

Herbert P. Norman, Jr. GOLDSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA: AN ANALYSIS OF THE MAJOR OLD AND NEW BUSINESS DISTRICTS. (Under the direction of Ralph E. Birchard) Department of Geography, May 1979.

The purpose of this study is to determine whether and to what spatial extent since 1950 the regional retailing functions of the Central Business District (CBD) have been supplanted by the main peripheral shopping complex. It was necessary first to delimit the CBD. A modification of the Central Business Index Method was found best for this.

The CBD was then analyzed as to its possible changes in time and internal structure in space use of retail trade and services, offstreet parking, and non-central business area. Functional change of space occurred during the study period but not evenly in time nor uniformly within the CBD. Retail space was lost, especially to offstreet parking, and mainly during the last eight years of the study (1970 - 1978) and principally by the CBD Core. All areas of the CBD decreased in retail space with the exception of the Northern fringe area which is bordered by an access street. Although the loss of businesses was diverse a major type lost was department stores relying on regional trade.

The development of the Goldsboro Outlying Regional Business District (GORBD) has supplanted the CBD as the major regional center and has played a significant role in the decrease of retail functions in the CBD since 1970. Major retail department stores with large threshold population requirements are found in the GORBD. These stores, as well as others, have left the CBD during the last eight years to establish larger and more modern facilities in the outlying complex. A few stores also have "branched" out to the GORBD even though the older establishments remained in the CBD. The GORBD has become the main regional

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shopping complex of Goldsboro.

The above changes in Goldsboro seem to conform in general to those of other cities and to be due to the same causes. The mass use of automobiles has caused congestion and resulted in decreased accessibility to the CBD making it easier to cover distances faster in less congested, more open areas. Suburbanization, also automobile related, has provided market clusters outside cities. The development of outlying retail centers to accommodate population sprawl has caused relative replacement, modification, and decline in the dominant CBD of the past.

The small city CBD of Goldsboro has remained a private, and municipal and county government office center and a retail convenience goods and service center with some specialities. The Goldsboro Outlying Regional Business District has become the major regional shopping complex of the city and area.

GOLDSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA: AN ANALYSIS
OF THE MAJOR OLD AND NEW BUSINESS DISTRICTS

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of Geography

East Carolina University

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by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The functional and structural character of Central Business Districts (CBDs) has changed since World War II. The mass use of automobiles has caused congestion and resulted in decreased accessibility to the CBD making it easier to cover distances quickly in less congested, more open areas. Suburban growth, also automobile related, has provided market clusters outside cities. The development of outlying retail centers to accommodate population sprawl has caused relative replacement, modification, and decline in the dominant CBD of the past. The purpose of this study is to determine whether and to what spatial extent the regional retailing functions of the dominant CBD of the past have been supplemented by a peripheral shopping district with similar central area concentrations, resulting in a general shift or loss of retailing functions of the older business district.

The study area for this thesis is Goldsboro, North Carolina. Goldsboro is located in the coastal plain and has a 1975 estimated population of 26,366 inhabitants.¹ The city is a county seat and historically developed into a small regional shopping city. The internal character of the city is representative of the cities of comparable size in eastern North Carolina. Suburban residential areas and business

¹U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, County and City Data Book, 1977.

establishments have developed around the city within the past fifteen to twenty years.

Many geographic studies have analyzed the changing distributive arrangement of the activities within a city. Comparing results of these studies indicates that individual structures and units have certain basic elements and associations in common.² The geography of the CBD and outlying retail centers is important to geographers because of their areal characteristics and their interrelations within the city as a whole. Geographical problems include ascertaining boundaries and determining relative changes of the CBD in relation to the pattern of development and growth of major outlying retail centers.

Why should a study on the business districts of a small city be conducted? First, less research has been devoted to smaller cities (25,000 to 50,000 inhabitants) than on larger cities. References indicate that CBD studies are mainly carried out on moderate size cities (150,000 to 250,000 inhabitants).³ Second, with over five times as many small cities as there are moderate size cities in the United States (520 to 100) it seems obvious that more studies are needed on smaller American cities.⁴ Finally, projections show that "North Carolina will grow 14 percent during the present decade, 1 3/4 times faster than the nation".⁵ Also, rural areas are predicted to increase by 12 percent

²Geogre W. Hartman, "The Central Business District - A Study in Urban Geography," Economic Geography 26 (October 1950): 237.

³Raymond E. Murphy, The Central Business District, (Chicago: Aldin Atherton, Inc., 1972), p. 123.

⁴U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1976, p. 18.

⁵"N. C. growing faster than rest of U. S." The News and Observer, 24 February 1978, sec. 1, p. 1.

compared with 4 percent for the previous decade. This pattern suggests a general in-migration to North Carolina, as well as to the smaller urban areas typical of the rural sections of eastern North Carolina.

Small cities should have certain characteristics in common. It is expected that general factors found for Goldsboro will be true for other small cities. It is also assumed that each specific city has some individual spatial characteristics. The study should reveal both common and unique characteristics about major retail centers of Goldsboro. An analysis of delimitation, change of functions in the CBD, and the growth and development of the Goldsboro Outlying Regional Business District will be incorporated.

In studying the business districts of an urban area, it is necessary to initially determine their boundaries. The boundaries are a gradual and fragmented zone rather than a definite line. Standardized methods of CBD delimitation are necessary for research comparing CBDs of several cities.⁶ These methods have been developed mainly for cities of over 100,000 inhabitants. For the purpose of this study it is necessary to use the more subjective delimitation procedure provided in Chapter II. Three criteria will be considered in determining the final CBD boundary: The Goldsboro City Planning Department's boundary, the Central Business Index Method developed for larger cities, and activities typical of the CBD relating to the retailing of goods and services and the performing of various financial and office functions for a profit. Precautions will be taken not to include within

⁶Raymond E. Murphy, and J. E. Vance, Jr., "Delimiting the CBD," Economic Geography 30 (July 1954): 189.

the boundary peripheral residential areas, open space, and other land uses not generally perceived to be part of the CBD. Delimitation of the Goldsboro Outlying Regional Business District will be accomplished with the use of city maps and field investigations.

The CBD is dynamic. Until about thirty years ago the CBD was characterized by an array of land uses including commercial, industrial, and residential. The downtown area today has become too specialized for uses such as traditional residential and industrial. Commercial uses are predominant in the CBD although there are changes taking place. Industrial, residential, and some commercial uses have been moving out of the CBD and into the suburban areas and in some cases various offices are occupying the vacant buildings.⁷ This phenomena is due especially to changes in transportation technology.⁸

Geography emphasizes spatial relations and these will be the specific factors used in this study. Chapter III will analyze the change of lot square footage by function in the CBD of Goldsboro and record their changes for 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1978. Activities in the CBD will be classified into three broad categories: retail trade and services (retail space), offstreet parking, and non-Central Business (CB) uses. City directories will be reviewed to obtain an accurate listing and location of functions in the CBD for 1950, 1960, and 1970. City maps will be analyzed to calculate the square footage of each lot in the CBD. Field investigations will reveal street number

⁷Raymond E. Murphy, J. E. Vance, Jr., and Bart J. Epstein, "Internal Structure of the CBD," Economic Geography 31 (January 1955): 45.

⁸Dean S. Rugg, Spatial Foundations of Urbanism, (Dubuque: William C. Brown Company, 1972), p. 62.

locations and an inventory of functions for 1978. By using these sources, it will be possible to calculate the number of square feet in each category for the designated years. Comparing the percent change in square footage of each category between the years 1950-1960, 1960-1970, 1970-1978, and 1950-1978, should reveal evolutionary trends and indicate the degree of change in the CBD over the study period.

Within the last three decades, the outer urban areas of the United States have increased in population more rapidly than the central city. An entirely new form of suburban landscape has been created as a result of centrifugal movement. Accompanying the movement has been the growth and development of the outlying shopping center.⁹ The outlying district duplicates on a smaller scale characteristics normally associated with the CBD.¹⁰

Development and growth of the outlying business district is directly related to the advantages which accrue to shoppers outweighing those of the CBD. Important considerations are accessibility to residential areas, concentrated and covered shopping areas, free and accessible parking, improved traffic flow patterns, and more convenient operating hours.¹¹

Advantages appealing to developers likewise encourage development of outlying business districts. A regional shopping center requires at least 50 to 75 acres of land to accommodate structures and parking

⁹Rugg, Spatial Foundations, p. 64.

¹⁰Malcolm J. Proudfoot, "City Retail Structure," Economic Geography 13 (October 1937): 425 - 426.

¹¹Murphy, The Central Business District, p. 122.

facilities.¹² The availability in outlying areas of large plots of land, lower cost per unit, and general accessibility to traffic arteries are major factors encouraging development.

Chapter IV will deal with the character, pattern of growth, and development of the Goldsboro Outlying Regional Business District (GORBD) as a regional center. The amount of space in retail trade, offstreet parking, and non-CB uses will be noted and compared with the CBD. The time period for initial development will be determined by interviews with city officials. Library analysis along with field work should aid in recording growth and development patterns for 1960, 1970, and 1978.

Chapter V will summarize findings and give trends and conclusions. Reasons for the decline of the CBD and growth of the GORBD will be discussed. Future trends and prospects for the two business areas will also be suggested. It is hypothesized that the findings will suggest that the peripheral shopping district has replaced the CBD as the major regional shopping area of Goldsboro, causing a decline, general loss of central business functions, and relative change of character of the CBD.

¹²Kevin Lynch, Site Planning, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1971), p. 327.

CHAPTER II

LOCATION AND DELIMITATION OF THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT AND THE GOLDSBORO OUTLYING REGIONAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

Boundary delimitation of the business districts is necessary in order to have specific areas for analysis and comparison. According to Murphy, the boundary around a business district is an impermanent, gradual, fragmented zone rather than a definite line.¹ Firey referred to the CBD edge as "... the blighted zone which generally lies between a cities CBD and the surrounding residential districts...."² Bryfogle and Krueger termed the border area as a "grey Zone". The area is best described as a region with high land values, where structures are often held for speculation in the hope of possible core expansion. Rents for these structures are relatively low, resulting in chaotic land and building use, unnecessary congestion, and low standards of living.³

Delimitation Methods

Several methods have been developed through the years to delimit

¹Raymond E. Murphy, The American City: An Urban Geography, (New York: McGraw Hill, Inc., 1974), p. 346.

²Walter Firey, "Ecological Considerations in Planning for Rurban Fringes," American Sociological Review 11 (1946): 411.

³R. Charles Bryfogle and Ralph R. Krueger, Urban Problems (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Limited, 1975), p. 105.

CBDs. In 1940, William-Olsson used a shop-rent index taking into account the quantitative and qualitative factors that determine the geographical importance of a shop. He noted that "if the shop rents of a street frontage are added and the total divided by the length of the frontage, the result will be the shop rent per unit of frontage which is a numerical expression for shopping intensity."⁴ A trade index was developed in Norway by Sund and Isachsen in the early 1940s. Their index was plotted on a map similar to the method used by William-Olsson, the difference being the calculation for total trade. According to Murphy and Vance, the difficulty of assembling the data makes these two methods difficult, if not impossible, to implement in the United States.⁵

The United States Bureau of the Census sponsored a study using the block-frontage volume of sales as a base to set up intra-city business areas.⁶ Block-frontage volume of sales refers to the "total annual volume of sales, for each side of a block, of all stores whose addresses indicate that they front on that side."⁷

Property valuation techniques are another possible alternative method for delimitation purposes. Valuation data is available mainly because it is required for tax purposes. Valuation data can be found

⁴W. William-Olsson, "Stockholm: It's Structure and Development," Geographical Review 30 (July 1940): 428.

⁵Raymond E. Murphy and J. E. Vance, Jr., "Delimiting the CBD," Economic Geography 30 (July 1954): 195.

⁶The study Intra-City Business Census Statistics for Philadelphia, Pennsylvania was prepared in 1937 under the direction of Malcolm J. Proudfoot.

⁷Murphy and Vance, "Delimiting the CBD," p. 195.

in three forms; land values, building values, and the combination of land and building values. Land values appear to be the most promising as far as delimitation is concerned.⁸ Since valuation techniques vary from city to city, no practical comparison of different CBDs can be accomplished.

Perception studies in urban geography have proliferated within the last ten years. This type of approach in delimiting business districts involves a basic knowledge of land use, powers of observation, and evaluating what has been observed. The basic procedure is to present base maps of the area in question to frequent visitors and instruct them to outline the business area as perceived. The results of all participants are then averaged for the final boundary.⁹

According to Lynch and Rodwin, five types of elements of images are considered in an urban perception study:

1. paths - can lead to or from a center
2. edges - the recognition of the edge of an area deemed central
3. districts - a central district, or an area with a center
4. nodes - centrality with regard to routes
5. landmarks - every city center must have it's quota of these.¹⁰

Heinemeyer used the term "gateconsciousness" to explain a citizens idea of where he feels the core of the city exists. Evidence reveals

⁸Murphy, The American City, p. 349.

