Changing Retail Composition in

Greenwich, Connecticut

2000 - 2013



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Abstract

This study is an examination of retail composition on Greenwich Avenue, the "Main Street" corridor in the Town of Greenwich, Connecticut between 2000 and 2013. Retail composition is affected largely by demographic and economic activity, but it is also influenced by a community's history, culture and image. Commercial corridors are where neighborhood change becomes visible and can be measured by observing store openings and closing as well as change in type. The study focuses on changing retail composition, density, and patterning in an affluent community to understand the underlying changing consumer demands, cultural, and socio-economic dynamics at work. It attempts to understand the components affecting a shopping corridor and whether there is an underlying relationship amongst the shopping classifications over time.

Thesis Contents

Abstract	. iii
Introduction	. 1
Background	. 3
Literature Review	7
Case Study – Greenwich CT	. 12
Research Data and Methodology	. 25
Findings - Overall Changes in Retail Composition	. 33
Comparative Communities 2013	. 50
Summary of Findings	. 52
Recommendations	. 53
Bibliography	. 55
Appendix	. 57



Introduction

Neighborhoods, including the commercial corridors evolve over time. In suburban towns, downtown shopping districts reflect both the demands of residents and overarching municipal aspirations and image. The face of a community – its Main Street – is a visible product of changing demands over time and a measurable product of a community's evolution. The composition of a shopping corridor shapes a community and its image while providing both a resource and, importantly, a social function. The retail corridor is democratic; it is a place where most can enter and participate regardless of age, income, race, and background.¹ It is a place where we can come to alone or with others. Competing forces create the corridor and its image: the property owners, the merchants, the local government and the residents. A Main Street both embodies community values (public interests) while reflecting greater social and economic forces (private interests). The "face" on Greenwich Avenue is the end result of both private and public space, its values, its residents, and importantly, its image.

How are consumer trends evolving in a suburban downtown retail corridor? Is the retail composition (more banks, fewer book stores) an illustration of a consumer demand or private business interests and aspirational image? This study analyzes change in retail composition between 2000 and 2013 in an affluent suburban downtown to understand how the retail mix, location composition and number of establishments change over time, and to determine whether the retail mix (as measured by number of units in defined classifications) holds. Moreover, this study focuses on physical changes along the commercial corridor to understand the underlying economic and cultural forces at work. Analysis of local neighborhood economies and their changes is divided by geographic and measurable attributes such as income, education, race, etc. At the same time, retail patterning and spatial location is examined from a local business perspective through the lens of clustering or agglomeration.

Laura Reese² analyzes cities to see whether neighborhood change is better explained by policy or luck. Extensive work has been written on gentrification and its impact on retail composition and housing. However, gentrification as defined by displacement in an upwardly mobile neighborhood is too narrow a word to define the

¹ Sharon Zukin, Point of Purchase: How Shopping Changed American Culture (New York: Routledge, 2004), pg. 29.

² Laura A. Reese and Minting Ye, "Policy Versus Place Luck: Achieving Local Economic Prosperity," Economic Development Quarterly 25, no. 3, pg. 230.

overall changes in community fabric, when the economic and social consequences are involved.³ Similarly, Bridge, Butler, Lees ⁴disagree with gentrification as a purely economic phenomenon. They argue that community change arises from a social view and that similar people like to live together and their retail mix and community amenities are directly tied to what they value as a societal group. And in Schuetz, Kolko, and Meltzer's⁵ work entitled "Is the 'Shop Around the Corner' a Luxury or a Nuisance?" the authors analyzed neighborhood income categories as a determinant of retail, suggesting that the purchasing power of communities determines retail composition.

This study intersects with these efforts by analyzing the Town of Greenwich with a stable population base and governance through a time period that saw a national recession and significant technological change. It utilizes demographic data, business dynamics and retail snapshots at set intervals to measure demographic, social and physical changes to analyze the evolving retail composition in the Town of Greenwich over the period 2000– 2013. This study seeks to measure changing retail composition to better understand 'Main Street' retail typology, and the degree to which the town is able to maintain a balanced composition of retail. Are there pre-defined ranges where particular retail classifications fall within the total retail composition and do these ranges vary over time? For example, does the percentage of banks to total retail remain around 10% of total over the periods examined? Studying these underlying ranges should illustrate larger retail trends and/or local forces. Such compositional trends measured within a larger community context are important when establishing downtown planning policy goals and implementing zoning objectives.

1. In summary, this study examines the retail composition on Greenwich Avenue and its surrounding cross streets (the Site) to understand the changing composition between 2000 and 2013 and to ask the following questions:

2. What are the underlying changes in retail composition and are these changes a function of socio-demographic changes or association by larger, regional causes as measured by economic base analysis shift share?

3. Is there notable impact from government through increased (zoning) regulation?

4. Are there any policy or zoning changes that could be implemented to support retail composition?

Sharon Zukin, Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) p. 9.
 Gary Bridge, Tim Butler, and Loretta Lees, "Mixed Communities: Gentrification By Stealth," Policy Press Scholarship

Online, 2011, pg. 1, doi:9781847424938.001.0001.

⁵ Jenny Schuetz, Jed Kolko, and Rachel Metzler, "Is the 'Shop Around the Corner' a Luxury or a Nuisance? The Relationship between Income and Neighborhood Retail Patterns," September 22, 2010, pg. 2, accessed October 9, 2013, www.aea.org/2011conference.

Background

The Town of Greenwich, Connecticut with approximately 60,000 residents in 2010 has long been synonymous with affluence. Its natural resources – location on a coastline, proximity to Manhattan and picturesque New England landscape historically drew its residents. It's traditional 'Main Street' known as Greenwich Avenue with its composition of high-end retail and local merchants draws both locals and out-of-towners. The Town has benefited from its geographic location within the New York Metropolitan area as it is directly on the MetroNorth commuter rail line as well as under a one-hour drive by automobile. Located just over the New York State border also gives Greenwich added financial appeal as Connecticut's lower tax rates provide another positive feature.

Greenwich was incorporated in 1664 and prides itself on its historical roots centered on original colonial America and later the Cos Cob Artists' Colony between 1870 and 1920. Its natural beauty and proximity to New York made it a weekend and summer destination and at its peak there were more than one dozen inns.⁶ During the 1950s and 1960s, in the period known nationally for suburban flight, numerous corporations relocated to Greenwich and its surrounding towns providing a significant venue for local goods.

This was followed by a second institutional wave, where investment managers and hedge funds replaced the larger corporate citizens that were relocating elsewhere for cheaper rents and larger employment pools. At the turn of the twenty first century, Greenwich appeared to be positioned next to New York and London as one of the hedge fund capitals of the world. Office space was being reconfigured for trading operations as the corporate headquarter model moved to cheaper environs.

However, the following decade (2000–2010) included numerous events, which would reshape the financial sector's direction: the technology bubble burst and the mortgage market collapsed. On top of industry-laden issues, the 9/11 terrorist attack and numerous natural events such as Super Storm Sandy would weigh heavily on the

⁶ Susan Richardson, ed., Greenwich before 2000: A Chronology of the Town of Greenwich, 1640-1999 (Greenwich, CT: Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich, 2000).

region. A highly successful financial industry subsector in terms of profitability for its employed and the community would be required to adapt to regulatory and industry changes. Unlike a natural disaster or a terrorist attack, the changing industry dynamics from the financial crisis was not immediately visible. It would take many years to see the impacts of regulatory changes, and many more to measure and analyze them.

At the same time, the local government focused on school infrastructure, drainage and a new safety center. With a pay-as-you-go guideline, town finances focused on current revenue streams and immediate needs. A long-term capital budget process was initiated with listed items so that all individuals would understand priorities. However, shorter term operational issues tend to dominate the budgetary process.

A Bedroom Community with a Regional Business Presence

Greenwich has been a corporate town since the development in the 1970s of a few signature buildings in the downtown area. Initially, large corporations located their headquarters in these office complexes within the Central Business District including Chesebrough-Pond's and Unilever. Later, financial firms would replace them as these large firms moved to less expensive locations. Today, the downtown is a mixture of business establishments largely focused on the financial industry. There is no one dominant private employer today within the Central Business District; the largest employer in the Town is the Town itself with 2000 employees.⁷ Rather, the Central business district is an amalgamation of smaller employers, concentrated in the financial sector and a commensurate retail on its main corridor meeting both the needs of residents and those employed within the area.

Governance

A source of pride is the unique governance structure in the Town of Greenwich. It is also an important factor in understanding its timeliness and perspectives in addressing issues and its lack of interest in economic development. The town is governed by three Selectmen (one First Selectman and two Selectmen) and the Representative Town body known as the Representative Town Meeting (RTM). The current RTM was formed in 1933 and is composed of 230 non-paid elected representatives who vote on the budget, commission heads as well as policy. In theory this is representative, in practical terms, it can be unwieldy. The organizational chart for the Town illustrates the authority of both the First Selectman and the RTM and it highlights where power struggles often arise.

⁷ Town of Greenwich. www.greenwichct.org

Importantly, the Planning and Zoning Departments are directly responsible to the RTM and not the First Selectman. There is no economic development body within the Town government.

It is noteworthy to mention that Fairfield County is only a geographical reference and that the County has no formal government in place. Individual municipalities in Fairfield address all government functions.

Greenwich's main source of revenue is from the residential mix in their Grand List. However, more so than many other communities, its commercial property contributes a significant share that it needs to be appreciated and understood. Commercial properties represent approximately 13% of the Grand List with the greater values in the Central Business District. The town has not participated in economic development as defined by most urban planners. Economic development is generally frowned upon as it signifies change, which is not desirable according to the most vocal citizens. There is a strong reliance on the belief that Greenwich values will continue to increase and that "others" including property owners and private developers with deep pockets will keep renovating and revitalizing on their dollar which in turn will grow the Grand List.

