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DOWNTOWN REVITALIZATION: A FUNCTIONALIST ANALYSIS

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Sociology
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

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Janice Jacqueline Knighton

1985

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Approved, May 1985

Satoshi It

Satoshi Ito

Gary Kreps

Edwin Rhyne

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the Knighton family. My father Jack, my mother Hazel and my sister Susan. They have always been there to help me reach my highest aspirations, but never has their emotional support been more apparent and appreciated than during the past few years. Their strength, friendship and love are my greatest possessions.

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ABSTRACT

In many cities, revitalization is presently taking the physical form of the downtown festival marketplace. This research examines revitalization by looking at the role that such development plays in the revitalization process and its relationship to other activities in the downtown area. These activities include retail, housing, work place, meeting place, and recreation and entertainment.

A functionalist perspective is used to look at the revitalization process in the single case of Norfolk, Virginia. Such a perspective allows us to examine the central business district as a system with the activities therein, acting to influence the overall performance of that geographic area.

The findings show expansion in all of the activities after the introduction of Waterside: A Festival Marketplace as a first step in revitalization. The findings also point out that while Waterside did fulfill specific priority needs that were necessary before effective revitalization could occur it alone is not a causal factor. The relationship among the downtown activities was found to be one of covariation with the characteristics of mutual support and dependency.

This research also sought to find out if the originally set goals of revitalization were being fulfilled through the physical development and its implications. Many of the consequences of revitalization observed in this research were indeed officially planned for. Comparative and trend data, however, also point to the presence and the possibility for the occurrence of unplanned consequences of revitalization. In the long run such consequences appear as thee physical and social environment becomes increasingly controlled and geared towards the middle class.

DOWNTOWN REVITALIZATION:

A FUNCTIONALIST ANALYSIS

CHAPTER I

FUNCTIONS OF THE CITY AND

REVITALIZATION

This research begins with a functional theoretical framework which views a social system as a network comprised of smaller units. The task is to identify the parts of the social system, their relationship to one another and to the system as a whole in order to gain an understanding of the maintenance of the system and evolution within that system. More specifically, the functionalist perspective is employed to study the process of revitalization in a downtown area -- that of Norfolk, Virginia. The central business district is seen as a system made up of parts (in this case, activity functions) that can either maintain balance within the system or create change in that system. Revitalization is an intended process which seeks to make changes in the city's functions that will eventually generate change in the central business district as a system. Five activity functions were identified as those most closely involved in the revitalization process in Norfolk's central business district. These activity functions are retail, residential, meeting place, central work place, and recreation, entertainment and cultural. The revitalization effort in Norfolk has focused on these functions in order to create change in the system by expanding and strengthening related activities in order to rejuvenate the central business district. The

purpose of this research is to record the functional and systemic changes brought on by the introduction of revitalization in Downtown Norfolk. The functionalist perspective is also applied as a way to identify the outcomes of revitalization and to interpret such outcomes as manifest and latent.

In this research the definitions of manifest and latent functions are altered somewhat from the original meanings set forth by Robert Merton. According to Merton, manifest functions have objective consequences (for some phenomenon) that contribute to the adjustment or adaptation of the system which are intended and recognized by the participants in that system. (1968) Latent functions refer to those consequences that are neither intended nor recognized by the participants. Merton felt that it was necessary to study and to understand all types of functions involved in a system in order to fully understand a social phenomenon. Yet, there have been many inconsistencies in the manner that the manifest and latent function terms have been applied. For example, in Merton's original discussion of the concepts he imbues the terms with four sets of meanings: (1) conscious interaction and actual consequence; (2) conscious knowledge and sociological understanding; (3) official and unofficial purposes; and (4) surface meaning and underlying meaning. (Campbell, 1982:33) The second meaning in each set, the latent function, seems to be a function of the system of which the participants are unaware, a function of which human actors remain ignorant. Examination of Norfolk's downtown revitalization illustrates the use of Merton's

delineations. It became clear that the objective and the observable consequences could come under either the intended or unintended categories. Such a categorization is inconsistent with Merton's distinction between the manifest and latent. For clarification, the present research fellows the lead suggested by Campbell to define a latent function as one that is not officially planned for, but it is a function that is recognizable and observable. The key term here is officially. Manifest functions of revitalization are those which appear in the planned-for goals officially held for the revitalization.

In conducting a research project from a functionalist perspective questions other than those of definitional clarity must be addressed. The determination of something as a manifest function is often the product of the perspective from which one is viewing the situation. The sociologist may see a consequence as being a manifest function of a social system. The participants within that system may not be aware of the function or its consequence. According to Merton's definition this would then be a latent function. In conducting research which perspective do we use to view a social phenomenon? From the viewpoint of the sociologist? From the viewpoint of the participants (if so, which participants)? A way to deal with this confusion in a functionalist analysis is to view the terms only as they relate to the system. What are the functions, the consequential outcomes on a systemic level? "Instead of starting with a bewildering array of possible actors' intentions and attempting to establish which are realized and/or recognized one would begin by listing the actual functions subsumed by the behavior in question and then having identified these, move on to discover which, if any, fall into these categories." (Campbell, 1982:38) Since we are interested in official (manifest) and unofficial (latent) functions as they occur in the system, which in this study is the central business district, we must focus in on that system; its needs, goals and changes. The intentions of individual actors are only important in that they do have an underlying effect on the plans and the goals that are developed to influence the system. Campbell has suggested that in a functional analysis the first step is to form an understanding of the social system in order to identify the functions. It may then be possible to categorize the functions as manifest or latent for the social system in question.

Downtown revitalization is a recent phenomenon and is the source of incresing optimism among city officials. Local officials see the need to revitalize as both necessary (economically) and desirable (aesthetically and culturally). Kevin Lynch and Lloyd Rodwin in "A Theory of Urban Form" point out that after-the-fact analyses of urban form are rarely conducted to ascertain the effectiveness of the forms in achieving the originally set goals. (1958:201) What exactly are the consequences of a variation in the environment? Such analysis of the physical forms that evelve from revitalization could ultimately provide material useful in making planning decisions.

Downtown revitalization seeks to restore the downtown area as an active center. The goals of revitalization vary according to the

problems and the scale of the city, but the primary goal is to bring people back to the city. This is unlike the urban renewal programs and the new town developments which start from a clean slate approach. Urban renewal involves land clearance; tearing down the old and constructing the new. Such programs have often overlooked the initial use of the land, leaving people homeless and/or unable to cope with their new environment. New towns are often built on unused land. A negative aspect, from one perspective, of the new towns is their appeal to middle class families rather than to a cross section of the American population. New towns are often said to lack the amenities, the excitement of the city. Proponents of downtown revitalization argue that our cities have a character, an image that needs to be preserved. In short, the inner city serves valuable functions for the entire city.

Those charged with redesigning an urban environment view the structure as accommodating certain types of behavior. The physical environment is viewed as an opportunity structure that facilitates certain behaviors while at the same time inhibits other types of behavior. (Michelson, 1976:231) Within the revitalization context, new land is viewed as creating and reviving certain central business district functions. Revitalization of a central business district is essentially seen as a problem for physical designers and planners, but the sociological relevance is clear. In any physical planning people are both the creators and the users of the environment. People and their collective activity are important variables in planning the environment. This is brought to the forefront in downtown

revitalization, with its primary goal of attracting people to the downtown area to work, live and pursue leisure time activities. This research is guided by the conviction that the social and sultural dimensions of revitalization must be examined along with the physical and the economic considerations. There are two primary ways in which sociological input will be utilized in this research. They are theoretical understanding and sociological methods. The theoretical perspective of functionalism provides a guideline for viewing change against the backdrop of variations in the physical environment. This perspective provides common ground between sociological research and physical planning. Planners, like functionalists, view the city as a system whose parts serve specific functions for the maintenance of that city. (Gans, 1968:96) Sociological methods can contribute to the need for studies to measure and assess the correlates of physical forms.

Downtown Norfolk offers an opportunity to apply the functionalist theoretical perspective and sociological methods in a case study setting. The physical plans for Norfolk's downtown area view the central business district as a system which requires the performance of various functions that support one another and together maintain the entire system. The official basis of revitalization in Norfolk has been to strengthen and expand the functional activities in the downtown area. The remainder of this chapter serves as an introduction to the basis of revitalization in Norfolk and to the five functional activities that are of primary importance to this research.

In Norfolk the late 1970's were a time to reanalyze the assets and the needs of the downtown area. New office buildings had been constructed along with development projects such as the Scope convention and entertainment center, the Civic Center which houses the local governmental offices, and the pedestrian mall in the Granby Street retail district. These projects were needed and were assets to the central business district, but together they did little to strengthen the downtown economy. City agencies with the aid of economic consultants began work on a comprehensive plan to revitalize the downtown area. The Downtown Norfolk 1990 Plan was the culmination of these efforts.* (Wallace, et al., 1981) The reports point out that the decline in the economic indicators, e.g., sales and property taxes, of the central business district were due, generally, to the process of decentralization. The potential for reversing the downward trends could be found in the rejuvenation of many of the activities already present in the central business district.

Norfolk's central business district had several assets that could be used to its advantage in revitalization—an accessible location in the center of Hampton Roads with the potential to draw on a large

The companion study to the <u>Downtown Norfolk 1990 Plan</u> (Wallace, Roberts and Todd Associates, 1981) is the report conducted by the Downtown Plan Study Team for the Department of City Planning. Two consultant reports were done; one by Praful, Shah and Associates for the Rouse Company and the other by Hammer, Siler, George and Associates for the Norfolk Redevelopment and Housing Authority and the Mayor's Ad Hoc Committee on Downtown Development. (Praful, Shah and Associates, 1980; Hammer, Siler, George and Associates, 1979)

market area. (See Appendix:la) There was also a large amount of publicly owned land along the Elizabeth River. The central business district itself is a small geographic area which lends itself to a concentrated, high density activity center. A final asset was a functional base already intact providing a foundation on which to build.

This functional base consisted of five categories each at a different level of development. The functions in which development was to be concentrated were retail, living area, central work place, meeting place, and the recreation, entertainment and cultural activities in the downtown area. By strengthening these activities, it was felt that Norfolk's downtown could become a multi-purpose activity center. It was seen as necessary that development take place within all five of the functions because "the variety and mixture of these functions, and their interrelationships, are more important to the long term vitality and rejuvenation of Downtown Norfolk than any of the functions individually". (Downtown Plan Study Team, 1981:8) Revitalization could not occur in just one or two of these areas, it had to occur in all of the functions. This interrelationship is important because each function is dependent on the other functions for support. Plans, therefore, have to consider the central business district as an encompassing unit and how each function contributes to that unit.

Generally speaking, functional adequacy in each area was viewed as problematic. Retail was limited to Granby Mall with a restrictive merchandising base and very little capacity to compete with the

suburban shopping centers. The living area function was virtually missing with the exception of the Freemason Historic District. Large conventions could not be held at Scope because the central business district lacked the hotel space needed to accommodate large numbers of persons. Overall, there was very little reason for people to visit Downtown Norfolk on a regular basis.

Like other cities that have revitalized their downtown areas, the city government of Norfolk had to take the initial step. The first step had to be one that would rejuvenate interest in the central business district on the part of the general public and potential investors. Part of this process is to create a new image for the downtown area. An image that brings people downtown to work, live, shop, invest and to pursue leisure time activities. An image of progress, activity and stability. James Rouse who developed downtown commercial projects such as Faneuil Hall in Boston, The Galleria in Philadelphia and The Harborplace in Baltimore, feels that the starting point for any revitalization is to make a bold statement with a large scale project. (Woodhams, 1979:34) If the city makes a major investment in the central business district it is hoped that investors will regain confidence in the area and will want to become part of the process of revitalization. As the image of the downtown improves, activity in each function increases and people return to the downtown area.

All of these projects developed by the Rouse Company were retail centers. Mathias J. DeVito, President of the company, has stated

that retail is "essential" in downtowns, because it is an ongoing activity that everyone can participate in. (1980:198) Retailing also relates to every other function of the city and provides a broad job base including part time and low skill employment. Retail is, however, the most difficult activity to bring back to the central business district because of the image that the public has of downtown shopping as inconvenient, difficult and unsafe as compared to the image of the suburban shopping center as convenient, comfortable, attractive and safe. This competitive element makes it necessary to create an unique and different shopping experience in the downtown center. The Rouse Company does this by creating a festive atmosphere with a combination of specialty shops, restaurants and the excitement of ongoing activity. People go to these downtown centers not only to shop, but to see what is going on. This atmosphere and unique merchandising makes the projects different from the suburban shopping center so that competition is not so direct.

A priority need identified in the <u>Downtown Norfolk 1990 Plan</u> was the need for activity magnets to draw people to the downtown area. Three types were specified: major ongoing attractions, high amenity open space and commercial establishments such as restaurants, night clubs and specialty shops. To fulfill this need the City of Norfolk consulted with the Enterprise Development Company, Inc., to find out the potential for locating a Festival Marketplace in Norfolk.* The

The Enterprise Development Company, Inc. is a for-profit organization that develops commercial real estate in downtown areas. The

decision to build The Waterside: A Festival Marketplace was made.

(See Appendix 3 for detail information on Waterside.)