⁹Ibid., p. 352.

¹⁰K. Lynch and L. Rodwin, "A Theory of Urban Form," Journal of the American Institute of Planners 24 (1958): 201 - 214.

that "the distance of the gate from the core center is positively correlated with the distance between the respondents' home and the core".¹¹ Klein believed that the locational relationships between the residential quarter and city center is perhaps decisive in determining the boundary of the city center. He believes that eventually the retail location will respond to the image of the inhabitants.¹²

The Census Bureau's method of delimiting CBDs in cities of over 100,000 inhabitants is also based on perception; perception by pre-selected groups rather than by individuals. The boundaries are based upon census tracts considered by the local census tract committee and various business associations.¹³ The final outline is more of an expression of local opinion rather than a specific method of delimitation.

Other methods used to delimit the CBD involve the use of building heights, population data, and traffic flows. Using building heights would result in a very uneven boundary. Population data would show an unrealistic boundary if factories and schools were present in the CBD. A tendency for traffic to be routed around the peak intersection in some cases invalidates the use of traffic flow to define a boundary.

Central Business Index Method

The Central Business Index Method of Murphy and Vance is considered to be the best standardized procedure to delimit Central Business

¹¹James Bird, Centrality and Cities, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1977), p. 137.

¹²Ibid.

¹³U. S., Department of Commerce, 1963 Census of Business III, Major Retail Centers, part I, Summary, p. V.

Districts of American cities.¹⁴ Their method is based entirely on land use mapping and is believed to be objective enough to result in comparably bounded or identified CBDs for different cities. In applying this method, a distinction has to be made between central business uses and other forms of land uses not considered central business in character. The core area of the CBD can be approximated by the use of maps and field work. The Peak Land Value Intersection (PLVI) is located in this core area. The PLVI is defined as the street intersection around which front-foot land values average highest.¹⁵ Normally the PLVI is the area of highest pedestrian counts and greatest vehicular congestion at the peak of the business day.

Data collection for calculation is based on city blocks. An index is then determined for each block. The CBD is considered to consist of those blocks that meet certain index values and is part of the contiguous group of blocks surrounding the Peak Land Value Intersection.

The more essential CBD functions are the retailing of goods and services and the performing of various financial and office functions for a profit. Some types of land uses are found in the CBD that should not be classified as CBD functions. According to Murphy and Vance, these include permanent residences, government and public establishments, organizational institutions, industries, wholesaling, vacant buildings and lots, commercial storage, and railroad tracks and switching yards. Urban real estate specialists may suggest that governmental establish-

¹⁴See Raymond E. Murphy and J. E. Vance, Jr. "Delimiting the CBD," pp. 189 - 221.

¹⁵Raymond E. Murphy, The Central Business District, (Chicago: Aldin Atherton, Inc., 1972), p. 9.

ments should be included in the office function category. For the purposes of this paper, offices as well as other functions operating without a normal profit motive are not considered central business functions.

Three maps are used in an Index Method study: one for the ground floor data, one for the second floor, and one for the upper floors. After the maps are compiled, the calculation of the total floor area, the central business floor area, and the non-central business area must be figured for each block conceivably a part of the CBD. Two ratios are then calculated, the Central Business Height Index (CBHI) and the Central Business Intensity Index (CBII). The CBHI is found by dividing the total floor area of central business uses by the total ground floor area. This shows the area of floors of central business uses if they are thought of as spread evenly over a block. The CBII is the percentage of floor area of all central business uses in the block relative to the total floor area of the block at all levels.

If a block has both a CBHI greater than or equal to 1.0 and a CBII greater than or equal to 50 percent, then the block is considered part of the CBD if it is also part of a contiguous group surrounding the PLVI. If a certain block does not meet required index values, but is surrounded by blocks that do, the block is considered part of the CBD. A block is also considered part of the CBD if it is completely occupied by governmental and public establishments and is adjacent to blocks directly qualifying as being in the CBD.

There are four basic shortcomings of the Central Business Index Method recognized by its developers. First, delimitation is by block units. The shape and size of block vary from city to city. Second,

the indices are based on a subjective classification of certain establishments as central business uses and others as non-Central Business (CB) uses. Disagreement can occur as to what exactly is included in these categories. The third problem deals with the factor of quality. Some blocks may have a lower grade of establishments. Fourth, the method is based on cities of a limited size range. The method was developed for cities with populations of 150,000 to 250,000 inhabitants.

By applying the Index Method on several cities, it is possible to build up a body of generalizations on the CBD. The generalizations most commonly deal with the size, shape, outline of the CBD in relation to barriers, and land values. Land values decrease at a decreasing rate with distance from the PLVI. Other generalizations include land uses (predominant are service, financial, office, and retail uses), arrangement of land uses, and the movement of the centers (as the CBD shifts, so will the geographical or areal center shift).

The technique of Murphy and Vance has been used with certain variations. D. H. Davies applied a modified version of the CBIM to Cape Town, South Africa. The numerous tall buildings and abnormally long blocks in the city led him to modify the method.¹⁶ Davies also attempted to define the "hard core" of Cape Town's CBD by stiffening the minimum requirements of the two indices to 4.00 for the CBHI and 80 percent for

¹⁶D. Hywel Davies, "Boundary Study as a Tool in CBD Analysis: An Interpretation of Certain Aspects of the Boundary of Cape Town's Central Business District," Economic Geography 35 (October 1959): 322 - 345.

the CBII.¹⁷ Harlstenstein and Stack applied the CBIM to several German cities. Because building heights are considered lower in Europe as compared to the United States, the CBII was reduced to 40 percent when the CBHI reached 1.50. For their "hard core" delimitation, the requirement for their CBII was 50 to 60 percent and their CBHI requirement was 1.50 to 2.00.¹⁸

M. J. Bowden slightly altered the Murphy and Vance technique when he applied the method to San Francisco. His approach resulted in a more accurate delimitation since a finer mesh utilizing areas smaller than city blocks was used as a basis for data collection. He also included governmental buildings, public land, and wholesaling that was selling oriented. A slightly stricter rule was adopted for contiguity to counterbalance his wider set of functional categories.¹⁹ J. Goddard ignored street patterns by using a 500 meter square grid superimposed over the city of London. The Murphy-Vance technique was applied and the resulting CBD was found to be unrelated to the actual CBD in reality. He concluded that London's size and diversity was the primary reason behind his negative findings.²⁰

The Central Business District Designated
by the City of Goldsboro

The review above of methods used for identifying and delimiting

¹⁷D. Hywel Davies, "The Har Core of Cape Town's Central Business District: An Attempt at Delimitation," Economic Geography 36 (January 1960): 53 - 69.

¹⁸James Bird, Centrality and Cities, p. 83.

¹⁹M. J. Bowden, "Downtown Through Time: Delimitation, Expansion, and Internal Growth," Economic Geography 47 (April 1971): 124 - 125.

²⁰James Bird, Centrality and Cities, p. 84.



Figure 1. (Upper) The northern half of the Goldsboro Central Business District; (Lower) The southern half of the CBD. North is to the left of the photographs.

CBDs provides a basis for judging the officially designated Goldsboro CBD. The boundary used by the Goldsboro City Planning Department presumably meets their needs but possibly not those of this study (Figure 4). No specific delimitation procedure was used to determine the boundary which is based on the concept of developing a pedestrian commercial area.²¹ Sound planning needs to allow for growth and expansion so future space use was considered. The southern half of the region consists mainly of residential housing and open space (Figure 1). Some open space was formerly in residential use. Future projected uses of the southern section include a Carolina Power and Light Company office facility, a public commercial facility (farmers market), and possibly a Civic Center. Elm Street will be improved in the future to serve as a main entrance to the southern portion of the CBD. The officially designated Goldsboro CBD contains many blocks that should not be included according to most if not all of the methods cited in the review of the literature.

Central Business Index Method Applied

The Central Business Index Method (CBIM) was applied to a twenty-three block area in the downtown section of Goldsboro around the Peak Land Value Intersection (PLVI) and including the blocks visually perceived to contain commercial uses (Table 1). The PLVI is the intersection at Center and Walnut Streets (Figure 4).²² Only five out of the twenty-three blocks were found to meet the requirements

²¹ Interview with Jeffrey Young, Assistant Planning Director, City of Goldsboro, Goldsboro, North Carolina, 27 June 1978.

²² Ibid.

Table 1
Central Business Index Method-Block Statistics

Block Number ^a	CBHI ^b	CBII ^c
1	0.51	41%
2	0.43	28
3	0.62	55+
4	0.62	48
5	0.64	54+
8	0.45	39
9	0.68.	43
10	1.00+	80+
11	0.55	48
12	0.83	72+
14	0.52	42
15	1.17+	56+
16	0.68	39
17	1.16+	72+
18	0.59	46
20	0.99	88+
21*	1.17+	72+
22*	0.59	29
23	1.45+	92+
24	0.41	34
27*	0.94	74+
28*	0.73	73+
38	0.37	36

^aBlocks 6, 7, 13, 19, 29 through 37, and 39 through 45 were not computed for their indices. Blocks around the PLVI are starred (*). The five blocks meeting both the CBII and the CBHI are underlined.

^bBlocks meeting the minimum CBHI requirement of 1.0 or more are marked with a plus sign (+).

^cBlocks meeting the minimum requirement of 50 percent or more are marked with a plus sign (+).



Figure 2. Block number 10 is one of the blocks meeting both of the Central Business Index Method indices. This block has a CBHI of 1.00 and a CBII of 80 percent.



Figure 3. Block number 28 is one of the blocks meeting only the CBII when the Central Business Index Method was applied. This block has a CBII of 73 percent and a CBHI of 0.73.

for the CBIM (Figures 2 and 4, Table 1). Block numbers 15, 17, and 21 are predominantly commercial and meet both indices. Block numbers 10 and 23 contain extensive governmental uses. According to Murphy and Vance, "... if governmental structures occupy only part of a block which is contiguous to the other CBD blocks and if the inclusion of these establishments as central business uses would bring the two indices of the block to the required total, then the block is considered part of the CBD".²³

Six more of the twenty-three blocks meet only the CBII requirement, block numbers 3, 5, 12, 20, 27, and 28 (Figures 3 and 4, Table 1). The absence of upper floor commercial uses coupled with the presence of ground floor non-commercial uses account for the low CBHI for each of these blocks.

Only one of the four blocks surrounding the PLVI meet the minimum requirements for both indices. Block number 21 has a CBHI of 1.17 and a CBII of 72 percent (Table 1). Block number 22 contains an eight story building that was formerly a hotel. Today, the top seven stories are permanently occupied by elderly residents. The residential tower along with the presence of a church and private club account for the lower indices values. Block number 27 meets the CBII requirement, but falls below the CBHI requirement by 0.06 of a point. The CBII requirement is met for block number 28, however, the CBHI is 0.27 of a point below the minimum requirement. Open space and the absence of upper floor commercial uses account for the low CBHI.

²³Murphy and Vance, "Delimiting the CBD," p. 219.

