Access to shops: the views of low income shoppers[1]

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Abstract

Concern is mounting as the retail stranglehold upon access to food grows. Research on the implications of restructuring retailing and health inequality has failed to involve low income consumers in this debate. This paper reports on an exercise conducted for the UK Government's Social Exclusion Unit's Policy Action Team on Access to Shops. The survey provides a useful baseline of the views of low income groups in England. The choices that people on low income can make were found to be dominated by certain factors such as, income and, most importantly transport. Consumers reported varying levels of satisfaction with retail provision. The findings suggest gaps between what people have, what they want and what the planning process does not offer them. Better policy and processes are needed to include and represent the interests of low income groups.

Keywords

Poverty; retail provision; shopping; transport; consultation

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Introduction

Over the last decade, a UK debate about the impact of supermarkets and shopping on health has added an important new dimension to the analysis of health inequalities and resulting policy responses. This also has resonance in other countries and cultures. Supermarkets in the 1990s began to feel the impact of concerted criticism about the implications of losing local shopping provision and its effect on health, the quality of life and the environment.[1] [2] [3] [4] These criticisms have been sufficiently powerful to be endorsed within government, the Department for the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR),[5] the Environment Select Committee of the House of Commons,[6] and the Inquiry into Inequalities in Health, set up by the incoming Labour Government in 1997 and chaired by the former Chief Medical Officer.[7]

The issue raised by this critique is whether the restructuring of shopping has created a new version of an old problem in health - poor access to shops as a contributory factor to poor health.[8] The question is whether access to a range of foods and shops helps explain a wider observation that food contributes to health inequalities not just through the biochemistry of under-nutrition but also through inadequacy of supply and distribution.[9] In this complex debate, few studies systematically explore the views of people on low incomes themselves.[10] While the extent of poor food access and food poverty have been mapped by social researchers,[11] [12] geographers[13] [14] and nutritionists, [15] [16] commercial retail analysts and government have not gathered or made use of the available data on low income consumers. The retail sector has for decades pursued affluent consumers and only towards the end of its period of office (1979-97) did the Conservative government acknowledge that there was a problem.[17] [18]

There is no doubt that the local corner or village shop has disappeared in many areas of Britain.[19] [20] It is difficult to separate out the effects of supermarkets on the grocery industry from more general trends in the economy at large: concentration, mergers, labour market reform, intensification.[21] For many analysts, however, there is a direct link between the development of large supermarkets and the demise of the independent retailer.[22] The centres of many towns and cities have been decimated as out of town shopping has grown.[23] Most of the British population now spends the bulk of its food income in supermarkets with 70% of purchases accounted for by the five largest chains.[24] The take-over of one of Britain's big 5 supermarkets by the world's largest retailer Wal-Mart of the USA has brought home to UK policy-makers the impact of cross-border liberalisation which UK and European companies have used to buy abroad, but rarely experienced at home. Questions are now asked about where this leaves traditional state controls such as planning restrictions, recently introduced in the UK and France on out-of-town shopping developments. They are not immutable.[18] An irony is that the Labour government's deliberations are being observed by a shadow minister for planning and development who was chairman of Asda until its purchase by Wal-Mart.

To neo-liberal economists, the scale and efficiencies of large food retailers mean that food is cheaper and more accessible than it has ever been. British consumer food spending has certainly dropped from an average of over 30% in 1950 to 10% of disposable income today (compared to an average of 15% for the continental consumer). This figure hides within it many inequalities.[25] The poorest fifth of disadvantaged consumers spend up to 30% of their disposable income on food. The policy to pursue cheap food is marred by physical or social poor access.[26 27] The role of food as a social marker of social exclusion is potent. 'We are what we eat' can be translated into a new adage 'we eat what we are'. Food acts as a marker of status and place in society.[28 29]

