Tailor		
	Optical Shop		
	Figure Salon		
BUSINESS & COMMUNITY SERVICES	Photographer		
	Realty Offices	•	
	Insurance Offices		•
	Medical Offices		
	Financial Offices		•
NON-RETAIL BUSINESSES	Community Services		
	Dance Studios		
	Self Defense Studios		
	Business Offices		
	Others		
		1960	1966

TABLE THREE CONT. (56)
SHOPPING CENTER COMPOSITION

NAME EASTGATE BUILT 1960 SIZE 32 (# STORES)

STORES		NUMBER OF BUSINESSES	
MAGNET STORES	Department Stores	2	
	Variety stores		1
	Supermarkets	1	
HARD AND SOFT DRY GOODS	Hardware	1	
	Furniture		1
	Appliances		
	Jewelry	1	
	Shoes	3	
	Clothing Stores		1
	(Mens)		
	(Womens)		
	(Childrens)	1	
	Gifts		3
	Sporting Goods		1
	Drug Stores		1
	Music Recorded & Inst.	1	1
	Fabric Stores	1	1
	Camera Supplies	1	1
RETAIL FOOD BUSINESSES	Fast Food Franchise		
	Restaurants		3
	Taverns & Clubs		
	Liquor Stores	1	
	Bakeries		
	Candy Stores		1
	Specialty Foods		
PERSONAL SERVICES	Beauty Shop	2	1
	Barber Shop	1	1
	Shoe Repair Shop	1	
	Florist		
	Laundry		
	Dry Cleaner	1	1
	Pool Hall & Arcade		
	Theater		
	Tailor		1
	Optical Shop		1
	Figure Salon		1
	Photographer		
BUSINESS & COMMUNITY SERVICES	Realty Offices	1	
	Insurance Offices		
	Medical Offices		
	Financial Offices	1	
	Community Services		1
NON-RETAIL BUSINESSES	Dance Studios		
	Self Defense Studios		
	Business Offices		
	Others		
		1972	1983

soon began to take away some of Eastgate's customers and prosperity.

By 1972 Eastgate had lost one department store and a supermarket. it had also lost a hardware store, an appliance store, and three clothing stores, which were replaced by only one fabric store in the H&S dry goods category. Also lost to the center were the fast food franchise and insurance office. A beauty shop, realty office, and finance office replaced these functions (Table 3). Based on my observations the magnet stores and clothing stores were the first businesses to leave the center for a new location.

By 1983 the transition of Eastgate had progressed rapidly. Despite remodeling the center twice to make it more attractive, Eastgate lost both remaining department stores. It also lost the hardware store, three shoe stores, a jewelry store, and the last clothing store. Most of these businesses moved in 1975 to a large, new regional center (Towne East Square), located across Kellogg. Replacing the lost stores were a large furniture store, three gift shops, a greeting card shop, a drug store, and a camera store. The center also attracted three new restaurants and lost the liquor store, whose lease was not renewed by the management in order to improve the image of the center. The personal services category lost a beauty shop and the shoe repair shop. Taking their place is a tailor, an optical shop, and a figure salon. The realty office also left, being replaced by a coin shop. The rest of the center's spaces, six, are now vacant. Eastgate today has thirty-two spaces available for businesses, the most in its history. However, many of these spaces are the result of sub-dividing the department store spaces. The management of the center recognizes that the location of the center is still good and has more improvement plans to

upgrade facilities in the center. At the present time their efforts have resulted in a change to a specialty center, specializing in home furnishings. This still would have to be considered a drop in status from the time when Eastgate was a community shopping center with six magnet stores.

Westway Shopping Center

Westway opened in 1960 at the intersection of Seneca and Pawnee Streets in south Wichita (Fig. 1). Westway is situated one mile north of Seneca Square and has competed with that center since the former was built. Westway has few small businesses in the center, relying instead on arterial-orientated businesses to compliment those businesses in the shopping center. Westway consisted of four stores when it began: a department store, two variety stores, and a supermarket. The center expanded in 1962, adding a clothing store, a liquor store, two dry cleaners, a shoe repair shop, and a barber shop. This arrangement was fairly stable until 1965 when the center was expanded again to add another department store, a new supermarket and a beauty shop to replace one dry cleaners (Table 4). Through 1969 the only additional change was the addition of a clothing store.

By 1972, however, one variety store had been lost as had the clothing store. They had been replaced by a theater, a florist, a film developing service, and a dance school. Westway at this time would not quite qualify as a community center because it was two stores short of the sixteen required. However, when the stores in the arterial business strip on Seneca are included the retail cluster was much larger than required. For this reason Westway could be classified as a community shopping center in 1972.

TABLE FOUR

(59)

SHOPPING CENTER COMPOSITION

NAME WESTWAYBUILT 1960 SIZE 25 (# STORES)

STORES		NUMBER OF BUSINESSES		
MAGNET STORES	Department Stores	••	•	•
	Variety stores	•	••	•
	Supermarkets	•	••	••
HARD AND SOFT DRY GOODS	Hardware			•
	Furniture			
	Appliances			
	Jewelry			
	Shoes			
	Clothing Stores	•		•
	(Mens)			
	(Womens)			•
	(Childrens)			
	Gifts			••
	Sporting Goods			
	Drug Stores			
	Music Recorded & Inst.			
	Fabric Stores		•	
	Camera Supplies			
RETAIL FOOD BUSINESSES	Fast Food Franchise			•••••
	Restaurants			
	Taverns & Clubs			
	Liquor Stores	•	•	•
	Bakeries			
	Candy Stores			
	Specialty Foods			
PERSONAL SERVICES	Beauty Shop	•	•	•
	Barber Shop	•	•	•
	Shoe Repair Shop	•	•	
	Florist		•	•
	Laundry			
	Dry Cleaner	•		
	Pool Hall & Arcade			•
	Theater		•	
	Tailor			
	Optical Shop		•	
	Figure Salon			
	Photographer		•	•
BUSINESS & COMMUNITY SERVICES	Realty Offices			
	Insurance Offices			
	Medical Offices			
	Financial Offices			
	Community Services			••••
NON-RETAIL BUSINESSES	Dance Studios			
	Self Defense Studios			
	Business Offices			
	Others			
		1965	1972	1983

With five magnet stores the center was definitely not a neighborhood shopping center (Table 4).

Between 1972 and 1983 Westway remained stable but, the strip development along Seneca Street intensified greatly. The intersection became a favored location for fast food franchises as over twenty of them located nearby. Westway itself during this time lost a variety store, but added two clothing stores and a gift shop to the H&S dry goods category while losing a fabric store. The biggest gain was the addition of five fast food franchises, four branch banks, an arcade and a rental store, which replaced the shoe repair shop, optical shop, and theater. Westway currently has one vacancy out of twenty-five spaces available. Ten of these spaces are separate buildings which are controlled by the center even though they are not connected to the main building. This qualifies Westway as a community shopping center, although there may be an argument as to whether the center is entirely planned. It should be noted that although Westway's later development was not planned, the large parking lots and other attributes of the center are those of a planned center, and I would regard it as such for the purposes of this study.

Twin Lakes Shopping Center

Twin Lakes was started in 1966 on the west side of Wichita at the intersection of Amidon and Twenty-First Streets (Fig. 1). The construction was done in stages and was not completed until 1972. Two other shopping centers share the intersection with Twin Lakes, Sweetbrier built in 1967 and Marina Lakes built in 1975. Neither of these two centers is as large nor as attractive as Twin Lakes. The Marina Lakes center was originally anchored by a large discount

TABLE FIVE

(61)

SHOPPING CENTER COMPOSITION

NAME TWIN LAKES BUILT 1965 SIZE 48 (# STORES)

STORES		NUMBER OF BUSINESSES	
MAGNET STORES	Department Stores		
	Variety stores		
	Supermarkets		
HARD AND SOFT DRY GOODS	Hardware		
	Furniture		
	Appliances		
	Jewelry		
	Shoes		
	Clothing Stores		
	(Mens)		●
	(Womens)		
	(Childrens)		
	Gifts		●
	Sporting Goods		
	Drug Stores		
	Music Recorded & Inst.		●
RETAIL FOOD BUSINESSES	Fabric Stores		●
	Camera Supplies		
	Fast Food Franchise	●	
	Restaurants		●●
	Taverns & Clubs		
	Liquor Stores		
	Bakeries		
PERSONAL SERVICES	Candy Stores		
	Specialty Foods		●
	Beauty Shop		
	barber Shop	●	
	Shoe Repair Shop		●
	Florist		
	Laundry		
	Dry Cleaner		●
	Pool Hall & Arcade	●	●
	Theater		
	Tailor		
	Optical Shop		
	Figure Salon		●
BUSINESS & COMMUNITY SERVICES	Photographer		
	Realty Offices		
	Insurance Offices		
	Medical Offices		
	Financial Offices		●
NON-RETAIL BUSINESSES	Community Services		●
	Dance Studios		
	Self Defense Studios		
	Business Offices		
	Others		

1966

1969

TABLE FIVE CONT. (62)

SHOPPING CENTER COMPOSITION

NAME TWIN LAKES BUILT 1965 SIZE 48 (# STORES)

STORES		NUMBER OF BUSINESSES	
MAGNET STORES	Department Stores	●●	●
	Variety stores	●●	
	Supermarkets	●	
HARD AND SOFT DRY GOODS	Hardware		
	Furniture	●	
	Appliances	●●	
	Jewelry	●●	●
	Shoes	●●●●	●●●●●
	Clothing Stores	●●●	●●●
	(Mens)	●●●	
	(Womens)	●●●●●●●	●●
	(Childrens)	●	
	Gifts	●●●●●●●●	●●●●●●●●
	Sporting Goods	●	●
	Drug Stores	●	●
	Music Recorded & Inst.	●●●	
RETAIL FOOD BUSINESSES	Fabric Stores	●	
	Camera Supplies		
	Fast Food Franchise	●●	●●●
	Restaurants	●●	●●
	Taverns & Clubs	●	
	Liquor Stores	●	
	Bakeries		
PERSONAL SERVICES	Candy Stores		●●
	Specialty Foods	●●	●
	Beauty Shop	●	●●
	Barber Shop	●	●
	Shoe Repair Shop	●	
	Florist		
	Laundry		
	Dry Cleaner	●	●
	Pool Hall & Arcade		●
	Theater	●	●
	Tailor		
	Optical Shop	●	●
	Figure Salon	●	●
BUSINESS & COMMUNITY SERVICES	Photographer	●	
	Realty Offices		
	Insurance Offices		
	Medical Offices	●	
	Financial Offices	●●	●
NON-RETAIL BUSINESSES	Community Services		
	Dance Studios		
	Self Defense Studios		
	Business Offices		
Others			
		1972	1983

store which has since folded. This center would qualify as a neighborhood center and so is not included in this study.

Twin Lakes along with the Sweetbrier center were the only large shopping centers on the west side of Wichita for many years. As a result of this, they prospered in a location that has relatively poor access to the rest of the city.

