THE GEOGRAPHY OF HIGH ORDER RETAIL TRADE
WITHIN NORTH AMERICAN CITIES

by

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B.Sc.(Econ.), University of London, 1963

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

in the Department of
Geography

We accept this thesis as conforming to the
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ABSTRACT

This study examines the spatial characteristics of specialized (high order) retail trade within Vancouver, B.C. Conclusions arrived at are presumed applicable to most contemporary North American cities of a similar size range.

Literature is examined in order to sift out existing generalizations concerning this class of retailing activities. The most persistent notions in the literature suggest:

(i) that specialized (high order) retail businesses depend upon the infrequent purchases of a large threshold population for support, i.e. on an intra-city scale such businesses are oriented to a city-wide market for potential or eventual customers and their market hinterlands are thus presumed to be city-wide, embracing nests of lower order hinterlands;

(ii) as a result, specialized, (high order) businesses are seen to be located centrally within the city since this is seen to be the point maximally accessible from across the entire city, and thus the optimum location for businesses depending on customers presumed scattered across the whole city.

These ideas are basic to analysis of intra-city retail spatial organization in terms of distance minimizing theories, such as ecological theory and central place theory.

However, close examination of the operating characteristics of specialized retail businesses questions these accepted concepts and their theoretical underpinnings.
Especially it is stressed:

(i) that specialized (high order) retailing tends towards monopolistic competition, since merchants attempt to attract customers through "product differentiation" and "image projection". It is argued that this permits locational flexibility, not central fixation for specialized (high order) retail businesses:

(ii) the normal background for retail activity in North America is a pluralistic socio-economic environment. Consequently, retail stores - especially specialized (high order) stores - are likely to appeal to socially distinctive and areally localized groups for custom. It is argued that this results in selective and morphologically sectoral (not indiscriminantly city-wide) market hinterlands for specialized (high order) stores.

Recognition of these characteristics, and the subsequent welding of traditional geographical theories (ecological and central place theories) with insights from economic theory and sociological theory, enriches traditional geographical ideas in a context where existing ideas had hitherto been obscure or misleading. The same recognition also emphasizes that such traditional theories best explain the geography of low order retailing rather than high order retailing.

The argument developed permits certain deductions about the locational and hinterland characteristics of specialized (high order) retail businesses to be made, which are phrased as hypotheses for test.

Hypotheses are tested in Vancouver in terms of a number of stores identified as "high order".

Hypotheses concerning the locational attributes of such stores are tested by interviews with store merchants and managers, to establish reasons for the choice of particular store locations and to discuss methods of business operation.
Hypotheses concerning the hinterland characteristics of such stores are tested by the analysis of store hinterlands using credit record, sales slip and questionnaire derived data.

This programme of interview and hinterland analysis yields a large number of case studies which are analysed in terms of hypotheses outlined. Many of these case studies are reported, with examples being chosen to cover all possible ramifications of the argument and a "spectrum" of "orders of good" being discussed in order to demonstrate changes in the geography of retail activities with changes in the "order of good" variable. Reporting of these case studies makes up the bulk of the study, and the evidence reported tends to confirm the hypotheses suggested and the arguments on which they rest.

On the basis of the merchant interview programme, it is suggested that analysis of the cultural background and behavioural motives of merchants usefully illuminates patterns of location of high order retail businesses, now shown to be disparate, not centrally fixed. A verbal model is presented which systematizes the process of intra-city retail site selection by business men, and which emphasizes this behavioural approach to analysis of store location.

Further implications of the argument concerning the internal structure of the city – especially in terms of the role of the C.B.D. in the contemporary city – are drawn out and made explicit as the study proceeds. One of these suggests that the C.B.D. may have lost its accessibility monopoly in the modern city, that centrality may have lost its value to certain traditionally core located activities, and that the historic market place in the centre of the city may have been replaced by a territorially larger area of the city (the "inner city market area") which now shares the accessibility advantages once enjoyed only by the C.B.D.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many individuals have helped in the preparation of this thesis. I should like to thank especially Dr. W.G. Hardwick and Dr. D. Ward of the Department of Geography for their encouragement and advice, and also fellow students Edward Gibson, Albert Horsman and John Wolforth for their helpful comments and criticisms. I would also like to thank Karen Alston and Harry Swain for their help in drawing the maps.

Without the cooperation of many business men in the Vancouver area this study could not have been written. I am grateful for the time they gave in interview, and for permitting me access to store records.

Much field work and data collection pertinent to this study was carried out as part of the U.B.C. Geography Urban Core Project, supported by the Canadian Council on Urban and Regional Research. I am grateful for the opportunity to participate in this Project, and for the financial support provided by the C.C.U.R.R.

Finally, I would like to record my debt to my wife Ulrike. Her practical assistance and support made completion of this thesis possible.
CHAPTER I

THE INTERNAL COMMERCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE CITY AND HIGH ORDER ACTIVITIES

Introduction

This study seeks to analyse some aspects of the geography of retail trade within North American cities. The subject is obviously well discussed. Numerous studies have provided interlocking generalizations about the spatial characteristics of intra-city retail activity, and have attempted to define the causal bases of the patterns described. The value of this study will be judged by the degree to which it confirms or modifies existing generalizations of structure and cause.

More particularly, this thesis is concerned with the spatial characteristics of so-called "high order activities." The study will critically examine existing generalizations concerning this particular set of activities, and will suggest modifications of some currently accepted concepts. Suggested modifications, if accepted, will carry the implication that a fundamental change has occurred in the spatial organization of retail activities within towns, and will involve a recasting of some aspects of current urban spatial theory.

Studies made from a variety of viewpoints have arrived at persistently similar conclusions concerning the relationships

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1The terminology is from central place theory. Essentially, high order activities are specialised retail and service businesses supplying goods and services infrequently demanded by households. In the case of retail services, with which this study is mainly concerned, high order activities are typically represented by commodity specialised establishments. Elaboration and examples follow.
of high order activities with their market hinterland and the locational characteristics of high order activities within the city. Conclusions derived from empirical examination of intra-city retail structure, from deductive formulations concerning the function and spacing of service centres within towns, and from empirical testing of theoretical constructs are essentially compatible.

Briefly, existing studies suggest that:

(i) High order activities depend upon the whole city population as a potential or eventual market for the goods or services they provide, i.e. the market relationships of such activities are with the entire metropolitan area rather than with any part of it.

(ii) As a consequence, high order activities are typically located centrally within the metropolitan area (i.e. in the C.B.D.), since this is the point uniquely accessible to the entire metropolitan market area upon which these activities depend.

(iii) Moreover, these ideas are integral to contemporary theories of urban spatial structure, especially ecological theory and central place theory, and they significantly influence predictions of future patterns of retail land use. Thus they are not esoteric, rather they are near the nub of many attitudes about urban spatial organization.

There are, however, grounds for dissatisfaction with these conclusions, and the theoretical notions on which they rest. Dissatisfaction is best expressed as a series of hypotheses setting out points of difference and alternative interpretations. Hypotheses can then be empirically tested and existing conclusions and theory modified in the light of the results obtained.

However, before such hypotheses can be formulated, the status of available research concerning the geography of intra-city high order activities must be more thoroughly discussed. To this end, the remainder of this chapter presents a review of literature bearing on the problem of
the market relationships and location characteristics of high order activities within cities. Following this review and arising out of it, differences and alternative interpretations can appropriately be specified.

**Approaches to Analysis of the Geography of Retail Trade.**

High order activities have never been isolated as a class and subjected to analysis by urban geographers. Typically, the characteristics of high order activities have been most thoroughly described in those studies which have viewed intra-city retail structure in terms of an hierarchically organized system of service centres. High order activities are then seen as an integral part of this system, occupying typical locations and having typical market relationships. In addition, studies of the central business districts of cities have provided opinions about the spatial characteristics of high order activities, since the C.B.D. is seen as the typical locus of such activities. Most of the material reviewed here, in fact, has as a more direct concern the problem of the intra-city service hierarchy, or is focussed on C.B.D. characteristics; discussion of the spatial features of high order activities tends to be oblique or parenthetic.

A complete recapitulation of all relevant literature is not attempted here. What are felt to be definitive works representative of different approaches to the problems are discussed. The review is organized in roughly the chronological sequence in which the papers appeared, but treating the various papers of each author together. The review covers the works of Proudfoot, Ratcliff, Carol, Vance, Berry, and Curry.

**Proudfoot - an Empirical Approach.** An early statement by Proudfoot recognizes a system of business

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centres as a major regularity in the spatial organization of intra-city retail trade. Proudfoot's statement is essentially a descriptive generalization, based on empirical study of the morphology of service centres and on census of business data for several North American cities. He recognizes the existence of classes of business centres, similar centres having a distinctive business mix and a distinctive customer trade area. The main elements in this system are the C.B.D. of the city (which is unique) and sets of "outlying business centres," "principle business thoroughfares," "neighbourhood business streets," and "neighbourhood store clusters." Each of these types has its typical store mix and hinterland characteristics.

Thus the C.B.D. is seen as "the retail heart" of the city, its store mix consisting of shopping goods stores such as department stores, furniture stores, apparel stores, and jewellery stores. The C.B.D. trade area is seen to be city wide, i.e. it draws customers "from all parts of the city." This point is re-emphasized in a subsequent statement which also hints at an explanation as to why this part of the city has the particular characteristics described. "C.B.D. stores serve a substantial proportion of the commodity wants of every city family, and are located at that focal area of intra-city transportation collectively accessible.

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3This dichotomous distinction between establishments occurring in centres and establishments occurring along streets has persisted in the literature. The early essentially morphological distinction has been clarified to reveal the functional differences involved (see Berry, B. "Ribbon Development in the Urban Business Pattern," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. XLIX (1959), p.145. Recently attempts have been made to resolve the dichotomy by viewing establishments in both kinds of location as responses to recurrent demands which occur in different dimensions (see Bunge, W. Theoretical Geography, Lund Studies in Geography, Ser. C, General and Mathematical Geography No. 1, (Gleerup, 1962), p. 154.
Proudfoot's analysis indicated many of the basic structural and functional elements of intra-city retail activity that later studies confirmed. It anticipated analysis of city structure in terms of central place logic in its emphasis on sets of service centres having typical characteristics of store mix and market hinterland. However, Proudfoot only implied an explanation for the structure he has observed. His gross distinction between convenience goods and shopping goods only hints at that qualitative difference in the frequency of demand that is the key to a more complete understanding of the arrangement of service centres within towns. Articulation of this key concept awaited the contribution of central place theorists to the debate.

In Proudfoot's study our particular interest - high order activities - are included within the category "shopping goods." Their characteristic location is thus the C.B.D. of the city and their market relationships are with the city as a whole. The latter feature is, in fact, the basis for the former. The C.B.D. is seen as the place uniquely accessible to the entire city population and thus the only possible location for those activities whose market hinterlands are city wide. However, some shopping goods establishments are located in outlying business centres, these serving more restricted and localized trade areas. Proudfoot did not make clear whether these outlying shopping goods stores would be equally or less "specialized".

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Proudfoot, M. op. cit. p. 428. It can be noted that here Proudfoot categorically applies the characteristics of a city wide market relationship to individual downtown stores. Other writers tend to append this statement to the C.B.D. as a whole, leaving unclear the market relationships of individual stores, but leaving the implication that these parts share the characteristics imputed to the whole area. In this study we shall examine this contention, and question it.
than downtown stores, i.e. of the same or lower order.5

Thus Proudfoot's analysis outlined the general spatial characteristics of high order activities, (the city central location and the city wide trade area). Subsequent discussion clarified these conclusions, applied them more categorically to specialized activities and brought them within a coherent theoretical framework.

Ratcliff - an Ecological Approach. Two analyses of urban retail structure by Ratcliff can be noted. Both are founded upon and structured by ecological concepts. Essentially, ecological theory suggests that space is basically an impediment to movement and that the arrangement of city activities reflects rent competition among businesses for strategic locations, i.e. for locations which minimize costs of movement falling on urban activities or on users of such activities. On the basis of this logic, Ratcliff is able to build a systematic body of theory to explain characteristics of intra-city retail organization and within this, to account for the spatial characteristics of specialized retail trade. At the same time, Ratcliff provides many empirically derived generalizations of retail structure in his studies.

The first study was published in 1949.6 Here, Ratcliff confirms the broad structural outlines sketched by Proudfoot, i.e. nucleated business centres and ribbon elements, each having distinctive functional characteristics,

5Vance comments that Proudfoot's description of the stores found in outlying business centres "reads like an inventory of the core, except for the matter of speciality shops." Vance, J. "Commercial Structure in American Cities," in K. Norborg, ed. IGU Symposium in Urban Geography, Lund 1960, (Gleerup, Lund, 1962), p. 490. (My italics). Here the implication is that high order activities ("speciality shops") are to be found exclusively in the C.B.D.

and fills out Proudfoot's ideas with measured examples.

Ratcliff's examination of downtown in this study is particularly relevant to our special interest, high order activities.

The characteristic feature of the C.B.D. is seen as its unique accessibility. It is "the centre of the city in terms of being most convenient to the greatest number of people,"\(^7\) i.e. it is "the area that by virtue of the ecological organization of the city and the convergence of transportation lines is most accessible to the greatest number of consumers."\(^8\) As a result of this property, the C.B.D. has a typical array of retail establishments, including those which we would call high order goods.\(^9\) This is the classic ecological analysis of the geography of specialized retail trade, and also the basic ecological explanation for the functional specialization of the C.B.D. itself.

Ratcliff points out that in larger cities, the C.B.D. may contain distinctive retail sub-areas. Thus, "lesser" retail uses such as pawn shops, pool halls, burlesque houses occur in slum areas, and specialty shops, food stores and restaurants occur in the direction of the better residential areas. This observation owes an acknowledged debt to Hoyt's sector theory of urban development. However, Ratcliff did not go on to investigate the trade area relationships of these sub-areas of the C.B.D. nor of the business types they contain. Though like many other urbanists, Ratcliff recognized a segregated pattern of retail land use downtown, he leaves the implication that all downtown shopping goods stores have a similar city wide trade hinterland. In other words, the segregated land use pattern described is not seen to be associated with distinctive and different market relationships between

\(^7\)Ibid., p. 387  \(^8\)Ibid., p. 387  \(^9\)Ibid., p. 387
particular sub-areas of the C.B.D. and particular parts of the city. In fact, the precise trade hinterlands of sub-areas of the C.B.D. still have to be investigated; this thesis will attempt such an investigation for downtown high order activities.

Ratcliff returns to the theme of the location of intra-urban retail activity in a later study. This study has a more rigorously articulated ecological theoretical basis and draws on the work of Haig.

Ratcliff's discussion of the role of the core area of the city is again relevant to our interest. The core is seen typically as a "market place," i.e. as a centre of retail and service activity. The basis for this functional specialization lies in the "centrality" of the core. This concept again stresses that "the centre is the place most convenient to the greatest number of customers." As a result, central area businesses are of distinctive types, typically those businesses that depend upon drawing their customers from across the entire city area. The best example is the department store "which serves the entire community and the hinterland for miles about." Ratcliff uses Haig's terminology to explain that a central location minimizes transportation costs falling on central activities and on the users of central facilities, and is thus the optimum location for such metropolitan oriented businesses. This is the essence of the ecological viewpoint.

Other downtown businesses are described as convenience stores catering to customers in adjacent residential areas and to the daytime population of the C.B.D. However,


12op. cit. p. 138

13op. cit. p. 138.
Ratcliff hypothesizes that as the metropolitan area grows in population, businesses which most successfully exploit the whole of the expanding city trade area tend to displace from the C.B.D. those businesses with more limited "patronage zones." This former set of activities "feeding off the entire community" \(^{14}\) comprises specialized shopping goods businesses and we add, would include our high order activities.

Ratcliff makes an interesting comment with regard to the location characteristics of new retail businesses setting up within the city. Many high order activities will fall into the category of "new" businesses since they are those specialized businesses that can only appear when the city reaches certain levels of population and income. Newly appearing businesses then are often high order businesses, and the question of where such businesses will locate is a relevant one. Ratcliff suggests that new retail businesses will locate in the C.B.D. \(^{15}\) The rationale behind this is familiar. New activities must, at first, "draw upon the entire community for their clientele (and) find a central location essential in minimizing transport costs" (i.e. the transport costs that fall upon potential customers.)

This opinion as to the initial locus and market hinterland of newly appearing activities is, we shall see, repeated by later writers. But like other generalizations concerning high order activities it may be inadequate. Later discussion will reformulate the generalization as a hypothesis for test.

Ratcliff's studies then, confirm the broad elements of city retail structure outlined by Proudfoot. Ratcliff also agrees that high order activities (included in the category of shopping goods) typically are located in the C.B.D. of the city and when located there have a community wide customer hinterland. This is rationalized in terms of

\(^{14}\) op. cit. p. 144 \(^{15}\) op. cit. p. 140
Haig's ecologically inspired theory of minimizing the cost of transportation to shoppers spread throughout the city area. Finally, Ratcliff introduces the idea that newly appearing businesses (we add, likely to be high order activities) locate centrally for essentially the same reasons.

Carol - Approach through Central Place Theory. A study by Hans Carol\textsuperscript{16} discusses intra-city service activity in light of central place theory. Central place theory based upon the generative work of Christaller is essentially a deductive scheme which seeks to explain the size and spacing of urban centres. It developed separately from analysis of service activity on an intra-city scale, and Carol's study is, he claims, "the first attempt to use the central place concept for analyzing the pattern of central functions within the city."\textsuperscript{17} In fact, Losch had earlier suggested a similarity between retail structure within towns and economic landscapes, but provided no empirical evidence.\textsuperscript{18}

Put simply, the deductions of central place theory lead to a model of the spatial organization of service activity. The basic features of the model include classes of service centres which arise in order to supply goods and services to surrounding market areas. Each class of centres has a distinctive set of service functions and a distinctive trade hinterland; classes are arranged in a hierarchical system, such that higher ranking centres are fewer in number and more widely spaced than lower ranking


\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 419.

centres. Higher centres include all the functions of lower ranking centres plus extra distinctive functions; lower centres have more restricted trade hinterlands and nest within the trade areas of higher ranking centres. The causal basis for this hierarchical system lies in the frequency with which goods are demanded by the population of the region. Frequently demanded goods will be distributed through relatively ubiquitous low ranking centres. Less frequently demanded goods requiring more people to support each distributive outlet (the "threshold" concept) will be distributed from fewer, more widely spaced high ranking centres. In such a system, high order establishments providing the most specialized services and needing a large population to generate a sustaining demand, would be located in the highest ranking centre, that being centrally placed with respect to the entire population of the region.

These elements, predicted by central place theory, have been empirically verified on an inter-urban scale in a variety of cultural contexts. Carol attempts the verification on an intra-urban scale. However, his study is an empirical testing of existing central place concepts in an intra-city context rather than an attempt to redefine the model for this new situation.

Carol's field work was carried out in Zurich, Switzerland. Thus there is a contrast between this regional setting and the settings of other studies considered here.

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particularly in terms of customer mobility. But despite the cultural contrast involved, a broad similarity in city service structure between Europe and North America is deducible from Carol's study, and Carol himself stresses these similarities.

Carol briefly describes the basis of the central place system. His argument can be repeated, and is seen to be not significantly different from the summary given above.

"The more commonly used are central services, the closer is their spacing, the more rarely used they are, the greater is the number of people necessary to support them and the wider is their spacing. The difference in demand for central services between the more general and the more specialized needs creates a hierarchy of central services."\(^{20}\)

Note that here, the simple distinction between convenience goods and shopping goods, seen earlier as the basis for the spatial structuring of retail service centres, is replaced by the concept of an hierarchy of recurring demands, ranging from most frequently demanded (low order) goods to infrequently demanded (high order) goods. These demands are then seen to support corresponding orders of service centre. This is a real advance over previously existing, rather simplistic notions.

In Zurich, the postulated hierarchy finds expression as a series of service centres, ranging from the local business district through neighbourhood and regional districts to the central business district. Carol inventories the range of business functions represented in each class of centre, and measures the trade areas of "typical" businesses in each centre.

In terms of the functions they contain, high ranking centres, as expected, show the widest range of goods and services. We note particularly that high order activities

\(^{20}\) op. cit., p. 420.
are found only in the C.B.D. itself. As Carol puts it, "a really exclusive choice is offered only by the shops in the C.B.D. in the heart of the city."\(^{21}\) (Examples of these specialized central activities are quoted and include expensive jewellery stores, medical specialists and special banking facilities.)

The trade areas associated with each type of centre are also described. Establishments outside the C.B.D. have essentially regional trade hinterlands, i.e. they serve those parts of the city adjacent to them. C.B.D. stores, however, have "the whole of Zurich and Eastern Switzerland included in their service area."\(^{22}\)

Carol also notes that many downtown stores cater to the transient tourist traffic, and although he does not pursue this point, it is an important one. The nature of the relationship between centrally located speciality stores and out-of-city tourist trade perhaps needs to be more explicitly analysed, and this is a point for future investigation in our own study.

In the course of his wider investigation, Carol analyses the functional characteristics of the central area of the city in some detail. This analysis is of interest to us.

The city core is seen as "the location of all kinds of central services which supply the city as a whole rather than any section of the city."\(^{23}\) It possesses this distinction since "no other location is as easily accessible for all inhabitants of the internal and external service area."\(^{24}\) Typical of these core activities which "serve the whole city" are specialized stores, department stores, medical specialists, cinemas with specialized programmes, certain restaurants, theatres, and opera houses.

\(^{21}\) op. cit. p. 424  \(^{22}\) op. cit. p. 425  \\
\(^{23}\) op. cit. p. 430  \(^{24}\) op. cit. p. 430
Carol is more categorical than previous writers about high order activities. Thus he says that "the C.B.D. is characterized by a concentration of higher central functions" and "central functions of a higher order have the strongest central tendency," since these functions above all others are oriented to the whole city as a market area.

By way of qualification, Carol states that some high order activities which are non-commercial or space consuming are located outside the core, e.g. special hospitals and schools.

In addition, Carol observes with Ratcliff, and for much the same reasons as the American author, that the core is an attractive and likely location for new businesses (which we have already said are often likely to be high order activities.)

To summarize, Carol demonstrates that the main elements of the central place model are represented within the city. These elements (basically classes of centres each having distinctive functions and hinterlands), have affinities with the patterns observed by Proudfoot and Ratcliff. But Carol clarifies the causal basis of the system and illuminates the relationships between centres by means of the concept of an hierarchy of recurring demands. Within this system, he agrees that high order activities are centrally located and exhibit the city wide trade hinterland typical of core activities, and this conclusion is now endorsed by the logic and influence of central place theory. He also agrees that new high order functions will be likely to locate initially in the C.B.D. of the city.

Vance - a Developmental and Predictive Study. A study of the commercial structure of the North American

op. cit., p. 431.
city was made by Vance. The study is interesting since it analyses retail activities in light of important changes in customer mobility and retailing techniques. It is thus an attempt to analyse the contemporary city, recognizing that fundamental changes may have occurred since the early studies of Proudfoot et al.

Vance suggests that the commercial structure of the American city has evolved through at least three distinct but overlapping stages. We can summarize his argument, paying particular attention to his comments on high order activities.

Initially, he suggests, almost all retail activity, including speciality stores and mass appeal stores, were located centrally within the city "where the largest possible market for any good would have its centre." Then, after the 1890's with the introduction of street railways, outlying business centres grew up around intersections of the mass transit lines. Functionally, these centres included mass appeal stores (variety stores and mass appeal apparel stores) which could now bring their widely demanded goods closer to the consuming public. But Vance adds, "what could not be decentralized was trading in specialities which continued to need the uniqueness of location to tap the entire metropolitan market, and that only the core provided." This second stage is essentially the pattern of retail activity described by Proudfoot and Ratcliff, and in it high order activities are firmly assigned to a central location.

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27 Ibid., p. 489  28 Ibid., p. 490.
However, Vance suggests that during the 1930's, another basic change came about. At the root of this change was increasing customer mobility and the standardization of market demands. These made possible the rise of planned shopping centres, which usurped some functions of downtown and eventually brought about a new pattern of retail spatial organization. Vance sees the new planned shopping centre as a supplier of mainly mass appeal goods to an adjacent hinterland. Proliferation of planned shopping centres leads, in effect, to a sub-division of the metropolitan market area into a series of regional market areas for mass appeal goods, each area focussed on a planned shopping centre. The boundaries of these regional trade areas are defined by spatial competition. This is seen as a new pattern of city retail organization and is called a "new equilibrium" situation. It means that for mass appeal goods, the former market hinterland of the C.B.D. has been divided up by spatial competition among competing regional shopping centres and the C.B.D. now supplies such goods only to the inner city.\(^{29}\) For these goods, the C.B.D. is now only "first among equals."

However, Vance suggests that limited appeal goods distributed through specialized outlets (these include our "high order" goods) have not shared in this readjustment. These activities remain in central locations since the centre is unique in the metropolitan region in terms of accessibility to the city as a whole, and for these activities "any other location would most probably produce no profit."\(^{30}\)

\(^{29}\)This applies a more fundamental role to the planned shopping centre than other writers have admitted. Others have seen the planned centre as basically a technical and architectural innovation with slight spatial consequences, functionally rivalling local unplanned centres rather than usurping C.B.D. functions.

\(^{30}\)Ibid., p. 498.
Vance summarizes this original argument as follows: "the central business district is changing from mass selling to specialization .... it's importance today for the metropolis as a whole, is that of a speciality area," and "the emerging pattern of commercial geography in the U.S.A. is the separation of mass selling from speciality selling with the removal of the former from the C.B.D. save for that part which serves the local population within the central city." From this, he suggests that "the C.B.D. has become the mass seller to the inner part of the metropolis, the speciality seller to the city; the regional integrated shopping centre has become the mass seller to the individual suburb alone with no other important functions."

In the contemporary city then, a fundamental rearrangement of retail activities has occurred. But according to Vance, high order activities still typically occupy a downtown location, since the C.B.D. maintains its unique property of city wide accessibility, and these activities depend upon accessibility to widely distributed customers.

To clarify the locational characteristics of service activities, Vance also replaces the old dichotomy of shopping goods-convenience goods with the idea of a continuum of "commodity specialization." Activities can be ranked in terms of their place on this continuum and this summarizes their trade area and locational characteristics. In these terms, high order, specialised establishments are those that carry a narrow range of merchandise - for example, the "Steuben Glass Shop." Increasing commodity specialization implies dependence on a wide trade hinterland, and increasing locational specialization in high ranking centres, i.e. the C.B.D.'s of large cities.

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31 Ibid., p. 497  32 Ibid., p. 517  33 Ibid., p. 518
There is a distinction to be made, however, between commodity specialized mass appeal establishments which have limited trade areas (e.g. a butcher's shop) and commodity specialized limited appeal outlets which have wide trade areas (e.g. Steuben Glass Shop). It is the latter (which we would regard as high order activities) that show the greatest degree of locational specialization and, it is suggested, occur only within centres of the highest rank within the city.34

To summarize, Vance also recognizes a system of business centres as a basic feature of intra-city retail organization. But he suggests that a functional readjustment has occurred among the centres amounting to a change in the roles and relative importance of centres. Despite this change, however, high order activities are seen to remain in central locations. This is in order to remain accessible to the city wide trade hinterland on which they depend for support. Thus, an investigation of the contemporary city which categorically recognizes the changes occurring in city structure suggests essentially that no change has taken place in the spatial characteristics of high order activities, and repeats for these activities the locational and hinterland descriptions of earlier writers.

Berry - Theory Stated and Theory Tested. A series of studies by Berry are relevant to our interest. In these writings, the central place construct finds its most elegant presentation, while at the same time, elements of retail structure not explained by central place theory or

34 This concept of commodity specialization will prove useful later in this study in empirical identification of high order activities.
deviating from the theory are recognized. Recognition of deviation at times extends to high order activities, and hints at aspects of specialised retail trade not hitherto admitted.

The earliest study with Garrison explores the possibility of applying the central place concept to the intra-city context, but does not attempt any empirical tests. The study is a more genuine attempt to refashion theory in terms suitable for the intra-city environment than is Carol's study (which as we saw, tested given deductively derived statements.)

Berry and Garrison discuss how an hierarchical pattern of centres supplying goods and services might emerge within the city. Their argument is, in effect, a hypothesis about the structural features of intra-city retail organization and its possible causal basis. We need not repeat the whole of their argument, but can note that in the hierarchical system they develop, high order activities occupy a characteristic position. A high order activity would be one that, in their terminology, has a high "threshold" requirement, i.e. requires a large market hinterland to support it. If the threshold of the good is such that it requires the whole population of a given area to support it, then it will be distributed through a single establishment located centrally within the market area (e.g. the C.B.D. of the city). In terms of their model of city structure then, Berry and Garrison like previous empirical writers, place high order activities in central locations and suggest that such goods depend on the entire population of an area to generate a sustaining demand.

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Berry and Garrison go on to discuss possible problems raised by their system, and here add a significant rider to their argument. The hierarchical system they describe implied certain customer shopping habits, notably that customers establish a set of habitual space connections with available centres through which they satisfy recurring demands. However, some demands arise so infrequently that, in effect, customers may be continually "shopping around" before a purchase is made. For such demands, customers will not build up a system of habitual space connections since trips are made so infrequently. Stores supplying such demands can thus be located irrationally with respect to the hierarchical system described, because they do not depend upon the development of a habitual pattern of space connections by customers. No examples are given of such demands or such stores, and the suggestion is not pursued. However, we will suggest that this statement comes close to describing the real situation of certain high order activities and will result in locational characteristics unlike those previously and commonly attributed to these activities.

A later study by Berry\(^3\) discusses the functional characteristics of highway located businesses and makes peripheral comments relevant to high order activities. Berry notes that some functions often called "high order shopping goods" (e.g. furniture stores) are located along highways rather than in nucleated centres. Central place theory is inadequate to explain this phenomena, but it is suggested that some high order activities of a space consuming nature are more profitably located outside service

centres and in sites where overheads are lower. This is another important qualification to existing statements, but again the point is not pursued by Berry. In particular, the market relationships of such highway located high order businesses are not investigated, and it is not suggested whether their relationships would differ from those of downtown high order businesses. Here then, is another research avenue.

A recent thorough study by Berry is perhaps the best discussion of the spatial characteristics of intra-city service activity available.\textsuperscript{37} It summarizes existing concepts of city service structure, examines the commercial structure of Chicago in terms of these concepts and develops a cause defining model of the basic elements of retail spatial organization.

Berry describes the structure of retail trade in Chicago as a pattern of business centres, business ribbons and specialized business areas. For the former, three levels of business centre are distinguished outside the C.B.D., viz. "neighbourhood", "community", and "regional" centres. In functional terms, the adjectives indicate the trade areas served by the respective centres. "Neighbourhood" and "community" centres serve local hinterlands and provide mainly convenience goods. The largest regional centres, however, include department stores, "shoe stores," specialized music, record, hobby and toy shops,\textsuperscript{38} and serve large segments of the city. Such centres may be planned or unplanned, but Berry sees no difference in the role of planned centres, the distinction being only in terms of design.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{37}Berry, B. \textit{Commercial Structure and Commercial Blight}, (University of Chicago, Dept. of Geography, Research Paper No. 85, Chicago, 1963.)

\textsuperscript{38}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 21

\textsuperscript{39}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 21
The causal basis for this pattern of centres has already been hinted at, but can be resummarized. Consumers demand some goods frequently and these are distributed through ubiquitous low threshold businesses occurring in low ranking centres. Less frequently demanded goods are distributed through high threshold businesses located in high ranking centres, the higher ranking centres depending on wider trade areas for their support. Competition between centres at any one level reduces their trade area to near threshold and spreads the centres through the city in a dispersed pattern.

Within this system, high order activities are seen to occupy their by now familiar place. In terms of the theoretical basis of the system, high order activities would be located in the highest ranking centre (the C.B.D.), since high order goods have a high threshold level. To quote Berry, they "require the largest market area for their support and will presumably be performed for the entire city by the C.B.D." Only the C.B.D. performs these high order functions "because only it has a large enough trade area to support these functions." Affinities with earlier writers are obvious.

However, this pattern of centres is interrupted by the pattern of ribbons. This also includes sub-types. "Highway oriented" ribbons contain those businesses which meet demands generated by highway traffic. More important to us are "urban arterial" ribbons which include businesses that desire access to a large section of the urban market but (as previously noted by Berry), because of space requirements or customer shopping habits, function best outside business centres. Examples are furniture stores, lumber yards, discount houses, electrical repair shops and T.V. sales. Berry suggests that such businesses need to locate with "reasonable accessibility to a

\[40 \text{Ibid., p. 113} \quad 41 \text{Ibid., p. 115}\]
to a substantial segment of the urban market” and finds this condition satisfied in a highway-side location. Such highway-side establishments may well include high order activities. If so, their spatial characteristics need to be examined more closely.

Thus Berry develops a most thorough theoretical statement of urban service structure, within which high order activities are assigned a particular role. This role does not greatly differ (in location characteristics or market relationships) from that assigned to similar activities by other writers, particularly when Berry is discussing city pattern in terms of a system of nucleated service centres. When "inessentials" are omitted and the pattern of centres is discussed in model terms, the role of high order activities is even more rigidly defined in the by now familiar terms. However, Berry does recognize alternative locations for high order activities, particularly in eccentric highway-side situations. The rationality of this needs further investigation and its significance needs to be explored.

**Curry - Modifications of Central Place Theory.**
Finally, we note a study by Curry. Curry's study is reviewed here since it is an attempt to build a model of intra-city service activities on more realistic assumptions than heretofore, though based essentially on central place theory propositions. It is thus an attempt to make central place theory more "realistic", especially by taking into account existing routeways as influences on customer movement, and by incorporating certain customer buying habits

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into his assumptions. However, Curry attempts to theorize only, and does not empirically test the model beyond intuitive comparisons.

Curry builds his model of retail spatial organization on the nature of the demands for retail services. The time factor in the demand for central services is seen as the key to understanding their geography. A household's demand for particular goods occurs at typical time intervals. Goods may be regarded as ranked along a continuum depending on the average interval between purchases by households. The greater the interval between purchases, the larger the market (in population and income) needed to support an establishment distributing such a good. Goods and services in this continuum can be regarded as "order" of activities. In these terms, high order activities are demanded so infrequently that they require the "whole population of a given area as a market," i.e. businesses supplying high order services depend upon the infrequent demands of many households to support them. This much is consistent with central place theory as applied intra-city by Berry et al., and has affinities with the inductive explanations offered for empirically observed regularities in city structure by earlier writers. The terminology is consistent with central place usage and as used throughout this review.

Curry applies this notion to a hypothetical city with a rectangular grid road pattern in order to arrive at a model of city service structure. This is the weakest part of his argument since the results that he obtains depend on arbitrary values he here gives to the time intervals between purchases of goods. To further the analysis and to make it even more realistic, Curry introduces the effect of "nodality", an idea based on customer shopping habits. This suggests that customers combine the purchase

44 Ibid., p. 34.
of low order goods with the purchase of high order goods on visits to high ranking centres. Customers minimize inconvenient "single purchase" trips and, wherever possible, combine purchases on each trip that they make. This affects the location of service establishments which thus avoid isolated situations outside service centres, since isolated locations involve penalties in the form of loss of this "nodal" trade. This nodality factor also enables him to arrive at an "hierarchy" of service centres from a "continuum" of customer demands.

Under these conditions, Curry also arrives at a system of retail spatial organization characterized by classes of service centres each having a distinctive set of functions and a distinctive trade hinterland. However, the spacing of the centres is different in Curry's model from the central place models of authors previously mentioned. Lower ranking centres "cluster" close to higher ranking centres in an attempt to protect their trade hinterlands from competition by those larger centres which offer nodality advantages to customers.

Curry's conclusions with respect to high order activities within this system are though, not significantly different from the conclusions of earlier writers, despite his original approach and dissenting opinions as to other aspects of city retail structure. In terms of location, he agrees that "high order goods will tend to be distributed from downtown centres, while convenience goods will be more ubiquitous. "The more specialized the shop, the further it will be downtown." Also we noted earlier that Curry

45 Curry terms this the "McCarthy" tendency - the punishment of the retail locational non-conformist. But we can note that for high order activities, this nodal factor may, in fact, be slight since such activities may involve infrequent and willingly borne special trips. This point will be pursuaded in a later section.

46 Ibid., p. 42.
defined high order activities as requiring the whole population of a given area as a market, thus confirming that the market relationships of such activities are city wide.

In addition to these familiar generalizations, Curry supports another frequent assertion, namely that new activities will likely be introduced downtown, since they will be infrequently demanded and thus require access to a large and scattered market.

In short, an ingenuous modification of central place theory essentially repeats the conclusions of earlier theorists in the context of specialized retail trade.

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Summary

Thus from a variety of viewpoints, urbanists have arrived at broadly similar conclusions concerning the distribution and the market relationships of high order activities within the city. These could be summarized as "central fixation" and "city wide hinterlands" for specialized high order retail businesses.

In the process, students have added generalizations about the location characteristics of newly appearing service businesses (which tend to fall into the high order category) and about customer shopping habits.

These generalizations rest on fundamental notions about the structure of the North American city. One of the most important of these is that the C.B.D. is the point uniquely accessible to the whole city, and thus the location of those activities whose relationships need to be with the city as a whole. This notion is central to analysis of city spatial organization in terms of ecological theory;

\[47\text{Ibid.}, \ p. \ 34.\]
it is the basic idea underpinning explanations for the functional specialization of the C.B.D., and it structures predictions of the future function of the core area.

Similarly, the same ideas are integral to central place theory, perhaps the most influential schema yet devised to explain the size and spacing of service activity clusters.