The Corridor's Identity

Change has come to Greenwich Avenue, but driven by consumer demand and property owners' interests. Impacted by the national and regional economy, as well as the fore-mentioned business changes, the "Avenue" has seen the ebb and flow of construction and renovation as well as store closures and new arrivals. Private interests on Greenwich Avenue have led the way through select individuals with deep pockets; no major policy initiatives and only minor, targeted zoning changes have been made in the Central Business District (CBD) during this period between 2000 and 2013. There is continual discussion regarding Town-owned properties but few specifics have been set. The town is required to write a Plan of Conservation and Development under Connecticut statute, but this document is more qualitative in nature with few, if any, actionable items. The main goal in the 2009 Plan of Conservation and Development was to maintain the community's residential character, but just what this means and how this should be accomplished is only vaguely answered. Holding on to its historical roots and intent on maintaining its small town feel, Greenwich glances over its city-like characteristics. Its own name "Town of Greenwich" illustrates its view of itself despite its total population of over 60,000. With little direction articulated directly from the government leaders and only a vague vision, this study examines the changing composition of the defined Central Business District to understand the underlying trends and the influences which are driving the changes. Through incremental steps, property owners and consumer demand are driving the changes and shaping the retail corridor and its greater than 2 million sq. ft. of commercial space in the core Downtown area.

Literature Review

Neighborhood change is normally studied from a multiple of perspectives – income, housing, consumer behavior, retail availability and comparative geographies. And interpretation of neighborhood change and its subcategory of gentrification depend on perspective. This study of neighborhood change analyzes 1) a narrow geographic focus during 2) a specific time period, 3) in an affluent community, 4) that is associated with an industry specific commercial presence, and 5) has a longstanding traditional governance structure.

Much of the literature regarding retail environments narrows its focus on retail mix and evolution, gentrification, and micro governance in urban and low-income environments. However, gentrification is not the focus of this study as Greenwich is not an urban core, nor "up scaling" itself; its challenge is to remain up-scale within a dynamic retail environment. The challenge in this study is to understand the dynamics driving the change in the corridor and whether it is based largely on business influence, governmental direction, technology changes or consumer demand, a question posed by earlier research.

Neighborhood Change vs. Gentrification

Local neighborhood change according to Wim Wiewel can arise based on a number of theories including 1) export-based theories, 2) dependency theories 3) resource-based theories, 4) product and profit cycle theories and 5) filtering down or trickle-down theory. His work, and the linkages he describes between regional and local areas, focuses on the market impacts from the larger regional level. Wiewel describes and dissects different changes from a cause and effect perspective and from an industrialization point of view. He actually laments the fact that few researchers study the local patterns and largely attributes this to difficulty in obtaining the data in this 1989 article. One of his key takeaways is that a "new element" needs to be added [in the study of] neighborhoods and one that includes the process of analyzing industrial change, local occupations, and places of work in an effort to understand the local drivers of consumption and consumer demand.

Gentrification (originally coined by Ruth Glass in 1963) has been described as the process whereby the urban poor are forced out of a neighborhood largely based on the inability to afford to live there. Recent research elaborates on the original definition by further exploring measurable values tied to housing – values, property taxes, rents, home ownership etc. Originally the word gentrification became politically charged and largely interpreted as negative. Tom Slater in "The Eviction of Critical Perspectives from Gentrification Research" refers to the current language, which "sugarcoats" a word that "was not so long ago a 'dirty word'. Wiewel refers to the process of gentrification but claims that this is only one process of many and that influences can work both ways.

Numerous studies unpack the definition by virtue of social and economic factors and various levels of gentrification are analyzed – from a macro to a micro level. Jason Patch adds to this topic with Ladies and Gentrification": New Stores, Residents and Relationships in Neighborhood Change by studying gender relationships at the micro level. He separates gentrification into sub-groups and labeled the change in retail composition 'street' gentrification.

Bridge, Butler, Lees disagreed with gentrification as a purely economic phenomenon by arguing that community change arises from a social view and that similar people like to live together and their retail mix and community amenities are directly tied to what they value as a societal group. Gentrification is not singularly economic but a mixture of social, economic and cultural facets although income levels may dictate differences and that the concept of mixed communities (supported by most planners) is not realistic. Their study builds on the base highlighted previously and draws on the concept that gentrification is not limited to one measurement.

Urban and suburban areas are always in a constant state of change and maybe planners need a new word to define the functional parameters of a community. By understanding the functional dynamics of communities (size, income, needs), contributing factors can be identified and eventually applied in local economic planning and development to better serve communities. This study focuses on the linkages described by Wiewel and the functional dynamics alluded to by Bridge, Butler and Lees.

Retail Density and Agglomeration

Early economic work measured retail density based on factors including buyer density, fixed cost of a store, and travel costs. Population and costs were prioritized in this work. There is an "implication that there are different densities by product". Over the years, retail density has been tied to population, however in Schuetz, Kolko and Metzler's "Is the Shop Around the Corner a Luxury or Nuisance", the authors comment that the literature on retail composition is heavily tied to specific retail types in poorer areas and that further studies need to understand the relationship between employment and retail types within a community.

The concepts of agglomeration and networks found in industry apply to retail as well. Clustering within different types of retail is evident as well despite the fact that close proximity in certain concepts appears counterintuitive. The locating of various classifications, including auto dealerships, restaurants, and big box concepts

are examples where agglomeration appears. The traditional ideas around agglomeration also extend to the newer technology age where geographic proximity is not always necessary. Such technological linkages provide the same benefits if agglomeration or co-location is not feasible. Location matters but technology has modestly increased the distances.

Retail History and Evolution

In <u>Downtown America</u> Alison Isenberg focuses on the history of retail and the ideas that drove retail composition over the past 100 years. Isenberg summaries retail trends including Reilly's Law of Retail Gravitation which explained how larger cities (or retail centers) will draw customers and how the expected shopping patterns of women dictated retail location.

Sharon Zukin's <u>Point of Purchase</u> examines the many layers of retail and "unpacks" the concept of shopping into various philosophical concepts. To understand retail composition, according to Zukin, one needs to understand that shopping represents a realm between the public realm and the private interests where public and private meet. It is where the individual continues to exhibit primal hunting instincts. Zukin describes the shopping realm as one that is somewhere between "civil society and the state".

The revolutionary achievement of mass consumption has been to construct another space between the self and civil society and when shopping we place ourselves in this space. Neither completely free nor completely democratic, the public sphere of shopping is a space of discussion and debate. It is an ambiguous space where we struggle to combine principles of equality and hierarchy, and pleasure and rationality, to create an experience we value."

Zukin's work studies the nuances of shopping or this 'hunting' and the value the consumer places on an idea or an image. The existing retail landscape thereby illustrates how we perceive ourselves and what we value. Thus, a retail corridor reflects our aspirations.

In Schuetz, Kolko, and Meltzer's work entitled "Is the 'Shop Around the Corner' a Luxury or a Nuisance?" the authors analyzed neighborhood income to categories of retail presence suggesting that communities themselves are influential in determining what is actually located in a town. Using retail classification, employment data, and income levels in 58 communities over 2 periods of time, Schuetz examines zoning and the impact that affluent communities exert on retail composition.

More recent work contrasts retail composition in neighborhoods within a larger city environment. Meltzer and Schuetz "Bodegas or Bagel Shops? Neighborhood Differences in Retail and Household Services" studied two New York City neighborhoods over a 10-year period. It examined the topics such as market type and product as well as variation in consumer preference. Using the NAICS codes, the literature divides type of retail during this time period.

"The Third Space"

Roy Oldenburg's work which focuses on the intersection of sociology and urban planning examines the local community environment to understand what he defines as the third place. A community's social needs are found in various retail types which promote, engage, interaction and mingling. Whether it is the local coffee shop, beauty salon or hardware store, such third places provide familiarity and necessary interaction. Third places can also be public spaces. In the age of the Internet, these places take on even a greater importance and they provide an opportunity for face to face interaction. Third spaces evolve as consumer demand changes and reflect what we as a consumer value. Today, fitness related categories and nail salons are replacing the corner store and becoming a place where one see's a familiar face and interacts with a set group of people on a regular basis.

Policy or Place

In "Policy Versus Place Luck: Achieving Local Economic Prosperity", Reese examines the influence on economic development and policymaking at the community level. Reese examines attributes of various communities to understand the effectiveness of policy making (direct design or deliberate action) versus doing nothing calling it "Place Luck" and defining its characteristics as good weather, proximity to natural features, low crime rates and access to transportation nodes. These locational attributes and natural forces are beyond the control of local officials and directly drive economic success. And therefore, no particular action is required to support the local economy. The Town of Greenwich has not adopted an economic development policy leaving the commercial and retail components of the community to market forces and such "place luck".

Promoting Sustainable Retail Corridors

Robert Gibbs in *Principles of Urban Retail Planning and Development* (2013) delves into the multiple factors that characterize retail development on various scales from large regional shopping centers to traditional downtowns. Gibbs claims that planners and policy makers ignored retail economics, focusing rather on the injection of residential housing and placemaking. In his opinion, nurturing sustainable commerce and building supportive environments for new businesses are equally important in creating a vibrant downtown. As practiced now, the rules and regulations embedded in the minds of business owners and real estate professionals are frequently in conflict with community ideals and image. A downtown retail mix is more art than science and highly nuanced by specific location and the interests of individual property ownership. Urban planners need to expand retail analysis to include not only demographic attributes but also an understanding of the retail economics, including relative leasing costs, appropriate size and location of space, and retail business trends so their policies can promote sustainable retail.

Case Study – Greenwich CT

Greenwich is located on the Connecticut border and is approximately 1 hour from Midtown Manhattan, making it a beneficiary of transit options in the Northeast Corridor. To its east is Stamford, CT – population over 150,000 – a community which has seen significant development over the past 25 years. To the west and the north, are smaller bedroom communities within New York State.



