

Planning for Accessible and Sustainable Retail

Key Recommendations for Sustainable and Accessible Retail Development

Throughout this policy statement, the TCPA identifies how retail development can be improved to create prosperous, distinctive communities, enhance quality of life, stimulate the economy, and protect the integrity of the natural environment.

The TCPA calls for a more strategic approach to planning for retail, which will:

- provide universal, affordable access to all retail outlets, with access to town centres being more convenient and less expensive than remote locations;
- favour town, district, and local centres for development over edge- and out-of-town locations;
- transform some edge- and out-of-town retail developments into more intensive, mixed-use sustainable communities to meet local and regional strategic planning objectives;
- strategically and positively manage town centre growth or decline;
- encourage high levels of human interaction through, for example, markets;
- protect local distinctiveness, and actively promote cultural and economic diversity, to offset the 'clone-town' impacts of large retailers;
- combine civic, retail, and commercial functions to create thriving town centres;
- develop alternative distribution modes, such as town centre shipment points, where delivery access is constrained; and
- support local economies.

1 Introduction

Over the past 50 years the retailing industry in the UK has changed dramatically. Shops are less likely to be found clustered together in the central market place of towns and villages, and small specialist retailers are not the norm. In the convenience food market, for example, the market is dominated by a few very large retailers, often operating out of large-format stores at both in- and out-of-town locations. Around £76 billion is spent on groceries each year, and more than 80 per cent of this goes to supermarkets.¹

The reasons for these changes reflect wider patterns of social and economic change: businesses have become global, consolidating the retail industry into a handful of giant companies. Greater disposable income has brought increased car ownership and spending power, allowing for changes in behaviour among consumers. Relaxation of retail planning policy by government, particularly in the 1980s, added impetus to the move by some retailers to out-of-town locations.

These changes have had a number of positive impacts. Greater choice can now be offered to a larger number of people – larger stores can carry a wider range of goods, both food and non-food; consolidation of goods into a smaller number of highly accessible shops is more convenient, particularly for those with hectic lifestyles. More powerful companies generally have greater purchasing power, resulting in cheaper goods for consumers; and out-of-town locations are often less disruptive, in terms of noise and congestion, than in-town locations.

Vision for Creating Sociable Cities – Overview

The TCPA supports the creation of clusters of ‘sustainable social cities’, characterised by:

- mixed-use, ‘walkable’ communities of 20,000-30,000 people, large enough to support the qualities of urban life, yet small enough to avoid reliance on cars, and to ensure good access to the countryside;
- high-quality parks and green spaces promoting biodiversity and leisure;
- high-quality, affordable and reliable public transport links;
- sustainable development at optimum densities clustered around transport nodes, close to cultural, work and retail hubs; and
- clearly distinguished regional and sub-regional growth points set in areas of tranquil countryside.

The TCPA puts social justice and the environment at the heart of the debate about planning and housing. The planning system can deliver high-quality affordable homes, improve quality of life, and protect the environment, but these aims must be addressed in an enlightened and balanced way in order to create places that we can be proud of now and in the future.

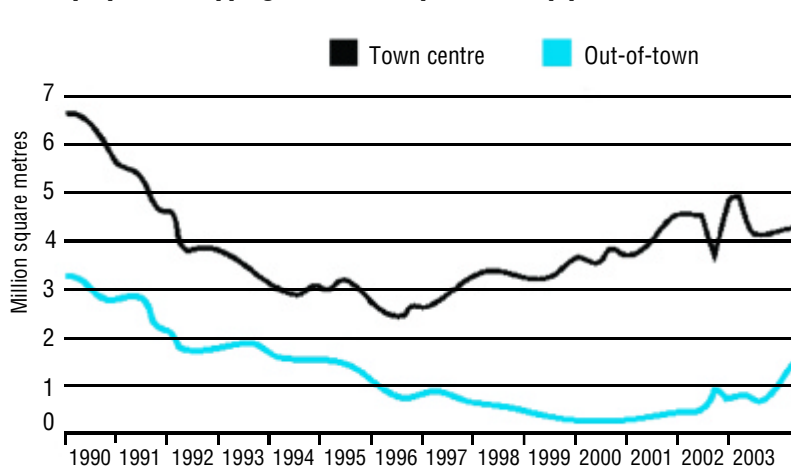
This policy statement concentrates on the need to plan for accessibility for all groups in society as a way of achieving sustainable social cities.