The development of Waterside is of special interest for a number of reasons. It was the first large scale project taken on by the Enterprise Development Company. Waterside was also the first festival marketplace to be built in a second tier city, other marketplaces of this type having only been constructed in the larger cities. Norfolk's revitalization program also provides an example of public and private investment through a partnership of the city and local businesses. The development strategies for Downtown Norfolk are meant to achieve immediate goals in competition and long range economic goals. (Roberts, 1984:18)

One goal of Waterside is to act as a magnet to bring people, both residents of Hampton Roads and tourists, to Norfolk's water-front. This is to be achieved by providing activity: areas for shopping in the specialty shops, dining and social events. The events held at Waterside include both weekly happenings such as lunch hour concerts and special festivals such as Octoberfest. By transforming the image of Norfolk's central business district to one of an active place, it is hoped that the changes will be positive

development company is owned by the Enterprise Foundation and all of the Company's profits go to the Foundation where it is then funneled into developing housing projects for the poor. James Rouse founded the Company and the Foundation and is the Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer.

and instill confidence in potential investors, thus leading to the second goal of Waterside as a catalyst for further development in the central business district. Therefore, if the planning theories are correct, Waterside should not only add to the retail and recreation, entertainment and cultural activities of the central business district directly, but should also spill over into other locations within the central business district and increase its capacity to fulfill all of the functional activities.

The present study involved looking at the performance of the five functions as they were before revitalization started in Downtown Norfolk and the changes that have accurred since Waterside opened in June 1983. The goal was to determine to what extent the functions have expanded and whether or not Waterside played a role in these changes. A summation of the specific problems, needs and goals of the functional activities as cited in the reports leading up to the Downtown Norfolk 1990 Plan is presented here so that the findings discussed later can be put into a historical context.

In 1976 a pedestrian mall was constructed in the retail district of the downtown area. Granby Mall did help to some degree by improving the physical environment, but did not significantly help the retail sales for the central business district. Granby Mall received only limited market support from the lower income households located in the surrounding areas and to an even lesser extent from downtown employees. This downtown retail center was lacking in both merchandise mix and the critical mass necessary to attract shoppers and to compete with the suburban shopping centers. (Downtown Plan

Study Team, 1981:94) Granby Mall was the only retail area in the central business district accounting for the overall retail function.

Granby Mall alone could not compete with the suburban shopping centers and this created one of the major problems in the retail function. With the declining tax base in the central business district, retail trade needed to gain a larger portion of the market. To do this, two things could be done. New retail magnets might be located in the central business district to supplement Granby Mall-magnets that would pull patronage from a regional market. Specialty merchandising in a downtown center could offer shoppers something different than what is found in the suburban shopping center. Enclaves of shops could offer many specialty items and create a pull towards downtown. A second recommendation was to locate non-retail magnets in the area that would draw people downtown. Once downtown, people become potential shoppers. Planning for retail trade included a continued effort to upgrade Granby Mall, the development of a major retail magnet of specialty shops and mixing smaller shops throughout the central business district in office buildings, hotels and condominiums. The intended outcome would be an increase in retail patronage and an increase in the downtown tax base.

The living area function like the retail function was very marginal. Prior to the 1970's the West Freemason Historic District was the only residential area located in the central business district. During the time that the 1990 reports were being drawn up the Freemason Harbour Redevelopment Project was started with the construction of twenty townhouses. This development was slow because

there was a lack of interest and faith in downtown housing. Construction was halted for several years during the end of the 1970's.

Although projects like the Freemason Harbour Project are risky due to the lack of an obvious market for downtown housing, this was cited as an "essential ingredient" of Norfolk's revitalization.

(Hammer, et al., 1979: I-13) This is because housing provides consumer support for the retail function of the central business district, it supports an expanding office development and it would provide a buffer use for the vacant land adjacent to the Historic District. Nationally, changing life styles reflected in an increasing number of singles, young childless couples, and empty nesters are beginning to create a market that is potentially attracted to downtown housing.

Recommendations for the living area function suggested a continuation of the Freemason Harbour Redevelopment Project to include 30 acres of abandoned rail yards along the waterfront. Quality housing, including single family dwellings, condominiums, and apartments, should seek to draw on this market of singles, professionals, and downtown employees. It was felt that by attracting middle class and upper class households the living area function could best contribute support to the other functions. Besides the mix of housing types, there would also be a mixing of commercial use. Both housing and commercial uses would be oriented to the waterfront.

The central work place function has in the past been strong, even though there has been decentralization in this function also.

The city governmental offices are located in the central business district along with many professional, business and financial organizations. The development that took place in the 1970's added new office space in the financial district, but even more space could be utilized if revitalization continued in the other functions. the Hampton Roads area there are no counties; rather, it is a metropolitan area which contains several individual cities with their own downtown areas. Therefore, Norfolk does not serve a large area as the one financial and governmental center. For this reason, if the central work place function is to increase, efforts must concentrate on attracting regional and national headquarters. Any expansion of office space would have to incorporate environmental upgrading of the area, expansion of other functions, and aggressive promotional campaigns. To attract headquarter offices and professional offices, the area must look appealing and offer a wide range of amenities such as restaurants, entertainment, hotels, and housing.

The meeting place function of Norfolk's downtown has also suffered from the lack of amenities. In order to attract quality hotels, a downtown must offer an environment and activity that will support that hotel. During the 1970's the overall performance of the downtown hotels was poor. A major problem was that large convention activity could not be promoted although the Scope convention center provided the necessary meeting facilities. There were not enough hotel rooms in the central business district to accommodate large numbers of conventioneers. Yet without a combination of convention,

commercial, and tourist business the hotels cannot meet their own occupancy rates. Hotel space cannot expand until additional supports are reasonably secure. Supports include restaurants, night clubs, entertainment, and other activity. Large scale conventions cannot be booked until hotel space is provided. This is a very good example of how different activities support and at the same time depend on one another. During the transition period as the functions expand, older hotels can be renovated and existing hotels can add space.

The recreation, entertainment and cultural function is a very important support function for housing, office development, hotel development and retail trade. Downtown Norfolk had few entertainment facilities. Scope brings in concerts and sporting events, but this is not an ongoing activity. The Chrysler Museum, Chrysler Hall, and the MacArthur Memorial have some appeal, but it is very limited. Special events are also held on an annual basis. Before revitalization started there were two such events, Harborfest and the In-the-Water-Boat-Show. All of the facilities and events had minor impact on the level of sustained people activity and the ability to help bring people into the central business district. They offered very little support for the other city functions.

These activity functions found in Norfolk's central business district form the major focus for change through revitalization in that city. The findings that are presented in Chapter III identify changes in each individual function, the interrelationships among the functions and the key functions that emerge from revitalization.

Chapter IV puts the findings and revitalization into a functionalist perspective with discussion of the outcomes of revitalization and the possibility for using the concepts of manifest and latent functions as a way to analyze the outcomes of revitalization.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

An exploratory study of a single case can provide detailed insights into the phenomenon studied. By remaining flexible in the research design and in the data gathering process the researcher may build on to the information base as it is received. Redirections in the study may be made as new insights are acquired. The ultimate goal of this process is to generate precise measurements and testable hypotheses about the phenomenon. An exploratory study is concerned with gaining an understanding of a phenomenon, but consideration of the research design, formulating research questions, gathering the appropriate types of data and the problems related to the validity of the findings are of primary importance. These methodological considerations are addressed in this chapter.

The approach taken in this study is one in which the central business district as the subject matter is analyzed by looking at the activity functions. An understanding of how revitalization affects these activities should provide us with an understanding of the system. The major research questions that have guided this research are outlined below.

1. What are the changes in each activity function resulting from the revitalization introduced in the City of Norfolk?

- 2. How are the activity functions related to one another? How do they support and depend on one another?
- 3. Can any of the activity functions be identified as a key function—one that seems to be a focus of revitalization and necessary for the expansion of the other functions?
- 4. What role has Waterside: A Festival Marketplace played in the revitalization process?
- 5. What are the outcomes of revitalization? Can they be categorized as manifest (official) and/or latent?

The question of research validity is important and attempts to deal with this question have been incorporated into this study by way of triangulation. (Denzin, 1970) Multiple triangulation is one strategy that allows the researcher to be more confident and accurate in the information gathered and in the findings set forth. This research uses two forms of triangulation: methodological and data sources.

Methodological triangulation uses two or more methods to study the same phenomenon. In doing so the researcher hopes to balance the strengths and weaknesses of the various methods being used. The primary method for this research is secondary analysis of documents, newspaper articles, plans, consultant reports and agency reports. To balance this method, informal interviews were conducted to add to the information and to verify information found in the various reports.

The second type of triangulation that was used is that of multiple data sources. Here the researcher uses as many data sources

as possible and feasible. Within the scope of the secondary analysis, reports came from various sources including reports done by city agencies, outside consultants, newspaper articles from the city newspaper and other newspapers outside the city and the state. Information was gathered not only from city agencies but from developers as well. Data were acquired from Baltimore city agencies engaged in similar revitalization activities. Triangulation in interviewing also involved the same pattern. Interviews were conducted with individuals connected with representatives of city agencies, agencies related to the city, regional agencies and developers which were party to the revitalization effort.

Once deciding on Norfolk's revitalization project as the subject area to be studied, the geographic area to be considered in this study had to be delineated. Downtown Norfolk, depending on the definition used, can include a vast amount of land area. For this research, however, our definition of downtown includes only that area referred to as the central business district. The central business district includes five core sectors; Scope, Granby Mall, South Granby, R-8, and the Financial District; and five frame sectors, West Freemason, Freemason Harbour, South Waterfront, Omni and the Civic Center. (See Appendix 1:b)

The starting point for this research was a review of the historical documentation regarding this geographic area. Historical accounts are necessary since we are interested in change and the process of land use transitions. In surveying the historical documentation such

as city histories, city reports, planning reports and newspapers, four areas were considered.

- 1. the nature of the changes as recorded.
- 2. the difficulties and directions in the transition.
- 3. the overall conditions associated with the changes occurring in the environment.
- 4. the various social, economic and political processes by which the alteration took place.

 (Lynch and Rodwin, 1958:202)

Such consideration provides the context to understand why, when and how important events took place. What led up to the revitalization that is of interest in this study? With this background information names, places, changes, and problem areas are identified, which in turn are useful in uncovering transitions in the functioning of the city.

This preliminary survey of historical documentation led to the identification of the activity functions that serve as the backbone of this study. Such data also make possible a before-and-after research design. A temporal sequence is useful to see how each function changed over a specific period of time and to see if the changes in one of the functions occurred before changes started in the other functions. By uncovering these functions we had an initial understanding of the elements involved in revitalizing Norfolk's central business district.

The activity functions that are the primary consideration in revitalizing the central business district, and examined in this

research, are as follows:

Retail Function—the central business district as a retail complex and shopping center.

Living Area Function—the central business district as a residential area.

Central Work Place Function—the central business district as an office and financial center; and employment center.

Meeting Place Function—the central business district as a place for hotel and motel development; and expanding convention and tourist trade.

Recreation, Entertainment and Cultural Function—the central business district as a place for visual and performing arts; historical sites, museums; a variety of recreational, entertainment and cultural activities; and special events.

Norfolk's revitalization program has looked to these functions that have in the past been present in the central business district and from this base has expanded the area's capacity to provide these functions. These activity functions are interrelated and dependent on one another, expansion in one function may accelerate growth in the others. (Downtown Plan Study Team, 1981:17)

The functions now identified must be defined operationally in order to measure the changes that occurred in them. For each function measurable indicators are identified so that quantitative data can be gathered. Statistical data for each of the following were sought to ascertain the changes in the functions:

RETAIL FUNCTION

- 1. total retail space (floor space)
- 2. gross retail sales (sales tax/business license receipts)

LIVING AREA FUNCTION

- 1. total number of housing units and type
- 2. new residents or households
- 3. occupancy rates
- 4. property values
- 5. selling prices or rental costs

CENTRAL WORK PLACE FUNCTION

- 1. number of people employed in the central business district
- 2. number of businesses and type of business
- 3. floor space

MEETING PLACE FUNCTION

- 1. number of hotels and motels
- 2. number of rooms available
- 3. hotel/motel occupancy rates
- 4. convention visitor rates
- 5. tourism rates

RECREATION, ENTERTAINMENT AND CULTURAL FUNCTIONS

- 1. number and use of historical sites
- 2. number and use of museums
- 3. number and type of special attractions
- 4. number of special events
- 5. number and use of restaurants and clubs

Statistical information regarding these indicators would provide us with quantitative data illustrating changes in each of the activity functions.

In downtown revitalization the visible changes are in the physical man-made environment. Man is both the creator and the user of his environment. These changes in the physical environment are directly related to the activity functions as we have listed them. A change in the physical environment is made in order to effect one or several of the functions. For example, if an office building is constructed in the downtown area this is done for the purpose of creating additional office space. The intention is to expand the central work

place function of the central business district. It may be argued that the developer's and the contractor's intention for the construction of an office building is primarily for personal profit. However, when studying downtown revitalization the analysis can be taken to a higher level than that of individual actors. This is not to say that the individuals involved in the revitalization process don't have personal motives and goals. For the purpose of this research the level of analysis is geared towards the systemic processes. In taking a functionalist approach we are concerned with the system and its functions. The city agencies and individuals therein, act on behalf of the city by following the plans set for that city. So when city council and other responsible agencies hire a developer to construct an office building this action is on behalf of the city for the purpose of expanding its central work place function.

This research design incorporates a before-stimulus-after frame. This was done to find the relationship between the changes that occur in the activity functions and revitalization. The stimulus point is taken as the first major project implemented in Norfolk's revitalization program; that is Waterside. In order to implement this research design, data for the functional indicators were sought for the years 1976, 1980 and 1984. Each of these years is significant. The year 1976 was the point in time in which the first consultant reports were done to uncover problem areas in the central business district and to make recommendations to correct those problems. In 1980, discussions of the waterfront development

started to congeal into plans and commitments. June, 1984 was the one year anniversary of the opening of Waterside and Town Point Park.