Figure 1: NY Metropolitan Area, (Esri, Town of Greenwich, NYC DCP)

Demographic Analysis

Socio-economic factors found in the 2000 and 2010 US Census and 2007 – 2009 American Community Survey are used to understand patterns in population, home ownership, and household income. Total population gains over the past decade have noticeably slowed over the period reviewed, but there is a change in mix and income. Greenwich is grayer and yet has shown a significant increase in the population of children less than 18 years of age. Greenwich's income measures have increased yet it has felt the impact of the recent recession. Demographic data was collected at various comparative levels including the County, State and Regional levels. The retail corridor, where Greenwich Avenue is located, is wholly within Census Tract 106. Although it does not exactly align with what is delineated as the Central Business District in zoning terms, it is a very good approximation.

Greenwich's demographics highlight a stable, white, and highly educated population; it is also a noticeable aging population. Significant population growth came to Greenwich in the 1950–1960 timeframe with the automobile and the construction of I-95. Favorable tax structure in Connecticut supported even greater growth for

those of higher incomes. Since 1980, the population growth has moderated. Today, Greenwich is a well-developed community where relatively expensive property provides it a significant barrier to entry. Given the limited areas for further commercial or residential development,

there is significant redevelopment of existing parcels as the land values in many cases support structural improvements.

During the 2000–2013 decade there was almost no population growth at all in Greenwich. The population grew by a mere 70 people to 61,171. Little population growth allows greater focus on variables that are changing such as education, income, housing, and there influence on the retail corridor. Additionally, the lack of residential growth





highlights the importance of employment base on the margin.

Compared to the County and State, Greenwich's age distribution is skewed at either end. Greenwich has fewer young residents then the county and the State as defined in the chart by the 'Under 24' age category in the chart and more seniors. (Due to the higher propensity for higher education in this community, the Under 24 age

group has been aggregated. College age students are usually parent-dependent through their college years and local retail composition can reflect that dependency.) Geographically, there are less young people in the downtown core as defined by the Greenwich CDP (US Cen-





sus defined Central Designated Place) and Census Tract 106 than larger geographies, such as Greenwich (proper), County or the State.



The number of seniors in Greenwich is higher in both the CDP and Census Tract 106. The larger senior

population in the Downtown area, depicted in the Age Distribution chart highlights the trend to 'stay in place". Based on interviews, many of the Downtown residential buildings can be labeled as NORCs (naturally occurring retirement communities). A combination of stable personal assets and the appeal of the Town's support system

through its hospital encourages seniors to remain independent and in place.

The number of seniors (Figure 4) in three increments, 55–74, 75–84 and over 85 have increased in all categories. The three age groups combined have increased 11% during the same period when the overall population has shown no growth. This is a measure of the staying in place phenomenon and of a more "youthful" or active





senior population.

This increase leads to greater demand for senior services and different retail interests. Based on discussions with community members, there appears to be a mis-match between the retail composition and the community it serves. Older individuals are quick to point out that their shopping needs are not met in what they see as only high end retail or retail for a younger population. Greenwich is not a diverse community. Only in the last decade are there any indications of a change in racial composition. It does have the reputation of being quite international, with a larger Japanese contingent, but it is a transient subgroup and largely employment related. Greenwich appears to be on the short-list of living options for those who are employed by foreign corporations and serving an employment stint outside the home country.

Educational attainment by Greenwich residents is very high by both absolute and relative measures. Greenwich has less uneducated adults over the age of 25 than Fairfield County and the State. It exceeds those two geo-

graphic areas in college-educated, graduate schools, and doctorates. These percentages have been maintained over the past decade. The biggest change between the 2007-2009 ACS data and the 2000 US Census data illustrated in the two charts is the marked decrease in those NOT completing high school. Green-



wich has cut the 'less than High School' percentage in half and increased all educational categories from 'Some College' and up. This higher education level neatly ties to higher employment characteristics and income levels which drive higher consumer demands in retail.

Income Analysis

Income Trends – Greenwich's wealth characteristics cannot be fathomed using the US Census Data or the ACS data. The median income according to the US Census in 2010 was \$133,600 for an increase of 34% from the Census 2000 Median Income of \$99,050. This is noticeably higher than the Fairfield County or Westchester County levels, shown in the table. Racially, the income of non-whites in Greenwich is considerably lower than the median. However, the relatively small non-white populations make these comparisons not meaningful.

Shown on the table below is the median income by age group with a comparison to both the county level and the neighboring county. Again, the town differentiates itself in each income bracket. For both counties, the peak age is in the 45-64 year category. However, in Greenwich the median income peaks in the 25 – 44 year category. Greenwich attracts individuals with fast rising incomes in select industries, including the financial services industry. Wage compensation within such industries tends to be higher, albeit quite volatile year-to-year.

Table 1

2010 Median Income for Selected Geographies							
	Town of Greenwich	Fairfield County, CT	Westchester County, NY				
All Ages	\$133,600	\$79,705	\$79,837				
15 to 24 Years	\$43,333	\$30,813	\$30,164				
25 to 44 Years	\$167,813	\$82,800	\$79,631				
45 to 64 Years 65 Years Plus	\$148,750 \$94,398	\$97,391 \$51,423	\$102,863 \$52,858				
# of Households	21,711	331,766	342,568				

Source: US Census 2010

The American Community Survey data is a limited resource as the survey questions are grouped in such a way that there is little distinction in income levels over \$250,000 per year. Thus, the higher number of super-wealthy individuals cannot be construed from this data point.

Alternatively, there is another resource provided by the Internal Revenue Service that gives more color to this discussion. The graph highlights the Adjusted Gross Income for the zip codes within Greenwich between 1998 and 2008 (estimated for 2000, and 2003 which are not available from the Tax Statistics website). As shown, there is a vast difference in income even within the Town. Not only is there a huge difference in income but the effect of the recession is significantly different between the six zip codes. This is an important attribute that can be easily seen visually in the retail composition on Greenwich Avenue where we see very high-end retailers next to lower-price merchants. This is precisely the data that national chains focus on when sitting new locations.

The steep slopes seen in the upper two zip codes illustrate the volatility and the range at the higher income categories in times of economic turbulence. The drop in AGI is significant at the upper income levels compared to the bottom 4 levels. The effect on consumption from such a relative drop in income can be greater and over a longer period of time. Discretionary, non-essential, purchases will be reduced over a longer period of time.



Figure 7: Adjusted Gross Income Year and ZipCode (IRS SOI Tables, www.irs.gov)

[The AGI was graphed (rather than taxable income or disposal income) based on the data availability of specific line-items over the time period.]



Figure 8: Adjusted Gross Income Year and ZipCode (IRS SOI Tables, www.irs.gov)

Home Ownership and Home Occupancy

Home ownership is comparable in the Town of Greenwich with Fairfield County or the State at 67%; however, home occupancy is noticeably lower in 2010 from 2000 and vacancies are higher. Unoccupied homes can be a function of a longer sales cycle or an owner with multiple homes. Based on the available statistics, it is unclear as to what percentage of the population's Greenwich home is a primary or secondary residence. The only hint is given through the occupancy rate which has decreased from 95% to 91% and the vacancy rate which has increased from 5.2% to 8.8%. This is important for the retail corridor where there is a significant presence of home décor shops. Furthermore, what percentage of time does an owner reside in Greenwich who owns many homes and spends significant time away from Greenwich Avenue, frequent the retail corridor? Examples of such patterning become the 'snowbirds' who leave for the winter months or those who flock to their summer beach houses for July and August. This is an important variable for the retail community and can factor into their business model just as much as a holiday season. It adds to the cyclicality of the retail pattern which was evident in our discussions. Retailers factor this seasonality into their overall budgets, knowing that key months will have to compensate for inactivity at other times.

Another effect of this primary/secondary housing factor can be seen in the Town's vacancy rates. Greenwich's vacancy rate is twice the County and State rates' and appears tied to a few town-specific patterns. Wealth characteristics tend to include the ownership of multiple homes, which probably triggers vacancies. Also, vacancy can be tied to a longer sales period for higher end houses. Both home occupancy and home vacancies lead to lower consumer demand which can be reflected in the retail market.

Home Prices and Units Sold

Home prices area also a strong indicator of economic strength and will eventually translate into retail



sales. Market data collected and analyzed follows national economic patterns with both housing prices and housing units decreasing post national events including 9/11 and the recession in 2008.

Neither the unit nor price levels have returned to their prior highs an indication of how long the aftermath of such events can be. The number of housing units peaked in 2004 with the low in first quarter 2009. There is a clear hesitancy in mak-

Figure 9: Housing Units and Occupancy (US Census)

ing larger purchases and/or financial decisions in such periods of uncertainty. Similarly, Average Quarterly Market Pricing shows prices peaking in 2007 with values still below the peak in 2013. A rebound is occurring, albeit slowly. The increase in financial regulation that includes some capping of wages in the financial industry and restructuring compensation payments, adds tentativeness to the housing market.

Housing activity, both number of units and market prices, is visible in Downtown Greenwich via the many home décor and design shops. Such businesses thrive in an environment with household formation and sales activity. Lower wages leading to lower re-sales should impact all the home related categories.

The Employment Base – Business Trends

Since the 1950's when Greenwich encouraged the development of selected larger commercial office buildings, there has been a corporate presence in the Downtown. With over 1,000,000 sq. ft. of commercial space in the area, the impact of this employment base is meaningful when understanding employees as prospective consumers. As earlier noted, Greenwich encouraged large corporate entities with the construction of various buildings in the corridor. For a period of time, Greenwich and Stamford were known for the number of corporate headquarters; probably a function of self-selection by executive managements to whom working close to home was appealing. Today, Stamford still maintains a large corporate presence, but Greenwich less so. Financial firms, most notably hedge funds have replaced the larger entities downtown. These hedge funds define the professional environment today.