However, there have also been serious negative impacts, including: increased car use, owing to the growth in edge- and out-of-town shopping and the growth of some centres at the expense of others; the decline of some town, district and local centres, resulting from an inability to compete; less diversity of shops, particularly independent retailers, leaving communities with less variety and places with less distinctiveness; and greater buying power for retailers (which can weaken suppliers).

Following lobbying from the TCPA and others, the Government has responded to some of these issues by using planning policy to restrict opportunities for edge- and out-of-town developments, in favour of town centres. The success or otherwise of this, however, is arguable. Town centre development proposals in the pipeline have indeed grown continuously since the mid-1990s. However, while out-of-town levels initially fell, they have now begun to pick up, back towards the level of the mid-1990s – see the figure below.

In relation to convenience goods, the response of the supermarkets has been to develop smaller in-town stores, further increasing the rate of displacement of independent shops – either through greater efficiencies achieved by economies of scale, or by acquiring smaller chains. Tesco, for example, has acquired TNS stores (previously ‘Nite and Day’ and ‘One Stop’) and Administore (‘Europa’, ‘Harts’ and ‘Cullens’). According to the market research group Taylor Nelson Sofres Superpanel, the giant corporation now takes one in every eight pounds spent in British shops.

Total proposed shopping centre floorspace in the pipeline



Source: Shopping Centre Industry: Its Importance to the UK Economy. BCSC, 2004

Key Facts

- There are some 188,600 VAT-registered retail businesses in the UK, operating in 311,000 retail outlets.
- Retail expenditure is expected to grow from £228 billion in 2003 to £256 billion by 2008, an average year-on-year growth of 2.4 per cent.
- Over a third of consumer spending goes through shops.
- In March 2004 the retail industry employed 2.8 million people (11 per cent of the total UK workforce).
- Since 2000 retail employment has grown by over 200,000. A majority of these jobs are part-time.
- The average person travels 893 miles a year to shop for food.
- Internet sales in the UK account for around 4 per cent of total retail sales.
- Total floorspace in the development pipeline for shopping centres and retail warehouse parks in 2003 was 8.2 million square metres.
- Town centres accounted for 350,000 million square metres of completed floorspace, while there were 210,000 million square metres of out-of-town floorspace completions in 2003.
- On average, since 2000, just under a third of all new shopping centres contain 'big box' leisure facilities.
- Results of Experian's *Where Britain Shops* survey (2004) show that shoppers are prepared to travel further to visit town centres than retail parks – averaging 7 miles to town centres and 5 miles to retail parks.

Source: BCSC

Meanwhile, comparison goods retailers are still at the stage of dispersing from high streets to edge- and out-of-town centres. This movement is extending increasingly to clothes retailers. Expenditure on comparison goods is predicted to increase by 3 per cent per annum, while convenience goods markets are likely to grow by 1.3 per cent per annum, by 2008.