A combination of newspaper articles, consultant reports done for various city agencies, the <u>Downtown Norfolk 1990 Plan</u> and a report conducted by the <u>Downtown Plan Study Team for the Department</u> of City Planning provided much of the needed information concerning the level of development in the activity functions for 1976 and 1980. These sources provide information concerning the problems, needs and goals for the functions for the central business district. Although the reports were done in different years, the findings were consistent. Finding consistent types of statistical information proved to be difficult especially for the most recent year of 1984. These problems of data collection are discussed in depth in Appendix 2.

Informal interviews with individuals who were involved with the revitalization of Downtown Morfolk provided the most comprehensive data. Again, these interviews failed to turn up statistical information for the functional indicators except in a very selective fashion. These interviews did provide valuable qualitative data about Norfolk's revitalization and the activity functions. The interviews themselves took on a kind of snowball turn. Once one individual was contacted he or she would provide the names of several other agencies and individuals to contact. Agencies ranged from those of the City of Norfolk, regional planning agencies, private development companies and agencies in other cities that have undergone similar revitalization. The following is a listing of the

agencies consulted and the number of individuals within each agency that were interviewed. Those individuals with agencies outside the City of Norfolk were contacted through the mail.

Department of Development City of Norfolk	(3)
Department of City Planning City of Norfolk	(4)
Norfolk Redevelopment and Housing Authority	(3)
Office of the Commissioner of Revenue, City of Norfolk	(3)
Downtown Norfolk Development Corporation	(1)
Norfolk Convention and Tourist Bureau	(1)
Southeastern Virginia Planning District Commission, Norfelk	(1)
The Enterprise Development Company, Inc. Columbia, Maryland	(1)
Baltimore Office of Promotion and Tourism. Baltimore, Maryland	(1)

Each individual was shown a list of the five functions and the indicators developed for these functions, a list similar to the one found on pages 23 and 24 of this chapter. The individual was also given a brief overview of the research and research questions. The review of the historical data helped to focus each individual interview on those areas or functions about which the interviewee was most knowledgeable. So while there was general discussion on revitalization in Norfolk each interview focused primarily on that individual's area of expertise. Those interviewed

were told that both statistical data on the functional indicators and any qualitative information concerning the functions would be of use in this research. The qualitative data took on many forms: the discussions themselves, fact sheets and agency reports. The qualitative data primarily illustrated revitalization activity; past, present and future, which helped to delineate changes that have occurred in the functions and the trends indicating future changes. Once the functional changes were discussed, Waterside was brought into the conversation -- Waterside's role in the revitalization of Downtown Norfolk and the specific manner in which it directly affected the function associated with the interviewee. Since Waterside was only one year old at the time of this research very little actual research had been done by the city agencies to measure its effects statistically. Generally, however, those interviewed had what may be regarded as expert knowledge of the phenomenon being studied. At the time of this research these informants could point to changes in the functions and state the role that Waterside had played in revitalization. Qualitative data coming out of such interviews with individuals directly involved with the process or phenomenon are of extreme value to those doing sociological research.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS: CHANGES IN AND

INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG

CITY FUNCTIONS

In order to find out what changes have occurred within each activity function both qualitative and quantitative data have been used. Revitalization in Norfolk started with the construction of Waterside which opened a year ago; because of this short time span many of the changes noted in the functions are in their emergent phases and reflect new trends just beginning in the central business district. Data will be presented showing the changes that have occurred in the five activity functions over the past several years. This chapter will discuss these changes, the interrelationships among the functions and Waterside's role in the revitalization process. The findings show new trends starting in the central business district and definitive interrelationships among the functions as being both supportive and dependent.

THE RETAIL FUNCTION

The important changes in the retail function have been largely qualitative rather than quantitative. Tables 1 and 2 show that the retail function in 1979 already had reached the maximal retail space

use for the downtown area. Since that time retail space has fluctuated; however, the distribution of space throughout the downtown area has changed. Granby Mall which had been the retail district, containing the 1,000,000 square feet of space, has declined. While new retail space has been created throughout the central business district, the largest recent concentration in retail space is attributed to Waterside, which contains 79,000 square feet of retail space.

A 1976 study analyzing the potential for revitalizing Granby
Mall suggested that the retail space on the Mall be reduced from one
million square feet to about 800,000 square feet. Doing this would
achieve a much more concentrated and cohesive retail environment.

(Gladstone, 1976:4) This report also suggested that the Mall combine
retail, service and entertainment uses. Adding to the primary retail
function, services, restaurants, theaters and small specialty shops
would help extend the market potential beyond the local low income
clientele to other Hampton Roads residents and pull in a greater
percentage of the downtown employees.

The decline in sales for Granby Mall occurred in the general merchandise and department stores, which had been in the past the strongest type of retail trade. The apparel and accessory stores had the highest rate of return on the Mall in 1975. (Table 3) These types of retail stores are more successful if they concentrate on a limited number of styles and stress merchandise that is not offered in other retail outlets. Services and convenience stores had also been more successful in productivity when compared to the traditional general merchandise store. (Table 3) The decline in productivity for the

TABLE 1
EXISTING DOWNTOWN SPACE IN 1979

Use	Approximate Space
Residential	200*
(Units)	
Hotels	820
(Rooms)	
Retail	1,000,000
(Square Feet)	
Office	2,600,000 ^{**}
(Square Feet)	

^{*}Figure does not include rooms in residential hotels,
YMCA or Union Mission.

Source: Downtown Plan Study Team Report and the Department of City Planning, "Downtown Norfolk: A General Development Plan for Downtown Norfolk", June, 1981.

^{**}Figure does not include office space in the Civic Center Complex.

TABLE 2
POTENTIAL FOR DOWNTOWN SPACE

Use	Low Range	High Range
Residential	900-1200	1200-1500
(Units)		
Hotels	600-800	800-1000
(Rooms)		
Retail	300,000-500,000	500,000-1,000,000
(Square Feet)		
Office	500,000-1,000,000	1,000,000-2,000,000
(Square Feet)		
Recreation, Entertainment and Cultural Attractions	Not Estimated	

Source: Downtown Plan Study Team Report and the Department of City Planning, "Downtown Norfolk: A General Development Plan For Downtown Norfolk", June, 1981

general merchandise and department stores can be explained by the suburbanization of shoppers and shopping centers. We have already noted that suburban shopping centers are perceived as more convenient and attractive places to shop than the downtown area. General merchandise and department stores are found in the suburban areas so there is no pull from there to the downtown area for this type of shopping. Creating differences with the suburban shopping center is the only way to compete for the retail trade. All of this argued for a turn toward specialty shops, services and unique restaurants located in the central business district.

A survey of specialty shops found in other cities point to some of the advantages of this type of retail in the downtown areas.

(Gladstone, 1976: A-1) Unique merchandise and a distinctive atmosphere can serve a regional market. These shops do not compete directly with suburban shopping centers, which are geared to traditional merchandise. Customers will come to the central business district if something different is offered. Together small business merchants can create enough mass so that a department store is not needed to anchor the retail area as had been necessary in the past. Specialty retail areas usually feature many eating and drinking establishments and outdoor public areas provide sites for holding events.

Statistics from the city's business license file show that few actual changes have occurred on the Mall. Overall, the number of establishments has declined. Even though there has been this decrease the amount of gross receipts has increased, thereby, indicating a healthier business climate on the Mall. While inflation accounts

TABLE 3 SALES LEVELS AND PRODUCTIVITY RATES

1975

RETAIL STORES ON GRANBY MALL

RETAIL CATEGORY General Merchandise & Apparel	Gross Leasable Area in Sq. Ft.	Sales (000's)	Productivity Per Sq. Ft.
General Merchandise Stores	350,000	\$15,400	\$ 44
Apparel and Accessory Stores	133,000	\$ 9,600	\$ 72
Subtotal/Average		\$25,000	
Convenience Stores & Services			
Food	6,000		
Drug	15,000	\$21,000	\$6 6
Eating and Drinking	84,000		
Services and Miscellaneous	213,000		
Subtotal/Average			
Total/Average			\$57.50

Gladstone and Associates, "Granby Mall Revitalization Strategy", adapted from Merchant Survey conducted December, 1975.

for some of the increases, the changes in Granby Mall are significant. The decline in the number of establishments, the stabilization of gross retail sales, and the increase in gross receipts are indicative of the trends toward the survival of the fittest. (Table 4) The trend in retail sales may be accounted for by the fact that Granby Mall is becoming more service-oriented. Such services include personal services, professional services and government related services, both city and federal. Granby Mall has continued to upgrade its environment and has started to develop a mix of establishments. This mix in land use is illustrated by the over \$6 million in private investment that is being used to renovate buildings on the Mall for predominantly office space while utilizing the ground floor levels as retail space. (Department of Communications and Marketing, 1985:4) The specialty shop enclave that was promoted in the 1976 Gladstone study for Granby Mall has been absorbed by Waterside rather than by Granby Mall proper.

Retail is the hardest function to reintroduce to the downtown area, but it is a very essential part of that area. Retail in the downtown can help to support the other functions. To do this it must be successful in bringing people to the area. The difficulty in bringing retail back to the central business district stems directly from suburban shopping centers offering convenience and attractiveness to shoppers. To counter this problem of competition downtown retail is turning towards specialty retailing. This is, however, only part of the solution. Public attitude and the image of the central business district must also change. The Rouse Company uses the

TABLE 4

GRANBY MALL: BUSINESS LICENSE AND SALES

	Gross Receipts	Number of Establishments	Gross Retail Sales
1979	\$42,283,265	238	\$29,459,221
1980	\$47,853,978	206	\$32,599,515
1981	\$ 51 ,7 49 , 596	204	\$3 2, ¥3 8,899
1982	\$55,795,553	199	\$30,301,8 99

Source: Information compiled from the Business License File, Department of City Planning, 1983.
Norfolk, Virginia.

vehicle of a large scale project which not only offers shopping and a festival atmosphere, but the desirable qualities consumers find in the suburban shopping center--safety, attractiveness, convenience and accessibility. The Waterside project is meant to convey this new image to the public.

Waterside has created new retail space in the downtown area. The completed Phase I contains 79,000 square feet of retail space, the majority of which is devoted to specialty shops and food related services. Phase II, to be built in 1986 will contain 100,000 square feet of commercial space. (Urban Land Institute, 1984) Waterside is not meant to compete with Granby Mall, but rather to support and to be complementary to the Mall. Granby Mall still contains general merchandise and specific service-oriented destinations, whereas Waterside is oriented to specialty and impulse buying. Retail is expected to improve on Granby Mall as a result of continued upgrading of merchandise and as beneficiary of the increasing numbers of people coming to the downtown area because of Waterside and other attractions and developments.

Waterside is creating a new market for the downtown area. It includes downtown employees, Hampton Roads residents and tourists. Much of Waterside's business involves impulse buying. People go there to see what is going on rather than to go shopping, but most people also purchase something while they are there. Results of a consultant's survey conducted in August, 1983 found that more than 80 percent of the visitors buy at least a snack while at Waterside. (The Virginian-Pilot and Ledger Star, 1984c) This trend of Waterside as an entertainment, impulse buying establishment can be

seen when looking at the city's revenues from Waterside. (Table 5)

The food and beverage sales account for most of Waterside's business.

Since Waterside opened, other retail establishments have opened pointing to another trend in retail for the downtown area. An example of this trend in retail is the Selden Arcade which is located in the financial district and in close proximity to Waterside. It is a high quality retail complex serving the upper middle class to upper class consumer. There are quality clothing stores, a restaurant and a private social club. There is also a mix of services such as a beauty shop, carpet shop, furniture store and a computer center. Some stores have left the Arcade, an indication that Norfolk is not yet ready for their line of apparel; but most tenants say that business is good. (The Virginian-Pilot and Ledger Star, 1984a) The waterfront development has helped make this type of business possible by bringing people downtown every day of the week.

There are two major trends in downtown retailing. The first is the expansion of retail throughout the central business district rather than concentrated on Granby Mall. Large and small retail enclaves of shops are mixed throughout the financial district, the Granby Street area and the waterfront area. Parking garages, hotels and office buildings that are being planned will include retail areas within their structures. A second trend is the change in the merchandising from traditional and general merchandise to the unique, specialty merchandise. Merchandise is also being upgraded to appeal to and attract not only the low income consumer, but also the middle and upper income consumer.

THE LIVING AREA FUNCTION

If you look at Tables 1 and 2 you will see that there is great potential for growth in the living area function. In 1979 there were only 200 residential units in the central business district. As mentioned in Chapter I, this function is essential to the revitalization of Norfolk's central business district. A residential population base provides support for the retail market, helps to support the central work place function and could work as a buffer zone between the Historic District and the commercial development along the waterfront. (Hammer, et al., 1979:I-4) As with the retail function, the trend in new residential development is to attract the middle and upper income households. It is felt that by attracting the higher income households greater support will be given to the other downtown functions. The people who are now moving into the downtown area cite as their reasons the attraction of the harbor, to be near downtown entertainment and to be close to work.

Included in the Freemason Harbour Project are Harbour Place,
Freemason Harbour Condominiums and Freemason Harbour Townhouses.