Overall business trends are important in understanding the retail mix as the employees add an important factor in the retail dynamic. Employees are daytime consumers of the retail environment in Greenwich and they help define the mix in their consumer demand. We can evaluate their impact by understanding the number of businesses in the area, the number of employees at these businesses and the wages paid to this group.

Change in Number of Establishment	ts in Greenwich for Selected NAICS Number of Establishments			
	2000	2010	%Chg.	
Finance and Insurance	269	331	23%	
Real Estate and Leasing	98	83	-9%	
Professional, Scientific & Technical Services	246	176	-28%	
Management of companies and enterprises	44	23	-48%	
Admin, support, waste mgmt, remediation services	105	78	-26%	
Total for all sectors	1,726	1,569	-9%	
Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics 2000, 2010				

Table 2







As shown on Figure 12, the number of entities and employment in the community totals according to Bureau of Labor Statistics has decreased. The number of establishments in the 06830 zip code has declined from 1,726 to 1,569 or 9%. The largest percent decreases have been in the industry classifications of 'Management of Companies' another name for a large conglomerate.

Using the same data source, the number of employees in the 06830 zip code is approximately 7,740 less in 2010 than in 2000. The biggest difference in employees can be attributed to the relocation of 2 larger employers to areas northeast of Greenwich where the cost of living is less, the commute shorter and the labor pool larger. The larger County dynamics are evident in the comparative data for Fairfield County.

Using the Bureau of Labor Statistics employee numbers in zip code 06830 the number of employees decreased from 26,963 to 19,223 or 29% over the decade. This large decrease is important in analyzing the overall retail composition as such a large change will have significant impact on retail consumption by employees.

Analyzing the Bureau of Labor Statistics Data annual data, the change over time illustrates noticeable changes post 9/11 and the financial recession of 2008. What is evident is that there is an elongated effect to this process. Business related impacts such as employment do not change overnight but rather over a longer period. Businesses stay open until their lease is up. The number of employees may remain in place until an analysis can be made. This slow decline highlights the time period necessary to make the business changes – location and staffing. Thus effects generated from specific events may take time to show their effects and recovery may take significantly more time.

Separately, the firms that replace those that have left have been smaller firms with fewer employees. There appears to be a continuous influx of financial services firms; however, the increase in these firms does not translate into the same number of employees as the larger corporate interests of the past.

Another way to confirm and/or analyze the employment trends is to examine the commuting trends. The Connecticut Economic Resource Center (CERC) provides commuting data of commuter movement in and out of Greenwich from other Connecticut communities. Adding in an additional 870 New York commuters via MetroNorth (based on Regional Plan Associates data) brings the total inflows to 18,600. Although this number excludes employees driving to work in Greenwich from points south, this number reconciles with the Bureau of Labor Statistics employment picture.



Figure 12: Annual Wages and Number of Establishments 1999 - 2011 (Bureau of Labor Statistics)

The largest single employer in Greenwich today is the Town of Government with close to 2,400 employees. Fifty-nine percentage of the total is tied to the Town's school district. The Town's non-school departments are divided for budgetary purposes and represent 32% in the General Fund and 9% in the Other Funds category. Additional employment information is included in the Appendix. The aforementioned statistics – population, age, education, income, housing ownership, home pricing and the Town's employment base – contribute to the Downtown retail environment. These metrics are important in understanding the dynamics that drive the daily population downtown to shop. The retail environment in Down-

town Greenwich is a reflection of its residents, its employment base and its local policy decisions. But just as important are consumer demands within the larger regional and national economic cycles. What the primary data analysis examines, and seeks to understand, are the dynamics between these forces over a set period of time upon the retail core. Through better understanding of the nuances that are effecting the retail corridor better policy decisions can be developed to sustain and even enhance vibrancy in the Central Business District.

Property Owners Merchants Corporate Interests

Residents Workers Visitors

Research Data and Methodology

This study, of the retail composition of Greenwich Avenue, examines the current composition (via frequencies or counts) and character of retail in 2013 and compares it to 2000, 2005 and 2010 to better understand corridor change and continuity. It combines the secondary data described before including demographic measures, income data, real estate data, and employment data, with field work inventories in order to examine the retail evolution by type and ownership to understand the dynamics driving the changes on the "face" of Greenwich Avenue. This is primarily a frequency and spatial analysis overlayed with socio-economic factors.

Site Area

This study focuses on Downtown Greenwich that is also defined as the Central Business District or (CBD). The geographic area is predominately in the CGBR and CGB but the boundaries have been chosen by observation. Streets where storefront retail is located and is in close relationship with Greenwich Avenue (the Main Street). Greenwich Avenue has various cross streets and all of these cross streets have been included as well.

Importantly, the defined retail area has not expanded physically over the 13 years and a change in number of retail establishments is a reconfiguration of existing footprints.



Figure 13: Greenwich Avenue Corridor (Esri, Town of Greenwich)

Retail Store Analysis

This study will first analyze secondary retail data for the Greenwich Avenue corridor, for the years 2000, 2005 and 2010, obtained through ReferenceUSA, a product of InfoGroup. ReferenceUSA data will be analyzed for business type, business openings and closings and total counts by classification. Local community based retail data will be obtained through archival records from the Plan of Conservation and Development Committee Reports for the years 2010, 2011, and the follow-up reports of 2012 and 2013. These data sources are observed data and include store detail and vacancies.

Each street-level retail business will be identified, classified and geo-coded. Geospatial analysis will be completed to identify nearest neighbor patterning and agglomeration by type. Absolute and relative percentages will be calculated at various "snapshot" points.

Retail Data – Collected and Observed

This study focuses on Greenwich Downtown retail from a consumer point of view – examining establishment counts by classifications and vacancies. It does not measure retail square footage for industry classifications. Data and time constraints do not allow for such examination. However, the customer can be local residents, employees, and visitors.

1. ReferenceUSA – Prior year data from ReferenceUSA was collected for the periods 2000, 2005 and 2010. Reference USA is a data resource that collects business data by geography and industry classification. All data utilized in this study is "verifiable" per ReferenceUSA standards. Total businesses for the 06830 zip code were downloaded and filtered by street address defined in the site description.

2. Observed Data – Physical counts of the retail corridor, taken on June 30th of the years 2010, 2011, 2012, and 2013 were collected and sorted as a byproduct for the Plan of Conservation and Development's Down-town Planning Committee work. This data set includes the name, type, and street location.

Establishment data from ReferenceUSA for the periods 2000, 2005, and 2010 were collected, sorted and matched to addresses within the geographic study area. Businesses were then divided into first floor retail and second floor commercial. First floor retail data was geocoded and sorted by NAICS to establish counts at each break period. Observed establishment data for the years 2010, 2011, 2012, and 2013 was coded and geocoded as well for vacancy analysis. Table 3 summarizes the data collected from Reference USA and filtered to the targeted site area.

Retail Data Collected By Source and Period (# of establishments)							
Source	Reference	Reference	Reference	Observed	Observed		
	USA	USA	USA				
Year	2000	2005	2010	2010	2013		
Total Reference USA	2,314	2,778	3,097	N/A	N/A		
Reference USA Site Active	1,034	1,050	1,126	X	X		
Downtown Observed	X	Х	х	461	572		
First Floor Retail	383	423	414	407	416		

Table 3

Source: Reference USA, Observed Data

Research Limitations

There were various research limitations in working with the data that quickly became apparent and needed to be reconciled before completing the final analysis. This section discusses some of these factors.

1. Business Closures and Vacancies – Data collected through observation is straightforward for the viewer. Data collected through Reference USA data represents verifiable businesses and vacancies are not identified. Thus the Reference USA total for a period will not represent all possible street locations. Some locations may be vacant and others may have a business in which the data collector could not verify the business. Since this distinction is not evident in data prepared, there was no attempt to estimate the vacancies. Also, in the Reference USA there could be two establishments listed for the same street address as the raw data was a aggregation for the entire year i.e., Restaurant A closes and Restaurant B opens in the same location.

2. Defining Establishment – The Reference USA data contains establishments based on self-identification and employment types in various professions can skew establishment counts. For example, Reference USA lists each physician at Greenwich Hospital as an establishment or a realtors' office counts each individual broker as an establishment. This study treats a realty office as one establishment and the hospital as another.

3. Physical Issues in Identification - Matching street addresses is not always as clean as it would appear. Reference USA data occasionally would provide a street address that was a digit or two off. Business names

and classifications would agree but the street number would be off. Sometimes retail spaces would be aggregated or divided to accommodate a new space. This could trigger a change in street number and making the natural match in space not apparent.

4. Coding and Database Issues – Industry NAICS codes are determined by their business owners and therefore self-identified. This results in subtle differences in classification; for example, a baking establishment may be coded as a bakery retailer, manufacturer and/or a distributor.

5. Collection Start Date – The number of entities of the first period was noticeably less than the subsequent periods. Reference USA data is only available starting in the late 1990's. Given the researcher's familiarity with the area, the omission of various businesses in 2000 when they were clearly located in the area (and they are listed in the 2005 data) highlights the issues of initial data collection.

This study starts with all the known street addresses and essentially works backwards, to identify the retail in a specific location. Thus, missing data in the ReferenceUSA data source is easily identifiable and can be remedied.

Land Use Survey

Regulatory land use zoning changes within the Central Business District (CBD) were reviewed for changes. Zoning changes such as liquor licensing and outdoor dining in suburban environments have been known to change downtown retail composition. Greenwich has toyed with these regulations albeit slowly. Outdoor dining has been permitted with various restrictions such as time and location. The 400' foot limitation on establishments serving alcohol combined with the fact that an alcohol permit is tied to the property location



Figure 14: Greenwich Avenue Zoning (Esri, Town of Greenwich)

and cannot be transferred is an example where local zoning has had significant impact on retail. Similarly, an influx in bank branches can ignite a community. Zoning changes related to the Central Business District will be collected and evaluated through a review of publicly available Planning and Zoning Commission Meeting Agendas.