1.1 Social exclusion and shopping access

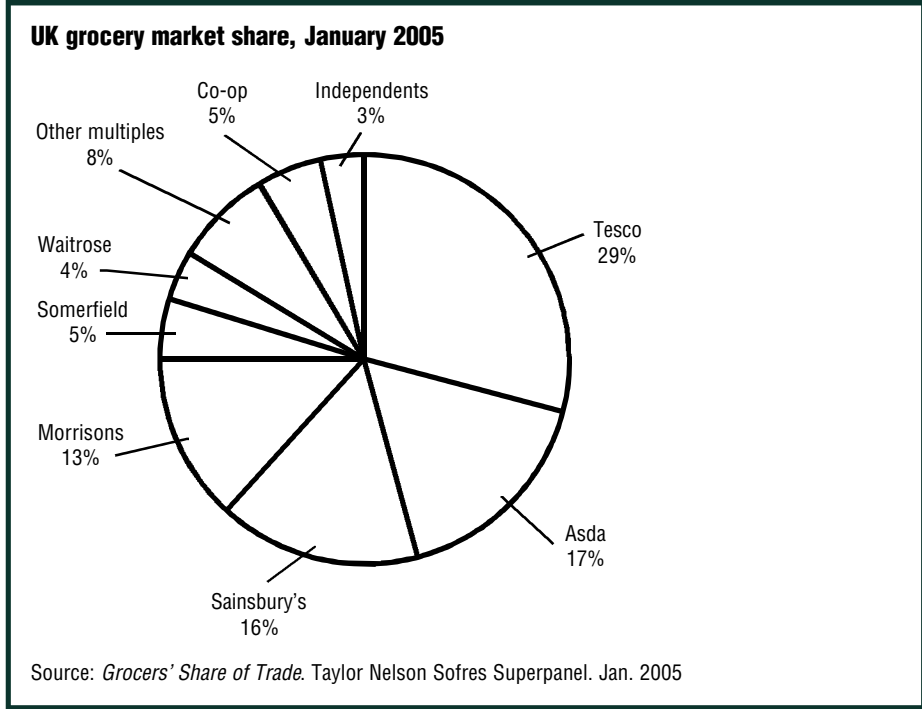
In 1998 the Government's Social Exclusion Unit began considering how best to address the problems and inequalities associated with living in deprived areas. Policy Action Team 13 (focusing on access to shopping facilities) made some positive recommendations aimed at assisting smaller retailers survive and supporting community-based schemes linking producers more directly with consumers.

However, the report failed to fully address the wider structural issues of retail ownership and competition, location and pricing policies, and inadequate public transport services. And while the report did call for local-level multi-agency forums to produce retailing strategies and ensure consumer representation in planning, siting, and decision-making, the final Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy called only for 'experimenting' with the concept, with no central mechanism for support or follow up.

Nevertheless, the overall Strategy should be welcomed for its enthusiastic grasp of local sustainability issues, embracing 'joined-up' thinking at national and local levels, providing funding and support for community action to improve quality of life, and, importantly, handing more decision-making power to community representatives in the form of local strategic partnerships (LSPs). This move is supported by recent local government reforms introduced through the Local Government Act 2000, which aims to reduce bureaucracy and complexity in local decision-making and make it accessible to local people.²

1.2 The rise of the multiples

Hypermarkets, selling groceries and a wide range of non-food items, ranging from health and personal care products, clothing, and home and leisure goods, are the fastest growing retail sector. In 2003 research by AC Nielsen³ found that 48 per cent of everything bought in UK food stores was bought in out-of-town hypermarkets over 7,500 square meters in size. More than 24 per cent of these sales are in hypermarkets more than 12,000 square meters in size.



Research conducted by MORI for King Sturge⁴ found that the likelihood that consumers would visit edge- and out-of-town shopping facilities in preference to town or city centres appears to be influenced by whether they drive and their household owns a car. The decision is also influenced largely by the type of goods being purchased.

1.3 The internet

Internet sales in the UK are growing rapidly. While some of this represents a switch from traditional catalogue shopping, it is clear that the internet has entered the mainstream.

The internet continues to be ideal for commodity products such as books, airfares, CDs, and so on, but sales have grown in products that are normally inspected first, such as clothing and furnishings. Even markets that were considered difficult for internet sales, such as groceries, have shown significant growth. Tesco's online sales were worth £500 million in 2003; a small proportion of its overall sales, but still significant.

