Impact Analysis: Planning and Retailing Implications of Hamilton's New Eaton's Centre

by
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1.0 Introduction
A major concern with the development of new shopping centres is their impact on both the existing retail structure and their planning implications for such factors as consumer movement, parking and retail provision. In the past twenty five years this concern has become accentuated because of the nature and size of the new retail developments. The advent of the out-of-town complex, the regional shopping centre, and the concept of the shopping mall has brought about many studies dealing with impact issues. We need only to witness the continuing debate on the advantages and disadvantages of the mega-size West Edmonton Mall, (the largest shopping development in the world) to recognize the extent of the debate which modern retailing is engaged in.

This thesis will use an impact analysis which deals with the specific case of a major store redevelopment in an existing downtown shopping centre, namely, Jackson Square, Hamilton. The majority of impact analyses have dealt with out-of-town and regional centres, reflecting a preoccupation with investigating these new concepts in retailing. There has only been a minor interest in the case of downtown redevelopments despite the fact that such developments have local impacts which are much more immediate and visible. The concentration of retailing activity, as well as, consumer and traffic flows, in the downtown core means that the change in local retailing may have quite dramatic implications. As Jones and Simmons have pointed out: "a store's ability to take advantage of the transformed downtown depends on
the microgeography of the project: the layout of the new mall relative to other shopping centres, parking lots and major office buildings" (Jones et Simmons, P369). As a result of new developments some parts of the city centre become more central, while other parts more peripheral.

We will be dealing specifically with the New Hamilton Eaton's Centre, proposed for Jackson Square, which will be built by 1990. The construction of the new centre will take on a three stage plan. In the first phase the proposed new parking garage will be built with approximately 800 parking spaces. The existing market ramp garage will be demolished and the construction of the New Eaton's store on that site will be completed by 1989. In the final phase, the existing Eaton's Centre will be demolished and construction of a three level galleria will begin in 1989 and is proposed to be completed by the year 1990.

Already this proposal has generated some potential issues as indicated by articles in the Hamilton Spectator. For example, the block of land bounded by James St.N., Vine, Macnab, and York Blvd. is the location of the new parking garage. The James St.N. retailers fear that they will not be linked with the downtown retail activity due to this physical barrier. Also, the new Eaton's project is perceived as being a business threat to the stall holders of the Farmer's Market. These merchants fear that the new customer parking ramp located on York Blvd. will keep customers away from the market. The old location of the parking
garage offered direct access to the market, whereas the new one does not. The market vendors are demanding some connection of parking to their customers, without having them walk outside. It will be the responsibility of the planners to protect the investments valued by these retailers, especially since the Hamilton's Farmer's Market is a 'money maker' for the local government.

It will be the purpose of the research paper to focus primarily on the planning and retailing implications of the New Hamilton Eaton's Centre on the existing retailing activities. The spatial extent of the existing retailing which we will consider will be initially limited to the immediately surrounding stores in the downtown core (refer to Fig.1). A brief outline will follow to introduce the format of this research paper.

Evolution of Retailing

A description of the major trends and restructuring in retailing in the past thirty years will be introduced. Some of these include:
- growth of retailing eg. 50% increase in numbers of retail stores in the past 50 years.
- change in retail stores by size and the concept of the out-of-town shopping mall
- change in the spatial consumer demand due to such trends as suburbanization, gentrification of the inner city, and increases in disposable income
- changes in ownership patterns, ie. the growth of the major
These indicators will enable us to gain some background knowledge on the factors that may influence the retail environment.

Literature Review

The major source of information that will help focus the research paper will stem from case studies that have been written specifically on the subject of impact analysis of large shopping centres on the existing retail environment. Hopefully, these case studies will provide information on the methodology used to assess such issues as: parking problems, pedestrian flows, as well as the impacts of the larger centres on other retail stores.

Facts and figures of the New Eaton's Centre will be introduced to show the exact location of the new facility relative to the surrounding area. This specific information can be obtained from the planning offices, whereas more general information on retailing will be obtained from marketing and retailing journals.

Methodology

One major method of data collection will be focused on interviews with various members of the local Hamilton community, and major actors involved in the New Eaton's redevelopment. These members include: retailers, downtown merchants, planning staff, municipal politicians, as well as consumers. Hopefully the various different opinions will help to focus our paper on relevant impacts of the new redevelopment. Data collection
associated with interview based research has the inherent problem of personal bias. We are aware of the limitations associated with this type of research design, and therefore, conclusions
FIGURE 1: STUDY AREA
made from such data will be approached with extreme caution.

A discussion of the results of the interviews will be introduced in this chapter. In the initial stages of the research it is reasonable to make some inferences on what the opinions of the various groups interviewed will be. The developer, affiliated with Cadillac Fairview, will benefit from the new facility as it will provide a profit. On the other hand the nearby retailers may be concerned about their vulnerable position, as the competition may force these smaller retail merchants to close. An article in the Hamilton Spectator suggests that the Toronto Eaton's Centre monopolized all retail activity in this downtown region. It is the opinion of the surrounding street merchants that the retail activity is dead due to the competition from the large centre (Spectator, Jan. 13, 1987). Some merchants in the Hamilton downtown region perceive a business threat toward the redevelopment of Eaton's; while others feel that the new centre will increase both traffic and pedestrian flows which in turn increase retail activity to downtown Hamilton.