The generalizations arrived at have, if anything, hardened over time, and are more categorically stated in later works. In Berry's work, deviation is admitted, but it is not his problem to investigate the nature of such cases.

Limitations in Existing Studies.

Fuller criticism of existing ideas is reserved for a later chapter. Here we note that current studies have rather consistently been self limiting in terms of analysis of specialized retail trade. Two points are noted:

(i) Statements of location and relationship are particularly rigidly stated in those studies in which city retail structure is conceived in model terms. This is a result of the limiting assumptions within which the models were necessarily framed. It would be insufficient criticism to say that the conclusions of the model situation "do not fit" exactly the real world. This is, in fact, to be expected, and may be tolerated so long as the model describes or explains basic features of retail structure; deviations may then be regarded as local variations or as inessential details. But it is valid criticism to say that in terms of high order activities, the lack of fit between model and reality is outside these limits of tolerance, and the conclusions of the model have obscured rather than illuminated reality. The point is that we may have imposed the deductive conclusions of the model too rigidly on our perception of the real world situation, and have seen what the model tells us we ought to have seen.
(ii) Another possible source of error lies in the scale at which existing generalizations are framed. Both model and empirical studies usually deal with rather broad termed data. Thus business types are analysed in terms of commodity defined categories (e.g. furniture stores) or functionally defined categories (e.g. shopping goods), while service centres are discussed as homogeneous "wholes" (e.g. the C.B.D.).

For example, Proudfoot and Ratcliff in the studies quoted, discuss retail activities in terms of "shopping goods-convenience goods," and generalize about the spatial characteristics of shopping goods as a class. It may well be that significant location patterns and market relationships of activities occurring within these broad groupings are obscured by this aggregation. Similarly, Berry's study of Chicago is pursued in terms of commodity groups which admittedly have more precision, but this may also obscure the characteristics of functionally related activities within such groupings. Thus in this case, it is misleading to consider "furniture stores" to be a group homogeneous in terms of location characteristics and trade hinterland characteristics. Within the "furniture" category, are distinctive store groups with their own particular geographical characteristics.

Again Proudfoot, Ratcliff and Carol generalize about the C.B.D. as if it were a homogeneous area, particularly in terms of its city wide trade hinterland. Yet this hides the fact that component stores of the C.B.D., and even whole sub-areas of the C.B.D. may have trade areas quite unlike this stereotype, as this study will suggest.

In light of the limitations inherent in existing studies, it is felt that analysis of city retail activities at a finer scale, focussing specifically on high order activities, is needed to illuminate hitherto obscured location patterns and relationships in city retail structure.
It is recognized that this approach is not without inherent danger. It may lead simply to examination of individual cases at levels of irrelevant uniqueness. But to recognize this danger is halfway to avoiding it. Our objective is always to arrive at statements of general applicability or to modify existing generalizations.

We emphasize that this interest in high order activities is not esoteric. It will lead us to question traditional concepts of city structure and existing theories of urban spatial organization. It will also lead us to make statements about the condition of that currently critical area of the city, the C.B.D., and to reassess predictions made about the future use of C.B.D. land. These are the wider justifications for the study, if any are needed.

In the following chapter, we describe more closely the characteristics of high order activities, and deduce from these likely consequences in terms of the spatial arrangement of high order activities. These consequences are then more formally stated as hypotheses for test, stressing the variation between our hypotheses and the conclusions of earlier studies outlined above. The strategy used to prosecute the study is then outlined briefly, as a final preliminary to discussion of the substantive results obtained.
CHAPTER II

THE SPATIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF HIGH ORDER ACTIVITIES
AND THE PRESENT STUDY

In this chapter we examine the characteristics of high order activities directly and in more detail than previous writers have done. On the basis of this close look, which also is an implicit criticism of previous studies, we develop hypotheses about the spatial characteristics of these activities. Hopefully these will lead to generalizations more realistic than existing obliquely derived generalizations, and will, if validated, imply the re-working of some aspects of urban spatial theory.

We have stated that high order activities are essentially specialized retail and service businesses. We can amplify this definition.

If we examine high order businesses in terms of the demands these businesses seek to satisfy, a number of elements stand out:

(i) Items offered for sale are demanded by customers at infrequent and irregular intervals.

(ii) Items offered are likely high cost items involving large money outlays by customers.

(iii) Since purchase prices of goods are probably relatively high, costs of travel to store during shopping are similarly relatively low.

(iv) Demands for goods offered by specialized high order stores can be thought of as socially localized demands, confined by taste and cost to particular elements in the city population, and most probably to the middle and upper socio-economic groups. The point is that as stores become
more specialized - as the range of goods they offer narrows - they also refine the basis of their competitive appeal. As stores become more specialized they tend, in fact, to become more selective in terms of the customers they attract, and to depend upon increasingly distinct population groups for customers. For the specialized stores under review (such as specialized furniture, jewellery and gift stores, exclusive men's and women's apparel stores), this means at least dependence on the middle and upper socio-economic groups.

We suggest that the infrequency, high cost and localization of demand has spatial consequences.

(i) Firstly, infrequency of purchase means that customers are less likely to establish habitual connections with some particular shopping centre where they expect to satisfy their demands (in contrast with more frequently recurring needs.)

(ii) Secondly, and as a result of the above, customers may tend to visit several stores and several shopping centres before making a purchase of a high order item.

(iii) Thirdly, customers may also be prepared to travel relatively long distances to make purchases of such items, since the cost of transport may be slight relative to the purchase price of the good, (and transport costs may be falling further as individual mobility within the city improves.)

(iv) Fourthly, the conceptualization of high order demands as "socially localized demands" suggests that generalizations about the habits of the patrons of these businesses might be more accurate if visualized as statements

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about the behaviour of particular social groups, rather than about "consumers" as a whole or in the abstract. This is significant if the habits and characteristics of such groups differ from those of the "average" consumer. For example, car ownership, and thus potential mobility, may be greater among the groups most frequently using high order activities, and the literature of market research already confirms that shopping around before purchase is at a maximum in the same groups.\(^2\)

(v) Fifthly, the concept of "socially localized demands" obviously undercuts the idea that specialized businesses have city wide hinterlands. On the contrary, as businesses become more specialized, the basis of their appeal becomes narrower, and given the nature of North American society, their appeal also likely becomes areally more restricted. In morphological terms, such hinterlands will likely be sectoral rather than city wide, oriented to some particular part of the city rather than all of the metropolitan area.

(vi) Finally, and as a result of the above circumstances, we will hypothesize and hope to demonstrate that business men involved in high order businesses may find a number of locations open to them as viable alternative sites, even outside traditional business centres, owing to the characteristics of the demands which they face. In short, these demand characteristics imply locational flexibility, not central fixation.

The supply characteristics of high order retail trade can also be analysed, and sifted for spatial implications.

In terms of supply, high order activities are represented by commodity specialized establishments, i.e. in retailing terms by stores which sell a restricted range of items. Examples would be the "Steuben Glass Shop," or an antique furniture store, or an "exclusive" apparel store.

But commodity specialization need not depend upon the distribution of some exotic good. In retailing, specialization can arise out of the way the good is sold, or it can depend upon a psychological effect created by the business man. Thus many merchants strive to create an effect of "difference" if not of "uniqueness" for their businesses; by advertising, display, and details of product differentiation they can create an individual "image" in the minds of consumers which will influence customer buying habits. 3

Business men, even in the same commodity category, attempt to differentiate themselves in this manner. In the furniture category, for example, there are distinctive specialized stores. Examples are "Danish modern," "colonial," and "period" furniture stores. The differences between and even among these business types are emphasized by merchants in display and advertising. Thus while these stores compete with one another in the strict economic sense for the limited resources of consumers, they may be regarded as non-competitive, since they will cease to be viewed as substitutable alternatives by consumers. This is saying, in effect, that competition among high order businesses tries to move towards monopolistic competition. Business men recognize and pursue differentiation of product and the projection of an individual image in order to achieve a monopolistic advantage over fractionally dissimilar competitors. 4

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4 Smith, W. "Product Differentiation and Market Segregation as Alternative Strategies," Journal of Marketing, Vol. XXI, No. 1, (July 1956), p. 38. This advantage is more than the advantage arising out of nearness to customers, i.e. the "spatial monopoly condition" more commonly recognized,
In the discussion that follows, we shall hypothesize and hope to demonstrate that these supply conditions also have spatial consequences.

(i) Firstly, trade areas of businesses are less likely to be defined by simple spatial competition. Since customers may not view businesses as substitutable alternatives, they are more likely to travel extra distances for real or imagined differences in goods. This is especially true if travel by automobile makes customers indifferent, within limits, (not likely to be exceeded on an intra-city scale) to travel time.

(ii) Secondly, we shall see that business men in such activities tend to view themselves as different from their competitors, if not actually unique. This appraisal of their own qualities will influence their interpretation of customer shopping behaviour and will also influence their choice of a location for their business. Anticipating that customers will be prepared to travel, for the "unique" goods or services they are offering, a business man may consider himself less rigidly confined to any particular location, even less to the traditional locus of specialized business activity within the city. In effect, business men attempt to replace competition by location with competition by product differentiation, and to attract customers on the basis of their image rather than on the basis of their position.

In fact, such non-spatial competition between stores may be an accelerating trend in North American retailing as merchandising tactics and advertizing techniques improve and as customer incomes and mobility increase. For as incomes increase, consumers will spend a larger proportion of their income on highly elastic specialized goods, among which product differentiation can more easily develop, and

as mobility improves, locational convenience will become a less important aspect of inter-store competition. The trend is seen now in high order activities since these businesses are often oriented to those groups whose taste and mobility anticipate future social norms.

This argument, if accepted, can be contrasted with the more commonly observed trend towards the mass retailing of standardized goods through stores of the supermarket and drug store type. These latter stores essentially cater for frequently occurring demands and compete among themselves in distance terms, i.e. their trade hinterlands are determined by spatial competition. For infrequently purchased high order goods, on the other hand, distance competition is increasingly less critical.

Thus there may be a trend towards a polarization of retail activity underway, an increasing contrast between the spatial organization of mass retailing, and the spatial organization of specialized retailing. If so, analysis of the organization of retailing in terms of minimization of the transport inputs of customers may be satisfactory for low order activities, but this approach may be inadequate to deal with the geography of high order activities. In other words, ecologically inspired analysis of the city retail economy based on distance minimization concepts (a la Haig and Ratcliff), must increasingly allow for the distortion of competitive space through customer habits and retailing tactics, and for specialized retailing this means admitting increasing locational flexibility.

The same argument and the more general discussion preceding it, bears also on central place theory, since together they apparently lead to conclusions at variance with the conclusions of the theory (quoad high order activities) set out in Chapter I. Thus we might suggest that traditional central place theory also is actually most adequate for analysis of the spatial organization of low order retail trade, and least adequate for analysis of high order retailing. Indeed, in the latter context, it can be suggested
that central place theory is positively misleading, since it leads to ideas of location and market relationship for high order activities quite unlike the characteristics such activities logically and realistically possess. This is a more powerful criticism than to say merely that the theory "does not fit" reality. The latter criticism could be met by reference to the assumptions of the theory, which postulates a uniform demand schedule for customers. But the former criticism actually questions the utility of the theory in an important context. Since geographers are interested precisely in the identification of the actual among the theoretically possible, this is a valid geographical criticism of central place theory.

In sum, close examination of the actual characteristics of specialized retail trade enables us to build up an argument questioning existing ideas about the geography of retail trade, as summarized in Chapter I. It also enables us to suggest modifications of existing ecological and central place theory, in that these theories are now seen to most adequately explain the geography of low order retail activity, but to be inherently and increasingly inapplicable to high order retailing on the intra-city scale.

Differences of interpretation now need to be more formally stated and subjected to empirical tests. For this purpose, alternative interpretations are stated as hypotheses which may be tested in the Vancouver metropolitan area.

Hypothesis I.

Firstly, we can hypothesize that "high order activities are not, in fact, oriented to the entire metropolitan area for potential or eventual customers, but rather to some section of it." It is doubtful if any business will be identified that depends upon the entire metropolitan area to support it. We will suggest that many high order activities have high threshold levels (that is, appear in cities of large population and high income levels), not
because they are purchased so infrequently that they demand a large population to generate a sustaining demand, but rather because only in large populations do the minority taste demands occur which support high order businesses. Such minority demands are usually the taste preferences of particular social groups which may also be areally localized within the city. We can test this hypothesis by delimiting the trade hinterlands of high order activities. We expect to find them selective and sectional rather than city wide, though shopping trip distances may be long. Hinterlands of similar stores may also overlap or interlock since spatial competition is of secondary importance for specialized businesses.

In the context of this first hypothesis we hope to demonstrate that even downtown high order activities are oriented to some sector of the urban market, i.e. they exhibit sectoral hinterlands. From this we will suggest that downtown businesses and sub-areas are not oriented to the entire city for their market, but to particular parts of it. Thus the idea of the C.B.D. as a homogeneous area about whose market hinterland we can safely generalize, is replaced by the idea of the C.B.D. as a constellation of businesses and sub-areas whose separate market relationships are with particular parts of the city. In total, these may be complementary and may add up to a city wide hinterland for the entire C.B.D.; but individual stores and sub-areas of the C.B.D. need not share this city wide hinterland characteristic.

Hypothesis II.

Secondly, we can hypothesize that "in contemporary cities, high order activities may be located outside the C.B.D." The hegemony of the C.B.D. may not be as rigid as is usually suggested. High order businesses may be found in lower ranking centres or in highway-side locations. If eccentrically located high order activities are identified,
we will suggest:

(i) That this reflects a degree of mobility among customers such that a central location is irrelevant for merchants, even when customers may be scattered across the metropolitan area.

(ii) Again, as in Berry's case, these will be services used so infrequently that customer convenience is not violated by location outside the core of the city.

(iii) Many high order activities will involve "unique" goods, such that customers will search them out even in eccentric locations.

(iv) Entrepreneurs in these activities rely upon non-spatial competitive factors to attract customers (namely, product differentiation and image projection) and can thus tolerate a variety of locational conditions.

One or all of the above conditions may be involved in any individual case. In the second and third cases, Curry's "nodality factor" would be unimportant, and businesses located outside service centres would suffer no penalties, since customers tolerate prolonged shopping around and special trips for expensive, infrequently purchased goods or for unique items.

**Hypotheses III and IV.**

Despite hypothesis II, some specialized businesses will be found in C.B.D. locations. To encompass this situation, we introduce two suggestions.

Thus hypothesis III suggests that "proximity to the daytime population of C.B.D. workers and tourists accounts for the location and persistence of some specialized businesses downtown, as much as any accessibility advantage of the C.B.D." Though the existence of the relationship between downtown stores and downtown workers is well known, for specialized businesses we would choose to give it a location determining status.
Alternatively and at the same time, we suggest (IV) that "high order businesses located in the C.B.D. may be old-established businesses, set up when city size, levels of customer mobility and retailing tactics admitted no alternative location for shopping goods stores depending upon a more than local market." Such stores are now maintained downtown by "inertia"—invested capital, established reputation, and existing customer relationships.

This latter hypothesis implies that traditional ideas of specialized business location may have had more validity in former years, and this idea is made more explicit in hypothesis V below.

These hypotheses and the possible rationalities that lie behind them can be tested by analysis of store trade areas, by surveys of customer shopping habits and by analysis of the attitudes of business men associated with relevant activities.

Hypothesis V.

Next, a time element needs to be introduced into the argument. If the dispersed locational pattern of high order activities suggested above can be identified, it will be hypothesized that "this is a relatively recent evolution from a previous situation of central dominance." This hypothesis can be tested by the examination of the location patterns of high order activities over time.

Hypothesis VI.

We would also investigate here, the location characteristics of newly appearing businesses. This can be stated as a sixth hypothesis, namely that "businesses of a new type appearing for the first time in the city will be as likely to locate outside the C.B.D., in shopping districts or arterial locations as in the C.B.D. itself." The rationale behind this is similar to that suggested for other
high order activities, compounded by the capital short characteristics of many new businesses and the lower rent attraction of non-central locations. Again this hypothesis can be tested by interview with the operators of such new business types.

In the context of the fifth hypothesis, the argument has wider implications. If such an evolutionary change has taken place in the location characteristics of high order activities, it will imply that recent improvements in individual mobility have reduced the time and cost of travel for customers to the extent that areas of the city previously functionally separate are now, in effect, joined in to a common functional area. We might say that the downtown "market place" has been replaced by a "market area," whose bounds are so far undefined but which we might tentatively identify as the "inner city." Within this area may be several points equally accessible to customers scattered throughout the metropolitan area, and thus several alternative locations for businesses requiring access to scattered consumers. The downtown market place may have lost its unique quality as "the point of maximum accessibility," which made it the preferred location for many activities, including high order activities. Thus centrality may have lost its value for many activities, particularly if this is seen in conjunction with the increasing emphasis on non-spatial competitive factors in retailing pointed out earlier. Together, these two trends destroy the rationality behind the traditional location of high order activities of the C.B.D.

It follows that if traditional C.B.D. functions such as specialized businesses are to remain downtown, there must be a new criterion, perhaps of public policy, to maintain such businesses in this particular location. Certainly if this argument is correct, there is no functional necessity for high order businesses to be confined to the C.B.D.

* * * * *
It is the purpose of the following chapters to test the above hypotheses by examination of the locational and trade area characteristics of high order activities in Vancouver, Canada. In the process, we attempt to verify the as yet speculative rationality on which these hypotheses rest, by analysis of the motives and attitudes of business men involved in these activities, especially analysis of the process whereby business men select locations for their activities. We hope to demonstrate that considerations not unlike those deductively suggested influence the business man's choice of site, and lead to the particular pattern of location of high order activities we see in Vancouver.
CHAPTER III

HIGH ORDER ACTIVITIES IN VANCOUVER. 1. IDENTIFICATION OF EXAMPLES AND ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

In this chapter we describe the translation of the conceptual background of the study outlined in Chapters I and II into operational terms. That is, we more precisely identify high order activities in the form that makes study possible, we describe the organization and strategy of the study itself, and we describe some relevant characteristics of the city of Vancouver, the locus of the study.

I. IDENTIFICATION OF HIGH ORDER ACTIVITIES

A first task is to specify activities that might be called "high order," and to identify examples of such activities in Vancouver. The hypotheses outlined can then be tested in terms of the examples specified.

Identification of high order activities is a critical process, since we will be generalizing about city structure on the basis of the examples identified and examined. It is also an uncertain process since there is little guidance from previous writers as to which businesses (in the precise terms necessary for empirical investigation) constitute high order activities. The exercise thus contains an inevitable subjective element.

Such subjectivity of classification raises an important methodological problem. It is possible that changing the basis of classification would change the results of the study, or that results obtained will lack generality, and will refer only to the business classes subjectively
set up. There is no easy answer to this problem. The only response is to rely upon such guidance as exists in the literature concerning classification by "order of good" and to rely upon professional training to sharpen one's intuitive judgement.

Firstly, we can note such guidance as is available in the identification of "high order" activities. In what follows, we focus on retailing activities.

From Proudfoot¹ and Ratcliff² we would expect to find high order retail businesses in the "speciality store-shopping goods" category.

Vance³ indicates that high order stores are likely to be commodity specialized stores, and cites his example of the "Steuben Glass Shop."

Curry⁴ calls high order businesses those supplying infrequently demanded goods, and gives as a frivolous example, antique saddle stores.

Carol⁵ is more specific, and mentions specialized jewellery stores and specialized apparel stores as examples of the high order type of business.

These statements provide an orientation for this study. It is felt to be rather important that such independently derived examples be used to initially guide the study, since we wish to avoid defining high order activities only in terms of the characteristics we later hope to show they possess.

¹Proudfoot, op. cit. "City Retail Structure"....
²Ratcliff, op. cit. Urban Land Economics ....
³Vance, op. cit. "Commercial Structure of North American Cities"....
⁴Curry, op. cit. "Service Centres in Towns"....
⁵Carol, op. cit. "Hierarchy of Service Centres within the City"....
Logic suggests that further help in the identification of high order activities can be gained from census material.

Now high order activities have high threshold levels, i.e. they appear only in large cities, and even then will be few in number. Thus inspection of census data related to retail trade will identify retail types few in number in Vancouver, and thus by implication, will isolate probable high order businesses, at least in terms of the crude categories used in census materials.

This has been done in Table I, using census data for 1961, and this table can be regarded as a rough "ubiquity index," a tool for the identification of high order retail activities.

In the same table, a comparison is made between the situation in Vancouver and the situation in the other sixteen metropolitan areas in Canada, in terms of selected store types. The comparison is made to stress the wide regional variation across Canada in the number of stores in various shopping goods categories as compared to population. The variation obviously reflects the fact that the number of stores of a particular type in a centre is not a function only of the population of that centre but also, and inter alia, of the income characteristics, centrality functions and tourist functions of the centre. Thus Vancouver has rather "more" stores in some categories than we would expect on the basis of its size alone. Examples relevant to our interest are antique, gift and ladies wear stores. This surplus reflects the regional capital and tourist roles of Vancouver and its distance from competing centres. In contrast, low income, low tourist cities in the Prairies and Maritimes have "fewer" stores in many categories than population alone would indicate.

### TABLE I

Selected Retailing Activities in Canadian Metropolitan Centres (1961)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metro.Area</th>
<th>Pop. of Metro.Area</th>
<th>Store Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Johns</td>
<td>90838</td>
<td>A - - - - - - - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint-John</td>
<td>95563</td>
<td>B 1 1 - - - - - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudbury</td>
<td>110694</td>
<td>C - 1 - - - - - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>154152</td>
<td>D 5 1 - - 2 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchener</td>
<td>154864</td>
<td>E 2 2 2 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>181283</td>
<td>F 1 1 1 3 4 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>183146</td>
<td>G - - - - 2 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>193365</td>
<td>H 3 1 4 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calgary</td>
<td>279062</td>
<td>I - - - - - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton</td>
<td>337568</td>
<td>A - - - - - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>357568</td>
<td>B 7 1 - - - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>395189</td>
<td>C 9 7 2 3 4 6 5 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa</td>
<td>429750</td>
<td>D 2 2 - - - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg</td>
<td>475989</td>
<td>E 1 8 4 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>790165</td>
<td>F 12 3 5 12 8 5 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>1824481</td>
<td>G 14 9 10 31 38 9 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>2109509</td>
<td>H 6 3 20 55 24 15 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Store Categories:  
A - Furniture stores  
B - Antique stores  
C - Paintings and picture framers  
D - Men's hat stores  
E - Men's shoe stores  
F - Women's shoe stores  
G - Luggage and leather stores  
H - Toy stores  
I - Linen stores
The comparison is significant since it warns against using the store number-population index too rigidly to identify high order businesses, and it reminds us that there will be limits to the generality of the conclusions we derive, based as they are upon the study of businesses in a single city which may be in some respects unique.

The above approaches then, suggest that high order retail activities will include specialized furniture, apparel, and gift stores, as well as some few other characteristic specialized shopping goods stores, and there will be but few examples of such businesses in the city.

A field survey of business centres and shopping centres in metropolitan Vancouver was carried out to discover, within the general framework outlined, more precisely defined high order business types. The emphasis was on the identification of "product differentiated" commodity specialized shopping good stores, rather than the simpler commodity defined classes of the census, whose inherent weaknesses have been referred to earlier (p. 28.)

From this survey, and out of the possible range of business types indicated in the literature and hinted at through census data, a number of business types were identified as "high order" and made the basis of this study. These can be categorized as follows:

a) Specialized furniture stores, including Danish modern, colonial and antique furniture stores.

b) Specialized apparel stores, including exclusive men's wear stores, exclusive ladies' wear stores.

c) Specialized gift stores, including Spanish, Danish, antique gift stores.

d) Specialized jewellery stores, including expensive modern jewellery stores.

e) Other stores few in number and highly commodity specialized in nature include men's hat and men's shoe stores (in the apparel class,) musical instrument, and art stores.

The above types of store then, are some retail high order businesses. We are interested in where in the city they are located and in their hinterland characteristics, since
we argue that knowledge of these will cast light on fundamentals of intra-city retail organization.

II. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

Here, we briefly describe the strategy of the study itself.

The study is based mainly on field work carried out in metropolitan Vancouver. The study had several stages once the hypothesis formulating stage had been completed.

(i) A thorough survey of metropolitan Vancouver was carried out to identify and locate businesses that could be classified as "high order." This survey was helped by the knowledge that certain categories of businesses could be called high order - antique stores for example - and these could be pinpointed through telephone directories for field inspection.

(ii) Once identified and located, most of the owners or managers of these high order businesses were interviewed. Since our hypotheses called into question both the validity and the rationality of the conclusions of earlier studies, we were seeking anew the rationale behind the location of high order activities. Now a business location represents the end product of a decision making process by an involved business man; we are interested in the factors and attitudes that influence this decision making process. An interview programme seemed a useful starting point for the analysis of the decision making process and the locational pattern; in fact, this programme is regarded as one of the strengths of this study.

Such a programme involves the recognized danger of ex post rationalization by business men about their motives, and also the danger that we would "be told what we wanted to hear." But the technique is valuable in that it goes beyond the usual assumptions that location decisions are
taken by homogeneously perceptive, totally informed, and exclusively rational entrepreneurs motivated by profit maximization. A more realistic appraisal of the distributional pattern of high order activities is possible through a more complete analysis of the attitudes of involved business men. The comments of entrepreneurs interviewed then enable us to accept or modify both the locational hypotheses put forward in the study and the rationalizations upon which the hypotheses are based. The organization of the interview programme, and the open ended questionnaire on which it was based, are discussed in more detail in Appendix A.

(iii) We are interested in the market hinterlands of the businesses under study. Data on market hinterlands was obtained from the credit records of a number of stores. Stratified samples (every 10th or every 5th name in the records) were obtained. The proportion of the sample was varied according to the size of the population so that a minimum size sample was obtained. Sample sizes vary between 30 - 70 addresses, which seems a minimally acceptable basis on which to generalize. No address which appeared in any sample was omitted, even if it lay outside metropolitan Vancouver, since such cases are significant.

Samples were drawn from "open" credit accounts for each business, and so are comparable on the basis of time.

More important is that credit sales make up a varying proportion of total sales in different businesses, though always constituting a majority of sales. All merchants interviewed felt that credit sales gave a "reasonable" picture of their customer relationships and market hinterland. We might speculate that non-credit sales involve smaller lower cost items, perhaps appealing to impulse buyers or to customers living or working close to the store. The hinterland picture from credit records then may underestimate the role of local custom.
(iv) For some stores, market hinterland data was not available from credit records, since most sales were cash sales. Gift stores especially fell into this category. In an effort to measure the customer hinterland of such stores, a card questionnaire survey of customers was carried out.

The survey consisted of a series of questions on a postcard, the card to be handed to the customer by the merchants taking part in the survey, and to be mailed by the customer to the Department of Geography at the University.

In addition to hinterland data, the questionnaire was designed to elicit information on the comparative shopping habits of customers, particularly to test whether purchasers involved themselves in prolonged shopping around before buying high order items. There were also questions which tried to gauge the social class of the purchaser, this to test some suggestions we have made about the buyers of high order goods.\(^7\)

Unfortunately, this stage of the research must be regarded as a failure. Merchants were willing to accept the cards into their stores for the period of the survey (a week in October 1964), but almost all "forgot" to hand the cards to the customers. This memory lapse is probably an excuse to cover an unwillingness or embarrassment about the project. In the event, sufficient cards were returned by (a) men's "exclusive" apparel shops to provide substantive results for this class of business, and (b) some gift shops to provide qualitative indications of customer characteristics for this group. These will be referred to where appropriate.

(v) The final section of the study attempts to reconcile evidence collected with the hypotheses initially

\(^7\)The design of the card questionnaire survey is described in more detail in Appendix B.
suggested, and summarizes the theoretical and practical implications of the study.

III. THE SETTING OF THE STUDY

The study was carried out in Vancouver, B.C., Canada, an urban area with a metropolitan population of nearly 800,000 (790,165 in 1961).^8

Some familiarity with the internal structure of Vancouver is a necessary prerequisite to appreciation of the empirical data that follows. Here, a short sketch of the main elements of the social and commercial geography of the city are presented to provide such a background. The verbal summary is supported by Map. I.

The historic nucleus of Vancouver, and the present C.B.D., is situated rather eccentrically with respect to the city as a whole in a waterfront position on the Burrard Peninsula (see Map I). Moreover, the C.B.D. is apparently cut off from the rest of the city by the water barriers of False Creek and Burrard Inlet and by industrial districts to the south east. But this isolation is probably more apparent than real, since the C.B.D. is linked by good bridges and highways to the rest of the city and naturally is the focus of the city mass transit system. Thus the C.B.D. is effectively and obviously linked into the city economy, and indeed, dominates some well-known activity categories.\(^9\)

The Vancouver C.B.D. itself is areally large for the size of the city, and within the large area set aside for

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^8Census of Canada

"central" uses by the City Planning Department, development is diffuse and scattered. At the same time, the retail activities of the C.B.D. are organized into two quite distinctive sub-areas clustered around major department stores and which are functionally distinct as well as morphologically separate. Thus the older, eastern retail district of the C.B.D. is predominantly an area of low price stores, while the newer, western area, close to civic buildings and major hotels, is a medium-high price shopping area with a sprinkling of speciality stores. (It is in this latter area that C.B.D. stores examined in this study are mainly set.)

Thus the Vancouver C.B.D. is, if anything, unusually uncompact and is tending to become polarized around the two contrasting shopping nuclei. Civic politicians and planning officials have seen this as a weakness of the core, and have suggested that future development should aim to integrate more fully, presently disparate core activities.

Around and beyond the C.B.D. lie the residential areas of Vancouver, arranged in a "sectoral" rather than "circular" pattern of social area differentiation.

To the south and west of the C.B.D. are largely older residential areas, stretching south to the Fraser river at Marpole and west to the University Endowment Lands. These are now mainly middle class residential areas with distinctive areas of upper income housing in Shaughnessy,

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10 See Downtown Vancouver 1955-1980, (Vancouver City Planning Department, 1953) for delimitation of the area defined as the C.B.D., and plans for future development of the area. Compare Smith, op. cit. for a delimitation of the C.B.D. in terms more acceptable to the geographer.

11 Smith, op. cit.
Kerrisdale, S.W. Marine Drive and the University area (see Map I.) 12 Within this broad area, are several distinctive functional nuclei, such as Kerrisdale, Marpole, and West Point Grey. These centres, once rather isolated suburban "villages", are now important retail and organizational sub-centres, providing also recognized territorial reference points for city dwellers.

One western residential area does not fit into this pattern. Kitsilano, to the S.W. of False Creek, is an area of mixed apartment dwelling and working class housing, mixed with some commercial land use.

Two major arteries serve these southern and western residential areas, Broadway and Granville Street. The two streets join just south of False Creek, outside the C.B.D. This highly strategic location is the locus of a major shopping district and of office and commercial activity. Several speciality stores examined in this thesis are located in or adjacent to this district, and this area between the C.B.D. and more purely residential areas will at times be referred to as the "inner city" in this study.

East and south east of the C.B.D. is an extensive residential area more definitely working class in character. This area stretches from a rather abrupt social divide around Oak Street (west of which is the area previously discussed), east into Burnaby and New Westminster. Within this area, however, are "islands" of middle class residences, e.g. around Burnaby Lake. 13 The residential landscape is, however, interrupted by concentrations of industrial activity along the waterfront, along Hastings Street and along other major highways leading out of the city to the east.


13Bell, L. op. cit. p. 7.
On the North Shore, residences are predominantly middle class, though there is a contrast between the older, lower-class areas of North Vancouver City and the middle class areas of new settlement in North Vancouver and especially in West Vancouver. In general, social status increases with elevation and with western situation on the North Shore.

Another area of new settlement is to the south of the city in Richmond and Surrey. Here are recently built areas of low density housing, and these true "suburbs" beyond the political bounds of the central city, are mainly lower middle or middle class in social status.

Finally, note the distinctive area of the West End. This district between the C.B.D. and Stanley Park, is an area of recent rapid apartment construction and rapid population growth, and it has a characteristic demographic structure. It is a relatively new but important element in Vancouver's residential structure.

In sum, from our point of view, relevant aspects of Vancouver's internal structure include the eccentric location of the C.B.D. and its internal characteristics, the important role of the Broadway-Granville "inner city" service centre, and the distinction between the middle class western and North Shore residential areas, and the working class eastern residential areas. These elements will be referred to constantly as the discussion proceeds, and need to be borne in mind throughout. It is in this framework that specialized retail activity is set in Vancouver. In the next chapter, we examine the location characteristics of high order retail businesses in this setting.
CHAPTER IV

HIGH ORDER ACTIVITIES IN VANCOUVER.

2. LOCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

In this chapter we will examine the location characteristics of some high order, retail activities in contemporary Vancouver.

The central theme of this chapter is to test hypothesis II of Chapter II, i.e. that high order activities may be found in non-central locations. Where such cases are identified, we attempt to determine the logic behind location through interview with involved business men, and here we look particularly for the role of customer mobility and for non-spatial competitive factors as influences on business location choice.

In the process of establishing the possibility of eccentric location for high order businesses, however, we also pay attention to identification of the limits of such eccentricity in location. In brief, we do not expect to find high order businesses "anywhere" in the city - the hypothesis of eccentricity in location does not imply randomness in location. Rather we expect that there will be some consistency in the pattern of distribution of businesses discussed, and some limit (in terms of distance from the core) beyond which eccentricity in location will be no longer viable.

Where high order businesses are identified in central locations, we will look for the influence of tourist and downtown worker demand on location (hypothesis III) and also examine the age characteristics of such businesses (to test hypothesis IV).
There will also be opportunity to comment on hypothesis VI of Chapter II, concerning the likely location of business types appearing in the city for the first time. Additionally, by focussing upon the time periods at which high order businesses began to appear in various locations, there will also be opportunity to test hypothesis V.

From the listing of high order retail businesses in Chapter III, a number of store types were chosen and used as study vehicles for this part of the investigation. The store types chosen and the numbers of stores involved are shown in Table II. The table also indicates, for comparison, the total number of stores in the metropolitan Vancouver area in the general commodity category from which these specialized stores have been abstracted.

The discussion that follows is organized in terms of categories of stores (furniture stores, gift stores, etc.). Within each category the location characteristics and location history of individual stores are discussed in detail, treating each store as an example or case study, and analysing for each store the factors which led the merchant to choose that particular site for his business. This method is comprehensive but is repetitious. However, it is necessary. Validation of hypotheses depends upon examination of a large number of relevant examples. This is especially true in the context of retail store location where individual stores may represent atypical, temporary, or idiosyncratic locations. In short, replication, though monotonous, is imposed by the nature of the problem. Even so, summarization is attempted wherever possible and the whole range of possible examples is not discussed. Rather, enough evidence is presented to effectively demonstrate the hypotheses outlined, and to cover all the nuances of the argument.

As the examination of the location characteristics of high order retail businesses proceeds, it will become obvious that far from occupying a common central location, different kinds of high order businesses have different location patterns.
**TABLE II**

"High Order" Stores in Vancouver

Discussd in this Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;High Order&quot; Stores</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Nearest Census Class</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Furniture Group:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danish modern furniture</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>Furniture Stores</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonial furniture</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antique furniture</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other specialized stores</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gift Group:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gift Stores</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danish modern gifts</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish gifts</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Other specialized gifts</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jewellery Group:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jewellery Stores</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern jewellery</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Apparel Group:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Men's &amp; Boys Clothing Stores</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Exclusive' men's wear</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Others:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Exclusive' ladies' wear stores</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>Women's Ready to Wear</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialized musical instrument stores</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Musical Instruments</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialized art stores</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pictures, etc.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men's shoe stores</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>Men's Shoes</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antique gift stores</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>Antique Stores</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Field survey (1964) and Census of Canada (1961.)
Distinctive tendencies and the rationale behind such tendencies will be sought from the mass of diverse evidence.

I. FURNITURE STORES

A useful starting point is with the furniture group of stores, analysed in terms of the various product differentiated types. This group of stores will be dealt with at some length since, as the initial example, ideas need to be stated fully which may be stated in summary form later, and since many of the hypotheses outlined seem to find best confirmation on the evidence of this group.

Note that not every store in each group is discussed. Repetition is avoided and examples are selected which fill out the argument presented.

Ia. DANISH MODERN FURNITURE STORES

There are seven stores in the Vancouver metropolitan area selling wholly or mainly furniture, usually called "Danish Modern." Other stores may sell some pieces of Danish furniture, but here we are concerned with those stores that sell predominantly this style of furniture. We are interested in precisely those stores that have reached this degree of product specialization.

Two points can be added.

(i) "Danish furniture" stores often sell other goods besides furniture (cutlery, flatware, pottery in modern designs are examples.) However, in the stores described, furniture is the most important commodity in terms of display space occupied and contribution to total sales.

(ii) There are still noticeable differences between even these ostensibly similar stores, arising out of product differentiation and sales techniques. Thus, although all the stores are classed as "Danish modern" and all sell essentially "contemporary" furniture, one store in the city sells only Norwegian imported furniture, and another sells Canadian made
furniture of Danish design. Also the stores differ in the degree of extra-sales service they offer, particularly in the interior decorating advice they provide along with the sale of furniture. To the merchants involved, these differences are significant, and are the basis of attitudes which affect store location. But we might well assume that to most potential customers for contemporary furniture, the stores are essentially similar and competitive, and can thus be discussed as a group.