GOLDSBORO CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

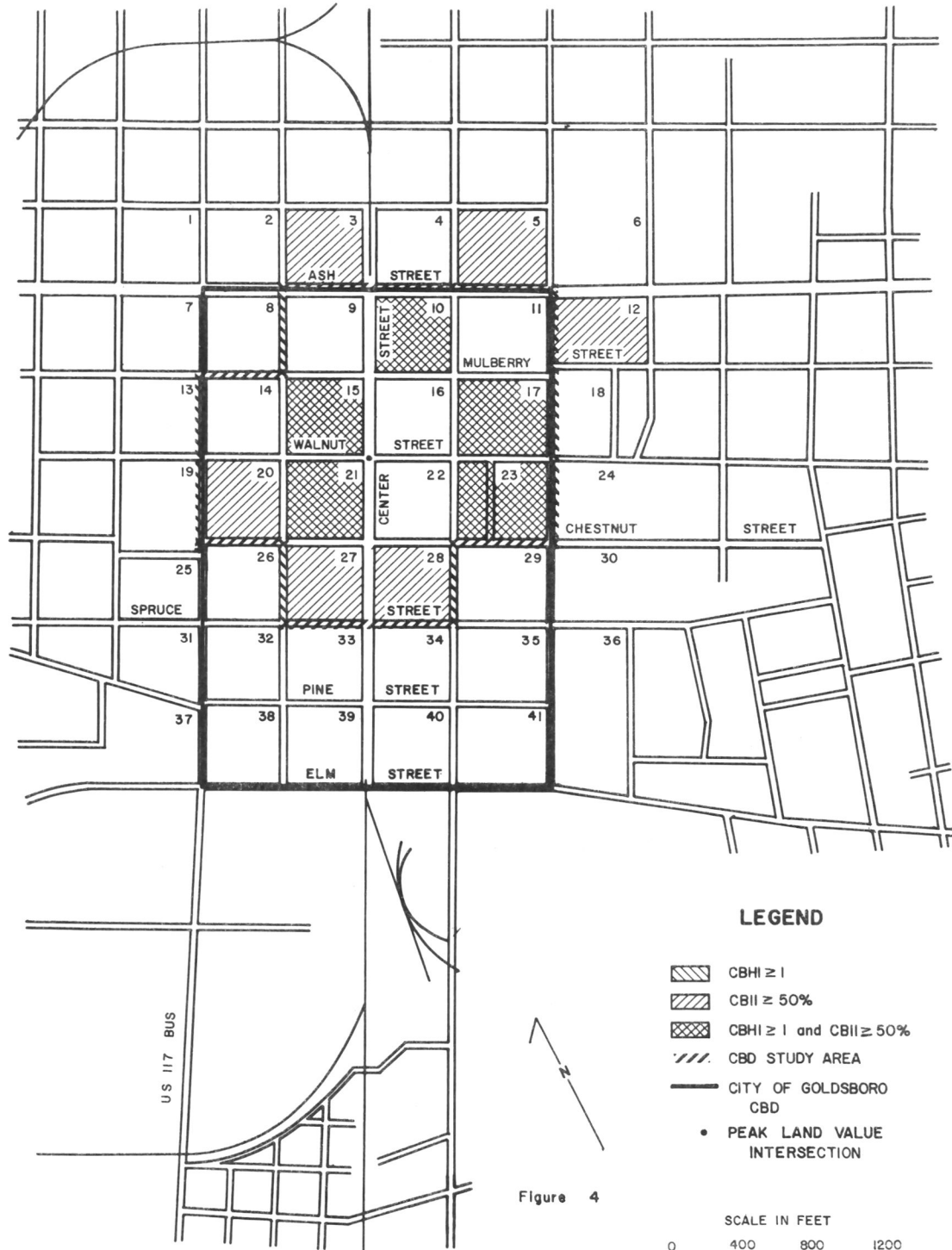


Figure 4

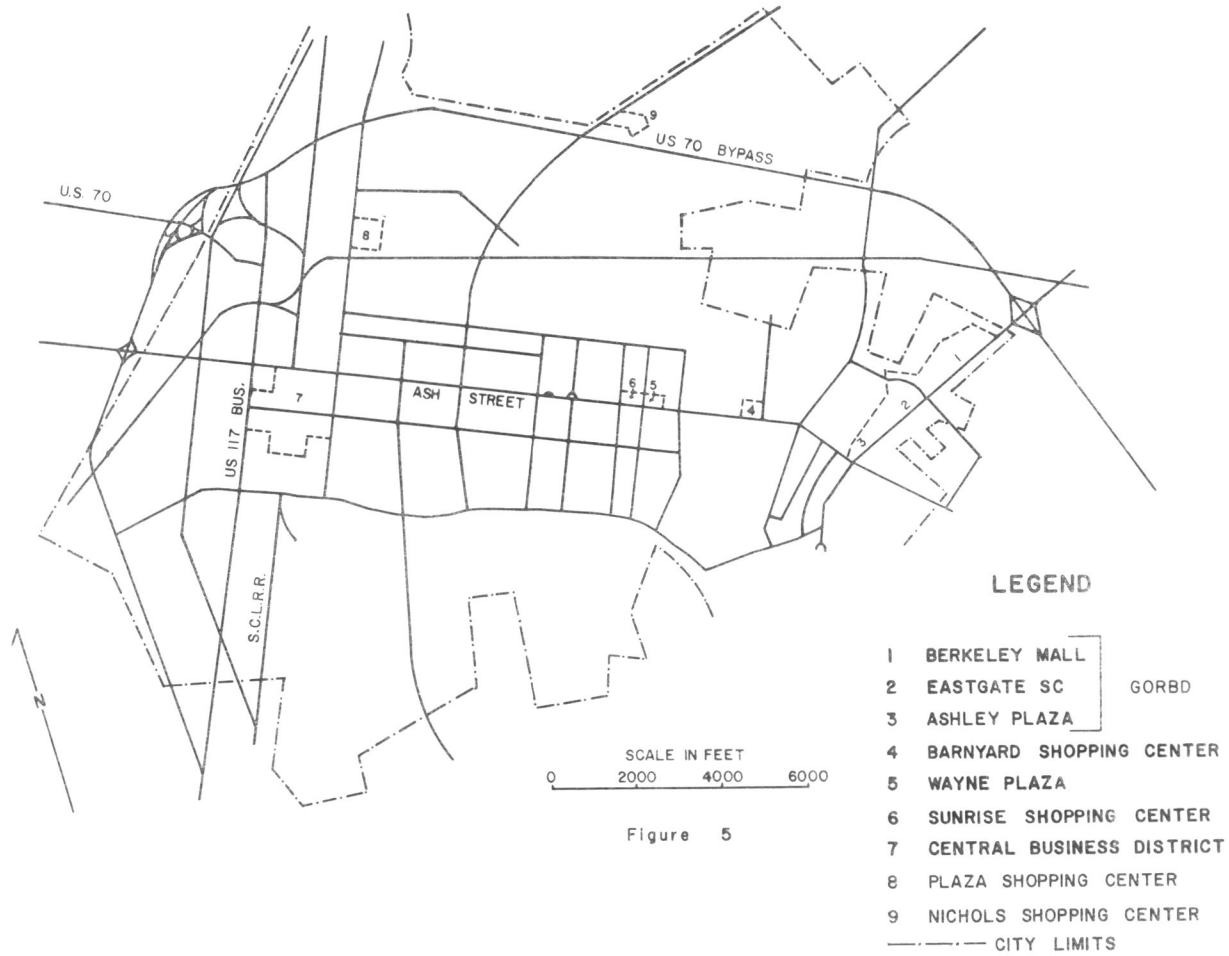
Central Business District Delimitation

An exact CBD boundary suitable for this study is needed. By observation, the area designated as the CBD by the City of Goldsboro included uses not typical of a city center (especially the southern end). The CBD also appears to consist of more blocks than indicated by the Central Business Index Method. This agrees with the assumption of Murphy and Vance that the CBIM works best for medium size cities, distinctly larger than Goldsboro. Three criteria are considered in the final determination of the CBD boundary used in this study:

1. the Goldsboro City Planning Department delimitation.
2. the results of the CBIM applied.
3. activities typical of the CBD related to the retailing of goods and services and the performing of various financial and office functions - (These activities are oriented around the PLVI and normally serve the city as a whole rather than a specific area or group of people.)

First, the City Planning Department's Boundary is examined (Figure 4). The eight most southern blocks within the boundary and those blocks on the west side of George Street are predominantly residential and open space. These uses are non-business uses, thus the blocks are considered to be outside the CBD. The sixteen most northern blocks generally represent a truer CBD. A high concentration of retail functions exists in this sector. The majority of the commercial uses on the north side of Ash Street and on the east side of William Street are not considered businesses typical of the CBD. These uses include convenience stores, a few offices, car sales, governmental establishments, and churches. These functions tend to be oriented more to the thoroughfares that they are located on rather than to the centrality of the city.

BUSINESS AREA LOCATIONS IN GOLDSBORO



The CBIM was applied to a twenty-three block area in the vicinity of the CBD as designated by the city. Block numbers 10, 15, 17, 21, and 23 are considered part of the CBD as CBIM requirements are satisfied (Figure 4). Since the CBIM is designated primarily for cities over 150,000 inhabitants, lowering of the minimum index requirements seems valid for a city of under 50,000 people. By setting the minimum requirements of the CBHI at 0.50 and the CBII at 40 percent, a more realistic boundary results. As a result, block numbers, 9, 11, 14, 20, 27, and 28 become part of the CBD. Block numbers 16 and 22 are also considered part of the CBD since they are completely surrounded by other CBD blocks. Block numbers 3, 5, and 12 are not considered central business in character because their functions are oriented primarily to the thoroughfares bordering the CBD. The CBD for this study is bounded to the north by Ash Street, to the south by Spruce and Chestnut Streets, to the east by William and John Streets, and to the West by George and James Streets (Figure 4). The activities offered in the CBD mainly serve the city as a whole rather than a specific area of the city or group of people.

Location of the Outlying Business Districts

Eight outlying shopping areas have developed in Goldsboro within the last fifteen years (Figure 5). These shopping agglomerations are predominantly located on major traffic arterials (Figure 6). Some have been located adjacent to one another and comprise a unit together. This is true for the Wayne Plaza and Sunrise centers and also for the Ashley Plaza, Berkeley Mall, and Eastgate Shopping Center. The literature should give us the key to the classification of these outlying shopping areas.

Shopping Center Classification

Commercial centers are different from each other with regard to location, structure, function, and form. Shopping centers are commercial agglomerations with a variety of functions arranged in a relatively compact form. Commercial ribbons are arranged along major transportation arterials. These ribbons draw on long distance trade, and do not fit into the general hierarchy of commercial districts. Specialized districts are compact agglomerations that include establishments performing basically the same function.²⁴

Commercial agglomerations may be arranged into a functional hierarchy. Each higher agglomeration characteristically serves more people in a larger area and has a greater functional offering than the previous lower order. With regard to the shopping centers, four functional orders can be established. From the lower order, they are:

1. isolated commercial establishment
2. neighborhood shopping center
3. community shopping center
4. regional shopping center²⁵

The lowest order commercial (shopping) center is represented by the isolated commercial establishment. These establishments serve a relatively small number of people from a small area and normally have only one functional offering. This type of shopping center has a low threshold, a short range of goods and services, and a small market

²⁴Ray M. Northam, Urban Geography, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1975), p. 223.

²⁵Ibid., p. 224 - 231.



Figure 6. Sunrise Shopping Center is located along Ash Street. It was the first shopping center to develop in Goldsboro.



Figure 7. The Goldsboro Outlying Regional Business District (GORBD) is made up of three adjacent shopping centers: Ashley Plaza (foreground), Eastgate Shopping Center (center), and Berkeley Mall (background).

area.²⁶ A "mom and pop grocery" and the unattached furniture store are typical examples of the isolated commercial establishments. The next higher order is referred to as the neighborhood commercial center. This order shopping center contains generally between ten to twenty tenants, with a supermarket or drug store being the leading tenant (Table 2). Neighborhood commercial centers specialize in convenience goods. These goods are most frequently acquired by consumers who do not practice selective buying because the cost of these goods is relative low.²⁷

The third order shopping center is represented by the community shopping center (Table 2). Twenty to forty functional units are characteristic of this order, with a variety or department store being the dominant tenant. Duplication of functions is common. Establishments dispensing shopper goods are prevalent in this order shopping center. Shopper goods are goods that are less frequently acquired, their cost is relatively high, and comparative shopping is common among consumers. The average minimum threshold for their existence is 20,000 to 100,000 people.²⁸

The regional shopping center represents the highest order of shopping centers in the functional hierarchy (Table 2). The number of functional units in this order ranges from forty to two hundred or more. Additional functions, other than the ones found in lower orders, are present. Greater duplication of functional units occur in the regional shopping center. Both convenience and shopper goods as well as various

²⁶The threshold population can be defined as the number of people needed to provide an aggregate demand that justifies the continuance of a function.

²⁷Northam, Urban Geography, p. 224.

²⁸Ibid., p. 227.

services are offered. Square footage of floor area is four times that of a community shopping center. This level shopping center has a high minimum threshold (100,000 or more people) with the ranges of the goods and services offered extended considerably.²⁹

Table 2
Shopping Center Hierarchy

Shopping Center	Number of Store Spaces	Gross Floor Area	Minimum Site Area
		(in sq ft)	(acres)
THEORETICAL ^a			
Isolated	1	N/A	N/A
Neighborhood	10-20	40,000	4
Community	20-40	150,000	10
Regional	40-200	400,000	40
ACTUAL (Goldsboro)			
Barnyard	7	30,931	2.13
Wayne Plaza	5	49,109	3.53
Sunrise	11	53,809	4.08
Nichols	2	108,814	7.36
Goldsboro Plaza	5	65,664	8.13
Ashley	15	142,457	16.20
Eastgate	28	173,381	16.00
Berkeley	72	484,762	21.00

^aNortham, Urban Geography, pp. 224 - 230.