Internet sales in the UK now account for around 4 per cent of total retail sales. Spending online increased by 123 per cent between summer 2003 and summer 2004. Figures from the Association of Payment Clearing Services (APACs) reveal that 10 per cent of credit card purchases during the second half of 2003 related to internet purchases, up from just 2 per cent in 1999.

There are two significant issues for internet retailers – first, whether to develop specialist warehousing for distribution (such as Ocado) or use existing stores (as Tesco has done); and, second, the logistics of delivering goods (particularly chilled or perishable goods) to people who are rarely at home, and where product substitution may be necessary. These will have implications for other policy areas. For instance, new distribution structures could bring about transport benefits or new uses for district centres.

1.4 Patterns of retail in continental Europe

Despite the similar presence of global retail groups across Europe, the retail industry has developed differently in each country. This is likely to be due to different shopping cultures and attitudes, but also because of differing policy and legislative responses. For example, whereas the regulatory system in the UK addresses the locational and transportation consequences of retail development, the French system aims to protect small retailers, and the goal of the Danish system is to provide a reasonable distribution of retail provision across the population. In Germany, smaller-format multiples such as Lidl have played a greater role in supporting local markets, such

as district shopping centres. The results have been mixed. In France large multiples still dominate as in the UK, but with a correspondingly large, though now declining, small retailer presence; Denmark on the other hand has a far smaller multiples sector.

2 The TCPA Approach

The TCPA approach relates to the distribution of goods and services to the customer (whether to shops or direct to the home, following direct interface, or by phone or internet) and to accessibility to retail. This policy statement aims to advance these through highlighting entrepreneurial actions that developers and operators might want to take in the future as much as through government or community intervention.

As far as government intervention in retail markets and development is concerned, three motivations are generally accepted:

- the need to improve market efficiency and maintain competition;
- the need to protect or subsidise for social reasons; and
- the need to control other negative externalities.

The TCPA believes that the starting point of successful planning for retail and town centre development should be:

- a shared vision of what kind of town the wider community wants;
- an understanding of the role of retailing in the function and purpose of centres (not all centres need necessarily have a dominant retail function);
- an understanding of how a centre might specialise and form part of a polycentric cluster; and
- an understanding of how retail is integrated into people's lives.

There is now an opportunity to plan differently: what motivates people to shop today and the way they will shop in the future is and will be very different from the past. For example, rather than being a separate activity, people may decide to shop on the way to work or the airport, or to do so from home.

There is a wealth of information available on retail planning, often to support or criticise particular kinds of development. This statement, however, builds upon best practice in development of our future communities and advocates a number of innovative solutions to the challenges outlined above.

2.1 Planning retail through planning place and accessibility

As part of creating genuinely sustainable communities, town, district and local centres should be favoured for development over edge- or out-of-town locations.

Customer access to town centres should be more convenient and less expensive than to more remote locations. Charges for access to, or parking at, edge- and out-of-town retail centres may be necessary to ensure a level playing field with town centres.

Retailing has a significant impact on how people travel and has the potential to play an important role in achieving other government objectives, such as reducing use of private transport and social inequalities. Current policy is geared towards increasing accessibility to major centres, often bringing benefits at the expense of smaller, off-centre facilities.

Many centres depend for their success on a range of transport modes. However, a recent retail study⁵ showed that vitality is often achieved by attracting more car-based shoppers, with increased traffic flows seen as a sign of success. In all cases accessibility is crucial to a centre's success or otherwise. Edge- and out-of-town shopping, generally highly accessible by car but not by other modes, has contributed greatly to congestion, social exclusion, and environmental degradation. As such, retail policy needs to be better integrated with accessibility planning and the planning of people flows and movements for a full range of activities.

In-town centres are more accessible by foot and public transport to a far larger number of people and social groups. Thriving town and district centres, with their location at the heart of neighbourhoods and their proximity to commercial and civic functions, create a sense of place in a way that edge- and out-of-town centres cannot.