Twin Lakes in 1966 was little more than a neighborhood center with a few personal service businesses in a largely empty center (table 5). However, by 1969 the center had begun to fill. While Twin Lakes still had no magnet stores, it did have a clothing store, a gift shop, two music stores, two fast food franchises, a specialty food store, a barber shop, an optical shop, a laundry, a dry cleaners, a doctor's office, and a branch bank. Twin Lakes at this time (1969) was a neighborhood shopping center.

By 1972 Twin Lakes had completed its construction program, adding five magnet stores; a supermarket, two variety stores and two department stores. The center had also added a furniture store, two appliance stores, two jewelry stores, four shoe stores, thirteen clothing stores, seven gift shops, a drug store, a greeting card shop, and two music stores to the H&S dry goods category. Retail food stores added to the center included two restaurants, a tavern, a liquor store, and a specialty food store. The personal services category added a beauty shop, shoe repair shop, theater complex, optical shop, and photography studio to the center. The only other addition was a branch bank built in the parking lot of the center (Table 5). This combination of businesses remained the almost the same for eight years and represents the apex of Twin Lake's ability to attract shoppers. With five magnet stores and sixty-one total

businesses Twin Lakes was a regional shopping center. In 1980, a very large, regional shopping center was built on the west side of Wichita (Towne West Square) in a location much better suited for a large regional center than was true for Twin Lakes. This new center replaced Twin Lakes as the regional shopping center on the west side of the city.

In 1983 Twin Lakes is just a shadow of its former self. While still a very attractive center, with two swan-filled, scenic lakes, and in a relatively affluent residential sector, its past role as a regional center is not likely to be sustained. By 1983 Twin Lakes had lost five magnet stores, leaving one department store. Fourteen H&S dry goods stores were gone including a furniture store, two appliance stores, a jewelry store, seven clothing stores, three music stores and a fabric store. The retail food category was reorganized with a tavern, liquor store and specialty food store being replaced by two candy stores and a fast food franchise. Personal service businesses lost were the photography studio and shoe repair shop, while a beauty shop and arcade were added. The center also lost one of its branch banks and a doctor's office, leaving the center with ten vacancies out of forty-eight spaces available (some spaces were consolidated from smaller spaces) for a twenty-one percent vacancy rate. Twin Lakes is still undergoing transition and its current status as a community shopping center is not stable and may change in the next few years.

Sweetbrier Shopping Center

The Sweetbrier Shopping Center, located just northwest of Twin Lakes, was opened in 1967 (Fig. 1). From its inception it was a much different center than its neighbor. Sweetbrier opened

TABLE SIX

(65)

SHOPPING CENTER COMPOSITION

NAME SWEETBRIER

BUILT 1967 SIZE 26 (# STORES)

STORES		NUMBER OF BUSINESSES		
MAGNET STORES	Department Stores			
	Variety stores	•	••	••
	Supermarkets	•	•	•
HARD AND SOFT DRY GOODS	Hardware	•	••	••
	Furniture			
	Appliances			••
	Jewelry			•
	Shoes			••
	Clothing Stores	••	••	
	(Mens)			
	(Womens)	•		
	(Childrens)		•	
	Gifts		••	•••••
	Sporting Goods			
	Drug Stores			
	Music Recorded & Inst.	••	••	•
	Fabric Stores	••	••	
	Camera Supplies			
RETAIL FOOD BUSINESSES	Fast Food Franchise			
	Restaurants			
	Taverns & Clubs	•		•
	Liquor Stores	•		
	Bakeries		••	•
	Candy Stores			
	Specialty Foods			
PERSONAL SERVICES	Beauty Shop	•	•	
	Barber Shop	•	•	
	Shoe Repair Shop			
	Florist	•	•	
	Laundry	•	•	
	Dry Cleaner	•		
	Pool Hall & Arcade			•
	Theater			•
	Tailor		•	
	Optical Shop		••	•
	Figure Salon		•	•
	Photographer			
BUSINESS & COMMUNITY SERVICES	Realty Offices	•		
	Insurance Offices	•	•	•
	Medical Offices		••	
	Financial Offices	•		
	Community Services			•
NON-RETAIL BUSINESSES	Dance Studios			•
	Self Defense Studios			
	Business Offices			
	Others			
		1969	1972	1983

as a discount oriented shopping center. It did not have the expensive architecture or landscaping or high rents of the Twin Lakes center. A 1969 survey of Sweetbrier revealed a supermarket and a variety store as the only magnet stores. The H&S dry goods category included a hardware store, three clothing stores, a music store and a fabric shop. The only retail food businesses were a tavern and a liquor store. Personal services in the center included a beauty shop, a barber shop, a laundry, a dry cleaners, and a florist. A realty office, insurance office and branch bank constituted the business and community services in the center (Table 6). Sweetbrier in 1969 was a neighborhood shopping center catering to local needs.

By 1972 when Twin Lakes was at its zenith, Sweetbrier had expanded, adding a large variety store to give it three magnet stores. The H&S dry goods category added a hardware store, two shoe stores, a music store, a fabric shop, and two gift shops. The tavern left as did two of the clothing stores. Two bakeries, an optical shop, a figure salon and a doctor's office were also added to the center (Table 6). The dry cleaners and realty office were also lost. Sweetbrier in 1972 was a community shopping center as a result of the added attraction of the large new variety store.

By 1983 Sweetbrier had lost a music store and two fabric shops, but had gained two appliance stores and three gift shops in the H&S dry goods category. The two bakeries departed but a tavern once again appeared. Personal service businesses lost included: the barber shop, a beauty shop, laundry, tailor and florist, but a dry cleaners and arcade were added. Also lost was the doctor's office which was replaced by a branch of the public library and a dance school. Sweetbrier today is at full capacity with no

vacancies in its twenty-six spaces. It remains a stable community shopping center.

Prairie Village Shopping Center

Prairie Village was built in 1968 at the intersection of thirteenth Street north and Woodlawn on the east side of Wichita (Fig. 1). Located in a new, affluent section of the city, Prairie Village filled with businesses quickly. By 1969 the center had three magnet stores; two department stores and a supermarket. The H&S dry goods category consisted of a hardware store, an appliance store, a jewelry store, and a drug store. Four retail food stores, a fast food franchise, a restaurant, a tavern, and a liquor store, were also in the center. Personal service businesses in Prairie Village included a barber shop, a dry cleaners, a photographers, and a florist. Prairie Village also had a large number of business and community services for a small center. They were: a realty office, an insurance office, a government office, and an architects office (Table 7). Prairie Village was qualified to be ranked as a community center based on its total number of stores, but the lack of clothing stores and predominance of services in the center indicate that the center was more locally oriented.

Prairie Village had changed little by 1972. One of the department stores had left leaving one in the center. H&S dry goods businesses leaving the center were the appliance store and a jewelry store which were replaced by a hardware store and a fabric shop. Other activities leaving the center were a restaurant, a branch bank, and the government office. They were replaced by a beauty shop and a realty office. Prairie Village in 1972 was much the same as it had been in 1969, a community shopping center by definition but not perhaps in reality.

TABLE SEVEN

(68)

SHOPPING CENTER COMPOSITION

NAME PRAIRE VILLAGE BUILT 1968 SIZE 21 (# STORES)

STORES		NUMBER OF BUSINESSES		
MAGNET STORES	Department Stores	••	•	
	Variety stores			
	Supermarkets	•	•	•
HARD AND SOFT DRY GOODS	Hardware	•	••	
	Furniture			•
	Appliances	•		•
	Jewelry	•		•
	Shoes			
	Clothing Stores			
	(Mens)			
	(Womens)			••
	(Childrens)			
	Gifts			•
	Sporting Goods			
	Drug Stores	•	•	•
	Music Recorded & Inst.			•
RETAIL FOOD BUSINESSES	Fabric Stores		•	
	Camera Supplies			
	Fast Food Franchise	•	•	••
	Restaurants	•		•
	Taverns & Clubs	•	•	
PERSONAL SERVICES	Liquor Stores	•	•	•
	Bakeries		•	
	Candy Stores			
	Specialty Foods			
	Beauty Shop		•	•
BUSINESS & COMMUNITY SERVICES	barber Shop	•	•	
	Shoe Repair Shop			
	Florist	•	•	•
	Laundry			
	Dry Cleaner	•	•	•
	Pool Hall & Arcade			
	Theater			
	Tailor			
	Optical Shop			•
	Figure Salon			
NON-RETAIL BUSINESSES	Photographer	•	•	
	Realty Offices	•	••	•
	Insurance Offices	•	•	
	Medical Offices	••	••	•••
	Financial Offices	•		
OTHERS	Community Services	•		
	Dance Studios			
	Self Defense Studios			
	Business Offices	•	•	
	Others			
		1969	1972	1983

The stability of this shopping center has been improved with its current mix of business types. The department store is gone as are both hardware stores and the fabric store. They were replaced by a furniture store, two clothing stores, a gift shop, and a music store. The bakery and tavern were replaced by a fast food franchise and a restaurant. The barber shop and photographer were replaced by an optical shop, while the realty office, insurance office, and architect's office were replaced by a new doctor's office (Table 7). Prairie Village today is a stable neighborhood shopping center. Its location in an affluent part of the city has helped to keep its spaces full without having to attract any businesses which thrive on low rents.

Westlink Shopping Center

Built in 1968 at the intersection of Central Street and Tyler Road, Westlink Shopping Center was at its inception located at the far western periphery of the city (Fig. 1). Westlink qualified as a community shopping center for a short period in its history which is why it is included in this study despite its small size. Originally Westlink had three magnet stores; two variety stores and a supermarket. H&S dry goods stores in the center included: a hardware store, a shoe store, a clothing store, a drug store, and a music store. Other businesses in the center included a liquor store, a beauty shop, a barber shop, and a dry cleaners. The center also had several community and business services; a branch bank, a realty office, three doctor's offices and a branch of the public library (Table 8). Westlink barely qualified as a community shopping center at this time (1969).

By 1972 Westlink had not changed much, losing a shoe store

TABLE EIGHT

(70)

SHOPPING CENTER COMPOSITION

NAME WESTLINKBUILT 1968SIZE 23 (# STORES)

STORES		NUMBER OF BUSINESSES		
MAGNET STORES	Department Stores			
	Variety stores	••	••	
	Supermarkets	•	•	•
HARD AND SOFT DRY GOODS	Hardware	•	•	
	Furniture			•
	Appliances			
	Jewelry			
	Shoes	•		
	Clothing Stores	•	••	••
	(Mens)			
	(Womens)			•
	(Childrens)			•
	Gifts		••	•••
	Sporting Goods			•••
	Drug Stores	•	•	•
	Music Recorded & Inst.	•		••
RETAIL FOOD BUSINESSES	Fabric Stores			
	Camera Supplies			
	Fast Food Franchise			••
	Restaurants		•	
	Taverns & Clubs			
	Liquor Stores	•	••	•
	Bakeries			
PERSONAL SERVICES	Candy Stores			
	Specialty Foods			•
	Beauty Shop	•	••	•
	Barber Shop	•	•	
	Shoe Repair Shop			
	Florist			
	Laundry			
	Dry Cleaner	•	•	•
	Pool Hall & Arcade			•
	Theater			
	Tailor			
	Optical Shop			•
BUSINESS & COMMUNITY SERVICES	Figure Salon			•
	Photographer			
	Realty Offices	•	••	
	Insurance Offices		•	
	Medical Offices	•••	••••	
	Financial Offices	•	•	•
NON-RETAIL BUSINESSES	Community Services	•	•	
	Dance Studios			
	Self Defense Studios			
	Business Offices			
	Others			
		1969	1972	1983

and a music store. Businesses added to the center included a clothing store, two gift shops, a restaurant, a liquor store, a beauty shop, an insurance office, a realty office, two doctor's offices, and a gas company office (Table 8). Westlink still qualified as a community shopping center, although its continued lack of a department store indicated that it was not attracting a very large market.