Parking Availability Analysis

Other data, such as statistics on parking availability, will be considered to measure the impacts that new shopping centres and new developments have on the existing urban environment. This data is available from the Hamilton traffic department. It will be interesting to consider the effects that new developments
have on parking availability and parking rates. The combination of the interviews, and the parking evaluation will hopefully allow for some interesting findings.

The information gathered from literature on impact assessment, as well as the data obtained from the parking evaluation and interviews will help us to formulate some recommendations on how the existing retail environment in the downtown region can overcome, and alleviate some of the impacts, that may occur as a result of the new development.

This research project will be looking at the impact of a major downtown store redevelopment. It will deal in part with the likely impacts of the surrounding retailing but also with the planning issues such as parking availability. The focus of the impact analysis will be qualitative rather than quantitative, which has been the emphasis placed upon this type of study researched in the past. It is hoped that the thesis will provide a different emphasis to the impact studies which tended to deal with out-of-town centres, and may provide an inter-comparison with such studies.
2.0 Literature Review

There are three sections to this chapter. Generally, the trends of retailing for the past thirty years will be introduced to show the effect that major actors and events, in urban areas, have had on the retailing environment. These trends will be further discussed and compared to the specific case of Hamilton's downtown core. The general retailing implications of the inner city of Hamilton will be further related to the proposed New Eaton's Centre.

2.1 Evolution of Retailing

Over the last 30 years one of the most significant retailing trends in Canada has been the advent of the planned shopping centre. At a national level, the growth of these centers was particularly rapid in the 1960's, where 31 centers on average were being built per year. In the late 1950's these planned shopping centers accounted for only 2% of the country's retail trade, and by the mid 1970's the planned shopping scheme cornered over 23% of all retail trade in Canada (Dawson & Lord, 1985, p105).

2.1.1 Growth and Change

There are many factors that have contributed to the rapid growth of planned shopping centers. Especially in the 1960's, changes in the Canadian population and economy expanded the retail environment. For example, Canada's population increased in the last half century by 150% and disposable income increased by 88% (Simmons, 1986, p5). The rapid growth of the population
and the increases in disposable income encouraged the growing population to spend more. Increases in car ownership from 1.61 million in 1965 to 7.86 million in 1973 reflects this growth in consumer spending (Dawson&Lord, 1985, p105). Furthermore, the growth of automobile ownership, and increases in efficient transportation and communication networks stimulated the spatial reorganization of the retailing environment.

With increased affluence, suburbanization, greater leisure time, and the higher levels of automobile ownership, retailing activity was no longer bound to the inner city areas. Commercial strips of the city core characterized by congested arterial roads and insufficient parking facilities, made the spacious cheaper suburban property more attractive. Thus, the trend of the late 1960's and early 1970's was the development of the out-of-town planned shopping centre (Silberberg, 1976, p14).

Another contributor to the changing distribution of retailing was the growth of corporate owners entering the retailing arena. Over 60 per cent of Canada's non-automotive retailing is now controlled by approximately twenty development firms such as Cadillac Fairview, Canadian Tire, and Dylex (Simmons, 1986, p81). These corporate owners focus most of the development of planned centres in suburban locations. Abundant cheap land and a growing suburban population made the out-of-town centre a feasible location to support adequate free parking facilities, and to secure sufficient levels of demand.
2.2 Current Trends

Recently, there has been a transition from building new planned centers in the suburban locations to revitalizing existing shopping centres in the downtown core. Since suburban property with good consumer demographics is becoming increasingly scarce and expensive the developers have turned their focus toward downtown redevelopments that are correspondingly cheaper (Jacobs, 1984, p46).

The developers realize that profits can be made at downtown locations especially since it has been suggested that most municipal authorities will give attractive tax breaks and other economic incentives to make redevelopment of inner city malls more attractive (Jacobs, 1984, p46). Two Ontario cities, Brantford, and Guelph received sizeable contributions to their downtown Eaton's shopping complexes and provide good examples of such incentive programs (Melnbardis, Spectator, 1986).

Furthermore, downtown revitalization schemes have been a response to demographic and social pressures of the population. People consider downtown centres as having a more cosmopolitan environment than do suburban shopping malls because of the city centre's direct access to non retail functions such as office buildings, cultural and entertainment facilities (Silberberg, 1976, p11). Many cities have taken advantage of these magnets that attract people to the core by revitalizing the shopping centers in the downtown region. These redevelopment schemes are nationwide including Halifax's Scotia Square, Toronto's Eaton's
Centre and Hamilton's Jackson Square and New Eaton's development. There has been a renewed interest by the population to invest in the downtown core (eg. Hamilton's condominium development-Pigott building).

Similar to many other Canadian cities, Hamilton's downtown core is the heart of commercial and cultural activity. This area has the advantage of providing many facilities to its local population. Hamilton's downtown region, however, has been in decline and the poor image of the inner city has affected both the retail activity in this region, and the city as a whole. The first attempt to rectify the situation was the development of Jackson Square in 1974 (duToit Associates, 1983, p5). While focusing new energy in downtown Hamilton, Jackson Square has had both positive and negative impacts on the surrounding downtown retailers.

2.3 Impacts

The impacts of a particular centre on existing commercial facilities will depend on such characteristics as: vitality of existing facilities, local road systems and travel patterns, demographics, the type and size of the proposed development (Levin, 1975, p14).