The vehicle for the UK Government's entry into this complex issue of access to shops has been the newly created Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) based in the Cabinet Office, answerable directly to the Prime Minister.[30] Its first report refers to just one paper on food access[31] but resulted in the setting up of Policy Action Team (PAT) 13, which after a year produced a wide-ranging set of deliberations and recommendations.[32] The report received generally favourable responses but while the voluntary sector and small shops sector criticised it for being too soft on big retailers, the food industry saw its recommendations as being too focussed on community development and self-help.[33] Herein lies a policy paradox: should community development continue to provide to deprived communities what other less deprived communities receive from the private sector? Or should help be given to develop alternative forms of food shopping such as community stores and self-help? At the heart of this question lies the role of town planning, a neglected issue within social and health policy over the last two decades. But there are signs of a resurgence of interest, for example in the welcome report by the Urban Task Force, and a recognition that local retailing is an important factor in the life of communities.[34]

In this context, the views of low income people themselves are important. This paper presents findings from a survey conducted for the PAT 13 of the UK Government's Social Exclusion Unit. [30] The aim was to explore the shopping patterns of people on low incomes and to examine their opinions on, and barriers experienced with, current shopping facilities.

Methods

The study commissioned by the Department of Health was carried out by MORI in collaboration with the Centre for Food Policy at Thames Valley University. Interviews with 503 adults, aged 16 years and over, of social class D (semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers) and E (those on the lowest levels of subsistence including pensioners and casual workers) were carried out at 88 sampling points across England. Subjects were recruited in a door-to-door survey at their homes not at the point of purchase. These interviews were conducted in deprived areas, with higher than average penetration of social classes D and E. Face to face interviews were conducted at the subject's home (not at the point of purchase) in the period 9-17th February 1999. The interviews lasted on average 20 minutes. Sampling was by quota and points were selected in urban areas, with higher than average penetration of social classes D and E. It is important to note that the findings refer to urban areas and not to rural areas.

Characteristics of the sample

Of those people interviewed, 71% were the chief income earners in the household and 74% described themselves as the head of household. The main demographic characteristics of those people who were interviewed are given in Table 1

Table 1 Demographic characteristics of respondents

Characteristics	**%**
Male	47
Working full time	20
Pensioner	28
Dependent children in household	41
Ethnic Minority	8
Car/van ownership	43
Rented property	62
Social Class E *	52
Income of less than £80/week	21

* The remainder were class D

Base: 503 adults in social class DE aged 16+

A quarter of people interviewed (24%) were over the age of 65 years, this is slightly higher than the national average of 15%.[35] At the time of interview only 20% of respondents were in full time employment and 8% were working part time (see Table 1). Unemployment was reported by 20% of whom 11% were currently seeking work. Nine per cent were registered as disabled and receiving invalidity benefit.

Dependent children were present in 41% of households (48% national average [35]) and of these, 22% of households had children under the age of 5 years and 19% had children under 10 years. Only 8% of respondents were from an ethnic minority group (6% national average [35]). Over two thirds of people lived in rented property, again a figure higher than the national average.[35] People with children were less likely to rent their property.

Car ownership was reported by 43% of respondents. This compares with 70% [35] for the general population. Most people (95%) felt that the bus was their easiest form of public transport to access but nearly a third (30%) mentioned the train. Nearly a third of people (31%) had a net weekly income of under £100 and a third of these had children within the household. 21% of the sample had an income of less than £80 per week. These figures compare to the national definition of a low income household which is seen as those having an income half the national average income which is £125/week.[36] So officially 30% of the current sample would be defined as living in poverty.