Therefore, to create sustainable communities, town and district centres should be favoured for development over edge-of-town/out-of-town locations. Access to town and district centres should be no more expensive (and should preferably be cheaper using any mode of transport) than access to edge- and out-of-centre locations.⁶

2.2 Prioritise town centres and rationalise out-of-town centres through development of selective new settlements

A new strategic approach to tackling the legacy of edge- and out-of-town retail developments, taking into account their relationship with the wider sub-region, is recommended. While some should be encouraged to fade away, where a regional strategy requires the provision of sustainable new settlements or urban extensions some existing retail developments should be remodelled and intensified with a mix of uses and excellent public transport connections.

Despite welcome policy changes designed to promote the vitality of town centres by restricting edge- and out-of-town developments and supporting development in town centres, a legacy of out-of-centre planning permissions, as yet undeveloped, remains. Current policy also leaves unanswered the question of how to deal with the swathes of unsuitable and damaging edge- and out-of-town centres, reachable only by car and visited solely for the purpose of shopping.

Some of these centres, however, are highly accessible by sustainable transport modes, providing important local and part-time employment for some sections of the community. Policy at present starves these of the possibility of growth and change and seeks to make them wither on the vine. In some cases this may be the right policy, but in other centres where regional spatial strategies demonstrate the need for a new settlement (a 'sustainable social city' as promoted by the TCPA), a creative planning authority might use an existing edge- or out-of-centre retail area as the foundation for such a new town, district, or neighbourhood centre.

Where such opportunities for contained, concentrated and sustainable growth exist, these possibilities should be encouraged. The inclusion of a mix of uses, including housing and community facilities, and the provision of good-quality transport services and facilities would be a prerequisite. The TCPA also recommends that any such developments would need to be contingent on the relocation or removal of less sustainable out-of-centre facilities, such as isolated single stores.

Such a policy would address the legacy of out-of-centre development and the means by which some could be stitched back into the fabric of vital and living communities. It would also demonstrate a policy approach that better integrates different government objectives, such as retail with housing growth and inequality.

Plenty of scope exists in the South East, under the Government's 'Sustainable Communities Plan', to relate new housing development to a strategy for retail centres, which can both revive declining retail centres and turn 'regional retail centres' into more fully-fledged city centres. For example, Bluewater could be integrated into the urban structure of Kent Thameside (Dartford-Gravesend), where large-scale housing and employment growth is proposed, using a new rapid public transport system and the Channel Tunnel Rail Link international and domestic passenger station at Ebbsfleet.

2.3 Do shopping centres have a future? Planning for changing retail modes

The decline of any town centre should be managed positively by ensuring that decline in one sector (of retail or other economic activity) is offset by a growth strategy for other areas of activity.

In some circumstances it is necessary to plan for decline in certain sectors, but the potential cost to the community of allowing this must not be undervalued. Managing decline must be done in ways sensitive to community needs, and should ensure that:

- the reasons for decline are fully understood, and that decline is unavoidable;
- decline does not mask an overall reduction in levels of public service provided per person in the local authority area as a whole;
- links are preserved and developed between communities in decline and more successful centres; and
- a positive future role for centres in decline and their related areas is established in regional and sub-regional strategies – entrepreneurship should be encouraged and funding secured to promote new patterns of business and development.

The growth of internet shopping could have a huge role to play in shaping the future of urban areas. As internet shopping begins to account for a significant market share it will exert more of an influence over land use patterns and behaviour. Although the form that this will take is uncertain, urban planners need to be aware that there will be new opportunities for re-modelling urban and suburban locations, and new problems to address.

An important future role for district and local centres may be as depots for distribution of goods in the e-tailing sector. As the sector becomes more established, the market will decide whether these will be specialist warehousing for distribution or linked to stores open to the public. In 2000 the Department of Trade and Industry's Foresight Retail Logistics Task Force recommended the '*use of existing community facilities within the e-commerce delivery infrastructure*',⁷ and it is certainly possible that efficiencies would exist for any retailer who develops dedicated customer distribution systems rather than continuing to rely on in-store pickers.