Westlink in 1983 is no longer a community shopping center. Wichita has grown beyond the Westlink residential development and the area is no longer on the periphery. Both variety stores are gone from the center leaving the supermarket as the lone magnet store. The H&S dry goods category also underwent change; gone is the hardware store, replaced by an appliance store, two clothing stores, a gift shop, two sporting goods stores, and two music stores. The restaurant and one liquor store were replaced by two fast food franchises and a specialty food store. The beauty shop and barber shop were replaced by a five-theater complex, a figure salon, and an optical shop. Perhaps the biggest change in the center was the loss of all business and community services except the branch bank (Table 8). Today, although it has grown larger and has twenty-three businesses with no vacancies, Westlink is a stable neighborhood shopping center.

The Wichita Mall Shopping Center

Built in 1970, the Wichita Mall was originally known as "The Mall" because it was the first mall type of shopping center to be built in Wichita. It is located on Harry Street, a major east-west arterial, between Oliver Street and Hillside Street (Fig. 1). The center was located in a high traffic flow area. Traffic from two

TABLE NINE

(72)

SHOPPING CENTER COMPOSITION

NAME WICHITA MALL BUILT 1972 SIZE 46 (# STORES)

STORES		NUMBER OF BUSINESSES	
MAGNET STORES	Department Stores	●	●
	Variety stores	●●	
	Supermarkets	●	●
HARD AND SOFT DRY GOODS	Hardware		
	Furniture		
	Appliances	●	
	Jewelry	●●	●●
	Shoes	●●●●●	●●●●●●
	Clothing Stores	●●	●
	(Mens)	●●●●	●●●
	(Womens)	●●●●●●●●	●●●●●●●
	(Childrens)		
	Gifts	●●●●●●●●	●●●●●●
	Sporting Goods		
	Drug Stores		
	Music Recorded & Inst.	●●	●●●
	Fabric Stores	●	●
	Camera Supplies		
RETAIL FOOD BUSINESSES	Fast Food Franchise	●●	●●●
	Restaurants		
	Taverns & Clubs		●
	Liquor Stores		
	Bakeries		
	Candy Stores	●	
	Specialty Foods	●●	●●
PERSONAL SERVICES	Beauty Shop		●
	Barber Shop		
	Shoe Repair Shop		
	Florist		
	Laundry		
	Dry Cleaner		
	Pool Hall & Arcade		●
	Theater	●	●
	Tailor		
	Optical Shop		
	Figure Salon		
	Photographer		
BUSINESS & COMMUNITY SERVICES	Realty Offices		
	Insurance Offices		
	Medical Offices		
	Financial Offices		
	Community Services	●●	●●
NON-RETAIL BUSINESSES	Dance Studios		
	Self Defense Studios		
	Business Offices		
	Others		
		1972	1983

large hospitals, two large aircraft factories, and McConnell Air Force Base passes by the center. This is one of the reasons why the center has had a traffic congestion problem ever since it opened. Many residential streets in the area behind have been used by shoppers trying avoid the traffic congestion on the arterials. When it opened in 1970 the Wichita Mall acquired many of its businesses from Parklane Shopping Center which is only a few blocks away on Oliver Street.

The Wichita Mall had four magnet stores when it first opened; two variety stores, a large department store, and a supermarket. The H&S dry goods stores in the center were typical of a normal center with an abundance of clothing and gift stores in the center. H&S dry goods stores in the center were: an appliance store, two jewelry stores, five shoe stores, fifteen clothing stores, eight gift shops, a music store, a record store, and a fabric store. Retail food businesses in the center consisted of two fast food franchises, a candy store, and two specialty food stores. Personal services in the center consisted of a movie theater and an auto service center (Table 9). The Wichita Mall was, in 1972 a classic example of a healthy community shopping center.

By 1983 the Wichita Mall had seen some reduction in the number of customers visiting the center due to the presence of five new shopping centers in the city. The high traffic flow around the center kept the center stable while other older centers in the city were losing tenants. The Wichita Mall did lose one variety store and a large clothing store, which had "anchored" one end of the center, when the parent companies of both stores declared bankruptcy and had to liquify their assets. The center's businesses did

change a little losing an appliance store, four clothing stores, two gift shops, and a candy store. They were replaced by a shoe store, a music store, a fast food franchise, and an arcade. The center at present has three vacancies out of forty-six spaces available. Though it has lost some of its initial momentum, the Wichita Mall is still a good example of a community shopping center.

Normandie Village Shopping Center

Normandie Village was built in 1970 at the intersection of Central and Woodlawn Streets in an affluent section of east Wichita (Fig. 1). The center has some functions that seldom appear in other centers (such as a golfball cleaning service). When it opened it had a variety store and a supermarket as its two magnet stores. H&S dry goods stores in the center included a jewelry store, a book store, a drug store, a record store, two sporting goods stores, and a fabric shop. Retail food businesses present in the center were: a restaurant, a tavern, a liquor store, and a specialty food store. The center also included a barber shop, a beauty shop, a shoe repair shop, and a photography studio. Normandie Center was a community shopping center by virtue of its total number of businesses and the presence of clothing stores.

By 1983 the center had changed relatively little. The jewelry store, three clothing stores, a record store, a sporting goods store, a tavern, a liquor store, a beauty shop, and the photography studio all left the center. They were replaced by three gift shops, a book store, a restaurant, a bakery, an optical shop, and a travel agency. There are twenty-nine spaces available for business in the center with no vacancies at the present time. Normandie Village is marginal because of the drop in the number of clothing

TABLE TEN

(75)

SHOPPING CENTER COMPOSITION

NAME NORMANDIE CENTER BUILT 1970 SIZE 29 (# STORES)

STORES		NUMBER OF BUSINESSES	
MAGNET STORES	Department Stores		
	Variety stores	●	●
	Supermarkets	●	●
HARD AND SOFT DRY GOODS	Hardware		
	Furniture		
	Appliances		
	Jewelry	●	
	Shoes	●	●
	Clothing Stores	●	
	(Mens)	●	●
	(Womens)	●	●
	(Childrens)	●	●
	Gifts	●	●
	Sporting Goods	●	●
	Drug Stores	●	●
	Music Recorded & Inst.	●	●
	Fabric Stores	●	
	Camera Supplies		
RETAIL FOOD BUSINESSES	Fast Food Franchise		
	Restaurants	●	●
	Taverns & Clubs	●	
	Liquor Stores	●	
	Bakeries		●
	Candy Stores		
	Specialty Foods	●	●
PERSONAL SERVICES	Beauty Shop	●	
	Barber Shop	●	
	Shoe Repair Shop	●	●
	Florist	●	●
	Laundry		
	Dry Cleaner		
	Pool Hall & Arcade		
	Theater		
	Tailor		
	Optical Shop		●
	Figure Salon		
	Photographer	●	
BUSINESS & COMMUNITY SERVICES	Realty Offices		
	Insurance Offices		
	Medical Offices		
	Financial Offices		
	Community Services		●
NON-RETAIL BUSINESSES	Dance Studios		
	Self Defense Studios		
	Business Offices		
	Others		
		1972	1983

stores and the lack of a department store, I would classify the center as a neighborhood shopping center (Table 10).

Pawnee Plaza Shopping Center

Pawnee Plaza was built in 1974 at the intersection of Broadway and Pawnee Streets (Fig. 1). These two streets, while major arterials, are not large enough to handle heavy traffic flows at this particular location. Broadway to the north accesses the downtown area and suffers from congestion and a high number of traffic lights. To the south, traffic is restricted by the Johnny Mack Bridge, a two-lane bridge crossing the Arkansas River. Pawnee Street to the west is restricted as it must twist around the bends of the river, and to the east Pawnee is extremely narrow and congested. So even though the center is located on two major arterials, it is also at the point where both arterials are bottlenecked and suffers from an access problem.

Pawnee Plaza, because of its location and the bad luck of opening at the same time as a huge new regional center (Towne East Square), has had difficulties attracting tenants. At its inception, Pawnee Plaza had two magnet stores; a department store and the state's largest supermarket (Table 11). H&S dry goods stores in the center consisted of two gift shops, a record store, two music stores, and a pet store. The center contained a restaurant, a specialty food store, and a movie theater complex. The center in 1974 had approximately twenty vacancies out of thirty-two available spaces. This gave the center a vacancy rate of 62.5 percent. This situation did not improve for quite some time.

By 1983 Pawnee Plaza had changed owners and its emphasis on the type of tenant it was hoping to attract. Retail stores were not

TABLE ELEVEN

(77)

SHOPPING CENTER COMPOSITION

NAME PAWNEE PLAZA BUILT 1974 SIZE 32 (# STORES)

STORES		NUMBER OF BUSINESSES	
MAGNET STORES	Department Stores	●	
	Variety stores		
	Supermarkets	●	●
HARD AND SOFT DRY GOODS	Hardware		
	Furniture		
	Appliances		●
	Jewelry		●●
	Shoes		
	Clothing Stores		
	(Mens)		●
	(Womens)		
	(Childrens)		
	Gifts	●●●●	●●●●
	Sporting Goods		
	Drug Stores		●
	Music Recorded & Inst.	●●	●
RETAIL FOOD BUSINESSES	Fabric Stores		
	Camera Supplies		
	Fast Food Franchise		
	Restaurants	●	●
	Taverns & Clubs		
	Liquor Stores		
	Bakeries		●
	Candy Stores		
PERSONAL SERVICES	Specialty Foods	●	●
	Beauty Shop		●
	barber Shop		
	Shoe Repair Shop		
	Florist		
	Laundry		
	Dry Cleaner		
	Pool Hall & Arcade		●
	Theater		
	Tailor	●	●
	Optical Shop		
	Figure Salon		
BUSINESS & COMMUNITY SERVICES	Photographer		
	Realty Offices		
	Insurance Offices		
	Medical Offices		
	Financial Offices	●	●
NON-RETAIL BUSINESSES	Community Services		●
	Dance Studios		
	Self Defense Studios		
	Business Offices		●●●●
	Others		●
		1974	1983

being attracted to the center and the large department store had departed after the parent corporation closed some of its outlets. This left yet another vacancy in the center, a very big vacancy. The new owners of the center, in an attempt to lease the spaces available, offered the space to non-retail users. The composition of the center today is a blend of retail and non-retail users. The supermarket is still in the center, acting as the sole magnet store. H&S dry goods stores in the center are clustered toward the supermarket end of the mall. That include an appliance store, two jewelry stores, a clothing store, three gift shops, a drug store, and a computer store (Table 11). A bakery has been added to the retail food businesses and a beauty shop, pet grooming and arcade added to the personal services category. Non-retail businesses added to the center include Bell Telephone offices, government employment offices (non-public functions), a cosmetics school, two research organizations, and an office suite containing miscellaneous offices. The center still has five vacancies. However, the poor retail location indicates that they will not be filled by retail functions. Pawnee Plaza today would be classified as a combination community office center and neighborhood shopping center.