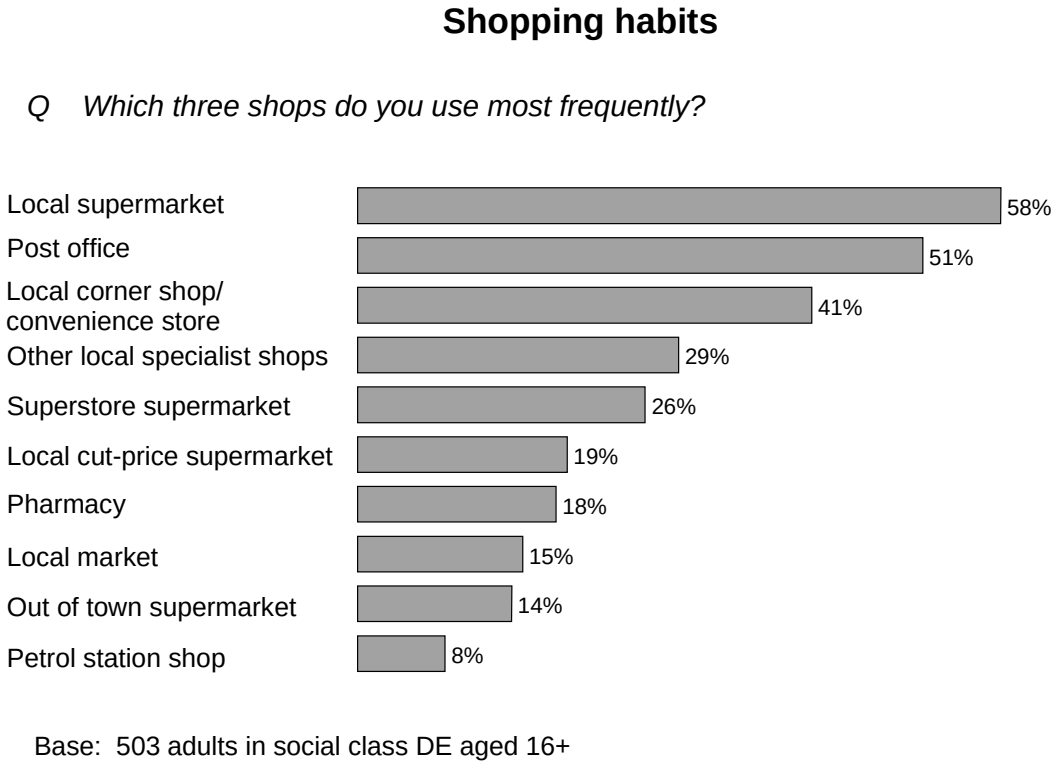
Of those interviewed, proportionally more lived in the North (46%), compared with 27% in the Midlands and 27% in the South.

Results

Where do people shop

When asked which three shops they used most frequently local supermarkets were by far the most frequently used shop followed by the post office and the local shop or convenience store (see figure 1).

Figure 1



Men were no more likely than women to shop at any particular type of shop, apart from the pharmacy where women shopped more often than men. This may reflect the health care element of women's roles in the family.

Pensioners were least likely to shop at their corner shop or at a superstore supermarket but more likely to make up a higher proportion of those shopping at the Post Office or the pharmacy.

Local corner shops and other local specialist shops were visited most frequently with 86% of the respondents shopping there at least 2-3 times a week. Two-thirds also reported shopping at other local specialist shops and local supermarkets. Superstore supermarkets and out of town supermarkets were visited less regularly by their shoppers. Those with access to a car or a van were twice as likely to shop at an out-of-

town supermarket than those without (28% vs. 14%). This may reflect the issues of access and the fact that trips to out of town supermarkets are dedicated shopping trips and the fact that economics of scale (buying in bulk) tend to be the norms of supermarket shopping

Income as a factor influencing shopping patterns

Those with a net weekly income in excess of £100 were less likely to use local specialist shops and more likely to use superstores and out of town supermarkets or shop at a petrol station shop. Shoppers spent least at the pharmacy and the post office with three fifths spending no more than £5 a week there. This reflects their predominant use by older age groups. Small amounts were also spent at local corner shops and other local specialist shops. Two thirds of shoppers spent over £20 a week at local and superstores and local supermarkets. Sixteen percent of respondents spent £20 a week or less on food, with three in ten of these people being aged over 65 years.

However, shoppers at local cut-price supermarkets and at local markets were more likely to mention the low prices (70% and 44% respectively) as an important factor. The most popular unprompted reasons for using superstore supermarkets and out of town supermarkets were their low prices and range of goods available, mentioned by a quarter to a third of shoppers (24%-33%). Convenience was a less important reason for shopping at superstore and out of town supermarkets, spontaneously mentioned by 19% and 14% respectively.