(See Appendix:4c) Harbour Place is the renovation of the Boush Cold
Storage Warehouse into 75 condominiums. Freemason Harbour Condominiums includes 90 units and 50 boat slips on Pier A and the Dunmore
Warehouse. Freemason Harbour Townhouses is the continuation of the
20 built in 1976; 170 have now been completed or are under
construction. Since 1976 interest in downtown housing has increased.
Residential units which used to be hard to sell are now being sold
rapidly. Within 60 days of the announcement of Harbour Place

TABLE 5

WATERSIDE TAX RECEIPTS

Waterside Tax Receipts: June 1, 1983 - December 31, 1983

nd Beverage Tax	₩ ⊅₩₽₽₽₽₽₩
% Sales Tax	\$ 64,300.
ss License Tax	\$ 47,900.
	, ,

Source: Department of Communications and Marketing, 1984a.

construction, all 75 units were sold sight unseen. Construction of housing in the Freemason area of downtown will continue beyond these first three projects. In 1985, construction will begin on yet another project, one that is meant not only to attract the middle and upper classes but one that will also mix within close proximity several activities. The Murdock Development Company will develop the project which will include a 117 unit high rise residential building, a 136-room luxury hotel, a parking garage, a 240 slip marina, a restaurant and retail space. (Department of Communications and Marketing, 1985:3)

The new construction in the downtown area has also encouraged renovation of apartment buildings. Several have been renovated within close proximity of Freemason Harbour. Once the Freemason Harbour Project is complete in 1990 there will be an estimated 880 residential units. This project plus renovations will greatly increase the central business district population, a population comprised of middle to upper income residents. Within five years the image of downtown housing has changed from a very negative and risky venture to a positive investment for developers and residents.

THE WORK PLACE FUNCTION

Norfolk is considered the financial center for the southern portion of Hampton Roads. The population of Norfolk has stabilized, but population growth in Virginia Beach has been steadily increasing.

Many residents of Virginia Beach come to Norfolk to work. Tables 1 and 2 show that the office space element of the central work place

function in Norfolk has already exceeded its high range potential.

Much of the office space development took place between 1968 and
1982. During this time several financial institutions located their
main office in buildings in the Norfolk central business district.

(Table 6) In addition to development in the financial district, the
Civic Center was built which houses the city's governmental agencies
and offices. As in many cities, the central business district has
turned towards providing services, financial and administrative
activities rather than the traditional manufacturing activities.

Although Norfolk's central business district has reached its potential for growth in the function during the 1970's, goals were set for further development in the 1980's. The past few years have seen an increase in renovating old buildings for office space. (See Appendix 4b) Some of these buildings were already in use, but through renovating the owners hope to attract an even higher percentage of businesses. Because office space is plentiful in the central business district, planning for this function has turned towards specific needs. The city is now competing with other cities for regional, state and national headquarters. This type of development is desirable for several reasons. Headquarter offices bring people to the area both to live and work, and to come to the area for business trips. A downtown which houses a headquarter office for a large company receives publicity it may not otherwise get. A final contribution of the office headquarter is that it tends to create an image of stability and progress in the downtown area.

In order to attract regional, state and national headquarter offices a central business district must be environmentally

TABLE 6

MAJOR NEW OR RENOVATED BUILDINGS

IN THE NORFOLK CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

1968-1982

YEAR OF CONSTRUCTION	BUILDING	LEASEABLE AREA
1968	Virginia National Bank	260,000
1969	United Virginia Bank	230,000
1 9 69	Bank of Virginia	46,400
	Total	536,400
1976	New Royster Building	227,000
1976	First Virginia Bank	111,600
1978	Franklin Building	39,000
1978	201 Granby Mall	63,200
1979	Federal Building	275,810
	Total	716,610
1979	Mutual Federal	30,000
1980-81	Monticello Arcade	59,600
1980-81	Wheat/Citizens Trust	59,000
1980	Adams, McCabe, Lester	3,000
1980	101/Helena	20,000
1980	International Merchandise	40,000
1981	McKevitt	15,000
1981	Cynet Communication	10,000
	Total	237,100
1968-1982	GRAND TOTAL	1,490,110

Source: Adapted from table included in "An Analysis of Southeastern Virginia Office Market: Space Needs, Redevelopment Trends and Future Prospects," Southeastern Virginia Planning District Commission, 1982. Norfolk, Virginia.

attractive. Waterside has helped to upgrade the environment in the downtown area. Headquarters are also attracted to places where development is taking place; they need to be near quality restaurants and hotels. In this way the central work place function gains support from other city functions. According to the Department of Development, Waterside has helped promote Downtown Norfolk through its national exposure gained by the media from Waterside's association with James Rouse. Several developments in this function have taken place since Waterside opened. As part of the waterfront development a local real estate firm became involved in locating a World Trade Center Building in Norfolk. This building houses firms that are involved in international business. In 1985 the second phase of the World Trade Center will add an additional 200,000 square feet of effice space to the downtown area. Further new construction is planned for a 26 story office building and parking garage to be completed in 1986. This office building will provide Class A office space with 390,000 square feet of leasable space. (Department of Communications and Marketing, 1985:3)

Several headquarter offices have been attracted to Norfolk's central business district since Waterside opened. The Norfolk Southern Corporation has established its headquarters in the Virginia National Bank Building. Land has been bought in the downtown area for the construction of a three story building which will be occupied by the Bank of the Commonwealth headquarters. Dominion Bank is relocating its headquarters in the new 26 story office building occupying the first three floors. Systems Management American Corporation which presently owns the Rennert Building has bought the

Maritime Towers and land to construct yet another building as the means to create the Systems Management American Technical Center which will be the largest of its kind in the United States. (Department of Communications and Marketing, 1985:4)

For the central work place function projects that have broken ground or have been completely planned in the first several months of 1985 will add an additional 750,000 square feet of office space in Downtown Norfolk. (The Virginian-Pilot and Ledger-Star, 1985) The trend in the central work place function has been to attract headquarter businesses to this space in order to help create an image of stability and progress in the central business district. Like the other functions it helps to support the others and is dependent on the others.

THE MEETING PLACE FUNCTION

There are three components to the meeting place function of the central business district. The hotels, convention activity, and the tourist trade. When Waterside opened in June, 1983 there were two hotels in the central business district, the Holiday Inn and the Omni International, with a combined total of 820 rooms. Before the recent waterfront development, this was the maximum potential for hotel space because of the lack of other activity to bring people to the downtown area. The hotels operated at approximately a 60 percent occupancy rate. Now as the other downtown functions are strengthened the hotels are experiencing an increase in occupancy rates and space. For June - August of 1983 the hotels were operating at approximately an 80 percent occupancy rate. For 1984, both the

Holiday Inn and the Omni International reported record occupancies. An indication of this increase is found in the lodging tax increases. For 1983 during the months of June - August this tax was up from the previous year at margins ranging from 16.5 percent to 23.5 percent. With these increases in hotel occupancy the Omni International Hotel is planning to add more rooms and several of the older hotels have renovated their buildings for additional hotel space. The potential for new hotel development is also good. James Rouse stated at a meeting in May 1984 that Downtown Norfolk would need two new hotels within the next 5 years. (The Ledger-Star, 1984) The developer of the World Trade Center intends to build as part of that complex a luxury hotel by 1986. Mentioned earlier in this chapter was the residential/hotel complex to be constructed in the Freemason area. If hotels expand to this degree, it is important that Norfolk continues to increase commercial, tourist, and convention activity. Convention trade is very important to the hotel business. At this point the downtown hotels are booked solid for the 1984 convention season.

Convention activity for the City of Norfolk increased 25 percent in 1984 from the previous year. Convention activity for Downtown Norfolk has also increased and could become even greater if more rooms were available in the hotels. The lack of hotel rooms has meant that the Convention Bureau has had to turn away large conventions that were interested in Downtown Norfolk. Overall, statistical data show only a slight increase in convention activity because convention activity is now operating at capacity. Convention activity is expected to increase in Downtown Norfolk once a new

hotel is located there. One reason that interest in Downtown Norfolk as a convention site has increased is the promotional leverage that Waterside gives. Waterside gives the Convention Bureau something to sell to conventioneers who like to go to restaurants and to be near entertainment. Waterside has provided that and a positive image for the central business district. This increased activity in Norfolk's downtown has allowed advertising campaigns to become more aggressive because there is now something to sell. National press coverage of Norfolk increased in 1983, appearing in 80 out-of-town publications throughout the country. Being known throughout areas of the country and having a positive image has helped the central business district attract conventions.

Waterside activity provides restaurants, shopping and entertainment. This coupled with other Tidewater attractions helps to create travel packages that were not available to Norfolk in the past. Waterside is expected to attract several million people to the downtown area each year. A certain percentage of those people will be from out of town and will require overnight lodging. City wide tourism rates have increased since 1978, from 650,000 to over one million visitors per year.

An indicator of increased tourism in Norfolk's central business district is the increase in bus tours. In 1983 there were 455 such tours. In 1984 this figure more than doubled to 1000 bus tours. These increases are attributed to the downtown development and the Convention Bureau's concentration on this element of the market. The important point here is that in the past Norfolk was only a day trip stop; now it is an overnight destination. (The Virginian-Pilot

and Ledger-Star, 1984b) This change is important especially for the hotel trade. Each tour that stays overnight spends an average of \$3,500. (Department of Communications and Marketing, 1985:2)

In addition to Waterside's pull for the tourist trade, the Cousteau Ocean Center will be added to the waterfront development package by 1986. This addition will increase tourist trade, hotel occupancy and the length of time people will want to spend in the area. Tourism is growing because of the activity in the central business district, aggressive ad campaigns and cooperation between local tourism markets.

THE RECREATION, ENTERTAINMENT AND CULTURAL FUNCTION

Waterside has expanded downtown's activity base in several ways. First, it provides restaurant and retail space in a unique setting. Since the construction of Waterside other businesses serving these same types of activity have located throughout the central business district. Expanding the entertainment, recreational and cultural function of the central business district gives people a reason to go downtown and gives them something to do once they arrive. A second way that Waterside has expanded the activity base is through the development of an organization called Festevents, Limited. As part of the development scheme designed by James Rouse, the city had to incorporate an organization to provide activity and special events at Waterside. The group of people who had been responsible for planning Harborfest since 1976 were asked to form such an organization. The Harborfest Committee had been strictly a volunteer group. Festevents, Limited has a paid staff, a board made up of volunteers

and a large network of volunteers. The events sponsored by Festevents, Limited in conjunction with local businesses represent one of the strongest pulls to the Waterside complex. (See Appendix 3c) Table 9 shows the attendance averages for these events during the first year (1983) as compared to similar group-sponsored events at Rouse's developments in Boston and Baltimore.

Another possible indicator of change in the recreation, entertainment and cultural function would be change in other facilities in the central business district other than Waterside. Tables 7 and 8 show attendance and revenue comparisons for Norfolk's Scope and the MacArthur Memorial. The MacArthur Memorial and events at Scope have seen increases in their attendance rates over the past three years. Thus indicating that activity is increasing not only in the waterfront area but throughout the central business district. Two more developments planned for the waterfront that are related to the recreation, entertainment and cultural function are the Cousteau Ocean Center that will provide educational activity and phase II of Waterside which will add to the retail and restaurant activity in the area. Both projects are scheduled to open in 1986.

The findings as summarized in this chapter show that changes have occurred in each of the activity functions over the past one year period. Through the revitalization process each function has been expanded and strengthened by way of new developments, renovations and new investments in the physical environment. In summarizing the changes that have occurred reference has been made to how the functions both support and depend on one another. Physical plans for

TABLE 7
ATTENDANCE AND REVENUE
NORFOLK'S SCOPE
JUNE - AUGUST

Attendance at	1983	117,000	
ticketed events	1982	53,000	
Gross ticket sales	1983	\$ 79,000	
(tax revenue to the city)	1982	\$ 26,000	
Concession Revenue	1983 1982	\$105,000	
	1982	\$ 69 ,00 0	

Source: Department of Communications and Marketing, 1983.

TABLE 8
ATTENDANCE COMPARISONS
MACARTHUR MEMORIAL

April 1984	8,795
April 1983	7,853
May 1984	8,545
May 1983	6,845
January - May 1984	28,000
January - May 1983	25,000

Source: The Virginian-Pilot and Ledger-Star, 1984d.

TABLE 9
FESTEVENTS: ATTENDANCE COMPARISONS

	Baltimore and Boston	Norfolk
Lunchtime Concerts	500	300
	(3 per week)	(2 per week)
Weekday Evening	1,000	1,250
Concerts/Movies	(1 per week, 2nd year)	(3 per week)
Weekend Concerts	4,000	850
	(1 per week, 3rd year)	(2 per week)
Special Events	2,000	3,250
-	(1 per week, 3rd year)	
Visiting Ships	x	12,550
Total Average Per We		9 ,330
	(1-3rd year)	
Special Events: Tota	ls for Waterside - 1983	
Octoberfest Wee		25,000
New Year's Eve		15,000
Halloween Party		6,000
Hayday on the W		4,000
Christmas Carol	ling	2,000
Harborfest Weekend A	ttendance	
		Estimates
1979		185,000
1981		500,000
1982		750,000
1983 1984		1,000,000
1704		1,000,000

Source: Information from Department of Communications and Marketing and Festevents, Limited, 1984b.

Downtown Norfolk stated this dependency and the likelihood that development in one of the activity functions would help to accelerate the development in the other functions. The interrelationship among these functions is more important than any one function alone. The support elements within this interrelation makes it difficult to determine a causal relationship among the functions. In this case study, however, it is possible to identify the principal developments chronologically. Before the development of the 1980's, Downtown Norfolk had three generalized problem areas that needed to be corrected before large scale revitalization could take place. These problems were the lack of activity downtown, the negative image of downtown as an unsafe, seedy part of town and the continued decline of the physical environment. Waterside, as the first project in the revitalization program, helped to mitigate all three of these problems. This in turn enhanced opportunities for improvement in the other functional areas. The waterfront in Norfolk is now an active place: activity at Waterside, Town Point Park and on the water. Before the development of Waterside this geographic area was abandoned and used only for parking. Two things have helped turn the image of downtown around. With large numbers of people present in the area during both daylight and night hours, there is a feeling of safety. Secondly, the national press coverage of Waterside has been favorable. The physical environment along the waterfront has been improved by landscaping and by stabilizing the water's edge so that it can be utilized.