Towne East Square Shopping Center

Towne East Square, the largest of Wichita's shopping centers, was built in 1975 at the intersection of US-54 (Kellogg), the Kansas Turnpike and Rock Road (Fig. 1). Located on the east side of the city, just northwest of Eastgate Shopping Center, the site is well suited as a retail location. Towne East is a two-level mall with three large department stores and a variety-catalog

TABLE TWELVE

(79)

SHOPPING CENTER COMPOSITION

NAME TOWNE EAST SQUARE BUILT 1975 SIZE 125 (# STORES)

STORES		NUMBER OF BUSINESSES
MAGNET STORES	Department Stores	●●●
	Variety stores	●
	Supermarkets	
HARD AND SOFT DRY GOODS	Hardware	
	Furniture	
	Appliances	●●
	Jewelry	●●●●●●●●
	Shoes	●●●●●●●●●●●●●●
	Clothing Stores	●●●●●●●●
	(Mens)	●●●●●●
	(Womens)	●●●●●●●●●●●●●●
	(Childrens)	●
	Gifts	●●●●●●●●●●●●●●
	Sporting Goods	●
	Drug Stores	
	Music Recorded & Inst.	●●●●
RETAIL FOOD BUSINESSES	Fabric Stores	●●
	Camera Supplies	
	Fast Food Franchise	●●●●●●●●
	Restaurants	●
	Taverns & Clubs	
	Liquor Stores	
PERSONAL SERVICES	Bakeries	●
	Candy Stores	●●●
	Specialty Foods	●●●●●●
	Beauty Shop	●●
	Barber Shop	
	Shoe Repair Shop	
BUSINESS & COMMUNITY SERVICES	Florist	
	Laundry	
	Dry Cleaner	
	Pool Hall & Arcade	●
	Theater	●●
	Tailor	
	Optical Shop	●
	Figure Salon	
	Photographer	●
NON-RETAIL BUSINESSES	Realty Offices	
	Insurance Offices	
	Medical Offices	
	Financial Offices	●●
	Community Services	●●●
NON-RETAIL BUSINESSES	Dance Studios	
	Self Defense Studios	
	Business Offices	
	Others	

store acting as magnets for the center. Towne East filled with businesses very quickly when it opened, often at the expense of smaller, older centers (Eastgate lost most of its major tenants to Towne East). H&S dry goods stores in the center consist of two appliance stores, eight jewelry stores, fifteen shoe stores, thirty-five clothing stores, twenty gift shops, a sporting goods store, four music stores, and two fabric shops. Retail food businesses in the center are: seven fast food franchises, a restaurant, a bakery, three candy stores, and six specialty food stores. Personal services in the center are: two beauty shops, two theater complexes (which have a total of seven screens), an arcade, an optical shop, and a photograph developing service. Other businesses in the center are: two banks and three auto service centers (Table 12). There are currently seven vacancies out of 125 available spaces, but this will probably decrease quickly. This regional shopping center is very large and very diversified in its range of businesses. The center also contains, at its center, a space for community events. For example, it is often used for local television talk shows. Towne East Square has the largest sales of any center in Wichita and plays an important part in Wichita's role as a regional retail center.

Towne West Square Shopping Center

The west side of Wichita received its large regional center in 1980 when Towne West Square was built at the intersection of US-54 and I-235 (Fig. 1). Towne West is a one-level mall type center, just slightly larger in area than Towne East, but with more vacancies (twenty). Access to the center is very good with Maple and West Streets acting as additional feeder arterials with the

TABLE THIRTEEN

(81)

SHOPPING CENTER COMPOSITION

NAME TOWNE WEST SQUARE BUILT 1980 SIZE 126 (# STORES)

STORES		NUMBER OF BUSINESSES
MAGNET STORES	Department Stores	4
	Variety stores	1
	Supermarkets	0
HARD AND SOFT DRY GOODS	Hardware	0
	Furniture	0
	Appliances	1
	Jewelry	5
	Shoes	15
	Clothing Stores	4
	(Mens)	2
	(Womens)	10
	(Childrens)	1
	Gifts	15
	Sporting Goods	0
	Drug Stores	0
	Music Recorded & Inst.	4
	Fabric Stores	1
	Camera Supplies	0
RETAIL FOOD BUSINESSES	Fast Food Franchise	8
	Restaurants	0
	Taverns & Clubs	0
	Liquor Stores	0
	Bakeries	3
	Candy Stores	1
	Specialty Foods	4
		0
PERSONAL SERVICES	Beauty Shop	3
	barber Shop	0
	Shoe Repair Shop	0
	Florist	0
	Laundry	0
	Dry Cleaner	0
	Pool Hall & Arcade	2
	Theater	1
	Tailor	0
	Optical Shop	2
	Figure Salon	0
	Photographer	1
BUSINESS & COMMUNITY SERVICES	Realty Offices	0
	Insurance Offices	0
	Medical Offices	0
	Financial Offices	0
	Community Services	1
NON-RETAIL BUSINESSES	Dance Studios	0
	Self Defense Studios	0
	Business Offices	1
	Others	0

two major highways. The center is anchored by four large department stores and a variety store (Table 13). The H&S dry goods category consists of an appliance store, six jewelry stores, nineteen shoe stores, twenty-two clothing stores, twenty gift shops, four music stores, and a fabric shop. Retail food businesses in the center include eight fast food franchises, three bakeries, a candy store, and four specialty food stores. Personal services in the center are: three beauty shops, a theater complex, two arcades (one is designed for pre-school age children and is more like an indoor playground), two optical shops, and a photo-developing service. The center also includes a Bell phone store and a consumer research organization which takes frequent consumer surveys in the center. This center is still relatively new and many of its twenty vacancies will be filled in time. Many of the stores which did locate in Towne West came from Twin Lakes, depleting that center of businesses quickly. Towne West is a young center but is still the second largest center in sales in the city and as such plays a vital part in Wichita's role as a regional retail center.

Crossroads Shopping Center

The newest shopping center in Wichita is the Crossroads Center on the west side of the city at the intersection of Ridge Road and Central Street (Fig. 1). The center also has access to I-235 via a short distance on Central. Constructed in 1983 the center is still largely empty with six vacancies. Crossroads has two magnet stores; a large variety store and a supermarket (Table 14). The center also contains an appliance store, a gift shop, a drug store, a computer store, three fast food franchises, a beauty shop, a dry cleaners, and a figure salon. The center is at present a

TABLE FOURTEEN (83)

SHOPPING CENTER COMPOSITION

NAME CROSSROADS BUILT 1983 SIZE 18 (# STORES)

STORES		NUMBER OF BUSINESSES	
MAGNET STORES	Department Stores	●	
	Variety stores		
	Supermarkets	●	
HARD AND SOFT DRY GOODS	Hardware		
	Furniture		
	Appliances	●	
	Jewelry		
	Shoes		
	Clothing Stores		
	(Mens)		
	(Womens)		
	(Childrens)		
	Gifts	●	
	Sporting Goods		
	Drug Stores	●	
	Music Recorded & Inst.	●	
RETAIL FOOD BUSINESSES	Fabric Stores		
	Camera Supplies		
	Fast Food Franchise	●●●	
	Restaurants		
	Taverns & Clubs		
	Liquor Stores		
	Bakeries		
PERSONAL SERVICES	Candy Stores		
	Specialty Foods		
	Beauty Shop	●	
	barber Shop		
	Shoe Repair Shop		
	Florist		
	Laundry		
	Dry Cleaner	●	
	Pool Hall & Arcade		
	Theater		
	Tailor		
BUSINESS & COMMUNITY SERVICES	Optical Shop		
	Figure Salon	●	
	Photographer		
	Realty Offices		
	Insurance Offices		
NON-RETAIL BUSINESSES	Medical Offices		
	Financial Offices		
	Community Services		
	Dance Studios		
	Self Defense Studios		
	Business Offices		
	Others		

neighborhood center but with its good location, space for growth, and expanding local market, it will likely become a community shopping center in the near future.

Patterns of Change in Wichita's Retail Structure

By looking at the data presented in this chapter we can begin to see certain patterns of location and development of the city's shopping centers. The first pattern that can be noticed by looking at the map of shopping center locations is that almost all the centers were built in the city's periphery. The only exception to this pattern was the Wichita Mall which was well inside the city when it was built. This peripheral development is due in part to the lower land values in peripheral areas of the city and the lower density of development and less congested arterial thoroughfares.

Another common pattern that emerges is the time period when most of the shopping centers were built. All of the shopping centers in Wichita have been built in the twenty-eight years since 1955. However, ten of the fourteen shopping centers in the city were built in the fifteen-year period between 1960 and 1975. The biggest spurt of construction came in the five years between 1965 and 1970 when five shopping centers were built. The only centers not built during the fifteen year "boom" period were Parklane in 1955, Seneca Square in 1956, Towne West Square in 1980, and Crossroads in 1983. This boom is now over as we can note that over the past seven years only two shopping centers, of community size or larger, have been built in Wichita.

Shopping centers built before or during the first part of this "boom" also have other similarities. Parklane, Seneca Square, and Eastgate have all experienced a period of prosperity followed by

the lean times of the present period. Westway is the exception to this pattern. Westway has not yet suffered any decline. This may be because of the unique position Westway holds as the focus of an intense, arterial retail development. The arterial businesses which support Westway may have been somewhat immune to the forces which have affected the other centers.

The other shopping centers built during the decade of the sixties have also experienced a period of prosperity followed by a decline. They did not, however, decline as much as earlier centers. The major exceptions here are Twin Lakes which declined as much or more than any other center in the city, and Sweetbrier, across the street from Twin Lakes, which did not suffer any decline at all. The other centers did suffer though a decline in their status in the hierarchy of centers in Wichita's retail structure. Most of these centers declined from a rank of community center to a rank of neighborhood center.

It was during the period when most of Wichita's shopping centers were declining in rank that the hierarchy of centers in Wichita became better defined. This sorting of centers and of retail importance is still underway, but not as actively as in the mid-seventies through the early eighties.

The development of Wichita's retail structure can be divided into two major periods, the period of central business district dominance, and the period which followed of dominance by the planned shopping centers. This latter period can be further subdivided into three phases. I call these the early phase, the boom phase, and the competition phase. These phases are similar to the three phase development of the settlement of rural areas

described by John Hudson in 1969 (Hudson). Hudson divided the settlement of rural areas into the colonization phase, in which the area was occupied and the population expanded, the spread phase, in which the density and dispersal of settlement increased, and the competition phase, in which a spatial regularity appeared in the settlement pattern. This is very similar to the three phases of shopping center development which I observed in Wichita.