Family as a factor influencing shopping patterns

Over two thirds of families with children surveyed, shopped at the corner shop and 61% used local supermarkets and 47% shopped at local specialist shops. Those who were not working were less likely to use the corner shop or a superstore supermarket. There were also reported regional differences in shopping patterns with local supermarkets being used by 74% in the North, compared with 67% of those in the South and 55% of people in the Midlands. Local pharmacies were used by 63% of Southerners, 47% of Northerners and 55% of those living in the Midlands.

Transport

Those with access to their own transport were less likely to use local specialist shops and more likely to use superstores (45% vs. 54%), they were also more likely to shop at superstore (41% vs. 30%), to use out of town supermarkets (28% vs. 14%) or to shop at petrol station shops (38% vs. 6%) compared to those without access to their own transport. Over 90% of responders were no more than 30 minutes away from the shops they used.

Also related to access, a fifth of shoppers at local corner shops and local supermarkets said they went there because it was easier for them to carry their shopping home. The

local supermarket was less than 10 minutes away for 73% of people and 61% usually walked there.

Shopping behaviour

Over half of people (58%) reported that the local supermarket was one of the shops they most frequently used and gave multiple reasons. For 95% the main reason was because it was the most convenient and for 71% it was closest to their home. A total of 69% reported that it was the cheapest and 61% felt that there was a wide range of goods available. The main food shopping was done at a local supermarket by 84% of people who reported that this was one of the places they most frequently shopped. Other household goods (40%), toiletries (38%) and top up food items (35%) were the other items most frequently bought at this venue. Over £40 a week was spent in local supermarkets by 28% of the sample.

Of the 208 people who used their local corner shop, a third, (32%) reported that they used it once a day. The main reasons for using this type of shop was convenience (41%) and the fact that it was closest to their home (48%). Three quarters (75%) of people tended to buy food – top-up items in the local corner shop but only 11% used it for their main shop. Newspapers/magazines (39%) and cigarettes (31%) were the other major items bought locally. Ninety percent of this group felt very or fairly satisfied with their local corner shop. Approximately half (52%) spent £10 or less in their local shop and a further quarter (24%) spent between £11 and £20 per week.

Younger respondents were much more likely to shop at their local corner shop than older people, particularly the over 65 year age group (71% vs. 38%). This may reflect an aspect of lifestyle with younger people perhaps less likely to shop routinely and perhaps adopt a more ad hoc approach.[37] Younger people were more likely to report that they wanted a wider choice of goods (23% vs. 3%) and cheaper goods (50% vs. 38%) than the elderly. People with children in the household were more likely to use the local corner shop (67%) or a local supermarket (61%) than any other type of shop and to use these more frequently. A quarter of families and a quarter of people aged between 16-29 years spent more than £20 in this type of shop. People without access to a car were also more likely to spend more than £20 per week at their local corner shop (25% vs. 19%). Most (93%) people walked to their corner shop and for three quarters (74%) the shop was less than 5 minutes away.

Satisfaction and expectations with current shopping outlets

Nine out of ten shoppers were satisfied with the shops they used. Satisfaction was particularly high with pharmacies (75% very satisfied) and superstores and out of town supermarkets (65% and 63% respectively very satisfied). Relatively, local corner shops were not rated as highly (four in ten being very satisfied). In many cases, friendly staff was picked out by at least a quarter of users of each shop, and special offers given as a reason for shopping at supermarkets (local, superstores and out of town) by three in ten - although this was rarely given as the main reason for using a certain shop.

Most respondents were unable to describe whether they felt that their shopping facilities were better or worse than other areas. The 30-49 year age group were the most positive about their locality. Those living in the south of England were more likely to think that they had better facilities for shopping than elsewhere. (27% better vs 9% worse). Half felt that the overall quality was better now. Those who were not working and those earning less than £100 per week were less satisfied with the changes over the last 10 years compared with those who were employed and those who were higher earners (48% satisfied against 63% of workers and 44% satisfied against 55% of high earners).