A primary goal of Waterside has been to act as a catalyst for further development in the central business district. As it has been peinted out in the discussion of the individual functions, especially those involved with housing, hotel/convention and office development, there could be no great strides taken in these areas without the preliminary problems of safety, attractiveness and stability being addressed and alleviated. Quality housing cannot be sold in an area that is in a state of decline economically, socially and environmentally. Hotels will not locate in an area without the necessary amenities in place to support their services. A business headquarter office building prefers a location that is a safe, attractive and active center. The waterfront development including Waterside,

Town Point Park and the water stabilization was the starting point and a big step toward providing these necessary conditions, activity and environmental upgrading. Waterside's publicity helped to produce a better image for Downtown Norfolk and with the new confidence came new private investment in the central business district.

All five of the activity functions have experienced some level of development and support one another. Expansions in the meeting place function (hotel occupancy, conventions and the tourist trade) not only increase its capacity, but support retail, recreation, entertainment and culture in the area as well. Downtown housing contributes to the consumer market for retail and entertainment establishments. Housing is also an important element of support for the central work place function as close-in housing becomes quality housing. Individuals are beginning to see the advantages of living close to their work place. As more offices are located in the downtown area there are more downtown employees who are also consumers for retail and entertainment establishments.

In studying revitalization in Downtown Norfolk and the changes in the activity functions the recreation, entertainment and cultural function has clearly been a key function in this process. During the first year of revitalization this function took the physical form of Waterside and Town Point Park contributing significantly to the enhancement of activity in the downtown area. As we have learned from these findings this function contributes necessary support for retail, housing, central work place and the meeting place functions by improving the environment and stimulating interest and activity in the central business district.

CHAPTER IV

THEORETICAL AND COMPARATIVE

IMPLICATIONS

The findings presented in the previous chapter answer the research questions concerning changes in the activity functions, their interrelationships and have identified the key function involved in Norfolk's revitalization project. This chapter will expand on this knowledge by using comparative data to better understand revitalization and the role of festival marketplaces in this process so that our findings can be placed in a larger context. This chapter will also look at the findings from a functionalist perspective viewing the outcomes of revitalization in Norfolk as manifest or latent.

Revitalization in a central business district with a declining economy seeks to develop activity bases that will be most profitable for that city. This is achieved by upgrading the social and economic activity throughout the entire environment. (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981:26) To do this the central business district must be made attractive to investors and to the middle class population—a population that will circulate money in the downtown area.

Explanations for the attainment of revitalization see societal trends, economic changes and governmental intervention as contributors to the movement back to the downtown areas. Social processes that were

occurring during the 1970's contributed to downtown revitalization. Some relevant trends that were in the making were the rising costs of living in the suburbs, the slowdown in construction because of the recession and the fact that older housing in the city was less expensive. There was also the emergence of a new urbane lifestyle. Population composition was changing to include an increasing proportion of singles, the elderly and childless couples -- all attracted as a group to the amenities of city living. There were also changes in the work force evidenced by an expansion of professional, administrative and service-oriented workers whose work place is often found in the central business district. During this time period there were also changes in government policies which helped to encourage commercial reinvestment through tax breaks and other financial incentives. (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981:20) Two crises were occurring during the 1970's which also encouraged the revitalization movement in our cities. First, was the decline in land values within the city which in turn led to the second crisis of limited government revenues. These crises required new public and private investment which was sponsored by a coalition of politicians and pro-growth businessmen. New development and the circulation of capitol from the financial institutions increase the city land values and can revive a city's tax base.

Societal trends, economic changes and governmental intervention were all factors contributing to downtown revitalization in Norfolk. Movement towards city living in Norfolk was not only a matter of the high cost of suburban living and less expensive housing closer in to the city, but a matter of land scarcity as well. The waterways

surrounding much of the city and the expansion of Virginia Beach meeting the Norfolk City boundaries put limits on the ability of Norfolk to expand through annexation. Therefore, any new housing had to be within existing city limits. The greatest evidence of residential development is in the central business district or in close proximity to the downtown area. In Ghent, an area close to the central business district, construction and rehabilitation of housing started in 1975 and continues today. The population of Ghent is of young professionals and the value of land and housing in this area has increased continually over the past nine years. Housing in Freemason Harbour is also populated by young professionals, childless couples and singles. Land and housing values have increased rapidly over the past few years. In Baltimore, where similar revitalization has occurred, special attention has been given to housing for the elderly in the downtown area. (Department of Housing and Community Development, 1983:5) The elderly make up a portion of that population attracted to the amenities found in the city. This movement of the population and housing towards the downtown area agrees with the suggestion that societal trends, through a changing population composition, have produced a push towards the city.

It has already been stated that Norfolk's downtown is a center for administrative, financial and service organizations. This change also coincides with the national trends. In the U. S. those employed in the production of goods declined from 47 percent to 33 percent from 1929 to 1977. (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981:25) Over the same period of time those employed in the delivery of services increased from 55 percent to 68 percent. The national trend for the work force is

moving away from manufacturing because of automation and towards a more service-oriented work force.

Government in both Baltimore and Norfolk created incentives to downtown revitalization through low interest loans and tax breaks to homeowners and businesses. In both cities a public-private partnership helped to rejuvenate their central business districts through the development of a large scale commercial project. This public-private partnership seeks to revitalize by coordinating public improvements to stimulate private investment and development. (The Urban Land Institute, 1984) The urban renewal projects of the 1960's were administered through an urban renewal agency. The public-private partnerships found in the revitalization programs today bring together developers, financial institutions, community leaders, businessmen, city officials and city agencies, in an attempt to involve a greater portion of the entire community. In both Norfolk and Baltimore the initial government step in commercial development was a festival marketplace developed by a Rouse Company. In Norfolk the development was Waterside implemented by the Enterprise Company and in Baltimore the commercial project was Harborplace developed by the Rouse Company in 1980. Comparisons of Norfolk and Baltimore can be useful because of the similarities between the developments and because of the time differences in the two projects. This difference in time allows us to make implications concerning the trends that have been identified in the data collected in Norfolk.

Comparative data can help to clarify our findings and identify trends in Downtown Norfolk that are just now beginning. Some of the similarities between Norfolk and Baltimore have already been mentioned.

In addition is the fact that Norfolk's waterfront development is following to a large degree the physical development and planning found in Baltimore. Planning in both cities include a festival marketplace, a World Trade Center, an oceanic exhibit, housing, office space, hotels, restaurants and an organization responsible for presenting continuous events on the waterfront. All of these things are in place in Baltimore. In Norfolk some of these have already been developed, are in the process of being developed or will be in place within the next two years. The major difference in the revitalization for these two cities is that of scale. Baltimore's is necessarily larger because that metropolitan area is larger and can, therefore, support more than the Hampton Roads area can support at this time. The scale of a city is an important consideration in revitalization. (Whyte, 1980) Any development plan in a city must not become so large that it cannot be supported by the population that will use it.

In the functional data gathered from Norfolk the progressive development and the identification of trends became apparent. Information from Baltimore can shed light on these trends and give us some ideas as to where Norfolk might be in development in the next two to three years. Promotional literature, newspapers and fact sheets from Baltimore stress the increase in convention and tourist activity in Baltimore's central business district. We learned from our Norfolk data that this meeting place function is to some degree problematic at this stage of development in Norfolk. This is because larger conventions cannot be booked for Downtown Norfolk due to the lack of a sufficient number of hotel rooms. On the other side

of the coin, hotels do not want to locate in the central business district until they are assured high occupancy rates. Convention activity in a central business district can be profitable because money is coming in without the demand for additions in extensive public services. (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981:30) The city gains additional publicity which attracts other meetings, people and investments.

In Baltimore, a new convention center has been built and there has been an increase both in hotel space and tourism. All of this has occurred since the construction of Harborplace in 1980. As of 1983 there were 2220 hotel rooms in Baltimore's central business district. Presently, development in progress and development commitments will add 2552 additional hotel rooms within the next two years. (Baltimore Convention Bureau, 1983)

A tourist survey done in Baltimore's central business district over the last three years by a Washington-based market researcher shows that the number of summertime visitors who live outside the city has doubled since 1980. (The News American, 1984) The survey also included statistical information about the visitors. Of the visitors surveyed in 1983, 40 percent were first time visitors and 60 percent were repeat visitors. The average repeat visitor made 5.1 trips to the area during the year. Also, of the visitors surveyed, 23 percent were Baltimore residents, 12 percent were residents of Washington and 34 percent were from states other than Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania and Delaware. From 1981 to 1983 visitors to the area grew from 4.25 million to 4.7 million with spending up from \$125 million to \$225 million. (Baltimore Morning Sum, 1984)

More than half of the visitors in 1983 stayed overnight spending money on meals, rooms and visits to attractions and shops. The increase in Baltimore's travel industry was higher than the national average. An important observation coming out of these surveys is that there is "a steady maturing of the Inner Harbor as a major tourist attraction". (The News American, 1984)

What do all of these facts and figures mean in relation to Norfolk? Baltimore's convention and tourist industry has been increasing as the development in Baltimore has increased. Norfolk is still in the first stages of development, so if development continues as it is planned it seems safe to assume that the present trends will continue and will follow to some degree that of Baltimore. Conventions, tourism and the number of hotel rooms will continue to grow over the next several years. The next stages of development for Norfolk include at least one additional hotel and the Cousteau Ocean Center both of which should be completed by 1986. To be successful in the tourist industry an area must have several attractions. Presently, Norfolk has Waterside, but the addition of the Cousteau Ocean Center will increase the number of attractions and the number of visitors. The Ocean Center is of significance because "it has been touted as a worldwide tourist attraction". (Southeastern Virginia Planning District Commission, 1983:52) This will increase the number of tourists and the number of people coming from some distance that will require overnight lodging. The "synergism" (the whole is greater than the sum of the parts concept) created by Waterside and the Ocean Center being in close proximity to one another has the potential to make the demand for downtown lodging

properties very strong and create the need for a new hotel".

(Southeastern Virginia Planning District Commission, 1983:52) With a maturing of Norfolk's waterfront through development and attractions the problems now being seen in Norfolk's convention and hotel business will progressively dissolve.

Revitalization is a process which, to be effective, must take into account the whole system (the central business district) and all of that system's parts (the activity functions). The functions are interdependent and supportive of one another; they work together to create the whole system. They can maintain or they can create change in the central business district. The plans for Downtown Norfolk assumed that the acceleration of one function through physical development would be followed by the expansion of the other functions. Strict time-ordered cause and effect relationships among the functions are difficult to determine. Waterside, while playing an important role in revitalization, did not cause the changes in the functions. While it was the first major step in revitalization, Waterside was followed by and coincided with other physical development in the central business district--development which includes Town Point Park, the World Trade Center, the Freemason Harbour Project and other retail activity. Waterside, like Harbourplace, played a role in revitalization, but it alone did not cause revitalization. Other factors such as societal trends, government incentives and further activity changes are also important elements involved in this process. Our data show a covariation in the functions of the city and their development as embodied in the physical forms. As noted in earlier chapters, Waterside created an environment that is

attractive, one that is active and one that includes the amenities needed for other development to occur. Therefore, in Norfolk, Waterside may be considered as serving a priority need by expanding the recreation, entertainment and cultural function of the central business district. In the case of revitalization the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.

The functionalist perspective in sociology has helped to provide a guideline so that the changes and functional relationships could be identified and understood. This perspective has directed the level of analysis and the type of questions that have been asked. In viewing the process of revitalization on a systemic or functionalist level we ask certain questions about the phenomenon. Exploring the changes in the functions and ultimately the consequential outcome of such changes we are guided by questions such as: What functions are served by the existence of this phenomenon that would not be served in its absence? What role does this phenomenon play in the maintenance or change in the setting? (Lofland, 1971:68) In studying Downtown Norfolk these questions focused our attention towards Waterside as a catalyst for revitalization. What are the changes in the city's functions as a consequence of this development? How do the smaller elements of the setting contribute to change and what consequences does such change have for the overall setting? In this chapter and in previous chapters it has been illustrated how Waterside and physical development in the other functions contribute to change in the central business district.

Simple observation told us that Norfolk's central business district had undergone physical change. However, in order to understand

that change this research had to look at the system before revitalization started and after the process had begun. Using a functionalist perspective helped to bring about an understanding of the process and the functional changes in the central business district.

This research utilized the functionalist perspective even further by attempting to identify the manifest and latent functions or consequential outcomes of revitalization. This was done to help examine the effectiveness of the man-made environment in reaching its set goals and to identify and to categorize the outcomes. In Chapter I, manifest and latent functions were defined. For the purpose of this research manifest functions are those outcomes that are officially planned for. Latent function refers to outcomes that occur and are recognized, but were not officially planned for as a goal of revitalization. As suggested by Campbell's discussion, in a functionalist analysis the focus should be on identifying goals and the outcomes only as they occur on a systemic level. (1982:38) From the Norfolk data gathered the needs, goals and outcomes have been identified. As for the needs of the central business district and the goals set forth in the plans for revitalization our findings of the changes that have occurred in the activity functions show that these specific outcomes of revitalization are manifest. That is the outcomes as they have occurred in Norfolk's central business district concur with those plans as stated in the Downtown Norfolk 1990 Plan. Because the consequential outcomes were officially planned for, then, by definition they are manifest. The goals associated with creating an active and economically viable central business district in Norfolk by way of strengthening and expanding the activity functions have or

are in the process of being accomplished according to this study's findings.