Zoning in the Downtown area consists of two zones

1. CGB – Central Greenwich Business

2. CGBR – Central Greenwich Business Retail which is the zone where Greenwich Avenue is located.

3. HO – The HO designation afterward signifies a Historic Overlay.

Interviews

During the course of this study, interviews were conducted with various actors contributing to the Greenwich Avenue CBD district. Interviews were held with planning officials, elected officials, business owners, property owners and organizations with a community and economic development focus.

Interviews with various community actors were completed to understand current processes, regulations, and current topics of contention and to complement the findings of the data. The interviewees can be divided into four types:

1. Elected Officials (i.e., First Selectman, RTM members)

2. Appointed Officials (Planning and Zoning Commission Members, Architectural Review Committee Chair)

3. Department Heads (i.e., Director of the Planning Department)

4. Property Owners (within the defined geographic area)

Questions asked and discussed centered on long-term planning in Greenwich, annual budgeting considerations, assessment and mill rate expectations, local zoning efforts and impacts of zoning regulations within the period studied. Interviewees channeled the discussion to topics such as the organizational structure in the Town's planning and development, the reactive nature of current zoning regulations, the tension between business and local government, the unwieldy structure of the Town's government and flat organization structure.

Importantly, for this study there is no formal local economic development plan during the period 2000– 2013. Blessed with a sizable assessor's list and a low mill rate in comparison to neighboring communities, Greenwich's elected officials and financial boards concentrate on the distribution of the annual budget. The long-term organic growth of the assessor's list has in many ways allowed complacency on understanding the factors behind this revenue model. With over 91% of the assessor's grand list valued on residential property values, lower market values tested individual assessments.

Information gleaned in these conversations is incorporated within topics covered in this report. A list of Interviews which were conducted with this study is included in the Appendix.

Local Zoning and Its Impacts

The Planning and Zoning Commission has directed its efforts on zoning. It is largely a reactive department that addresses issues, changes, and policy in a reactive manner rather than a proactive manner. Based on numerous interviews, this assumption was largely agreed upon. Planning was only addressed through the Plan of Conservation and Development, a state of CT mandate that is required every 10 years. Although this activity is both lengthy and expensive (in both time and money) its end result includes visionary goals without specific objectives. Creating substantive objectives appears to generate a plethora of individual perspectives and interests igniting a firestorm.

A list of zoning changes that impact the Central Business District and were implemented during the 2000 – 2013 time period is included in the Appendix. They include changes such as 1) defining different use types and 2) defining parking for different uses. Changing zoning definitions centers around personal care and fitness related use classifications. Increased demand in personal fitness, or instructor-led group fitness places intense parking demands The zoning terminology wrestles with whether the number of students or the number of (exercise) machines matter and which to prioritize.

Understanding the Surrounding Communities

Greenwich is located between the City of Stamford CT and the City of Port Chester NY. Stamford has a financial focus and has catered to the larger financial firms who desire a large footprint and easy access to rail and the highway. Stamford's retail mix contains a large percentage of the national chain stores and Big Box concepts. Stamford also provides Greenwich commercial resources that Greenwich would prefer not to have within its geographic area or has simply priced out. Information technology, light industrial commercial and back office support have been moving from the few commercial areas left in Greenwich to Stamford's south and west ends. Port Chester, located to the southeast and over the CT border in NY State, is well known for its ethnic diversity, plethora of restaurants, multiplex movie theater and Big-Box retail. It too provides Greenwich with business concepts that are too pricey for Greenwich's core or require larger footprints.

Beyond Stamford and Port Chester, smaller communities like Darien (CT), New Canaan (CT), Rye and Bedford (NY) surround Greenwich. Each of these communities has defined Downtown retail, but none of them have the comparable geographic size as Greenwich, nor its income mix. In an effort to understand the frequencies and overall composition to other communities, this study selects two areas for a cursory review of their retail composition: the Town of Westport, CT and the City of Rye, NY. Although the depth of the analysis was not comparative (no street analysis, nor geospatial inferences), it provides comparative counts or frequencies in communities whose make-up is similar in income, proximity to transportation and environmental resources. Given the differences in geographic area, and population, this comparison was normalized.

Place-making, Image and Sustainable Commerce

Main Street corridors are both a physical reality and an image. 'Main Streets' hold both associations and aspirations. They reflect not only a community's current composition, but the aspirations of a community.

In urban planning practice today there is a renewed emphasis on people and place making; encouraging vibrancy by increasing density, creating people-friendly places and promoting mixed use development. In this process of place making, the image of a Main Street becomes important. When collecting community input, planners will invariably hear a sense of nostalgia as residents fondly remember places they frequented long ago and are still longing for. Regardless of how poignant these expressions may be, they vary by individual and need context and interpretation.

If the downtown corridor is a product of its demographics and distinct expression of its residents, workers and merchants then change should be visible. It will be not only an expression of the Town's residents but also of of workers and of visitors on the demand side and business owners, property owners, corporate interests and policy makers on the supply side. These parties with their seemingly disparate interests and businesses may have their own objectives and may not necessarily align and can even conflict.

It is important for planners to understand retail realities and not dwell on ideas that are either outdated or

nor feasible. Sustainable retail needs to be encouraged. Nostalgia hints of uses one expects to find in a downtown such as the post office, the barber, the beauty salon, the grocer, the baker and a few other sundry types. But are these businesses and their classifications themselves changing? Can these businesses thrive within the economic demands in a particular local market environment? Are store openings and closings a function of individual business economics or a change in the overall delivery or distribution of a classification itself?

A starting point in this process may be in collecting and assessing quantifiable data to support qualitative decision-making. Locational differences make a single prototypical scheme not meaningful. But establishing a base analysis and monitoring the change over time of a specific geographic area will illustrate retail transitions that may need to be addressed on either a policy or a holistic level. Future directives encouraging sustainable commerce need to include flexibility to adapt to fast-paced technology changes. By establishing this basis, policymakers can direct incentives and create zoning regulations that support longer-term sustainable retail while balancing conflicting interests. Downtown vibrancy is not built on one single interest group and neither should planning for it.
Findings – Overall Changes in Retail Composition

The retail composition during the period 2000-2013 changed with growth in service-related establishments and declines in product-related establishments declining. Likewise, the period found noticeable increases in chains in the early period and reaching a plateau of around 30%. The number of retail chains actually declined based on empirical data in the 2012 to 2013 time period. Classifications such as booksellers, music sellers and other businesses affected by changing technologies shrank as delivery mechanisms for these products significantly changed. In contrast, these same technology changes spawned new retail in classifications that included phones, computers, and electronic readers. Over the period, retail banks were capped within the Central Business District by the local planning and zoning board as their doubling in numbers brought on a citizen's revolt. Increased regulations put an abrupt stop to additional locations but placed use classifications on existing parcels which in turn can result in long vacancies when landowners wait longer periods while locating similar use types.

Active Businesses in the Corridor By Year and Source							
Source	Reference USA	Reference USA	Observed	Observed			
Year	2000	2005	2010	2013			
Active	382	423	368	368			
Vacancies	0	0	39	49			
Total	382	423	407	417			

Table 4

Source: Reference USA, Observed Data

Personal care and exercise establishments surged within the CBGR in reaction to higher parking requirements outside the CBGR; today we find a greater number of these personal care businesses in the CBGR where there is no parking requirement. The Planning Board is currently discussing the definitions of these personal services, the first step in regulating the number of these businesses within the zone. Restaurants in the CBD fluctuated in response to the recession, with the number of establishments lower in 2013 than in 2000.

Selected NAICS as Percentage of Total Active Businesses

NAICS Code	Description	2000 Reference USA	2005 Reference USA	2010 Observed	2013 Observed
311	Bakeries	1%	1%	1%	1%
323	Printing Related	2%	0%	0%	0%
441	Car Dealers	1%	2%	1%	2%
442	Furniture	4%	5%	4%	4%
445	Supermarkets and Other Grocery	4%	4%	3%	3%
446	Pharmacies and Drugstores	2%	2%	2%	2%
447	Gasoline Stations	1%	1%	1%	0%
448	Clothing Stores, Sporting Goods, Jewelry, Luggage	15%	19%	20%	21%
451	Sporting Goods Stores	5%	4%	4%	3%
453	Florists, Pet Stores, Tobacco and Other Nov- elty	13%	10%	8%	9%
512	Theaters	1%	0%	0%	0%
522	Commercial and Savings Banks	3%	3%	5%	4%
531	Real Estate Brokerage	2%	2%	2%	2%
611	Other School & Instruction	2%	2%	2%	3%
722	Restaurants, Drinking Places	14%	13%	12%	11%
812	Barber, Beauty Salons, Nail Salons, Dry Cleaners	10%	11%	11%	12%
	Vacancies	0%	0%	10%	12%
	All Other Combined	21%	21%	14%	10%
	Active Businesses	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Reference USA, Observed Data

What is apparent in Greenwich is that zoning changes in the Central Business District is a product of a few targeted zoning changes. In each situation, there is usually a significant increase in a specific use type or trend, a targeted or defined regulation to address the trend, and then another reaction as the businesses modified their business plans in reaction to the recently revised regulation.

Dynamic Changes Underneath Stable Totals

The findings of this study are divided into sub-sections, beginning with larger retail trends and analysis (overall counts, retail type and retail chains). Thereafter, retail trends in targeted industry classification groups are discussed. For each topic, classification or trend, the results are illustrated in both tabular and graphical form. Data for 2000 and 2005 are from ReferenceUSA. Data for 2010 and 2013 are from direct observation. Data for 2010 was obtained from ReferenceUSA; although the results are similar, observed data contained vacancies, which was not available from the secondary data source, and therefore the observed data is utilized for Year 2010.