Table 2 shows the main reasons why certain shopping facilities were used by respondents. Local shops tended to be used because they were closest, most convenient and easiest to get to, whereas big supermarkets and superstores tend to be used because they have a wide range of goods. For 74%, the corner shop was less than 5 minutes away, markets and supermarkets took longer to get to.

Table 2 Main reasons (%) why certain shopping facilities were used.

Shopping facility	N	Cheapest %	Range of goods %	Easiest to get to %	Closest %	Most convenient %	Shopping facility less than 5 minutes away -%
Local supermarket	293	95	94	85	100	100	30
Post office	257	4	11	63	93	99	53
Local shop/convenience store	208	26	27	100	100	100	74
Other specialist shops	144	41	50	94	100	100	49
Superstore supermarket	129	95	100	48	48	74	16
Local cut price supermarket	94	100	100	57	74	73	26
Local market	77	100	86	65	79	82	23
Out of town supermarket	70	93	100	40	37	57	19
Pharmacy	91	11	52	75	100	96	36
Petrol station shop	41	37	15	56	76	100	63

Total of 1404 responses from 503 respondents

Improvements needed in local shopping

When subjects were asked what changes/improvements they would like to see to their corner shop, 38% said cheaper goods, 26% more special offers and 24% a wider choice (Figure 2). One in five wanted longer opening hours, and this was over twice as important to the 16-29 year old than to the over 50 year olds. Younger respondents were also more likely to ask for more special offers (38% compared to 26% overall). Cheaper shops were especially important to those aged between 30 to 49, and to those with children in the household (half of respondents in these groups).

Figure 2 The three most important improvements that would improve local shopping.