The data collected for this study focuses in on these officially planned for goals and outcomes, but further observation, trend data and comparative data point to the presence of and the possibility of specific latent functions of revitalization. In revitalizing a central business district making it an active center changes that are unplanned for officially may occur. For example, by creating more upscale retail and housing in this area the type of crime and the type of security measures taken may change. Crimes such as burglary and theft may go up simply because there is now more opportunity for them. More serious crimes like murder and rape may go down because there are more people present in the area, there is better lighting and the police are more visible. The increased attraction of the Elizabeth River as a recreation area for boaters by way of the development of boat slips and marinas along the waterfront has created increases in water traffic that also needs to be regulated -- in effort to control speeding, drinking while operating a boat and illegal docking. These changes in the type of crime as an outcome of creating an active center creates the need for additional regulations. Police utilize smaller vehicles to patrol certain areas; there are increased numbers of security people who patrol the parking garages and buildings to provide safety and the image of safety. Boating safety, regulations and patrol have also gained attention. The outcome is a change in type of security needed and used in a revitalized area.

Revitalization has also created an opportunity for increases in community involvement. Special events at Waterside, while coordinated

by Festevents Limited, involve area businesses, ethnic groups by way of festivals, and groups such as the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts and church choirs. Proceeds from events go to benefit area hospitals, certain disease research or community projects. The opportunity for this type of involvement has increased through providing space and a public forum. These events also give local talent an opportunity to perform through art shows and concerts. Such opportunity has the outcome of increasing community involvement and awareness.

Another latent outcome has been the increase in cooperation between area cities. For example, there is now an express bus line which goes from the Virginia Beach Oceanfront Center to Waterside. There is a river ferry boat that carries people from Norfolk's Waterside to Portsmouth's Portside. Their location across the river from one another has led to an increase in cooperation and friendly competition between these two cities. There is coordination of complementary events in both cities so that people can visit each city on the same day. Friendly competition is exhibited through the annual Harbor Cup speedboat races on the river that pits teams from Norfolk against teams from Portsmouth. Norfolk has also gained relationships with other places by becoming a harbor for tall mast ships from places like Germany, England and Massachusetts. Small naval ships also dock at Waterside and offer tours which promote goodwill between the navy population and civilian population in Hampton Roads. By taking this opportunity to develop friendly relationships with places close by and far away, Norfolk can add to its image as a good neighbor and affable host.

Studies that have been done on revitalization point out some other possible areas where latent functions and their consequences may be found. Latent functions may be identifiable in the long term outcomes of revitalization. With revitalization so heavily geared towards services, recreation, entertainment, employment and housing for the middle class, the poor can be pushed out to other parts of the city. This process of gentrification can be direct and physical. The lower classes can be pushed out of their homes and/or businesses. In Norfolk, the land that has been developed through revitalization has for the most part been vacant. The entire waterfront area served only as parking and pier space. For this reason, development on Norfolk's waterfront did not face the problems of displacement. Housing in Norfolk's central business district was a function that was almost nonexistent before revitalization. The Freemason Historic District was the only residential area in the central business district and it has become part of the revitalization. Some small businesses in the downtown area of Norfolk have been displaced, but many of them chose to remain in the central business district simply by relocating to other parts of the area. In both Norfolk and Baltimore there were retail areas in place before revitalization began that were concerned with the possibility of new commercial space taking their patronage. On Granby Mall in Norfolk merchants were concerned with the effect that Waterside would have on their businesses. In Baltimore, Little Italy restauranteurs felt that the addition of 12 more restaurants in the central business district as part of the Harborplace complex would be detrimental to their

business. (The Sun Scoop Journal, 1984) Harborplace and Waterside by bringing people into the downtown area have in the long run helped other businesses in the area. Therefore Little Italy and Granby Mall stand to profit from revitalization.

minority owned businesses. Harborplace created 2,500 jobs and provided space for 100 shops. Of the shops that were opened 21 are black-owned. (The Sun Scoop Journal, 1984) Waterside created 1,300 jobs, a majority of them filled by minorities. A number of shops in Waterside are also owned by minorities. So while the concern for physical gentrification is a very real one, the data collected here illustrates that revitalization can be profitable to everyone, not just the middle class. Gentrification does not, however, have to be physical dislocation. A downtown area can become psychologically middle and upper class by catering to these upper classes. (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981:68) The lower classes can suffer from a psychological push which is also a form of dislocation.

One other unofficial consequence that has been noted in Baltimore is the creation of a controlled environment. (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981:62) It is suggested that revitalization has taken the traditional aspects of the urban environment, such as cafes and markets, and has tamed that environment. This consequence of revitalization, a controlled environment, does exist in Norfolk. An element of control was discussed earlier in terms of security in an environment that becomes active. A controlled environment may have both positive and negative aspects. In Norfolk this controlled environment has created opportunity where it did not exist before.

The waterfront area before revitalization was vacant; the only uses that it may have had then that are not present now would be for illegal uses. One such use could have been perhaps as a place for street people to sit or sleep. For these people revitalization and its outcome of a controlled environment could be perceived as negative. It has prohibited their behavior. The opportunity created by revitalization has been discussed as creating space for entertainment, recreation and leisure activities that now take place along the waterfront. So a latent function can be both positive and negative depending on the perspective from which you view the consequence. Changes in the physical man-made environment can create opportunity and at the same time inhibit some types of behavior. (Michelson, 1976:231) On the systemic level, the revitalization of the waterfront and the consequence of a controlled environment is positive because activity has increased in that area that creates profit for the city and support for the other functions.

This discussion of gentrification and a controlled environment points to some areas where consideration may be focused in future research concerned with the latent functions of revitalization. This research has found that an increase in activity within a physical environment produces many consequences, manifest and latent. Future studies may find that in the long term many additional latent functions may be identified as the outcome of revitalization.

This chapter has presented comparative data to put the revitalization and functional changes that have occurred in Downtown Norfolk into a more comprehensive context. This information has also clarified

the process and trends that take place in revitalization and has allowed us to make some projections concerning Norfolk's future revitalization. An overview of the functionalist perspective as used in sociology was also presented in order to illustrate how sociological theory can act as a guideline for studying the physical man-made environment and its consequences.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

This exploratory study of Downtown Norfolk, by utilizing qualitative and quantitative data has uncovered information to further our understanding of revitalization. The possible data sources and perspectives that could be used to study this phenomenon are many. In this study, by approaching the subject area from a functionalist perspective and by utilizing sociological methods the scope of the study was narrowed to a degree. The findings include valuable insights into the process of revitalization and guidelines for future studies. By letting the study evolve as data were collected led to the formation of many questions that deserve consideration in further research done in this area. Questions that are important to physical planning and the future of our downtown areas.

The major research questions in this study revolve around the desire to understand the process of change in the city's functions and the interrelationships between these functions. Chapters III and IV presented data that illustrate the process and the relationships. We found that the functional change was one of covariation with the functions being both supportive and dependent on one another.

A second research question identified early in the research was that of the role of Waterside in Norfolk's revitalization and in the

functional changes. Through the Norfolk data and the comparative data that role became clear. In cities where a Festival Marketplace is a part of the revitalization, this development acts as an image producer by providing activity, by enhancing the total environment and by symbolizing the city's commitment to the downtown area. A new image requires more than the development of physical form; it requires activities and festivities like those that are a part of the Festival Marketplace. A Festival Marketplace is the symbol of the city's rebirth. In these ways a Festival Marketplace fulfills the dual role of acting as a magnet to bring people back to the downtown area to work, live and pursue leisure time activity; and by acting as a catalyst for other downtown development. However, as pointed out, a Festival Marketplace cannot alone revitalize a city. There is an interrelationship between the city functions of which a Festival Marketplace is a physical embodiment of one or several functions. The physical development and the functions that they enhance are supportive and dependent on one another. So that rather than being a cause of revitalization the role of Waterside is that of a contributor to the process. In cities such as Norfolk and Baltimore, a Festival Marketplace plays an important role in revitalization.

Has Waterside been effective in its roles in this process? Has this physical form been effective in achieving the original set goals? These questions, though not directly asked in research, were definitely an underlying consideration. In the mass media such questions take on the form of questions and answers related to measures of success. Is Waterside a success? Plans and consultant reports done prior to the start of revitalization pointed to the

key functional problem areas in the city which needed to be addressed. As discussed in this paper these problem areas included the lack of housing in the central business district, the low profile of the retail function, the lack of a sufficient number of hotel rooms to promote large scale conventions and the overall negative image associated with Downtown Norfolk. A critical problem that was addressed in these plans and reports was the lack of ongoing attractions, high amenity open space and commercial space such as restaurants, night clubs and specialty shops. Waterside was developed to fulfill this critical need. The planning theory was that a major magnet would accelerate development in other functional activities as well as attract people to the downtown area. Again, we come to the dual role of Waterside.

Success or effectiveness is measured by the degree of new development in the central business district and by the number of people who visit this area. Has the physical form been effective in achieving the set goals? City officials and those who work for the city see Waterside as effective and the trends starting in the central business district as positive. The data in this research, while not meant to provide any definitive measures or conclusions of the success of Waterside, do show trends moving in a positive direction. Our data show that since the opening of Waterside all indicators for the five functions have increased and are moving in a positive direction.

The measure of success most often cited in the mass media is Waterside's role as a catalyst for further development in the central business district. (The Wall Street Journal, 1983a and 1983b; The Washington Post, 1984; The Richmond Times-Dispatch, 1984: also many stories in the Virginian-Pilot and Ledger-Star) Articles in this

vein cite the development that has taken place since the announcement of the plans to build Waterside—developments such as the World Trade Center, the Freemason Housing Project and the Cousteau Ocean Center. Other indicators of success reported in the mass media are the numbers of visitors to Downtown Norfolk, the increases in city revenues after years of decline and the increases in sales volumes. The revenue that has been generated by Waterside has helped other parts of the city by creating surpluses which are funneled into housing projects throughout the city. The Enterprise Company would also include as a measure of success the number of jobs that have been created by Waterside and the numbers of minority—owned businesses in Waterside.

Will these trends continue? The comparative data in this study would indicate that the trends will continue in a positive direction, even though some of the consequences of revitalization may not yet be apparent. James Rouse sees Norfolk as continuing its present trends and becoming a "bustling, exciting city agin" within the next five to ten years. (The Ledger-Star, 1984)

This study has explored the components involved in downtown revitalization and has begun to ask and answer many questions concerning this process. It has shown that research focusing on physical planning and the physical environment can be conducted using a sociological perspective. A perspective that asks questions that may often be overlooked by other research perspectives. The study has also shown the possibilities of studying physical form to find out the effectiveness that that form has had for achieving its goals by looking at the planning goals and the consequences of that form.

(Lynch and Rodwin, 1958) This study has also provided the background and a guideline for future studies dealing with revitalization.

Since Norfolk is still in the process of revitalization the consequences could not be fully explored in the research. Once the revitalization process is more mature in Norfolk a study would be better able to measure the long term changes in the functions and to identify the consequences. It would be interesting to see if the present functional trends continue in the direction that they are presently moving toward.

APPENDICES

- APPENDIX 1 DOWNTOWN NORFOLK: MAPS AND DIAGRAMS
- APPENDIX 2 METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS
- APPENDIX 3 THE WATERSIDE: FACTS AND STATISTICS
- APPENDIX 4 NEW INVESTMENTS AND DEVELOPMENT IN

 NORFOLK'S CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

APPENDIX 1

DOWNTOWN NORFOLK: MAPS AND DIAGRAMS

- la REGIONAL MAP Source: Downtown Plan Study Team,

 Downtown Norfolk: A General Development Plan for

 Downtown Norfolk for the Department of City Planning,

 June, 1981. Shows the market area for Downtown Norfolk,

 with Norfolk's central business district in the center

 of the region. The consideration of a potential market

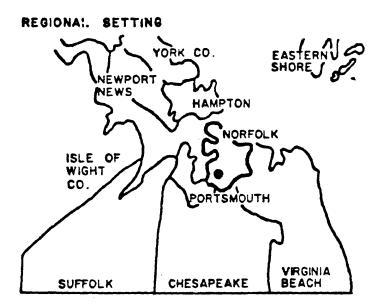
 area is especially important for retail and recreation,

 entertainment and cultural functions.
- 1b PRINCIPAL STUDY SECTORS Source: Downtown Plan Study Team, <u>Downtown Norfolk: A General Development Plan</u>
 <u>for Downtown Norfolk</u> for the Department of City
 Planning, June 1981. Shows the Department of City
 Planning's delineation of Norfolk's central business
 district which was also used in this research.
- DEVELOPMENT OPPORTUNITIES: SOUTH WATERFRONT Source: Downtown Plan Study Team, Downtown Norfolk:

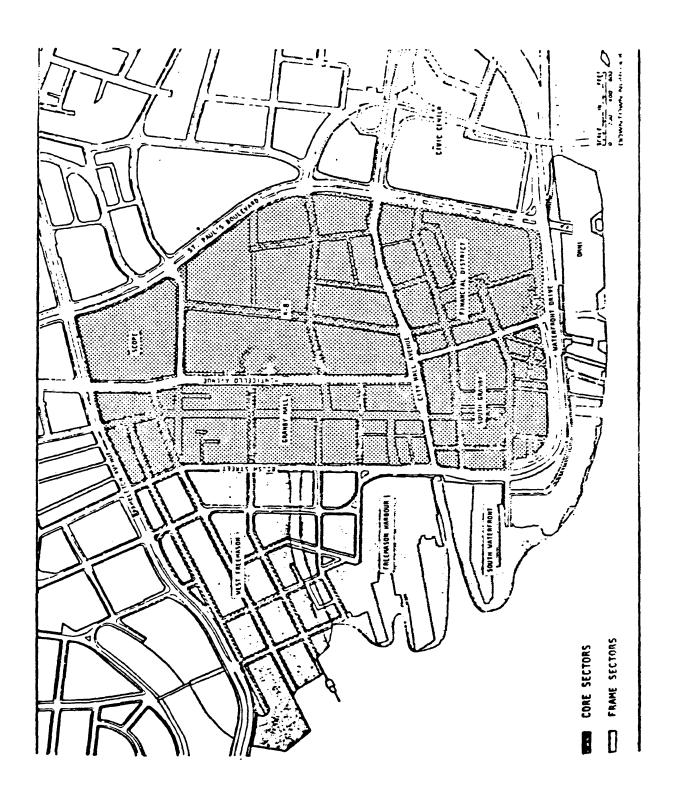
 A General Development Plan for Downtown Norfolk
 for the Department of City Planning, June 1981.