Five of the outlying shopping areas in Goldsboro are classified as either neighborhood or community shopping centers (Figure 5 and Table 2). Convenience goods establishments are dominant in these shopping centers. Comparing the requirements set for a regional shopping center strengthens the assumption that none of the first five shopping centers listed may

²⁹Ibid., p. 230.

conceivably be considered regional shopping centers (Table 2). Even the combined Wayne Plaza-Sunrise area is only of large neighborhood or small community center size. A regional shopping center has a minimum site area of forty acres of which 400,000 square feet consists of gross floor area. Also, the number of functions in a regional center ranges from forty to one hundred units. The statistics given for the centers by no means meet the requirements for a regional shopping center.

The largest shopping agglomeration outside the CBD is located on Berkeley Boulevard and consists of three contiguous shopping center developments: Ashley Plaza, Eastgate Shopping Center, and Berkeley Mall. This shopping complex is defined as the Goldsboro Outlying Regional Business District (GORBD). Boundary delimitation roughly coincides with the area zoned "shopping center" by the City of Goldsboro (Figure 7). The area lies on approximately 52 acres and contains over 800,000 square feet of space for approximately 100 functional units with 84 units presently in operation. These figures are all well over the minimum for a typical regional shopping district.

The Central Business Index Method was applied to the GORBD so comparisons with the CBD could be made. A CBHI of 0.79 and a CBII of 79.0 percent was calculated for the area. Although the CBHI is below the minimum set by Murphy and Vance, the CBII is well above their minimum. Both indices are well above the adjusted minimums used for the Goldsboro CBD (CBHI \geq 0.50 and CBII \geq 40%). The GORBD has greater intensity of business land use than the CBD.

An attempt has been made to compare the GORBD with the typical regional shopping district. Northam's criteria are followed. Of the twenty-seven criteria established, twenty-one (78 percent) are met by

Table 3

Goldsboro Outlying Regional Business District
Classified as a Regional Shopping Center

Criteria	Regional Shopping Center ^a	GORBD ^b	Number of Units (GORBD)
average gross floor area	400,000 sq ft	800,600 sq ft	
average site area	40 acres	53 acres	
minimum support	100,000 plus	N/A	
leading tenant	1 or 2 dept stores	4 dept stores	
TENANT COMPOSITION			
supermarket	26,700 sq ft	42,482 sq ft	3
bakery	1,800	2,096	1
candy, nuts, specialty	1,100	7,238	5
restaurant	5,800	32,716	8
department stores	181,300	239,295	5
junior department stores	44,100	70,117	1
variety stores	25,200	85,770	3
ladies specialty	4,200	1,451	1
ladies wear	7,000	14,505	3
childrens wear	3,400	2,304	1
mens wear	5,300	20,343	7
family shoes	4,400	18,007	6
ladies shoes	6,000	1,175	1
furniture	12,500	13,228	1
drugs	11,100	24,517	2
jewelry	2,000	11,108	5
cards and gifts	1,600	3,726	2
bank	5,400	7,914	4
beauty shop	1,700	3,331	2
barber	800		0
shoe repair	900		0
cleaners	1,600	3,290	2
optometrist	800	1,437	1
specialty stores ^c		49,357	20
		total	84

SOURCE: Goldsboro City Planning Department and Field investigations.

^aRay M. Northam, Urban Geography, p. 230.

^bThere is a square footage error of less than ½ percent in the figures for each store unit in Berkeley Mall.

Table 3 continued

^cThis category was not included in Northam's list of criteria. Specialty stores include books, sewing machines, audio equipment, toys, records, recreation, gas stations, pet shop, oriental goods, kitchens wares, music shop, books, liquor, cosmetics, sports equipment, and light fixtures.

the outlying district to a significant degree (Table 3). The square footage of ladies specialty stores, children's wear, and ladies shoes fall below the set requirements for a regional shopping center. Barber and shoe repair shops are not represented. The category of specialty stores has been added to include functions not listed by Northam. The diversity and duplication of functional units, as well as the overall size of the facility classify the GORBD as a regional shopping center.

Summary

Business district boundaries are a gradual, impermanent, fragmented zone rather than a definite line. Several methods designed to delimit business districts have been developed within the last thirty years. The Central Business Index Method (CBIM), developed by Murphy and Vance, is perhaps the most standardized method to delimit the CBD. Their method is based entirely on land use mapping and is believed to be objective enough to result in comparably bounded CBDs of different cities.

Applying the CBIM to Goldsboro strengthens the assumption that the method works best for cities of 150,000 to 200,000 inhabitants. Results of the application reveal that only five of the twenty-three blocks tested qualify as being in the CBD. Using a modification of the CBIM and other considerations, the CBD is defined as being bound to the north by Ash Street, to the south by Spruce and Chestnut Streets, to the east by William and John Streets, and to the west by George and James Streets.

The area north of Berkeley Boulevard zoned "shopping center" is defined as the Goldsboro Outlying Regional Business District. The diversity and duplication of functional units in the district, as well as the overall size of the facility classify the mall as a regional shopping complex.

CHAPTER III

RELATIVE DECLINE AND ADJUSTMENT OF THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

Central Business Districts are dynamic areas that constantly change over time in form and function. The CBD was initially considered a regional shopping district which drew customers from all parts of the city and nearby towns.¹ Since World War II, urban population increase and sprawl, and decreased accessibility has created a situation causing CBDs to decline. They no longer serve the purpose of a regional shopping center.

The Goldsboro Central Business District, 1978

The CBD of Goldsboro is located in the western part of the city (Figure 5). Principal arterial highways serving the city center are U. S. 117 (George Street) and U. S. 70 (Ash Street). A Seaboard Coastline Railroad beltline runs immediately west of the CBD.

The CBD of Goldsboro is diverse in function. Retail trade and services occupy some 39.5 percent of the total square footage in the downtown area (Table 4). Businesses offering goods and services for a profit fall under this category. Over eleven percent of the total square footage in the CBD consists of offstreet parking. Other activities not offering goods and services for a profit (non-CB uses) make up

¹Malcolm J. Proudfoot, "City Retail Structures," Economic Geography 13 (October 1937): 425.

49.0 percent of the total square footage. Heaviest concentrations of retail trade and services are found in the Southern section of the CBD and in the Core (Figures 8 and 11). Offstreet parking is most prominent in the two western most blocks. Non-CB uses occupy the majority of the Eastern fringe of the CBD.

Table 4

Percentage of Square Footage by Function
in the Central Business District, 1978

Zone	Retail trade and services	Offstreet parking	Non-CB functions
Core	43.1%	8.1%	48.8%
North fringe	40.9	7.6	51.5
South fringe	44.1	10.8	45.1
East fringe	31.6	0.0	68.4
West fringe	35.9	45.8	18.3
CBD	39.5	11.5	49.0

SOURCE: Goldsboro City Planning Department and field investigations.

Urban geographers are interested in the spatial arrangement of activities in Central Business District. A complete understanding of the contemporary city center is based on knowledge of its evolution. Questions on the evolution of the CBD in Goldsboro which will be explored in this study include: Have any major functional changes taken place within the CBD since 1950? If so, have the caused the CBD to decline and what kind of decline has occurred? Has change occurred evenly or has it taken place within a certain time frame during the study period? What are the major factors responsible for a change in



Figure 8. One of the heaviest concentrations of retail trade and services are found around the Peak Land Value Intersection which is defined as the intersection at Center and Walnut Streets.

the functional uses and decline within the CBD? Finally, have the internal changes occurred in a uniform fashion: are some areas growing while others are declining and still others remaining stable?

Methodology to Measure Change in the
Central Business District

A review of the literature indicated certain patterns in the evolution of CBDs. Vance outlined the various stages of downtown development in his "Seven Lives of Downtown": The Processes of Inception; Exclusion; Segregation; Extension; Replication and Readjustment; Redevelopment; and In the End, A City of Realms.² The fifth and sixth stages are the real focus of this study. Vance states that Replication and Readjustment will be reached when central functions appear in outlying sections of the town, especially shopping centers. Concern develops over the influence outlying business districts have on the CBD. This influence may be summed up under the term readjustment. Two types of readjustment occur: the slow demise of the "dry good store," and the rapid closing of family grocery stores in the CBD. When one or two functions move out of a large city CBD, no long term effect is felt. However, urban central business decline results when functions vacate en mass. In a relatively small CBD, such as that found in Goldsboro, a small number of moves have an important effect.

A functional classification was employed to measure the decline of the Goldsboro CBD from 1950 to 1978. Land use surveys taken at periodic

²James E. Vance, Jr., "Focus on Downtown," in Internal Structure of the City, ed. Larry S. Bourne (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 114.

intervals measure the changes occurring in the CBD. They allow for the examination of central area functions over time, and possibly help explain changes in functional uses over a given time period.³

An attempt has been made to analyze the loss and change of retail functions and establish a pattern of change in other functions within the Goldsboro CBD. The analysis is based on lot square footage for each use for the years 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1978. This period is a critical time for change in CBDs, especially the latter twenty years.

Functions present in the CBD have been broken down into three broad categories: retail trade and services (retail space), offstreet parking, and non-Central Business (CB) uses. Retail trade and services include all businesses and offices offering goods and services for a profit. Offstreet parking includes all non-street parking designed for general public parking. Those CBD activities which do not offer goods and services for a profit are categorized as non-CB uses. These uses consists of schools, wholesaling and manufacturing enterprises, residential, commercial storage, all governmental functions, churches, organizational institutions (such as social and fraternal), vacant buildings, and open space.

Data collection involved three sources:

1. Goldsboro City Directories.⁴
2. official city lot maps
3. field investigations

³Shirley F. Weiss, The Central Business District in Transition. City and Regional Planning Studies, no. 1 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957), p. 17.

⁴Hill Directory Co., publishers, Goldsboro City Directories - 1950; 1960; and 1970 (Richmond: Hill Directory Company).

City directories were reviewed to obtain an accurate listing and location of functions in the CBD for 1950, 1960, and 1970. City maps were analyzed to calculate the square footage of each lot in the CBD. A field investigation was conducted to check street number locations and obtain an inventory of functions for 1978. By using these sources, it was possible to calculate the square footage of each use in the CBD for the designated years.

Certain problems were encountered. All upper story uses were assumed to be in non-CB uses unless indicated differently by the city directories. Second, an absence of street numbers in a directory was assumed to indicate open space. Discrepancies were checked with aerial photographs, city maps, and field work. Third, offstreet parking for 1970 was determined by employing the use of aerial photographs and city lot maps. Negligible amounts of offstreet parking were present prior to and in 1960.⁵ Finally, building heights of demolished buildings (primarily residential) were determined from low altitude aerial photographs.

Table 5

Block Identification Numbers in Each Zone of the CBD

Core block #	North fringe block #	South fringe block #	East fringe block #	West fringe block #
15	9	27	17	14
16	10	28	23	20
21	11			
22				

⁵Interview with Stan Carrawan, President, Goldsboro Downtown Association, Goldsboro, North Carolina, 27 February 1979.

The CBD was divided into five zones for the analysis: Core, North fringe, South fringe, East fringe, and West fringe (Figure 11 and Table 5). The percent of total square footage of each use within each zone in the CBD was determined. Percent change for each use was then calculated for each zone between 1950-1960, 1960-1970, 1970-1978, and 1950-1978. The percent change method helps in understanding the amount of spatial change of a certain function within a certain area over a period of time.

Relation of Population and Automobiles
To Retail Trade Space

The development of shopping centers and CBD decline result primarily from shifts in the location of population, increasing auto ownership which leads to less dependence on public transportation, and decreased accessibility to the CBD.⁶ Relocation of the population to the urban fringe is a direct result of life style changes and increases in income.⁷

Changes in the population of Wayne County and of Goldsboro and in the square footage of the retail trade area of the Goldsboro CBD are revealing from the standpoint of the linkage of population, autos, and retail trade (Figure 9). For Goldsboro, the county seat and near the center of the county, Wayne County comprises a major portion of the regional trade area of the county. The population increased for both Wayne County (27.68%) and Goldsboro (34.58%) significantly from

⁶John F. McDonald, "Some Causes of the Decline of Central Business District Retail Sales in Detroit," *Urban Studies* 12 (June 1975): 229.

⁷Thomas Muller, "Fiscal Problems of Smaller Growing and Declining Cities," in *Small Cities in Transition*, ed. Herrington J. Bryce (Cambridge: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1977), p. 176.

