FROM LIBERAL TO RESTRICTIVENESS: AN OVERVIEW OF 25 YEARS OF RETAIL PLANNING IN ENGLAND

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Abstract
The development of cities to peripheral locations had a profound impact on town centres. Alongside with these changes, retail also evolved, whether locating peripherally, whether through the appearance of new formats. The public intervention through retail planning has been focusing on the protection of town centres and in the preservation of small retail. In this paper we have analysed retail planning undertaken in England in the last 25 years. We conclude that two different models of retail planning were developed and its effectiveness wasn’t achieved because it was never completely restrictive due to the balance between economic and non-economic factors.

Keywords: retail; retail planning; town centres; England; Town centre first

1. INTRODUCTION

Cities are not statics. Retail as one of its main components also evolved over time. Considering the close relation between both, the evolution of retail, inherently affected cities, physically and in the way it functions. In the first case it fostered the process of suburbanization, accompanying or leading this process. In the second case contributed to change the hierarchy of centres. Due to its importance to the vitality and viability of urban areas, the dissemination of new retail formats or retail concentrations in locations peripheral to consolidated shopping areas introduced negative impacts to these areas and to the small and independent retail. Retail planning, considered as one component of spatial planning, concerned with the regulation of retail gained relevance with these transformations. Justified with the protection of town centres and the preservation of the small and independent retail, in Western Europe, retail planning saw his role enhanced after mid-1950’s of the last century. England is not an exception and also experienced these transformations.
2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

Based on literature review, this paper does an analysis of the evolution of retail planning in England in the last 25 years and shows the difficulty to obtain its effectiveness, analysing the achievement of the proposed objectives and the adequacy of the developed instruments. The aim of this paper is to summarize and update some of the main features of retail planning in England. Several research have been done by relevant UK academics in the last decades (Davies 1995; Dawson 2004; Guy 1998, 2002; Hallsworth 1995). This paper summarizes some of their findings and update with some of the more recent changes that happened until the early years of the 2010’s. Therefore this research may be of interest for academics and practitioners in the broader field of urban planning, not only in UK but in the wider geographical area of Europe.

Although there are some similarities between policies and documents that composed retail planning throughout the UK, since 1998, with the development of the legal framework of devolution (House of Commons 2013), each country has autonomy to create and implement their own regulations. This range is relative, to the extent that each country doesn’t have the same power or freedom to create legislation. However, English legislation, although it may not bind all countries, in most cases is seen as following standard by the various parliaments. Because it’s not the aim of this paper the analysis and discussion of existing policies in whole UK, we will give a focus on retail planning applied in England, considering it is similar, to some extent, to the one applied in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. This national context fits into what Davies (2004) described as “countries of restraint”, referring to countries where the control over retail development was tightened.

In the following section we will discuss the need to regulate retail and introduce the concept of retail planning. Next, we will analyse the different stages of British retailing and its regulation, beginning with the decentralization of retail in the 1960’s to the application of the Town Centre First Policy in the 1990’s. We will end this chapter with the analysis of the recent strengthening of local intervention and an overview of the regulation of opening hours, considered as an important element of retail planning. In the last chapter some conclusion will be withdrawn and a table that summarizes the main elements of retail planning in England will be presented, which is also a novelty in retail planning concerning English context and may useful for comparison to what have happened in other European countries.

3. RETAIL PLANNING

The need to regulate retail arises from two different perspectives, already identified by Dawson (in Burt 1985). In the first it’s considered that there are several aspects that should be protected. Among these
are non-economic factors, from which one may enhance the population supply, the protection of historic elements (with architectural value) that exists in the historic town centres and, with increasing importance, environmental protection. In the second it’s intended to promote the efficiency and innovation in the sector. It’s usually related with economic factors. One may incorporate here the removal of the restrictions on competition, aiming to increase the number of jobs, decrease the price of products and, overall, foster economic growth. The adoption of this last perspective implies to a certain sense the public deregulation.

The adoption of retail planning policies doesn’t always, or most of the times, mean that there is a national policy or strategic approach for the sector. However, the adopted measures still make it possible to unveil the view that public authorities have to retail. Therefore, one may consider retail planning as the regulation carried out on retail sector which reflect, directly or indirectly, the national development strategy of the sector (Porfírio Guimarães 2015).