 Shows the area of concentration in the first stages of revitalization. The proposed Festival Marketplace (Waterside), Town Point Park have been developed, along with the World Trade Center (not depicted here) which is located in the street curve across from Town Point Park. The Cousteau Ocean Center and the Boat Harbor/Marina are still being planned and are expected to open in 1986. The residential area is still under construction, but many units have already been sold and occupied.

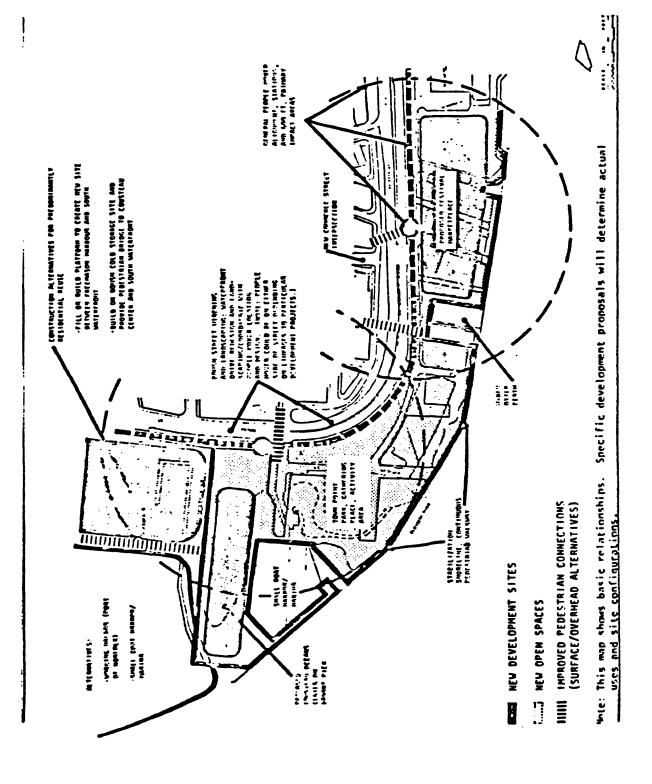
la REGIONAL MAP



DOWNTOWN NORFOLK



1b PRINCIPAL STUDY SECTORS



APPENDIX 2

METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

As pointed out in the text several methodological problems were encountered in this research. While the functions and their indicators were sound, problems occurred in gathering the statistical data to measure change in the functional indicators. This appendix will briefly review some of the problems encountered in this research so that any future research done in this area will be aware of such complications.

When gathering data from a variety of sources there are several things to consider at the very beginning of the research process. It was the intention of this research to gather data for the years of 1976, 1980 and 1984. While this delineation proved to be a good guideline it was impossible to follow it exactly. Although cities do publish annual reports these reports do not include comprehensive statistical data such as that that is needed for the measurement of our functional indicators. City agencies may have some of the data that are needed, but it may not be compiled in a consistent manner. Also when dealing with many sources it has to be remembered that data are compiled for agency needs and reasons. Consultant reports, city agencies and regional agencies may all be looking at the same indicator or function, but they will measure it in their own way. Data from various city agencies may not coincide (in regard to time

printed and the way that it is presented) with each other or with the needs of the researcher.

There were no comprehensive profiles done on a regular basis that presented data used in this study. This may change in Norfolk. One agency was in the process of compiling a report concerned with many of the same functional indicators as used in this study. They saw a need for this type of comprehensive profile which combined the efforts of all city agencies.

Another related problem encountered was the fragmentation of work between the various agencies. Different agencies may be involved in the same project, but have different responsibilities and concerns. For example, the Norfolk Redevelopment and Housing Authority is responsible for, and therefore, has data on downtown housing only in those projects that directly involve it. The Housing Division of the Department of City Planning keeps statistics on deed transfers and appraisals for the entire city including the central business district. This fragmentation of responsibility among the city agencies makes it necessary for the researcher to acquire a working knowledge of what each agency does.

Some types of data filed within the city agencies are, of course, confidential. This may lead to being able to acquire only a summary report on, for example, gross retail sales according to the business license file receipts.

Time was a major problem in this research since we were interested not only in the past eight years, but also in the very recent past. Waterside had only been open one year when the data were being gathered. There was very little comprehensive data

regarding Waterside and the functional changes. Trends, comparative data and expert knowledge did allow us to make conclusions concerning functional changes and the role of Waterside in Norfolk's revitalization.

The element of time also caused problems in utilizing data such as census data and city directories to look at changes in the living area function and the retail function. Since the great majority of change in Norfolk's central business district occurred rapidly within one year, even the most recent data found in census reports and city directories were outdated. Therefore, they did not show the magnitude of the changes that had taken place.

Problem areas that were encountered were basically in the statistical quantitative data used to measure the functional indicators. These problems made it necessary to find and utilize qualitative data in combination with the quantitative data in order to fully understand the processes involved in revitalization.

APPENDIX 3

THE WATERSIDE:

FACTS AND STATISTICS

- 3a YOUR GUIDE TO THE MANY SIDES OF WATERSIDE Source: Promotional pamphlet published for Waterside.
 General description followed by floor plans and the
 type of businesses located in Waterside. Since
 publication there has been some turnover, but
 occupancy mix remains basically the same.
- 7b PROJECT DATA Source: The Urban Land Institute, Project Reference File, "The Waterside: Norfolk, Virginia" Volume 14, Number 5. Detail of the costs, sales and rent.
- JC FESTEVENT'S CALENDAR OF EVENT 1984 Shows the mix and type of weekly events promoted by Festevents Limited. Additional special events are put on throughout the year and are discussed in the text. These events coordinated by Festevents Limited and sponsored by various businesses in the community are an integral part of the success of Waterside. The events attract both the tourist and residents of Hampton Roads and are instrumental in creating an active and exciting (festive) environment.

The Waterside is more than a brilliant and colorful marketplace... more than a scries of dining adventures and exotic tastes.

YOUR GUIDE TO THE MANY SIDES OF WATTERSIDE

3a

The Waterside is a festival marketplace — a place where people can mingle with merchants and merrymakers, entertainers and artists.

Here on the bustling Norfolk waterfront you will find a collection of the area's finest shops and stores, brimming with unique and irresistible merchandise and gifts. You will find five restaurants offering outdoor dining overlooking the water. And an ever-changing collection of antiques, handicrafts and artwork that will make every trip to The Waterside one of fresh discoveries.

Within The Waterside's two decks you will find so many sides to The Waterside that one visit could never encompass all of The Waterside experience.

all of The Waterside experience.
On the Main Deck, you will find
Phillips Waterside and Il Porto Ristorante.
You will also find the City Market,
filled with fresh produce, fresh-cut meat,
seafood and poultry.

Discover bakery goods, a deli, pasta and fresh flowers.

You can sample hundreds of tempting dishes from all over the world in the International and Express Food area. In the Antiques Market, antique dealers

from far and wide will bring their collections to a constantly changing exhibit area, joining three shops featuring antiques, vintage prints and antique jewelry

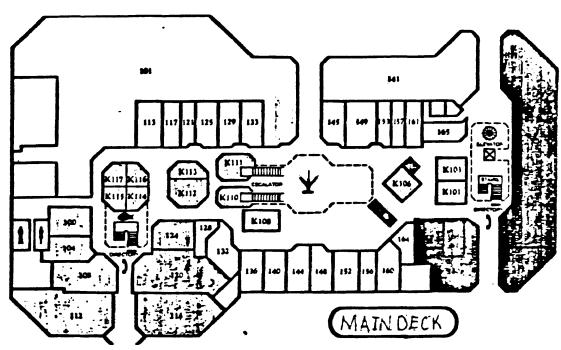
tiques, vintage prints and antique jewelry. On the Bridge Deck, you will find dining delights in The Tandoor Restaurant, The Riverside Cafe and Reggies British Pub. You will also find shops which offer fashion apparel, furnishings, toys, gifts, books and an array of other items for your selection. Among the kiosks and pushcarts, you'll find a fresh collection of craftsmen, artists and specialty vendors whose unique offerings constantly add new facets to The Waterside.

There always seems to be something special going on at The Waterside, whether outside on the waterfront, or inside on the Main Deck.

Don't miss the art and exhibits that also fill The Waterside. Exhibits are from The Chrysler Museum and The Mariners' Museum of Newport News. Handcarved and authentic figureheads are on display on the Main Deck, along with a ship's model and an authentic replica of a tugboat cabin which doubles as an elevator. The aquarium contains inhabitants of the Chesapeake Bay.

Come discover all the arts and attractions, the events and excitement, inside, outside...on all sides of The Waterside. Tidewater's festival marketplace on the Norfolk waterfront.

3a YOUR GUIDE TO THE MANY SIDES OF WATERSIDE



EXPRESS FOODS

- 153 All The Dogs I Know
- 129 Cee Cee's Hamburger Classics
- 128 Chocolate At Last
- 132 David's Cookies
- 145 Flying Fruit Fantasy
- 157 Hasskins Fresh Fries165 High's Old Fashioned Ice
- Cream Parlor
- 117 Honey Dough Factory, Ltd.
- 149 Philadelphia Steak & Sub Co
- 161 Pierce's Pirt Bar-B-Que125 Positoes Unlimited
- 133 Tonto's
- 121 Veggie Patch

(INTERNATIONAL FOODS)

- 156 Belgium Waffles
- 136 Fulpinana
- 160 Mama Mia Pizzena
- 148 My Dad's Italian Delights
- 152 Szechuan Gardens

- 144 Taco Donis
- 140 Takis Gyros
- 164 Tokyo Xpress

RESTAURANTS

- 141 Il Porto Ristorante
- 101 Phillips Waterside
- 221 Reggie's British Pub
- 253 The Riverside Cafe
- 273 The Tandoor Restaurant

A STATE OF THE STA

- 80 The Antique Market ...
- 180n A changing collection of antique dealers
- 172 Mutchley Ltd., Antiques & Jewelry
- 168 Sansfactions
- 166 Vintage Virginia Photographs

CTTY MARKET

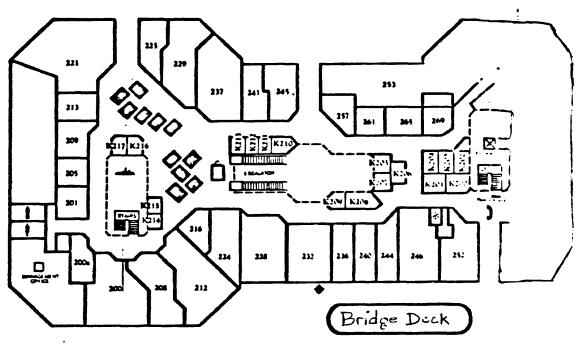
112 Heritage Farms of Virginia

- 104 Kitchen & McGrath Meat Cutters
- 124 La Crossanterie
- 108 Natchus Family Bakery
- 100 Pasta And Company
- 120 Spanky And Company,
- Waterside Provisions And Posations
- 116 Waterside Flowers

SHOPS

- 216 Barston's Wooden Things Plus
- 225 Bertolini Wicker & Imports
- 209 Christmas Artic
- 232 Collections
- 240 Crabtree & Evelyn
- 257 Embraceable Zoo
- 269 The Hat Rack
- 200 Hofheimer's Shoes N' Such 200a Hofheimer's The Locker Room
- 241 Hot Stuff
- 265 Kinderhaus Toys
- 264 Kite Kingdom
- 229 Kmy Hawk Sports

3a YOUR GUIDE TO THE MANY SIDES OF WATERSIDE



252 212 281 224 236 244 277 245 201 256 213 205 228 208 237	The Lemon Twist The Lodge At Harvard Square Meso-American Arts My Doll House Over The Rainbow The Rolling Pin Sandy's Touch Of Gold Scantastic! Sea Shanty The Sporting Life Sunvision Tobacco Landing Waterside Books Watermark Welton Ltd KIOSKS	K-202 K-112 K-208 K-201 K-203 K-209 K-209 K-113 K-113 K-113 K-212 K-212 K-206 K-103 K-210 K-114 K-114 K-200	Grits From The Sea Haagen Dats loe Cream The Harbourcat, Ltd. Hearts Content Homemade Music Emporium lingles Handcrafted Toys It's Our Bag The Jelly Bean Factory The Jewish Mother The Left Bank New Zealand Imports On The Waterside Paper & Paperbacks, Inc. Paw Prints The Peanur Patch La Potpourni The Puppet Tree		PUSHCARTS Inging selection of arts, crafts nique items. ARTS Mariners' Museum Chrysler Museum Aquanum Figurcheads Ship Model The Tourists
K-216 K-111 K-205 K-115	A Touch Of Glass Bayside Fruit & Nu Company Bardcloud Creations	K-200 K-217 K-214 K-117 K-211	The Pupper Tree Sand Dollars Snich Niche Taste Of New England Tie One On	*	Haas Mural SLEVICES Vagenus National Bank Cod
K-213 K-110 K-106	Flavor Exchange	K-207 K-101	Touch Of Earth Uncle Sam's Great Aniutican Sudu Suind	11	Flow Teller Management Office Restrooms