For each of these data points, the entities were coded 'Product' or 'Service', Chain Store (National or Regional) and by location (1st floor Retail or 2nd floor Retail). The following tables summarize the percentage for each three-digit level NAICS code focusing on different characteristics.

This same data is shown on a normalized basis. We highlight 5 NAICS classifications which represent either significant changes in absolute numbers or a percentage change of all active retail. We anticipated seeing numbers, or frequencies, fluctuate within a set range for a given type. However, this was not the case for particular uses which we will further discuss.

A significant change within the main three-digit categories is in the Clothing sector. In 2013, clothing represented 21% of retail establishments, up from 15%. This contrasts with categories such as Beauty and Barber and Banks which have remained within a tight range over the 13 years. Contrary to anecdotes, there have not been an "invasion" of banks on the Avenue; rather the constant opening and closing of bank branches along the Avenue gives the impression that there are more banks, relative to the total, than in 2000. The survivorship of the same bank in the same location (a mere 2) highlights the constant state of change within the category. Similarly, beauty, barber and personal service also remain within a narrow percentage.

What are far more illustrative are the changes within categories. Highlighting various key categories, our

2013 Retail Composition By Selected NAICS

- Bakeries
- Printing Related
- Car Dealers
- Furniture
- Supermarkets & Grocery
- Pharmacies & Drugstores
- Gasoline Stations
- Clothing Stores & Other
- Sporting Goods
- Florists, Pet Stores, etc.
- Theatres
- Banks
- Real Estate Brokerage
- Other Instruction
- Restaurants, Drinking Places
- Barber & Beauty Salons
- All Other



Figure 15: Distribution of 2013 Retail Establishments By Type (Source: Reference USA, Observed

report summarizes larger trends and then narrows down into industry classifications. Within each subtopic, commentary includes both numeric and spatial analysis, where appropriate.

The following map illustrates the spatial location within the CBD. Although the map is hardly 'readable' it is shown here to illustrate the density within the site.

Product versus Service Establishments

Over the past 15 years, the local retail market has altered in mix with product based retailers shrinking and service-based retailers gaining. The explosion of the Internet as a retail option and the changing distribution processes of various industries (i.e., books, music, etc.) reduce the need for local retail presence in those categories.

Calculating the Product and Service ratios and excluding the vacancies, results in

Source	ReferenceUSA	ReferenceUSA	Observed	Observed
Year	2000	2005	2010	2013
Product	239	263	217	210
Service	143	160	151	158
Vacancies	0	0	39	49
Total	382	423	407	417
Product/(P&S)	63%	62%	59%	57%
Service/ (P&S)	37%	38%	41%	43%

Table 6

Source: Reference USA, Observed Data

a decline of approximately 5% in product based establishments over the 2005 – 2013 time periods. The change in product to service is a direction for traditional brick and mortar businesses who need to offer customers an element that they cannot purchase online. The product sold may be the same, but the service becomes the unique and added feature.

Chain Stores vs. Independents

The presence of chain stores continues to grow in recent year, but not at the speed of growth in the period 2000-2005. Long-time locals largely distain chain stores and focus on the pressure upon independents. At the same time, chain stores represent stability for landlords who see a larger corporate tenant with deep pockets and willingness to invest in store build-out. Store build outs require time and money and a significant level of cooperation between property and business owner. Lower time periods required for the regulatory process, permitting and application, and space build-out necessitate prospective business tenants with long time horizons and deep pockets. In discussions with owners, it is apparent that an A+ tenant is always associated with a larger organization. As shown in the table, chains represented 17% of the stores in 2000 and have now risen to 27%.

Important in understanding the chain mix is the balance between national chain and regional chain. There are many smaller, regional chains which represent a noticeable percentage of the retail analyzed. National chains are evident in the banking sector and food sectors, but regional chains show traction in beauty, fitness, and specialty food. The small chain (which is not seen as a "chain" by the customer) is the expansion of a successful independent.

Chain Stores-National vs. Regional By Year and Source						
	Reference USA	Reference USA	Observed	Observed	Survivors	
Year	2000	2005	2010	2013		
Chain	65	87	122	113	26	
% of Total	17%	21%	30%	27%	20	
National	46	61	97	99	20	
Regional	19	26	25	14	6	

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Source: Reference USA, Observed Data

Selective Retail Types Show Noticeable Shifts

Technology is driving many retail changes from the products and services themselves, to the distribution channel and the experience itself. These trends are apparent when analyzing specific categories. Within these categories, there is little local regulation and larger market forces are driving the changes. These changes are discussed in three, broad, directional topics:

The Decliners - Book Stores, Movies & Music

The digital age and the tremendous success of Amazon – first as a book seller and then as a seller of everything else – has placed enormous pressure on the book industry to reinvent itself. Both the change in delivery and distribution are affecting the traditional business model. The success of the Kindle and other electronic readers has changed the medium so fast that even stores that focused on specialty product that they believed was protected from the digital format, are having difficulty. This change is evident in Greenwich by the shrinkage in booksellers from 3 to 1. Today, Greenwich's single bookstore targets genres such as young children's books, books for teens, and coffee table picture editions; each of these genres lagged in converting to the digital format.

The Decliners							
Source	Reference USA	Reference USA	Observed	Observed	Survivors		
Year	2000	2005	2010	2013			
Books and Music	3	2	1	1	1		
Music	1	0	0	0	0		
Movie Theatres	2	1	1	1	1		

Table 8

Source: Reference USA, Observed Data

This delivery change is apparent in the music industry, where the Apple Ipod has transformed music listening, as we know it. Music morphed into a direct distribution model with the advent of the MP3 player, the Ipod and the Internet. Today, the only music distribution "retailer" is Apple, selling the product that allows one to download the music. The video store concept, which grew exponentially on a national level 20 years ago through a membership model had 2 locations in downtown in 2000. Today the delivery of video is through Internet based services such as Netflix, at the local grocery store via the "Big Red Box" or the Greenwich Library.

The Adaptors - Cell Phones, Shipping

The ubiquitous cell phone initially required a local outlet for purchase and follow-up service. The network providers are important retail locations for not only the product itself but an important image for customer who sees the cell phone providers as key to their daily activities. These operators have deep pockets and desire prime locations, but the changing technologies, acquisition activity and the next generation of products are first and foremost the reason we see change at the local level. Although there continues to be two cellular providers, neither is a survivor.

The Adaptors							
Source	Reference USA	Reference USA	Observed	Observed	Survivors		
Year	2000	2005	2010	2013			
Cell Phone Only	1	2	2	2	0		
Stationery & Print Services	2	2	2	2	1		
Postage and Shipping	3	2	2	2	1		

Table 9

Source: Reference USA, Observed Data

Similar trends are seen in printing and postage services. Printing documents and stationery related products have moved to the digital environment. Document production is now accomplished in house print capabilities. Postage services have evolved whether through the US Post Office, the overnight delivery services or package delivery. In many instances, the services provided by either of these classifications have merged and the new classification combines both printing and postage.

Stable Forces with Little Change – Pharmacies & Drugstores

The number of supermarkets and drugstores are stable over the period with only minor changes, and many of those changes can be accounted for in a change of code highlighting. Other food related categories with distinct NAICS codes under manufacturing and distribution such as bakeries shown below also remained stable.

Stable Forces - Supermarkets and Drugstores							
Source	Reference USA	Reference USA	Observed	Observed	Survivors		
Year	2000	2005	2010	2013			
Supermarkets	5	4	4	4	4		
Drugstores	6	8	8	8	3		
Bakeries	4	2	4	4	2		

Table 10

Source: Reference USA, Observed Data

What has changed during the period studied is the type of product distributed through these formats. Drugstores today are more full-service convenience. In Greenwich, where the geographic area and lot sizes are set, existing supermarkets locked into the limited number of larger footprints. There is currently no footprint available for another larger grocery store footprint and due to limited delivery access landlords are not interested in adding specialty grocery along the Avenue. The changes above in the Supermarket category are more a reflection of the company's self- identification rather than a new store or location.

The Image Quotient

With affluence and image there comes associated retail. Jewelry stores and luggage stores category are a stable force on Greenwich Avenue with the numbers and the locations remaining the same. Most towns can possibly hold one jewelry store, if that. Independent jewelry stores are rare, as large chains have become synonymous across the country. Additionally, the jewelry stores are clustered in the upper half of the Avenue.

Discretionary Goods - The Image Quotient						
Source	Reference	Reference	Observed	Observed	Survivors	
	USA	USA				
Year	2000	2005	2010	2013		
Jewelry and Luggage	13	12	13	14	5	
Home Decor	18	17	18	17	4	

Source: Reference USA, Observed Data

The decorations of the home, non-discretionary stores that cater to home design are well represented on the Avenue through the home of home decorating shops. This is illustrated in the number of home decorating, furniture, and antique shops. Home based product and service is clustered at the top of the Avenue on East and West Putnam Avenue. Thematic clustering in retail works when there is a critical mass. These few blocks are currently set up to attract the new homeowner with selected resources for one-stop shopping. The map below highlights the agglomeration of home décor related entities on the top of the Avenue along East and West Putnam Avenue becoming a design mecca.

Changes Driven By Local Zoning Regulations

Local zoning changes and their influence is felt in the following business categories: banks, beauty-related, personal services and alcohol-related. In these categories, zoning impact can be seen via 1) local regulation adopted since 2000, 2) discussion for future changes, or 3) permitting that is seeped in history. These zoning related impacts are discussed by retail classification type.

Banks

Banks are the most visible national chain "store". They are considered anchor institutions, but their frequent relocations and intense infiltration within the Central Business District has created a backlash. The national banks are drawn to Greenwich for its affluent customer base. Property-owners find their deep pockets, long time horizons and the ability to whether economic turn an attraction. Retail branch programs are important part of locational strategy and banks may move frequently as they try to find the right location. During the early 2000 there was a clear impetus to blanket the community by banking instituions to by providing a bank or an ATM machine

on every corner.