Because the Eaton's development has not been completed it is difficult to measure the implications of this centre. Downtown Hamilton, however, offers an opportunity to extrapolate possible implications from a study of the impacts of the Jackson Square development. Also, studying the implications of the Jackson
Square development is a feasible approach because the current Eaton's is the major retailing anchor for this mall.

Specifically, Hamilton's downtown area has been characterized by increases in the number of vacant stores, general messiness and cluttering of major retail strips and the lack of a cohesive group of merchants (duToit Associates, 1983, p5). The unattractive commercial strip on King Street East has kept consumers away from their shops. The standard of comparison has been the Jackson Square complex with its climate controlled environment, sufficient parking and common hours of operation which provides an attractive atmosphere for the consumer.

Shopping behaviour can also be affected by the nature of the road systems. Downtown Hamilton's wide one-way streets, long pedestrian crossings, predominant turning manoeuvres, and higher than average automobile traffic speeds hinders the outdoor shopper. This type of environment is not conducive to outdoor shopping and inhibits pedestrian crossing particularly at other than signalized crossings (duToit Associates, 1983, p5). Thus, once consumers enter the Jackson Square complex there is no motivation for these shoppers to come out onto the commercial strip.

A shopping development's impact on existing shopping districts usually increases with it's size. It has been suggested that large shopping centres increase the amount of traffic and parking demand to the area (McLaughlin, 1982, p21). Survey results revealed that merchants perceived Hamilton's
Jackson Square as the key to the success of the increased commercial activity to the downtown core; while others are more skeptical. These merchants feel that locating nearby an enclosed shopping centre will mean the death of the strip as a viable commercial district (duToit Associates, 1983, pA3). The survey results seem to reinforce the view that "the large scale shopping projects have the potential to either reinforce retail strips or to substantially detract from their economic health" (McLaughlin, 1982, p21).

Planners have tried to combat the impacts of competition of larger shopping centres on the surrounding retailers by demanding that the design and layout of the new shopping centre integrates with the surrounding retail strips. It has been suggested that the location of the new shopping centre relative to other facilities is a critical factor in whether positive or negative benefits accrue to the surrounding space economy. As a result, some parts of commercial areas become more central while other parts more peripheral (Jones & Simmons, 1987, p369). For example, Hamilton's downtown now has a focus to the west of James Street because renewal efforts such as Jackson Square and Hamilton place have been focused here, leaving King Street East with no attractive anchor.

Traditionally, retailing has been based on the concept of an 'anchor', which is a department store or other major stores that serve to attract shoppers. In the Jackson Square complex, this anchor is Eaton's. A Hamilton shopping survey suggested that 26%
of their respondents were shopping at a specific store--Eaton's. This reveals the importance of Eaton's to the Jackson Square mall (duToit Associates, 1983, pA3). There are no traditional anchors to the east of John Street, therefore, the King Street East merchants may face a business threat from Jackson Square and still more competition with the expansion of the New Eaton's Centre.

2.4 Hamilton's Eaton's Centre

The New Eaton's Centre will be located on James Street North and York Blvd and, it will have a direct link to the Jackson Square Mall. The construction of this shopping centre will take on a three stage plan. The first phase entailed building the parking garage with approximately 800 spaces. In the second phase the existing market ramp garage will be demolished and the construction of the New Eaton's store on that site will be completed by 1989. In the final phase, the existing Eaton's Centre will be demolished and construction of a three level galleria will begin in 1989 and is proposed to be completed by 1990. The Eaton's complex will accommodate 100 more retail stores twice the size of any other Eaton's store in the city (Coutts, Spectator, 1987).

Already this proposal has generated some potential issues as indicated by articles in the Hamilton Spectator. The impacts in particular are the factors associated with promoting a healthy commercial environment. New shopping centers should not overload the shopping street's road capacity and parking facilities
(McLaughlin, 1982, p22). It has been suggested that the wide roadway on James Street North allows relatively high volumes of traffic which create pedestrian vehicular conflicts and hamper free pedestrian movement at intersections and mid block crossings (Hamilton Planning Department, 1984, p146). The Eaton's Centre should stimulate activity and draw people to downtown, thereby, placing more pedestrian and vehicular stress on this street.

It is the fear of many merchants located on James Street North that the increased traffic will discourage pedestrians from shopping on the streets. Also, a survey conducted by the Hamilton Planning Department suggests that the existing Eaton's store breaks the retail continuity along its frontage. In other words, people are drawn off the sidewalk into the mall, at crucial focal points, reducing the potential vitality and sidewalk activity between York and King (Hamilton Planning Department, 1984, P144). McLaughlin suggests that large shopping malls have a greater impact on the appearance and functioning of the sidewalk environment because they occupy more frontage (McLaughlin, 1982, p21).

Although the redevelopment of the Eaton's store is a response to upgrading and revitalizing the Hamilton's downtown core, the implications of such a project have to be considered. There has been an overall increase in the awareness and assessment of the impact of these renewal centres both by land use planners and developers because of the "plethora of intentional and unintentional impacts these shopping malls have

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on the commercial activity in the city" (Dawson, 1983, p96).