The distribution of the seven Danish furniture stores is shown in Map II. The stores are numbered for reference in the text. The numbers are arbitrary.¹

We see that two stores (1 and 2) are situated downtown, two stores (3 and 4) are in the "furniture row" district outside the C.B.D. (near the intersection of Broadway and Granville Street), and another store (5) is near but not of this cluster. One store (6) is in the southern suburbs, in the old-established shopping district of Kerrisdale, and store 7 is on the North Shore in the new planned shopping centre of Park Royal.

**Store 1 and Store 2**

To examine this pattern in more detail, we turn to those stores in the traditional locus of specialized shopping goods stores, stores 1 and 2 in the C.B.D.

The stores are situated close together in the East End of downtown, between two large department stores, and in a constellation of stores consisting mainly of ladies' apparel shops and shoe stores. They can be discussed together since they are close neighbours, and since the factors which influenced merchants location choice are quite similar in each case.

¹Stores are discussed in terms of numbers throughout to preserve the confidentiality of data. The device does not hamper discussion.
This apparently traditional location for stores of this type should not, however, be interpreted too naively, nor rationalized only in terms of "maximum accessibility to scattered consumers." Other factors, no less significant for being less obvious, also affected the merchant's location decision. Interview with both the involved merchants identified some of these factors.

First, note that there is some correspondence between the motives offered in explanation by the business men and the "orthodox" location explanation.

Both business men believe that their potential customers are widely scattered throughout the metropolitan area, and that downtown is a convenient place from which to serve such a market distribution. As one manager expressed it, "everyone comes downtown sooner or later."^2

The attraction of the downtown location is seen to be further reinforced by the proximity of two large department stores. Both merchants assume that customers move between these stores while shopping downtown, and that their own stores benefit from the pedestrian traffic generated.

The inter-store benefits expected are, of course, familiar to students of marketing, and are effectively summarized by the merchant quoted earlier, "how can I lose, situated between two large department stores?"

The above factors, undoubtedly important, as yet only confirm well documented generalizations. But other factors uncovered by interview might cause us to modify these accepted generalizations.

2 However, both merchants agree that they draw most heavily from the higher income suburbs to the West and North, and much less heavily from the eastern suburbs. In other words, the scattered distribution of customers is not an even scatter, but is biased in favour of the higher income suburbs. This will be discussed more thoroughly in a later chapter.
Of first importance from our point of view is that neither merchant regards downtown as the only location in which he might successfully operate. Both agree that a downtown location is not an essential prerequisite to successful operation, and that a metropolitan wide market can as easily be served from a non-central location. The limits of eccentricity are defined, however; not "anywhere" in the city is acceptable, but rather the "inner suburbs" of the city are specified. More particularly, the inner suburbs of the western part of the city are seen as most favourable, i.e. those areas adjacent to the higher income suburbs where most customers are presumed to reside. To support this contention, the merchants point out that several specialized furniture stores operate successfully in such non-central locations.

The rationality behind this attitude accords well with the deductive argument set out earlier. Both merchants believe that the nature of the goods they are offering make them "different" from most other furniture stores, if not actually "unique." Since they are unique, they believe that customers could be attracted to non-central locations to purchase the specialized goods they offer. Their particular uniqueness is based, they believe, upon their extreme product specialization (which sets them apart from most other furniture stores), and upon the quality of their merchandise and service (which sets them apart from their more obvious competitors.) Thus the merchant already quoted (the proprietor of store no. 2), feels that his store is unique, not only in Vancouver but in all Western Canada in the quality of goods and selection of merchandise offered. Though this may seem a rather extravagant claim, it is significant, since it is on this kind of image of his business that the merchant bases his actions. As another merchant in a similar business candidly observed, "we are all egoists in our business"; this egoism is relevant to our interest since it is an attitude with locational consequences.
To the locational implication of product differentiation, merchants add the consequence of catering to middle class car owning customers. Such mobile customers, merchants agree, would be relatively easy to attract to certain non-central locations, reducing further the necessity of a strict central location.

Additionally, both merchants 1 and 2 acknowledge that certain positive advantages would be associated with a non-central location. In particular, rents and taxes would be lower outside downtown, reducing overhead costs. Moreover, parking space for customers might be expected to be cheaper and more freely available in the suburbs, an important consideration if potential customers are assumed to be car owning and mobile.3

In light of the above qualifications, the question becomes less "why are these stores downtown?" and becomes rather "why are they not outside downtown?"

Interview reveals at least two more relevant factors need to be considered, one more clearly "economic", one perhaps "psychological."

First we should note that the area of the C.B.D. containing these stores - the eastern end - is a depressed area; this is the older part of downtown, an area of old buildings and generally cut-price stores, adjacent to the "zone of discard" and not far from "skid row." Store vacancies have been running at high levels in this area. A recent report indicated 15% ground floor vacancy rates in adjacent blocks.

However, in this particular case, the latter point is qualified. Both stores are adjacent to a large multi-storey parking garage, which offers free parking and which is assumed to satisfy customer needs. In the minds of these merchants, at least, downtown traffic congestion and parking problems seem no deterrent to potential customers and do not qualify the utility of their downtown location.
compared to a C.B.D. average of 7 per cent, and a field inspection reveals many current vacancies.  

Under these circumstances, both the merchants interviewed were able to obtain very favourable leases at low rents. At the time they set up business (1958 for store 1 and 1963 for store 2,) they had been able to choose among several alternative vacant sites in the same downtown block, and had thus been in a strong position to negotiate favourable leases. Although unwilling to provide details of this item of costs, the merchants were certain that their rents were lower than other areas of downtown (especially the western retail area) and were perhaps comparable to rents obtaining in major shopping centres outside the C.B.D.

The rent factor then, which could become a determining location factor if alternative sites are viewed as equally accessible to the potential market, did not itself vary greatly among alternative locations and thus became an indifferent location factor in the minds of the involved business men.

The second factor is more intangible, but is certainly relevant. Both merchants expressed what can only be described as a predilection for a downtown location based upon a particular preconception of the role of downtown in the functioning of the city. Both saw downtown as more than a retail centre offering only advantages of accessibility and comparative shopping to customers; rather they expected downtown to play a positive role in the social economy of the city, to be a recreation centre as well as a work centre, a place to be visited for its own sake as much as for utilitarian purposes of business or shopping. This is the view of downtown as the "heart of the city" rather than as simply a high

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order business centre.  

Actually, both merchants were disappointed that the Vancouver C.B.D. did not fulfil this expected role. Both merchants (recent immigrants from Northern Europe) made unfavourable comparisons between downtown Vancouver and the central areas of European cities of their experience. But this disenchantment did not alter their conception of what downtown should be, and both hoped that municipally sponsored redevelopment programmes would generate the preferred atmosphere in central Vancouver. In the meantime, both retain a nostalgia for an urbane city core area, which is expressed as a preference for a downtown location; both also feel that their own presence downtown contributes in some measure towards the ideal image.

Summary. Thus in the choice of a downtown location, the often quoted "accessibility" of the core did not play a crucial role for either store discussed. Other non-central areas were regarded by the involved merchants as equally accessible, especially where unique goods are involved. Where several alternative locations were viewed indifferently in terms of accessibility and (through unusual circumstances) in terms of rent and parking facilities, it was the sentimental predilection of the business men for a downtown site which actually became the determining location factor. This predilection in turn is based on the business man's pre-emigrant experiences of city form in European cities.

These examples tend to support the hypothesis under review and to confirm the deductive rationality on which it was based. Additionally, wider behavioural impulses are also identified that relevantly bear on the location choice of the two firms.

More confirmatory evidence can be found from a similar motivational analysis of non-centrally located businesses.

Store 3

Store 3 is one of the best known stores of its kind in Vancouver, and combines an interior decorating service with simple retailing. It is situated in a major business centre near the intersection of two main arterial highways (Granville Street and Broadway.) The site is in a ribbon of furniture stores which includes one other Danish modern store, three antique furniture stores, three interior decorator stores, and several furniture-appliance stores. Close by, within the same business centre, are concentrations of related businesses, especially carpet stores (four) and flooring material retailers.

Such an inner city highway side "furniture row" is a generic feature of medium and large sized North American cities, though the role of highly specialized stores in such a context does not seem to have been explicitly explored.

Store no. 3 opened in 1954 on this site. As with the previous examples, the merchant felt his potential customers were widely scattered across the metropolitan area, and wished to choose a location which reduced travel inconvenience for scattered customers. But again the merchant felt that the

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6 This location is considered "non-central" throughout this chapter despite its strategic location near the centre of gravity of the city. The reference point for "eccentricity" in store location is the C.B.D., the focus of the city highway and transit system. Possible implications of the eccentric location of the C.B.D. itself are discussed later (Chapter VI.)

C.B.D. was not the only place which satisfied this accessibility requirement. Rather, several areas of the city, it seemed to him, apparently offered similar degrees of accessibility to the city as a whole, especially if, as was assumed, most potential customers were in the middle and upper socio-economic classes and thus probably car owning and mobile.

When various sites are considered to be similarly accessible from across the city, formerly marginal factors may become location determinents, as this case demonstrates.

(i) Firstly, the merchant involved was deterred positively by some aspects of downtown Vancouver. In particular, the high rents of core retail areas reduced the attraction of a downtown location. This attitude has, in fact, an important general implication for location theory. High downtown rents originally represented a premium paid by entrepreneurs for the accessibility value and prestige of a downtown location. If downtown loses its accessibility value in the eyes of business men, residually high rents become, as here, a deterrent to location. This is an important theme which will be returned to later.

(ii) Secondly, in the eyes of this merchant, downtown traffic conditions also qualify the attraction of a downtown location. The considerable inconvenience assumed to fall on potential customers attempting to negotiate downtown traffic was an important factor influencing the merchant against a central location.

In contrast, the chosen site was seen to possess a number of positive advantages.

(i) First, being situated close to a major east-west artery (Broadway) and a major north-south artery (Granville St.) the site had a high degree of accessibility from the middle and upper class suburbs in the western and southern parts of the city. The fact that the other main middle class suburb of Vancouver (the North Shore) lay to the "other side" of the C.B.D. was not felt to be a significant disadvantage. The
merchant felt that "once people were in their cars" an extra one or two miles of travel is likely to be considered unimportant in both time and cost by consumers. The intervening opportunity and nearness advantages of the C.B.D. vis a vis North Shore customers, was thus considered slight. As added weight, the merchant felt that the quality of his own goods and especially the high degree of service associated with sale, completely eliminated any slight distance disadvantage of the site in terms of North Shore customers.

Also important in this context, is that soon after opening, a careful advertizing campaign was started, conducted through those local magazines and radio stations appealing to middle and upper socio-economic groups, and calculated to build an image of elegant, expensive taste for the store. On the basis of the image thus generated, nearness as a competitive factor was expected to be reduced and location became a less critical issue.

(ii) Second, the site is on one of the busiest arterials in Vancouver outside the central business district. Thus several thousand vehicles an hour pass by the store during peak hours and five bus routes converge at this point before entering the downtown peninsula. The merchant, of course, is well aware of the advantages of such an exposed location. The chief advantage, he suggests, is in continual exposure to a passing public which gives the site considerable advertizing potential. It is significant then, that great attention is given to the store front and window display, which become an important, continually displayed advertisement.

Moreover, the merchant feels that this site permits exposure to just the section of the population which includes his potential customers, since it is along this route that the middle and upper income groups commute from their homes in the western part of the city to their downtown work places. As

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the merchant put it himself, "Granville Street is the "drain" for the upper income suburbs of Vancouver."

(iii) Third, the chosen site offered real advantages in terms of lower rents than downtown sites. The rent here is $600 a month, while rents in downtown retail areas are between $600 and $800 a month for much smaller stores. For the merchant involved, this proved an important difference, especially since at the time the business was set up, capital was limited.

(iv) Finally, it is important that the area chosen already had the characteristics of a "furniture row" before this particular merchant set up business here. Although the number and quality of furniture and allied stores has increased recently in the area (due in part to the success of the particular store under study,) the nucleus of the furniture row already existed at the time the site was chosen. This existing constellation of stores proved an influential attraction in the mind of the business man here considered, and indeed, this was the factor which led to the choice of this rather than any other non-central location for the business. The merchant suggested that the area had "always" been a furniture and interior decorating speciality area and was known as such throughout Vancouver. He felt that the area would already have an identity in the mind of customers as a furniture retailing district, and that his own store would benefit from association with this image.

In fact, the merchant admitted that before choosing his location, he had given other non-central sites only perfunctory consideration, and the background to this attitude is interesting.

Essentially, the merchant admitted that he had already formed an impression of the "ideal" type of location for a business such as his before setting up his store. This "ideal image" was based on an acquaintance with Jackson Square, San Francisco, a furniture and furnishing speciality district. In Vancouver, Broadway and Granville seemed to be the closest
parallel to this ideal situation and fitted in best with the psychological image built up by the merchant of the ideal "speciality district" location.

This latter attitude is perhaps comparable to the attitude shown in the case of stores 1 and 2 in this group. In both cases, merchants had a pre-existing notion of an ideal location (the urbane city core in the first case, the high quality speciality district in this latter case,) and in Vancouver, locations were chosen which best approximated these ideal pre-conceptions.

**Summary** To summarize this example, the merchant sought a site accessible to customers scattered across the metropolitan area. Other sites besides the traditional downtown area seemed to satisfy this requirement, while downtown positively repelled because of high rents and traffic congestion. One non-central site, the "furniture row" area, seemed to offer the advantages of low rents and a busy highway side position, but was selected mainly because it recalled the advantages of Jackson Square, San Francisco, in its combination of similar store types.

Again, this evidence seems to support the hypothesis under review; certainly the merchant does not regard the C.B.D. as uniquely accessible to scattered consumers when consumers are increasingly mobile, and he was prepared to locate his business in light of this belief.

**Store 5**

Another store in this class is store no. 5. This store is situated quite close to store 3, previously discussed, but not close enough to be considered part of the same furniture group. The distance between the stores is too great for pedestrian comparison shopping, for example, if this can be used as an indicator of proximity.
Again, the site is a highway side location, this time on the corner of the busy east-west thoroughfare of Broadway, and an important north-south route (Burrard Street) leading to the central business district. However, the store is rather isolated. It is just outside the Broadway-Granville shopping district and its neighbours are insurance offices and medical offices.

The motives which led to the choice of the site are by now familiar, and tend to support out initial hypothesis. A position accessible to a dispersed customer market was desired. It was felt that this non-central location satisfied this condition as well as the C.B.D. could, when most customers are assumed mobile. Once this is allowed, the site has considerable advantages over any C.B.D. site in lower rents, (crucial where a large floor area is needed for furniture display) and easier parking (the store has its own eight car parking lot.) Significantly, and confirming the merchants appraisal of customer mobility, an estimated 90 per cent of customers arrive by car.

Although a site closer to furniture row would have been preferred, none was available at the time the store was set up (1963.) However, this is not now regarded as a disadvantage. The site has proven a successful location and the advertising potential of the busy corner location, though unsuspected when the site was chosen, partly compensates for isolation.

But this business has an extra significance which demands discussion here, and which fills out our argument. The merchant has strong opinions as to the allowable limits of eccentricity in location, based upon personal experience.

Initially, (in 1961) the merchant set up business in New Westminster, 14 miles from central Vancouver. From this location, it was hoped to serve the metropolitan market, just as the present store attempts to do. It was felt that since customers were mobile, and moreover, since an infrequently
purchased and specialized good was being offered, customers would be willing to travel to even this highly eccentric location for such purchases. At first sight, this attitude seems only to support our argument.

However, it is more important that the business was, in fact, unsuccessful, and its failure was attributed by the merchant to poor location. Although customers were indeed attracted from distant suburbs such as West Vancouver, the volume of business achieved was insufficient for successful operation. A change in location was planned to a more central position in the "inner suburbs" of Vancouver itself, in order to gain accessibility to the metropolitan market.

Thus on the basis of this experience, the merchant is prepared to agree that downtown has lost its accessibility monopoly, but also believes that access to scattered customers is shared only by a limited part of the city, not by any and all city sites. The lesson for us is that although the importance of location for this kind of business is shown to be relatively weak, it is not totally insignificant. This business man's experience suggests that a too eccentric location (say, an outer suburban location) would prove too inconvenient for customers and would consequently prove unprofitable for the business man. Even though a central location may no longer be mandatory, there are still limits to successful store location. Eccentricity in location does not mean randomness in location.

Summary. This example then, tends both to confirm and to modify the locational hypothesis under review. The present store was located outside the C.B.D. for reasons exactly like those deductively suggested; but the experience of the older store emphasizes that this argument is also limited by some constraints.
A further example from this group is store no. 6. The map indicates that this is the most eccentrically located of all the stores so far examined. The store is situated in the old established suburban shopping district of Kerrisdale, a major shopping district in a middle income suburb. This store, the most highly commodity specialized in the district, is located on the main thoroughfare and neighboured by food stores, ladies' wear and gift stores.

The motivation of the merchant who chose the location fits our hypothesis well. Indeed, if it were possible to build generalizations on single examples, this example would prove our argument.

This store was the first Danish modern furniture store to set up in Vancouver, and opened in 1953. It is of a special significance that the first store of its type in the city chose an eccentric location, since it calls into question the statements of earlier writers (Ratcliff, Carol) about the likely location of such businesses. Instead, it tends to support the sixth hypothesis set out in Chapter II, that such newly appearing businesses need not locate in the core of the city.

Additionally, this example provides unambiguous support for the main locational hypothesis here examined.

The store owner recognized from the first that he had made a rather unusual location choice. As he remarked, "I broke every rule of marketing." Not only was the chosen location eccentric with respect to the metropolitan market, but the initial site was also away from the main shopping centre and had poor display facilities.

However, the merchant felt able to tolerate such a location because of the nature of his goods and customers.

Although recognizing that a widely scattered customer hinterland would be required to support such a specialized...
business, it was felt that goods of a unique type and quality were being offered, such that customers would be attracted to even a peripherally located store. At the same time, a non-central site was seen to offer advantages of lower rent than any central location, important in the early days of the business when capital was short.

Also the high quality goods offered were assumed to appeal to at least a middle income market, who could be assumed mobile in their shopping habits, and this again favoured locational flexibility.\(^9\)

In fact, several non-central locations were considered, and Kerrisdale chosen because, as it was an upper income area, it was thought to provide the right "background" against which to build a customer-attractive image of quality. This attitude is, we shall see, a rather general one, and important since it tends to set limits to the possible alternatives in non-central locations.

The fact that the store has succeeded is regarded by the merchant as verification of his location choice. Actually the store does draw people from across the city from extra-local areas (see Chapter V) and does so largely without advertising (which the merchant considers "vulgar"). The presumption is indeed that specialization and quality in the merchandise offered for sale has built up an "image" for the store which has overcome the effect of distance, especially when distance is less important to mobile customers. In short, an eccentric location is tolerated since the store is not competing for custom in spatial terms, but in image projection terms.

**Conclusions.**

The evidence of the Danish modern group of stores tends to support the hypothesis that high order businesses can be located outside the core of the city. Merchants feel that such

\(^9\)In fact, it is estimated that 90 per cent of customers arrive by car.
locations can now attract scattered customers when customers are mobile and when businesses project images of product specialization and commodity quality. Certainly, businessmen choose locations on the basis of motives like these and their success is prima facie proof of the validity of the argument.

Where such specialized businesses are found downtown, special culturally based values imputed to such sites by merchants helps account for the location, as much as any traditional explanation based on the accessibility functions of the C.B.D.

Where such specialized stores are located outside the C.B.D., however, they are not found "anywhere" in the city; rather they tend to cluster in the "inner city" (where accessibility from extra-local middle income areas is enjoyed along with low rents,) or in middle income suburbs (from where a local market can be served and an appropriate customer-attractive image can be developed.) We thus receive first indications of the limits of non-central location in terms of distance from the city centre and in terms of the kind of suburban area acceptable to specialized businesses.

Ib COLONIAL FURNITURE STORES

A second group of furniture stores to be examined is the "colonial furniture group," selling mainly furniture of the "maple" or the "early American" style.

There are five such stores in Vancouver, and their location is shown on Map III. Again, the stores are numbered in an arbitrary manner.

Store 1 is situated in West Vancouver, a middle income suburb; Store 2 is in a large planned North Shore shopping centre; store 3 is in a highway side location in the "inner city" to the south of the C.B.D.; store 4 is in a local shopping district in the inner suburbs, in a lower income
Location of Specialized Colonial Furniture Stores

VANCOUVER

West Vancouver

North Vancouver

STANLEY PARK

BURRARD INLET

ENGLISH BAY

UNIVERSITY ENDOWMENT LANDS

BURNABY

BURNABY LAKE

SEA ISLAND

FRASER RIVER

NEW WESTMINSTER

SCALE IN MILES
area; and store 5 is in the southern suburbs, in a middle income area and opposite but not in the Oakridge planned shopping centre.

These stores are more homogeneous than the group previously discussed, since there is less opportunity for product differentiation to develop between them, and to become the basis of competition, as was at least theoretically possible in the "Danish modern" group. They thus form a more well-defined store group.

Note also that stores 1 and 3 are co-owned but are operated as separate stores, and this has some locational consequences as will be discussed.

Store 1

Store 1 was the first store in Vancouver selling exclusively colonial style furniture. It opened in 1953. At once then, this example supports the hypothesis that newly appearing business types need not be downtown (as did store 6 in the specialized modern furniture group,) and denies earlier ideas to the contrary.

Reasons for the choice of location for this store are familiar but can relevantly be expanded, since its West Vancouver location is one of the most eccentric yet discussed.

It was recognized by the merchant that a large segment of the metropolitan area would be required as a potential market for such a specialized business, but it was felt that such a market could be served from an eccentric location since specialized high quality goods were being offered to mobile customers. Thus the nature of the good offered and the characteristics of potential customers suggested to the merchant flexibility in business location. Once such flexibility in location was admitted, any of several shopping districts in the upper middle class suburbs were regarded as potential sites.
However, once again middle class suburban areas were preferred by the merchant since it was assumed that most potential customers would be from this socio-economic group. Location in such suburbs was then seen to conveniently serve local customers and also provide a favourable "background image" for the attraction of customers from more distant middle income suburbs. In this latter context, what was being sought was a location which "complemented" the good being offered, and this recalls the attitude of store 6 in the Danish modern store group.

Note then that this case also admits locational flexibility but also sets some limits to such location freedom. Working class suburbs are apparently less attractive to specialized retail businesses since they lack any "cushion" of local customers and do not provide any favourable basis from which to project the image of quality on which competition will be based.

This particular store is of additional interest to our study for three reasons as yet unmentioned.

(i) First, the merchant was aware that his location choice was unusual at the time that it was made. He was conscious of breaking with custom, since most other specialized furniture stores in Vancouver were at that time either downtown or in "furniture row" to the south of the C.B.D. Thus a non-central location choice was recognized as a calculated risk, but one based on the rational belief that increased customer mobility had created a new situation for specialized retailing, a situation which included wider locational possibilities.

In fact, this locational innovation proved successful. More than this, the store became an example to other retailers. For instance, store 6 in the Danish modern group was encouraged in its locational choice by the experience and success of this colonial furniture store, as was another suburban
located furniture store (to be discussed later) and at least two specialized gift stores now located in West Point Grey.

It is interesting then, to watch an innovatory entrepreneur demonstrate new possibilities of store location and to hear the influence of such an innovator acknowledged by imitating merchants. ¹⁰

(ii) Second, after this original business proved successful, a new store was planned and the experience of this new business is extremely relevant to our hypothesis.

By the late 1950's, the "colonial" style of furniture had become more popular, and it was felt by the merchant that the metropolitan area could support more stores. A location in the eastern part of town was planned. The chosen site was in Burnaby, opposite the large planned shopping centre of Brentwood. Again it was recognized that a more than local market would be required to support such a specialized store, but again specialization and quality of merchandise was relied upon to draw mobile customers to Brentwood from the entire eastern and southern areas of the city.

However, this new store was not a success and it was closed down in 1962.

The merchant attributed this failure to two factors.
(a) The area immediately proximate to the store was mainly working class residential housing. It failed to generate even a minimal demand for the goods offered. The merchant felt he had miscalculated the extent of the spread of the demand for colonial furniture.

(b) More important, the location was too eccentric to attract customers from the middle class suburbs. Brentwood is about seven miles from the Vancouver C.B.D. and separated from the middle income suburbs of the city by broad tracts of

¹⁰See Bliss, P. "Schumpeter, the Big Disturbance and Retailing," Social Forces, Vol. XXXIX, (October, 1960), p. 72, for a full and theoretically grounded discussion of innovation in retailing.
low income housing. The mobility of customers was not enough to overcome this distance handicap.

This unsuccessful experiment then, again hints at the allowable limits of eccentricity in store location, both in terms of distance from the centre of the city and in terms of the kind of non-central area most attractive to specialized stores.

There is a parallel here with the experience of the modern furniture store that was established in New Westminster and also closed down. Both merchants believed a non-central location was feasible, but both over-estimated customer mobility and their own powers of attraction, and in both cases, businesses situated too far from the core failed.

By such processes of trial and error in location choice will the limits to location flexibility be established.

(iii) Finally, note that this merchant has also established another similar colonial style furniture store in Calgary. This store is located five miles from central Calgary, on the same basis of rationality as his original Vancouver store. The Calgary store has proven successful; the importance of such examples from other cities for the generalizing power of our basic argument need not be stressed.

**Summary.** This store then, proves a useful and instructive case study. The first store of its type, it was located outside the C.B.D. in a middle income suburb, and the location and the reasons behind its choice fit our hypothesis well. Subsequently, the store became a model for eccentric location in the operation of specialized stores, although the experience of a branch store later illustrated limits to such eccentricity in location.

**Store 3**

Store 3, owned by the same merchant as store 1, should be viewed in conjunction with the unsuccessful Burnaby store in
order to fully appreciate its location characteristics.

Following the failure of the Brentwood store, the merchant opened a new store closer to the centre of the city, i.e. there was a retrenchment of location to a less eccentric and more accessible site.\(^{11}\) This time, the chosen site was in the "inner city" to the south of the C.B.D. in the same general areas as "furniture row" but not close enough to be considered part of this store cluster. The chosen site is beside a major north-south arterial (Burrard Street) feeding into the C.B.D. from the southern suburbs. The chief advantages of such a site at the time it was selected were seen to be its accessibility from those areas of the city where potential customers were assumed to live, and its particular location beside a well-travelled highway which would have a powerful advertising potential. For this latter reason, considerable care was taken with the appearance of the store so that the architecture would create a "rural" image thought appropriate for this type of merchandise.

Note though that the chosen site is, actually, rather isolated from other stores; it does not lie in any major shopping district and pedestrian traffic past the store is low. However, this is not seen as a disadvantage. It is argued that most customers arrive by car (the manager estimates that over 90 per cent of customers actually arrive in this way,) and are attracted to the store by the unusual style and the high quality of the merchandise. In this sense, isolation is no disadvantage.

In fact, the relative isolation of the store and lack of pedestrian traffic is now regarded as a real advantage. It is argued that under these circumstances, shoppers who

\(^{11}\) The parallel with the Danish modern store discussed previously obviously remains strong.
arrive at the store are likely to be serious customers who have made a deliberate trip to the store, and less likely to be browsers or impulse motivated passers-by. This "sorting" of customers through store isolation is said to enable the business to operate with less staff than a store in a more popular area and thus to enable the store to operate at lower cost. This is a somewhat circuitous argument, but it has undoubtedly weighed upon the location decision of the merchant.

Since this store was opened, the owner of the building in which the business is located (a retailer of electrical equipment situated in the same building,) has renovated the whole building, added parking space and improved sidewalks. The objective is to attract related retailers to the block to create a small specialized "household furnishing" shopping centre. This has, to some extent, reduced the isolation of the store, though access remains essentially by car rather than by bus or by foot.

Summary. Taking store 3 with the unsuccessful Brentwood store then, illustrates how an over-estimate of locational freedom was made, resulting in a retrenchment in location to an "inner city" (but not a downtown) site.

Store 4.

Store 4 is also a specialized furniture store in a non-central location, but it fits less easily into the argument as presented so far.

The store is located in an unplanned shopping district (4th and Yew) in an area rather difficult to summarize in socio-economic terms. "Apartment building and upper working class residential area" is perhaps an appropriate description.  

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12 An area with an "average" socio-economic index, according to Bell, L. "Metropolitan Vancouver. An Overview for Social Planners", (Community Chest & Councils of Greater Vancouver, 1965.)
Other stores in the district are essentially convenience goods and low order shopping goods stores, such as supermarkets, drugstores, food stores, ladies' wear stores, and second hand furniture stores. The store here described is the most specialized in the shopping district.

Store location is again highway side, though 4th Avenue is a much less busy arterial than any other street thus far considered. It is an east-west thoroughfare serving the western suburbs and the University district. To the merchant, the site seems to offer a degree of accessibility from these western and southern suburbs, and to benefit from exposure to passing traffic.

So far this is familiar. The difference in this case is that this is an old-established store which has recently been transformed. The store originally opened in 1920. For thirty years it operated as a relatively unspecialized family furniture store oriented to an adjacent market hinterland. In the late 1950's, the owner began to upgrade his merchandise, and eventually became a specialist in colonial style furniture. The move was prompted by the fear that the role of the unspecialized suburban shopping goods store was being taken over by the department store and the planned shopping centre, since the only competitive advantage of the local unspecialized shopping goods store - closeness to customers - was being undermined by increasing customer mobility. The merchant's response was to compete in non-spatial terms by becoming more specialized in products and quality. The important fact, from our point of view, is that the merchant felt his situation was no inhibition to this process; he felt that it was quite possible to carry on a specialized business, necessarily drawing on customers from a wide area of the city, from a non-central location.
Summary. This example is unusual only in that it is an old-established store, recently transformed into a more specialized store following a rather shrewd analysis of retailing trends by the merchant. From our point of view, its importance is that it is a specialized furniture store serving a more than local market from an eccentric ("inner city") location, and to this extent it confirms the lesson of other stores discussed and supports our main hypothesis.

Store 5.

Store 5 can be examined briefly. It adds little to our argument, except that the merchant has less extravagant claims about his ability to attract customers from distant suburbs. Thus, while he recognizes that his store depends upon a more than local market area, he sees his potential market as the broad western and southern suburbs rather than the whole metropolitan area.

To serve this identified market, any one of several locations appeared practical to the merchant, and certainly a downtown location was not regarded as mandatory. In fact, the store previously operated on Granville Street south of Broadway for seven years, and moved, not because of any question of accessibility, but because parking became difficult in the area. It is significant then, that the present location at 41st and Cambie Street is regarded as interchangeable in terms of accessibility characteristics with the old location. This new site was chosen in the expectation of easier parking, and because of the added advantage of proximity to the Oakridge planned shopping centre, but it was felt that the potential market for goods offered could be served as easily from this site as from the previous location, or in fact, from any one of several suburban sites. In short, location was regarded as highly flexible, and not a crucial factor in store operation or success.
However, this example does add one further refinement to our discussion. Interestingly, the merchant refused to consider a location inside the shopping centre. The merchant had a short experience of shopping centre location after moving from the South Granville area, but considered that shopping centre owners exercised too much control over the management policies of store operators. A location close to, but outside a shopping centre, seemed to him to offer the benefits due to proximity, while maintaining managerial freedom.

This attitude is significant since it was shared by other specialized merchants in non-central locations; for example, by the merchant operating store 1 in this same store group. Although many merchants considered that some non-central locations offer real advantages, they did not consider a planned shopping centre in their locational calculations. The chief reason, as in the case above, was the desire of merchants to maintain control over all aspects of business management, especially sales promotion and expansion.

**Summary.** This store provides another example of a specialized business in a non-central location and adds the point that eccentricity in location does not include location in planned shopping centres for some merchants. Entrepreneurial attitudes placed such centres beyond the allowable limits of eccentricity for some stores and this refines further the argument which is under review.

**Conclusions.** The colonial furniture group of stores thus provides further examples to support the locational hypothesis under study. It also provides an indication of the limits to eccentricity in location, since examples indicate that merchants tend to choose inner city locations, favour sites in middle income suburbs, and avoid planned shopping centres.
Extremely eccentric locations and shopping centre locations, where tried, have sometimes later been abandoned.

**Note on Planned Shopping Centres.**

Where apparently high order businesses are located in shopping centres (as with store 2 in the colonial furniture store group, and store 7 in the Danish modern group, both in the Park Royal centre,) then it is noted that such stores offer a more diversified range of commodities, and that merchants see themselves as catering chiefly to the adjacent local suburb and not to more distant customers distributed across the city. Thus both these stores sell small "gift" items as well as furniture, and these make up a significant 30-40 per cent of total sales by merchant estimate. The high level of commodity specialization that is the hallmark of the high order store, is thus diluted in these stores.

At the same time, these merchants are less inclined to see themselves as unique, or able to attract distant customers on the basis of product specialization. Rather, they expect to service more local markets, leaving distant suburbs to recognized competitors.

In short, apparently high order stores in planned shopping centre locations are, upon examination, acting as rather "lower order" stores.

**Ic ANTIQUE FURNITURE STORES**

If we were to find evidence in any group of stores for the idea of eccentricity in location, then we might expect that the antique store group would provide such evidence.

In this group, product differentiation, uniqueness in merchandise, and competition by quality are well developed, and customers are most likely to be high income, mobile and uniquely acquisitive. Consequently, we might expect flexibility in location to be high for stores in this group.

Interestingly, one aspect of this argument was noted over forty years ago, and not by a social scientist, but by a novelist. Arnold Bennet described the antique bookstore operated by his hero in "Riceyman Steps" in the following
terms; (the store is located in Clerkenwell, an inner London suburb, once genteel, now a working class residential area.)

"It seemed strangely, even fatally out of place in that dingy and sordid neighbourhood where existence was a dangerous and difficult adventure ... Nevertheless, the shop was, in fact, well placed in Riceyman Steps. It had a picturesque air, and Riceyman Steps had a picturesque air with its outworn shabbiness, grime and decay ... The shop reinforced the appeal of its environment. The shop was in its right appropriate place. To the secret race of collectors, always ravenously desiring to get something for much less than its real value, the window in Riceyman Steps was irresistible. All manner of people, including book collectors, passed along King's Cross Road in the course of the day. And all the collectors upon catching sight of the shop, exclaimed in their hearts "What a queer place for a bookshop! Bargains!". Moreover, the business was of old date and therefore had firmly established connections that were quite extra-local."

And, in fact, the owner of this fictional shop is keenly aware of the basis of his store's appeal. An air of shabbiness and disorder is cultivated, which attracts a large and consistent clientele.

We need not imagine that all antique stores actually indulge in such appeal through self-abasement to appreciate the point. Potentially, the antique group of stores, whether furniture or book, (but especially the former) have a high degree of locational flexibility since customers are prepared to travel to stores which have created an image of quality or selection.

Antique furniture stores in Vancouver can now be examined.

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Initially, we should point out that this category is less clearly definable than the two store categories already considered, and a larger subjective element enters into the classification. This is for two reasons:

(i) It was considered necessary to deal with antique furniture stores separately from antique "gift" stores, (i.e. stores selling mainly silver, pottery, glass, coins and weapons) since these have a distinctively different pattern of location and a different network of market relationships. But the line between the two types is not always clear, since gift stores often sell small items of furniture also.

(ii) Some stores calling themselves antique stores would better be described as second-hand stores. Again, the dividing line between the two is sometimes ambiguous, and depends upon the quality of goods offered for sale.

In both situations, categorization was made after field inspection, on the bases of type, quality and price of goods offered, and upon merchant attitude.

On this basis, five stores were identified as antique furniture stores in Vancouver, and their location is shown in Map IV. From Map IV we see that three of the five stores involved are clustered close together in the "furniture row" district to the south of the C.B.D. (which has been considered non-central throughout this chapter,) one other store is close to this cluster, and one is in the western suburbs close to the University.

One characteristic marks off the antique group stores at once from the stores considered previously. A number of

\[14\] In particular, antique gift stores depend heavily upon the summer tourist trade for a large proportion of sales. Furniture stores, however, draw customers almost entirely from the metropolitan area.
Location of Specialized Antique Furniture Stores

- Antique furniture
- Broadway store
these antique stores are much older businesses than any yet discussed, and have been in non-central locations for many years. Probably this indicates that antique stores depend less upon recently acquired customer mobility for their locational flexibility, and that the nature of the goods they sell has always allowed non-central sites to act as alternative locations. Examination of examples fills out this suggestion.

Store 1.

Store 1 is one of the oldest established antique stores in Vancouver. It was opened on this location in 1932. Before this, the business was located downtown in the 600 block Seymour Street for nine years. When the downtown store was taken over for new building, it was decided to move to the present highway side location to the south of the C.B.D.

The reasons for the new location choice show that even at this early date, managers of highly specialized businesses recognized the possibility of non-central location. Thus, in this case, the manager felt that for an antique furniture store, location was relatively unimportant. It was felt that it would be possible to attract customers on the basis of quality, choice of goods, and service offered. It was hoped to build through these a reputation which would draw customers from wherever in the city they lived.

This policy was pursued and proved successful. The store specializes in quality French and Regency furniture and a large stock is maintained to provide a range of choice for customers. An important part of the business is the finishing and polishing of goods before sale, which, though not a net profit earning activity, is regarded as an important service attraction.

The store is now old-established and well-known and has no difficulty in maintaining custom. However, the busy
highway side location, (on Granville Street) also helps to explain the store's success, since it helps keep the store image before the public.

In the early days of the store, other factors influenced the location choice, also in the direction of a non-central site.

(i) Lower land costs outside the C.B.D. were a strong, positive factor pulling to the south Granville site, especially since downtown seemed to offer no real advantages in return for its high rents.