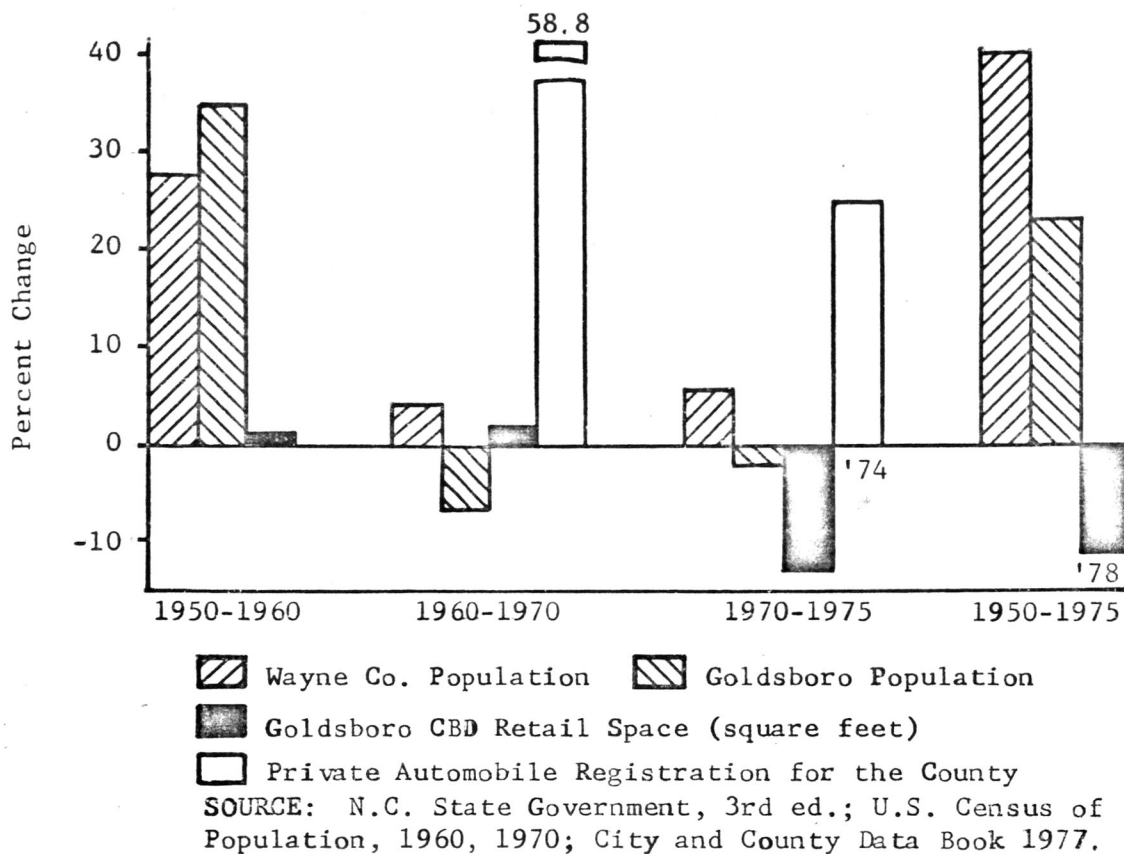


Figure 9. Percent Change in Population, Autos, and Retail Trade and Services, 1950 - 1978.

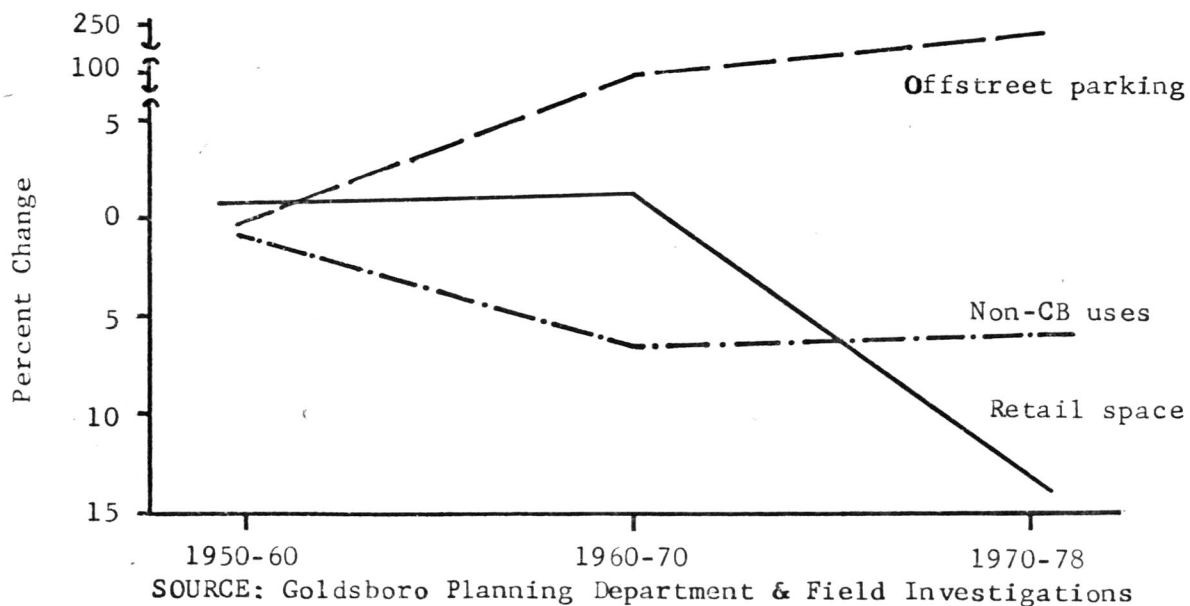


Figure 10. Percent Change in CBD Uses, 1950 - 1978.

1950 to 1960 but the retail trade area increased only one percent. From 1960 to 1970 the county population increased more slowly (4.08%), the city population decreased (6.62%), and the retail space still increased by 1.4 percent, the city population declined again (2.2%), and the retail trade space declined by 13.3 percent (1970 to 1978).

Private automobile registration in Wayne County increased by 58.76 percent between 1960 and 1970 and another 24.68 percent between 1970 and 1974. The almost universal complaint of the difficulty of finding parking in CBDs during this period is common knowledge.

Retail space is costly to develop but its intensity of use is relatively flexible. This may explain the fact that retail space increased only slightly between 1950 and 1960 even though the population of the city and county increased sharply. The retail space increased a little more between 1960 and 1970, probably in relation to the population increases of 1950-1960, although county population increases were slowing down and the city population declined. The lagging change of retail space in the CBD, as a reaction to slower county population increase and continued movement from the city to the surrounding areas, came between 1970 and 1978. The loss of regional retail shopping trade of the Goldsboro CBD began to show up significantly between 1970 and 1978. This is most likely due to increased friction in driving downtown and the population movement from the city to the suburbs.

Evolutional Change of the Central Business
District of Goldsboro, 1950-1978

Changes in Functional Categories of the CBD

The location and area of the Goldsboro CBD, established in Chapter II, is realistic for the time period of the study, 1950-1978. The main

GOLDSBORO CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT LANDUSES, 1978

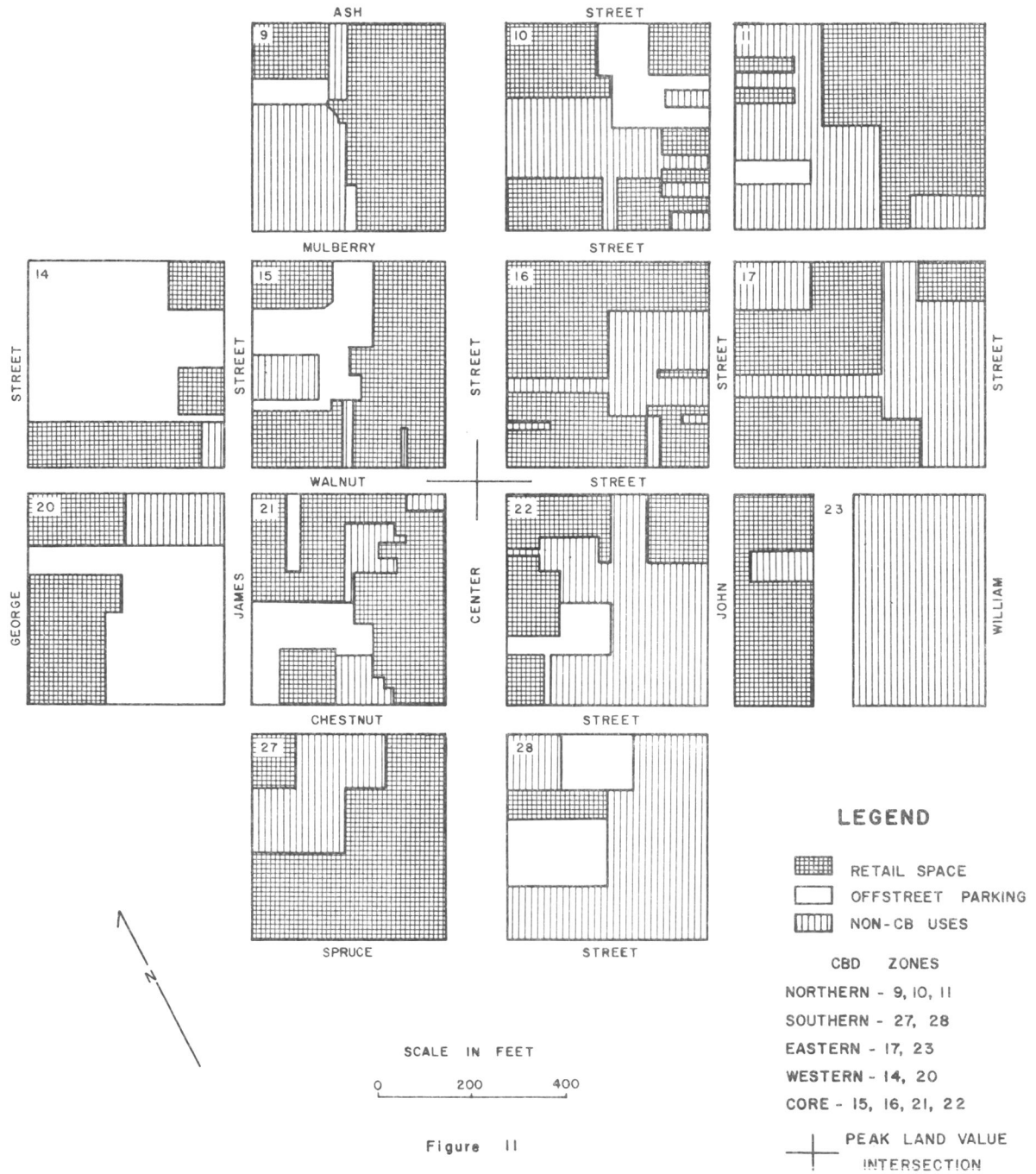


Figure 11

concern of the study is what has happened to the retail trade and services space during this period. As the automobile became the main method of reaching and leaving the CBD, parking space became important for those wishing to trade in the CBD. Therefore, the broad functional land uses considered important for this study are those of retail trade and services, public offstreet parking, and non-CB uses which make up the remainder of the functions. The percentage land use changes in these categories indicate a shifting of space from one category to another.

The changes in the proportions of the square feet of land uses in these broad categories are shown by periods (Figure 10). The change was slight between 1950 and 1960 with a 1.0 percent increase in retail space and a 0.8 percent decline in non-CB uses. There was no development of offstreet parking during this period. From 1960 to 1970 retail space remained about the same (1.4 percent increase), parking increased by 100.0 percent (73,679 square feet), and non-CB uses declined 6.7 percent. Between 1970 and 1978 retail space declined sharply by 13.3 percent, non-CB uses declined by 6.0 percent, and parking significantly showed an increase of 247 percent. The need for parking became so critical by 1960 that land was increasingly converted to this use throughout the remainder of the study period. The following sections analyze how these changes varied in the different parts of the Goldsboro CBD.

Core

The Core of the CBD has gone through various changes in uses since 1950. Percent change in square footage of retail trade and services between 1950 and 1960 dropped 9.1 percent (Table 6). Loss of central business uses consisted primarily of a large bottling company, a neon

Table 6

Change in Square Feet of CBD Core Uses: 1950-1978

Time Period	Retail Trade & Services		Offstreet Parking		Non-CB Uses	
	square feet	% change	square feet	% change	square feet	% change
1950-60	-92,836	-9.1	0	0.0	+92,836	+17.8
1960-70	-80,815	-8.7	+73,679	+100.0	+7,136	+1.2
1970-78	-189,445	-22.2	+50,201	+68.1	+129,078*	+20.7
1950-78	-363,096	-35.4	+123,880	+100.0	+229,050*	+43.8

*Commulative totals vary because of changes in total CBD area.

Table 7

Change in Square Feet of CBD Northern Fringe Uses: 1950-78

Time Period	Retail Trade & Services		Offstreet Parking		Non-CB Uses	
	square feet	% change	square feet	% change	square feet	% change
1950-60	+2,951	+0.8	0	0.0	-2,951	-0.6
1960-70	-43,901	-12.0	+22,164	+100.0	+21,737	+4.7
1970-78	+16,428	+5.1	+41,210	+185.9	-57,638	-11.9
1950-78	-24,522	-6.8	+63,374	+100.0	-38,852	-8.3

sign company, and a five story professional building.