Dawson suggests that it is difficult to determine a definite cause and effect of city centre redevelopments schemes on the existing retailing environment (Dawson, 1983, p104). The majority of impact analyses have dealt with the out-of-town and regional centres reflecting a preoccupation with investigating these new concepts in retailing. There has only been a minor contribution in the case of downtown redevelopments despite the fact that such developments have local impacts which are much more immediate and visible. Most of these studies place an emphasis upon information extrapolated from interviews, and use this information toward problem solving recommendations directed toward city planners and policy makers (McLaughlin, 1982, p12). Thus, the land use planners and developers need access to assessment reports on redevelopment of downtown centres in order to form programs that will integrate the new shopping centre with the existing retailing strips.
3.0 Interview Analysis

In this section a discussion of the several issues associated with Hamilton's future Eaton's Centre is presented. The major source of information at this stage will be taken from interviews conducted with several members of the local Hamilton community, as well as the major actors involved in the redevelopment project. These members include: planning staff, the developer, the director of traffic, municipal politicians etc. The interviews are summarized in Table I. The various different opinions help to focus our paper on relevant issues with specific regard to impacts such as: retail competition, integration of the New Eaton's Centre on the existing retail strips i.e. King St. E. and John St. N., and the parking availability in the downtown core.

3.1 Economic Impacts

The majority of the people interviewed are very optimistic about Hamilton's New Eaton's Centre. They anticipate that the development will increase retail floor space and thus create a number of economic benefits such as, generating employment, increasing the tax base of the city, encouraging innsvestment of private capital and improving the image of Hamilton. They suggest that Jackson Square and the New Eaton's Store, together, will provide a 'super mall' for Hamilton and thus, consumers from the local and surrounding areas such as Burlington, Dundas, and Ancaster will be attracted to the downtown core. The new centre should increase both traffic and pedestrian flows, which will
increase retail activity in the remainder of the downtown core.

However, there is only a minor consideration that the new development will create negative implications. Some politicians anticipate that more retail activity will be attracted to the downtown core, however, this increase will be concentrated to the west of James Street and it will be consumed by the Jackson Square and the New Eaton's Centre. The independent retailers expect that the planned shopping complex will become a destination point and more importantly, it will not allow for a free flow of people from the controlled atmosphere of the shopping mall to retail strips such as King St. E. and John St. N. Furthermore, the Eaton's Centre will absorb the majority of the retail activity from these commercial strips.

3.2 Integration Impacts

Some have expressed the concern that the independent store owners on John St. N. and King St. E. will not be able to compete with a major shopping mall because it has not been well integrated with the existing retail strips. The entrances, the pedestrian bridge linking Eaton's to the parking garage and the location of the new development are the three factors that will help to place the focus on the planned centre and will serve to persuade potential retail activity off of the streets.

Ann Gillespie, a research assistant for the architectural council of the Hamilton planning department has suggested that there are not enough entrances leading in and out of the shopping mall. In order to promote a free flow of people from the mall to
the commercial strips easy access to entrances and exits should be inherent in the development; however the plans do not reveal this easy access. Also, the parking garage built for the Eaton's development has one covered walkway for pedestrians which links to Eaton's creating a focal point toward this development. It is the fear of some of the members of the community that people will not be encouraged to travel from this car park to the retail strip on James St. N.

The final factor relating to the integration issue is associated with the physical location of the new development. Thus far in Hamilton, new construction, and development has occurred west of James Street. Jackson Square, Copps Coliseum, Hamilton Place, the Art Gallery and now the New Eaton's Centre form a cultural, and commercial concentration to the west, leaving King Street East with no attractive anchors to encourage pedestrian activity to this strip. The deteriorating buildings and low pedestrian flows characterize this vulnerable retail street. Some have suggested that the majority of these retailers are close to retirement and whose children either have no interest in the new business or want to move it further west. King St East has been identified as having increasing vacancy rates because many retailers have chosen to 'close up shop' or move to the west where the retail 'action' is located. Marvin Caplan, a successful King Street merchant, has suggested that he is already speculating for a better location for his business (i.e. further west). He suggests that at one time one couldn't walk
down King Street because it was too crowded, now King Street East remains 'sick'. The suburban type shopping mall moved right into the heart of the city drawing in the majority of the consumers off of the street.

3.3 Further Considerations

Will Hamilton's redevelopment of the Eaton's store serve to revitalize its downtown core or will it merely keep people off of the street? "If plastic private malls substitute for public space, our communities stand in danger of losing their sense of place and of continuity" (Main Street, p2). If one of the main reasons for redeveloping the New Eaton's is to improve the image of Hamilton, then the retail strips will have to be preserved because these areas of the downtown core create the community image, whereas the planned shopping centres do not. Planners have tried to ensure that the design and layout of new shopping centres integrate with the surrounding retail strips, and that these centres should not overload the shopping street's parking facility.

The parking availability in downtown is considered a non-issue by the planning department, because the New Eaton's development will accommodate 300 more spots than the old parking garage. More generally, however, presently Hamilton's downtown is undergoing rapid redevelopment, and thus, it has been suggested that existing surface parking lots in prime downtown locations will be used to accommodate developments such as condominiums and office towers. If this rapid revitalization
continues, parking availability will become scarce, and as such this may be an important issue to consider for the future of Hamilton's downtown.

Based on the information, extrapolated from the several interviews, it will be necessary to further explore the relevant impacts associated with the revitalization project. It may be useful to map out all the parking areas in downtown Hamilton and consider the future development proposals in order to explore the availability of parking for the future of downtown Hamilton. Data on vacancy and turn over rates will be considered in order to obtain a clearer economic profile of the retail strips that may be vulnerable to the planned shopping centre. Finally, it will be interesting to use the information related to the parking and economic implications in order to organize a hypothetical plan to encourage a healthy retail environment, in Hamilton's downtown region.