(ii) The business man was anxious to buy his own building to ensure stability in operation and room for expansion. Downtown was felt to be an "unstable" property area; the business man's early experience downtown had been unfavourable, and this encouraged him to decentralize to a lower cost, more secure site. It was the availability of a suitable building for sale, in fact, which led the merchant to this particular non-central location: rather than any other.

We should note that at the time the store was set up in this area (1932), the district had not fully acquired its "furniture row" characteristics. One similar store already existing in the area was a specialized interior decorator, and these two early businesses were, in fact, the nucleus around which the present "furniture row" grew. It is only in the last "ten years" (according to the manager of the oldest-established interior decorating business,) that the district has become distinctively a "furniture" area.

Summary. Thus this store was one of the earliest to set up in a non-central location, a tactic encouraged by the nature of the goods offered for sale. However, the particular non-central site chosen was selected almost fortuitously, depending upon the availability of a vacant
building. Since then the district chosen has become an important speciality store district, due in part to the success of this early established business.

**Store 3.**

Store no. 3 in the same area, fills out the picture with the example of a newer business. This store is probably the most highly specialized, highest quality store of its type in Vancouver. (For example, sales average $400 per item, an indication of the quality of goods sold.)

The store was opened on this site in 1963. Previously the store had been downtown for two years, in the 600 block Howe Street (the centre of a cluster of antique gift stores at that time.)

The downtown location was always regarded as somewhat temporary, however; the managers eventually intended to locate in the south Granville area when a suitable site became available. The downtown site was accepted as a temporary alternative, since a store was offered at an unusually low rent, and since a downtown site was regarded as having a useful adventizing potential in the early days of the store. As the managers saw it, "everyone goes downtown eventually," and exposure to this cosmopolitan shopping crowd was regarded as desirable in these initial years.

After two years of downtown operation, the store decentralized to its present location. The original intention to locate outside the C.B.D. was strengthened by the experience of actual downtown operation. For example, downtown it had been necessary to operate the store as a gift store (directed at the tourist trade,) as well as a furniture store, in order to raise turnover to meet the higher costs of downtown operation. This was not to the taste of the managers who preferred to operate a specialized furniture store, free from the bother of selling small items of little
interest to themselves. Additionally, customers hinted that the area was inconvenient in terms of parking and in terms of accessibility through the downtown one way street system, and suggested a move to a more convenient, even if non-central, location. Finally, the downtown site proved to have other minor disadvantages, such as inconvenience for loading merchandise and a generally unattractive aesthetic atmosphere.

The advantages of the present location were carefully assessed before the store was opened.

(i) First, it was recognized that potential customers would be from high income groups, areally localized in the western and southern suburbs of the city. The south Granville area is conveniently accessible from such areas via Granville Street and Broadway, and was regarded as no less accessible than the C.B.D. from these critical areas.

(ii) Second, the area chosen already had a number of related businesses, such as furniture stores and interior decorators. This was felt to be an important attraction, since it was expected that customers would move between stores on comparative shopping trips. In fact, the main advantage to materialize is that interior decorators bring clients to the antique store to choose high quality furniture.

Also, not only is proximity to other retailers recognized as important, but also fabric wholesalers and furniture repairers are located in the immediate district, with consequent savings in cost and time in the repair and renovation of merchandise.

Interestingly, the merchants involved repeated the idea already expressed by another merchant that this area could evolve into Vancouver's "Jackson Square" - a specialized area of quality furniture stores, and argued that this was, in fact, the ideal location for stores of this type. As one partner in the store hopefully put it, "this is an area on the way up," and implied that the direction of growth was towards the San Francisco ideal.
(iii) Thirdly, the area was seen to offer advantages in low rents, greater security of tenure, and easier parking over central locations, advantages other merchants have also recognized.

**Summary.** The business men here then, believed that a non-central location would be superior to a C.B.D. location for specialized businesses, and their experience confirmed this notion. However, not "any" non-central location was considered as an alternative site. The only area seriously considered, in fact, was the south Granville area, with every effort being made to locate as close as possible to the furniture row cluster. Location is thus considered not unimportant, though it is not the expected downtown location.

In short, in this case, a central location is seen to offer no compensating advantages for its higher overhead costs, and is rejected. The chosen non-central site is thought to offer an equal degree of accessibility to customers and advantages growing out of proximity to related retail activities and business services, while it also fits an ideal location image ("Jackson Square") impressed on the minds of owners through contact with other cities.

Two stores outside the furniture row cluster can be examined, by way of contrast.

**Store 4.**

Store 4 is on 4th Ave., close to the intersection of 4th and Burrard Street. Again, this is an old-established store, founded on this site in 1929. The store mainly offers English furniture in the medium price range.

Again, this merchant early decided that a central location was not essential to the operation of specialized furniture since customers could be expected to seek out scarce
and high quality goods, even in a relatively unobtrusive location. Thus the merchant resented the idea of paying a high rent for a C.B.D. site for apparently no return in customer accessibility, and instead sought a low rent, non-central site. In this sense, when central and non-central sites are viewed indifferently in terms of customer accessibility, the low rent of an eccentric location becomes the determining location factor.

By now the store has a wide reputation, and has even less reason to seek a central location, since customers are quite willing to travel to the store for assuredly high quality merchandise.

However, for two short periods (from 1936-1938 and 1950-1953,) the merchant operated downtown branch stores and this experience is relevant to our discussion.

The downtown stores were opened at a period when the supply of antiques was high, and the merchant saw possibilities for expansion. Unfortunately, expansion of trade did not materialize. Opening downtown branch stores increased total turnover only marginally; the downtown stores were expensive failures and were closed as soon as leases permitted.

The merchant interpreted this experience to mean that the market for the kind of antiques he offered was, and remains, limited in Vancouver and that a maximum level is set by the size and wealth of the metropolitan area population. Thus, even by changing location or opening new stores, total turnover cannot be increased very much. As the merchant explained, "I could not get a higher turnover at Georgia and Granville" (than at the 4th Ave. store.) The best location under these circumstances he sees to be a stable, non-central location, offering low overhead costs and relatively easy accessibility to customers. For antique furniture stores, a central location is seen as an extravagance with no reward.

A further consideration was mentioned by this merchant (though not by any others) which may also deter antique
furniture stores from locating downtown. The supply of good antiques is erratic. It would not be impossible for a store to run very low in stocks. Then a low cost, non-central location would obviously fare better than a high cost, central location if fixed costs had to be borne over an enforced period of sales inactivity.

Summary. In this store too then, a non-central location was preferred, while experience with a downtown location suggested the higher cost of downtown operation brings no compensatory reward through greater sales.

Store 6.

Store 6 is the smallest of the stores yet considered, and the most eccentrically located, situated as it is on West 10th Ave. in the University district. The store has been in this area (though not in the same building) for eight years.

It should be mentioned at once that only half this store's business is concerned with antique retailing, while over half the total income of the business depends on finishing antique furniture for private customers or other retailers. Thus this example lacks strict comparability with the other examples cited. However, it is useful to include this case since merchant attitude compares well with the attitude of business men already discussed.

From the point of view of the finishing section of the business, the merchant suggests that location could be almost anywhere in the city where zoning regulations permit, with the glaring exception of the C.B.D. where rents are too high to permit viable operation.

The retailing aspect of the business is considered slightly less flexible in locational terms, but it is felt that any of several locations in the higher income suburbs would prove a suitable basis for operation. Thus the merchant
considered both the North Shore area and the Kerrisdale area before choosing the West Point Grey district, and the latter area was preferred only because a suitable work shop store was immediately available.

**Summary.** Essentially, the merchant agrees that high quality specialized merchandise will attract customers even to non-central locations, while an upper income suburb provides both a cushion of local customers and an appropriate setting for the attraction of more distant customers. This attitude is, of course, highly comparable with several stores already discussed.

**Conclusion.**

The antique furniture group then, provides examples of specialized stores in non-central locations and somewhat uniquely, some examples of old-established businesses in such locations. Several merchants have experimented with downtown locations, but found that the C.B.D. offers no advantage in accessibility to customers, or in increased sales volumes, that is not more than offset by higher overhead costs and by diseconomies through traffic congestion.

Antique stores do, however, seem to benefit from proximity to each other and to external supplies and businesses. Businesses thus tend to cluster in one part of the inner city, accessible from the high income areas where most customers reside, and close to external service businesses. Such a cluster has grown up in Vancouver in a highway side location in the inner city, around a successful early business which gave the area the appropriate impetus.

**Id OTHER FURNITURE STORES**

Confirmation of the locational hypothesis depends upon proliferation of examples. It is thus relevant to cite a further case.
A large specialized furniture store is situated in the 2500 block, West Broadway. This store is dealt with alone since it does not easily fit into any category yet discussed. It is closest to the Danish modern group of stores, yet sufficiently differentiated to be apart from that group. The store specializes in modern furniture in the "Italian" and "French" reproduction style, and is apparently the only store in Vancouver of this type.

The precise location of the store is shown by a distinctive symbol on Map IV. The store is rather isolated; it is situated between the large, unplanned shopping district of Broadway and Bayswater, and the major Broadway-Granville store grouping, but itself has no significant retail neighbours. The situation is highway side, on the busy east-west Broadway arterial, and vehicular traffic past the store is heavy.

The merchant's explanation for the choice of the location fits our initial hypotheses almost exactly. Notable, in fact, was the emphatic insistence of the merchant upon his particular interpretation of the location requirements of specialized businesses.

Essentially, the merchant believes that under contemporary conditions of customer mobility and where a highly specialized commodity is being offered, business location is relatively unimportant.

Thus the merchant believes that his store is unique in the city, in terms of style of goods offered and range of choice of goods. Under these circumstances, he believes that "people will come to you," and that store location is consequently highly flexible.

Thus the merchant feels it is not necessary to be near to other competitive stores, (since people will travel for expensive, postponable purchases) nor is it necessary to be in an area with heavy pedestrian traffic (since the walk-in trade is small,) nor even is it necessary to be in an upper
income area (to provide a suitable "environment" for operation, as other merchants have insisted.)

In light of these attitudes, it is not difficult to see why the merchant rejects the traditional downtown location with its high overhead costs, when downtown offers no unique advantages in return for such high costs.

In support of this attitude, the merchant notes the experience of a partner store in Calgary, which was located on the basis of similar principles and which proved successful even in a low income, non-central area. The main point repeated by the merchant is that the nature of the good offered permits great locational flexibility.

However, the merchant also stresses that a necessary prerequisite to locational freedom is customer mobility. Essentially, he believes that his potential customers are in the middle and upper income group and are thus highly mobile, and likely to travel for specialized high quality goods. Thus the merchant estimates that 98 per cent of customers arrive by car, and this tends to confirm his estimate of customer mobility.

The particular site chosen was, in fact, selected on the basis of its availability at the time the store was opened (1959) since it satisfied some few minimum requirements. Thus the store was chosen since it is a large one, it has its own parking lot, and it was possible to negotiate with the landlord for improvement and renovations to be made. As we have seen before then, once locational flexibility is admitted, relatively marginal considerations become locational determinents.

This business has now been open for six years and has proven successful. If anything, the business has become more specialized over that period; the merchant has dropped lower price items from his stock which tended to sell slowly. This experience he interprets as confirming his initial ideas that potential customers are high income and quality conscious,
permitting stores to compete in quality rather than distance terms, and thus allowing stores considerable location flex-
ibility.

Conclusions - Furniture Store Group.

This discussion of the furniture group of stores has been long and necessarily somewhat repetitive. However, out of the diverse cases studied, several themes stand clear.

(i) Highly specialized furniture stores need not be centrally located as existing notions of city spatial organization tend to suggest. Rather, observation indicates that such stores can be located in non-central sites. Where such cases are identified, interview reveals that merchant attitudes towards product differentiation, store image and customer mobility, structure location choice, in accordance with our deductive argument. A consistent theme is that location requirements are rather flexible, since such specialized businesses are not seeking to attract customers in spatial terms, but in "monopolistic competitive" terms.

(ii) However, even if eccentricity in location is admitted, there are limits to such eccentricity. Inner city highway side locations or middle income suburbs are preferred, while outer suburban sites, low income suburbs and planned shopping centres are avoided.

(iii) Where specialized furniture stores are downtown, sentimental values imputed to downtown locations rather than the traditional accessibility function of the C.B.D. accounts for such locations.

(iv) Generally, however, the high rent of the C.B.D. (once the premium paid for the C.B.D.'s accessibility advantage,) now seems to be a price with little return, since other areas are regarded as equally accessible to mobile customers. High downtown rents thus become a deterrent to downtown location.
(v) It is noticeable that when several locations are regarded as equally accessible to mobile customers, there may be a lack of consistency in motives affecting location choice, and relatively "minor" considerations can become location determinents.

(vi) There is some evidence for the idea that newly appearing business types need not appear in central locations but can as easily appear in non-central locations.

II GIFT STORES

A second group of stores which may be examined with advantage, is the specialized gift store group.

Note that in this "gift" category, stores actually sell crockery, flatware, cutlery, and glassware, as well as more obviously decorative items. We can speak of the stores as a group, however, since:

(i) Merchants feel that most goods are gift intended, and organize their operations on this basis.
(ii) All stores specialize in goods of high quality and high price.
(iii) Stores are set apart by distinctive characteristics in the design of the goods sold, and this itself becomes the basis of sub-classification of the basic "gift" group, (e.g. Danish modern, gift stores, Spanish gift stores.)

The definition of high order gift stores then, depends upon management practices, commodity quality and commodity specialization in design, not the functional characteristics of the goods offered (which may, in fact, be quite diverse.) Sub-categories are differentiated further on the basis of specialization in design.

There are some differences between this group of stores and the furniture group previously discussed, and these must be made explicit.
Most notably, we must assume that gift items are lower cost, and are purchased more frequently than high cost, infrequently bought items of furniture. Although there exist no estimates of "typical" intervals between purchases of various categories of goods by various groups of customers, this assumption seems intuitively valid.

Now this difference has some locational consequences, since if gift items are lower cost and more frequently purchased than furniture items, then:

(i) "shopping around" before purchase of gift items is likely to be less prolonged than with furniture purchases;
(ii) travel costs become a larger part of total costs;
(iii) customers are more likely to set up habitual connections with particular stores and shopping centres where gifts are purchased.

The result will be that for gift stores, location is likely to be more critical and less flexible than was the case with furniture stores, and we might expect that specialized gift stores will fit more easily into existing theories of retail business location. This needs to be borne in mind as the discussion proceeds.

Regarding specialized gift stores as high order businesses then, by virtue of their high degree of product design, specialization, and high merchandise quality, but recognizing that greater frequency of purchase by customers will involve consequences for the locational pattern of the business discussed, we examine the characteristics of some such stores in Vancouver.

IIa DANISH MODERN GIFT STORES

There are four stores in Vancouver specializing entirely in small items of crockery, glassware, and ornaments in "contemporary" design, which fit into this category. Their locations are shown on Map V.
Stores 1 and 2 are downtown; store 1 is in Robson Street, (an area which will recur frequently in this section, since it is the locus of several specialized gift stores) and store 2 is in Seymour Street close to a major department store. Store 3 is in the western suburbs, in the University district, and store 4 is in West Vancouver.

The stores can be discussed individually, again depending upon interview data.

Store 1.

The store is situated in the western section of downtown in Robson Street, a district of speciality gift stores and ethnic food stores. This store cluster is rather isolated from the main shopping axis of Granville Street, but it has its own attractive power by virtue of the number and quality of its stores.

Store 1 opened on this site in 1962 and a downtown site was chosen for two main reasons.

(i) Firstly, it was assumed that a speciality store such as this depended upon a large and scattered population to generate a sustaining demand, and that such a potential market could best be served from a central location. In contrast, a suburban site was thought incapable of generating a demand sufficient to support a speciality store; the manager did not share the view that customer mobility made a non-central location feasible for specialized business, since it was felt that a suburban location necessarily implied dependence upon an adjacent market. Only downtown it was felt, could attract customers from non-contiguous parts of the city on the scale that a specialized business would require. This attitude is obviously in contrast to some merchant attitudes already discussed.

(ii) Secondly, it was hoped to benefit from Vancouver's tourist traffic and to achieve this, a downtown location was felt essential, since downtown is the usual locus of the temporary tourist visitor. In fact, the importance of tourist
custom was stressed as a factor influencing the choice of a central location.

Thus the downtown site was chosen partly because of the traditionally recognized value of the C.B.D. as the focus of communication and congregation from across the entire city, but also, and hardly less importantly, because downtown is seen as the locus of the summer tourist.

Once downtown had been decided upon, the choice of a particular downtown site became important. In this context, proximity to the potential tourist trade assumed even greater significance. A site was chosen in the 900 block Robson Street, already an area with a number of specialized gift stores (two antique gift stores and an art gallery, for example,) which together were expected to attract tourist visitors.\(^\text{15}\) Moreover, this store group is close to a number of major downtown hotels, and this proximity was cited as a further advantage in the pursuit of the tourist trade.

The specific site chosen then, depended upon the characteristics of the neighbouring complementary businesses, especially as these would attract tourist customers. At

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\(^{15}\) It may be relevant to note a recent development in the character of this specialized store district.

In 1962, the merchants in the 900 Robson store cluster attempted to capitalize more positively on their adjacency. It was felt that cooperation between businesses might increase the overall attractiveness of the area, and thus draw more customers to the district. On the initiative of one merchant in the block (a bookseller,) the owner of the building in which the stores are situated was approached. He agreed to renovate the entire facade of the building, to standardize shop fronts, signs, blinds, etc. An architect was retained to coordinate renovation and redecoration. In return, merchants agree to accept higher rents, (rents are now about $600 a month for small stores with 16' front footage.) The scheme was completed in the late summer of 1964. Merchants anticipate success, and claim that there is a waiting list of business men anxious to set up stores in the newly decorated buildings.
this scale, tourist orientation was the dominant location influence.

**Summary.** This example then, (store 1) apparently contradicts an aspect of the major hypothesis under review, since the merchant rejects the notion of a non-central location for specialized gift stores as well as the possible rationale behind such a suggested location. However, the example does support the idea put forward that where specialized businesses are found downtown, there is a conscious orientation to the downtown population of workers, or (as in this case,) tourists, as well as a conscious orientation to customers assumed scattered across the metropolitan area.

But the picture of this store presented so far must be enlarged.

It is important that this store is not a completely independent business. It is, in fact, financed by the owner of store 6 of the Danish modern furniture group (the Kerrisdale store) and operated by a partner-manager. Moreover, the store is not as yet financially viable; it is, in a sense, subsidized by the Kerrisdale store, which provides stock on long term credit.

This subsidy reflects an as yet unmentioned motive which led to the choice of a downtown location. The businessmen who financed and operate the enterprise believe that retailing has an "educative" function as well as a commercial function; thus they wish to expose "good design" (in the shape of the merchandise they offer,) to as wide a public as possible, and hope to thus stimulate public interest in contemporary design. This attitude helped to lead (and still more helps to maintain,) the store downtown, since the C.B.D. is thought to be the best place from which to influence public taste.

In this example then, the choice of a site downtown was not entirely dictated by "rational" motives, still less by
the accessibility function of the C.B.D. Rather there is an irrational element affecting location choice, and more particularly, maintaining the store downtown, despite initially unprofitable operation. This "irrational" element is the desire to influence public taste by offering well designed goods for sale, the desire to "educate" as well as to sell. How long such an altruistic posture can be maintained is uncertain. Certainly, it is not meant to be a permanent situation; the business is looked upon as a long-term venture, the current "educational" period hopefully leading to genuinely viable downtown operation eventually. However, the attitude outlined is important in so far as it structures location choice. It is perhaps comparable to the culturally based preferences of the European immigrant furniture store owners for a core location, and to the "furniture row" merchants' aspiration for a "Jackson Square" type location. It suggests that for specialized retail businesses, not the nature of the goods sold but the characteristics of the merchant involved will frequently determine business location. Examination of the attitudes and motives of merchants when choosing their business location is thus essential if apparently disparate patterns of store locations are to be understood.

**Store 2.**

Store 2 is also downtown, and has several aspects of location in common with store 1, especially since this store also is financially and managerially related to a non-central Danish modern furniture store (in this case, store 3 in the furniture row area,) and since it too is somewhat less than financially successful.

This store is in the 600 block Seymour Street, in a cluster of specialty stores occupying the ground floor of a recently built (1959) multi-storey parking structure. This building was constructed and is owned by the Hudson Bay Co.
and is adjacent to their downtown department store. Company policy is to attract high quality speciality stores to the new building, attempting to build up the kind of symbiotic department store-speciality store relationships which often occur spontaneously in central city areas.

In fact, the owner of store 2 was invited to set up a business in this new building. At that time (the late 1950's) the original South Granville store had become successful and well-known, and presumably the Hudson Bay Co., in its capacity as landlord, considered this to be the type of store it wanted to attract to its new building. The merchant agreed to open a branch store in the new building, since his business was proving successful, and he was considering expansion. A downtown location attracted mainly because of its prestige and its potential advertising power. Since the new store was small, it was looked upon as a secondary aspect of the business, in no way replacing the original South Granville Street store, and not representing any basic change in the locational philosophy of the merchant involved.

The dominant fact about the new downtown branch is that it has proved unsuccessful. In not one year of its five years of operation has the store even covered costs. The merchant attributes the failure to some characteristics of the central location especially to too high rents in the new building, in proportion to the size of the store. The merchant feels that rents (at $800 a month) have been set "unrealistically" high and should be adjusted to take account of the reduced comparative location advantage of the C.B.D. in the modern city.

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16 Soon after the store was established, the emphasis of the store shifted from furniture (the early specialization) to gifts. The shift was dictated by the experience of operation, since small gift items sold better than furniture items and specialization on gifts was encouraged in an effort to increase turnover. The present nature of the store as a gift shop was determined by its location rather than the location being chosen for that particular store type.
This experience disillusioned the merchant about a downtown location, and confirmed his belief that a specialized business is best operated from a non-central location (as was fully discussed in the context of his main Granville Street store.) His attitude certainly extends to furniture stores and, less dogmatically, to gift stores; the merchant concedes that a specialized gift store of the type that his store has evolved into might operate in a downtown location if rents were lower. Since he has little interest in operating a gift store, however, the merchant will close down this particular store as soon as the lease permits.

Summary. This case then, does not after all undermine the locational hypothesis put forward, even though it presents a highly specialized gift store in a central location. In a negative sense, it tends to support out hypothesis, since the business proved unsuccessful, and lack of success is attributable to the high costs intrinsic in a central location. The implication is that high downtown rents, once the premium paid for accessibility, now tend to mitigate against viable operation in the city core for specialized businesses.

Store 3.

Store 3, the most eccentric store of its type in Vancouver, was actually the first store of its type to be established in Vancouver, being set up in 1950, and has maintained its location over that period. The store is situated in the 4200 block West 10th Ave., in the western suburbs, on the margin of a local shopping district, which, however, also contains a number of rather high quality apparel and gift stores.

(i) First, (and as with Danish modern furniture stores and colonial furniture stores considered) the early foundation and eccentric location of this example provides evidence for the idea that newly appearing business types are as likely to
appear in non-central locations in the city as in the C.B.D., further supporting hypothesis IV of Chapter II.

(ii) Second, the rationale behind the choice of this suburban location is also familiar, and tends to support our location hypothesis. As with previous cases, a non-central location was considered an acceptable alternative to a C.B.D. site, since it was felt that product specialization and customer mobility implied the ability to attract customers to non-central sites, and that this, in turn, permitted locational flexibility.

(iii) The motivation leading to the particular choice of the West Point Grey area out of many alternative non-central locations is relevant and again is not unfamiliar. Essentially, the merchant sought a non-central location which would provide both a local demand and also would "complement" the good offered in such a way as to attract more distant customers.

Thus the selection of a site was preceded in this merchant's case by a careful evaluation of potential sites. Sites in the other middle income suburbs - Kerrisdale and West Vancouver - were considered. The former was rejected because it was "an old-established area," and thus thought unlikely to provide a satisfactory "background" from which to project the desired store image of "modernity" on which the attraction of distant customers would depend. The latter district was considered less attractive for a more prosaic reason, i.e. its distance from the merchant's home.

In contrast, the Point Grey district was selected out of all possible suburban sites essentially for its "atmosphere"; it was felt that the adjacent middle income residences and more particularly proximity to the University provided an appropriate setting for a store selling "contemporary" items, and also (the merchant suggested,) a community receptive to new ideas in design, which would help to generate an initial local demand. In short, the environment of the area and the
nature of the good offered were felt to be complementary, and the store was expected to benefit from association with the area.

Once this store had been set up, the merchant was energetic in promoting the attraction of the store and the area. Here, her ambition was to see the University district become a high quality speciality store area known all over the city. Thus she urged other merchants to join in standardizing shop fronts and in tree planting along sidewalks. This programme achieved limited success, since other merchants were described as "apathetic." However, the merchant's own store has been improved and enlarged, and now has a considerable extra-local reputation and trade.

More recently, (from about 1962) several high quality specialized stores have indeed set up in the area, especially gift stores and apparel stores, and this shopping district seems to be emerging into a speciality store district. Some of these stores and the motives that led owners to open in this district will be discussed later. Note here, however, that the example of store 3 was cited as an influence on location choice by some new merchants. 17

Summary. In the case of store 3 then, a non-central location is admitted and for familiar reasons. But again, the limits of eccentricity are set by the necessity for location in the "right" place, with an appropriate background atmosphere, one which seems to complement the good offered and which is expected to attract the kind of customer to whom the store is assumed to appeal.

17See Bliss, P. op. cit., for similar observations on the spread of retailing innovations among merchants.
Store 4.

Store 4 is situated on the North Shore, in a small shopping district in West Vancouver. The store opened in 1956 and at first operated as a rather unspecialized gift shop. It only became a commodity specialized (Danish modern) store in 1960, when a new partner entered the business. Thus for our purposes, the store became a high order store at the latter date, and the firm's location history relevantly begins at that time.

The most important point for us is that when a change to a more specialized line of goods was undertaken, the merchant considered an eccentric location no hindrance to the operation of such a specialized business. This is similar to other specialized furniture stores and gift stores discussed and seems to confirm our location hypothesis.

However, the rationality behind the attitude is less confirmatory. The merchant did not expect to draw customers from distant areas on the basis of uniqueness and quality of goods offered. Rather, the major market was expected to be in the adjacent North Shore suburban areas which were regarded as areas of concentration of wealth and tastes sufficient to support even a highly specialized gift store. In short, the merchant recognized that demands for the goods offered were socially localized among upper income groups, and also, in Vancouver, were areally localized in North Shore residential areas. This suburb was expected to generate a local demand sufficient to support the store.

This attitude is different from attitudes expressed by other merchant operators of specialized businesses. There, a non-central location was favoured because customers were presumed attractable from even distant areas by virtue of the nature of goods offered. At most, the local area was expected to provide a cushion of local demand and an appropriate setting for the attraction of extra-local customers.
Here, however, the store is entirely locally oriented because of the emphatic localization of wealth and of particular taste demands in one part of the city.

In fact, it is noticeable that the shopping district containing this store (in Marine Drive, West Vancouver,) is distinctively unusual. Although containing few stores, these stores are not the ubiquitous low order functions we would expect to find in a small neighbourhood centre. Rather, there is an unusually high concentration of expensive beauty salons, exclusive dressmakers and high quality gift stores in the district. The district as a whole is obviously catering to the demands of a rich suburban market, and as a consequence, stores of a high degree of specialization are found playing a "convenience good" role.

**Summary.** This example seems to add a new dimension to our argument. Certainly, the store is as "specialized" (and thus as "high order") as any gift store yet discussed. Yet it is eccentrically located and serves only an areally restricted market. This reflects an orientation to a local market where demands for the specialized goods offered are unusually concentrated. The example thus confirms and adds to our argument, while also modifying further more traditional theories of city retail structure.

**Conclusions.**

The Danish modern gift group does not completely support our basic argument; only one store fits completely in location and merchant attitude with the theme we are developing, and two stores are found in the more traditional downtown location. However, the two downtown stores, as suspected, do show a conscious orientation to a tourist market as well as a local market, and again, as expected, a downtown location was not selected in either case for the traditional accessibility advantage of the C.B.D. The economic weakness of these C.B.D. stores perhaps illustrates also that downtown
is an ambiguously attractive area for high order businesses under contemporary retailing conditions. At the same time, a new dimension is added to the argument - an eccentrically located but locally oriented high order gift store.

IIb SPANISH GIFT STORES

In the last two years or so, Spanish inspired decor has become popular in Western North America. Recently three stores have opened in Vancouver specializing entirely in small items of glassware, iron ware and pottery of Spanish design and manufacture, and also selling small items of furniture in traditional Spanish designs.

The distribution of these stores is also shown in Map V. One store is in the North Shore in the local shopping district of Marine Drive, West Vancouver, while the other two stores are situated close together in the West 10th Ave. shopping district in the University area.

All the stores in this category opened within a few months of each other, in 1964. The failure of any such store to appear in the C.B.D. helps to reinforce once again the hypothesis about the likely location of newly appearing business types.

Store 1.

The first store to open was store 1 in West Vancouver. The chosen site is out of the main business ribbon, but in a new building in an adjacent street, neighboured by a jeweller's and an expensive beauty salon.

This example again modifies our basic locational argument in the same way as did store 4 in the Danish modern gift store group. Essentially, the merchant considers he is serving a local (North Shore) market, and chose his site and operates his business on that assumption. He does not agree that a business such as his is likely to attract customers from across the city, (since other gift stores in other areas
are seen as essentially comparable and competitive,) but stresses that he is serving a North Shore market which is regarded as a concentrated market for the specialized goods offered. In short, the motives leading to location choice were rather simple for this store. The merchant recognized that the goods he was offering would appeal to upper income customers able to afford and likely to appreciate high quality goods, and a situation close to an upper income suburb was desired. Several were considered (the South Granville Street area, for example,) before the West Vancouver area was chosen, since it was possible to select a site in proximity to complementary store types expected to attract potential customers to the immediate locality.

**Stores 2 and 3.**

The two other stores in this group can be discussed together, since they are in the same location,(only one block apart) of recent establishment, (both set up in the summer of 1964) and similar motives led to the choice of the location.

In these examples, both merchants feel that they are operating specialized businesses, which depend essentially upon a large market and upon a wide distribution of customers for support. However, both feel that such a market area can be served as easily (and at lower cost) from a non-central location as from a central location, since "unique" and high quality goods are being offered for sale. This attitude, of course, precisely supports our locational hypothesis and is similar to views expressed by operators of other specialized stores in non-central locations.

The critical and as yet unanswered question these merchants now face is whether or not they can draw customers from the extra-local area in sufficient numbers to sustain operation. As the owner of store 3 commented, "that is the $64,000 question." Both merchants feel that they will be able to attract such customers on the basis of the quality of their
goods and assumed customer mobility, and it was this expect-
ation which led them to select non-central sites originally.

Interestingly, both merchants here pointed to the
success of other specialized businesses in non-central
locations, (especially store 1 in the colonial furniture
group, and store 3 in the Danish gift group) as evidence of
the feasibility of such a location.

The factors which led these businesses to West Point
Grey rather than any other suburban location were in each
case different, however, and need to be discussed separately.

Store 2 was set up in anticipation of an increase in
demand for Spanish furniture and gifts. The owner, formerly
an importer of such items, was so impressed at the interest
generated by his display at a recent Vancouver trade fair,
that he decided to move directly into retailing. A suburban
location was chosen for the broad reasons discussed.

However, the merchant would have preferred a Kerrisdale
location over a Point Grey site, since it was felt that the
former area would provide a more solid base of local trade
and, as a larger centre with more complementary stores, would
be more likely to attract distant customers. Since no sites
were available in Kerrisdale, Point Grey was accepted as an
alternative on a one year trial basis. As a compensation,
the "cultural atmosphere" of the University area (to quote
the merchant) as well as the neighbouring speciality shops,
were looked upon as potential aids to customer attraction and
as appropriate complements to the good offered.

Since the store opened, a sustained advertizing campaign
has been initiated through those regional magazines and radio
stations aimed at the middle and upper income market
identified as potential customers. The introduction of such
a campaign obviously indicates that the store intends to be
more than local in scope, and that the basis of its extra-
local appeal is expected to be its "image" of product
specialization and quality.
For store 2, in contrast, the West Point Grey area was the first choice. Once a non-central site had been admitted as a possible location, the Point Grey area attracted the merchant because of proximity to the University. The University was expected to provide a local market for one important aspect of the business (selling Spanish guitars) and thus University proximity became an important location factor when other sites were regarded as practically equivalent.

This merchant added one interesting point which might help further in explaining the lack of Spanish gift stores downtown.

We noted that Danish modern gift shops in downtown locations consciously acknowledged the importance of tourist trade. This merchant, however, feels that Spanish gifts would have little appeal to summer tourists in competition with antiques, Canadiana and Oriental gifts, the traditional souvenir items of the American tourist in Western Canada. Spanish items are, in fact, more common in the U.S.A. (where most tourists originate) than in Canada and are also cheaper in the U.S.A. The tourist market for Spanish items is thus felt to be limited in Vancouver, and there is not even this incentive to locate stores downtown. Rather, the market for such goods is seen as lying within the city itself, and location is selected with this market in mind.

Conclusions.

(i) This small group of stores seems to support the main hypothesis under review, since we see non-centrally located specialized stores oriented to extra-local customers, competing for trade in non-spatial "image projection" terms.

(ii) One store, the smallest of the three, expects to serve only a local market, however, and this modifies our argument as did a previous gift store example.
OTHER SPECIALIZED GIFT STORES

There are some few other gift stores in Vancouver specialized enough to be called "high order", but not fitting into any category yet discussed. They are included here on the basis of their specialization in some commodity category and on the basis of merchandise quality.

Such "miscellaneous" stores are not mapped, since, in fact, they are all downtown. They include a Canadian art shop (store 1), a "South Sea" gift shop (Store 2), a "Scottish" gift shop (store 3), and two "oriental" gift shops (stores 4 and 5.)

As stated, all the stores included here are downtown. Interview reveals that in all cases, it is the recognition of the tourist potential of a downtown site that maintains such stores in the C.B.D. and not (as traditional ideas suggest,) the accessibility of the C.B.D. from the city as a whole.

Examples need not be multiplied, but we can note that store 1 (opened in 1963) and store 2 (1959) in the Robson Street store cluster, both cite proximity to nearby hotels as a feature attracting them to the site. Additionally, the importance of selecting an area with the correct "atmosphere" (in terms of the surrounding shops and the physical appearance of the district) appropriate to the kind of good offered and to the kind of customer to whom appeal is being addressed, was stressed.

Similarly, store 3 formerly operated as a home-based business supplying Scottish goods to pipe bands by mail order. The owner, desiring to expand his business, recognized the potential importance of tourist trade and appreciated the key role of a downtown location in securing such a market.

An attempt was made to measure the role of this tourist trade in downtown gift store operation more directly. For this purpose, the questionnaire cards (discussed in Chapter III) were distributed to store 1 in this group and store 1 in the Danish modern gift group (discussed earlier in this chapter.)
The object was to measure the proportion of customers shopping at the store, who actually originated from downtown itself, and who might be tourists. Unfortunately, a disappointing result was obtained and few cards were returned. The evidence collected must then be interpreted "cum grano salis"; and even so the evidence for the two stores must be aggregated to be useful. However, the response at least confirms the direction of merchants estimate in broad terms, (see Table III.) Some 35% of customers are tourists (arriving to shop from downtown hotels,) and the same proportion are downtown workers. Thus the C.B.D. itself contributes 70 per cent of custom to the trade of these downtown speciality stores, and this is a powerful location influence, as merchants stress.

Conclusions - Gift Store Group.

The following main themes can be identified after analysis of this store category.

(i) In contrast to the furniture group of stores, specialized gift stores provide only rather ambiguous support for our main locational hypothesis. Merchant attitude is less prepared to accept the possibility of viable operation in non-central locations, even allowing for customer mobility and competition through product specialization and store image, etc. Only two stores in the Danish group and two stores in the Spanish gift group, in fact, chose locations based on this attitude, and even here, some businesses admit that they are as yet on a trial basis, and viable operation is not assured.

In the few cases where eccentricity is identified, there is a familiar limitation to upper income suburban sites

17 This is legitimate, since the stores are situated side by side in the same (Robson Street) store cluster, and sell similar "modern" high quality merchandise.
### TABLE III

**Customer Origins - Robson Street Gift Stores**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Home</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Hotel</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Card questionnaire survey.

### TABLE IV

**Customer Origins - Downtown Men's Wear Stores**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Home</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Hotel</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>No Reply</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Howe Street</strong></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speciality Store</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Popular Price</strong></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men's Wear Store</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Downtown Dept. Stores</strong></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Men's Wear Depts.)</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. %'s do not add up to 100 because of rounding.

Source: Dept. Stores - in store survey.

Other Stores - Card questionnaire survey.
and to areas which provide a setting which "complements" the good offered and which is thus thought appropriate for customer attraction and image projection.

(ii) Yet the location situation described is not entirely unexpected. We pointed out that gift stores would likely display less locational flexibility than furniture stores because of differences in the nature of the good offered, especially in the frequency of purchases. This is now confirmed.

In this context, however, we might expect that if eccentricity in location of high order businesses is in any sense an evolutionary process (i.e. if location flexibility and non-spatial competition is in the process of extending to lower order businesses as customer mobility and merchant sophistication increase,) then lower order stores will begin to exhibit non-central locations at later dates. Now, if we consider specialized gift stores as slightly "lower order," then specialized furniture stores (on the basis of the assumed difference in the purchase interval of goods,) then it is interesting that specialized gift stores are appearing in non-central locations at rather later dates (1963-64) than specialized furniture stores (1954-61.) The inference is that specialized gift stores will be more likely to appear in non-central but city serving locations in future.