4. ENGLISH RETAILING

4.1. The decentralization of the commercial sector

The main changes affecting retail in England began to be visible in the 1960’s and 1970’s. It was in this last decade that, according to Schiller (1994), took place the first of three waves that marked the process of decentralization of retail, characterized by the peripheral location of supermarkets. According to Dawson (2004) until the beginning of the 1970’s the economic environment was favourable, assuming that during this decade and in the transition to the next, retailers changed their strategic approach, contoured wholesale and started to deal directly with suppliers. The increase in oil prices, in the products prices and the recession that lasted until the 1980’s led to enlarged competition. With growing motorization rate, consumers began to be willing to travel a longer distance to obtain lower prices, which encouraged the commercial concentration, the emergence of new commercial formats and their dissemination through areas outside the traditional shopping areas. This process was accompanied by functional decentralization. Noon et al. (2000) highlighted the departure of residents and various economic activities, which fostered the decline of town centres.

Still in the 1970’s, there was the official recognition of the inner city problems with the publication by the Department of the Environment of some academic studies (Inner Area Studies), demonstrating the need for intervention in those areas (Whysall 1995). Then, in 1978, a study was commissioned to the Unit for Retail Planning Information to determine the potential of retail in the economic revitalization of city centres. In the same document, although it wasn’t possible to reach a consensus on the benefits of
interventions based on that sector, it was concluded that hardly a central area could be regenerated without the implementation of modern commercial establishments and formats, such as hypermarkets and superstores.

During the 1980s, under the government of Margaret Thatcher, the search of the best locations for commercial activity stimulated the peripheral deployment and was encouraged by the Government as a way to promote competition in the sector and thereby reduce the price of the products and provide more choice to consumers (Adams et al. 2002). The functional decentralization was more pronounced during this decade, during which several companies moved to business parks and some retailers adopted appropriate formats for peripheral locations, either in retail parks, either individually (Schiller 1994). This ideology was embodied through the first Planning Policy Guidance 6 (PPG6), in 1988. Reflecting the spirit of laissez-faire that characterized this period, according to Jones (in CB Hillier Parker and Cardiff University 2004) PPG6 specified that local authorities should not use planning to inhibit competition. As a result, we watch the proliferation of new developments on the outskirts of cities, affecting negatively retail located in town centres (CB Hillier Parker and Cardiff University 2004). According to Schiller (1994) it was in this decade that the second and third wave of retail decentralization took place. The second wave involved the opening in peripheral areas of DYI outlets and the third wave covered the departure of personal items outlets such as clothing. Regarding this last wave, Schiller (1994) demonstrated how the strategy of decentralization adopted in 1985 by Marks & Spencer, was accompanied by other establishments of the same type.

4.2. The restrictiveness of retail planning and the Town Centre First policy

The beginning of the 1990’s was marked by the recession, which led to a stagnation in the number of new establishments and commercial complexes, whether outside or within town centres, affecting retail sector as a whole, which also highlighted the declining situation of some town centres (CB Hillier Parker and Cardiff University 2004). Having found that retail decentralization created a non-sustainable model of growth and had threatened the vitality and viability of town centres, the non-interventionist policies were reversed and some control mechanisms were implemented to regulate the expansion of the sector (Adams et al. 2002). In 1993, PPG6 (Town Centre and Retail Development) was revised to formalize these changes. Although it still emphasized the need to facilitate competition between different retail formats, it represented a first approach to the protection of town centres, although without much success (CB Hillier Parker and Cardiff University 2004).

Following a request from the department responsible for planning (Department of the Environment), in 1994 the report “Vital and Viable Town Centres: Meeting the Challenge” (URBED 1994) was published,
which focused on the analysis of three distinct aspects: (i) the problems affecting the inner city; (ii) techniques to measure the performance of these areas and to define new strategies; (iii) illustration of good practices. The concepts of vitality and viability adopted in this report emerged in the 1980s during the Initial Draft Planning Policy Statement for Retailing applied to England and Scotland (Scottish government 2007). The review of PPG6 in 1993 already had emphasized the importance of these concepts and their application to the analyses of town centres (Schiller 1994). However, only after their incorporation in the 1994 report, they were stated as fundamental in the process of town centre revitalization. The definitions used for both concepts have marked the policies undertaken in England and other countries until today:

“Vitality: Reflects how busy the centre is at different times and in different parts;

Viability: ability of the centre to attract continuing investment, not only to maintain the fabric, but also to allow for improvement and adaption to changing needs” (URBED 1994).