Banks							
Source	Reference USA	Reference USA	Observed	Observed	Survivors		
Year	2000	2005	2010	2013			
Banks	11	13	19	18	2		

Source: Reference USA, Observed Data

The number of banks in Greenwich doubled within the study area between 2000 and 2010 and may have increased more, but local zoning regulation put a stop to the further proliferation in 2010. The Planning and Zoning Commission added regulation to limit future banks on the Avenue. (Regulation 6-103.1B, 10/12/2010) No more banks can be opened on the Avenue. Locations where there is currently a bank can stay a bank; however, if the location changes to another use category, it cannot revert later to a bank location. Although this zoning change halted the number of banks, it did lead to unintended consequences as property owners who desire to keep the use classification are now willing to let a space stay vacant for longer periods of time while attracting another bank tenant. Furthermore, the zoning changes in the CBGR have given rise to an increase in banks in the CBG, the perimeter ring, The relatively low survivorship for banks is largely a function of bank mergers during this period. Many locations have remained banks throughout this period, albeit different bank.

Exercise & Fitness

The heightened interest in exercise – particularly group exercise classes is seen in a doubling of such establishments in the Downtown. This increase in number of establishments is currently a hot topic of discussion in Greenwich due to the impact such businesses have on parking. In 2010, the Town of Greenwich began to redefine such uses and the parking necessary for them; one parking space is required for each exercise station or exercise machine outside the CBD. This reversed the trend for exercise establishments to be outside the CBD as the parking requirements on Greenwich Avenue are less stringent than outside the CBD. However, the Department of Planning and Zoning continues to modify both the requirements and the definitions, as nuances within the category are made evident. Group classes of 40 students on 40 machines (i.e., cycling studios) have different parking demands than a full-service exercise facility with an array of machines.

Exercise & Fitness							
Source	Reference USA	Reference USA	Observed	Observed	Survivors		
Year	2000	2005	2010	2013			
Instructor Led Activity	7	8	9	12	3		
Group Recreation	2	3	2	1	1		

Source: Reference USA, Observed Data

Beauty

The focus on personal service, particularly seen in the growing popularity of nails salons and beauty salons has been another area where there are zoning changes. Beauty salons continue to become more specific in their of-ferings such as color services, blow-drying services, each with different price points. Nail salons, catering to both men and women, are increasing their stations and hours. The recent increase in nail salons, especially in the CGBR zone where parking is not required has generated increased complaints by adjacent storekeepers. This increase in salons within this zone was generated by the fact that parking requirements for nail salons have increased to two parking spaces per seat outside the zone.

Table 14

Personal Service Beauty and Barber Related							
Source	Reference USA	Reference USA	Observed	Observed	Survivors		
Year	2000	2005	2010	2013			
Personal Service	39	48	43	51	5		

Source: Reference USA, Observed Data

Restaurants

Restaurant and other food service establishments have declined over the period from a peak in 2005 – pre-recession levels. There are differences between restaurants serving beer and wine, liquor or no-liquor. Long-standing local regulation requires a 400-foot distance requirement between establishments offering beer and wine. It is the property itself to which the liquor or beer and wine license is tied. This regulation was written with intent to limit noise and late night activity on the Main street. In the 1960's, there were an abundance of bars in the lower section of the Avenue and these drinking establishments were allowed to retain their liquor licenses if they converted to full-service food establishments. Thus, this section of Greenwich Avenue has a distinct cluster of restaurants whereas the rest of the Avenue does not. Liquor and/or wine and beer licenses cannot be transferred to other lots. Therefore, there has been almost no change in where full-service restaurants with permits to sell alcohol are located. The table highlights the number of establishments by industry classifications and then those same counts categorized by whether they offer liquor and or beer and wine.

	Restauran	t and Food Se	rvice Related		
Source	Reference USA	Reference USA	Observed	Observed	Survivors
Year	2000	2005	2010	2013	
Full Service Restaurants	29	44	37	35	7
Specialty Food and Bev.	13	8	10	7	5
Drinking Establishments	10	6	4	3	4
Total	53	58	51	45	16
Alcohol Serving Restaurants Downtown (CBGR & CBG)	29	24	26	23	6
Permits in CBGR					
Restaurant Liquor - LIR				18	
Restaurant Wine & Beer				7	
Cafe Liquor - LCA				4	

Table	15
Tavi	

Source: Reference USA, Observed Data, Town of Greenwich

The unintended consequences of the local alcohol regulation is that the property owner has a unique benefit in maintaining the use classification as new concepts need to go into existing locations with the licenses. This gives the property owner a unique and valuable asset within the CBGR zone. And at the same time we see an increase in restaurants opening right outside the CBGR zone where these regulations do not exist.

Another observation that affected the restaurant counts during this period was the reconstruction of various buildings in the lower Greenwich Avenue area. During a 36 month time period, various larger buildings, which housed approximately 2-3 businesses each, were totally rebuilt. In particular, three beer and wine serving establishments located in parcels where the permits existed were taken "off line". In 2014, these three locations, and only these three locations with permits have reopened with a new restaurant. There is a clear ceiling on the number of full service restaurants within the CGBR tied directly to this zoning regulation.



Figure 16: Location of Establishments with Alcohol Permits (Source: Reference USA, Observed Data, ESRI, Town of Greenwich, CT)

Vacancies

Table 16

Due to the limitations of Reference USA in identifying vacancies during the 2000–2013 periods, this study includes data for vacancies for the 2010–2013 time frames when observed data is available. A vacancy for this study's purpose is a business location which is not active and open for business.

	Vacancies	or Empties*		
Source	Observed	Observed	Observed	Observed
Year	2010	2011	2012	2013
Vacancies	39	48	52	49
Source: Observed Data				

The trend of increasing vacancies, four years post the financial crisis is an interesting observation as it points to the fact that change in the retail composition will be delayed due to the contractual nature of physical space. The fall-out period of a retail concept driven largely by consumer demand will not necessarily be immediately felt in a community. Economic weakness will start off as cracks and only after a time period result in material change. Although there may be signs that the consumer is rebounding from the crisis, the actual observations display the fact that businesses are still adapting and modifying to a new economic and/or retail climate.

Process and Procedure

The application process, the interaction between numerous departments within the planning and zoning process and the selective engagement of various departments and commissions (depending on a project type) lengthens the process and increases the costs. The build out of a retail commercial space according to property owners continues to lengthen due to the complexity of the projects and the multiple actors who are engaged in the process. Time equals money in this scenario and according to one interviewee, an additional six months is warranted in the planning process.

Additionally, regulations are being tested and in some cases redefined. In the use categories such as nail salons, banks and personal fitness, these regulatory changes can abruptly change a business's objective. Parking requirements, regulatory changes and 'grandfathered' locations are a few of the important factors when selecting

a site in Greenwich.

The application cost is also becoming more prohibitive. The Town of Greenwich Planning and Zoning Department recommended that the cost of additional Town directed studies in larger, more complex, projects should be borne by the developer. (The developer always had to pay for such studies themselves, but not the Town's own review.) In 2010, the Town of Greenwich eliminated the Town's Traffic Engineer, in a cost-cutting program. Today, the department needs to hire outside consultants to review larger projects which is a drain on department resources. Property owners see this as a first step in requiring developers to cover all projects, regardless of size.

Comparative Communities 2013

Invariably, questions arise as to whether retail composition is similar in neighboring retail environments. Are the numbers of banks or the number of restaurants per capita a norm that can easily be seen in ratios in another community? Although a detailed study of this question is beyond the scope of this thesis, a limited review was

conducted to understand the general context. The two communities chosen were Rye NY and Westport, CT as their demographic attributes were commensurate with Greenwich. Additionally, they were both located on the MetroNorth New Haven transit line and situated directly on the Long Island Sound and considered a bedroom community to New York City.



Figure 17: NY Metropolitan Area, (Esri, Town of Greenwich, NYC DCP)

to the overall economic activity mix. Nor-

malizing the number of selected retail busi-

nesses by the residential population alone,

or the residential plus the employment mix

and the residential/workforce population is a

more comparative relationship as shown in

Table 17. The number of entities when divid-

ed by residential population seems greater in

Greenwich, but when the workforce is add-

ed to the denominator, the number of banks



These communities also have a measurable amount of employment based on the BLS data that contributes

Figure 18: Population and Employment Statistics.. (US Census, BLS)

and restaurants are less than in Westport on a per capita basis. In both comparisons, Rye has fewer banks or restaurants.

In Figure 19 which shows the compositional mix of retail, Greenwich has more clothing stores and other specialty stores than Westport or Rye. Greenwich Avenue becomes the outdoor mall equivalent with a greater

Number o	of Selected Busin	esses (Per 1,000)	
	Greenwich	Westport	Rye
Per Residential Population			
Banks	3.7	3.8	1.8
Restaurants	5.0	4.5	2.6
Personal Service	1.3	0.7	0.5
Per Residential and Employme	ent Population		
Banks	2.1	2.5	1.3

2.7

Source: Reference USA 2013

Restaurants

number of discretionary product types compared to Rye where there are fewer clothing and specialty shops.

What this cursory review and calculation highlights are that the local employment base is an important element in understanding downtown retail composition. Although a community demands various retail components for its residents first and foremost, its employment base adds an element of demand that needs to be un-

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derstood and appreciated in the planning process. There are many activities that employees do during their workday, such as going out to lunch or buying incidentals during the day that influence retail presence.



Select NAICS in Neighboring Communities

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Figure 19: Selected Retail NAICS in Neighboring Communities (Reference UA USA)

This type of consumer demand drives the retail composition and can be tremendously influential.

Although it is difficult to measure the impact of visitors to the Central Business District, (visitor as being defined as not a resident or an employee) it is noteworthy to mention that Greenwich's greater mix of classifications such as clothing and home décor make it a regional retail destination for specific categories. Clothing stores in Greenwich represent 28% of the total vs. 19% in Rye and 24% in Westport. Further studies to measure the regional draw and its impact are not the focus of this study but may be warranted.