(iii) It is demonstrated by merchant attitude, merchant estimate, and customer survey, that specialized gift stores located downtown depend upon downtown tourists for a large proportion of their customers. This orientation is, in fact, the crucial location determinant for such stores and it is accessibility to this tourist market, not the metropolitan market as a whole, which makes the higher cost of downtown operation worthwhile.

(iv) There is further support for the idea that business types appearing in the city for the first time can as easily appear in non-central as in central locations, as the examples of the Danish and Spanish gift stores illustrate.
III SPECIALIZED JEWELLERY STORES

A small but distinctive group of stores in Vancouver is the specialized modern jewellery group. These stores sell expensive jewellery in "modern" designs and items are usually craftsmen designed and manufactured. They are thus set apart from other jewellers, and identifiable as a group by the specialization and quality of the product they offer for sale.

To amplify the basis of identity of this group note:

(i) There is a specialization on jewellery (as much as on a distinctive kind of jewellery); other jewellers in Vancouver, both central and suburban, large and small, include silverware, glassware, clocks and watches in their operations, as well as items of personal jewellery. In short, the stores in this group are more highly commodity specialized, even at this level.

(ii) All stores are operated by jeweller-craftsmen who design and make their own goods for sale. The stores could thus be described as "custom jewellers" and the goods they sell are truly unique in the sense of being individual in design. There is, however, a comparability in the design of goods offered which enables the stores to be discussed as a group.

(iii) Significant is that all merchants name each other as "similar" stores in discussing the nature of their business and differentiating themselves from "ordinary" jewellers.

With this definition in mind, this store group can now be discussed.

There are five such stores in Vancouver and their location is shown on map VI. (Note that stores 1 and 2 are operated by the same merchant.)

Store 1 is situated in the Marine Drive shopping district of West Vancouver, a middle class suburb. Store 2 is downtown in a cluster of specialized ladies' wear shops and close to a large department store. Store 3, also downtown, is in a
Location of Specialized Modern Jewellery Stores
rather inconspicuous position in a side street off a busier thoroughfare close to a large cinema. Store 4 is in the South Granville Street business district, and store 5 is in the West 10th Ave. shopping district, close to the University.

Store 1 and Store 2.

Stores 1 and 2, operated by the same merchant, can be considered together since they are, in a sense, complementary.

Store 1 was opened in 1952 and was the first jewellery store of its type to open in Vancouver. This seems to confirm again the idea that newly appearing business types need not appear in central locations, as have several other store types previously discussed.

Similarly, the logic behind the location choice seems to bear out our main location hypothesis.

Essentially, the merchant felt that he was offering a specialized good to mobile customers. This implied to him location flexibility for the business, and a suburban site was then preferred (even for a new business,) since a central site seemed to offer no special advantage in return for higher operating costs.

West Vancouver in particular was chosen since it was the most recently developed of the middle income suburban areas of Vancouver - (it is an area of new homes and young families) - and thus was presumed to be an area with a high demand for "modern" jewellery. Thus the suburb itself was expected to provide a significant local market while more distant customers would be attracted by the quality and uniqueness of the product offered. To further attract distant customers, advertisements were placed in appropriate magazines and the more than local appeal of such advertising is symbolic of the more than suburban ambitions of the business and its attempt to serve a wide market from a non-central location.

So far this is familiar and seems to add another fragment to the edifice of our argument.
However, the later experience of the business qualifies rather than confirms our hypothesis.

Essentially, the business was not as successful as had been hoped, and lack of success was attributed in part to poor location. The West Vancouver shopping district (basically a convenience centre with some specialized ladies' wear stores,) proved to be a disappointing local market and, moreover, failed to attract more distant customers. As the disillusioned merchant put it, "people only buy groceries in West Vancouver."

The merchant came to feel that a downtown location was, after all, a more desirable site. Such a location was now seen to offer advantages of two kinds.

(i) Improved accessibility from the Vancouver market, especially from the upper income suburbs where potential customers were assumed to reside.

(ii) Downtown was looked upon as an ideal "display" centre, since it is the area of the city with maximum exposure to a passing public. Thus the C.B.D. was seen as a desirable location from which to advertise, or as the merchant put it, from which to "educate" the public taste for modern jewellery.

Here, in this latter context, there is a comparison between the attitude of this merchant and the attitude of the merchant operating store 1 in the modern Danish gift group. In both cases, it was felt that a new product was being offered to the public, which involved an educative process before the good would be accepted. Thus they both selected a downtown location because of its potential educative function, and this was as important as the more traditional accessibility function of the C.B.D. in influencing their location choice.

On the basis of this attitude, a site was chosen downtown in the western (Granville Street) shopping district of the C.B.D., in a cluster of rather exclusive ladies' wear shops and close to a large department store. This site was
preferred because of its high pedestrian count, implying maximum exposure to potential customers, and because passing pedestrians were thought to be of the "right type," i.e. of the higher income groups most likely to be potential customers. Here it was stressed that the Granville Street shopping district with its collection of high quality ladies' wear stores was regarded in contrast to the eastern (Hastings Street) shopping district, and that the former provided a more appropriate setting for a quality jewellery store, a setting which complemented the good offered as well as providing exposure to the appropriate shopping crowd.

Note then, that once downtown had been decided upon as a location, not "anywhere" downtown was accepted as a site; the C.B.D. was not looked upon as a homogeneous area, rather it was recognized that "better" and "poorer" retail areas existed, differentiated by the nature of the stores contained and the type of customers they attracted. The western shopping district was chosen since, because of its high quality store mix and the character of its shopping crowd, it seemed to most appropriately complement the good offered.

It is also important that the chosen downtown store (2) is, in fact, a very small one - with a front footage of only 6 feet - and thus was available at a relatively low rent. This placed a downtown location within the financial reach of the merchant involved.

Currently, the downtown store is operated as a display centre and retail outlet for the hand-crafted, modern jewellery designed and made by the merchant. The West Vancouver store is less highly specialized, selling modern jewellery and also a range of non-original items; the suburban store has thus become less specialized and more of a conventional jewellery store, and has lost its original pretensions to serve the whole metropolitan market from its suburban location.
Store 3.

Store 3, also downtown, similarly qualifies rather than supports our hypothesis. The store is in a rather secluded site in the western retail area, quite close to the Hudson Bay department store, but on the "wrong" side of the street in terms of pedestrian traffic and, in fact, not adjacent to any other major retail store.

Previously the business had been carried on from a workshop in the downtown Birks building, producing hand-crafted jewellery for sale to other jewellers and to some private customers. The owner, wishing to expand the retail side of the business, moved to this location in 1963 after five years of operation from an upstairs workshop.

The downtown location was selected without much consideration of alternative locations, since basically the merchant wished only to move from a central workshop location to a central street location; he wished to gain increased exposure to passing customers, while disturbing as little as possible the existing web of customer relationships.

The merchant perceived a downtown site in terms of its traditional advantages, and selected his central site on the basis of these attitudes. The chief advantages of downtown were seen to be:

(i) Maximum accessibility to potential customers residing in all parts of the city.
(ii) Maximum exposure to passing pedestrians attracted downtown by his own store and by competitive and complementary stores in the C.B.D.
(iii) The prestige assumed to accrue to the business by virtue of a downtown location.

It was felt that the advantages outlined could not be duplicated anywhere else in the city, even allowing for customer mobility, and they thus justified the higher cost of central operation.

This business is operating successfully and the merchant is satisfied with his central location. This, and the motives
which led to the initial choice of a central location, indeed permit this example to support traditional rather than alternative views of specialized retail location.

More important, however, is that this is the first business out of the many so far discussed which unequivocally supports the traditional location argument.

Store 4.

So far in the jewellery group we have seen that one store (3) does not support our hypothesis at all in location or merchant attitude, and that others (1 and 2), while originally locating in a manner which supported our argument, later adjusted location and operation in a contrary direction. However, store 4 in this group provides clearer evidence in support of our hypothesis, such that specialized jewellery stores (as well as specialized furniture stores and some gift stores,) may be brought into the argument as built up so far.

Thus store 4 is located in the Granville and Broadway business district, in the 2600 block Granville Street. This important retail centre also contains a number of high quality ladies' apparel shops, specialized furniture and carpet stores (as well as more conventional convenience goods stores,) and some of these have been discussed in previous pages.

This jewellery store, however, only set up in this location very recently (early 1965.) Previously, the store was located for three years on the margin of the same shopping district in the 1600 block Broadway, rather isolated from the main store cluster; before this the store had been located for one year in the smaller Broadway-Bayswater shopping district in the western suburbs. In the latter site, however, the store operated as a less specialized jewellers, selling mass merchandise as well as hand-crafted, high quality jewellery.

The present location is regarded as a final one, and the merchant has no further ambitions to move. Previous locations
were, in fact, always seen as temporary, the merchant's
goal always being location in the South Granville district,
and early locations were regarded as steps towards this
final site.

The South Granville district was seen as an ideal
location for a business of this type, and the reasons behind
this attitude fit our location hypothesis well.

Essentially, the merchant stressed that a specialized
commodity was being offered for sale in the high quality,
individually designed jewellery on display, such that very
few other stores in Vancouver could be considered potential
competitors. This uniqueness in product quality and design
was assumed to imply flexibility in the location of the busi­
ness, since customers were expected to seek out a store
offering goods not to be found elsewhere; the business is
seen to be competing with other jewellers on the basis of
product quality and design, and not on the basis of conven­
ience through location.

Location flexibility is seen to mean that a central
location is not mandatory. Rather, a non-central location is
seen to offer at least equal advantages in terms of accessi­
bility to scattered customers and, in fact, to offer greater
advantages in terms of lower operating costs.

Out of all possible alternative non-central locations,
the South Granville Street area is preferred by the merchant
since it is well placed to serve potential customers in the
upper income, western and southern suburbs to whom the goods
offered are assumed to appeal. More distant customers are
expected to be attracted to the store by the nature of the
good offered, and by advertizing in appropriate regional
magazines.

Additionally, the Granville Street area with its sprink­
ling of high quality shopping good stores, is seen as an
area attractive to middle income customers, and an area with
a uniquely wealthy shopping crowd. Thus the store was
expected to benefit from exposure to this shopping crowd of potential customers attracted by the adjacent speciality stores.

This example then, more obviously supports the argument we are trying to establish. Centrality is not regarded as mandatory for a high order business, rather the nature of the good offered is seen to permit location flexibility.

Store 5.

Store 5 is situated in the West 10th Ave. shopping district referred to earlier as the locus of Danish gift store 3 and Spanish gift stores 2 and 3.

This store is smaller than the other jewellery stores discussed, maintaining a smaller stock of goods and opening for retailing on a less than full-time basis. It can be considered part of the same group, however, since it sells high quality jewellery in modern designs, handmade by the merchant craftsman.

The store opened in late 1964 on this site. The motives which led to the choice of the location were, in this case, so similar to those expressed by the merchant operators of other specialized stores that they need only be summarized. Thus product specialization was seen to extend to the point of product uniqueness, and customers were expected to travel to a peripheral location for such unusual goods. Admitting such location flexibility, the University district was chosen since it was seen as an area with a potential local market and also a number of complementary stores likely to reinforce attraction of more distant customers. In this sense, the merchant's logic was very similar to that behind the location decision of the specialized gift store owners in the same district. Since the addition of more speciality stores to the district probably increases the attraction of the area to more customers and stores, the process is cumulative, and
the implication is that the University district may be in the process of emerging as a genuine specialized shopping centre.

In short, this store repeats the location argument of several other specialized retail stores, and it is precisely this repetition which is relevant to this study, since it increases the likelihood that examples already examined are not merely chance occurrences, but are cases with a general significance.

Conclusions - Specialized Jewellery Store Group.

The following points emerge:

(i) Specialized jewellery stores, like specialized gift stores, offer examples of businesses in central and in non-central locations. Non-central stores again claim orientation to extra-local markets, this made possible by the nature of the goods they offer. They thus provide examples of another business type to fit our location hypothesis.

(ii) But in contrast, some stores insist on operation from the C.B.D. of the city as the point offering maximum accessibility and maximum exposure to potential customers. This obviously qualifies rather than supports our locational hypothesis, and supports instead conventional ideas of city retail structure. The success of stores in both kinds of location suggests that under present conditions, either location is feasible for stores of this type.

(iii) Non-centrally located stores are, as before, restricted to inner city or middle income suburbs in order to best serve a market identified as "middle class."

(iv) There is no insistence on the part of downtown merchants concerning orientation to a centrally localized market of workers or tourists. To this extent, the jewellery store group provides no confirmation of our sixth hypothesis.

(v) The first store of this type to appear in Vancouver appeared in a non-central (West Vancouver) location. This
apparently confirms our dissenting suggestion that such businesses need not appear initially in the C.B.D. The later experience of the business must, however, modify this suggestion somewhat.

IV SPECIALIZED MEN'S APPAREL STORES

Within the broad category of stores selling men's apparel, one group is distinctively set apart through specialization on high quality, higher price merchandise. These constitute the small group of so-called "exclusive" men's wear stores.

In Vancouver there are nine such stores and they are, in fact, highly conscious of their distinctiveness from men's wear stores of a more conventional type, (family clothing stores, young men's stores and the like.)

The specialized stores discussed here stress that their differentiation is based essentially on the nature of the goods they are offering for sale, though differences based on quality and price of goods are also reinforced by management policy, store decoration and advertising. Such a policy of differentiation consciously attempts to build up an image of "exclusiveness" among stores in this group, which becomes an important basis of the store's competitive appeal.

Concurrently, merchants recognize that as they become more specialized, as they narrow the range of the goods they offer, as their image becomes more refined, then their potential market becomes more restricted. Thus they stress that the market for the clothes they offer is restricted by taste and price, to men in the middle and upper socio-economic groups and in the professional and managerial occupational categories. It is also recognized that such a market is likely to be areally localized within the city - in terms of residence, localized in the western and northern suburbs, in terms of work place highly localized in the C.B.D.
Now orientation to this identifiable localized group of customers is a crucial factor determining the location of specialized men's wear stores within the city. The location of potential customers (especially during daytime hours) and also the shopping habits imputed to potential customers strongly affect merchant attitudes towards the choice of a location for their business.

Thus out of the nine Vancouver stores in this category, all stores except one are downtown, and it should not be unexpected that orientation to the identified sector of the downtown work force is the factor that has attracted and maintains merchants in such a location. Merchants stress the advantages of proximity to the daytime locus of potential customers - (the court house, stock exchange, offices, hotels) - and stress how a location in proximity to such facilities enables them to offer maximum convenience to potential customers. Here, a rather unique merchant attitude structures location choice, an attitude not found in merchants in other store groups and based on a particular interpretation of the needs of potential customers. Merchants feel that male customers are essentially "practical" shoppers, for whom "shopping" is a utilitarian process, influenced mainly by questions of time-saving and convenience. As one consequence, locations are chosen which minimize shopping trip travel, and consequently merchants try to cluster close to downtown work places. In this context, it is significant for us that although merchants are convinced of their own exclusivity and agree that exclusivity might allow some flexibility in business location, a downtown location is maintained in order to offer maximum convenience and service to customers.

The desire to offer maximum convenience to customers leads further to a quite distinct localization within the C.B.D. Six out of eight downtown stores are located on Howe Street, said by merchants to be an important route between the financial and legal district of the C.B.D. In short,
Howe Street is said to have the maximum concentration of pedestrians in the identified customer group, and businesses align themselves along the street in order to tap this custom. Additionally, the street has become recognized as a specialized men's wear district, and this tends to attract new men's wear stores to the same area and to perpetuate its specialization.

It was attempted to measure more precisely the role of the downtown worker in the customer mix of specialized men's wear stores. A card survey was carried out in one store in this group situated in the Howe Street store cluster, and the results are presented in Table IV.

We can see from the table (p. 118) that 47 per cent of all customers arrived at this specialized store from work, all of these from downtown work places. Additionally, another 23 per cent arrived from downtown hotels, and these hotel customers are identifiable as travelling business men rather than tourists. In short, some 70 per cent of all customers arrive from within the C.B.D. itself. Obviously in such circumstances, the chief advantage of a downtown site lies in proximity to this section of the market, not in any accessibility from across the city as a whole.

As a standard of comparison, note the percentages of downtown workers purchasing men's clothes in the three major department stores in Vancouver, and in a large old-established downtown men's wear store with a broader basis of merchandise appeal. The percentage is high in each case, but as we might expect, highest for the more specialized store which appeals to a narrow range of customers localized in central work places.

Note that one store is located outside the C.B.D. and this is in the Park Royal planned shopping district in West Vancouver. This store is, in fact, a branch of a downtown Howe Street store, established to serve the significant proportion of the downtown store's customers who live in the upper income suburbs on the North Shore. It does not claim any extra-local orientation, and its operation is regarded as complementary to the downtown store, catering to the weekend
shopper and emphasizing sports clothes in the goods offered. The store is, in fact, exceptional; generally suburban locations are not favoured by merchants (still less, shopping centre locations,) since such sites are regarded as "women's" shopping areas, and the shopping crowd they attract is unlikely to include potential customers in sufficient numbers to justify operation.

Summary.

The high figures revealed in Table IV, as well as merchant attitude, confirm our hypothesis that not accessibility to a scattered metropolitan market, but adjacence to a localized downtown market maintains some specialized businesses in the C.B.D., and this is now seen to include men's wear stores as well as specialized gift stores, as discussed previously.

V OTHER BUSINESS TYPES

It is needless to test hypotheses outlined in terms of more examples. The main argument has already been made, its qualifications and nuances identified and supported. Replication would be tedious. If necessary, evidence from antique gift stores, quality art stores, men's shoe stores, musical instrument stores, and exclusive ladies' wear stores could be quoted to reinforce all the main ideas put forward, and the evidence offered would be abundant.

In so far as each of these store categories would also demonstrate particular and characteristic locational features, however, these can be summarized briefly.

For example, specialized men's shoe stores are largely located downtown, and here are seen to be old-established stores oriented to a downtown worker market, this obviously supporting hypotheses put forward.
Antique gift stores in central locations are also oriented to a downtown clientele (this time largely of tourists and workers,) while non-central stores in the same category include extra-locally oriented businesses, locally oriented stores and, interestingly, several sub-marginal stores operated part-time by elderly merchants.\(^{18}\)

Similarly, art stores show businesses in both central and non-central locations, though in Vancouver the most specialized stores are in non-central locations (in middle income suburban areas) from which locations they serve extra-local, non-contiguous markets. This is understandable in view of the genuinely unique nature of the goods (paintings, etc.) sold by such stores.

Musical instruments are retailed through various kinds of store outlet, but more specialized firms in Vancouver include two downtown stores (old-established firms, maintained in the core by inertia,) and one suburban located store which is, in fact, the most specialized store of its kind in the city (selling only drums.) The appearance of this highest of "high order" stores in a non-central location is, of course, of particular importance to this study, as are the merchant's reasons for the location choice (exactly comparable with the deductive rationality set out in this study initially.)

Exclusive ladies' wear stores are rather numerous in the city, and include stores in central, inner city, and middle class suburban areas (Kerrisdale, West Vancouver especially.) An important point though is that there is no observable difference in "degree of specialization" (in commodity, range or quality, or in store personality) between central and non-central stores. Suburban stores are just as "specialized" as C.B.D. stores in these terms. At the same time, market

\(^{18}\)Vancouver has a large number of antique gift stores (18), many more than its size along would suggest. This is a characteristic it shares with Victoria, B.C. and is a consequence of the tourist functions of these towns, (see Table I.)
hinterlands of non-central stores may be quite significantly extra-locally oriented, and these stores try to attract custom by their store image and reputation and not through their position. Merchants in such non-centrally located stores are quite likely to view themselves as "unique" and to locate and operate their businesses on that assumption, viewing quite distant parts of the city as their oyster in terms of market, and professing relative indifference to location as a competitive gambit.

In short, the ideas set out concerning the potential location characteristics of high order retail activities (i.e. flexibility and eccentricity in location) are not confined to a few types of store, but are common among several store categories identified as "high order". Variations and idiosyncrasies may be associated with some store types, but these are explainable either in terms of qualifying hypotheses initially put forward, or in terms peculiar to individual categories, stores or merchants.

CONCLUSIONS

Location Characteristics of High Order Retail Businesses.

In this chapter we have examined the location characteristics of specialized furniture stores (Danish modern, colonial, antique, etc.) specialized gift stores (Danish modern, Spanish, etc.) specialized jewellery stores (modern handmade jewellery,) and specialized men's wear stores ("exclusive" stores.) Examples of other stores have also been mentioned more briefly. In terms of the hypothesis under review, it is obvious that:

(i) Some high order stores are situated in non-C.B.D. locations, in contrast to traditional ideas of city retail structure, but in conformity with the argument set out in Chapter II. The basic reason behind such locations is that merchants feel that offering a specialized (and in some
respects, unique) product to mobile customers implies location flexibility for their business. They assume that customers will be prepared to travel to purchase specialized goods, if not to actively seek them out. Most important is that management practice aims to project an image of specialization and quality, in order to ensure such customer movement, and it is this rather than location which is regarded as the basis of the store’s appeal.

In the vocabulary of economic theory, we are saying in this latter context that competition among specialized retail businesses tends towards monopolistic competition, and, in fact, that this is the normal state among such businesses. This is in contrast to the underlying notion of traditional geographic theories, i.e. that competition among retail businesses is mainly in spatial terms in an environment which more nearly approaches perfect competition. The important geographic implication arising out of the recognition of this monopolistic tendency in the operation of specialized retail businesses is that it permits specialized retail businesses some flexibility in location, and reduces the necessity for central fixation. To this extent, traditional geographic theory is enriched, and its explanatory power improved, by the addition of these insights from economic theory. At the same time, this argument suggests that traditional geographic theories are most useful in explaining the spatial characteristics of low order retailing where competitive circumstances more nearly approach the assumptions of these theories.

When the location flexibility described above is admitted, the high cost of downtown operations, once the premium paid for the accessibility advantage of the C.B.D. becomes, in fact, a disincentive to C.B.D. location for some specialized stores.

The above argument is especially true of all three types of furniture stores, of some gift stores, jewellery stores, art stores, and of the more specialized musical instrument stores.
Where stores are in non-central locations, there is, however, a consistency in location. Very few merchants feel that "anywhere" in the city is an acceptable location, or were willing to choose the first vacant store which presented itself. Merchants were more likely to insist on a location in either the "inner city" or in "middle income" suburbs.

The "inner city" location in Vancouver, (Broadway and Granville, and immediately adjacent areas,) is selected by merchants on the basis of its accessibility to potential customers in the western southern and North Shore areas, and by some merchants because of the existence of other specialized businesses in the area.

It is in this context that we can think of a "market area" replacing the former "market place" as the locus of specialized businesses in the modern North American city. Merchants feel that this territorially larger area reproduces all the accessibility advantages of the C.B.D., and is thus an acceptable alternative to a central location.

"Middle income" suburban locations (Kerrisdale, West Point and, less often, West Vancouver,) are chosen by some merchants since it is expected that such areas will provide a local demand for goods offered and will provide an appropriate background from which to project the desired image of specialization and quality which is relied upon to attract more distant customers across competitive space. In this latter context, there is often an attempt to choose a location in an area which "complements" the good offered for sale - the "cultural" atmosphere of Point Grey, the "young" atmosphere of West Vancouver, or the "old-established wealth" of Kerrisdale. Each is seen by different merchants to be an aid appropriate to the attraction of customers for different goods, (vide "Riceyman Steps".)
(iii) However, there are also limits to eccentricity in store location, even for specialized stores in the modern city. The movement of some stores from outer suburban to inner city locations suggests that location flexibility is not totally permissive, and that the distance customers are willing to travel still sets some constraints on the location of stores within the city.

For rather different reasons, planned shopping centres are not often included in merchants' location calculations.

(iv) Where specialized stores are located downtown, proximity to the localized downtown market of tourists and workers is often as important a factor in maintaining stores in such a location as is the more usually suggested desire to be accessible to a scattered customer market. This is especially true of some gift stores and of all exclusive men's wear stores, and men's shoe stores. Merchant attitude and measurement indicate that over 50 per cent of customers may originate from downtown origins in such cases, enough to become a crucial location determinent.

Indeed, since many central merchants feel that the domestic residential market can, in fact, be served from a non-central location, we may regard orientation to the downtown market as the critical location factor in the case of these store types.

(v) It is recalled that some specialized stores persist in downtown locations for sentimental reasons (some furniture stores,) or for reasons more in accord with traditional arguments (jewellery stores, musical instrument stores.) Here, the ability to obtain unusually favourable rents, or more importantly, longevity in operation, are important qualifying considerations.

(vi) There is also a certain fastidiousness in location within the C.B.D. The C.B.D. is not regarded as a homogeneous area by merchants. Rather there is a concentration of specialized stores (gift stores and men's wear stores) in
the western area of the C.B.D. (Robson Street, Howe Street and Granville Street.) It is recognized that this area serves a distinctly different shopping crowd from the eastern retail sector, one to whom specialized stores are more likely to appeal. The "image" of the western sector in terms of the stores it contains and the customers it serves, is quite distinct in the minds of merchants, and it is an image which often served to attract them to the area in the first place and which, indeed, they try to encourage.

(vii) If the store groups discussed are regarded as separate store types, then it is obvious that many business types appearing in the city for the first time, locate in non-central sites. Examples are Danish modern furniture stores, colonial furniture stores, modern gift stores, Spanish gift stores, and specialized jewellery stores. This is in contrast to the traditional idea that such new businesses, having a high threshold, will require a city-wide market to support them, and must thus locate in the C.B.D. Instead, it is seen that the nature of the good offered and the nature of the market served, permit location flexibility, and because of the capital short characteristics of new businesses, a non-central location is often favoured over a high cost central site.

Two other main conclusions can be noted.

1. **The Time Element in Location.**

Reference has been made to dates at which stores have appeared in the city, and to dates at which merchants have chosen locations in various parts of the metropolitan area. The time element in the development of the location pattern of specialized businesses is significant and needs to be made explicit. In the process, we can evaluate hypothesis V of Chapter II which suggested that eccentricity in the location of high order activities is perhaps of recent origin and that this implies the occurrence of a recent fundamental change in city retail structure.
(i) A few businesses in one store group (antique furniture stores) have been located outside the C.B.D. for many years. The unique nature of the goods sold has always permitted some location flexibility, even when customer mobility was limited and merchandising tactics were less refined.

(ii) But more noticeable is that most stores identified as eccentrically located high order businesses have appeared in the city since 1952, and the number of such eccentrically located businesses has increased fastest in very recent years. The phenomena is thus a recent one, and must be correlated with increasing city size, increasing customer mobility, and changing retailing techniques.

(iii) In this context, it is possible to establish a chronology for the appearance of distinctive high order business types in non-central locations. Thus if antique furniture stores appeared in the "inner city" in the 1930's, then the next major store group to appear in non-central locations were Danish and colonial furniture stores in the early and mid-1950's. By the late '50's and early '60's, location flexibility seemed to extend to gift stores, jewellery stores, and musical instrument stores. Some of the later stores were, in fact, encouraged to locate outside the C.B.D. by the example of older established stores. Thus the trend is clear; more store types are relying on non-spatial factors to attract customers, including tactics such as product differentiation and image projection. Consequently, more store types are admitting location freedom and are increasingly found in a variety of locations. If anything, these more recently decentralized businesses are rather "lower order" than earlier established stores in non-central locations. The implication is that the retailing circumstances, characterized as typical of high order businesses are filtering down to involve more business types, with consequences for the locational attributes of such businesses.
(iv) The appearance of specialized businesses in non-central locations in Vancouver since the early 1950's does not imply an active decentralization of businesses from the C.B.D. of the city. In fact, specialized businesses originally located in the C.B.D. have tended to stay there, and only one business examined has moved out to a non-central location (an antique furniture store.) The C.B.D. has actually gained some specialized businesses (Danish furniture, jewellery stores and some gift stores) though some of these appeared in the C.B.D. later than they did in the suburbs. The specialized stores setting up outside the C.B.D. are newly appearing business types (colonial, Danish furniture stores, gift stores) or new examples of established businesses (jewellery stores, musical instrument stores.) The change in status of the C.B.D. is relative, not absolute; the C.B.D. has not lost functions so much as it has failed to gain functions we might have predicted it would gain had traditional ideas of city retail structure been correct.

(v) In terms of hypothesis V then, it is apparent that the current distributional pattern of high order activities, with its evident eccentric component, is a recent and developing trend. Moreover, it is not merely an accident of city growth, i.e. the duplication of existing retail functions in suburban market areas. Rather, there are undeniable high order activities in non-central locations and this is the consequence of a consistent belief among merchants that centrality is no longer necessary for the successful operation of a specialized retail store. Identification of this trend, and appreciation of this attitude, suggest that hypothesis V is substantially correct.

2. **The Process of Retail Site Selection.**

After examination of the way in which many merchants have selected a site for their business, it is tempting to generalize about the process of retail site selection in an
effort to clarify the experience of diverse cases. This is attempted below in a highly summary form.

The process of retail site selection is seen as a decision made as part of a series of decisions, (to set up in business, to set up in a particular kind of business, to locate in a particular city,) any one of which could be analysed for its locational implications.

It is helpful to think of the site selection process as taking place within an "environment" and the process as consisting of the subjective interpretation of this environment by the merchant in terms of the location needs of the business.

By "environment" is meant essentially the city landscape which the merchant faces when making a location choice. This landscape can be regarded as "environmental" since it is largely beyond the power of the merchant to alter. All merchants view the same landscape, but they perceive it in different ways, and it is on the basis of this subjective appraisal of the city environment that merchants choose their location. We might say that the location process consists of merchants fitting themselves into the existing environmental framework.

The major elements in the city environment apparent to merchants are shopping districts, thoroughfares and residential areas. Shopping districts are seen as clusters of particular store types drawing customers from particular areas of the city and within which particular rent levels prevail. Thoroughfares are appraised in terms of the volume of traffic passing over them and their exposure to a passing public, though considerations of volume are often modified according to the characteristics of passers by. Residential areas, intuitively segregated into socio-economic categories, are appraised as areas in which demands for particular goods are likely to arise.

These elements become familiar to merchants almost intuitively through residence in the city, by comparison with other cities, or during a process of reconnaissance preceding site selection.\footnote{Many merchants indulge in such a process.} No matter how merchants become aware of
elements, though, it remains true that individual merchants see the city differently and that such individual differences in the interpretation of the environment influence location choice.

Differences in the interpretation of the city environment depend most obviously on the nature of the good being offered for sale. Different kinds of goods are seen to have particular kinds of location requirements and fairly consistently locate in particular parts of the city. (The location of men's wear stores in proximity to C.B.D. workers is a good example.) But differences in interpretation also depend upon the characteristics of merchants themselves and upon merchants' backgrounds; i.e. how a merchant perceives the city depends upon a merchant's pre-business, cultural, and social experiences. It is differences in such experiences giving merchants different ideas about what is an appropriate location for a business, that can lead to differences in location characteristics of even similar businesses. For example, some merchants see downtown as the "heart of the city," while others, even in the same line of business, see it as an unaesthetic and congested area. For the former, the area is attractive, for the latter, repellent; as a consequence, similar store types are found in quite different locations.

For high order businesses and in the modern city where flexibility in business location is most possible, analysis of location patterns must especially take note of the characteristics of merchants themselves and of such "cultural" location determinents in analysing patterns of store location.

The most important element in the "location requirements" of a business which a merchant considers while appraising the city environment concerns the nature of potential customers. Merchants are conscious of the distinctive characteristics of the customers to whom they appeal, and have ideas about their distribution within the city, their mobility characteristics and their shopping habits. These ideas,
intuitive or derived from experience, again are necessarily subjective, and it is the bringing together of such assumptions about customer characteristics with interpretations of the city environment that makes up the location decision.

Two points need to be added. First, merchants are not passive, and their dynamic aspects need to be made explicit. For example, the city environment is not entirely beyond the merchants' power to change. Certainly, the distribution and characteristics of business centres are fixed, the pattern of roads and of traffic flows over them is determined, the distribution of population cannot be changed by merchants' efforts. But merchants can affect the city environment in a minor way, depending on the size of their business, their wealth and their ingenuity. Thus a particularly successful store may attract competitive and complementary businesses to it, altering the characteristics of a particular business centre. Alternatively, a group of business men can consciously attempt to improve the appearance of a particular business district by cooperative effort (as in Robson Street, Vancouver,) and this may also effect a significant change in the relative relations of one district to another. At the very least, merchants are able to improve the appearance of their store, and thus to alter slightly the city melange faced by subsequent merchants.

Merchants can more readily influence customer shopping habits. For example, advertizing and image projection can encourage customers to travel extra distances to non-local business districts, for particular goods, as we have seen in the case of specialized businesses.

Secondly, the site selection process is not always a matter of choosing a site for a given business. Rather, a merchant may choose a site for a particular business, and find that location unsuitable for that business or find a subordinate line of goods selling better than anticipated. The merchant may then allow the location to dictate the future specialization of the business. Such "determinism by location"
is not unusual and there may even be a conscious experimental period before the business stabilizes its operations. Usually, however, the process is unconscious or is regarded as "learning from experience" by the merchant.

The site selection decision then, consists of an appraisal of the city landscape by a merchant in terms of his location requirements, especially in light of potential customer characteristics. The value of this concept (it can be thought of as a verbal model,) is in its usefulness as both a starting point and a summary for the analysis of location patterns of different business types. Although applicable to the location analysis of all retail stores, it is especially useful in the context of specialized retail activity. In this context, the model emphasizes the role of merchant perception of city structure in the process of location choice. We have already seen that in specialized retailing where several locations are often regarded as acceptable alternatives, the deciding location factor may arise out of the cultural background of the merchant, i.e. may depend on his conception of a normative city structure or an ideal retail pattern. In this sense, the model emphasizes that the location pattern of specialized retail businesses depends upon the characteristics of the merchant as much as upon the nature of the goods sold, and that different merchant attitudes can result in different location patterns even for similar store types.
CHAPTER V

HIGH ORDER ACTIVITIES IN VANCOUVER:3: STORE HINTERLANDS AND MARKET RELATIONSHIPS

In this chapter, we are concerned with the market relationships of businesses identified as "high order". We shall consider businesses in both central and in non-central locations. We hope to show that such businesses, far from having city wide hinterlands, have, in fact, selective and sectoral hinterlands, and that if anything, store hinterlands, become more selective as stores become more specialized. We argue, in fact, that selective hinterlands are characteristic of specialized businesses, since these appeal to limited and areally localized groups of customers.

At the same time, we hope to demonstrate:
(i) that C.B.D. located stores are just as selective in their customer relations as non-central stores:
(ii) that non-centrally located businesses may draw customers from extra-local areas and may attract customers over impressively long distances to shop;
(iii) that hinterlands of even similar business types may overlap, since specialized businesses do not compete for customers in spatial terms.

The major theme, however, is to examine the hypothesis that specialized stores have selective as opposed to city wide hinterlands.

The data presented in this chapter are essentially records of customer addresses drawn from credit records of a number of specialized stores, as discussed in Chapter III.
Where a normative basis is required for comparison of specialized businesses with other store types, this is provided by reference to published studies, or in some cases, to data collected as part of the UBC Urban Core Project of 1965. Very often, however, such a normative base is lacking and the drawing of definitive conclusions is hampered by this lack.

Available data is presented mainly in cartographic form as a series of line diagrams, showing connections between customer residences and stores. The method illustrates, though perhaps inadequately measures, the direction of store-customer relationships. It is preferred to depiction of store hinterlands as bounded regions, since these tend to be over-inclusive in the area they contain, to obscure variations in the intensity of relationships in different parts of the hinterland, and to disguise the details of decline in the intensity of store relations with distance.¹

¹Alternative methods of presentation might have been dot maps (each customer address represented by a dot,) or isopleth maps (referring customers to a basic areal unit such as a census tract and constructing a shaded isopleth map using this data as control points.) The former method would show essentially the same picture as line diagrams, and might even give some slight gain in clarity where lines are close together. However, lines more impressively portray the strength of store relations with particular parts of the city, and are for this reason preferred, though dot maps will be used in some few cases, where appropriate. The isopleth method is certainly more elegant, and makes it possible to relate the distribution of store customers to the distribution of residential population in general, so that areas of concentration of store customers stand out. (For example, for each areal unit, we could calculate \( X_1 - X \), where \( X_1 \) is the % of store customers in that area and \( X \) is the % of metropolitan area population. Resulting values are used as control points for isopleth mapping. High positive values indicate areas of concentration of customers.) However, where store data depends upon small samples (30-40 customers,) possibly anomalous individual cases heavily distort the pattern, and would prove positively misleading. This outweighs the advantages of the method. Thus, relating customer distribution to distribution of population as a whole is made in crude terms in the text.
Again, we will discuss stores in terms of relatively homogeneous classes as we did in the preceding chapter on the location of high order businesses. Again, within each class, not all stores are discussed, rather a range of examples is presented. However, two important qualifications must be noted.

(i) Merchant unwillingness to supply necessary data has resulted in a less than adequate coverage for some store groups.

(ii) The partial failure of the card questionnaire programme which was used to collect some data, also limits the scale of coverage, especially where this method of data collection was relied upon extensively, (in some gift stores, for example).

In this latter case, aggregation of small numbers of responses of neighbouring stores into larger samples partly offsets this drawback, and we can also call upon merchant estimates of customer origins.

Discussion of store market relationships can begin with the furniture group.