The relation between both concepts is strong and it’s difficult to analyse one area without taking them into account. If, on one hand, the vitality is essentially an indicator of the attractiveness of a city centre (measured for example by the flow of pedestrians), on the other, viability it’s an indicator of economic sustainability (measured for example by the rents and profits of companies) (Ravenscroft et al. 2000). The connection between the two concepts is quite high insofar as the vitality of a certain area is dependent on the ability to attract new investments (Balsas 2007). Therefore, one may enhance that retail can play an important role in the vitality and viability of an area. Nevertheless,

"Vitality and viability depend on more than retailing; they stem from the range and quality of activities in town centres, and their accessibility to people living and working in the area" (DOE 1993 in Scottish government 2007).

In order to measure the vitality and viability of town centres and, assuming that there is no single indicator that can do this, URBED (1994) proposed two crucial indicators: pedestrian flow and the yield. The relevance of the first arises from the assumption that the vitality of an area is higher with a larger number of pedestrians in the streets, while the second shows the attractiveness of real estate investment in an area. Other indicators were also suggested, although it assigned them with a lower importance. This report admitted that the use of indicators was relevant to measure the health of town centres but acknowledged their weaknesses in determining the strengths and weaknesses of the same area. So, in URBED report it was understood as necessary the consideration of four key elements: attractions, accessibility, amenity and action. Considered crucial to bring people to the streets, attractions are dependent on a number of factors related with the multi-functionality of the area.
Accessibility is related to how easy it might be to reach city centre, measured in two ways: mobility, through time and money needed to get to one particular centre; linkages, i.e. parking, bus stops and trains. Amenities focus on how pleasant is to walk in a certain city centre, including safety and/or security perception. By action it was considered the ability to properly adopt the elements described above, including the organizational capacity that one might need and the ability of stakeholders to work together. Since the release of this report, the various policies implemented in England have incorporated the elements described above, in particular the concepts of vitality and viability.

Given the limitations of the previous policy and the continuing pressure of peripheral retail, in 1996, the PPG6 was reviewed. Contrarily to previous documents, in this become well established the focus on the protection of town centres (CB Hillier Parker and Cardiff University 2004). With clear influence from the mentioned URBED report, this document had four main objectives (DOE 1996): (i) preserve and enhance the vitality and viability of town centres; (ii) in order to promote competition, guide retail development to areas where already existed retail centralities; iii) maintain an innovative, competitive and efficient retail sector; (iv) preserve the variety of shops, services and jobs, to which consumers have easy access through various means of transport.

With this review of PPG6, Town Centre First policy becomes well established in England. Underlying the idea of viability and vitality of town centres, this policy still remains in force today. One way to substantiate this policy was the change in how new retail projects were regulated. Thus, before the revised PPG6 (1996) to refuse the location of a certain project it was necessary that local authorities prove that the location of new establishments in peripheral areas could cause negative impacts in the retail structure of existing centres (All Party Parliamentary group on town centres 2011). After reviewing that document the burden became on the side of developers. It turn out to be necessary to prove that: there were no more central locations where they could install the new establishments; the impacts on town centres were not harmful; the location of the new project was accessible through a wide range of transport means (idem). Called Sequential Approach, this set of assumptions to be used by developers, forced them to look for solutions within the city’s central areas and only later, in the total impossibility of these, to look for peripheral locations (DOE 1996). According to a report by consultancy CB Hillier Parker and the University of Cardiff (2004) underlying this approach is the assumption that the main town centres are the shopping areas more accessible through a diverse means of transport. As such, a new establishment should be located on town centres and only after the edge of centres, district and local centres will be considered. Only as a last resource an out-of-centre location would be considered.