In conclusion, the interviews have served as a valuable tool for the inventory of the economic and retail structure of Hamilton's downtown, and have helped to focus our attention toward the areas that need further exploration.
### TABLE 1: The Shopping Centre Debate

#### Summary of Interviews

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Economic Impacts</th>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Reasons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>Developer</td>
<td>pro</td>
<td>-perceived profit, due to market growth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bob Biback</td>
<td></td>
<td>pro</td>
<td>-tremendous boom for Hamilton (economic growth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Godley-Planner</td>
<td></td>
<td>pro</td>
<td>-good for Hamilton's image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murry Main-Director of Traffic</td>
<td>pro</td>
<td></td>
<td>-expects to attract people from surrounding area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bob Melnbardis-columnist</td>
<td>pro</td>
<td></td>
<td>-increases employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Ross-alderman</td>
<td>pro</td>
<td></td>
<td>-perceived business threat to King St. East retailers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerrie Copps-alderman</td>
<td>con</td>
<td></td>
<td>-poor integration with James St. N.(both architecturally and in terms of entrances)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marvin Caplin-retailer</td>
<td>con</td>
<td></td>
<td>-retail concentration west of James Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ann Gillespie-research assistant</td>
<td>con</td>
<td></td>
<td>-there is a historic aspect to facade of development, therefore it integrates well with Jamesville Heritage District</td>
</tr>
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#### Integration with surrounding retail strips

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Reasons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marvin Caplin</td>
<td>con</td>
<td>-Eaton's is not a massive change, therefore it should not be too threatening to independent retailers *provided that King East undergoes revitalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majority</td>
<td>pro</td>
<td>-great social and financial impacts (King St. East will become a series of vacant lots)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerrie Copps</td>
<td>mixed</td>
<td>-no major impact perceived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marvin Caplin</td>
<td>negative</td>
<td>-hopes to see new development east of James</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Ross</td>
<td>positive</td>
<td>-help keep independent merchants on their toes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bob Biback</td>
<td>positive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.0 The Parking Issue

"Like one way streets and pigeons, there is no shortage of parking lots in downtown Hamilton" (Benedetti, Spectator, 1985). The above quotation represents the probable parking situation in downtown Hamilton three years ago. Since 1985, Hamilton has undergone rapid growth in the downtown core, and it will continue to grow in the future. This growth has taken the form of development projects, as well as, revitalization strategies, which should boost Hamilton's image. The availability of land, however, is limited in the inner city and as such, many existing surface parking lots are being used to accommodate these renewal schemes. Consequently, there may be a parking crisis in downtown Hamilton in the near future.

The purpose of this chapter is to show that parking is an important downtown function, to present an inventory of the existing spaces with reference to a map and data collected by the Hamilton Traffic Department, and to evaluate Hamilton's future parking situation.

4.1 Importance of Parking

An important downtown economic service for any city is the availability of parking. Businessmen/women, workers, and shoppers rely on this landuse to carry out their everyday activities. Adequate facilities are demanded by new department store developments, as parking impacts their level of retail sales (Balian et al, 1974, p53). Furthermore, "parking enhances the downtown economy by placing it in a more favorable
competitive position with outlying centres in terms of both
customer attraction and new investment, thereby reinforcing the
downtown tax base" (Balian et al., 1974, p.54).

New downtown developments, such as Hamilton's New Eaton's
Store, could not compete with suburban type malls, that offer
free parking to their customers, without the availability of
sufficient parking. Thus, parking is essential to the viability
of Hamilton's downtown.

4.2 Hamilton's Present Parking Status

Since our study is restricted to the downtown core area, an
inventory of parking spaces will be limited to this section of
the city. The area bounded by: Hess St. to the west, Canon St. to
the north, Ferguson Ave. to the east and Hunter St. to the south
comprises the focus of our parking study (refer to fig. 2). All
parking data will be aggregated to form four sub areas. This
aggregation is necessary to be able to generalize about changes
in parking availability, and usage patterns, as well as, parking
rates (refer to fig. 2&3, Tables II & III).

The comparison of parking availability between the years
1984 and 1987, indicate that downtown Hamilton has in fact had an
overall increase in parking spaces (refer to Table II). There
have been several parking lots lost since 1984 which accounts for
the results in the loss of parking spaces in sub areas, 1, 2, and
3, however, the construction of the new Eaton's parking garage,
which accommodates 300 more spaces than the old parking facility,
and the new parking lot on York and Hess yields an overall
FIGURE 2: PARKING AVAILABILITY 1987
TABLE II: Comparison of Parking Availability 1984/1987

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub Area</th>
<th>1984</th>
<th>1987</th>
<th>loss/gain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1767</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>-51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>1655</td>
<td>-247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1768</td>
<td>1681</td>
<td>-87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2317</td>
<td>3086</td>
<td>+769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7754</td>
<td>8138</td>
<td>Net Gain = 384</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE III: Parking Usage Patterns 1987 (in percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub Area</th>
<th>Maximum % usage</th>
<th>Average % usage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Total</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source-Hamilton Traffic Department
increase in spaces in sub area four. This explains the overall net gain of spaces in downtown Hamilton between this three year period (refer to Table II and Fig. 2).