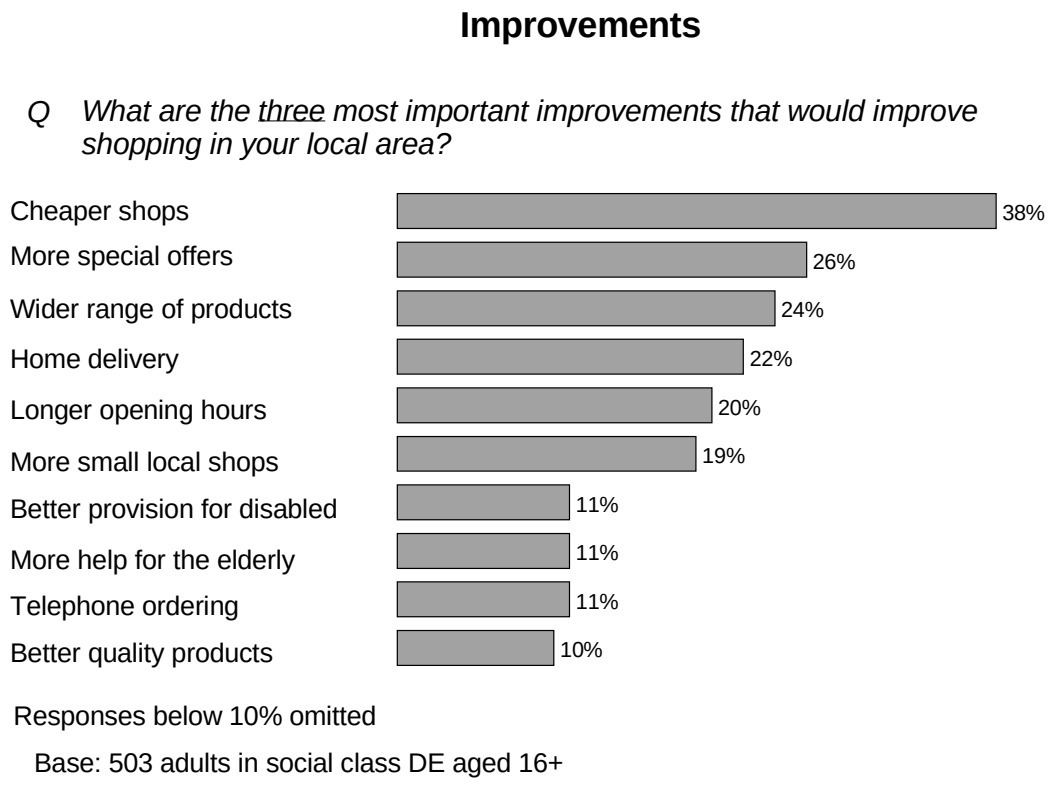
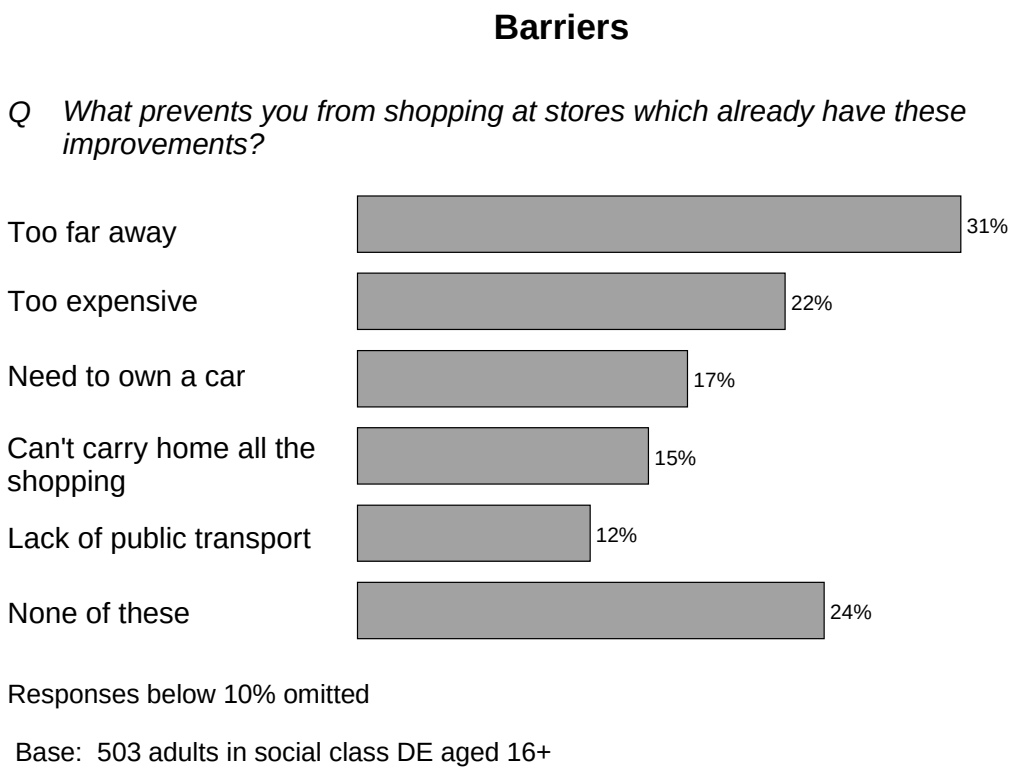


Figure 3 The most important identified barriers to shopping



Shoppers' needs

The biggest barrier to using better shopping facilities is distance and was mentioned by three in ten respondents (figure 3). Of the top five barriers to shopping improvement, four were concerned with transport of one form or another (too far away/distance, car ownership, can't carry the goods home and lack of public transport). Cost was also an important issue for a fifth of low income shoppers. Younger respondents being more likely to mention both the distance and expense as barriers, i.e. 41% of 16-29 year olds vs. 25% of over 65s (distance) and 27% vs. 13% (expense). Women were twice as likely as men to say they cannot carry home all the shopping (20% vs. 10%).

Barriers preventing people using shops offering cheaper goods and a wider range of goods included the fact that better shops were too far away (31%), people needed to own a car (17%) or they could not carry there shopping home (15%) or public transport was lacking (12%). Women were twice as likely as men to report that they could not carry home all the shopping (20% vs. 10%).

Reliable public transport to facilitate shopping was mentioned by 38% of respondents, a quarter (25%) wanted cheaper public transport, 22% reported they wanted to own a car and 19% wanted community transport. Half of people with younger children reported that they had access to a car /van compared with 37% of those who had children in their family.