The next chapter will examine more closely the relationships between Wichita's shopping centers and the transportation network and population distribution, and the reasons why changes occurred when and where they did.

CHAPTER FOUR

REASONS FOR CHANGE IN WICHITA'S RETAIL STRUCTURE

Now that the actual changes in Wichita's planned shopping centers have been examined, I will explain why these changes occurred and why centers located where they did. The changes in Wichita's shopping centers can be related to four main factors, population size, population distribution, location of industrial areas, and the transportation network connecting the different areas of the city. In the final analysis, it is changes in the transportation network which is most decisive in making one location favorable over another as a retail site. This chapter is structured chronologically and geographically. Changes in a particular area of the city are examined for each decade from 1950 to the present. The time periods are arbitrary in that they do not reflect certain periods of homogeneity but rather are divisions of time used by the Census of Population which was used to determine population size and distribution.

Changes in Wichita's Shopping Centers, 1950 - 1960

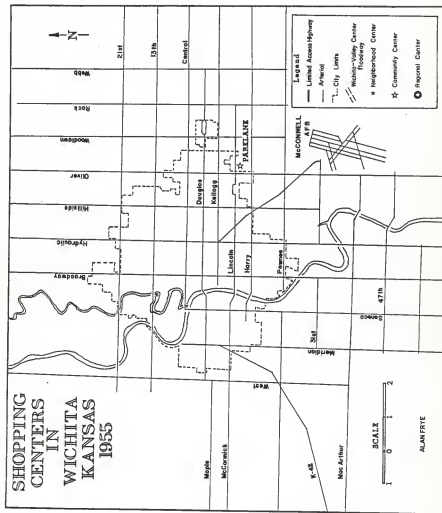
Since Wichita received it's first limited-access highway in 1956, the Kansas Turnpike, the first period examined will be pre-1956. The first shopping center in Wichita, Parklane, was built in 1955 on the east side of the city. There were certain factors which led to the shopping center being located in this area. These factors included the population distribution, location of industry, and the disposition of the transportation network.

The city of Wichita in 1950 was still fairly small. The SMSA (standard metropolitan statistical area) recorded a population of 168,279 (1950 Census), with the major portion of the city being

east of the Arkansas River. The central business district was located adjacent to the river along Douglas Avenue (Fig. 2). Apart from the downtown area the major areas of employment were to the north of the C.B.D., the old industrial district, which contained stockyards, railyards, grain storage facilities, oil refineries, and numerous miscellaneous small businesses, and a newer industrial area in the southeast part of the city. This newer industrial area was established during the war and was centered on McConnell Air Force Base. It was composed of new, growing industries of which Boeing Military Aircraft and Cessna Aircraft were the larger employers. The major arterials connecting this area with the rest of the city were Oliver Street and George Washington Boulevard. The other major employer in the Wichita area was Beechcraft Company, located outside the city between Central and Kellogg Streets, east of Webb Road.

The industrial area to the north of the C.B.D. was well established and workers were served by the downtown retail concentration. However, in the eastern half of the city a large market existed which did not have immediate access to the downtown retail center. To access this market, Parklane Shopping Center was built in 1955. Since this new retail center would want to be accessible to workers traveling to and from work in the southeastern industrial area, the center was located on the major arterials serving the area, at the intersection of Oliver and Lincoln Streets (Fig. 1). Lincoln Street in 1955 was the first arterial available, for commuter traffic from the south, to cross the Arkansas River and access the area west of the river. Oliver Street was the principal arterial connecting the southeastern industrial area

FIGURE TWO



to the residential areas in the north and eastern part of the city. The only other arterial which served the area was George Washington Boulevard which connected to city's core area. Since this core area was already densely developed there was little room to build a shopping center along that route.

Parklane was on the periphery of the city when it was built. However, the city was growing rapidly in the post-war economic boom period between 1950 and 1960. All peripheral areas of the city were growing rapidly during this time (Fig. 3) and the SMSA population rose to 254,698 by 1960 (1960 Census). The areas of the city losing population were older districts centered on the C.B.D.. Much of the city's growth was to the south and east. These growth areas were served by Parklane Shopping Center and by Seneca Square Shopping Center which was built in 1956. The western side of the Arkansas River lagged behind the rest of the city due to the barrier effect of the Arkansas River.

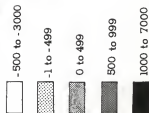
East Wichita

By 1960 the tremendous growth of the city had spawned new, planned shopping centers in the south and east, areas of greatest population growth. The Kansas Turnpike, I-35, was completed in 1956, connecting Wichita to Oklahoma City in the south and Topeka and Kansas City in the northeast. There were two access points on the highway to service Wichita, one at the intersection with US-54 (Kellogg) and one at the intersection with 47th Street and US-81 in the south. Because of the limited amount of access points on the toll road, there was a limited amount of local traffic using the new highway.

Population growth in the city had created a large market in the

POPULATION CHANGE IN THE WICHITA SMSA BY CENSUS TRACT, 1950-1960

POPULATION
CHANGE PER
CENSUS TRACT

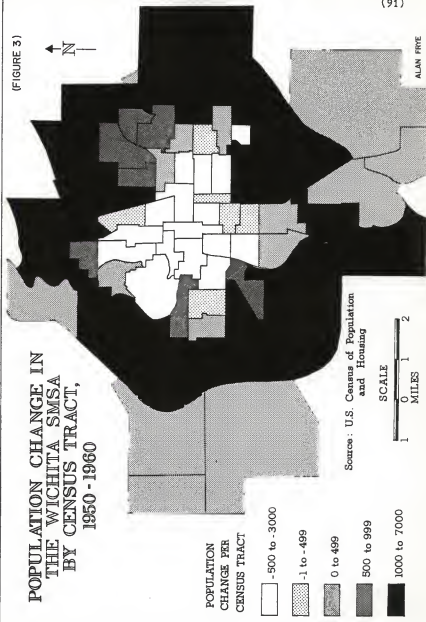


Source: U.S. Census of Population
and Housing

SCALE



(FIGURE 3)



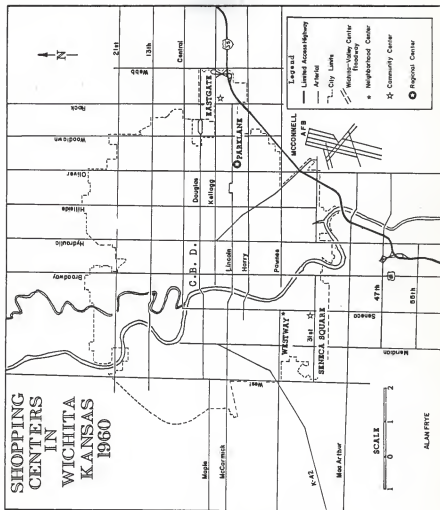
ALAN FRYE

east, south, and western areas of the city. In eastern Wichita Parklane Shopping Center, with its excellent location, had benefited from this larger market and grown into a regional center that competed with retail functions in the C.B.D. for customers. However Parklane did not absorb all the retail demand in the eastern part of the city. With the development of an access point on Kellogg Street to the Kansas Turnpike, Kellogg became more important as an east-west arterial in eastern Wichita. Eastgate Shopping Center was built in 1960 at this location (Fig. 4). Eastgate was also in a position to intercept traffic from the Beechcraft plant as it traveled to and from that plant on Kellogg. Indeed, this location was the eastern gate to Wichita and Eastgate Shopping Center enjoyed the market to the east of Wichita, despite the fact that the larger Parklane center was located near by. It could have been the close proximity of Parklane during the early years of Eastgate's history which kept that center from expanding and becoming a regional shopping center.

South Wichita

In the southern part of Wichita there were no major industrial areas to generate heavy traffic flows. However in southwestern Wichita a new airport and industrial park were being developed. The areas to the south and west had developed as residential areas and a profitable market to retailers. The first shopping center to locate in this area was Seneca Square in 1956. Located at the intersection of 31st Street and Seneca Street, the site had poor connections to the rest of the city east of the Arkansas River. The site was well situated, however, to serve south Wichita and areas to the south of the city. Seneca Square's access to east

FIGURE THREE



Wichita was limited to it's connections to Broadway (US-81) via 31st Street (Fig. 4) and this link was too tenuous for the center to ever grow larger than community in size.

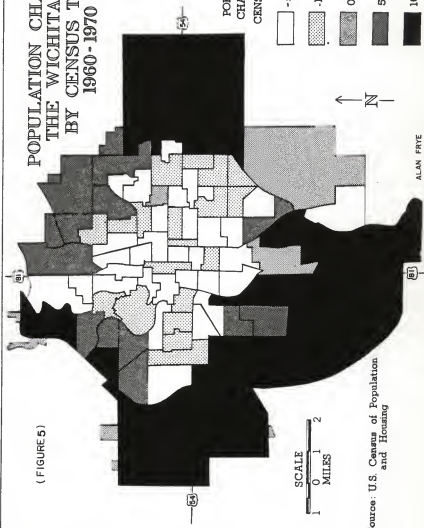
Just to the north of Seneca Square on Seneca Street another shopping center, Westway, was started in 1960. This center began as a very small agglomeration of department stores and evolved into a quasi-planned shopping center. It is located at the intersection of Seneca and Pawnee Streets, both major arterials (Fig. 4). Westway had better access to the west and east, via Pawnee, than did Seneca Square. To the west, Pawnee served as a prime route to the new western industrial area being developed around the new airport. To the east, Pawnee did not yet cross the Arkansas River, but a bridge was to be opened across the river in a few years to give Westway access to the rest of Wichita. Because of its better location, Westway would eventually catch, and pass Seneca Square as the dominant shopping center on the south side of the city.

Changes in Wichita's Shopping Centers, 1960 - 1970

Between 1960 and 1970 Wichita's retail structure and population distribution under-went great changes. First, the growth areas in the city became sharply defined. During this decade population growth was limited to east Wichita, centered on Kellogg, and south and west Wichita (Fig. 5). The growth of west Wichita and the southern area was due in large part to the completion in 1965 of I-235, the western circumferential around Wichita (Fig. 6). The central areas of the city continued to lose population, as did the area to the north of the C.B.D.. It is significant to note that the area around Parklane Shopping Center was also losing population during this decade (Fig. 5).