I. FURNITURE STORES

Ia. DANISH MODERN FURNITURE

It will be recalled that there are 7 Danish modern furniture stores in Vancouver, and their distribution is shown in Map II. Here, the market relationships of store 1 (downtown), store 3 (S. Granville), store 5 (Broadway) and store 6 (Kerrisdale), are discussed. This gives a rather complete picture of this store group, with a sample from each major type of location.

Ideally, store 7 (Park Royal) should have been included to complete this picture, especially since this store is in a rather unusual location for specialized businesses.
It would have been interesting to determine the amount of traffic passing through downtown to shop at the North Shore, particularly since the merchant estimated that this movement was a significant 20 - 30 per cent of total customers. However, the merchant was unwilling to reveal the necessary data, and his own estimate must remain the only comparison with other stores.

**Store 1.**

Store 1 is in the eastern end of downtown, between two large department stores and neighboured by ladies' apparel and shoe stores. On MapVII, the residences of 39 customers, a 10 per cent sample drawn from credit records, are plotted and joined by lines to the downtown store location. By inspection, a number of elements stand out.

(i) There is no doubt that the distribution of customers is biased in favour of the western part of the city and the North Shore.

In fact, some 50 per cent of customers originate from the mainland peninsula west of Cambie Street\(^2\) compared to 17 per cent from east of that divide. Only 19 per cent of the population of metropolitan Vancouver lived on the peninsula west of Cambie in 1961, reinforcing the impression of the map that the attraction of customers is far from even. Another 27 per cent of customers originate from North Shore residences (with a bias towards West Vancouver here), and 10 per cent from the West End adjacent to the C.B.D. Again, the figures indicate that these areas contribute more to the

\(^2\) "Cambie Street" can be regarded as a significant socio-economic divide in Vancouver. To the west of Cambie Street, characteristics typical of middle-upper socio-economic groups prevail, the east would be defined as "working class" by most criteria. Similarly, West Vancouver is recognized as an "upper" socio-economic area. For confirmation, see L. Bell, *op.cit.* especially p. 7.
custom of store 1 than we should expect on the basis of their population alone.  

Note that a small number of customers in the sample had addresses outside Vancouver. In fact, 5 customers (out of a total useable sample of 44) lived in other British Columbia towns, such as Kamloops, Victoria, Prince George. This gives a rough indication of the role of non-domestic trade in the operation of the business. It is, in fact, relatively insignificant in sales and as a location influence. In this case at least, a downtown site is not expected to provide a bonus of out-of-town customers.  

(ii) Areas contributing significant proportions of customers to store 1 are characteristically "middle" or "upper" socio-economic areas. This supports the idea that there is some consistency in localization of demands for certain high order goods, and that they can be spoken of as "socially localized demands."  

(iii) Customers travelling to store 1 are in only a very few cases travelling to the nearest store. For example, North Shore customers must by-pass store 7, and mainland customers pass close to stores 3, 4 and 5 (in the Broadway-Granville area) to reach store 1. Only West End customers and some customers to the east of the city are closer to store 1 than to any other comparable store. It is obvious then that store hinterlands are not defined primarily in terms of spatial competition. The particular high order store a customer will go to does not depend solely or even mainly on its relative location, as is usually the case with low order stores.  

3 North Shore has 11 per cent of the metropolitan area population and the West End has 2.8 per cent. (Estimates by Vancouver City Planning Department, 1962.)  

(iv) Store 1 is interesting as an example of a centrally located high order store oriented mainly to a domestic market (i.e. the tourist element is insignificant in sales and as a location influence.) As such, it is the "classic" high order store in terms of location and should, if any store should, show a city wide market hinterland. Instead, as we have seen, the hinterland of even this centrally located store is distorted towards the western part of the city.

Also interesting is the situation of this store in the eastern part of downtown. Now, stores in the eastern part of the C.B.D. tend to be biased in their customer relationships towards the eastern part of the city, selling goods which in price and quality appeal to "lower" socio-economic groups. Even the large department stores in this part of the C.B.D. show this orientation. This store then, is in contrast to the stores which surround it in its market relationships, and is drawing customers from middle income areas to a section of downtown which predominantly serves a working class clientele.

(v) The mean trip length for shopping trips originating in the metropolitan area and terminating in store 1 is 3.8 miles with minima and maxima of 1 mile and 9.0 miles. This can be compared to a mean trip length of 3.24 miles for customers shopping in downtown Vancouver department stores. This latter figure gives some normative base against which to judge the figure for store 1. From this data, it appears that customers come longer distances to shop at downtown high order

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5Data from several sources confirms this. For example, customer interviews carried out in downtown Vancouver as part of the UBC Urban Core Project (1964), and interviews with shoppers arriving in the C.B.D. by car (Vancouver City Engineering Dept. Traffic Survey 1961.)

6Downtown Shopping Survey, 1964, (UBC Urban Core Project.)
furniture stores than at downtown department stores\(^7\). However, this is not too surprising. Traditional theory implies that high order businesses draw customers particularly long distances from remote parts of the metropolitan area and beyond, since they supply goods not locally available. Indeed, perhaps it is surprising that the average shopping trip is not even longer. The answer here lies in the residential structure of Vancouver. In Vancouver, middle and upper income residential areas lie quite close to the C.B.D. Because of peculiarities of the local topography, these close-in areas - endowed with scenic views and proximity to open spaces - have maintained themselves as middle and upper income residential areas even as the city has grown. It is the lower middle and working class areas which are found at greater distances from the C.B.D. in Vancouver\(^8\). It can be understood then why shopping trips to centrally located high order stores, originating mainly in upper income areas, are not relatively longer. In fact, it is true that the longest trips to store 1 on Map VII - those from Richmond and S. Burnaby - are from "lower" socio-economic areas and are rather anomalous.

Thus far, all discussion has been based on data collected from credit records showing only customer home addresses. This has enabled us to present a good picture of the hinterland characteristics of store 1, in terms of the distribution of customers and also the distances customers typically travel to the store. It was hoped that other data collected by card questionnaire would answer other questions, especially:

\(^7\)Note that this comparison allows for the fact that many department store trips originate from downtown workplaces and hotels and this tends to reduce the length of department store customer trips. The department store data is calculated on point of origin of trip, (work, home, etc.) not residential address. Calculation on the latter basis would give a higher mean trip figure.

\(^8\)In contrast to the archetypal "concentric zone theory" where upper income areas are in the outermost zones. This aspect of Vancouver's residential structure was pointed out by J. Wolfforth, "Work-Residence Relations in Vancouver", paper read at C.A.G. Meeting, University of B.C., 1965.
(i) whether customers come to shop from home or work, and the addresses of such trip origins. We would want to know whether hinterlands defined in this manner ("actual" hinterlands) differ significantly from hinterlands defined on the basis of residential origins only ("apparent" hinterlands).

(ii) the degree to which customers shop around before purchasing high order goods.

(iii) the approximate price of goods purchased;

(iv) the degree to which customers combine trips to high order stores with trips to other stores.

It will be recognized that assumptions - based on existing theory, market research evidence and observation - have been made about these aspects of customer behaviour, and used to generate the hypotheses outlined in Chapter II. We would like to confirm these assumptions, and if possible, provide measured details of their incidence.

Unfortunately, the questionnaire programme designed to elicit this data failed for this store. There was a total lack of response in cards distributed to customers. The nearest response obtained was in a very small number of cards (6) returned from Store 2 in the same commodity group and also in a downtown location. However if these two stores are considered similar in commodity specialization and location, then this sample, minute though it is, need not be wasted and can be used in proxy, and this seems a legitimate exercise. In fact, the sample usefully indicates two points:

(i) all customers bought a single item, and the average cost of purchase was $74 (ranging between $6 and $144). Although we have no "family budget" to compare the figure it seems a relatively high one. Certainly, cost of travel on an intra-metropolitan scale would be slight compared to this figure, and consequently customer travel during purchase is less likely to be inhibited:

(ii) all customers indicated that purchase was preceded by shopping around in both other districts and on
other occasions. In short, there is some slight confirmation that customers shop around and visit several stores and shopping districts before purchase.

**Summary.** In sum, this store exhibits a somewhat sectoral hinterland, biased towards the upper income residential areas of Western Vancouver and the North Shore. The store also draws customers from non-contiguous areas and over rather long distances to shop and customers obviously bypass similar stores in order to reach the central location. Some rather unsatisfactory evidence from a similar, adjacent store tends to confirm that purchase prices of items are high and that shopping around before purchase is usual, as was initially assumed.

**Store 3.**

Store 3 can be taken as an example of a specialized (Danish modern) furniture store in the Broadway and Granville "inner city-highway side" location, in which there is also one other store of this type (store 4).

In MapVIII, 41 customer residences are plotted and linked to the store. It is obvious at once that the store hinterland is highly selective, and that a substantial majority of customer originate from West End and West Vancouver addresses. In fact, 30 per cent of customers originate from the former location and 22 per cent from the latter. For the remaining customers, there is an emphasis towards the western area of the city (as in store 1) with a negligible number of customers originating east of Cambie Street.

Aspects of the hinterland of this store can be made clearer by contrast with store 1.

(i) Fewer customers are attracted from the western area of the city (30 per cent v. 50 per cent for store 1) despite the fact that this store is the "intervening opportunity" between this area and store 1 downtown.

9Remember the West End has only 2.8 per cent of the metropolitan area population.
(ii) Many more customers are attracted from the West End to store 3 (30 per cent v. 10 per cent) despite the fact that store 1 is nearer to West End residences. Since the West End contains only 2.8 per cent of the metropolitan area population, it is obvious that store-customer relations are particularly strong from this area.

(iii) A large number of customers originate from the North Shore, despite the nearness of stores 7, 1 and 2 to such customers. However, these customers are much more clustered than North Shore customers shopping at store 1 downtown. They are, in fact, heavily concentrated in the upper income residential district of "British Properties" - an area synonymous in Vancouver with expensive homes, high incomes, executive occupational groupings and the "new rich".

The hinterland of this store then, is, if anything, more selective than store 1. Part of the explanation must lie in the fact that store 3 is, if anything, more specialized than store 1. While the downtown store offers cutlery etc. for sale as well as furniture, the South Granville Street store sells only furniture. Moreover, store 3 has also been particularly successful in its policy of "image projection". It is probably the best known store of its type in the city, and has a stable image of exclusivity and high quality in merchandise offered. Such specialization in goods offered is thus matched by specialization in customer relations. Most customers characteristically reside in upper income areas, and more especially, upper income areas of new household formation (West End, British Properties), where demand for quality furniture is likely to be localized. There is strong support on this evidence, for the idea that increasing store specialization implies increasingly selective customer relations, such that the hinterlands of specialized stores are not widespread, embracing nests of lower order hinterlands, but are specific and sectoral and become more specific as specialization increases.

The average distance travelled to shop for this store is 4.2 miles, with minimum and maximum trips of .3 miles and 8 miles. This is greater than for the centrally located store.
In distance minimization terms, the central site could thus be considered the more "efficient" site. However, more important is that the apparent willingness of customers to travel extra distances to shop at a non-central site revealed by this contrast tends to support our earlier argument that locational flexibility is possible in the operation of high order stores.

Summary. This second example then, is a highly specialized eccentrically located store with a highly selective hinterland, attracting customers over relatively long distances past intervening opportunity stores. It succeeds in this through commodity specialization and image projection, and because customers are from the mobile upper income group. Thus, this store is perhaps, the archetype of the "alternative interpretation" of the geography of high order businesses here being presented.

Store 5.

Store 5 is also in the "inner city" area but outside the "furniture row" area. It is a rather isolated store with no significant retail neighbours.

The hinterland of the store is shown in Map IX, based on a 30 customer sample from credit records. There are in this case a number of comparisons and contrasts with stores in the same group previously discussed.

(i) The strongest customer relations still tend to be with the western suburbs. Over 40 per cent of customers originate from the Point Grey peninsula west of Cambie Street. This is as expected.

(ii) There is a much weaker relationship with the West End and North Shore than previous stores exhibited. In fact, only 16 per cent of customers originate from the North Shore, and most of these come from North Vancouver. There is here an apparent lack of customers from the West Vancouver areas of the North Shore, though this area is strongly represented in previous examples. Perhaps stores such as 1 and 3 intercept this trade, though this leaves unexplained
the ability of the store to attract noticeable numbers of North Vancouver shoppers across the C.B.D.

(iii) However, more noticeable is the apparent ability of this store to attract customers relatively long distances to shop from the eastern area of the city. Some 30 per cent of customers originate from East Vancouver, North Burnaby and New Westminster, a proportion too high to be regarded as simple chance. These journeys are interesting, not only for their length, but also because they originate from an area of the city which, we have suggested, normally generates few demands for the kind of commodities here offered. A partial "explanation" may lie in the location history of the firm. It will be remembered that the business formerly operated in New Westminster (see Chapter IV P - 70). The business moved to its present location when it became apparent that potential customers were largely in the west of the city and could not be attracted to a peripheral eastern location. Probably then, customers from Burnaby and New Westminster formed their connection with the store when it was situated in New Westminster; they may thus maintain a relationship with the store, based on this early contact. Possibly these East Side connections will wither away as the goodwill accumulated among East Side customers evaporates or as demands are satisfied and do not recur. The store will then exhibit a more unbiased Western orientation, more characteristic of stores of this type in Vancouver.¹⁰

At the moment, however, the relatively long distances travelled to the store offer a good support for the idea that non-centrally located stores can attract customers from extra-local areas and over impressively long distances because of the nature of the goods they offer for sale.

¹⁰There is no question that such customers remain only "on the books" of the firm after having made a purchase at the Westminster store. All customers here plotted made purchases at the present Broadway-Burrard store.
The average distance travelled to this store is 5.2 miles (minimum .5, maximum 12), rather higher than stores previously discussed. Obviously the few long trips from the eastern suburbs weight this figure; indeed, as far as customers in the western suburbs are concerned, there is some evidence on the map that shopping trips are in fact, rather short compared to store 2.

**Summary.** This store then, eccentrically located, certainly succeeds in drawing customers from extra-local areas and past competing stores. Its hinterland is strongly western oriented (i.e. sectoral, as hypothesised) though perhaps less selective than some other stores. This may be a remnant of a unique circumstance, a former eastern location.

*Store 5 in its previous location*

Map X makes an interesting contrast with map IX. This shows the customer relations of store 5 when that store was located in New Westminster (1962-1964). The map shows 28 customer residences, a ten per cent sample drawn from old credit accounts of the New Westminster store. Although there is a strong orientation to the New Westminster and Burnaby area, perhaps even more noticeable is that many customers (28 per cent) were attracted from the western part of the city and a few from the North Shore and West End, even to such a peripheral location. Although we have no idea of the hinterland of the New Westminster shopping district for other categories of goods, it seems unlikely that any but a highly specialized store could draw customers from such distant sources across the competitive space of intervening stores.

*Store 6.*

Finally, note store 6. This store is located in Kerrisdale, in the western suburbs of Vancouver; it was the first store of this type of set up in the city, and remains the most eccentrically located store of its type in the study.
Market Relations
Danish Modern Furniture
Store 5 —
former location
The merchant anticipated drawing customers from beyond the local area to his store because of the specialized nature of the goods offered, and claimed a practical orientation to quite distant customers.

The actual store hinterland is shown in map XI, where 31 customer addresses are plotted. The hinterland confirms quite well with the merchant's description, though, if anything, the merchant has tended to exaggerate his appeal to West End and North Shore customers. His store is rather more locally oriented than he admits.

The majority of customers originate from within two miles\(^{11}\) of the store (about 50 per cent do so, in fact), though not insignificant numbers are attracted from more distant western residential areas, especially from the University district.\(^{12}\) Also, customers from the West End and North Shore are more than we would expect from chance alone, and are as numerous for this store as for store 5, which is much closer to such customer origins.

Unfortunately, we again lack a comparative base against which to judge this store's hinterland. For example, we do not know from which areas other Kerrisdale stores typically draw customers and so we are not sure if the store's hinterland is exceptional in any way. Despite this lack, it

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\(^{11}\)Two miles is a meaningful index of local trade. See J. Vance "Commercial Structure of American Cities" \textit{op. cit.} and Applebaum & Cohen \textit{op. cit.}

\(^{12}\)This is a much higher per cent of "local" custom than the other stores considered. Store 1 had about 10 per cent of customers from within the 2 mile zone, store 3 had 45 per cent, store 5 about 30 per cent. The explanation is that store 6 is more firmly embedded in the western residential area that generates most customers. Customers travelling to store 3 and store 1; must cross intervening areas of lower class residential property and commercial property to gain the stores, and this results in longer average shopping trips. Store 3 is close to a major customer concentration (the West End) and this means customers travel comparatively shorter distances to shop.
seems clear that customers are not attracted on simple distance terms. Even when customers come from the "local" area (within two miles), this adjacent area does not contribute customers equally; in fact, most "local" customers originate from the "New Shaughnessy" district close to Kerrisdale, (an area of large homes and upper income families), while other close-in areas generate much less custom. Bias in customer relations thus extends to close as well as to distant areas. At the same time, when customers are attracted from more remote areas, it is always from upper income areas, and they are always attracted across the hinterlands of intervening stores.

It seems clear that the strategy suggested by many eccentrically located business men applies here; a local market is relied upon to provide a "cushion" of demand, while more distant customers are attracted from non-contiguous upper income areas through product quality and image projection, and this allows a highly specialized store to flourish in a non-central location.

The average trip length for store 6 is 3.0 miles (between .3 and 12.5), rather less than any store yet considered, but still nearly as much as customers travel to downtown department stores. This shorter trip length obviously represents the rather more local role played by this store, but it also reflects the store's proximity to the residential areas of the city which generate most customers for stores of this type in Vancouver.

For this store, a card questionnaire programme was attempted to seek answers to the kind of question outlined earlier (p.154). Again, this programme was only a very limited success. Only 11 cards were returned by customers. These are reported here, but as an indication of customer characteristics only, as hints not answers.

(1) First, note that responses obtained re-emphasise that store 7 has a strong local orientation. Most customers replying lived within two miles of the store (8 out of 11),
though individuals came from more distant areas (University, North Shore, West End). This can be explained partly by the fact that this store is, in fact, rather less specialized than other stores in this "Danish modern furniture group" - (it offers modern pottery, flatware and glassware for sale as well as furniture, though furniture is the largest item in sales) - and the hinterland is correspondingly less selective, and more local.

(ii) Most customers returning cards actually bought rather small, low cost items (average cost $9.00), not the expensive items of furniture we expected. It is not surprising then, that most customers responding originated from the local area, and have travelled quite short distances to shop. In fact, it appears here that the card survey is measuring a rather different quantity than the credit record data. Credit data refers to high cost items, mainly furniture, and gives a valid customer picture for this commodity. But it is recognized that credit data ignores cash sales which are most likely to involve smaller, lower cost items (in this store, glassware, pottery, etc.). Apparently, the card survey was biased in favour of this trade; it thus confirms that such lower price trade is likely to be mainly locally oriented, and that credit record data underestimates this local trade.

(iii) Despite the short distances involved in shopping, most customers (8 out of 11) arrived by car at the store, confirming the merchant's estimate of modes of customer travel and, by implication, confirming the suggestion that potential customers are relatively mobile. Exceptional customers lived close enough to the store to arrive by walking.

(iv) Despite the low average price of items purchased, over half respondents (6 out of 11) shopped in "other districts" and made "other shopping trips" before making their purchase. This tends to confirm the assumption about the pre-buying shopping habits of the customers of high order.

13 The sample is too small for meaningful cartographic presentation or even for more detailed discussion of hinterland characteristics.
stores, especially if taken with the card questionnaire data obtained from store 2 in this group downtown.

This card survey data should not be regarded as definite. It is, however, thought better to include it than waste it. If interpreted qualitatively, it at least confirms the direction of assumptions previously based only on speculation. It permits us to say "most customers act in such a way..." or "the majority of customers reside in such an area..." Even though this is less satisfactory than precisely measured detail, it is better than no data at all.

Summary. This eccentrically located high order furniture store then, shows a socially and areally selective hinterland, (as hypothesized), which includes the attraction of customers from over long distances to shop at this suburban location. However the store hinterland is, if anything rather less powerfully customer attractive than other stores considered, and rather more locally oriented. This is largely explained by the less specialized nature of the store, it is acting to some extent as a "convenience" store as well as a specialty store, in the sale of gifts etc. as the card questionnaire data hints.

Theoretical hinterlands of specialized (Danish modern) furniture stores.

The rather complete coverage available for this store group - with data available for most types of store location - enables further analysis to be made of store hinterland characteristics.

It was suggested earlier that analysis of the spatial characteristics of retail trade in terms of traditional, ecologically inspired distance minimization concepts might be valid for low order retail activities, but not for high order activities. In particular, the conventional theory

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would imply that:

(a) Customers tend to minimize the "cost of friction" in their movement (i.e. they tend to shop at the nearest store which offers goods required).

(b) Store hinterlands are thus typically determined by spatial competition and take the form of a network of minimally overlapping store-focused regions.

In fact, we have seen that for the stores here considered, some features of store hinterlands are:

(a) The ability of stores - even eccentrically located stores - to attract customers long distances from relatively remote upper income residential areas;

(b) the characteristic distortion of competitive space as customers are persuaded to ignore similar stores close to them, and are encouraged to travel past intervening opportunities to distant stores;

(c) the form of hinterlands is quite complex: hinterlands commonly overlap and interlock, and overlapping is not confined only to boundary zones between equidistant stores.

Under these circumstances, it would be interesting to measure more precisely the extent to which the actual pattern of observed customer-store relations departs from the theoretical (expected) pattern, and thus to assess the utility of ecological theory to the analysis of the geography of specialized retail trade.

This can be done rather easily. For the four Danish modern furniture stores in the group (stores 1, 3, 5 and 6), we have samples of 41, 39, 30 and 31 customer addresses, (drawn in a similar fashion from credit records) which have been plotted on separate maps (Maps VIII-XI). From these maps, it is possible to re-assign customers from the store they actually visited and to the store in the same category which is nearest to them. This gives a picture of "theoretical" store hinterlands, i.e. a picture of the pattern of customer-store relationships that would exist if shoppers acted so as
to minimize the costs of friction, and moved to shop at the nearest available store. Discrepancies between "theoretical" hinterlands (where "theoretical" is defined in distance minimization terms) and "actual" hinterlands will then clearly emerge.

Theoretical patterns and theoretical-actual discrepancies can be shown in cartographic and tabular form.

Map XII shows the pattern of customer relations after each customer has been plotted and re-assigned to the furniture store nearest to him. In all, 141 customers are plotted and re-assigned, this being the total of the samples from the four separate stores.\(^{15}\) In addition, store 7 (on the North Shore) has been included in the map (since it must be regarded as the "intervening opportunity" ignored by North Shore customers who shop at stores 1, 3, 5 and 6), and the customers that might be expected to accrue to it are shown.

The main elements of the map are self evident.

(i) Plotting all customers together confirms that customers typically reside in upper-middle income areas (the city west of Cambie, the West End, the North Shore). Few customers (15 per cent of the total) live in the eastern part of the city. In the western part of the city, however, customers are not evenly spread, but are concentrated in the S. Granville area, Kitsilano, New Shaughnessy, Kerrisdale and the University district - these are areas of new household formation and apartment dwellings, where demand for modern furniture is localized.

Note that areas south of the Fraser (Richmond, Surrey) generate very few customers. Although areas of recent settlement and new household formation, demands for furniture are of a different kind and are met by different stores.

\(^{15}\)In effect, we are here pooling all the customers from the four separate stores and regarding them as a group of customers whose distribution is typical of the market for Danish modern furniture in Vancouver.
Market Relations: Theoretical Hinterlands of Danish Modern Furniture Stores
(ii) Re-assigning customers to nearer stores, as expected, eliminates some long trips, reduces overlap (except in boundary areas such as the University district), and produces more compact hinterlands whose morphology more nearly approaches the circular ideal.

(iii) The impact of re-assignment is different on different stores and areas, and these are discussed individually.

(a) Upon re-assignment, store 1 in the C.B.D. draws most of the trade of the West End and all the trade of the eastern part of the city. However, it loses all former customers on the North Shore and south of False Creek to non-centrally located stores. Out of the 141 customers plotted, store 1 would theoretically attract 39, (28 per cent) which is, by a slight margin, the largest number attracted by any store. Theoretically then, store 1 is the best located store in the city; if customers of Danish modern furniture shopped so as to minimize distances involved in shopping, store 1 would receive most custom. Note, however, this is largely because of its proximity to the in-town high class residential market in the West End, not to any accessibility advantage from the whole city, as traditional theory would suggest.

The store may, in fact, be rather less well placed than appears here at first sight, since some of the east side trade may be temporary, the result of bias introduced into the sample by the former eastern location of store 5.

(b) Store 3, although in practice a well-established and successful business, is theoretically in the worst location! Its substantial West End trade "ought" to shop at store 1, and is re-assigned to that store on the map, while its North Shore trade is intercepted by store 7. Similarly, customers to the south are captured by stores 5 and 6, leaving only a small local trade remaining for store 3 from Kitsilano, S. Granville and part of the West End. Theoretically, the store would capture less than 6 per cent of the aggregate pool of
customers. Obviously, the stores success has been contingent upon its ability to attract customers past intervening stores, as will be re-emphasized later.

(b) **Store 5** "ought" to attract customers from the western suburbs and University district, and in the process of re-assignment it gains significant numbers of customers from these areas at the expense of other stores. Its own greatest losses are to store 1, which intercepts former east side customers, though the loss here may be more apparent than real, as already discussed. In this manner, store 5 attracts to itself some 20 per cent of available customers, slightly less than any other store save store 3.

From the map, it is obvious that stores 3 and 5 are close together. These stores have been discussed separately until now since, on the ground, they cannot be regarded as "neighbours", (the distance between them is too great for pedestrian comparative shopping) and since both merchants do not feel that they are part of the same store cluster. In short, store 5 is well outside the furniture row area, though both stores are considered to lie within the "inner city". However, the two stores are close enough together that customers arriving by car would perhaps regard the distance between them indifferently.\(^{16}\) A valid alternative interpretation of the map then, is to regard this area of the "inner city" as a single locus, and aggregate the customer data for stores 3 and 5. Under these circumstances, this area of the "inner city" (the Broadway-Granville area) is theoretically seen to serve the Kitsilano, S. Granville, Point Grey and University area as well as part of the West End. It then takes about 27 per cent of all customers plotted and, on a theoretical basis, is at least as attractive a location as downtown.

(c) **Store 6** theoretically attracts customers from

\(^{16}\)Merchants estimate nearly all customers actually arrive by car.
the southern suburbs (Kerrisdale, Dunbar) and from the University district (in competition with store 5,) while it loses more distant customers from North Shore and West End areas. The store takes on the character of a more locally oriented business; its hinterland becomes quite compact and loses its "sectoral" appearance. However, because it is situated in the heart of a middle-upper income area which generates much trade, the store manages to capture 25 per cent of total available custom.

(d) **Store 7** is introduced for the sake of completeness; though it contributes no customers of its own to the analysis, it is allowed to intercept the significant share of trade originating on the North Shore (23 per cent.) This gives the store a well developed local hinterland, comparable in function to the local hinterland of store 6.

In short, redrawing the map of store-customer relations in this way, thus gives a good idea as to the extent and shape of store hinterlands under rigorous theoretical conditions, where the only influence affecting customer buying habits is the distance to stores. As shown, such spatial competition divides up the available market among existing stores such that hinterlands more nearly approach the ideal of a network of minimally overlapping store focussed regions. Distortion in the shape of hinterlands is produced only by the pattern of distribution of customers. Discrepancies between the theoretical pattern and the observed pattern are obvious by map comparison (compare map XII with maps VII-XI.) Differences can be put down to customer mobility (indifference to distance) and to store tactics (specialization and image projection, encouraging customer movement despite distance.)

A further picture of theoretical-actual discrepancies is shown in Table V. Here, it is noted what proportion of customers shopping at any particular Danish modern furniture store is actually shopping at the store nearest to them. For example, for store 1, out of 39 customers in the sample,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Column A</th>
<th>Column B</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Customers for whom Store is Nearest</td>
<td>Customers for whom Store is more Distant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store 3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store 1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store 5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store 6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Store credit records and Maps VII-XII.
store 1 is the nearest store for only 10 of them (column A). The other 29 customers who shop at the store have by-passed a nearer store of the same type in order to reach store 1 (column B). We thus have an indication of the role of nearness considerations versus non-spatial considerations as factors in store customer attraction.

For store 1 then, nearly 75 per cent of all customers ignore a closer store in order to shop at the downtown store. Only 25 per cent of the custom of the store can be "explained" in distance minimization terms alone. However, a possible qualification is that some customers whose origin is here shown by home addresses actually visited the store from downtown workplaces. This is especially possible given the high concentration of middle income-white collar job opportunities downtown. On the other hand, a downtown shopping survey shows that trips to buy furniture etc. are less likely to originate from workplaces than are most other kinds of shopping trips. 17

For store 3, attraction of customers depends almost entirely on non-spatial competitive factors. Over 90 per cent of customers (37 out of 40) are somehow persuaded to ignore stores nearer to them and made to travel extra distances to shop at this store. Apparently, then, this is confirmation of the idea that high order stores do not compete in spatial terms and that customers do not act so as to minimize distance when shopping. Most customers must be assumed to be attracted by distance distorting factors - by product specialization and image projection - or must be assumed indifferent to distance at the intra-city scale here considered.

Store 5 is rather similar to store 1, in that it is

17 Only 10 per cent of shopping trips to the furniture departments of downtown department stores originate from workplaces not homes, compared to about 20 per cent of all customers trips to department stores in downtown Vancouver. (U.B.C. Urban Core Project, Downtown Department Store Survey).
the "nearest store" for about 25 per cent of the customers who shop there. The majority of customers are thus travelling longer distances to shop than is theoretically necessary, i.e. the store is competing for custom in non-spatial terms.

Store 6 comes closest to the theoretical pattern in its actual performance. For just under half (14 out of 31) customers shopping there, it is the "nearest store." The store is thus acting more like a local shopping goods store than any yet considered, as we might expect from its most eccentric position and least specialized nature. However, the store is still attracting over half of its customers to this eccentric location over quite long distances and against the attraction of nearer stores.

Summary.

The discussion shows then, that among high order stores - furniture stores at least -

(i) competition in non-spatial terms is the rule, not the exception;

(ii) customers commonly not exceptionally, ignore close stores in order to travel to more distant ones. They do not usually act so as to minimize distance in their shopping trips;

(iii) store hinterlands interlock in a complex manner, and not only in boundary regions equidistant from similar stores.

Explanations for these hinterland characteristics must lie in the nature of goods offered for sale, in the retailing tactics adopted by customers and in the mobility characteristics of potential customers.

Ib COLONIAL FURNITURE STORES

There are four stores in Vancouver in this category, and their distribution is shown in Map III, Chapter IV. Customer hinterland data was not available for all stores, but enough has been collected to permit further evaluation of relevant hypotheses. In the discussion which follows,
figures for stores again refer to the maps in Chapter IV.

Store 3.

Store 3 is situated in the "inner city" area, outside any major retail centre, but in a building currently being developed as a "house and garden" centre. Details of the location and of the location history of the business were given in Chapter IV.

From current credit records, a 20 per cent sample of customer addresses was taken, giving 31 addresses in all. Out of these, 6 proved to be customers from outside Vancouver, chiefly from smaller B.C. towns, such as Victoria, Squamish. This is a small but significant number. It suggests that we are right to call this business high order, since it seems to be satisfying demands that smaller communities cannot meet. Moreover, even though the store is drawing custom even from outside Vancouver, it is apparently finding an eccentric location within Vancouver no hindrance in this process. The proportion of custom drawn from outside the city (20 per cent) is, in fact, the highest for any store yet discussed, higher even than the downtown Danish furniture store (11 per cent) which presumably has a better chance to capture the tourist and out-of-town occasional shopper. Perhaps the explanation lies in the nature of the goods sold. Colonial furniture has a rural (though not a rustic) image. This is, in fact, the image the merchant attempts to associate with his wares, as is readily obvious in details of store decoration and merchandise display. The same theme is also emphasized in advertising. In these circumstances, colonial furniture is more likely to appeal to tastes cultivated in smaller urban centres in the Province, than is, say, furniture of the more sophisticated modern design. The demand for colonial furniture may well be biased in favour of such smaller urban centres, and this is reflected in the store data we have at hand. The interpretation is not far fetched, though it remains speculative.
The distribution of the 25 customers residing in Vancouver is shown on the map (XIII). In most aspects, the hinterland characteristics revealed tend to support our hypotheses.

(i) Although the store is non-centrally located, it is certainly oriented to a more than local market. A negligible number of customers (3 out of 25) originate within two miles of the store, while a significant number of journeys are of impressive length (from Richmond, New Westminster and the North Shore). The average trip length is, in fact, 5.3 miles, one of the longest of any store yet discussed. Obviously, this non-central store is attracting customers from quite distant areas of the city, as was hypothesized.

(ii) The store is not drawing customers from all parts of the metropolitan area evenly. Although its hinterland is less obviously sectoral, demand is still obviously localized. The largest proportion of customers (30 per cent) originates in the city, west of Cambie Street, as with previous stores, but in this case, there is a marked concentration within this larger area, especially in the Kerrisdale and New Shaughnessy districts. Small but significant numbers of customers originate from the North Shore and also from Richmond, (an area not significant in the Danish modern store group). Most of the densely populated areas of east side Vancouver and Burnaby contribute few customers to the store, (as usual and as was expected) although a few customers originate from South Burnaby and New Westminster. More surprising is the negligible role of the West End as a customer source, since the area contributed significantly to other high order furniture stores.

(iii) In general, the store hinterland is biased towards upper middle income residential areas, as we suggested for high order stores. Specifics of the store's relations with particular parts of the city can perhaps be
explained in the same terms as were used to explain the rather high proportion of out-of-town sales for this store. For example, Richmond is an area of recent suburbanization which includes many middle income homes. As an area of new household formation, it is a likely market for furniture sales. But also, as a semi-rural area (with low residential densities and "ranch style" homes), it is quite probably a particular market for Colonial furniture with its "rural" overtones. In contrast, the West End is an area of middle income household formation, but here dwellings are typically apartments and furniture demanded is more likely to be for smaller items more modern in style. Consequently, there is a lack in demand for Colonial style furniture in this area, and this is reflected in Map

Summary. Store hinterlands of high order stores (like this store) are thus quite selective, and when mapped appear as distinctively localized. Such patterns of localization are not accidental. They represent the territorial expression of particular socially localized demands, which are analysable to quite fine limits. In this case (store 3), we see a distinct relationship between the demands for Colonial style furniture and areas of new middle income housing, especially where such housing is in a semi-rural environment.

Store 1.

Store 1, operated by the same merchant as store 3, was actually the first store of its type to open in Vancouver (1953.) It then anticipated drawing customers from quite distant middle income suburbs, even to its eccentric West Vancouver location, because of the supposedly unique nature of goods offered. This was discussed in Chapter IV and shown to support the location hypothesis there put forward.

In fact, the merchant claimed this policy was successful and confirmation of this claim is provided by other merchants who point to this store as an example of an
eccentrically located speciality store drawing extra-local custom to a peripheral site.

However, as the Vancouver market has grown, and branch stores have been established (like store 2,) the share of the market captured by store 3 has tended to become more local. With the establishment of branch stores of the same firm, customers have tended to become divided up amongst branches by spatial competition. Thus, (as will be seen) store 3 has apparently captured much of the former market of store 1 on the mainland peninsula, long shopping trips from the mainland to the peripheral West Vancouver store are now rarer, and under current conditions, the store is oriented to a North Shore market. This is not unexpected. Where two speciality stores are commodity similar branch stores, there is little opportunity for non-spatial competition (by image projection etc.) to develop, and division of the market will be almost entirely in nearness terms. A comparison of hinterlands of stores 1 and 3 is thus interesting, since it shows the customer relations of speciality stores in the same group where the "image projection" factor is neutralized.

Even more interesting is a comparison of hinterlands of stores 1 and 3 with that of store 5 in the same group, to be discussed later. Although in the same commodity group, differences in management allow non-spatial competitive factors to again become relevant for this latter store, and the store hinterland in this case again shows the now familiar interlocks and overlaps with the hinterlands of other stores in the group. This is re-emphasized below.

These two contrasts can be brought out by a closer inspection of the market relations of store 1, based on a sample of 40 customer addresses taken from sales slips. 18

18 Sales slips data is a useful source in that it contains all sales, large and small, cash and credit. Its utility is limited, however, by the fact that it is a sample from a population of unknown size. Especially, it
Residences are shown on Map XIII along with customer residence from store 3, the sister store.

(i) First, note that 8 out of 40 customers (20%) originated from outside Vancouver (mainly from small B.C. towns such as Prince George, Cranbrook, Penticton.) This is a similar proportion to store 3 in this group, though higher than any other specialized furniture store discussed. The significance of this proportion and a possible explanation for it were suggested earlier. It is important, however, that another store repeats the experience, since increasing the number of examples improves the generality of the argument.

(ii) Out of the remaining 32 customers, 28 originate from the North Shore (70%; of the total sample.) Only 10% of all customers apparently originate from mainland Vancouver, and could thus be considered attracted out of the reach of store 3. This latter proportion is, in fact, similar to the proportion of customers arriving at store 3 from store 1's zone of influence on the North Shore. In other words, Map XIII shows how the market is divided amongst the two branch stores in spatial terms. Store 1 dominates the North Shore and store 3, the mainland and south. Overlap of market hinterlands is reduced to 10%, a rather small proportion in comparison to other specialized furniture stores, and this is due to the comparability of the store's image eliminating effective non-spatial competition.