A quarter of respondents felt that none of the barriers on the list prevented them from shopping at better facilities.

Consumer Views of Supermarkets

Attitudes to shopping were ascertained by asking respondents whether they felt that the increase in large supermarkets were a good thing for them, 60% agreed, however, a sizeable minority -24%- disagreed (Figure 4). Those with access to a car had a more favourable opinion to supermarkets than those without (65% vs. 56%). Workers with a car were also more likely to be supportive of large supermarkets with 70% agreeing that it had been a good thing for them. Feelings against supermarkets hardened amongst the over 65s and those with an income of less than £100 per week.

Nearly half of the sample (46%) felt that shopping facilities were designed for the wealthy. Eighty six percent of consumers were of the opinion that local shops played an important part in the local community.

However, this hides an interesting and potentially significant and difference between regions. Respondents in the South were much more likely to think the shops they use are better than shops in other areas (27% better vs. 9% worse), whereas opinion is much more divided in the North (22% vs. 22%) and in the Midlands (18% vs. 22%). (It should however be borne in mind that respondents were not asked to compare their shopping facilities with those in other named areas, i.e. respondents in the South were not asked to compare their shops specifically with those in “the North”, and so on).

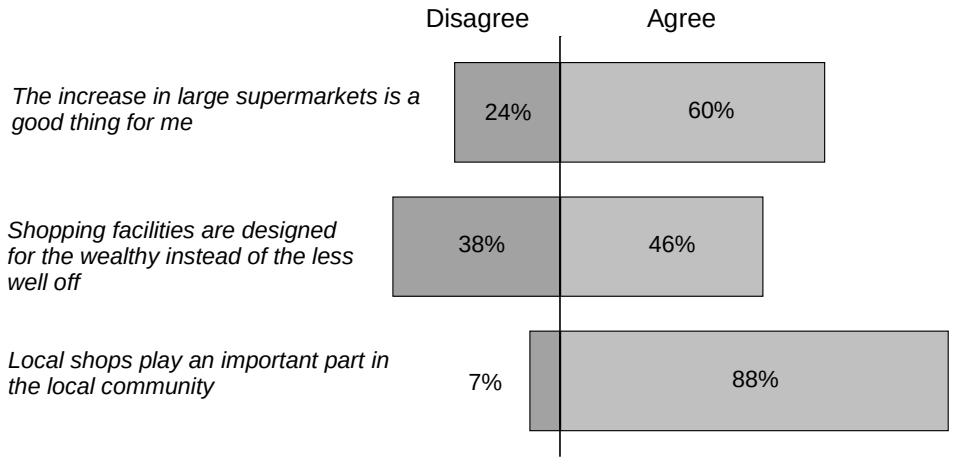
What do people want government to do?

Of those people interviewed, 86% had never been asked about what they wanted in terms of shopping facilities. Nearly 60% felt that it was the local council/authorities responsibility to take account of their residents’ views on shopping. In order to improve shopping facilities, 46% thought that suggestion boxes should be available in shops, 38% valued opinion surveys and 19% wanted discussion with their local council.

Figure 4 Opinions towards supermarket development

General opinions towards shopping

Q How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following things that have been said about shopping?



Base: 503 adults in social class DE aged 16+

However, there was a clear belief that local shops play an important part in the local community. Almost nine in ten agreed with that statement, and 47% did so *strongly*.

Discussion

Pensioners were least likely to shop at their corner shop or at a superstore supermarket but were more likely to make up a higher proportion of those shopping at the Post Office or the pharmacy (at which women shop more often than men). This finding supports the importance of retaining retail outlets such as the Post Office as important for certain groups of shoppers. The predominant use by older age shoppers of the post office was reflected in the spending in these areas with three fifths spending no more than £5 a week there. The use of the Post Office as one of the most frequently visited shops supports data from projects such as the Community Oriented Retailing (COR) project[38] that shopping for many groups is a social activity linking with the collecting of their pension or child support. In recent years local post offices in urban areas have become less likely to sell other goods such as food. The COR project supports the development of Post Offices as centres for community retailing and also as elements of the social network of a neighbourhood. At the moment there are three pilot COR projects exploring this approach across the country.