The role of the planning system will be to ensure that these facilities are sustainably integrated into neighbourhoods. Further work needs to be carried out into what these impacts and roles may be. However, the TCPA believes that development plans should consider opportunities for using redundant retail premises (in district or local centres) to provide centralised customer order fulfilment (e-fulfilment) centres, provided sufficiently large floor areas are available. Providing for such facilities may involve the loss of some retail uses from local centres, but the retention of distribution on such sites should reduce the overall delivery distances for goods and will also provide opportunities for small ancillary retail outlets and/or customer collection points (see also policy 2.7 below). Retaining a retail element will be important socially in terms of local vitality.

How goods are delivered to the distribution centre and then to individual houses without causing undue disruption to local transport networks will be a further consideration. In the former case, this will involve integrated planning at city/town and neighbourhood scales and high-quality urban design principles. The latter will require innovative solutions and close co-operation between retailers and local authorities to ensure that roads are not full of delivery vehicles.

2.4 Convergence of land uses that encourage human interaction

New planning policies should encourage unequivocally the convergence of land uses that have high human interaction – namely retail, commercial, and civic functions.

Patterns of retailing are not necessarily the same as patterns of social, civic, cultural and commercial life. The retail status of a place in any geographical location may not necessarily be an indicator of its role in the area as a whole when considered under other criteria. As research by UCL in 2000⁸ demonstrates, the top place in retailing terms may not be the top place in civic or cultural terms. The TCPA believes that convergence of sectoral patterns should be encouraged – truly successful town centres are those in which the convergence of retail, commercial, and civic functions is greatest.

2.5 Protection for neighbourhood shops

Small-scale specialist retail outlets are an essential characteristic of local distinctiveness and economic and cultural diversity. Planning policies should seek to protect them from the impacts of large-format national retail chain developments, and seek to promote their number and variety.

Large retailers are increasingly diversifying the range of goods and services they provide: many supermarkets now include clothing, pharmacies, florists, financial services, books, and household goods, as well as food. However, this diversity of products and services does not guarantee choice of provider. Indeed, the presence of a large retailer will, in most cases, have a detrimental impact on smaller retailers and centres. The New Economics Foundation⁹ has shown that:

- General stores are closing at the rate of one per day.
- Between 1997-2002, specialised stores, including butchers, bakers, fishmongers, and newsagents, closed at the rate of 50 per week.
- Nearly 30,000 independent food, drink, and tobacco retailers, or over 40 per cent, have been lost over the past decade.

A frequent argument is that large retailers provide a service to communities and therefore any measures designed to restrict retail providers would be comparable with restricting social services

and education. Clearly a certain service is being provided. However, to continue the analogy, no government would claim that it is meeting its education provision requirements by providing only secondary education. In the same way, the diversity of retail needs to be retained. Alternatively, one might compare the benefits of a healthy balanced diet with the benefits gained through consumer choice for a local economy.

Evidence suggests that buying from local businesses and using local supply chains can bring significant economic benefits. For example, a 2002 study¹⁰ found that local suppliers re-spent on average 76 per cent of their income from contracts locally, compared with only 36 per cent with suppliers from outside the county. This demonstrates how healthy local economies can contribute greatly to the goal of creating successful, sustainable communities.

Government appears to view competitiveness very narrowly: while addressing the conditions necessary for allowing large-format stores to develop and compete successfully, it ignores the needs of smaller, local shops. Large and small chains and independent stores all have an important role to play in providing convenience, choice, diversity, and economic and social benefits. Neighbourhood shops will continue to suffer unless they can specialise and add value not found in larger stores. However, the more that supermarkets are able to diversify and add value to their service, the less opportunity there is for smaller retailers to do this.