(iii) Although most customers originate from North Shore residential areas, the store hinterland is not strictly local in orientation. Customers are attracted from all areas of the North Shore, and almost as many originate from North Vancouver as from West Vancouver (12 compared to 13.)

is limited in terms of comparison with credit record data, since the former is biased towards larger purchases perhaps made by more distant customers. However, the data must be used, since credit record data was not available for this store.
If anything, the store is attracting customers over rather longer distances than other specialized stores on the North Shore (a Spanish gift store and Danish gift store, discussed later, for example,) and indeed, the immediately local area seems to contribute few customers. The average distance to shop is 3.75 miles, and this is not insignificant. It is, for example, longer than average trip lengths to downtown department stores and about the same as for store 1 in the Danish modern furniture group, also located in the C.B.D.

**Summary.** In sum, the market served by this store could best be described as "regional" rather than local, and though customers are attracted rather long distances to shop (as hypothesized,) this does not involve the attraction of customers from extra-local areas. However, this failure is partly explained by the "branch" status of the store - the available market is effectively divided up among similar stores when image projection (the prime competitive tactic of specialized businesses,) cannot develop among stores.

**Store 5.**

Store 5 is situated in the southern suburbs outside the Oakridge planned shopping centre. Both in terms of its own hinterland characteristics and in terms of contrasts with stores 1 and 3 in the same group, it supports many of our suggestions. Again, a sample of the last 40 customer sales is made the basis for discussion.

(i) Again for this store, a rather large proportion of customers (8 out of 40, or 20%) originated outside Vancouver from small B.C. towns (Campbell River, Stewart Lake, Penticton.) It is apparently a consistent pattern for specialized colonial furniture stores in Vancouver to dispose of about 20% of sales to out-of-town customers. In this
example, as in the previous cases, the merchant stressed the role of out-of-town advertising (in regional magazines, local newspapers) in cultivating this market. We can repeat the observation that furniture of this type may be appropriate to the lifestyle of residents of small provincial urban centres, and that this may explain the high out-of-town sales volume. From our viewpoint, it is important that this store also finds a non-central location within the city no hindrance in supplying this market. Insofar as such sales are made to out-of-town customers visiting Vancouver (as some are,) the store can apparently attract such customers to a non-central site. If sales are made on a mail order basis, intra-city location is obviously irrelevant, i.e. highly flexible.

(ii) The 32 customers residing in Vancouver are shown in Map XIV. This is an interesting pattern. In general, there is a localization of demand in middle income areas (the western suburbs and the North Shore,) confirming the idea of social localization in demand. However, there is not the well defined pattern of localization of demand that some other stores showed, and, in fact, a few customers apparently originate from "below average" socio-economic areas in East Vancouver and New Westminster.\(^\text{19}\) The important elements of the domestic market are:

(a) The importance of the North Shore market. This contributes 25% out of the total sample of 40 customers, or 32% of the domestic market. Obviously, the store is here drawing customers from a relatively distant non-contiguous residential area to an eccentric location. More than this, it is attracting all of this significant proportion of customers away from the influence of competing stores. Thus stores 1, 2, 3, and 4 in this group are nearer to North Shore customers than is store 5, and attraction of

\(^{19}\text{Bell, L. \textit{op. cit.}, p. 7.}\)
these distant customers is obviously in non-spatial terms. Both these elements are as hypothesized, and are similar to other specialized stores discussed.

The ability of store 5 to attract North Shore customers where store 3 cannot is unusual and must be explained by the role of store 1. Thus store 5 can develop non-spatial appeals to customers not available to store 3 (as a branch of store 1) and can attract customers from distant suburbs and past intervening stores where store 2 cannot.

(b) Other domestic Vancouver customers are drawn from western areas of the city (Shaughnessy, Marpole,) from Richmond and New Westminster. However, the West End, University, Point Grey and Kitsilano districts, though areas of new household formation and of demand for furniture from other specialized stores, apparently do not generate significant demands for colonial furniture for this store (or indeed, for any store in the colonial group.) House type and customer taste obviously dictate demands for different furniture styles in these areas.

(c) Customers are attracted long distances to shop at this eccentrically located store. We have alluded to the important proportion of customers arriving from the North Shore. In fact, the average shopping trip length is 5 miles, one of the longest recorded, and only 24 per cent of customers originate within 2 miles of the store. The store could in no sense be called locally oriented, despite the suburban location.

(iii) We can note here the disparity between the "actual" store hinterland described for store 5, and the "theoretically rational" pattern predicted for the store by ecological theory (as was done for Danish modern stores.) At the same time, we can comment on the departure from the same rationality in the market relationships of store 3 in this group.
Noticeable is that attraction of customers to store 5 from all western and southern areas of the city actually involves considerable overlap in customer relations, especially with store 3. There is apparently little rationality in terms of distance minimization in the division of customers between stores 3 and 5. In fact, some 18% of the customers shopping at store 5 are nearer to store 3 and "ought" (in distance minimization terms) to shop there. At the same time, an even greater proportion (60%) of customers shopping at store 3 are nearer to store 5 and theoretically "ought" to shop at the latter store. Customers from Richmond and Kerrisdale, for example, fall into this group. This is an impressive overlap, and again tends to bear out the suggestion that overlapping of customer hinterlands is characteristic of the market relations of high order retail stores.

If these figures are supplemented by the figures for North Shore customers, the role of non-spatial competitive factors becomes even more pronounced. Thus it can be seen that only 37% of domestic Vancouver customers shopping at store 5 are actually closer to store 5 than to any competing store, while for store 3, only 10% of customers who use the store are actually shopping at the closest store. Again, it is clear that the majority of shoppers at such specialized stores are ignoring distance while making shopping trips, and are attracted to stores by non-spatial considerations.

Conclusion - Colonial Furniture Store Group.

This group displays stores in non-central locations drawing customers long distances from non-contiguous, extra-local residential areas. In two out of three stores studied, the majority of customers (between 75-90%) are also attracted across competitive space past intervening stores, confirming that such stores essentially compete for custom in non-spatial terms. Where such overlap of store hinterlands does not occur, this is explainable by rather unique organizational factors.
In sum, this store group exhibits most of the hinterland features hypothesized and to this extent confirms our hypotheses.

Ic ANTIQUE FURNITURE STORES

A final group of distinctive furniture stores is the antique furniture group. There are five stores in this group, and their location is shown in Map IV, Chapter IV, and discussed thoroughly in that chapter.

Discussion of store hinterlands is again in terms of examples from this group.

Store 3.

Store 3 can be discussed as an example of one of the three antique furniture stores located in the Broadway-Granville furniture row area, the same locus as store 3 in the Danish modern group discussed earlier. It is also an interesting example since it is the most specialized of all the antique stores - (the store sells only expensive, high quality antiques and sales average $400 per item) - and we can test again the idea that increasing store specialization is associated with increasingly selective market relationships. Here again, there is the possibility of a fruitful comparison with store 3 of the Danish modern furniture group, which, as we saw, was the most specialized of its type and exhibited a particularly selective hinterland.

A 20 per cent sample from credit records provided a total of 74 addresses, of which 70 were useable. These are plotted on Map XV. In contrast to earlier maps, customer origins are here shown as dots, since the use of lines would obscure details of the distribution.

Inspection of the map tends to confirm the ideas initially put forward concerning the market relationships of high order stores.
(i) Obviously the hinterland of antique furniture store 3 is highly selective and is far from "city wide." Customer relations are with highly specific parts of the city, and on the map this is shown by dense clustering of customer origins in a few areas of localization. Thus almost all customers originate from upper middle income residential suburbs of Vancouver. In terms of the divide we have used before, 94 per cent of customers (66 out of 70) live in the suburbs west of Cambie, though within this broad area, there is a still further concentration, with most customers coming from the upper income areas along Granville Street – Old Shaughnessy, New Shaughnessy – and from Kerrisdale and Marine Drive. There is also a distinct cluster of customers in the University district, especially in the recognizable highest income area of the University district.

Noticeable and rather surprising is the apparently very small demand generated by the high income areas of the West End and North Shore. There is a strong contrast here with the specialized Danish modern stores discussed earlier.

(ii) Such selective a hinterland confirms the idea of "socially localized demands." In fact, the areas of greatest demand for the goods offered by store 3 are rather consistently localized in areas of particularly high income in the city. Thus the Marine Drive and Shaughnessy districts are areas synonymous in Vancouver with large houses and "old-established wealth" (compared with West Vancouver's image of "new rich."). The contrast with store 3 of the Danish modern group is thus interestingly reinforced. Both are highly specialized stores, both have highly selective hinterlands. But the Danish modern store draws customers mainly from the "newer" high income residential areas (West End, British Properties) while the antique furniture store draws customers from the "older", upper income residential areas (Shaughnessy, Marine Drive.) The correlation must reflect differences in taste between the "old" and "new" rich, and
differences in furniture design thought appropriate for houses of different age and design.

(iii) Although the store hinterland is highly selective and customers are distinctly clustered, customers are still attracted over quite long distances to shop. Despite its non-central location, the store is drawing customers from beyond a local environment. Thus the average distance travelled to shop is 2.5 miles (max. 6 miles, min. 0.3,) and over 60 per cent of customers live more than two miles from the store.

(iv) At the same time, the store hinterland is obviously not determined in distance minimization terms. Customers from the University area by-pass stores 5 and 4 in order to reach store 3, and customers along the Granville Street axis could also visit stores 1 and 2 (see Map IV, Chapter IV.) Also the store itself is eccentrically located with respect to its main market - a location further south along Granville Street would apparently and theoretically be a more efficient customer serving location.

Summary. This store then, undoubtedly a high order store, seems to verify all the suggestions made about the hinterlands of such specialized stores, with its discriminating market, its selective, sectorally shaped hinterland, its quite long shopping trips, and its tolerance of locational eccentricity.

Store 5.

Customer data for store 5 is shown on Map XVI. It will be recalled that store 5 is a rather small store situated in the University district, that combines refinishing with retailing activities. The merchant claimed an orientation to a largely local and western suburban market, with a few customers coming from rather more distant areas. The map essentially confirms this estimate. Out of 40 addresses
plotted, 19 (50 per cent) originate within two miles of the store in and around the University area. Beyond this, most customers are drawn from the Kerrisdale area, with a few from more distant sources such as the West End and North Shore.

The predominantly local role of this store is not too surprising considering its small size and eccentricity. Perhaps it is more surprising that the store manages to attract customers from as far away as it does (from Kerrisdale and the West End) despite the pull of other stores (especially S. Granville Street stores,) in more attractive locations. In short, though highly eccentric in location, the store is considerable more than local in its customer relations, and this supports our hypothesis and our argument.

Two points can be added:

(i) As a less specialized store in the same group as store 3, the experience of this store (by comparison with store 3) supports the idea that increasing business specialization is matched by increasing discrimination in store relations, and not by dependence on a more widespread hinterland.

(ii) Although the store hinterland is rather more locally oriented than most stores yet discussed, it is still quite selective. Not all areas adjacent to the store contribute customers equally, rather customer originate from the rather higher income areas close to the University and in Kerrisdale, and equally close areas (Dunbar, W. Kitsilano) contribute very few customers.

Conclusions - Antique Furniture Store Group.

Unfortunately, through merchant hesitation, data for other stores in this group are not available. However, since the two other main stores in the group are close to store 3, are also (but not similarly) quality specialized, and are old-established stores, we might expect them to exhibit comparable sectoral and extra-local hinterlands. Certainly,
verbal summaries of store hinterlands given by merchants suggest that the stores cater mainly to a middle class market localized in the western suburbs of the city, and that they have weaker relations with the eastern working class areas of the city. Within the western city, upper income enclaves (Shaughnessy, Kerrisdale, S.W. Marine Drive) are mentioned as areas of particular customer concentration by merchants.

Thus even though coverage of this group is less than complete, the data available is useful, especially if the stores actually examined are thought of as examples of "inner city" and "suburban" located businesses, and businesses at different degrees of specialization.

Thus both the stores examined have sectoral hinterlands, the more specialized store having the most selective hinterland, and this being oriented to a distinctive social subarea in the city. At the same time, the most eccentric store draws a considerable extra-local trade to its suburban location, as hypothesized.

OTHER FURNITURE STORES

At least one other furniture store in Vancouver was considered to fall into the high order category of interest to us, by virtue of its concentration on high cost, high quality modern furniture. This was the store discussed in Chapter IV (p. 96) and whose location is shown on Map IV. It will be recalled that the store is in a rather isolated position on West Broadway, just outside the Broadway-Bayswater shopping district.

Also, it will be recalled that this merchant claimed orientation to a wide distribution of customers but felt able to serve them from a non-central location because of the nature of the goods he was offering and the mobility characteristics of potential customers. In this, his attitude to location was typical of most eccentrically located businessmen interviewed.
In fact, the market area of the store, when mapped, tends to confirm the merchant's opinion as to the extent of his customer relations and also appears to be typical of the hinterland of many non-central high order stores.

In Map XVII, 49 customer addresses are plotted, a 10 per cent sample from current credit records. Some familiar hinterland elements appear on the map.

(i) The store hinterland is selective in the sense that almost all customers originate from the familiar upper-middle income residential areas (the western suburbs, North Shore and West End.) The hinterland's morphology is less obviously sectoral, however, since customers are rather more evenly spread throughout these middle income areas than was the case with previous stores. Thus most customers still originate from the city peninsula west of Cambie Street (27 out of 49, or nearly 54 per cent,) and within this area, tend to be localized in the University and Kerrisdale areas. North Shore customers amount to nearly 24 per cent of the total, and the West End is rather less important with about 6 per cent. 20

It is interesting that this rather "even" spread of customers - one of the most even yet encountered - should, in fact, belong to a non-centrally located store. This suggests that even where specialized store hinterlands begin to approach the traditional theoretical ideal, this can still be reconciled with a non-C.B.D. location.

(ii) From this distribution of customers, it is obvious that demand is socially localized among middle income groups, though it is less easy to infer further refinements in the localization of demand as was possible with some previous stores. One refinement can be noted, however, During interview, the merchant remarked that a significant number of customers were middle class Jews who lived in the

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20 Though relating these two latter figures to the proportion of the metropolitan area population that these districts contain, indicates that in both cases the store attracts
41st and Oak Street area (a suburban area with a substantial Jewish community and a number of Jewish institutions.) The incidence was noticeable enough to call forward this unprompted information, and is thus perhaps significant enough to be reported. It is not impossible that particular tastes - even in furniture - are localized in such ethnic groups, and that this store is - (perhaps coincidentally) - catering to a "middle class Jewish" taste. If so, it adds another dimension to the idea of "socially localized demands" which thus far has been phrased more in terms of social class than ethnic variety.

On the map there does seem to be a clustering of customers in the area indicated, giving some confirmation of the merchant's opinion.

(iii) The store is obviously attracting customers over quite long distances from non-local residential areas. The average shopping trip distance is 4 miles, one of the longest yet recorded, with over 75 per cent of customers originating beyond the two mile "local" zone.

It is not so easy to say for this example that the store is "distorting competitive space" by attracting customers away from nearer stores, since we have admitted that no exactly similar store exists in Vancouver. But it is obvious that the store is drawing customers from areas close to competing retail outlets (such as the C.B.D., with its considerable retail attractions and its department stores,) and also in some cases, past intervening furniture store clusters, such as the C.B.D. and the South Granville Street area. Competition is obviously not based primarily on nearness to customers, and on this evidence, store location may indeed be relatively flexible.

For this store, a card questionnaire was attempted, and although results were again disappointing, they are about twice the number of customers it "ought" to attract if it drew custom evenly from all areas.
presented as indications of store operations.

Ten cards were returned from the store, and the useable data is summarized below followed by inferences tentatively drawn from this information.

(i) Each customer purchased, on the average, $987 worth of goods (minimum $120, maximum $4700). This confirms the assumption that for some high order stores, goods offered are high price. Obviously, such expensive items will be bought relatively infrequently and even more obviously, costs of transport during shopping will be relatively slight, encouraging customer mobility in shopping.

(ii) In fact, 9 out of 10 respondents looked in "other stores" and in "other shopping districts" before purchasing, and 6 out of 10 indicated that previous shopping trips had been made before purchase was completed. Thus the idea that purchase of high order goods is preceded by fairly prolonged shopping around receives some confirmation, and again customer mobility and relative indifference to distance in the purchase of such goods is hinted at.

(iii) Customer mobility is potentially confirmed by the fact that all customers arrived by car.

(iv) 9 out of 10 respondents arrived to shop from home (as opposed to work, hotel, etc.) This is encouraging since it suggests that examination of furniture store hinterlands through credit records (i.e. residence based data) which have been used extensively in this study, adequately represents shopping trip origins, as well as summarizing customer distributions in socio-economic terms.

(v) All customers in the card survey, as expected, originated from middle-income residential areas (western suburbs, and North Shore.) Though closer analysis of origins would be meaningless for such a small sample, it is interesting that the proportion of respondents from the North Shore (3 out of 10) corresponds quite well to the proportion of customers shown residing in that area by the larger credit record sample.
Summary. In all essential details then, on the basis of both credit data and questionnaire data, this example seems to confirm our major hypotheses and the assumptions on which they were based. Taken with the location history of the firm discussed in Chapter IV, we have as good a picture of a non-centrally located high order, furniture store as was hoped would emerge from this study.

Conclusions - Furniture Store Group.

Analysis of the hinterland characteristics of specialized furniture stores in Vancouver is convincing. The patterns of market relationships identified are quite like the patterns predicted by our hypotheses, while they are unlike patterns predicted by traditional notions of city retail organization, especially central place theory.

Important features include:

(i) Selectivity in store relationships, not city-wide orientation. Such selectivity is analysable to quite fine limits in terms of the concentration of demand among distinctive socially localized and areally localized groups, to whom goods and stores appeal. This is true of both centrally and non-centrally located stores, and for the latter, it may involve drawing customers quite long distances from extra-local areas.

(ii) Increasing store specialization is associated with increasing selectivity in store market relations. This is seen best in the most specialized Danish modern and antique furniture stores discussed.

(iii) Store hinterlands are obviously not determined by simple spatial competition. Most customers by-pass nearer stores in order to shop at more distant stores, and up to 90 per cent of customers may act in this manner. Customer attraction depends upon store image as much as upon store location. This point is "proved" by the experience of branch stores in the colonial furniture class: where no difference in image can develop between such stores, the division of the market is more nearly in spatial terms.
II. GIFT STORES

Analyses of the market relationships of the "gift" group of stores is less complete than for the furniture group, both in terms of the number of stores discussed and the reliability of data for the stores considered. This is determined by a number of factors:

(i) Unwillingness of some merchants to supply necessary data.

(ii) Inability of even willing merchants to supply data, since frequently no records of customer addresses were kept for cash sales.

(iii) The partial failure of the questionnaire programme designed to collect customer data in stores of this type.

However, some analysis is possible and is reported here. It is to be expected that hinterland characteristics described for the gift store group will be found to be rather similar to those of the specialized furniture store group already discussed, but will also show some differences from this store group. It has been suggested that gift items are lower cost than furniture items, and perhaps more frequently bought. Thus it is possible that market hinterlands of gift stores, (in comparison with specialized furniture stores) will be less sectoral and more circular in shape, shopping trips distances less lengthy and more local, and store market areas more determined by spatial competition factors (nearness) than by product differentiation and image projection. It is precisely this contrast which is a useful one to develop, and which justifies the discussion of the gift store group here at some length.

IIa DANISH MODERN GIFT STORES

Data for this particular group of stores is particularly limited and treatment must remain perfunctory.
Downtown Gift Stores.

Two stores in this group (stores 1 and 2 on Map in Chapter IV) are downtown, and some slight information is available concerning one store.

For one store (1), no data was available. This is the store that is chronically unprofitable and shortly to close. Because most sales were cash sales, no significant customer data was available for use, and the merchant was unwilling to take part in the card questionnaire programme.

Similarly, store 2 (the Robson Street store) could yield no credit record data. However, here a questionnaire programme was carried out. For this store alone, the response was too small to be meaningful, but when combined with a neighbouring store, the response gives a useable total of 17 observations. The "other" store with which data is combined is, in fact, a not too dissimilar store selling modern "Canadian" gifts; we are here then, referring to two stores and the picture presented is for "downtown specialized gift" stores rather than Danish modern stores per se. However, aggregation is permissible since the stores are not totally dissimilar in merchandise offered (both are high price, high quality,) and the stores are situated side by side on Robson Street.

The most important detail about the store hinterland of this "Robson Street gift store group" is the importance of the downtown population itself in trade. This was discussed fully in Chapter IV, where the importance of this downtown trade as a location influence was brought out. Reference to Table III in Chapter IV reminds us of the importance of downtown as a source of customers, since 66 percent (11 out of 17) customers were either tourists or workers originating from downtown hotels and work places. Other

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21 The neighbouring store was referred to in Chapter IV and data for the two stores was there aggregated and made the basis of Table III.
customers originated from upper middle income residential areas of Vancouver (as expected,) including many from the West Point Grey area.

The use of cards to collect hinterland data instead of credit records, enables this picture of the actual origins of customer shopping trips (with its strong downtown bias) to be compared with a hinterland picture based on residential origins of customers. No map presentation is developed from this data since numbers are too small, but the general trend is clear. All the six people who arrived to shop from downtown work places actually live in middle income residential areas, including Point Grey, West End and North Shore (which had 3 out of the 6.) These origins are similar to the customers who travelled to the store directly from home, in that they are all middle income areas. The stores are thus seen to be serving a predominantly middle class clientele.

The store hinterlands of the Robson Street downtown gift stores are thus selective in the sense that they draw customers heavily from downtown workplaces and hotels, or from middle income areas of the city, and since also, (on the evidence of customer residential origins) they cater entirely to a middle class clientele. In both circumstances this denies the idea that highly specialized downtown stores are oriented to a "city wide" customer hinterland.

The card questionnaire also hints at answers to other questions, especially assumptions of customer mobility.

(i) The average cost of items bought is low ($5), except for one $300 item purchased by one respondent. If customers are travelling fairly long distances to shop at such stores, it is not because transport costs are insignificant in proportion to total costs (as could be argued with furniture stores,) but because customers are seeking

22This item is omitted from the calculation of "average" price.
specialized items not locally available.

(ii) Despite the low cost of goods bought, purchase was still frequently preceded by "shopping around." Over half the customers replying (8 out of 17) indicated that trips had been made to other stores before purchase, and most of these involved special trips to other shopping districts. Customer mobility seems relatively high despite the low cost of items purchased.

(iii) Data on methods of customer travel is too diverse to be meaningful for small numbers. All customers originating from downtown work places and hotels (11 out of 16) walked to the store, while for customers arriving from home, half (3 out of 6) came by car and half by bus. This latter data is, however, meaningless by itself, and cannot be used to confirm or deny assumptions of customer mobility.

**Summary.** Thus for downtown specialized gift stores of this type, we have rather meagre data, but nonetheless, data which tends to support our main arguments, namely the socially localized nature of the demands for high order goods and the consequent sectoral bias in the hinterlands of high order stores. In this case, selectivity involves orientation to a middle class market areally localized in downtown hotels and work places, and middle class areas of suburban Vancouver.

**Non-central Stores.**

Two examples of non-centrally located Danish modern gift stores will be examined, namely store 3 and store 4.

**Store 3.** Store 3 is a Danish modern gift store located in the University district. It is an old-established store (the first of its type to open in the city) and claims and orientation to an extra-local market. The basis of the store's appeal to distant customers is, the merchant
suggests, partly based on quality and uniqueness of goods, but more especially, on a reputation and store image built up over a long period of operation. This enables the store to attract customers from quite distant suburbs past theoretically competitive stores. The merchant's attitude in this context, (based on experience) fits well certain initial assumptions we made about the characteristics of high order businesses and, if confirmed, would tend to support hinterland hypotheses developed on the basis of those assumptions.

Data are available for this store, though not from credit records. A sample of customer addresses was taken from a mailing list compiled by the merchant. Mailing list data are in some respects comparable to credit record data. Customers entered on mailing lists have usually made a relatively large purchase and not a small cash purchase. The mailing list, like the credit record, may thus underestimate some very local trade. The chief difference between the two data sources is that a mailing list is compiled and added to over a period of time, in contrast to the credit record which describes only recent purchases and outstanding accounts. Mailing list data are thus not strictly comparable with credit data, since each refers to different time periods. However, this defect is probably not crippling, and does not deny the utility of the data.

From a mailing list of 2,000 addresses, a systematic sample of 50 addresses was selected, ignoring customers who had moved out of town, but who remained on the mailing list. These addresses are plotted on map XVIII and from inspection of the map, several elements stand out.

(i) Most customers (70 per cent) come from the western part of the city - from Point Grey, the University, Dunbar, and Kerrisdale, i.e. from the middle income suburbs close to the store. A significant number, however, come from more distant residential areas, notably the North Shore (11 out of 50, or 22 per cent.) The store hinterland
Market Relations
Danish Modern Gift Stores
3 and 4
is selective in the sense that all customers come from typically upper middle income residential areas, while at the same time, the store is an example of an eccentrically located speciality store drawing customers over quite long distances from non-contiguous residential areas to shop,

(ii) The store obviously has quite a strong local orientation. About 40 per cent of customers live within two miles of the store (quite a large proportion compared to other stores discussed,) and the average distance to shop is 3.5 miles. However, many customers are still attracted over long distances, for example from Kerrisdale, Kitsilano and the North Shore. More than this, distant customers are being attracted _despite_ their proximity to closer competing stores, offering similar merchandise and which "ought" to be acting as intervening opportunities. Thus North Shore customers ignore similar stores (1 and 2) downtown in order to travel to store 3, while Kerrisdale customers ignore store 6 of the Danish furniture group, (which must also be considered a competitor since it sells small gifts (as well as furniture.) If the Danish furniture stores in the Granville Street inner city area are also considered competitors, then Kitsilano and Shaughnessy customers are also attracted to store 3 against the pull of these nearer stores. Thus although the store has a considerable element of local trade, its hinterland is not determined simply by spatial competition, since customers are attracted to the store out of the theoretical grasp of alternative stores. Although this overlap of store hinterlands is less well marked than with the furniture store group (where, on average, 75 per cent of customers are attracted against the pull of competitive stores,) it is still significantly high.\(^{23}\)

\(^{23}\)Inspection of the map in terms of customer origins and competing stores reveals that 24 out of 50 customers shopping at store 3 (48 per cent) are nearer to store 3 than any other competing store, while 52 per cent of customers are attracted to the store despite being closer to alternative
In this latter context, a comparison of the hinterland of this specialized gift store with the hinterlands of similar downtown stores, reveals that the latter also draw customers from areas actually closer to competing stores, including some customers from the University district close to store 3; (customers who travel downtown to shop from Point Grey, for example.) Interlocking of store hinterlands, though not great, is thus apparently mutual among stores of this group.

**Store 4.** Store 4 in its West Vancouver location, was described as a specialized gift store oriented to an essentially local market, where the local market generated particular and sufficient demands to support the store. The actual store hinterland (based on 30 customer addresses drawn from a mailing list,) is shown on Map XVIII (along with the hinterland for store 3,) and it apparently confirms the merchant's estimate.

(i) Most customers shopping at store 4 originate from the North Shore middle class suburbs, a negligible number of customers being attracted from across the city. Moreover, most customers originate from close to the store, and shopping trips are shorter than for other specialized stores on the North Shore (e.g. colonial furniture and Spanish gift stores discussed in this study.) Thus the average shopping trip is 2.4 miles in length (the shortest recorded,) and 50 per cent of customers originate within two miles of the store. On this basis, the store is the most "locally" oriented of any North Shore specialized store, and indeed of all the stores classed as "high order" in this study. In short, the store

stores. Compare this with the theoretical hinterland patterns derived for specialized furniture stores (pp.167-176.) Here we have a rather less impressive overlap, but this is as suggested.
is supported by demand localized in the adjacent middle income suburb. The income and taste structure of the suburb is such that a specialized store can be supported on the basis of local demand alone.

(ii) The store must be considered as attracting most custom in simple nearness terms. It apparently attracts few customers out of the theoretical reach of other stores. However, if store 7 in the Danish modern furniture group (located in the Park Royal Shopping centre) is considered a potential competitor (as it realistically might,) then customers from North Vancouver, Ambleside and British Properties (about 20 per cent of the total) are being attracted out of the competitive space of this alternate store. This proportion is slight compared to other specialized stores discussed, and again suggests that hinterland overlap in the gift group of stores is less developed than in the furniture group of stores.

More obvious from Map XVIII is the success of store 3 (in Point Grey) in attracting shoppers out of the theoretical reach of this store, (store 4.) Perhaps this pattern means that it is easier for specialized stores on the mainland to attract customers from the North Shore than it is for North Shore stores to attract mainland residents, since this movement of North Shore customers to mainland stores is a pattern we have seen before, (in the colonial and Danish furniture store groups, for example.) Possibly North Shore residents build up an "awareness" of store opportunities during commuting trips to mainland work places, which is later actualized in shopping trips to mainland stores. Since commuting from mainland residences to North Shore work places is negligible, mainland residents are less likely to build up a familiarity with North Shore speciality stores, and are less likely to become customers of such North Shore stores.

**Summary.** Non-centrally located Danish modern gift
stores show selective market hinterlands in the sense that they apparently appeal mainly to middle class customers. This orientation can involve the attraction of customers from non-contiguous, middle class areas to shop at quite distant stores (as with store 3.) However, this extra-local element in store appeal is less developed than for non-centrally located specialized furniture stores (as expected) and hinterlands are areally more restricted.

At the same time, overlap of store hinterlands is not excluded, and although again this may be less than for specialized furniture stores, it is certainly not negligible (between 20 per cent - 50 per cent of custom.)

**Conclusions - Danish Modern Gift Stores.**

The evidence of this store group supports our main hinterland hypothesis, i.e. that high order stores have socially and areally selective hinterlands. In this case, "selectivity" means orientation to a middle class market, areally localized in the western and North Shore suburbs of Vancouver or (for centrally located stores) in downtown work places and hotels.

At the same time, the evidence also contrasts with the evidence of most specialized furniture stores discussed, in that store hinterlands have less extra-local appeal (are less likely to attract customers over long distances to eccentric locations,) and show less hinterland overlap. If gift stores are regarded as rather "lower order" than furniture stores, however, (on the basis of assumed frequency of purchase) this also tends to support our hinterland hypotheses. It demonstrates that suggestions made about the hinterland characteristics of high order stores actually do become more apparent as stores become more unambiguously "high order", i.e. as the "order of good" variable changes.
IIb SPANISH GIFT STORES

The evidence for two of the three stores of this type in Vancouver can be presented, namely store 1 in West Vancouver and store 3 in the University district. In both cases, credit data were not available, but merchants maintained a record of customer residences in sales slips, and a sample of addresses was taken from this source.  

Store 1.

Store 1 is a small store situated in West Vancouver. It will be recalled that the merchant claimed orientation to a local North Shore market and doubted his ability to attract custom from non-contiguous, middle class residential areas. He considered the wealthy North Shore suburban market large enough to support even his specialized store, since he believed that the demand for the product he was offering would probably be localized in that part of the city. In other words, the merchant located his specialized store eccentrically, since he believed his potential market was also areally localized in a particular suburb of the city.  

(i) The map (Map XIX) confirms the merchant's estimate of his store hinterland characteristics. Almost all customers originate on the North Shore, with only 7 out of 40 customers (17 per cent) originating from the mainland. Again, however, (as with previous non-central stores,) even close-in areas do not contribute customers evenly, there being notable concentrations of customers in recognizably upper income areas of this predominantly middle

\[24\] In both cases, the last 40 addresses were taken, i.e. the 40 most recent sales. See footnote 18 (p. 181) for note on sales slips as sources of data.
Market Relations
Spanish Gift Stores 1 and 3
income suburb (British Properties, Marine Drive, etc.). In this sense, the store hinterland is selective, since demand is localized among upper middle class customers and this is reflected in the morphology of the hinterland.

(ii) The store hinterland must be regarded as local in scope, at least in comparison to most other stores this far discussed. Although shopping trip distances are not short (averaging 3.0 miles,) this figure is probably biased upwards by the physical setting of the store, and does not deny the use of the "local" adjective. For example, about 42 per cent of customers shopping at the store originate within the two mile "local" zone (rather less than with other stores discussed.) But this measure of "local" is less meaningful for this example, since the business is situated close to the coast, and residential areas are dispersed in linear fashion between the mountains and sea. This pattern of residential dispersion tends to result in relatively long shopping trips, even for trips "local" in nature, and this produces a higher average trip length figure for the store than we would expect for a more normal distribution of customers around the store.

However, it is more clear from the map that relatively few customers make the long trips from non-contiguous residential areas characteristic of high order stores already discussed, and on this basis, the store hinterland is more characteristically local.

One possibility remains. Although we have called this store hinterland "local" it may still be extensive compared to the hinterlands of other stores in the same North Shore shopping district. In fact, we lack a real operational definition of "local" for North Shore stores against which to measure the attraction of the particular store.

(iii) There is less evidence of customers being attracted to the store against the pull of competing stores.
On the evidence of the map, the store is attracting customers mainly in nearness terms, though some customers (17 per cent) are attracted from the mainland out of the theoretical grasp of store 3 in this group. Similarly, store 3 attracts a few customers to itself from areas adjacent to this store, as we shall emphasize later.

**Summary.** For this store then, hinterland descriptions applicable to most other high order stores do not apply with as much force. Its hinterland is largely local (though still selective,) is largely determined by spatial competition, and also involves few long shopping trips. This is despite the undoubted commodity specialization of the store and the high price and quality of goods offered, in which terms the store is at least as specialized as any downtown store. Thus on this evidence, we might suggest that specialization in retail trade is compatible not only with eccentric location, but also with local market dependence, if the local market is wealthy and is the locus of specialized tastes and demands. This situation, however, is probably less usual than is extra-local orientation in the customer relations of specialized stores involving the drawing of customers from both adjacent and distant residential areas.

**Store 3.**

Store 3 in the same group is a larger store, located in the University district. When opened, it expected to draw customers from quite distant sources because of the assumed unique nature of goods offered and an eccentric location was justified on this basis. This attitude was cited in Chapter IV in support of our location hypothesis. A sample of 40 customer origins from sales records was taken and 36 are plotted on the same map as data for store 1 (Map XIX.) Four customers (10 per cent) originated
outside Vancouver (from Victoria and Vernon) and were attracted to the store (the merchant suggested) through advertisements placed in regional magazines. This extra-Vancouver trade is significant for such a non-centrally located store since it confirms the more than local pretensions of the store.

Elements of the Vancouver domestic hinterland can be noted and compared to the merchant's estimates which structured location choice.

(i) Most customers reside in upper-middle income areas, mainly in the western suburbs (University, Point Grey, Kerrisdale, South Granville,) with a few customers originating from Eastern Vancouver addresses. This repeats the pattern of social localization in demand seen in every store examined in this study so far.

(ii) Most customers obviously originate from rather local areas; 40 per cent came from within two miles of the store, while the average distance to shop is 3.0 miles. However, on this basis, (and allowing for a more even distribution of customers around the store) the store seems slightly less immediately locally oriented than did store 1 in the same group. The store also succeeds in drawing customers over rather longer distances than did store 1, from non-local residential areas (such as Kerrisdale, and Kitsilano) and this is as the merchant anticipated and as we hypothesized.

(iii) Since there are so few stores of this type in Vancouver, it is difficult to speak of "interlocking" of store hinterlands and to analyse competitive v. non-competitive factors in hinterland definition. However, comparison of hinterlands of stores 1 and 3 does suggest a division of the metropolitan market in largely spatial terms, with store 1 attracting mainly North Shore custom and store 3 mainly mainland custom with relatively small amounts of customer movement to unnecessarily distant stores.
taking place. Certainly, the division of available custom is more nearly on spatial lines than was the case with the furniture store group, and the distortion of hinterlands by non-spatial competitive factors seems less apparent in this store group.

Conclusions - Spanish Gift Stores.
Again it is in terms of contrast with the hinterland patterns of specialized furniture stores that analysis of this store group is fruitful. If we think in terms of a continuum of "orders of stores" along which businesses can be ranked, then specialized gift stores rank lower than specialized furniture stores. Along such a continuum we have hypothesized that hinterland characteristics typical of high order businesses (sectorality, overlap, extra-local customer attraction, non-spatial determination) increase with rank, and the evidence of the Spanish gift group of stores tends to confirm this notion, especially in contrast to furniture stores discussed earlier.

IIc ANTIQUE GIFT STORES.
This is a large store group and will be examined rather cursorily. Only one centrally located store will be discussed in detail, while some rather sparser data relating to downtown antique stores in general will be presented.

Downtown Antique Gift Stores.
There are 10 such stores downtown in two main clusters, one on Howe Street, one on Robson Street. Here we examine the characteristics of the Howe Street cluster in terms of a sample of customer addresses drawn from the sales slips of one store and in terms of card questionnaire data aggregated for two neighbouring stores.
Howe Street Store. Sales slip data are available for one store now located downtown in the 1100 block Howe Street. However, until very recently, this store was located in the 800 block Howe Street, and data collected refers to this more central location and not the present situation in the "frame" of the C.B.D. This is, in fact, an advantage. It enables us to use card questionnaire data for the Howe Street antique store group as a whole to complement sales record data for this individual store, since all stores were initially close enough together to be considered a "store cluster." The discussion of customer relations that follows then can be considered as comment on the "Howe Street antique gift store group."