3b PROJECT DATA

PROJECT DATA

Land Use Information:

Site Area: 4.5 acres (1.8 hectares)

Gross Building Area (GBA): 130,000 square feet Gross Leasable Area (GLA): 79,000 square feet

Floor Area Ratio (FAR): .611

Parking Spaces: 627

Parking Index: 5.7 spaces per 1,000 square feet GLA

Economic Information:

Site Acquisition Cast: N.A.2

Site Improvement Cost: \$8,900,0003

Construction Cost:

Total: \$8,300,000 Per Gross Square Foot: \$63.85 Per Net Square Foot: \$105.06

Total Project Cost: \$13,800,000*

Bents: \$12-80 per square foot

Sales: approximately \$300 per square foot

Tenant Information:

Classification ³	Number of Stores	Percent of Botal Tenants	Square Feet of GLA	Percent of	el GLA in <u>Besional Centers</u>
General Merchandise	_	-	-		15.1
Food	12	9.8	8,145	10.3	14.2
food Service	30	24.5	34,314	43.4	7.0
Clothing	. 5	4.0	6,246	7.9	16.6
Shoes		0.9	2.217	2.8	4.4
Home Furnishings*		5.7	3,756	4.7	2.4
Home Appliances/Music	-	-	-	_	2.8
Building Materials/Carden		-	-	-	2.0
Automotive Supplies Service Station	_	-	-	-	1.9
Hobby Special Interest		-	-	-	3.1
Gifts Specialty		36.0	19.607	24.8	3.8
Jewelry and Cosmetics		0.9	306	0.4	1.6
Liquor		-	•	•	.7
Drugs	-	•	-	-	4.9
Other Retail		0.9	1,529	1.9	3.2
Personal Services		0.9	50	0.1	2.8
Recreation/Community		0.9	1,852	2.4	4.3
Financial	3	2.4	283	0.4	3.5
Offices (other than Financial)		0.9	380	0.5	2.4
Other?	15	12.2	315	0.4	3.3
Total	122	100.0	79,000	100.0	10 0.0

*Dollars & Cents of Shopping Centers: 1987 (Washington, D.C.: ULI-the Urban Land Institute, 1981), p. 295.

*Antique shops:

*Pushcarts:

While the project has a regional market, as a specialty retail center it does not resemble a regional shopping center in terms of either senant composition or operational performance.

Name:

YAR equals gross building area divided by total site area.

Phopeny is owned by the city and leased to the developer.

Aul site improvements were made by the Norfolk Redevelopment and Housing Authority.

Youned to the private developer by the Norfolk Redevelopment and Housing Authority for 30 years at 11th percent interest.

DOWNTOWN NORFOLK WATERFRONT

Ter More Information Cell 627.7809

SUMMERS EVE WEEKNIGHT CONCERTS
Town from Fort Amphibeotre
7 pm : 9 pm
(Rom site — Wotenide Man Stag

WCMS Country in the Park in July

August is Felk Music Month WHIO Rode, Fasterants and Remblin Carvady pre-

...

"PEPSI FUNDAYS" ON THE WATERFRONT
Coordinated by the Norfell Department
of Parks and Recrueture
Other Both — seat to Waterside
days - May through Expended 2.30 p.m. - d.30 p.m. adays and Thursdays - Ann through August 11.30 p.m. - 2.30 p.m.

SPRING AND FALL LUNCHTIME CONCERTS

Each Wadnesday and Finday

12 30 pm. 1.30 pm

or opinion waterfront stepper

Enjoy the change of meason with and day seasons; on the waterfront
April Atoy and September and Newsonber Footoring jezz, closes
executed in the Season of September and Septembe

...

THANK GOODNESS IT'S FRIDAY"

Alto Work Concer and Higgs; How Authorities and Michelob Light and with Part Falo Whits? SURINY 97 Radio to benefit M.D.A., Cysic • Seels, the Artivies Foundation and other dismission

SUNDAYS ON STAGE Spansored with WHID Radio Soun Fairt Park Amphilliann

SATURDAY NIGHT DANCING

SATURDAY NIGHT DANCING
ON THE PROMENADE
Sparaged with W1/2 Radio
One: Berth — sair to Waterside
(Ran sie: Waterside blam Seage)
Ø p m - 11 p m
Anne: August
a Sounds of Beg Bands, the Bhyther of Swing, over populor Beach
nic and an accessoral others tempo here denices same the auticonce Ray of the Waterside Promenade to enjoy summer evenings of
an accessoral.

"THE GREAT OUTDOOR MOVIE FESTIVAL"

Spensord with WISY - SUNNY 97 Radio

SHIP VISITATION Call Faces only

For Ship Valence

Schoolies of Ores Book

B Open House Sours EFFE PLY Spanned by Kee Keepl or Once both mail to Wor 12 man - 5 00 pm Second Sunday of every m

APPENDIX 4

NEW INVESTMENTS AND DEVELOPMENT

IN NORFOLK'S CENTRAL

BUSINESS DISTRICT

- ba DOWNTOWN WATERFRONT DEVELOPMENT FACT SHEET Source: Norfolk Redevelopment and Housing Authority, 1983. Listing of projects in the waterfront area including cost, size and completion date.
- 4b PRIVATE INVESTMENT: MAJOR COMMERCIAL DOWNTOWN DEVELOPMENT Source: Department of Communications and Marketing, The City of Norfolk, 1984. Listing of new and renovated properties for office and hotel space.
- 4c PRIVATE INVESTMENT: MAJOR DOWNTOWN HOUSING Source:
 Department of Communications and Marketing, The City
 of Norfolk, 1984. Listing of housing development in
 the Freemason Harbour area and apartment renovations
 in this area. Also includes information on Ghent Square,
 an area in close proximity to the central business district.

· - ----

4a DOWNTOWN WATERFRONT DEVELOPMENT FACT SHEET



September, 1983

Downtown Waterfront Development Pact Sheet

THE WATERSIDE Estimated Cost:

\$13.5 million

Developer

Design:

Waterside Associates Borfolk, Va. Wallace, Roberts & Todd Philadelphia, Pa.

Construction:

BCB Contractors

Size:

Dallas, Texas Two stories, 82,000 eq. ft.

Of commercial space Sessing Agent: Barvey Lindsay & Co.

Morfolk, Va.

Completion:

Opened; June, 1983

WATERSIDE PARKING GARAGE Betimated Cost: \$6 million

Developer:

City of Borfolk

Design

Williams & Taxovell

Construction: W. S. Meredith

Construction Co., Worfolk, Va. .

Size:

Pive levels, 625 spaces Opened; June, 1983

Completion:

MATERSIDE WAVE SCREEN
Estimated Cost: \$1.119 million
Developer: MRHA/City of Borfolk
Design: C.E. MaGuire, Inc.

Construction:

Bardaway Contractors, Inc.. Chesapeake, VA September, 1983

Completion:

TOWN POINT PARK Estimated Cost: \$2.5 million

Developers:

Construction:

MRRA/City of Morfolk Mardaway Contractor, Inc.

Chesapeake, Va. 6.5 acres

Size: Completions

September, 1983

COUSTEAU OCEAN CENTER
Estimated Cost: \$27.8 million

Developer:

Design:

527.8 Billion
Cousteau Ocean's Center, Snc.
Borfolk, Wa.
Boland Crump (Exhibits Only)
Fallbrook, California
B0,000-100,000 ag. St.
Spring, 1986

Gize:

Completion:

COST:

Developers:

Constructions

Completions

\$1.9 million WRHA/City of Borfolk W. F. Stepann Portsmouth, Va. 40,000 sq. ft; 32 ft. depth Completed, February, 1982

SOUTH WATER/FONT SITE WORK Estimated Cost: 63.4 million

WREA Developer:

Designers:

Wallace, Roberts & Todd Philadelphia, Pa. SPO Design Group Borfolk, Va. W. B. Belanga Associates

Contractors

Virginia Beach, Va. Chay, 1983

Completion:

BOUSH COLD STORAGE Estimated Cost: \$5.8 million

65.W million
Marbour Place Corporation
Worfolk, Va.
SECTION BORFOLK, Va.
SOURH Development Corp.
Borfolk, Va.
75 condominiums, everage Developer:

Designer:

Construction:

Size: price: \$115,000

June, 1984

Completion:

TIRGINIA WORLD TRADE CENTER Estimated Cost: \$19,4 milli

\$19 / million Goodman Segar Mogan, Inc. Developers

Design:

Construction:

Goodman Segar Hogan, Inc. Borfolk, Va. Kridmore, Owings Herrill Chicago, Il. T. R. Boar & Son, Inc. Birmingham, Al. 220,000 sq. ft. Goodman Segar Hogan, Inc. July, 1983 Leasing Agent: Completion:

TRADE CENTER GARAGE Estimated Cost: \$4.3 million

Size:

Devalopers:

City of Morfolk

Designs

Oliver Smith & Cooke Sorfolk, Va. S.R. International

Constructions Bite:

Seven levels, 678 spaces

Completions

April, 1984

PREZNASOK BARBOUR:

Pier A/Durmore Warehouse Estimated Cost: \$10 million

Developer:

Christopher-Premason Associat

Virginia Beach, Va. Bucher-Hyers & Associates Washington, D. C.

Eise:

Design:

29 mnite: 50 boot elips:

Completions Spring, 1984

4b PRIVATE INVESTMENT: MAJOR COMMERCIAL DOWNTOWN DEVELOPMENT



1/18/84

Major Commercial Downtown Development (partial listing)

<u>Virginia World Trade Center</u> - Goodman Segar Hogan developed this \$22 million, 9-story, 220,000 sq.ft. trade center on Waterside Drive.

<u>Plume Center West</u> - Norfolk's fifth largest building, The Law Building, was renovated at a cost of \$2.2 million by Plume Associates.

Rennert Building - Systems Management American, one of the nation's largest minorityowned firms, bought the Rennert Building on Monticello Avenue and spent \$2.2 million in removating it for its company headquarters.

Selden and Monticello Arcades - A 22-investor consortium purchased the Selden Arcade In the 200 block of Main Street, and transformed it into a high-grade, quality, retail shopping area. Owners of the Monticello Arcade, across Main Street from the Selden, spent more than \$1.5 million to restore it and house shops and offices.

Old City Hall Building - Seaboard Associates bought the Old City Hall Building from the city, and is spending \$4.1 million remodeling for office space, a restaurant, small museum and speciality shops.

St. Paul's Office Building - St. Paul Development corporation is building a \$4.6 million six-story office condominium at the southwest corner of St. Paul's Boulevard and Plume Street.

Flatiron Building - Owners of this 66-year-old landmark on Granby Mall are remodeling the structure at a cost of \$2 million to \$3 million.

Other Office Building Renovations - Private investors have spent millions of dollars renovating many office buildings downtown including the Wainwright Building at 229 W. Bute Street, the Haynes Building at Main and Granby, the McKevitt Building at 201-203 City Hall Avenue, the Helena Building at 101 Plume Street, the Professional Arts Building at 142 W. York Street, buildings at 136-140 Granby Street, 117-119 College Place, and 121-123 Tazewell Street.

Madison Hotel - After more than \$4 million in renovations, the 76-year-old former Commodore Maury Hotel on Granby Mall reopened as a luxury hotel.

Former W.T. Grants Building - Arnold Orleans, a Maryland-based developer, bought and is renovating this building on Granby Mall at a cost of \$1.2 million. The regional office of the U.S. Department of Commerce will be one of the tenants.

<u>Gilbert Hotel</u> - Tazewell Building Associates plan to spend \$3 million to convert this six-story hotel on Granby Mall.

4c PRIVATE INVESTMENT: MAJOR DOWNTOWN HOUSING



1/18/83

PRIVATE INVESTMENTS Major Downtown Housing

Freemason Harbor

<u>Harbour Place</u> - Harbour Place Associates is developing a 80-unit condominium complex. The units, which range from \$82,000 to \$360,000, will be built in what is now a seven-story concrete skeleton of the former Boush Cold Storage Building.

Freemason Harbor Condominiums - Christopher Companies is transforming an abandoned warehouse into 28 condominiums, with a third floor added. The developer has demolished the abandoned Dunmore warehouse and is replacing it with a five-story building containing 62 units. Prices range from \$107,500 to \$250,000.

Freemason Harbor Townhouses - 20 townhouses, with an average price of \$120,000, have been completed, and 170 are under construction.

Ghent Square - 80% developed with 372 units committed and 95 available

Townhouses - 240 are committed and 80 are available. Average price is \$110.000.

<u>Single Family Detached Houses</u> - 66 are committed and 15 are available. Average price is \$225,000.

Condominiums - 49 are committed at 696 Mowbray Arch, with average prices from \$70,000 to \$100,000. 17 are committed in Botetourt North. Average prices range from \$165,000 to \$205,000.

Apartment Buildings (partial listing)

The Botetourt Apartment Building was converted into 40 luxury units. The Freemason House at 303 W. Bute St. was renovated into a five-unit luxury apartment building. The P. H. Rose Apartments at 337 W. Bute St., was converted into 12 luxury apartments.

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ATIV

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