POPULATION CHANGE IN THE WICHITA SMSA BY CENSUS TRACT, 1960-1970

(95)



POPULATION
CHANGE PER
CENSUS TRACT

- 500 to -3000
- 1 to -499
- 0 to 499
- 500 to 999
- 1000 to 7000

(FIGURE 5)

Source: U.S. Census of Population
and Housing

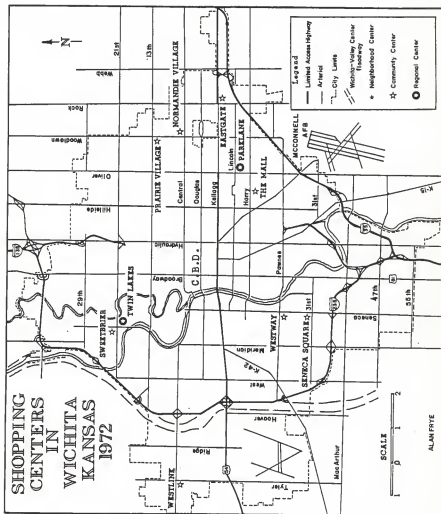
ALAN FRYE

West Wichita

The largest growth in the 1960-1970 decade occurred in the western part of Wichita. This area grew rapidly as a result of two transportation improvements. The first improvement was the extension of Kellogg across the Arkansas River and its designation as US-54 to the west of Wichita. The other improvement was the completion of I-235. With the improvements made to Kellogg, it became the most important east-west arterial in the city. Indeed Kellogg is a quasi-limited-access highway for segments along its length. It still has some traffic lights along its route, but these are to be removed in future improvements. Kellogg's increased capacity served to open the west bank of the Arkansas River for extensive residential and industrial development.

By 1970 the western industrial area was well established around the Wichita Municipal Airport, the busiest in Kansas. Cessna Aircraft Company, Learjet Inc., and numerous small aeronautical businesses all located facilities in this area. Traffic generated by the industrial area was distributed by I-235 to make access to the area very easy from the western and southern areas of the city. There was, however, one obstacle to development on the west side. This was the Wichita-Valley Center Floodway, "the big ditch". This flood control project was constructed to prevent flooding of the Arkansas River in Wichita and Valley Center, a small suburb to the north. It is a quarter-mile wide obstacle adjacent to I-235 on its west side, which prevents any development along one side of the highway. Development did in fact leap-frog the floodway by a large margin and was centered in the Westlink area (Fig. 6).

FIGURE SIX



The Westlink Shopping Center, located at the intersection of Central and Tyler Road, was constructed in 1968 to serve the Westlink development (Fig. 6). However, due to the general lack of retail centers in the city at that time the Westlink center became a community shopping center serving the entire western sector of the city and a large area to the west of the city. The early success of Westlink was less a result of its location on two arterials than the fact that it was the only shopping center in its part of the city.

The Wichita SMSA rose by 134,654 to 389,352, a fifty percent increase in the 1960 - 1970 decade (1970 Census). Part of this increase (38,658 people) was because of the addition of Butler county to the Wichita SMSA in 1970. This large increase in population meant that the retail market had also expanded and more retail establishments could be supported. Coupled with this increase was the almost total decline of the central business district as a retail center. The result was six new shopping centers established in the city between 1960 and 1970. This change of retail business distribution, from being concentrated in the C.B.D. to being decentralized in shopping centers around the city, is the single greatest change ever to the retail structure of Wichita.

East Wichita

Despite the loss of population around Parklane, the shopping center continued to be an important regional shopping center. This was despite the fact that the location had declined in its accessibility relative to other sites in the city, due to increased use of Woodlawn and Pawnee Streets to route traffic from the southeastern industrial area away from Parklane's location.

Lincoln Street had lost much of its traffic load to the improved Kellogg Street and was no longer an important east-west arterial. Oliver also declined in importance, since the neighborhoods along its length had been steadily losing population (Fig. 5). Parklane had continued as a regional center because, quite simply, no other shopping center had yet appeared as a viable alternative.

The other shopping center on the east side of the city, Eastgate, was enjoying its excellent location at Wichita's eastern terminus. It lost some of the growing eastern retail market to two new shopping centers built on north Woodlawn. Prairie Village, built in 1968, and Normandie Village, built in 1970, were both opened to serve the large area of middle-income housing which had been developed on the east side of the city. Because of the large market and scarcity of retail space in the late sixties and early seventies both of these small centers became community shopping centers. Prairie Village, the first of the two centers, was located at the intersection of 13th and Woodlawn Streets (Fig. 6). At this location it could access northern Wichita and was on a major arterial leading to the southeastern industrial area. Normandie Center was located at the intersection of Central and Woodlawn Streets. It did not have as good a location as Prairie Village, but was strategically located adjacent to Eastborough, an exclusive autonomous enclave of wealthy families, which guaranteed its success by supporting many exclusive boutiques and small gift shops which catered to the wealthy consumers from all over the city. Both of these shopping centers were better suited to act as neighborhood shopping centers and rose to a higher status only because of the time lag between retail market

demand and the number of retail sales centers in the city.

South Wichita

On the south side of Wichita, Seneca Square had remodeled its facilities to keep pace with newer centers and to enjoy the retail boom experienced by the city then. Meanwhile, Westway Shopping Center, with a better location, now that Pawnee Street crossed the Arkansas River, was expanding rapidly. During this decade Westway was as important to shopping in south Wichita as was Seneca Square. Both shopping centers were community centers and the lack of competition in the southern and western areas of the city gave them access to a very large and expanding market.

Northwest Wichita

With the decline of the C.B.D. as a retail center the north-central and northwest parts of the city were without a retail center to serve the market demand in those areas. To meet this need two shopping centers were built, Twin Lakes in 1965 and Sweetbrier in 1967. They were located at the intersection of 21st Street and Amidon Street, diagonal from one another (Fig. 6). This location while providing good access to north (via 21st Street) and to northwest Wichita was not easily accessible to the rest of the city. Despite this, Twin Lakes became Wichita's second regional shopping center by 1970. The reasons for this were the distribution of competing centers and the amenities of Twin Lakes. Twin Lakes filled a void left by the decline of the C.B.D.. It was more accessible than the C.B.D. to traffic from the north (via I-135 and 21st Street)(Fig. 6). The lack of access to I-235 to the immediate west was to prove to be a serious problem to the site in the future. But for that time, the scenic splendor of Twin

Lakes' swan-filled lakes and sparkling fountains attracted consumers and businesses despite the slight difficulty in reaching the center from some parts of the city. There was, after all, no other place to shop that offered as large a choice of products. Sweetbrier did not possess the amenities of Twin Lakes and its owners were content to establish the center as a community shopping center, which in the final analysis, is all the site could support.

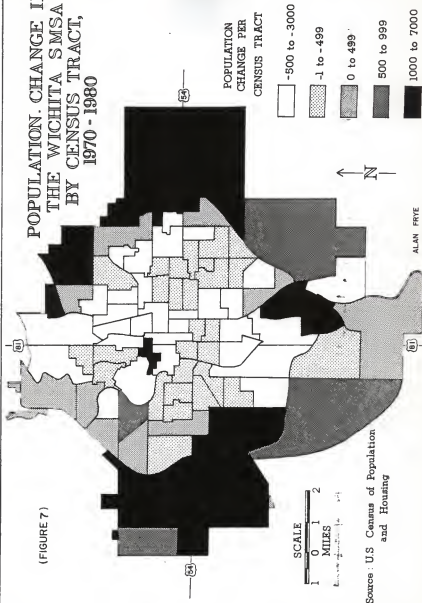
Changes in Wichita's Shopping Centers, 1970 - 1983

A quick examination of Wichita's growth (note city limits on Fig. 6) will reveal that the city was beginning to meet some obstacles to expansion. To the south of the city the suburbs of Haysville and Derby restricted Wichita's expansion. The Municipal Airport (now called Mid-Continent Airport) and industrial complex around it curtailed residential expansion in the southwest. To the southeast, McConnell Air Force Base presented an obstacle to expansion. To the northwest, no transportation route had crossed the floodway to open the areas to the west to expansion. To the north, the old industrial area and railyards discouraged residential expansion into that part of the city. This left the east, northeast, and west as the only areas of the city's periphery open to growth. Indeed it was these areas that hosted the majority of Wichita's growth between 1970 and 1980 (Fig. 7). The city's overall population only grew by 22,518 in the decade, to a total SMSA figure of 411,870 by 1980 (1980 Census). This meant that the central areas of the city were losing population to the periphery. It also meant that the retail market demand in Wichita had reached its peak and had stabilized.

Part of this population loss in the central city was due to

POPULATION CHANGE IN THE WICHITA SMSA BY CENSUS TRACT, 1970 - 1980

(102)



the removal of many neighborhoods along Hydraulic Street to make way for the construction of I-135 (Fig. 8). This limited-access highway was the last link of the interstate highway system built in Wichita and was completed in 1979. It offered a fast route north or south in the city and opened many central city areas for increased accessibility. The major effect of the new highway was to lessen the traffic load on US-81 (Broadway) and I-235.

There were four new shopping centers built in Wichita between 1970 and 1983, despite the modest increase in population. The large market demand of the late sixties and early seventies was no longer in evidence. Instead shopping centers were sorting themselves out. Those with more competitive locations were successful and those with less satisfactory locations were losing customers to the successful centers. The market had become highly competitive and the effects of transportation connections to the market area became even more important to the success of individual shopping centers.

East Wichita

One of the newer shopping centers was located on Harry Street between Hillside and Oliver Streets, the Mall (Fig. 8). Its location was near to Parklane and intercepted the remaining traffic from the industrial district to the southeast. Parklane was to lose many of its businesses to this new center. The Wichita Mall as it was later named, was immediately a very popular place for consumers to shop. It was the first enclosed mall built in the city. The indoor shopping made the mall very comfortable to shop in during the cold winter months. The major problem which continues to plague the Wichita Mall is traffic congestion. The center is

not located close to any limited-access highways to relieve local through traffic, and that traffic coupled with traffic generated by the shopping center creates a severe problem during rush hours. Traffic from the southeastern industrial area and St. Joseph Hospital, located across the street, creates a traffic jam when employees are leaving work. The high traffic volume has attracted a large number of businesses, which together have formed an arterial business strip along Harry Street, further congesting the street. The Wichita Mall is almost a textbook example of a community shopping center. Its location guarantees that it will not become any larger however.

The other major change to the retail structure of east Wichita was the construction in 1975 of Towne East Square, a large modern, regional shopping center. Located diagonally from Eastgate at the intersection of Rock Road and Kellogg, the center enjoyed good access to the rest of the city and its environs (Fig. 8). Towne East Square had an immediate impact upon the other shopping centers in the city. The hardest hit was Eastgate Shopping Center. Eastgate lost all of its department stores and shoe stores to the new regional center across the street. Because of its good location, Eastgate survived, but it could not compete with Towne East, so the shopping center became a specialty center specializing in furniture sales and household goods.

Towne East Square acted as a sponge that absorbed the market demand for retail goods. Shopping centers which had been relying on the excessive market demand to support them, suffered a loss in customers. Normandie Village and Prairie Village both lost customers and businesses to Towne East Square. As a result, both of these

shopping centers declined in retail importance, becoming neighborhood shopping centers (Fig. 8).