On PPG6 it also became established some concepts and attitudes to be considered by developers and local authorities. Therefore, it was established that developers should adopt some flexibility about the
format, design and scale of the enterprise. Local authorities should have the availability to, together with developers, determine possible sites for the location of new establishments. For smaller city centres, with less available space for the deployment of new establishments, the size of these should be appropriate to the respective centre. If necessary, local authorities should adopt a proactive attitude and, together with the private sector, engage in efforts to find appropriate central locations for new retail developments (DOE 1996). This regulation highlighted the importance of evaluate the health of town centres, giving local authorities responsibility for monitoring the vitality and viability of these areas through the regular collection of data.

The criterion of "need" to allow or restrict new retail developments was already applied since the 1970's (Guy 2007), having acquired greater relevance during the application of more restrictive measures in the 1990's. However only in 1999, this instrument was formally adopted, introducing the "need test" (All Party Parliamentary group on town centres 2011). The aim was not to replace the sequential approach but rather complement it. The main shortcoming attributed to this approach was that, when there were no more vacant locations in town centres, it was relatively easy to obtain licenses for peripheral locations. This test introduced the need to prove that there is a lack of new establishments of a particular sector of activity outside the city. This measure also has determined that there should be a lack of new branch stores in the next five years, otherwise it should be rejected, assuming that after the five year period new vacant spaces could appear in central locations (All Party Parliamentary group on town centres 2011). However, the measure didn’t introduce immediate effects. On the one hand, because licensing permits were valid for five years and, therefore, already approved projects were concretized. On the other hand, introduction of this test made clear the obligation to prove the need for more retail space outside the city but fail to show how it could prove this need (Guy 2007a).

In this period, alongside with policies which sought to defend town centres, town centre management schemes (TCM) spread. Although, in the English context, they appeared in the previous decade, it was in the 1990’s they became widespread throughout the country. Their successes lead to the implementation of Business Improvement Districts (BID), following the establishment of the legal framework in 2003, through the Local Government Act 2003 and The Business Improvement Districts (England) Regulations.

In 2005, there was a new update of the regulatory document of retail planning, with the introduction of Planning Policy Statement 6 (PPS6) - Planning for Town Centres, in which remained the objective of reinforce the vitality and viability of town centres. Although it was already incorporated on the previous regulations, in PPS6, sustainable development assumed a prominent role, incorporating it in the whole...
spatial planning and in all regulation involving retail planning. The PPS6 reinforced the importance of local authorities, delegating on them the responsibility to (ODPM 2005): (i) promote economic growth; (ii) define a hierarchical network of centres and adapt their performance to their place in the hierarchy in order to meet the needs of consumers; (iii) adopt a proactive attitude of local and regional planning. This document continued to incorporate in its guidelines some of retail planning instruments that already were incorporated in previous documents. The need test remained in force, so as the sequential approach continued valid for all new projects intended to be located outside consolidated town centres. However, there was a positive reinforcement in order to apply the concept of flexibility, insofar as the developers should consider adjustable: the scale and format of the project, the parking capacity and the possibility of divide the establishment into more than one unit, facilitating their deployment in central areas. When it was claimed that the application of the sequential approach is not suitable for a particular property, the developers should show that (ODPM 2005):

(i) There are no vacant stores in central areas and it’s not expected that there will be in a short period of time (availability);

(ii) Central places are not appropriate for the type of establishment, ensuring, however, the flexibility (suitability);

(iii) Establishment isn’t viable if located in central places (viability).

This document (idem) also incorporated the obligation to determine the impact of new developments, assuming they are positive if located in town centres or at its limit and negative if located peripherally. If it was expected that a project would significantly increase the attractiveness of a certain centre, then it would also be necessary to undertake an evaluation of the impacts it could provoke in other centres within the area of influence. Considering social and environmental aspects, the implementation of new developments should take into account the accessibility to them through various means of transport (including public transport, car, bike and walking) and the impacts on traffic.