Government needs to recognise the social effects of retail policy and treat them as equally as important as those of thriving big business. Steps should then be taken to ensure policies designed to assist large-format stores are also at least as effective in assisting the viability of small, independent shops. Linking trips to large-format stores with trips to specialist shops may be one way of doing this.

Small and independent shops depend on a high foot-fall, i.e. large numbers of people passing on foot. Planning law should be used to promote greater opportunities for locally-owned stores. For example, negotiations between developers and planners over granting planning permissions usually concentrate on provision of affordable housing. However, these could be extended to make retail developers guarantee long-term affordable premises for locally-owned stores.

Markets, and increasingly farmers' markets, play an important role in ensuring diversity, supporting local economies, and encouraging human interactions. The value of these as a service should be recognised and careful consideration given to their location: a successful market will help to attract custom for surrounding shops and community facilities.

2.6 Deprived areas and underserved markets

The importance of diversity and vitality in the retail sector to society as a whole must be recognised so that locations and groups in society are not disadvantaged by retail policy and trends.

Much work has been done to address the question of whether or not residents of deprived areas suffer from poorer access to quality, affordable food. Evidence suggests that the main issue is less one of access to local shops and more one of ensuring that the low-cost food which can make up a healthy diet is available.

Appropriate scales of development in deprived areas may be different from other areas. Therefore, development plans should consider whether or not to intervene in the development market.

An important issue for planners is ensuring that retail facilities are accessible to all, including those people without access to private cars. Locating them so as to improve accessibility by local residents is clearly one solution. Where this is not possible, the availability of the best public transport routes should be considered, as should access by foot and availability of taxis.

2.7 Accessibility to retail centres

Centres in new communities should be designed to provide good customer and freight access to retail facilities, while existing centres should manage access to enable provision of new formats, including large-format stores, within them.

Town Centre Shipment Points (ToCShiPs)

Accommodating deliveries from vehicles in constrained – sometimes medieval – town centres represents a major problem for centres wishing to compete with out-of-town facilities. Instead of attempting to provide access for large vehicles to each store, a single break bulk delivery point in or around a town centre could be identified, within walking distance of all stores.

These ‘town centre shipment points’ (ToCShiPs) would be served by small-scale pedestrian controlled vehicles – such as trolleys powered by clean technology – carrying 1-2 tonnes in weight. They would enable delivery both to and from stores and ToCShiPs, and be available for use by stores (or their contract delivery companies) to collect goods from stores for delivery to customers’ homes/business premises, including e-fulfilment of orders.

ToCShiPs combine the benefits of ‘urban distribution centres’, promoted by the Freight Transport Association, and ‘consolidation centres’, as recommended by the City of London, while offering a wider range of services. ToCShiPs might simply be described as providing assistance at town centre unloading points. The two key operations of a ToCShiP would be: first, to provide secure supervision of a shared delivery area; and, second, to offer the range of services currently provided commercially at consolidation centres such as at Heathrow and Meadowhall.

An important feature must be the offer of a sliding scale of services focused on co-ordinated and where possible consolidated delivery to stores. ToCShiPs would involve no additional node in the distribution channel and would allow firms to maintain control of the delivery up to the store itself if desired, thereby addressing two of the key concerns of the private sector with regard to transshipment.

Although most grocery orders would have a fast turn around, chilled, ambient, and frozen storage areas would nonetheless be necessary if grocery deliveries were to be accommodated.

A similar scheme in Worcester was rejected ‘primarily because of its capital and operating costs’, where only a small number of retailers indicated they would use such a facility. This, however, was before the advent of e-commerce and was not aimed at serving larger retailers. A scheme similar to a ToCShiP is operated successfully in Bordeaux, where an *espace logistique de proximité* now receives a minimum of 45 vehicle deliveries per day supported by small electrically powered unloading trolleys. This has greatly reduced freight vehicle related congestion in the centre of Bordeaux.