A loss of square footage in retail trade and services occurred between 1960 and 1970, though it was not as severe as the previous decade. The majority of square footage lost by retail space was heaviest in block number 21 where space was converted primarily to parking (Figure 11).

Retail trade and services suffered their heaviest loss in square footage between 1970 and 1978. A 22.2 percent decline in retail space occurred changing mainly to non-CB uses. The Goldsboro Hotel was redesigned into an eight story residential complex for the elderly two years ago. The Core saw an overall loss of 35.4 percent in retail trade and services during the twenty eight years covered in this study. Most of this space became vacant or redeveloped into non-CB uses.

Northern Fringe

The Northern fringe remained fairly stable between 1950 and 1960 (Figure 11). This zone is adjacent to one of the major access streets leading to the CBD (Ash Street). Ribbon oriented commercial development has had an effect here. A slight increase of 0.8 percent did occur in the square footage of retail space (Table 7). Retail trade and services dropped by 12.0 percent between 1960 and 1970. Approximately half of this space went to offstreet parking. Other uses absorbing square footage were government establishments, wholesaling activities, and vacancies. Retail trade and services also gained by 5.0 percent between 1970 and 1978. The most noticeable change during that period was in parking and non-CB uses. Clearing away of vacant buildings to make room for offstreet parking obviously resulted in an overall decline of retail space and non-CB uses for the study period.

Table 8

Change in Square Feet of CBD Southern Fringe Uses: 1950 - 78

Time Period	Retail Trade & Services		Offstreet Parking		Non-CB Uses	
	square feet	% change	square feet	% change	square feet	% change
1950-60	-22,415	-17.6	0	0.0	-22,415	+6.3
1960-70	+132,656	+126.7	0	0.0	-30,953*	-34.5
1970-78	-35,636	-15.0	+49,466	+100.0	-42,155*	-17.0
1950-78	+74,605	+58.7	+49,466	+100.0	-150,693*	-42.2

*Commulative totals vary because of changes in total CBD area.

Table 9

Change in Square Feet of CBD Eastern Fringe Uses: 1950 - 78

Time Period	Retail Trade & Services		Offstreet Parking		Non-CB Uses	
	square feet	% change	square feet	% change	square feet	% change
1950-60	+68,722	+33.7	0	0.0	-68,722	-10.9
1960-70	+627	+0.2	+11,040	+100.0	-2,567*	-0.5
1970-78	-7,721	-2.8	-11,040	-100.0	-18,761	+3.4
1950-78	+61,628	+30.2	0	0.0	-52,528	-8.4

*Commulative totals vary because of changes in total CBD area.



Figure 12. Car dealerships and motels have been leaving and are now rare in small town Central Business Districts.



Figure 13. The number of square feet in non-CB uses has increased by 3.4 percent in the Eastern fringe since 1970.

Southern Fringe

A marked change in the square footage devoted to particular uses occurred between 1950 and 1978. The initial decade of the period lost square footage in retail trade and services by 17.6 percent (Table 8). The loss of professional offices to wholesaling and organizational establishments was outstanding. The second decade had considerable growth and expansion of retail trade and services. The construction of a two story motel plus considerable expansion of a car dealership on Center Street accounts for the 126.7 percent increase in square footage of retail space (Figure 12). Loss in non-CB uses consisted mostly of residential housing. Offstreet parking facilities developed in the 1970s resulting in a loss in square footage of retail trade and services. The parking was developed as a result of the construction of a new governmental complex consisting of the police, fire, and rescue departments.

Eastern Fringe

An increase of 33.7 percent in the square footage used for retail trade and services occurred in the Eastern fringe between 1950 and 1960 (Table 9). This was due to expansion of attorneys offices linked to the Wayne County Courthouse. This change indicates expansion of commercial establishments during the decade at the expense of residential areas. The following decade has little change with respect to retail trade and services though some offstreet parking did develop adjacent to Mulberry Street. Non-CB uses increased by 3.4 percent in the last eight years. The closing of commercial establishments and elimination of the parking accounts for the rise (Figure 13).

Table 10

Change in Square Feet of CBD Western Fringe Uses: 1950-1978

Time Period	Retail Trade & Services		Offstreet Parking		Non-CB Uses	
	square feet	% change	square feet	% change	square feet	% change
1950-60	+61,659	+40.2	0	0.0	-61,659	-15.8
1960-70	+18,474	+8.6	+33,000	+100.0	-51,474	-15.7
1970-78	-38,635	-16.5	+215,699	+653.6	-177,064	-64.0
1950-78	+41,498	+27.1	+248,699	+100.0	-290,197	-74.5

Table 11

Change in Square Footage of Retail Trade and Services: 1950-1978

Zone	1950-1960		1960-1970		1970-1978		1950-1978	
	Square Feet	Percent Change	Square Feet	Percent Change	Square Feet	Percent Change	Square Feet	Percent Change
Core	-92,836	-9.1	-80,815	-8.7	-189,445	-22.2	-363,096	-35.4
North	+2,951	+0.8	-43,901	-12.0	+16,428	+5.1	-24,522	-6.8
South	-22,415	-17.6	+132,656	+126.7	-35,636	-15.0	+74,605	+58.7
East	+68,722	+33.7	+627	+0.2	-7,721	-2.8	+61,628	+30.2
West	+61,659	+40.2	+18,474	+8.6	-38,635	-16.5	+41,498	+27.1
CBD	+18,081	+1.0	+27,041	+1.4	-255,009	-13.3	-209,887	-11.2

Western Fringe

The Western fringe experienced considerable growth of retail trade and services between 1950 and 1960 (40.2 percent). Principal reasons for this growth were the addition of a service station and a two story funeral home. Some growth in retail trade and services took place in the 1960-1970 period (Table 10). However, the largest gain of square footage was in offstreet parking. Loss of non-CB uses and retail space to parking was substantial in the 1970s with residential housing being the predominant loser (Figure 14).

Evolutional Change of Retail Trade and Services

Square footage in retail trade and services has fluctuated significantly in the CBD since 1950 (Figure 15 and Table 11). Between 1950 and 1960, the CBD gained an insignificant amount in square footage uses for retail trade and services. The largest gain was felt in the Western fringe, with the greatest loss occurring in the Southern fringe. A slight gain in retail trade and services was also noticed between 1960 and 1970. The largest gain occurred in the Southern fringe. The Northern fringe sustained the heaviest loss in retail space. The period between 1970 and 1978 saw the largest overall loss of retail trade and services in the CBD, especially in the Core. With the exception of the Northern fringe, all parts of the CBD lost a certain amount of retail space.

The CBD declined in square footage of retail space by 11.2 percent between 1950 and 1978. The core area was the heaviest loser with a 35.4 percent loss in retail space. Most fringe areas gained in retail trade and services with the largest gain found in the Southern fringe. The Northern fringe was an exception; retail space decreased there.



Figure 14. A large amount of offstreet parking has developed in the Western fringe within the last eight years taking land that was formerly residential.

PERCENT CHANGE IN SQUARE FOOTAGE OF RETAIL SPACE BY ZONE WITHIN THE GOLDSBORO CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

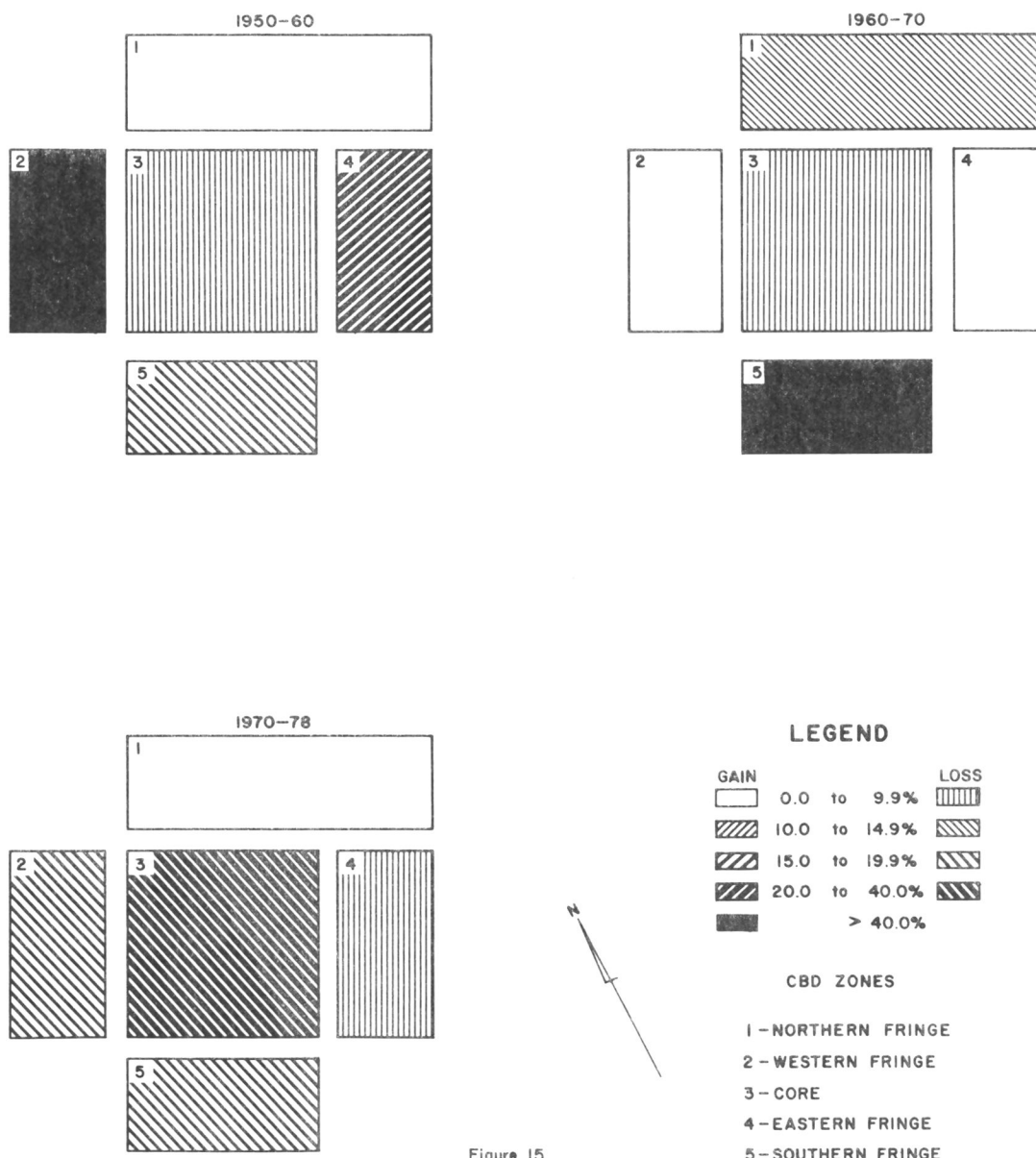


Figure 15

Summary

The Goldsboro CBD is dynamic. Over the twenty-eight year study period, the CBD declined in square footage of retail trade and services by 11.2 percent. The heaviest decline was felt in the Core. The first decade (1950-1960) saw an overall gain in the fringes of retail establishments, with the heaviest gain in the Western fringe. The 1960s saw an exodus of retail trade and services in all areas except the Southern and Western fringes. Decline of retail establishments was most noticeable in the 1970-1978 period in all zones except the Northern fringe. The general pattern of change in retail trade and services over the study period shows an exodus of commercial uses from the Core and some development of retail uses in the fringe areas.

City hall and county seat buildings by choice are still located in the CBD. Activities linked to these government operations have presumably helped to preserve the CBD by drawing some customers to the central city. Variety in retail establishments, especially convenience goods stores make the CBD a good place for the elderly to locate (the old Goldsboro Hotel).

CHAPTER IV

CHARACTER AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE GOLDSBORO OUTLYING REGIONAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

Outlying business districts have developed in Goldsboro within the last fifteen years. This development has accompanied the general sprawl of population that has taken place in and around the city. Today, there are eight outlying shopping centers in Goldsboro (Figure 5). They are generally located in predominantly residential areas along major traffic arterials. Three of the larger shopping centers are contiguous: Ashley Plaza, Eastgate Shopping Center, and Berkeley Mall and they make up the Goldsboro Outlying Regional Business District (GORBD) (Figure 16).