Summary of Findings

The concept that a community can dictate the retail classifications that it desires is a fallacy in a capitalist society. However, the make-up of a community and its characteristics as measured by purchasing power, age, and education draw a certain retail in. Local zoning will impact the retail composition over shorter stretches in the name of parking or in reaction to personal interests. However, in the long run the mix will represent the local community, its employment mix and the visitors who frequent it. Regulating retail use usually results in unintended consequences which may or may not lead to desired retail patterning. The adage 'be careful what you wish for' is relevant in this scenario. Greenwich may want to preserve its small town charm, however, the market is leading the way with little direction from long-term policy.

Recommendations

Greenwich's central business district meets the needs of a large and diverse community. Its composition reflects that ever-changing mix of consumers that include not only its residents but also its employment base and its visitors. In engaging the community in its own town level planning and the required State of Connecticut Plan of Conservation and Development, decision-makers need to better understand the existing dynamics that drive its retail composition. In order to develop a more thorough and actionable vision, a retail assessment over time should be developed and implemented to establish a baseline that analyzes existing relationships, measures changes and assesses impacts. From such a baseline, developed by the Town Planning Staff, community engagement can start on the same footing. With the data at hand, decision-making will be clear and transparent to those affected. The initial baseline design can be easily updated once established and provide objective measures as a basis of long term visioning. The baseline needs to be updated on a regular interval to make it useful. Rather than becoming a time-stagnant document, the retail baseline can be used to measure past changes five years out and give a frame of reference for future changes.

Planning Staff should utilize the baseline retail to understand frequency and usage among diverse business types so that a more holistic approach can be used. Frequency relates directly to parking and traffic and the nature of their various uses need to be clearly understood. Rather than focus on reactive spot zoning that is focused on a narrow target, planning staff should understand the interrelationship between businesses and balance between those interests within the regulatory environment.

Planning staff that are focused on long-range development should maintain, analyze and share trend data and demographic metrics for the town and the region. This resource package can be the backbone for long range planning and the 10-year State required Plan of Conservation and Development. Such metrics include the following at a minimum: demographic statistics, workforce and commuter statistics, and retail changes over time. Understanding the peer communities are imperative as much of the dynamics i.e., chain stores and technology-oriented directives are influencing the neighboring communities as well and the relationships among the towns are important. Business and property owners are weighing locational decisions not only on the market potential of Greenwich, but also on the regional scale. This connection is integral in visioning, as much more planning will be addressed at a regional level in years to come. Planning and zoning as it is practiced today in Greenwich is handled as one process but should be addressed as two separate processes that require coordination and collaboration. Planning needs to address a longer time horizon and policy based objectives. Zoning needs to design the tools to accomplish long term planning and modify regulations where adjustments are needed. Today, zoning is generally targeted and reactive and not necessarily instituted in a holistic approach.

Community engagement is integral to the planning process but all the actors need to be well-versed participants to make the engagement both meaningful and productive. This is the double-edged sword of community participation; residents, businesses owners, property owners and developers are not necessarily interpreting the stated objectives in similar fashion. Community brings insight from the street level, but does not necessary understand the pre-existing regulations that influence the corridor.

Understanding the links between the workforce environment and the residential population needs to be understood, measured and appreciated for the impact it has. In particular, the workforce/visitor population cannot be ignored in suburban communities as it can offer stability in communities where many residents travel frequently and others (i.e., the snowbirds) move elsewhere for long periods of time. The noticeable changes in seasonal traffic and comments from business owners indicate significant shifts in profitability, which need to be built into the business owner's financial model. Sustainable retail requires understanding the dynamics of Downtown as it relates to many consumers who will offer integral perspectives to those participating and lead to a more productive and transparent result.

When community members gather to set goals for the future, they invariably refer to the Main Street they nostalgically remember. Planning for a community needs to respect those interests, but move the discussion forward from the reality of today to the vision of tomorrow. A more analytical understanding of the past and the present on a larger scale will provide a better foundation for such long-term visioning.

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Appendix

Interviews - In the course of this study various persons who are involved in land use were contacted. During the conversations, the following questions were asked:

Table 18			
Letter Sent to:	Affiliation with:	Position	Interview Date
Alyssa Keleshian	Property Owner	President	1/6/2014
Don Heller	Chairman - Greenwich Planning & Zoning Commission	Chair - Land Use	1/7/2014
Jeff Morgan	Property Owner	President	1/13/2014
John Blankley	Member - BET, Former Member of the RTM	Member	1/14/2014
Marci Murphy	Property Owner	President	1/20/2014
Margarita Alban	Member - Greenwich Planning & Zoning Commission	Commissioner	1/14/2014
Mary Lee Kiernan	Member - BET; Member - BET Budget Committee	Elected Official	1/8/2014
Peter Tesei	First Selectman - Town of Greenwich	First Selectman	1/15/2014
Steve Walko	CT State Legislature, former Chair of the BET	State Senator	1/29/2014
Diane Fox	Greenwich Planning & Zoning Department	Director	1/17/2014
Paul Pugliese	Chair - Greenwich Architectural Review Committee	Chair	1/15/2014
Peter Berg	Member - RTM; Chair of the Land Use Committee	Chair - Land Use	1/16/2014
Peter Malkin	Property Owner	Owner	1/10/2014
Thomas Heagney	Heagney, Lennon & Slaine - Land Use Attorneys	Attorney	1/13/2014

Planning Director and members of the Planning Commission

1. What zoning changes have been eagerly adopted in the CBD since 2000?

2. Is there an interest in affecting the retail composition through zoning? If so, for which retail classifications?

3. Have procedural changes in the application process through the Planning Office occurred during this time period? Has this change affected the type of retail classification in the corridor?

4. Is there any Planning department support (i.e., shorten application process) to encourage various types of retail? Is there an effort to support independent businesses and how is that accomplished?

Business Leaders

- 1. What type of business do you own in Greenwich?
- 2. What support does the municipality offer the commercial corridor?

- 3. Are local programs catering to smaller businesses and/or chains?
- 4. What trends do you see along Main Street? What is your view of these trends?
- 5. Does the municipality support local business?

Property Owners

1. How long have you been a property owner in Greenwich? Describe the property and location. What is the classification of the business in your space?

2. What zoning changes have been most influential in affecting Greenwich Avenue?

3. What zoning changes (i.e., use of sidewalks by restaurant owners) would change how you utilize your property?

Table 19

Residence	County to Workplace	County Flows for	the United States and	d Puerto Rico
	Sorted by W	orkplace Geogra	phy: 2006-2010	
Resid	dence	Wo	rkplace	Number of
				Commuters
State	County	State	County	
Connecticut	Fairfield County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	335,872
				335,872
Connecticut	Hartford County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	3,058
Connecticut	Litchfield County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	12,458
Connecticut	Middlesex County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	1,315
Connecticut	New Haven County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	58,319
Connecticut	New London County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	538
Connecticut	Tolland County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	462
Connecticut	Windham County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	161
				76,311
New York	Bronx County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	2,494
New York	Kings County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	1,021
New York	New York County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	4,569
New York	Queens County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	2,300
New York	Richmond County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	104

				10,488
New York	Westchester County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	17,654
New York	Putnam County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	2,538
New York	Nassau County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	1,174
New York	Suffolk County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	389
				21,755
New Jersey	Bergen County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	859
New Jersey	Hudson County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	320
New Jersey	Essex County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	286
New Jersey	Morris County	Connecticut	Fairfield County	223
				1,688
		r -	Fotal Fairfield to Fairfield	335,872
			Total Other to Fairfield	110,242
			Total	446,114

 $Source: www.census.gov/acs/www/Downloads/data_documentation/Accuracy/MultiyearACSAccuracyofData2010.pdf >.$

Commuters into Tow	n from	 Town Re	esidents Commuting to:
Greenwich	6,904	Greenwich	6,904
Stamford	5,208	Stamford	2,669
Norwalk	2,051	Norwalk	770
Bridgeport	825	Westport	312
Darien	551	Hartford	244
Fairfield	496	Danbury	220
Danbury	494	Fairfield	209
New Canaan	428	Bridgeport	198
Stratford	417	Darien	195
Westport	356		
Sources Compositions Economic Decourses	17,730		11,721

Connecticut Commuters (2010)

Source: Connecticut Economic Resource Center, Town Profile 2013. www.cerc.com.

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Town of Greenwich CT Grand List for the Year 2012 and Change from 2011

2012 Grand List	# of Properties	\$ Value	% Chg in #	% Chg in \$\$ Assessed	Increase/Decrease in \$\$
Residential	19,584	24,320,991,310	0.06%	0.74%	177,604,210
Commercial	968	4,162,462,290	%00'0	0.01%	231,210
Industrial	27	77,063,280	-3.57%	-1.67%	(1,312,360)
Public Utilities	10	37,524,970	0.00%	14.30%	4,695,670
Vacant Land	680	587,866,930	-2.58%	-4.69%	(28,904,540)
Use Land	27	6,967,100	0.00%	0.00%	0
Apartments	58	335,906,620	%00.0	-3.88%	(13,565,790)
Gross Total Real Estate	21,354	29,528,782,500	-0.03%	0.47%	138,748,400
RE Personal Exemptions		21,827,000		-1.49%	(331,000)
Net RE Assessed Value		29,506,955,500		0.47%	139,079,400
Residential	91.7%	82.4%			
Commercial	4.5%	14.1%			
Industrial	0.1%	0.3%			
Public Utilities	0.0%	0.1%			
Vacant Land	3.2%	2.0%			
Use Land	0.1%	0.0%			
Apartments	0.3%	1.1%			
Gross Total Real Estate		100.0%			
$\mathbf{T}_{\mathbf{T}}$					

Source: Town of Greenwich. www.greenwichct.org