For the individual Howe Street store, the last 40 sales were recorded. Out of this total, 8 customers (20 per cent) originated from out of town, and probably represent tourist trade. This is one of the highest proportions of out-of-town trade reported for any store yet discussed, and it accords quite well with our initial hypothesis that centrally located specialized stores depend significantly on downtown tourists for custom. If anything, it is perhaps a smaller proportion than expected, possibly reflecting the time (October) that the sample was collected.

The distribution of the remaining customers residing in Vancouver is shown on Map XX. The map stands as a particularly clear expression of our argument. Here, for a centrally located high order store, is a hinterland pattern which makes in exemplary fashion most of the points we would wish it to make.

(i) The store's customer relations are highly selective and the hinterland is thus sectoral in shape. Customers are localized in upper income residential areas, and more specifically, are highly clustered in the "old rich" areas of Shaughnessy and Kerrisdale. Secondary areas of concentrations are the University district and the West End,
though these lag behind the former areas as centres of shopping trip generation. The hinterland of this specialized downtown store is thus far from "city wide" as traditional theory suggests. It does not depend upon a city wide distribution of customers for its support, but on the contrary, depends upon demand highly localized in a few upper income residential areas. The example demonstrates clearly that even if the C.B.D. as a whole draws customers to it from all parts of the city, individual stores within the C.B.D. - even the most specialized stores - need not share this market orientation.

There is a strong comparability between the hinterland of this store and that of store 3 in the antique furniture group (Map XV.) Both stores have highly selective hinterlands, and both draw customers heavily from the distinctive upper income residential areas of Shaughnessy and Kerrisdale where demand for antiques is apparently localized in Vancouver. Similarly, this store, like store 3 in the furniture group, draws little custom from the upper-middle income areas of the North Shore, where tastes are apparently as little developed for smaller antique items as they are for antique furniture. With both stores, the degree of localization in demand is identifiable to quite fine limits in terms of social class and house design.

(ii) The average distance customers travel to shop at this store is 3.5 miles (compared to the 3.2 miles mean trip length for downtown department store shoppers.) It is not unexpected that a more specialized store should draw customers over longer distances to shop downtown than should less specialized mass merchandise stores, and this is compatible with both traditional (central place) theory, and with ideas put forward in this study. However, this is a shorter mean trip distance than for many eccentrically located high order stores and this is more surprising. It perhaps confirms again that eccentricity in location is compatible with the attraction of customers over long
distances from extra-local areas, and indeed suggests that in doing so, non-central stores may draw customers longer distances to shop than may centrally located high order stores.

If this store is typical of downtown antique stores in customer relations - and no essential differences are obvious in the field, - then it seems clear that the customer relations of the whole sub-area of the C.B.D. containing these stores - chiefly the 600 block Howe Street - is also biased in these terms towards a particular area of the city, and not to "the city as a whole." Thus easy generalizations about the customer relationships of the C.B.D. do not apply to all its parts, neither to individual stores, nor to clusters of stores within the C.B.D.

Questionnaire Data. Some supplementary data for the Howe Street cluster of antique gift stores is available through the card questionnaire programme. However, because of the poor response to the programme, data must be presented here in aggregate form. Thus data refers to two antique stores situated close together on Howe Street. Aggregation of data is legitimate, since the stores are similar in product quality and are situated close together.

The data available provides information on customer shopping trip origins and customer residences, as well as information on customer shopping habits. This latter provides checks on earlier assumptions about the characteristics of shoppers at high order stores.

Data here is presented in tabular form not on maps, since numbers are too small for meaningful cartographic presentation.

(i) As indicated in Tables VI and VII, the most important source of custom is downtown itself, with 52 per cent of customers originating from downtown work places and hotels.25 The remaining customers originate from

25 To provide a standard of comparison, note that
### TABLE VI.

**Trip Origins of Downtown (Howe Street) Antique Gift Stores**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Home</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Hotel</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE VII.

**Origins of Shopping Trips to Downtown (Howe St.) Antique Gift Stores, by Areas of the City**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Shore</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.B.D. and West End</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver west of Cambie</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver east of Cambie</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burnaby, etc.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out of Town</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE VIII

**Customer Residences for Downtown (Howe St.) Antique Gift Stores, by Areas of the City**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Shore</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.B.D. and West End</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver west of Cambie</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver east of Cambie</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burnaby, etc.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source for all tables: Card questionnaire survey.
N.B. Percentages are rounded.
residences in areas of Vancouver characterized as "middle class" (Point Grey, Shaughnessy,) though no clear pattern of concentration emerges with such a small sample. However, it is at least obvious that no customers originate from eastern working class areas of the city.

(ii) In Table VIII, customer residences, not trip origins are shown. It can be seen that customers arriving from downtown, (i.e. downtown work places) inevitably resided in middle income residential areas, suggesting that downtown antique stores, like other downtown high order stores discussed, do not draw indiscriminantly from the downtown population, but draw customers mainly from the middle class "white collar" elements of the downtown work-force, among whom demands for goods of this type are localized.

(iii) The questionnaire survey also shows that the average cost of antique items purchased is $37. This is rather higher than the estimates available for other gift stores both centrally and non-centrally located, though not so high as to guarantee indifference to transport costs by customers.

(iv) Most customers (80 per cent) indicated that purchase had been preceded by "shopping around" though apparently this was usually limited to visits to other downtown stores on the same shopping trip for most of these customers. Prolonged shopping around (the rule for high furniture stores and rather common for other gift stores examined,) is apparently the exception for downtown antique stores. Perhaps the proximity of stores in one cluster enables comparisons spread over several trips (as is apparently usual for other stores) to be made in one trip for downtown antique stores. From this point of view, a

about 20 per cent of customers at downtown Vancouver department stores originate from downtown work places or hotels (UBC Urban Core Project, 1964.)
downtown location (particularly when combined with clustering of similar store types,) is more convenient for customers, and seems to minimize shopping effort compared to a non-central dispersed pattern of store location.

Conclusions.

Antique gift stores in central locations convincingly demonstrate the hypothesis that hinterlands of such centrally located high order stores are not city wide, but are highly selective. Hinterlands identified are oriented to distinct social groups territorially localized within the city, which in this case involves orientation to distinct groups (white collar workers and tourists) within the downtown area itself. Beyond downtown, orientation is to highly selective "upper" social groups in distinct "house types" in the urban region.

Conclusions - Gift Store Group.

Examples have been cited of the three main product differentiated store types within the specialized gift store category. The three have some elements in common and also show some contrasts between themselves and between other store groups.

(i) All specialized gift stores - central and non-centrally located - have selective hinterlands in that all draw customers most heavily from upper middle income residential areas.

(ii) Within the gift category, antique stores seem to have developed social localization in demand to the highest degree, and this is shown by particularly selective store relations.

(iii) Centrally located gift stores draw heavily on the downtown population for demand - ie upon tourists and downtown workers - though they do not draw indiscriminantly from this market, but rather again in socially selective terms.
(iv) Hinterlands of non-central stores are more locally oriented than were hinterlands of non-central furniture stores. Customers are still attracted quite long distances to shop, however, (trip averages range from 3.0 - 3.5 miles) and some customers certainly originate from non-contiguous residential areas. Additionally, customers may still ignore near stores in order to travel to more distant stores, though this now tends to be for a minority of customers rather than for the majority as in the specialized furniture group. Spatial competition plays a more important role in circumscribing hinterlands of specialized gift stores, and this is expected if such stores are regarded as slightly "lower order" than specialized furniture stores.

III SPECIALIZED JEWELLERY STORES

The modern jewellery store group, whose location characteristics were described in Chapter IV, can be described also in terms of hinterland characteristics. This is a useful group to include in the analysis, since the "specialized jewellery store" is one of the few store types categorically cited in the literature as an example of "high order metropolitan oriented business." 26

Data for two out of the five stores in this category was collected and is presented here.

Store 4.

Store 4 is situated in the Broadway-Granville store cluster, as were some specialized furniture stores (Danish modern and antique) discussed earlier. Contrasts between different categories of high order stores in the same shopping district are thus possible.

For this store, records of the last 40 sales were

26 Carol, H. op. cit., p. 430.
collected from sales slips, and customer addresses are plotted on Map XXI. Characteristics of the store hinterland can be summarised.

(i) Most customers originate from middle income areas of the city on the mainland peninsula, chiefly from West Point Grey, Shaughnessy and Kerrisdale, though, if anything, the first area contributes more customers than any other identifiable district. The map emphasizes the selectivity of store relations by the small number of customers originating east of the store. Thus, although the store draws customers fairly evenly from residential areas to the west and south, areas to the east of lower socio-economic status contribute very few customers to the store. Other customers originate from the West End (12 per cent) and a small number (2 out of 40) from the North Shore, reinforcing the middle class bias in customer origins.

(ii) The store draws customers from adjacent districts rather more evenly than other high order stores in the same district (except for the lacuna in store relations to the east which is consistent with all cases previously discussed.) This store is thus rather more locally oriented and its customer relations are less selective than other high order stores in the district, perhaps suggesting that it ranks lower (than say, specialized furniture stores) in our continuum of "orders of stores."

(iii) Though the store draws customers over quite long distances (the average shopping trip length is 2.8 miles, and over 50 per cent of the customers originate beyond the 2 mile zone,) this is again less impressive than most other high order stores in similar "inner city" locations. It may be that the store is acting as a "low order" jeweller for adjacent customers as well as "speciality" jeweller for customers attracted from more distant residential areas (such as West Point Grey and Kerrisdale) and that this results in more short length shopping trips appearing in the data.
(iv) Despite these qualifications, the store is certainly attracting customers from the extra-local area (as hypothesized,) and moreover, distant customers obviously by-pass more "conventional" jewellers in several intervening shopping districts, in order to reach the store, again as hypothesized.

(v) In terms of jewellers placed in the same category as store 4, (stores offering handcrafted jewellery in modern designs) such non-spatial competition is, however, less apparent. Customers in the West End and North Shore (together 17 per cent of the total) are persuaded to ignore stores 1, 2 and 3 nearer to them in order to travel to store 4, and similarly, customers originating from the University district (about 20 per cent) have ignored store 5 in order to travel to the Granville Street store.27 But in general, the store seems to serve the western and southern middle income suburbs nearest to it, acting thus as the intervening opportunity between these residential areas and downtown. In this sense, the store hinterland is in large part defined in terms of spatial competition, i.e. the available market is apparently largely divided up among competing stores in terms of customer nearness to stores, with overlap reduced to boundary areas.

This example is thus in contrast to the high order furniture group and more like the high order gift group in terms of the relative role played by spatial v. non-spatial factors in hinterland formation and in terms of hinterland characteristics in general.

Summary. This specialized jewellery store is oriented to a particular social group (i.e. a middle class market,) which it attracts to its non-central location from both adjacent and distant sources. However, the extra-local appeal of the store is less marked than with some specialized

27 Though here, since store 5 is a much smaller store, the counter-competitive appeal which has been overcome is less strong.
furniture stores, as is the degree to which the store hinterland overlaps with the hinterland of other, similar stores. This supports the idea that these hinterland characteristics increase as a store's "order" increases, as did the gift store group.

Store 2.

Unfortunately, detailed customer data for downtown specialized jewellery stores could not be obtained from merchants. However, some rather more aggregated data is available for store 2 in this group. The merchant made available customer addresses from one week's sales slips (150 observations) separated into broad geographical areas of the city. This gives us a rather crude picture of the store's customer hinterland, and one not amenable to cartographic presentation, but it provides a picture which tends towards what we now expect of a specialized high order downtown store.

The data is shown in Table IX where customer residences are broken down by areas of the city.

The main dimensions of the table are fairly obvious. Most customers come from middle class areas in the western sections of Vancouver or on the North Shore, while very few originate from the eastern working class areas of the city. At the same time, the West End, close to the C.B.D., is a large market especially when its small proportion of metropolitan area population is considered. A possible explanation is that the West End is a female dominant apartment area— it thus constitutes an areally localized market for ladies' wear goods like jewellery.

This picture then, is one of bias in customer relations towards a specific social strata in the city, and this is as hypothesized.

Note that a significant proportion of customers actually come from outside Vancouver (28 per cent), and
TABLE IX

Customer Residences, Downtown Specialized Jewellery Store

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Shore</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown and West End</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City west of Cambie</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City east of Cambie</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burnaby, New Westminster, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out of Town</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Store sales slips.
in fact, these are mainly tourists. This is as large a proportion as for some downtown gift stores discussed. It tends to confirm our suggestions about the customer orientation of some specialized C.B.D. stores, though it rather contradicts the merchant's own opinions as to the advantages of a downtown location (see p.124, Chapter IV.)

Summary. In short, the store shows the selectivity in store relations (the orientation to a distinct social group also areally localized in a particular part of the city,) we now expect from downtown high order stores.

Conclusions - Specialized Jewellery Stores.

Only two stores have been examined but these have been examples of both centrally and non-centrally located stores.

Both stores have shown an orientation to a socially selective and areally localized customer market, with, if anything, the central store showing the greatest degree of selectivity. This is intelligible in terms of our basic argument if we realize that the central store is, if anything, more specialized than the non-central store.

The central store also shows a distinctive orientation to an out-of-town trade which is, in fact, a downtown tourist trade, and this again is as hypothesized.

IV EXCLUSIVE MEN'S WEAR STORES

There are nine stores of this type in Vancouver, and as we saw in Chapter IV, the majority are downtown, clustered along Howe Street. One store in this group (on Howe Street) yielded usable data through the card questionnaire programme, and this can be used as an example for the whole downtown group.
Howe Street Store.

For this store, 30 customers returned cards and from this hinterland data can be established. Data collected is shown in Map XXII both in terms of customer trip origins and customer residence addresses.

(i) In terms of the origins of shopping trips, it is most significant that 70 per cent of customers (22 out of 30) came to the store from downtown work places or hotels. This was fully discussed in Chapter IV, where the importance of the relationship for the location of the store (and other stores like it,) was emphasized.

Customers who originated from home (8 out of 30) arrived from middle income areas mainly in the western suburbs of Vancouver (6) but also in smaller numbers from the West End (2).

(ii) Analysis of the data in terms of customer residences is also useful. Re-examination of customers who arrived from downtown work places in terms of their home addresses indicates that many reside in middle income areas in Vancouver, chiefly in Shaughnessy (6), West Vancouver (2), Point Grey (2), and the West End (1). These origins are, of course, very similar to the origins of customers arriving at the store directly from home.

Thus like downtown specialized gift stores, downtown specialized men's wear stores draw from the C.B.D. work force in highly selective terms, i.e. from the "white collar" occupational groups, and not indiscriminantly from the whole work force. The evidence of residential addresses for customers arriving from both home and work also confirms the idea of social localization in demand for

A more satisfactory response was gained from men's stores in the card questionnaire survey than from any other type of store. Men are apparently more willing to supply data of this kind.
stores of this type. Obviously, the store hinterland is not indiscriminately city wide, but is socially and areally localized.

At the same time, note that quite a large proportion of customers who originate downtown (8, or 26 per cent of the total sample) have homes outside Vancouver, and these are tourists or visiting business men whose shopping trips originated from downtown hotels. The evidence of the card survey is that these hotel based customers are also socially distinct, i.e. are mainly from managerial or executive occupational groups and thus from middle class social groups. Social localization in demand is consistent at this level also.

(iii) Apparently, customers shop around relatively little before purchased, only 3 out of 30 customers indicated that purchase had been preceded by visits to other stores, and even then stores visited were in the same district and the comparison was made on the same shopping trip. This lack of shopping around is probably a peculiarity of the male shopper, and implies that most customers of specialized men's wear stores are regular customers, for whom shopping around is at a minimum. If so, this would reinforce the attraction of a downtown location for such stores, since stores would find it difficult to establish such a web of habitual customer relations with their desired market from outside the C.B.D.

This comparative lack of shopping around before purchase is despite the relatively high price of goods purchased - an average of $20.

Summary. This store apparently differs in no essential degree from other stores in the "exclusive men's

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\(^{29}\) In fact, "all" three shoppers around were tourists - the customer category least likely to establish habitual relations with one particular store.
wear" class. We can assume then that the hinterland characteristics imputed to it – i.e. orientation to a group of regular customers localized in downtown work places and middle class residential areas in the west of the city – is applicable also to most of them. If so, this differs from the traditional concept of such specialized C.B.D. stores as oriented to the infrequent purchases of many customers dispersed across the metropolitan area.

V OTHER BUSINESS TYPES

As in analyses of the location characteristics of high order stores, evidence of the hinterland characteristics of such businesses could be multiplied, with more business types (such as musical instrument stores, exclusive ladies' wear stores, etc.). The elements of the argument set out here could be confirmed by repetition. However, this is probably not necessary. Suffice it to say that all such store groups also show selective patterns of market relations, though such selectivity varies with the nature of the good offered for sale and the pattern of location of involved groups in the urban region. Other hinterland characteristics of specialized businesses, (extra-local orientation, overlap, etc.) are also observable in such groups, varying in roughly direct relation to the estimated "order of good" function of stores involved.

CONCLUSIONS

Market Relationships of High Order Stores.

(i) It has been exhaustively demonstrated that hinterlands of specialized (high order) stores are oriented to socially distinctive and areally localized groups of customers in the city, and that such selectivity in store market relations increases as store specialization increases. Usually this means orientation to a middle class market in the city, in Vancouver localized in western and North Shore
areas of the city. Details of orientation are analysable to quite fine limits when demographic, socio-economic, or architectural characteristics of particular parts of the city are appreciated.

This generalization holds for both centrally and non-centrally located stores, though central stores show a tendency to attract customers from downtown work places and hotels (as hypothesized.) However, this attraction is again selective, not indiscriminate.

(ii) Not only are hinterlands of specialized stores socially selective, and morphologically sectoral, but they also interlock and overlap with hinterlands of similar stores in a complex manner (i.e. not only at boundary areas equi-distant from similar stores.) This depends on the infrequent nature of specialized purchases, the mobility characteristics of customers, and the non-spatial competitive tactics usual among specialized stores. Under such circumstances, customers are encouraged to travel long distances to shop, even to non-centrally located stores, and to by-pass near stores in order to shop at more distant stores. For some stores (e.g. specialized furniture stores) the majority of customers may be attracted past intervening opportunity stores in this manner. This obviously tends to confirm merchant ideas about potential locational flexibility among specialized stores (i.e the de-emphasis of position as a competitive gambit) as discussed in the previous chapter.

However, these hinterland characteristics are shown to vary with the "order" at which stores can be classified, as a comparison of furniture stores on the one hand and gift stores and jewellery stores on the other hand clearly shows.

(iii) In fact, both the above sets of hinterland characteristics of specialized stores are in contrast to the hinterland characteristics of unambiguously low order stores (supermarkets etc.) which tend to be indiscriminate
in customer attraction, circular in shape, and defined by simple spatial competition with other competing stores. In these terms, the hinterland characteristics of low order mass appeal stores are quite usefully explained by existing (ecological and central place) theories, and this contrast emphasizes that such theories are most useful in the context of these low order retail activities, but least useful in the context of specialized retail trade.

(iv) The basic theme developed here is that of incorporating social class complexities into geographical analysis of store market areas. The recognition that North America is a "plural" society made up of distinctive social groups, (each having different retail demands, shopping attitudes, mobility characteristics etc.) enables us to modify existing theories of retail spatial organization (e.g. central place theory,) which operate under the simplifying assumption of an undifferentiated market for retail goods. In the context of specialized retail trade, this simplifying assumption leads, in effect, to conclusions at best obscure and at worst misleading. But incorporation of social class concepts into geographical analysis illuminates obscure areas, and points towards a fruitful union of geographical and sociological theories. From this, the reality of store market relationships is identified, and the complexity of such patterns across urban space is realized and understood.

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CHAPTER VI

HIGH ORDER ACTIVITIES IN VANCOUVER.

4. VANCOUVER, A UNIQUE CITY?

One final point remains. The ideas presented here have been developed and tested in Vancouver, but they have been presented as if generally applicable to North American cities of the middle-size range. However, just as it was necessary to examine a large number of business examples in Vancouver in order to confirm hypotheses initially set out, so similarly, it would be preferable to replicate the study in other middle-size American cities in order to validate the generality of conclusions reached in Vancouver. The point is that Vancouver may be, in some respects, a unique city and conclusions made about the geography of retail trade in Vancouver may be valid only for that city and may lack generality. Since the value of our argument depends largely on its generalizing power – its ability to explain numerous apparently diverse situations – the point is worth considering, and will be considered in some detail in this short chapter.

Thus the following points are relevant:

(i) It was pointed out in Chapter III that Vancouver is a waterfront city with a core area that is itself eccentric with respect to the main residential area of the city, and which is further isolated by the False Creek water barrier. The centre of gravity of the city could be said to be to the south of the C.B.D. – perhaps in the Broadway-Granville area, already shown to be the locus of several high order stores. Thus the non-C.B.D. location of high order stores could be explained, not in terms of
location flexibility of such businesses, but in terms of the eccentric nature of the C.B.D. itself. This is an important criticism, but it can partly be answered.

Firstly, the C.B.D. of Vancouver is, as for all cities, the focus of major highways and transit systems. In these terms, at least, Vancouver is not unique, and it is on this basis that we can refer to the C.B.D. as the "centre" of the city and define eccentricity in terms of the C.B.D., not the centre of gravity of the city.

Secondly, successful high order businesses were identified in other eccentric locations beside the Broadway-Granville "centre of gravity" area, and these also drew customers long distances from non-contiguous residential areas. This tends to disarm the criticism.

Thirdly, the experience of at least two merchants suggested that high order businesses had been carried on from eccentric locations in a more concentrically organized city (Calgary,) equally successfully, again suggesting that Vancouver is not unique in having non-central high order stores.

Replication of the study for a more concentrically organized inland city would test the generality of the conclusions reached in Vancouver. Probably Vancouver's site conditions exaggerate the potential for non-central location of specialized stores, but it is doubtful if this is the sole explanation for the retail patterns observed.

(ii) It was pointed out (Chapter III) that Vancouver has a low density, uncompact core, with stores rather dispersed among separate nodes, (Hastings Street, Granville Street, Robson Street.) This may involve inconvenience for customers compared to a more compact city core and may discourage the use of downtown facilities by shoppers. Additionally, some key buildings (City Hall, the largest Medical-Dental building) are located outside the C.B.D., and this also may reduce the overall attractive power of the Vancouver C.B.D.
In short, eccentricity in location of specialized retail stores in Vancouver may not reflect characteristics inherent in such businesses, but may only reflect the characteristics of the Vancouver C.B.D. The Vancouver core may be uniquely unattractive to shoppers and thus to some retail businesses. By comparison, non-central sites may appear as unusually attractive.

Certainly, some business men interviewed suggested that some aspects of the C.B.D. (its high rent, traffic congestions, unaesthetic appearance) discouraged them from locating in the core. But more important is that these and other merchants considered certain non-central locations to offer equal functional advantages (especially in terms of accessibility) as the core. This consideration (not the disadvantages of the core) structured and made possible alternative location choices. We can then say that diseconomies in the C.B.D. only become location deterrents when non-C.B.D. sites are realistic alternative locations.

In fact, there is no evidence to suggest that Vancouver's C.B.D. is uniquely less viable or less attractive to new businesses than the C.B.D. of other American cities. If anything, it ought to be more viable since:

(a) parking problems in the C.B.D. are admitted to be less critical than in many other cities;¹

(b) the city has a large core oriented tourist element to swell demand for core retail facilities, which many cities may not possess;

(c) city politicians are intensely C.B.D. preservation minded, and seek to channel new investment into C.B.D. development.²


²See the criteria for city planning set out in Vancouver City Planning Department, "Downtown Vancouver 1955-76," (Vancouver City Planning Department, 1955).
Thus if high order businesses are found outside the C.B.D. in Vancouver, it is not because of some particularistic failure of the C.B.D. itself.

(iii) Vancouver is a city of recent origin and rapid growth. It has expanded under the impact of the street car and, more especially, the automobile. As a consequence, it has low residential densities and an extremely regular street plan (except on the mountainous North Shore,) with frequent broad thoroughfares. These circumstances may tend to encourage population mobility, possibly to a degree unusual even in North American cities. If so, it would not be surprising to find retail patterns dependent upon a mobile population well developed in Vancouver.

This point is rather less easy to resolve. Only comparison of Vancouver's retail structure with the retail characteristics of older cities of Eastern North America, whose morphology is more rigid, would satisfactorily answer it. In fact, since the pattern of eccentricity in the location of high order businesses identified is to some extent dependent upon increased customer mobility, it is indeed possible that such eccentricity will be more characteristic of recent, low density, open planned cities of Western North America than of older, more compact cities of the East.

(iv) Residential areas in Vancouver are clearly distinguished into relatively homogeneous socio-economic areas. This pattern may be unusually precise in Vancouver, especially since the social status of residential areas is strongly influenced by considerations of topography (elevation, aspect, view) in the city, and abrupt changes of slope often coincide with abrupt socio-economic divides. Thus, although demands for high order goods have been shown to be socially and areally localized in Vancouver, it is possible that similar high order stores in cities with less precisely segregated residential structures would show more diffuse customer relations.
On the other hand, all cities in North America exhibit social area differentiation in some degree. Sectoral hinterlands for high order stores are similarly likely to be observable in most cities to a greater or lesser extent.

Conclusion.

Vancouver is undoubtedly a unique city to some extent - or rather, it has an unusual combination of site, growth and internal structural characteristics. But it is felt that these characteristics do not invalidate the generality of conclusions made in this study after analysis of Vancouver. At most, these circumstances may exaggerate the degree of eccentricity in the location of specialized retail stores and (less possibly) the degree of selectivity apparent in the customer relations of such stores. However, it is suggested that even studies made in older, more concentrically organized cities with more homogeneous residential structures would probably also find high order stores located outside the C.B.D. and oriented to selective market areas. These characteristics are inherent in the nature of contemporary specialized retailing and do not depend upon circumstances unique to any particular city.
CHAPTER VII

RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study began by outlining existing generalizations about the geography of specialized (high order) retail trade in North American cities. These were summarized as "C.B.D. location" and "city wide market orientation".

A variety of studies were quoted which stated and repeated these notions. The generalizations were shown to be endemic in the literature, and indeed to be most rigidly stated in more recent works phrased in terms of models of retail structure.

Tendencies to view retail structure in terms of ideal models or highly aggregated store categories was suggested as the cause of the persistence of these traditional ideas.

Existing generalizations were then shown to rest on basic ideas of city structure and to be integral to theoretical analysis of intra-city retail trade. Thus:

(i) A central location for high order activities rests on the idea that the C.B.D. is the point uniquely accessible to the entire city, and this is the basis of explanations for the functional specialization of the C.B.D.

(ii) Ecologically inspired distance minimization theories of city structure (Haig, Ratcliff) stress that specialized activities cluster in the centre of the city in order to minimize the costs of friction falling on
customers presumed scattered across the metropolitan area.

(iii) Central place theorists (Berry, Carol) suggest that high order activities demand a high threshold population to support them, are thus found only in large cities and then in the highest order centre (the C.B.D.) from where they command a city wide hinterland embracing nests of lower order hinterlands.

These views also influence predictions of future urban land use patterns, so that the future of the C.B.D. is seen precisely as a specialty retail centre, despite loss of other functions to planned shopping centres (as in Vance).

But on the basis of a close examination of the demand and supply characteristics of retail trade, dissatisfaction was expressed with existing geographical generalizations. Because of the nature of the demands they supplied, the mobility characteristics of potential customers and the state of retailing tactics, it was suggested that high order businesses could exhibit spatial characteristics quite unlike those usually imputed to them.

Dissatisfaction was expressed as a series of hypotheses for test, and testing was carried out in terms of a number of categories of high order stores in Vancouver.

(i) It was hypothesised that high order stores could as easily be located outside the C.B.D. as in the core itself. This was shown to be correct for specialized furniture, gift and jewellery stores in Vancouver and could also be demonstrated for some musical instrument stores, art stores and exclusive ladies wear stores. Merchants were interviewed to establish the factors influencing location choice for various kinds of stores, in various locations, and merchants' opinions fitted well the deductive rationality which generated the hypothesis.
Merchants considered they had considerable flexibility in the location of their businesses when they were offering high price, high quality, infrequently bought goods to mobile customers. Certainly they did not feel restricted to a high overhead cost central location when a non-central location seemed no less accessible to customers, especially where customers were attracted to shop by product specialization and store image, not by nearness considerations.

Translating this merchant attitude into theoretical terms, we said that the process of competition among specialized retail stores tends towards monopolistic competition, (through product differentiation and image projection), and this, in geographical terms, tends to allow locational flexibility (i.e. locational eccentricity) for business by negating the importance of spatial competition between such businesses.

The merchant interview programme permitted the setting up of a verbal model which systematized the process of retail site selection carried out by merchants, and which visualized the process as the "subjective perception of an environment under a set of controls". The importance of this concept is to stress that in analysis of the location patterns of high order retail businesses, it is often the characteristics of the business men, not the characteristics of goods offered for sale, which determine the location choice.

However, limits to eccentricity in location were also observed.

Businesses were found to favour either "inner city" locations (accessible to wide areas of the city) or middle class suburban areas (generating a local demand and attracting more distant customers through appropriate
retailing techniques.) Extremely eccentric locations, where tried, usually failed.

(ii) Where high order businesses were found downtown, it was hypothesized that either proximity to downtown workers and tourists or longevity in operation were significant location influences, (rather than the accessibility advantage of the C.B.D.) The former situation was demonstrated in Vancouver with specialized gift stores and men's wear stores, and the latter with men's shoe stores and some musical instrument stores. Details of the strength of the former relationships were provided.

(iii) It was hypothesized that eccentricity in location might be a recent development in Vancouver. Except for the special case of the antique furniture store group, this was shown to be so. All stores currently identified as "eccentric high order stores" appeared in Vancouver since 1952, and this location flexibility was shown to be spreading to more (and perhaps to "lower order") store types.

Recency in decentralization of high order stores coincided with improvements in customer mobility in the city. This was interpreted to mean that in the contemporary city, the C.B.D. market place has lost its accessibility monopoly. The clustering of high order businesses in the "inner city" (between the C.B.D. and south-western suburbs) tends to confirm the suggestion that this accessibility advantage is now shared by a territorially wider area of the city; in short, the C.B.D. "market place" has been replaced by an inner city "market area" within which are several locations equally accessible to customers in non-contiguous residential districts. Certainly, merchants situated in the "inner city" consider that such a location duplicates the accessibility qualities of the C.B.D. without the high cost of a C.B.D. site.
Predictions of the future of the C.B.D. as a specialized retailing centre are thus shown to have no basis in functional necessity, and are unsupported by the attitudes of relevant business men.

(iv) It was argued that demands for high order goods were "socially localized demands" and thus also areally localized within the city. It was suggested that hinterlands of high order stores were thus selective, not city wide. This was confirmed for a number of stores, and indeed, increasing specialization was shown to mean increasingly selective customer relations, not increasingly city wide customer relations as traditional theory suggests.

Even centrally located stores exhibited this selectivity in store relations, refining existing ideas about the retail hinterland of the C.B.D.

For non-centrally located high order stores, selectivity in store relations is shown to be compatible with the attraction of customers over quite long distances from non-contiguous, extra local residential areas to peripheral locations.

It was shown also that hinterlands of high order stores were not determined by spatial competition, but rather that they involve the distortion of competitive space as customers ignore near stores to travel to distant stores. The role of non-spatial factors in store hinterland determination was shown to increase as a store's rank in terms of "order of good" increased, and some measured details were provided for various store types in Vancouver. It was suggested again that this implied increasing locational flexibility (not central fixation) for stores of the highest order; since location was shown to be a less critical factor in customer attraction as store "order" increased.

Finally, the characteristics of high order stores
identified are shown to be not unique to Vancouver (dependent upon peculiarities of the historical evolution or internal spatial organization of Vancouver), but are rather inherent characteristics of specialized retailing in contemporary North American cities of the middle size range.

Conclusions.

From the argument developed, the implication is drawn that distance minimization theories are inadequate to explain the location and hinterland characteristics of specialized (high order) retail stores, though possibly such theories are adequate for lower order retail activities.

Similarly, central place concepts of high order activity are modified. On an intra-city scale, the highest order activities are found to be compatibly located in lower order centres, and to have hinterlands less than city wide, that do not necessarily embrace nests of lower order hinterlands.

This modification is based on the recognition that competition among specialized retail stores inevitably tends towards monopolistic competition, and does not confine itself to distance competition as traditional geographic theories assume. This is then seen to permit locational flexibility for specialized stores. The argument also depends upon the recognition that social plurality is the characteristic feature of North American society, and that this again carries implications for the modification of existing geographical notions, this time in terms of the characteristics of the hinterlands of specialized retail stores.

In short, the spatial characteristics of high order activities are summarized not as "central location" and city wide market orientation", but as "location flexibility" and "selective market orientation", and theories of city
structure which support the former ideas are modified to accommodate the latter.
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B. PERIODICALS


ORGANIZATION OF MERCHANT INTERVIEW PROGRAMME

Data for Chapter IV concerning the location characteristics and history of retail stores in Vancouver, was collected through a programme of interviews with involved merchants.

The interview programme was conducted in conjunction with a larger research project concurrently carried out by the Department of Geography at U.B.C., the U.B.C. Urban Core Project. In fact, the chief purpose of the interview programme was to collect data in the context of this larger project. The author's task consisted of interpreting those parts of the programme relevant to the theme of this study, i.e. the geography of specialized retail trade.

The larger Urban Core Project attempted to evaluate the role of the C.B.D. in the contemporary city - using Vancouver as a case study. The merchant interview programme involved:

(a) Interviews with downtown merchants to evaluate motives that led them to and maintained them in such a location.

(b) Interview with merchants who had moved from a central to a non-central location, to evaluate motives leading to such a move.

(c) Interview with merchants in non-central locations who might theoretically (in terms of ecological theory and central place theory) be expected to be found in C.B.D. locations. This is essentially the high order group
of stores, the focus of our specific interest.

Interview was preceded by a thorough field survey of the Vancouver metropolitan area, the locus of the study. Potential stores for study were identified in terms of the three categories outlined, (downtown, downtown movers, specialized businesses). Selection of individual stores was on a subjective basis, i.e. no attempt was made to draw a random or systematic sample of stores in different locations or commodity type-categories. Rather, for downtown, a selection of stores was selected thought to satisfactorily cover the range of C.B.D. business types. For specialized businesses (central and non-central), a complete coverage was attempted, except where similar businesses were clustered in the same locality (furniture stores in the S. Granville area, for example) when a majority sample was assumed to cover the group.

Interview with the merchants was arranged around an informal questionnaire. The questionnaire was used to guide and prompt the questioner, not as a rigid framework for interview. The order of questions was, for example, often fitted to the exigencies of each situation and improvisation was sometimes necessary to meet circumstances not covered in the questionnaire. All interviews covered the same ground, however.

The questionnaire was arranged in five parts. Part 1.

Established the immediate location history of the firm - date of origin, previous locations, etc. - and attempted to establish factors critical in the choice of the particular site chosen. If the firm had moved from a previous location, reasons for the move were sought. Useful information was often obtained through a discussion of alternative sites considered but not chosen by merchants.
Part II. Attempted to penetrate into the nature of a firm's relationship to complementary and competitive retail businesses, since it was initially suspected that this would be a critical influence on a firm's location choice. The actual influence of the factor (vis a vis other factors) can be inferred from the main discussion. It was rather less than expected.

Part III. Specifically aimed to investigate the relationship of each business to its network of suppliers and services. It was initially felt that this would also be an influential location factor at least in maintaining some firms downtown. However, the question was difficult to administer and seemed to cause some resentment among business men when asked. Accordingly, it was not always pursued. This is probably no loss. It became apparent after a few cases, that retail firms relations to suppliers and to business services have no significant locational influence, since both are ubiquitously available and uniformly costly by phone and delivery within the city.*

Parts IV and V. Elicited more concrete information about the size of the business (floor area, floors, employment) and its organization (in terms of owner-operator, branch office, etc.). These were mentioned where relevant in Chapter IV.

*Except possibly for furniture stores. See Chapter IV.
APPENDIX B

ORGANIZATION OF CUSTOMER QUESTIONNAIRE PROGRAMME

Part of the data in Chapter V, concerning store hinterlands and customer shopping habits, was based on data collected through the customer questionnaire programme.

Like the merchant interview programme, the customer questionnaire programme was designed to collect data for the wider Urban Core Project, thought only specialized stores were discussed in this study.

In the whole survey, stores covered were again selected on a subjective basis, so as to include a range of downtown stores and specialized stores in non-central locations.

Cards were left in the stores, to be handed by the merchant to customers. Customers were expected to complete the cards and return them by mail to the Department of Geography at the University.

The number of cards left in each store depended on its size and type, and ranged from 25 - 200. In each case, enough cards were left to cover one week's trading, by merchant estimate.

The lack of success of this stage of the research, mainly due to merchant unwillingness, has already been alluded to. In fact, where merchants handed out cards, response was quite good (25-50 per cent). Poverty of response was found where merchants failed to distribute cards correctly.

The card itself contained six questions:
1) Identified items purchased and also estimated cost of items, in order to test assumptions about the price of specialized goods.

2) Identified the origins of the shopping trip, in order to test ideas about the role of downtown workers in the operation of downtown stores.

3) Identified the mode of travel of customer, in order to test ideas about the mobility of customers.

4) Attempted to gauge the amount of shopping around indulged in by customers before purchase.

5) Attempted to identify the amount of complementary shopping indulged in on particular shopping trips, mainly to test the degree of relationship among downtown stores.

6) Identified the home address of customers (where this was not given in question 2), and also the occupation of the head of the household, to test the idea that certain stores are patronized mainly by certain social groups.