Parklane, which had been the largest shopping center in Wichita, before Towne East Square, declined rapidly during the decade of the seventies. Many of the businesses that had been in Parklane moved in 1972 to the newer Mall on Harry Street. The remaining large stores, and Parklane's status as a regional center, were lost when Towne East Square was built. Parklane's location which had once been excellent, was now far less than ideal for even a community shopping center. Oliver Street was no longer the major arterial used by workers commuting to the southeast industrial area. Lincoln Street was no longer an important arterial and carried largely local traffic. Changes in the population distribution and the transportation network had made Parklane's location a backwater in the retail mainstream. To try to fill some of the many vacancies that were present in the center, the management of Parklane began to fill the vacancies with non-retail businesses. Parklane has always had a small percentage of non-retail businesses on its lower level, but now these businesses were beginning to represent a majority of businesses in the center. Today Parklane qualifies as a community shopping center in that it still has a large number of retail stores. However, most of these are businesses that attract few multiple-visit shopping trip customers and are better suited to an arterial business strip. Parklane is, in reality, becoming an office complex with a few lingering retail businesses to remind one of what it once had been.

South Wichita

Parklane was not the only shopping center to turn to office

business types to fill vacancies. A new shopping center built in 1974, Pawnee Plaza, has also had to lease vacancies for office use in order to fill the center. Pawnee Plaza was built at the intersection of Broadway and Pawnee Streets (Fig. 8). It was thought by the builders of Pawnee Plaza that since Pawnee was the major east-west arterial in the southern part of the city, and since Broadway was the major north-south arterial in the city in 1974, that the location at their intersection would be a good one for retail sales. Several factors combined to make this prediction wrong. First was the bad timing of Pawnee Plaza's completion. The high market demand for retail goods in the city had been met by other competing centers by 1974. Demand for more retail space was not as high as it had been in the sixties. Also Towne East Square, a much larger, new center, with a better location, was courting new businesses at the same time as Pawnee Plaza. This meant a greater competition from a center which Pawnee Plaza could not compete against.

Also contributing to the failure of those businesses that did locate in Pawnee Plaza were the physical shortcomings of the two arterials at this location. Traffic volumes were restricted in all directions by the constraints discussed in the previous chapter. Faced with these constraints, shoppers found it easier to shop at a center with better access, such as Westway which was located just one mile to the west.

To compound the bad fortune of the center's owners, the principal department store left the center in 1980 due to the financial difficulties of its parent corporation. The grocery store in the center, the largest grocery store in the midwest north of Dallas,

went bankrupt, due in part to poor location and poor management. These two failures led to the sale of the center to a group which began to advertise space in the center to non-retail users. Today the center is a combination retail shopping mall and non-retail office complex. Many of the vacancies have been replaced by office suites which can be leased by small or large businesses.

The other two shopping centers in south Wichita were also affected by the stabilizing retail market demand and the development of competing centers. Seneca Square, with relatively poor location, continued to lose customers and businesses until it had declined to the status of a neighborhood center. Seneca Square tried to stop this backward slide by renovating the center into indoor mall in 1972. This did revive the center for a short while, but the lack of access on 31st Street and the declining market share that Seneca Square could attract led many of the larger businesses to relocate. The worse loss to Seneca Square occurred in 1982 when the center's department store left as a result of the corporate bankruptcy of the national chain. The space left by this loss has yet to be filled.

Westway Shopping Center, located just north of Seneca Square, had a much better location to compete with other centers in the city. Westway benefited from the development of Pawnee Street as an east-west arterial and distributor of traffic from the western industrial area. The shopping center was surrounded by an extensive arterial business strip specializing in fast food franchises. These eating establishments attracted consumers to Westway and Westway also offered a place to shop with a wide variety of places to dine. This relationship has benefited Westway and the surround-

ing businesses to the point that Westway was able to maintain its status as a community shopping center.

West Wichita

On the western side of Wichita a major change had occurred in 1980 that was very similar to that which affected the eastern half of the city in 1975. That was the year in which Towne West Square, a large regional mall was finished at the intersection of Kellogg (US-54) and I-235 (Fig. 8). The impact of this well-placed shopping center on the west side of the city was even more severe than that of Towne East on the east side. Twin Lakes, previously the regional shopping center on the west side, was immediately deserted by a large percentage of its businesses. Twin Lakes had never had an ideal location and now found itself competing against a newer, larger, better located center that had opened in a static, market-demand situation, but which successfully attracted businesses. Towne West Square with its location on Kellogg had good access to the entire region to the west of Wichita. It also accessed, via I-235, the entire western and southern areas of the city. Twin Lakes, unable to compete, declined in status to a community shopping center. Sweetbrier, across the street from Twin Lakes, was almost entirely unaffected by Towne West's construction. Sweetbrier did not compete with Towne West and its role as a community center remained secure.

Westlink Shopping Center, on the far west side, lost its share of the suburban market to the west of the city to the new center. This loss of customers and the closeness of Towne West, offset the fact that the western area's population was growing rapidly. Westlink declined into what it had been built as, a neighborhood

shopping center.

Part of the ever increasing market on the west side of the city is now being taken over by a new center established in 1983, the Crossroads Shopping Center, at the intersection of Ridge Road and Central (Fig. 8). This location has access to I-235 via a short distance on Central and will serve the growing population area west of I-235. Since Central and Ridge Road are both establishing themselves as major arteries on the west side of the city, this site promises to be profitable for the businesses in the Crossroads center.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

We can draw some conclusions from the data presented in previous chapters. Some of these conclusions will relate to the specific case of Wichita. Other conclusions of a more general nature can be made about the relationship between transportation changes and shopping center evolution. This chapter will first examine those conclusions which only relate to the Wichita case. This will be followed by a brief discourse on the probable future of shopping centers in the Wichita area. The last section of this chapter will examine those conclusions which would seem to be applicable to shopping center development in general.

Shopping center development in Wichita occurred in three phases, the early phase, the boom phase, and the competition phase. The early phase was characterized by the introduction of shopping centers to the urban mileau. The boom phase was characterized by the increasing number and dispersion of shopping centers in the city. The competition phase is characterized by the appearance of a coherent pattern of development in response to location factors influencing the success of individual shopping centers.

The early phase of Wichita's shopping center development was a time of transition. It lasted from approximately 1955 to 1960 and saw the change from central business district dominance of the retail sector, to dominance by peripherally located shopping centers. During this period population growth in the city was uniformly distributed about the declining central core area (Fig. 3). The new planned shopping centers had almost the entire city from which to choose a location. The best sites were those that had a high

profile and good access to the market area. These sites were found on the major arterials which connected the residential areas of the city to the manufacturing areas of the city. Arterials which had more traffic traveling to and from work areas were more attractive to retail developers. All of the shopping centers built in Wichita at this time were located on arterials serving the work force. Parklane, Seneca Square, Westway, and Eastgate shopping centers were all located on arterials which accessed a major manufacturing area.

The second phase of shopping center development in Wichita, the boom phase, was dominated by an incredible population increase of over fifty percent between 1960 and 1970. Unemployment in the city at the same time was very low and personal income relatively high and increasing. The massive increase in population accompanied by the low unemployment rate meant that the demand for retail goods rocketed upward. With this high retail market demand, every shopping center built in the city at this time was almost guaranteed success despite other centers having a more competitive location. Competition between centers at this time was very low because of the excess of market demand in the city. This led to the construction of many new shopping centers in the city, hence the "boom" phase. Because of the high market demand for retail goods and the relatively low supply of retail outlets, many shopping centers enjoyed a level of success that was not commensurate with their size or location. Some of the centers which fall into this category are Normandie Village, Prairie Village, and Westlink which were all planned as neighborhood shopping centers, but became community shopping centers during the boom phase. The best example of a

shopping center's over expansion in a poor location is that of Twin Lakes. Twin Lakes had a relatively poor location in regard to access to other parts of the city, yet it became a regional shopping center during the boom phase. When a shopping center with a better location began to compete against Twin Lakes after the boom phase, Twin Lakes immediately began to lose customers and businesses. Other shopping centers with more competitive locations were able to survive the stabilizing of market demand with no loss of customers or businesses.

The latest phase which Wichita has undergone is what I have referred to earlier as the competitive phase. Lasting from about 1970 to the present, this phase is characterized by stabilization of population growth and a return of equilibrium between retail market demand and retail outlets. Shopping centers built during this period have, for the most part, been very conscious of locating in a high-profile, high-access location which was competitive in the market place. Those shopping centers that had a less satisfactory location suffered a decline in sales when they had to compete with better located, newer shopping centers. Towne East Square and Towne West Square were both built at locations which not only undermined their competition but also allowed them to access a larger market area via limited-access highways. Other shopping centers which enjoyed better locations than their competitors were Westway, the Wichita Mall, and the Crossroads Center. Centers which lost businesses to these centers were Normandie Village, Prairie Village, Westlink, Farklane, Seneca Square, and Twin Lakes. During the competition phase the location of a shopping center was either proven to be competitive and the center prospered, or it was proven to be poor and the shopping center lost businesses and customers,

or became specialized, or shifted to a larger share of non-retail occupancy. In the latter cases the rank of the centers generally dropped from community to neighborhood centers. The only center to become specialized did not suffer from a poor location, but from overwhelming competition. Eastgate was able to specialize partly due to this good location which has good access to the city. It is doubtful that Wichita is large enough to support another specialty center, even if it had Eastgate's good location, because of the size of the retail market in the city.

Aside from conclusions about the different periods of Wichita's retail growth, I have also arrived at some conclusions regarding reactions of different types of shopping centers to population growth, location, and the introduction of limited-access highways. If we examine the locations of new shopping centers built during the early and boom phases of retail growth in the city, we notice that the majority of the shopping centers were built on the periphery of the city. There are several reasons for this. One very obvious reason is that there is more undeveloped land, in large units, on the periphery of the city. This also means that property values tend to decrease away from the city center. Since a shopping center needs a large area for parking and building space, low land acquisition costs are important. However, if this were the only criteria, why have no shopping centers located in urban renewal areas where land acquisition costs are very low? A better reason for shopping centers to locate in the city's peripheral areas is that they tend to locate in high population growth areas of the city. Since the growth areas of a city are usually located in peripheral areas, this is where the centers generally located.

Once a growth area has been identified the next locational decision would have to be based on the transportation network which connects this area to other parts of the city. Of prime interest during the early phase was the route to work taken by many of Wichita's workers. Shopping centers wishing to possess a high profile of exposure to potential customers would locate on these routes to be seen by as many people as possible. Parklane Shopping Center is an excellent example of a center locating at the one site which gave it maximum exposure to workers who had to pass by the center on their way to and from work each day. Other centers which located in high exposure areas were Westway, Eastgate and to a lesser degree Seneca Square. Seneca Square seems to have located in a high growth area but did not locate at the site of maximum exposure to work traffic. This may be one of the reasons why it was eventually passed by Westway as the premier shopping center in south Wichita.

Part of the reason why shopping centers, particularly community shopping centers, chose to locate on high profile sites was that these locations had good access to other parts of the city. Community shopping centers by definition serve a city-sized area and must have good access to all parts of the city to be successful. To achieve this access, centers very often locate at an intersection of major arterials to assure good access to all areas east, west, north, and south of the shopping center location. Shopping centers which located in these high access, high profile sites, were successful as long as the transportation system did not change or a larger competitor appear to takeover their market area.