The availability of adequate parking is very important to Hamilton's downtown because it does not have a rapid transit system. As such, the vehicle is one of the most important and convenient means of transportation. People from the city and the surrounding areas of Hamilton drive their cars to the downtown core for shopping, entertainment and work. On the average about three quarters of all spaces in the downtown core are being used which reflects the importance of this landuse. (refer to Table III).

The usage patterns also suggest that people are generally concerned with having direct access to the heart of the city, where the highest concentration of amenities is located (ie. King & James), and where they can obtain the best possible parking rate. Sub areas 2 and 3 have the highest per cent usage rates, which may reflect the fact that they have a higher concentration of lower hourly rates than sub areas 1, and 4 (refer to Fig. 3).

The parking rates in Hamilton are affected by the access that the parking lots have to attractive facilities in the downtown core. Parking lots in direct proximity to the Jackson Square complex, Hamilton Place, and Copps Coliseum, namely the area to the west of King and James have the highest concentration of expensive hourly rates. These are located in sub area 4. Terminal Towers and the Holiday Inn bounded by
Catharine, John, King, and Main streets are attractive anchors in the downtown and have correspondingly higher parking rates compared to the other parking facilities in sub area 1 (refer to Fig. 3). Parking rates decline with distance away from these attractive facilities.

A change in parking rates may occur in sub area 2, after the new Eaton's Complex is completed. Presently, the hourly daily maximum rates are inexpensive east of James Street North and north of King William. More generally, redevelopment projects such as the New Eaton's centre, condominium and apartment projects proposed for Hamilton's downtown may have an overall effect on parking rates in all sub areas, if these new developments take up prime parking lot space, and a parking shortage results. In classical economic theory if demand exceeds supply, prices will be affected and consequently increase. Thus Hamilton may experience increases in parking rates due to the shortage in parking availability, if parking lots are lost due to new proposed developments, and if, these new developments do not accommodate new facilities for parking.

4.3 Future Parking Availability

There are approximately ten proposed new developments that will be constructed on existing surface parking lots in downtown Hamilton in the near future (refer to Fig. 2 and Table IV). Although many welcome the economic growth in the downtown core, these renewal projects will create a parking crisis in the next few years. The revival of the downtown will shrink the
TABLE IV: Future Development Projects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parking Lot #</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Proposed Development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Catharine &amp; Jackson</td>
<td>Apartments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Main &amp; Catharine &amp; Walnut</td>
<td>Commercial/Residential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Wilson &amp; John</td>
<td>Apartments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>King William &amp; Ferguson</td>
<td>Theatre Aquarius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>George &amp; Caroline</td>
<td>Condominiums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Main &amp; Bay</td>
<td>Condominiums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>MacNab &amp; Jackson</td>
<td>New Family Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>York &amp; Hess</td>
<td>Retail Building &amp; Gas Bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Hess &amp; Napier</td>
<td>Commercial/Residential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Market &amp; Bay</td>
<td>Luxury Condominiums &amp; Offices</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source-Hamilton Planning Department
availability of parking and will attract more shoppers and workers to the downtown core. The impacts of this shortage will include more crowded lots with higher prices. People driving downtown will have to get used to walking further and leave extra time to reach destinations (McGuinness, Spectator, 1987).

A comparison between the 1987 and future parking availability will follow to show the future parking situation in downtown Hamilton. The future parking spaces were calculated by subtracting spaces lost due to proposed new development from the existing surface lots in each sub area (refer to Tables IV, V, and Fig. 2). Approximately 1432 spaces in the downtown core will be lost if all the proposed projects are developed in the next few years.

The policy of the city is to acquire land for parking facilities when the demand for parking exceeds the supply in the downtown (Balian et al, 1974, P55). This is primarily an ad hoc reaction to an inevitable parking crisis. It will be necessary to set up planning committees to include speedy constructions of more parking garages, and regulations will be needed to require developers to provide more public parking. The manager of the parking authority, Bill Cottrell foresees a parking crisis and suggests that there is a need for 1,000 to 2,000 more spaces in the next two years. With land becoming scarce, most of them will have to be multi-story garages above or below ground (McGuinness, Spectator, 1987).

To further increase parking availability more on street...
Table V: Comparison of Present and Future Parking Availability

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub Area</th>
<th>1987</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Loss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>1226</td>
<td>-490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1655</td>
<td>1345</td>
<td>-310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1681</td>
<td>1316</td>
<td>-365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3086</td>
<td>2819</td>
<td>-267</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Total    | 8138 | 6706   | Net Loss = -1432

Source-Hamilton Traffic Department
meter parking could be facilitated. The traffic department, however, discourages this form of parking, especially on major traffic arteries, because on street parking will create congestion and hamper the flow of traffic (Balian et al, 1974, p56). One of the city's major concerns is to keep the traffic flowing with the minimal amount of congestion. Unfortunately downtown Hamilton becomes a means for getting from one end of the city to the other. Due to Hamilton's extremely efficient main arteries, people can go from one end of the city to the other without stopping—and they don't. Various businessmen and retailers strongly oppose the efficient traffic flow, especially through the downtown core, because this discourages potential shoppers from wandering onto the retail strips.

In order for the merchants to attract the customers, and keep shoppers downtown, there must exist an attractive retail environment, as well as convenient parking. Parking located in close proximity to the major amenities in the downtown area will encourage patrons to stop and take advantage of the many services available in this area. These parking facilities should be strategically located so as to accommodate the shopping malls as well as the retail strips. Without convenient, affordable parking downtown retail strips and malls are threatened by the suburban type mall that offer free parking.