Location and Development of Outlying Shopping Centers

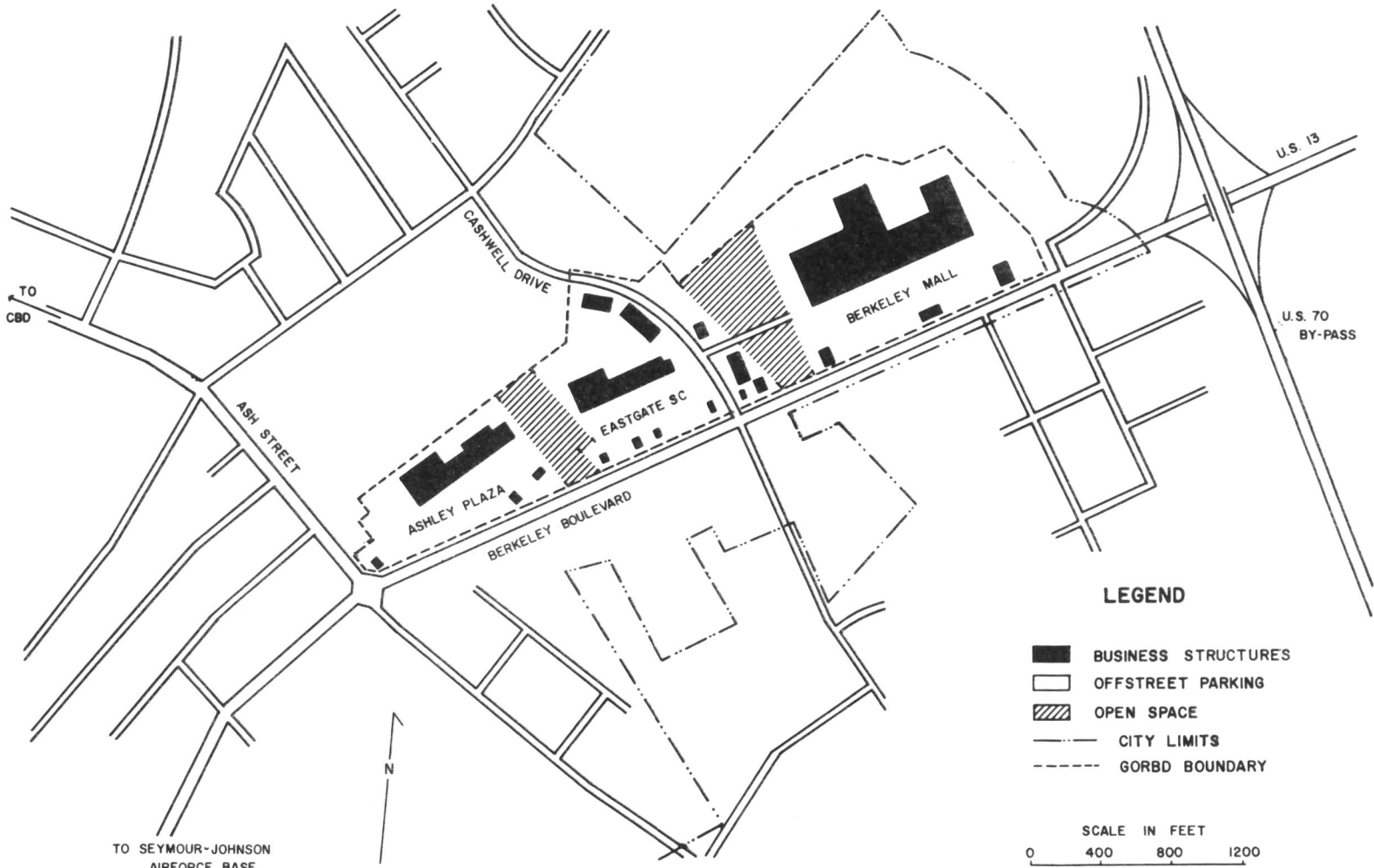
Location

The outer suburban areas of the United States have increased in population more rapidly than the central cities within the last three decades. The development of the outlying business district has accompanied this centrifugal movement.¹

Development and growth of the outlying business district is directly related to the advantages which accrue to shoppers outweighing those of the CBD. Important considerations are accessibility from

¹Dean S. Rugg, Spatial Foundations of Urbanism, (Dubuque: William C. Brown Co., 1972), p. 64.

GOLDSBORO OUTLYING REGIONAL BUSINESS DISTRICT



LEGEND

- BUSINESS STRUCTURES
- OFFSTREET PARKING
- OPEN SPACE
- CITY LIMITS
- GORBD BOUNDARY

SCALE IN FEET
 0 400 800 1200

Figure 16

residential areas, free and accessible parking, improved traffic flow patterns, and more convenient operating hours.²

Advantages appealing to developers likewise encourage development of the outlying business districts. A regional shopping center requires at least 50 to 75 acres of land to accommodate structures and parking facilities.³ The availability of large plots of land, lower costs per unit, and general accessibility to traffic arteries are major factors which encourage peripheral development.

Epstein gives several geographically related factors for retail site selection.⁴ The major foci of these factors are place and their spatial relationships. Four general categories of site factors are: physical, legal, psychological, and economic. The physical condition of a future business site is important because it often plays an important role in initial development decisions. The presence of necessary utilities and access and visibility to the site play an important role in initial location decisions for a new business. Legal factors, such as zoning have become so dominant, that they might well deserve first consideration when beginning a search for commercial locations. Building codes should be studied in areas where zoning is

²Raymond E. Murphy, The Central Business District, (Chicago: Aldin Atherton, Inc., 1972), p. 122.

³Kevin Lynch, Site Planning, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1971), p. 327.

⁴See Bart J. Epstein, "Geography and the Business of Retail Site Evaluation and Selection," Economic Geography 47 (April 1971): 192-199. Factors for site selection and evaluation outlined deal primarily with locations of individual business enterprises. These factors, however, can be applied to the site selection of planned shopping centers.

absent or weak.

Psychological factors play a role in retail site location. How potential customers perceive a business determines whether the business will prosper or falter. Competition, retail association, and psychological barriers (traffic flow and movement) affect site selection within an area. The final step in site analysis and selection deals with the economic aspect of commercial development. Occupancy cost, financing, insurance, license permits, and taxes, are considered in determining the final location of a new business enterprise.⁵ Apparently, the developers of the GORBD found the area on Berkeley Boulevard to be the best site in terms of these factors.

Development of Shopping Centers

Development of outlying shopping centers has been most pronounced in larger cities since World War II. The more recent developments have resulted directly from the increase in automobile ownership and increased consumer mobility associated with this phenomenon.⁶ The growth of suburban residential areas has resulted from this increased mobility. This growth has brought about peripheral expansion of commercial land uses, especially the integrated planned shopping center.

Development of the Goldsboro Outlying Regional Business District

Introduction

The literature indicates that suburban shopping center development

⁵Ibid.

⁶Maurice Yeates and Barry Garner, The North American City, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), p. 275.

began in the larger metropolitan areas around 1945. The same initial pattern has been seen in smaller metropolitan areas. According to a leading regional newspaper, the first regional shopping center in North Carolina as well as the Southeast was Cameron Village which opened its doors in Raleigh in 1949.⁷

Smaller cities, such as Goldsboro, saw their initial suburban commercial establishments develop in the 1960s. The first planned shopping center in Goldsboro was Sunrise Shopping Center which was built in 1965 as a neighborhood shopping center.

The 1970s have allowed for the development of additional shopping centers in Goldsboro. Three of these are located adjacent to one another: Eastgate Shopping Center, Berkeley Mall, and Ashley Plaza. This shopping complex, here called the GORBD, developed into a regional shopping center through a series of stages between 1970 and 1978. The GORBD is situated along Berkeley Boulevard and contains over 50 acres of land (Figures 5 and 16). This complex was defined as a regional shopping area in Chapter II.

Eastgate Shopping Center

The first stage of the GORBD development began with the opening of Eastgate Shopping Center in the Fall of 1970.⁸ Eastgate is located on approximately 16 acres at the corner of Berkeley Boulevard and Cashwell Drive (Figures 16 and 17). The shopping center consists of one major building and six other structures. Total building floor area is 173,381

⁷"'Village' Sees Healthy '76," The News and Observer, Raleigh, North Carolina, 8 February 1976.

⁸Interview with Charles Norwood, Jr., Carolina Development Company, Goldsboro, North Carolina, 13 July 1978.

square feet.⁹ The design of the shopping center is classified as a modified L-shaped complex.¹⁰

Table 12

Percentage of Total Square Feet in Each Function
for the Goldsboro Outlying Regional Business District: 1978

Shopping Center	Retail trade and services	Parking	Non-CB uses
Eastgate	24.4%	73.0%	3.0%
Berkeley	43.0	48.0	9.0
Ashley	14.0	80.0	6.0
GORBD	24.3	54.6	21.1 ^a

SOURCE: Goldsboro City Planning Department; The Mitchell Company, Mobile, Alabama; and field investigations.

^aNon-CB uses for the GORBD includes open space and retail space not occupied at this time.

Table 12 gives the percentage of square feet in retail trade and services, offstreet parking, and non-CB uses for Eastgate Shopping Center in 1978. Each category includes the type of functions as defined earlier in Chapter III. Of the total square feet in Eastgate, 24.4 percent is occupied by retail trade and services. Twenty-eight stores are represented in Eastgate with King's department store and Winn-Dixie serving as the major attractions for customers.

Parking occupied 73.0 percent of the square footage in Eastgate

⁹Goldsboro City Planning Department, Goldsboro, North Carolina.

¹⁰Willard G. Rouse, "Development of Shopping Centers," in Real Estate and Urban Land Analysis, eds. James R. Cooper and Karl L. Guntermann (Lexington: D. C. Heath and Co., 1974), p. 700 - 701.



Figure 17. Development of the Goldsboro Outlying Regional Business District began with Eastgate Shopping Center which opened in the Fall of 1970.



Figure 18. The opening of Berkeley Mall in early 1977 provided the centripetal force to allow the GORBD to develop into a regional shopping center.

Shopping Center. All parking is situated around the building complex. The remaining 3.0 percent of square footage consist of non-CB uses, specifically vacant store areas.

Berkeley Mall

For seven years after the development of Eastgate Shopping Center, the GORBD expansion did not occur. However, the opening of Berkeley Mall in early 1977 provided the centripetal force to allow the GORBD to develop into a regional shopping complex (Figures 16 and 18). Berkeley Mall is situated on a 21 acre site between Eastgate Shopping Center and U. S. 70 By-Pass. The two shopping centers are connected by Eastgate Drive. Seventy-two store units in the mall plus three separate buildings make up the 484,782 square feet in building area.¹¹ According to Rouse's classification, Berkeley Mall is considered an enclosed mall center, characteristic of the most recent design in shopping centers.¹²

Retail trade and services utilize 43 percent of the total number of square feet in Berkeley Mall (Table 12). Three major department stores are represented in the Mall: J. C. Penney, Belk Tyler, and Sears Roebuck and Company. Parking accounts for 48 percent of the total square footage in the Berkeley complex. Non-CB uses represents 9 percent of total space. The high percentage of non-CB uses is due to a large number of vacancies in the mall during the time of data collection.

Ashley Plaza

The last stage of development in the history of the GORBD occurred

¹¹Goldsboro City Planning Department.

¹²Rouse, "Development of Shopping Centers."

almost simultaneously with the opening of Berkeley Mall. Opened in the summer of 1977, Ashley Plaza is located on a 16.2 acre site between Eastgate Shopping Center and Ash Street (Figure 16). A major unit with twelve stores and three other buildings it occupies 142,457 square feet of the total area of the shopping center.¹³ The Plaza is classified as a strip center with the major stores built along one straight line facing the street and parking area (Figure 19).¹⁴

Table 12 shows that 14 percent of the total area in the Plaza consists of retail trade and services. K-Mart department store and a grocery store serve as the major catalyst for customers in the Plaza. Eighty percent of the total area consists of parking. Non-CB uses represent 6.0 percent of the total area and consist of vacant store units.

Goldsboro Outlying Regional Business District
and the Central Business District

The 1970s have seen the development of a major outlying regional shopping complex in Goldsboro. The GORBD is located on a 53.2 acre site along Berkeley Boulevard. Over 800,000 square feet in building floor area is represented in the complex in the form of 105 spaces for retail enterprises. Over 24.0 percent of the total square footage in the complex consists of retail trade and services, 54.6 percent in parking, and 21.1 percent in non-CB uses (Table 12). Open space and vacancies still not occupied but available for expansion account for the relatively high percentage of non-CB uses.

¹³Mack Graham, The Mitchell Company, Mobile Alabama. Interview, 14 July 1978.

¹⁴Rouse, "Development of Shopping Centers."



Figure 19. Ashley Plaza is the newest shopping center in the Goldsboro Outlying Regional Business District.

What are the comparative regional advantages and disadvantages of the GORBD and the CBD? The CBD has more than 2.5 times more space in retail trade and services than the GORBD (Table 13). At first it may seem that this gives the CBD a great advantage over the GORBD. However, the CBD stores are spread over thirteen blocks with streets and some open space breaking the continuity. For comparative shopping one may need to do considerable walking or some driving in the CBD which especially would be distasteful in bad weather. On the other hand, businesses in the GORBD are concentrated in three closely covered areas. This is coupled with the fact that it is often difficult to find parking in the CBD and a problem to move from one parking spot to another.