For those shopping centers which prospered through the boom phase, the arrival of a kind of economic equilibrium between retail

demand and retail supply, meant that the level of competition between centers increased dramatically. For shopping centers which were originally planned as neighborhood centers, but had during the boom phase acted as community centers, equilibrium meant that they could no longer compete with centers in better locations. Shopping centers which were planned as community centers were located on sites that offered better access to the city via arterials or limited-access highways. Shopping centers built as neighborhood centers, no longer able to compete as community centers, reverted back to the neighborhood rank. Examples of this in Wichita are Normandie Village, Prairie Village, and Westlink shopping centers. One shopping center in the city which was built as a community center, but whose location was not competitive with other newer community centers, became a neighborhood center when it could no longer compete as a community center. Here it is clear that the center's location on the transportation matrix is the most important factor determining the size of the center's market area, and hence its level of competition. A simple way to sum up these changes from the boom phase to the competitive phase would be to contend that those shopping centers which were planned and built as neighborhood shopping centers will, under competition conditions, operate as neighborhood centers despite any history of operation as a higher-rank center.

Regional shopping centers have different characteristics and different reactions to change than do community and neighborhood shopping centers. There were no regional shopping centers, other than the central business district, in Wichita during the early phase. During the boom phase two shopping centers grew large

enough to be classified as regional shopping centers, Parklane and Twin Lakes. Neither had a location which was well equiped to compete as a regional center. Neither had a location which could access a market area outside the city; neither was located near a limited-access highway to provide easy access; and neither was originally planned as a regional shopping center. Parklane, the oldest shopping center in the city, became a regional center in large part due to its long-term success as a community center. Twin Lakes became a regional center during the boom phase because of the lack of retail outlets elsewhere in the city. Twin Lakes tried to meet this need by implementing an expansion program to accomodate as many businesses as possible. In the final analysis it is doubtful that either center actually served a regional market, but rather served an extended community market. When two well-located, planned, regional shopping centers, Towne East and Towne West Square, were built, they quickly attracted many businesses that had been located in Parklane and Twin Lakes. Both of these center's were located adjacent to limited-access highways and could truly be called regional shopping centers, as they do serve a regional market.

By definition a regional center should access a regional market. Because a regional market includes a large portion of consumers drawn from outside the metropolitan area, access to the shopping center must be very good from many different aress. The limited-access highway confers such an advantage. The interstate highway network traverses long stretches of hinterland which use the services of the city. It also connects many smaller communities to the metropolis. Because of the tendency of limited-access

highways to act as the principal point of entry for traffic into the city, they serve as the perfect distributor of traffic to the regional shopping center. During the competition phase, a regional shopping center not served by a limited-access highway is at a distinct competitive disadvantage. Both of the regional centers in Wichita are served by limited-access highways and several urban arterials. It would be safe to assume that given a suitably sized market, the biggest factor influencing regional shopping center location today is the presence of at least one limited-access highway and major arterial.

The Future Of Shopping Centers In Wichita

The future of shopping center development in Wichita is fairly predictable barring any major economic changes. The retail structure of Wichita is likely to change but slightly in the near future. The city currently seems to have more retail spaces available than is needed to meet market demands. This is based on the number of vacancies in highly competitive successful centers such as Towne East and Towne West Squares. Older centers and centers not located in growth areas, such as Parklane, Twin Lakes, Seneca Square, and Pawnee Plaza will continue to face difficulties in filling their vacancies with retail businesses. Twin Lakes lost yet another major tenant while this paper was being written, a large clothing store, despite having a long-term leasing agreement with the store.

If any new shopping centers are to appear they will be either neighborhood or community shopping centers, with the former more likely than the latter. Any new community centers will locate in the growth areas of the west and eastern parts of the city. Indeed the Crossroads center is a new community sized center on the west

side of the city and a new center of undetermined size is currently being constructed on the east side of Wichita. I do not anticipate a shift to more specialty shopping among the older centers in the city as the metro market is not large enough to support many such centers.

Wichita does not seem to be destined to receive another regional shopping center in the foreseeable future. There are plans to construct a new limited-access highway in the northeastern part of the city to connect I-135 in the north to the Kansas Turnpike in east Wichita. This new highway is being proposed as a toll road and if any effect is felt at all it will be to reinforce the access to Towne East Square. The market for new regional shopping centers in Wichita is simply not there, nor is it likely to be in the next twenty years given current growth rates. The economy and growth rate in the area is at the current time stable and as long as it remains so there will be no great changes in the retail structure of the city.

General conclusions

The real value of this or any other study is that conclusions reached in this case study may be applicable to other situations and areas. This study has revealed several attributes of the relationship between shopping center development and changes in influencing factors, especially transportation improvements. The first attribute is the tendency for community shopping centers to locate at the intersections of major urban arterials. However the introduction of limited-access highways is also important to the community shopping center. While the community shopping center did not show any propensity to locate near a limited-access highway,

the effects of any new highway are still felt by the community shopping center. By building a new limited-access highway, the travel patterns in the metropolitan area are changed. Arterials which once carried the bulk of traffic across the city may be reduced to much smaller traffic loads and a less important role in the city's transportation network. It is this chain reaction of changing the status of arterials which affects the community shopping center. Since a community shopping center relies on arterials to access its market area, its planners would naturally try to locate on important arterials carrying a high traffic load. When limited-access highways are introduced to the transportation system, the relative importance of the arterial can change and the shopping center's site may be by-passed by traffic and change to a less satisfactory location for community retail activity. This change may lead to a competing center being built at a better location and eventually lead to the demise of the original center.

The importance of limited-access highways to regional shopping centers is much more direct. The modern regional shopping center relies both on an extensive market outside its host community and on consumers in the host community for its success. In order to access this market the limited-access highway, and in many cases the interstate highway system are essential to the center. A simple rule of thumb would be that if the market can tolerate a new regional shopping center, then that center will locate adjacent to a major interchange on a limited-access highway.

Another attribute to shopping centers development, and to all retail development, is the relationship between population growth, economic growth, and the development of retail outlets, in particular

shopping centers. During periods of high population and economic growth the number of shopping centers in the metropolitan area increases very rapidly. This rapid increase is accompanied by a somewhat reduced importance attributed to specific location as a factor in the immediate success of a shopping center. The high market demand makes any center on almost any arterial location profitable as long as the growth conditions persist. The other side of this condition is that once growth stabilizes and competition conditions prevail in the metropolitan area, the importance of relative location will become a very important factor in the continued success of a shopping center. Those shopping centers not as well located as their competitors will lose customers and businesses until they find a size and composition compatible with their location.

Also revealed in this study are some of the options open to those shopping centers that find themselves possessing less than prime locations under competitive conditions. The onset of competition causes these centers to lose first some or all of their large magnet stores, and later some or all of their hard and soft dry goods stores. This leaves the center with essentially neighborhood functions such as personal services and grocery stores. The shopping center's management has three options which it can take. The first is to do nothing and continue to try to attract retail businesses and consumers to the center. If this is unsuccessful, it could lead to lower and lower rents collected from tenants and eventual bankruptcy.

The second option is to transform the shopping center into a specialty center which offers a selection of businesses in closely

related types of retail trade. An example of this would be a shopping center consisting of several furniture stores, carpet stores, appliance stores, home redecorating stores, and home improvement stores. This would be a center which specialized in home decorating and furnishing. Consumers would be attracted by the one-stop shopping convenience of having all their home furnishings in one location.

The third option open to the management of a failing retail center is to attract non-retail businesses to the center. In effect this would be changing the shopping center into a combination neighborhood shopping center and office complex. The lower rents relative to central city office towers would attract those functions of companies which do not need the close proximity of the central business district for their success. Some examples would be accountant's offices, sales headquarters for large companies and many miscellaneous office functions. This option is growing in popularity and gives the older, poorly placed centers a new role in the business structure of the city.

Retail structure in our cities is a dynamic entity that evolves and changes in response to changes in the economy and population. Changes in the transportation network also affect the retail structure of the city by changing the relative accessibility of a given location. Whether the change in the transportation network is caused by population pressures, political appeasements to constituents, or outside pressures, such as the federal government, it is the transportation network which is the physical reflection of that pressure and subsequent change. As such, it is the changes in the transportation network which can help us to explain and predict changes in the retail structure of a metropolitan area.

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CHANGES IN THE LOCATION AND COMPOSITION
OF MAJOR SHOPPING CENTERS IN WICHITA,
KANSAS, 1955 TO 1983.

by

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This thesis examines the relationships between transportation improvements, population distribution, and the locational arrangement of major shopping centers in an urban area. It looks at the response of both existing and newly constructed centers to changes in the transportation network. This is a case study of Wichita, a metropolitan area of 384,000 people in southcentral Kansas. Wichita is well suited for this study as there are over thirty shopping centers, and three major limited-access highways serving the metropolitan area.

Shopping centers studied are those that qualify as either a community, regional, or specialty shopping center. These distinctions are based on the composition of the center, and the number of businesses in the center. To characterize center composition, businesses were differentiated into six categories; magnet stores, retail food stores, hard and soft dry goods businesses, personal services, business and community services, and non-retail businesses. These categories were further subdivided into forty-six individual store categories. Composition of each center in the study was recorded from its inception until 1983. Composition of the centers and their location in the urban transportation system was recorded to ascertain the response of each shopping center to changes in the city's growth areas, transportation improvements, and to the appearance of new, competing shopping centers in the retail business structure of the city.

The development of shopping centers in Wichita seems to have followed a three phase pattern. The first phase, which I call the early phase, was characterized by a transition from retail dominance by the central business district, to dominance by outlying, planned

shopping centers. This was followed by the boom phase which saw a period of terrific population and economic growth in the city. The majority of shopping centers in Wichita were built at this time. Also unique to this period was the fact that all shopping centers in the city were experiencing a retail boom which virtually guaranteed high profits to any center in the city. The last phase, the competition phase, saw a stabilization of growth in the city and a balance between retail market demand and retail outlet supply. Many centers, which had been prosperous, declined both in hierarchical rank and in the number of customers they were attracting. This was due to changes in the city's transportation network which had reorganized the prime retail locations in the city. New centers were able to move in and take over the markets of established centers by locating at a more competitive site.

Overall conclusions on shopping center response reveals that centers tend to locate in high growth areas of the city. Regional shopping centers are attracted by major interchanges on limited-access highways. They need the increased accessibility offered by the highways to access the large non-urban market as well as the urban market. Community shopping centers tend to locate on intersections of major arterials where they can gain access to the city in all directions, and thus serve the entire urban market. Such locations, however, do change in desirability when the introduction of limited-access highways to the city changes the traffic flow patterns on the arterials serving the city. This can lead to a competing center being built at a more competitive, more accessible location which will allow the new center to command the retail market of the original center. Both of Wichita's regional centers

assumed their markets in this fashion as did several community sized centers.

Shopping centers which have declined due to competitive forces face three options. They can continue to try to attract retail businesses to the center, and perhaps face bankruptcy. Or they can become a specialty center specializing in one area of retail trade. The last option is to attract non-retail businesses to the center forming a combination retail center and office complex. In Wichita eight centers have declined in rank, five staying retail, one specializing, and two turning into combination office-retail centers. Two of the centers opting to remain retail centers are now facing possible financial failure.