The TCPA recommends that the scope for ‘town centre shipment points’ (ToCShiPs – see the panel above) (an alternative to transshipment centres) should be investigated for existing and smaller towns where freight access to the centre is particularly constrained for environmental or other reasons.

The TCPA’s transport policy statement deals with accessibility planning in some detail. Current government policy sets out circumstances in which larger-format stores will be permitted outside town centres as an alternative to breaking up retail operations into smaller units. However, attention should also be paid to the need to accommodate large-format stores within traditional town centres.

The creation of new ‘sustainable communities’, whether town extensions or new settlements, should offer opportunities for the provision of large-format stores on the periphery of, but nonetheless as part of, planned town centres. Since this would necessitate large vehicles accessing locations close to town centres, care must be taken to accommodate them without over-provision of road space to the detriment of other town centre users.

In existing centres where access is constrained, alternative solutions will be necessary. Transshipment to smaller vehicles, as suggested by various studies from the 1970s onwards, has not proved commercially viable and has underestimated the environmental costs of large numbers of smaller vehicles using the roads.¹¹ However, consolidated delivery facilities are in operation at

Heathrow Airport and Meadowhall shopping centre on a commercial basis. In addition, the emerging need for e-fulfilment centres and the growth of regional distribution centres (which is largely to be welcomed owing to the reduction in road vehicles involved) suggests that 'town centre shipment points' could work and should be considered.

3 Conclusion

In this policy statement the TCPA sets out the importance of partners in the public and private sectors working together to revitalise our town centres by planning for retail development in ways that will enhance community cohesion as part of a prosperous society.

The TCPA is calling for integrated and imaginative approaches to planning for retail development, based on the principles of accessibility, sustainability, diversity, and community cohesion.

Successful and sustainable retail planning must be able to respond to the needs and aspirations of communities, as well as to the current and future impacts of regeneration and growth. Urgent action is needed if the vision of creating sustainable communities is to become a reality.

Notes

- 1 *The Economic Position of the Agri-food Sector: Quarterly Analysis – Winter 2004/5*. Defra, London, 2005
- 2 *Food Poverty: Policy Options for the New Millennium*. Sustain, London, 2001
- 3 *Scantrack Total Business Read – All Food and Non Food*. AC Nielsen, 2003
- 4 *PPS6 Economic and Consumer Retail Research*. Mori for King Sturge, 2004
- 5 M. Carley, K. Kirk, and S. McIntosh: *Retailing, Sustainability and Neighbourhood Regeneration*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation. York Publishing Services, York, 2001
- 6 This policy can also be found in the TCPA's Transport Policy Statement *Planning for Accessible and Sustainable Transport*. TCPA, London, 2005
- 7 *Retail Logistics Task Force Report*. DTI, London, 2000
- 8 P. Hall *et al.*: *The Changing Urban Hierarchy in England and Wales 1913-1998*. Working Paper 18. Bartlett School of Planning, University College London, 200
- 9 A. Simms *et al.*: *Ghost Town Britain: The Threat from Economic Globalisation to Livelihoods, Liberties and Local Economic Freedom*. New Economics Foundation, London, 2002
- 10 J. Sacks: *The Money Trail – Measuring your Impact on the Local Economy using LM3*. New Economics Foundation and The Countryside Agency, 2002
- 11 A. McKinnon: *Urban Transshipment: Review of Previous Work in the UK*. Report prepared for the Retail and Distribution Panel of the UK Government Foresight Programme. Heriot Watt University, Edinburgh, 1998

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The Town and Country Planning Association puts social justice and the environment at the heart of the debate about planning policy, housing and energy supply. We inspire government, industry and campaigners to take a fresh perspective on major issues, including climate change and regeneration.

We campaign for:

- high quality, intelligently-built homes in well-designed neighbourhoods;
- communities empowered to influence the decisions that affect them; and
- a sustainable future.

TCPA

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