After 4 years, PPS6 was replaced by PPS4 - Planning for Sustainable Growth (CLG 2009). With the adoption of this regulation, in 2009, the need test was questioned, mainly because it was argued that it might had restrained competition, i.e. according to need test, the existence of an establishment would prevent the opening of another establishment of the same typology in the same area because there would be no need for another outlet. Therefore, without competition, the price of products could raise, with disadvantages to consumers. Thus, the PPS4 eliminated the need test. The implementation of the sequential approach continued to be applied using the same sequence that already was adopted in previous policies and also the concepts of flexibility, availability, suitability and viability.
4.3. Strengthening local intervention

Although the professional management of town centres were already in place throughout the British territory for more than twenty years, in the beginning of the second decade of this millennium the government reinforced this kind of approach. In 2011 it was established the Localism Act (CLG 2011) decentralizing various powers to municipalities, considering that in this way it would encourage the participation of communities in decision-making. Following this change, in the same year, Portas report, prepared by a private consultant, Mary Portas, at the request of the Government, was released. This report contributed to reveal to the general public some of the problems affecting town centres and established a set of 28 recommendations (Portas 2011), highlighting the importance of local authorities and local stakeholders, assigning them with greater responsibility in the revitalization processes. To this end, recognizing the limitations of town centre management schemes (financially and in terms of work developed) it was recommended the creation of structures similar to business improvement districts, advising, however, a slight amendment in the existing legislation, in order to include other agents such as the property-owners (Portas 2011). Following this report, the Government decided to allocate a budget of £100,000 to 12 local organizations that wanted to implement the recommendations that were made in this report. It was encouraged the creation of local groups (Town team), whose first responsibility would be the submission of the proposal to the public competition, to which eventually applied 380 projects. Due to the high number of applications, in 2012 the government decided to allocate that budget to 24 projects, known as Portas Pilot Areas. The government also decided to allocate £10,000 to the other projects, which have been recognized as Town teams.

In 2012 it was released the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF). Regarding urban policies the main aspects of previous policies were maintained (CLG 2012): according to the sequential approach it continued to be necessary to consider central areas, (this approach could be excluded when it comes to rural areas); the concept of flexibility remained in use, i.e., local authorities and private developers should be flexible about the shape and size of the proposed project and, whenever possible, ought be located in central areas; established the obligation to draw an assessment of impacts of peripheral retail, leisure and offices deployments and with a size greater than 2,500m². When the principles of sequential approach were not respected and it was established that the impacts will be significant, the new developments should be refused.

The NPPF reinforced the importance of local level intervention, falling back on local authorities the burden of holding local strategic plans for retail deployments. Although this document highlighted the
importance of this sector it considered more important the strategic approaches that in a multi-functional level served the local community (CLG 2012).

4.4. Regulation of opening hours

The regulation of opening hours is another important mechanism of retail planning. To trace back its evolution in England one must go back to 1950, when it was written the Shop Closing Act. Chapter 28 of this Regulation forced the compulsory closure of shops until 06p.m., in the winter months, except a day (late day), when outlets could remain open until 07h30p.m. (HMSO 1950). In the remaining period, outlets could close two hours later, maintaining the possibility of closing later in the late day. The extension of the closing time in the late day would have to be compensated by the earlier closure in other day (Pereira et al. 2002). According to that regulation, all establishments had to close on Sundays (HMSO 1950).

Since then there is a trend to increase the number of weekly opening hours (Pereira et al. 2002). In 1994, with the aim of improving the competitiveness in the sector and thereby benefit the consumer (Howe 2003), the government drafted the Deregulation and contracting out Act, lifting restrictions on all establishments opening hours on weekdays and Saturdays (House of Commons 2013). In addition, in the same year the government approved the Sunday Trading Act that allowed the opening on Sunday's to all establishments with dimension inferior to 280m2 (including the exhibition area and customer service) (House of Commons 2013). In other establishments, the operation was limited to 6 hours a Sunday between 10a.m. and 06p.m., having to close at Easter and Christmas Day (in the latter case only if it coincided with a Sunday) (House of Commons 2013). In 2004, under pressure from the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers, entered into force the Christmas Day (Trading Act) and became mandatory the closure of large retailers on Christmas Day, regardless of the day (before it was only mandatory if it coincided with a Sunday) (House of Commons 2013).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days</th>
<th>Legislation year 1950</th>
<th>Legislation year 1994</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday-Friday</td>
<td>Closure until 06p.m. (07:30p.m. in late day)</td>
<td>Without restrictions for establishments with less than 280sq. meters. m2. In the other cases, the opening hour was between 10a.m. and 06p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>Closure until 08p.m. (09:30p.m. in late day)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>Mandatory closure</td>
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Source: Based on Pereira et al. (2002); House of Commons (2013); HMSO (1950).