Most businesses and independent retailers can not afford to make parking facilities available to their customers because the property values in downtown Hamilton are very high, and the
provision of parking spaces would "reduce the size of their establishments, and thereby reduce their potential sales" (Balian et al, 1974, P56). The parking authority and the city of Hamilton should make it their responsibility to establish a program of acquiring, maintaining, and distributing parking facilities effectively in the downtown core.

Generally, politicians, planners and businessmen have not assessed fully the impacts that new development projects such as the Bank of Commerce office tower, Copps Coliseum, and the Pigott condominiums will have on the existing parking rates and parking availability in the downtown core. A facility such as Copps Coliseum attracts people from the city, as well as from the surrounding areas, and in the absence of a rapid transit system, everyone drives their cars. Furthermore, Copps Coliseum does not have its own parking garage and the surface parking lot directly opposite it, located on Bay and Market may soon be used for a future condominium and office tower (refer to Table IV and Fig. 2). As such, the patrons of Copps Coliseum may be adversely affected by the shortage of parking spaces and increasing parking rates. Similarly the new commerce building has some parking spaces, but not as many as the business it will attract (McGuinness, Spectator, 1987). With the revival of the Hunter Street Station, located in close proximity to the downtown, which will service Go Train patrons, there will be a further parking 'crunch' due to the parking demanded by these commuters.

The above examples seem to indicate that some of Hamilton's
most attractive developments do not have adequate parking facilities for the amount of customers they will attract. The new Eaton's development that will be completed by 1990 only has a net gain of 155 spaces to serve approximately 100 more stores in the new complex (McGuinness, Spectator, 1987). Therefore, the parking crisis is not only a consequence of future development projects taking up surface parking lots, but it is also related to the inadequate, existing parking availability.

With the future growth of development projects in the downtown area, a parking crisis is inevitable, and the increase of parking rates is just a matter of time. The acquisition and maintenance of parking lots is essential to the vitality of Hamilton's downtown core.
5.0 Recommendations and Conclusions

"No single aspect of a city reflects its general health as clearly as its downtown core" (MacPhail, 1982, p9).

This philosophy has been integral to and the driving force behind the reconstruction of Hamilton's downtown core. Planners have implemented revitalization strategies to meet the needs and interests of society—-that is, to bring new life to the heart of the city. It should be noted, however, that planners are well educated professionals who have a middle class point of view and as such, "prefer downtown environments that are clean, safe, and attractive in a sanitized way" (Jones et al, 1987, p391). The construction of the new office tower (CIBC), the Jackson Square Complex, Copps Coliseum as well as the new Eaton's Centre are reflections of this preoccupation that modern developments are the means to the revitalization of Hamilton's downtown core.

There has been less interest and enthusiasm devoted to the ethnic retail strips such as James St. North and King St. East because of their inexpensive, unsanitary characteristics that serve the low income groups and/or recent immigrant groups (Jones et al, 1987, p391). In fact very little consideration has been given to the impacts of urban renewal schemes on the existing retail clusters, on competition from planned shopping malls, and on the availability of parking. Have Politicians, planners, and citizens been captured by the glitter and gleam of the new modern developments and failed to consider fully the social and economic impacts of urban renewal?

The purpose of this section is to integrate some of the
information that we have discussed in the preceding chapters which include the literature, the parking evaluation, and the interview analysis, to introduce possible strategies that retailers, businessmen, and planners can take to alleviate some of the negative implications associated with urban renewal. Specifically, these strategies may include: increasing the resident population in the downtown area, encouraging investment on traditional shopping streets and upgrading the physical appearance of deteriorating retail strips will follow to establish that the ethnic shopping streets have unique characteristics and through effective strategies these can induce vitality into their business.

The purpose of encouraging more housing developments is to increase the local market for goods and services around the retail strips (McLaughlin, 1983, p27). In Hamilton, the King St. East retail strip is characterized by single unit, single level retail outlets, where the second or the upper levels of the building are left vacant or used as storage. With Hamilton's present .6% vacancy rate in housing, this 'dead space' could be used to increase housing availability, and increase the downtown resident population. This new demand for residence in the inner city area could propel improvements in the physical appearance of the neighborhood. "Experience of other cities has shown that there is no shortage of people interested in living in the downtown area and becoming a part of a unique community" (MacPhail, 1982, p17). The main attraction for the
consumer in a downtown residential location such as that mentioned above is the convenience to both the downtown retail environment, and to other social or entertainment services. It has been suggested that the most common reason for shopping in a certain area is convenience (McLaughlin, 1983, p. 27).

Convenience can be further related to the accessibility and availability of parking. Since some citizens prefer to drive to their destinations, whether it be for shopping or entertainment, the planned facilities (e.g., shopping malls), which accommodate parking for their patrons are more attractive. Although the independent retailers do not have the resources to provide their own parking (for reason stated in Chapter 4), this facility remains an important landuse to the consumer, and as such, the planners, the city of Hamilton and the parking authority should make it their obligation to maintain an adequate level of parking.