Table 13

Functional Space in the
Central Business District and the
Goldsboro Outlying Regional Business District: 1978

Business district	Retail trade and services	Offstreet parking	Non-CB uses
	(in sq ft)	(in sq ft)	(in sq ft)
CBD	1,662,881	485,419	2,059,649
the GORBD	655,407	1,470,573	569,129

SOURCE: Goldsboro City Planning Department and field investigation.

The GORBD has three times more offstreet parking to accommodate vehicular parking. Abundant parking available in the GORBD is most appealing to shoppers, especially out of town shoppers not familiar with the location of isolated parking areas in the CBD.

Easier accessibility of the GORBD to the regional population outweighs that of the CBD. The widening of U. S. 70 By-Pass in 1973-74, and the five laning of Berkeley Boulevard in 1972 has made it easier for potential customers to reach the outlying complex. Ash Street, the principal route leading to the CBD, was widened in 1971.¹⁵ It is doubtful that congestion has been relieved since this street primarily serves as a major east-west arterial through the city.

Historically, the Goldsboro CBD contained many establishments dependent on a regional market. Since 1970, at least ten major and other department stores have left the CBD.¹⁶ Some of these stores have chosen not to relocate within the city, while others relocated in the GORBD and other areas. Six of the businesses that left the CBD relocated in the GORBD: Butlers Shoes, J. C. Penney, Belk Tyler, Merle Norman Cosmetics, Clear Vue Opticians, and Kinney Shoes. Sears Roebuck and Company closed in the CBD in the 1960s and returned to Goldsboro with the opening of Berkeley Mall. There has also been a pattern of certain stores "branching" out to the GORBD with the older or larger establishments remaining in the CBD. Examples include Weil's Department Store (2 locations in the GORBD), Williams Ltd. (men's store), Edwards Young Men's Shop, First Citizens Bank and Trust Company, and a Jewel Box. A Winn-Dixie supermarket and an ABC store are represented in the GORBD as well as the CBD.

¹⁵ Interview with Ronnie Thompson, City Engineer, City of Goldsboro, Goldsboro, North Carolina, 16 March 1979.

¹⁶ Popular retail establishments represented in the CBD before 1970 include Butlers Shoes, the Goldsboro Hotel, Woolworths, H. T. Grant, J. C. Penney, Belk Tyler, Merle Norman Cosmetics, Clear Vue Opticians, Kinney Shoes, and numerous family grocery stores and car sales.

Quantitatively, the CBD declined in square footage of retail sales between 1970 and 1978 by over 255,000 square feet while the GORBD gained over 655,000 square feet during the same period. An assumption can be made that the exodus of major stores from the CBD coupled with the drawing power of the GORBD has resulted in a decline of retail sales and services in the CBD.

Summary

Eight outlying shopping centers have developed in Goldsboro within the last fifteen years. Eastgate Shopping Center, Berkeley Mall, and Ashley Plaza opened at various times between 1970 and 1978 creating the Goldsboro Outlying Regional Business District. The development and growth of the GORBD is directly related to its advantages to shoppers outweighing those of the CBD. The GORBD is situated along the eastern periphery of the city along a five lane thoroughfare that connects to a major highway. Both traffic arterials allow for improved traffic flow patterns. Parking is also abundant in the outlying complex. Finally, major department stores have located in the GORBD to enhance the "pulling power" of the area: K-Mart, Kings, J. C. Penney, Belk Tyler, and Sears Roebuck and Company.

An exodus of major businesses from the CBD has been established. At least Ten major department and other stores have left the CBD since 1970. Many of these stores have relocated in the GORBD including Butlers Shoes, J. C. Penney, Belk Tylers, Sears Roebuck and Company, Merle Norman Cosmetics, Clear Vue Opticians, and Kinney Shoes. A pattern of some stores "branching" out to the GORBD has occurred during this decade. Examples include Weil's Department Store (2 locations in the GORBD),

Williams Ltd., Edwards Young Men's Shop, First Citizens Bank, and the Jewel Box. The exodus of businesses from the CBD to the GORBD strengthens the assumption that the outlying complex has partially replaced and contributed to the decline of the CBD.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

The CBD of Goldsboro is dynamic. Traditionally, the CBD was considered a regional shopping area that served all parts of the city and the surrounding area and towns. Major retail stores acting as a "pulling power" for customers have traditionally operated in the CBD. This is not true today. Analysis of the CBD substantiates the claim that an exodus of major stores has occurred.

It is necessary to initially delimit the CBD before investigating the pattern of change within the CBD. The Central Business Index Method along with other criteria were employed to aid in determining the final Goldsboro CBD boundary. It was found that the indices requirements of the CBIM (developed for cities with 150,000 to 200,000 inhabitants) needed to be adjusted to yield a truer CBD. A more realistic boundary was determined by lowering the requirements for the CBHI to 0.50 and the CBII to 40 percent. It would be worthwhile and valuable to apply the modified CBIM to other cities of comparable size so generalizations of small city CBDs could be determined.

Analysis of the change in square footage of functions between 1950 and 1978 shows that the Goldsboro CBD declined by over 11.0 percent in retail space and by almost 13.0 percent in non-CB uses (Figure 10). Space in these functions converted primarily to offstreet parking (a 485,419 square foot gain) that was developed to accommodate the increase of automobiles.

Change of space did not occur evenly over the study period, nor did it occur uniformly throughout the CBD. The Core (normally the area with the highest concentration of retail uses) saw a steady loss of retail space throughout the study period (35.4 percent, 1950-1978), especially during the 1970-1978 time frame (22.2 percent) (Table 6). Major loss was indirectly due to the exodus of large department stores that closed or relocated in the Goldsboro Outlying Regional Business District. Off-street parking developed in the Core during the 1960s and 1970s absorbing some of the space vacated by retail trade and services. Non-CB uses gained significantly (1.2 percent) during the 1970s as a result of the outward migration of retail space.

Over the twenty-eight year period, the Northern fringe of the CBD decreased in retail space though not in as significant an amount as the Core (Table 7). This zone lost retail space only in the 1960-1970 period as a result of the creation of offstreet parking. Negligible amounts of space change occurred in the initial decade 1950-1960. The largest change in space took place during the last eight years of the study period. Retail trade and services gained 5.1 percent while off-street parking increased over 185 percent. The Northern fringe is bordered by a main access street (Ash Street) to the CBD. Ribbon commercial development along the street probably accounts for retail functions keeping their importance in this area. A loss of 57,638 square feet of non-CB uses (primarily residential) occurred during the 1970-1978 period. The loss was mainly absorbed by offstreet parking.

The Southern fringe of the CBD gained significantly in retail space (58.7 percent) between 1950 and 1978 (Table 8). This gain was the result of the large increase in retail space during the 1960-1970 period due to

the demolition of non-CB uses, the construction of a new two story motel, and the expansion of a car dealership. Motel construction and car dealerships were not common in the CBD during this period. The initial decade of the study period and the 1970-1978 period lost retail space by 17.6 percent and 15.0 percent respectively. Loss of retail space in the initial decade resulted from the development of non-CB uses that replaced the retail functions. Offstreet parking was the major recipient of retail space during the 1970-1978 period.

A gain of 30.2 percent (61,628 square feet) in retail trade and services was also noticed in the Eastern fringe during the twenty-eight year study period (Table 9). The largest gain of retail space occurred during the 1950-1960 period (33.7 percent). Non-CB uses, primarily residential housing were replaced by retail trade and services. The 1960-1970 period remained fairly stable (0.2 percent increase) with respect to changes in retail trade and services. Over eleven thousand square feet of offstreet parking developed during this period, with the majority of space coming from non-CB uses. The last eight years of the study period saw a loss of 2.8 percent in retail space. This space converted to non-CB uses, primarily open space and offstreet parking.

A gain of over 27.0 percent in retail space occurred in the Western fringe between 1950 and 1978 (Table 10). The largest increase in retail space occurred during the 1950-1960 period (40.2 percent). Principal reasons for this growth were the development of a service station and a two story funeral home. Retail space also gained to a lesser degree during the 1960s. The relatively low gain (8.6 percent) resulted from non-CB space developing into retail space as well as

offstreet parking. The last eight years of the study period saw a 16.5 percent decrease in retail space due mainly to lot clearing and offstreet parking development.

A pattern of change in square footage of retail trade and services in the CBD has emerged. The CBD lost 209,887 square feet (11.2 percent) in retail space between 1950 and 1978. The initial decade (1950-1960) saw an overall gain of 1.0 percent in retail space. Heaviest gains were in the Eastern and Western fringes. The Core and the Southern fringe lost square footage in retail space. Retail trade and services also saw a small gain of 1.4 percent in the CBD during the 1960s. An overall increase in the fringe areas was noticeable, especially in the Southern fringe. An 87.0 percent loss occurred in the Core. The last eight years of the study period showed the greatest amount of reduction in retail space, most noticeably in the Core. All zones within the CBD decreased in retail space with the exception of the Northern fringe. What caused such a decline in square footage of retail trade and services in the CBD during the 1970s?

The increased use of private automobiles after World War II and during the study period has led to the development of suburbs and subdivisions around Goldsboro. Improved by-pass routes and highways have made it easier to get around Goldsboro than to its CBD. These factors have led to the decline of the CBD and the development of outlying shopping centers.

The development of the Goldsboro Outlying Regional Business District (GORBD) has supplemented the CBD in purpose and has played a significant role in the decreased of retail functions in the CBD since 1970. The GORBD developed into a regional shopping center in three

stages: the opening of Eastgate Shopping Center in 1970, the opening of Berkeley Mall in the Spring of 1977, and the opening of Ashley Plaza in the Summer of 1977.

Regional shopping advantages of the GORBD outweigh those of the CBD. Abundant parking is most appealing to out of town shoppers not familiar with the location of isolated parking areas common in the central city. Easy accessibility of the GORBD to the regional population is another advantage. The GORBD is located adjacent to U. S. 70 By-Pass (a controlled access road) that serves as a major traffic arterial for the region. Berkeley Boulevard serves as a major road in conjunction with U. S. 70 to ease the flow of traffic en route to the GORBD complex and Seymour-Johnson Air Force Base. Major retail department stores can be found in the GORBD. K-Mart, Kings, J. C. Penney, Belk Tyler, and Sears Roebuck and Company, have large threshold populations and draw potential customers from the surrounding area as well as Goldsboro. These stores, as well as others, have left the CBD during the last eight years to establish larger and more modern facilities in the outlying complex. It can be assumed that the exodus of these stores played a significant role in the closing of smaller "family" stores in the CBD resulting in a significant decline of retail space.

The growth and development of the GORBD is directly related to the advantages the complex has over the CBD. Suburbanization and increased auto usage have created a situation limiting accessibility to the CBD. Abundant parking was included in the development of the GORBD to encourage customer patronage. Improved traffic flow patterns prevail in the vicinity of the GORBD as a result of the widening of Berkeley Boulevard and U. S. 70 in the early 1970s. The GORBD also has three

concentrated and covered shopping areas in close proximity to one another. From the developers viewpoint, large plots of land to accommodate structures and parking facilities, lower cost per unit, and general accessibility to traffic arteries were major factors encouraging development.

The CBD will continue to serve the city population, especially that around the CBD. Loss of outlying and regional customers has caused a change in the character as well as the total square footage of retail establishments. The CBD has especially lost most of the shopping goods businesses (major department stores), large space users (automobile sales, furniture), and grocery stores. The shopping goods and specialty stores have "branched" or relocated in the GORBD, the automobile sales and service outlets have relocated along the by-passes, and the grocery stores have closed or dispersed with the population particularly to the smaller business centers.

It is predicted that the automobile outlet and furniture stores still in the CBD will follow the above trend unless land values and taxes decrease soon in the CBD. The retail outlets remaining in the CBD will primarily serve the convenience goods and to some extent the shopping goods needs of the surrounding population. City hall and county seat buildings by choice are still located in the CBD. The administrative force and professional groups linked to these functions will help to preserve the CBD to a degree by drawing some customers to them. The fact that there are a variety of functions, especially convenience goods stores, in the CBD make it a good place for the elderly to locate, especially if they can find reasonably priced lodging in excess hotel space, or if they are subsidized (social security). The

old Goldsboro Hotel seems to be fulfilling this situation.

Further adjustment within the Goldsboro CBD in its more restricted commercial role seems likely. Suburbanization of Goldsboro is expected to increase in the future. The spreading will result, if recent trends continue, from general population migration to small cities in the predominantly rural areas of the South. Other shopping centers will undoubtedly develop around the periphery of Goldsboro in the years to come. But the Goldsboro Outlying Regional Business District is definitely the main regional shopping complex of Goldsboro at the present time.

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