In 2006, 12 years after the drafting of legislation that regulated the opening hours on Sundays, the Government surveyed more than 1,000 members, consumer representatives, religious groups, labor
unions and industry associations, about the legislation and the need for further liberalization. The response was towards the actual situation (House of Commons 2013).

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In general terms, in the last 25 years one may highlight two models of retail planning quite different. The first, until middle of the 1990’s, intended the liberalization of the economy and fostered retail decentralization. Afterwards, a very different model was adopted with the policy of Town Centre First, focusing on the vitality and viability of town centres.

Various instruments and mechanisms have been adopted, especially the introduction of the sequential approach, the flexibility of the projects and the need test. In addition to the protection of town centres, aiming for their revitalization, other measures have been adopted. Among others we have enhanced the management of shopping areas, with schemes like TCM, BID or Portas Pilot Areas. Firstly introduced in the 1980’s, the dissemination of this kind of approach took place in the next decade and was formerly reinforced with BID legislation and Portas report.

This evolution can have very different understandings. In one hand, it’s the recognition of the importance of local level intervention. However, in other hand it is also the identification of the difficulty of intervene in this level, otherwise the need for evolution wouldn’t be felt, which can call into question the effectiveness of those models.

The impacts of these protective measures of the central areas were felt at the level of construction of new projects. According to information contained in a note prepared by the parliament of that country (All Parliamentary group on town centres 2011), in the 1980s, the percentage of newly built retail floorspace in town centres decrease. However, in the 1990’s, following the adoption of more restrictive measures this trend changed, and after the mid-1990’s newly-built retail floorspace in those areas started to increase.

A study of CB Hillier Parker and the University of Cardiff (CB Hillier Parker and Cardiff University 2004) concluded that the policies initiated in the 90s enabled a small increase in the construction of new retail floor space in central areas.

Nevertheless, the majority of construction continued to be in non-central areas. Despite these positive developments, according to Guy (2005) some problems have affected the policies undertaken in England. This author considered that the legislation (PPG and PPS) is ambiguous, contradictory and
confusing and that legal papers have focused too much on existing places hierarchy, not recognizing the wide variety of existing centres typologies.

Guy (2005) further acknowledged that excessive protection of central areas has prevented the redesigning of the network of centres while ignoring the existing peripheral retail and the decline of some suburban centres. Guy (2005) also recognizes that the Town centre first policy has caused problems at other levels, increase traffic congestion in the central areas, has ignored the impact of commercial structures that have been deployed in city centres, has failed to protect the small retail and has promoted the increase of rents.

Although many concepts were introduced, aiming to favour town centres, as the flexibility of new investments, their evaluation has always had a very strong subjective burden and leaved the final decision to local authorities, which may have decreased its effectiveness (regarding this subject Guy (1998) assumed that retail planning is less effective when it's done at local level).

Table 2 summarizes the evolution of the various documents, reports, legislation, main concepts and instruments that have marked retail planning in England in recent decades (except opening hours regulation, exposed in previous table).

During the most liberal period, public intervention didn't occur to its full extent. Following the change in the political ideology, the will to control retail location forced the strengthening of public intervention. This was felt initially by updating the main policy documents and the adoption of some concepts. In a second phase, the intervention was more active and, following retail decentralization, the legal basis for implementation of the BID were created and, following Portas report, new town centre management schemes began to be financially supported.

As a final remark one may conclude that the main policy documents works as mirrors of the political ideologies and, as such, have evolved significantly during the analysed period. The concepts and instruments applied as a part of the most restrictive English retail planning policies never seemed to be completely effective, partly due to the fact that the two main approaches in retail planning were balanced and, although with a trend for the preservation of existing retail structure and the vitality and viability of town centres, economic factors were also considered of high relevance and, as such, one may say that the effectiveness of retail planning policies was never a goal and, therefore, was never achieved.
As a future research agenda two different possibilities are opened. Because changes in the cities and in retail sector are continuous and are happening in the present it’s important to continue to update information about this subject. Nevertheless this research also opens the field for comparison of retail planning established in other national context from European countries broadening and deepening its analysis and discussion.
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