Inspite of the parking shortage discussed in the previous chapter, this deficiency may become an advantage for the retailers that are not in direct proximity to the inner city core. People will have to walk further to reach destination points if parking becomes scarce and too expensive, especially at the King and James intersection where the concentration of attractive anchors exists. As such, the parking shortage may encourage more pedestrian traffic on King St. East and James St. North where cheaper and lower usage parking rates remain (refer to sub area 2 on Fig. 3).
Increased pedestrian traffic alone will not ensure the independent retailers more share of the market. There is also a need for encouraging more investment on the retail strips as well as the need for upgrading the deteriorating shops on King St. East and James St. North. Many of the merchants have either gone out of business or deserted the downtown core due to the competition of shopping malls. Between 1979 and 1982 the commercial stores on James St. North and King St. East have experienced the highest vacancy rates and the greatest number of commercial changes than any other retail strip in the downtown core (Draft, 1985, p75). Turnover and vacancy rates are reliable indicators of commercial well being which show that these commercial strips are experiencing a decline. Due to the general messiness and deteriorating characteristics of James St. North and King St. East "only the least imaginative merchants are left, vacancies appear, customers go elsewhere, tourists stop visiting, and potential investors seek other markets" (Dalibard, 1983, p33).

There is a need to encourage more investment on traditional shopping streets. A downtown association of businessmen, and neighborhood representatives should be formed to encourage the revitalization of the downtown "which is the common property of all Hamiltonians" (MacPhail, 1982, p16). The Business Improvement Area (BIA) program has been introduced in Hamilton, and has been effective in, encouraging the involvement of all merchants of an area, in increasing the coordination and promotion geared at improving the image of the entire area rather than one
independent retailer in particular (Smith, 1987, p22). One of the advantages that shopping malls have over retail strips is that they are owned by large chain stores and, as such, they cooperate, pool resources, and promote together. The traditional retail strips can copy this strength by implementing programs in order to advertise, upgrade, and cooperate as a cohesive unit. These downtown business associations have been an important factor in curbing core deterioration in the cities of Ontario because all the retailers on the strip contribute financially to improve not one shop in particular but the whole area (Smith, 1987, p23).

5.1 Upgrading the Physical Appearance of Retail Strips

Both King St. East and James St. North have the potential of becoming attractive areas of Hamilton's downtown. The mix of historic architectural buildings, the three to six story range forming a common frontage around the pedestrian space and the ethnic flavour of some the shops offers the consumer a variety of advantages.

Presently, King St. East and James St. North are suffering from old age, excessive traffic and the competition from Jackson Square, and in the near future the new Eaton's Centre. There is a need for these merchants to become a cohesive group and physically upgrade the whole area. This scheme can include: sand blasting of the buildings, planting trees, placing benches on sidewalks, putting up new signs, and if financially feasible, the renovation of the entire shop. It is not the intention to
create upper income boutiques, but to make the entire area more appealing to the pedestrian. By offering an area of aesthetically pleasing buildings, with a variety of goods and services at less expensive prices, than the consumer may be attracted to the retail strips. The ideal is to manipulate the outdoor space to encourage pedestrianization on King St. East and James St. North (refer to Fig.4).

The idea of establishing an anchor on King St. East and Wellington, suggested by some of the people interviewed, to encourage more commercial activity to the east of James will not work because there will still be the need to upgrade the area in between. Why spend more on infrastructure to accommodate glossy shopping malls, or on new developments when the existing retail strips have the potential for improvement, and as such, can serve as the anchor that will improve the whole area.

A further obstacle that James St. North and especially King St. East have to overcome, to make these strips conducive for shopping, is the heavy traffic flow which discourages pedestrians from coming out of the safe shopping malls on to the hustling commercial streets. Presently, Hamilton only has 3 sets of arteries: King and Main, Wilson, and, Canon and Barton. The proposed Perimeter Road has been suggested as alleviating the strain off of King St. East and should channel only local traffic to the downtown (refer to Fig.4). Some suggest that if the traffic is reduced considerably by the construction of this new artery, on street parking or the widening of the sidewalks could
CENTRAL AREA SUGGESTED MOVEMENT STRATEGY

1: 20 000

source - Hamilton Planning Dept., 1981

FIGURE 4
be accommodated. These suggestions are based on the assumption that the Perimeter Road will channel a significant amount of traffic off of King Street, which remains uncertain.

Although we may consider various planning scenarios in rejuvenating downtown retail strips as surveyed above, essentially the well being of inner city areas depends upon how the city perceives the role of the downtown. For instance, it appears that there has been a bias toward transportation rather than economic well being of the retail environment. Furthermore, there is a need for the influential groups (eg. traffic, and planning departments) to maintain a tight correspondence in order to make clear their future objectives, and to be aware of all aspects of the changing environment of the inner city. The task of planning is to maintain conditions in which people can flourish and where established order is challenged.

Generally, the extent of the impacts, such as competition, parking availability, and the integration of the new developments (eg. New Eaton's Centre) on the existing downtown study area are uncertain. The revitalization of Hamilton's downtown, however, has been selective and focused on the King and James intersection where there is proximity to other types of amenities. Therefore one could claim that Hamilton's urban renewal has served to accentuate the areas that have commanded much of the attention of the developers and planners over the deteriorating retail strips that have had very little consideration up until recently. Urban renewal strategies have provided downtown Hamilton with new large
developments such as, shopping malls, Copps Coliseum and office towers to attract investors and pedestrians to this area, however, it could be further enhanced if more attention was paid to the retail strips. Due to the concentration of these developments Hamilton's downtown could be regarded as an intersection and not as an area.
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