Those with access to a car or a van and/or a net weekly income in excess of £100 are twice as likely to shop at an out of town supermarket than those without a car. This may reflect issues of easy access and the fact that trips to out of town supermarkets are dedicated shopping trips or that the economics of scale (buying in bulk) tend to be the norms of supermarket shopping. Over 90% of these responders were no more than 30

minutes away from the shops they used. The most popular reasons given spontaneously for going to superstore supermarkets and out of town supermarkets were their low prices and range of goods available, mentioned by a quarter to a third of their shoppers. Again these findings reflect the findings from other work that access to a car and an adequate income are the prime determinants to whether people shop in out of town supermarkets. Even where access is possible consumers express a concern that they are less likely to take advantage of supermarkets as they cannot afford to be tempted from their usual purchasing patterns because of the fear of waste.[39] The fact that suburban supermarkets offer healthy food at the cheapest prices is offset by the fact people from low income brackets spend less in supermarkets and cannot afford the transport costs to access such sources. [40] [41]

Over two thirds of people with children shopped at the corner shop and 61% used local supermarkets with the biggest barrier being identified as distance and was mentioned by three in ten respondents. This may indicate a need to keep and or eliminate travel costs. Women and pensioners people are twice as likely as men to say they cannot carry home all the shopping.

The present findings of low income group usage of supermarkets, contrasts sharply with both UK and US data which show that over 90% of the population do their weekly shop at a supermarket. In the USA, possibly because of greater car access, the difference between income levels and their shopping sources are negligible, both groups (low income and the US population) running at 80% in terms of using supermarkets.[42]

The current survey suggests small amounts are spent on a regular basis at local corner shops and other local specialist shops. Cost is also an important issue for a fifth of low income shoppers. In effect we know that local supermarkets are more expensive for nearly all foodstuffs.[43]

There was a high satisfaction rating given to existing sources of food retailing. Supermarkets were rated particularly highly. 60% of respondents thought that growth of supermarkets were a good thing for them and one fifth held this opinion strongly. Those with access to a car had a more favourable opinion to out of town supermarkets than those without cars. Feelings against supermarkets hardened amongst the over 65s and those with an income of less than £100 per week again probably reflecting fears of spending too much on goods they were not familiar with and did not want. Against this nearly half of the sample felt that shopping facilities were designed for the wealthy, this indicating a degree of isolation from the norm.

The high approval rating for supermarkets especially among the young presents a picture where the process of development could be through the extension of commercial retailing into deprived areas. This however needs to be balanced with the finding that eighty six percent of consumers were of the opinion that local shops played an important part in the local community. This was also reflected in reports about the friendliness of local shops and the social roles they played, especially in the lives of those who are marginalised. Interviews did however indicate that in general people wished to support their local shops and valued them as part of their local community. Despite these views it was felt that there was still room for improvement

particularly in ensuring lower prices and a wider range of locally available goods. The main barrier to better shopping is access either for want of a car or for better low cost public transport. A key social policy issue remains for all groups in society the issue of whether to bring food to people or people to food. At the moment the poor and marginalised do not have access in either sense to affordable and healthy fresh food. For those on low incomes the attraction of supermarkets may be related to a feeling of wanting to be included in what is for the majority a normal routine.[44]

In the UK the Co-operative Wholesale Society (CWS) has pioneered a model of how a large retail business can help foster small community businesses beyond the community voluntaristic 'mode' and into a more viable, mainstream retail provision. Since the early 1990s, the CWS has developed structural links with the new generation of small, local co-operatives in Scotland (many of them food co-operatives), enabling them to build on the older co-operative movement's experience of retailing, management skills and commitment to the community. CWS calls this the Dual Approach, providing a link between commerce and community. This approach is supported by the experience of many food and low income projects. In particular, the CWS has offered the new co-ops:[45]

- access to its vastly more efficient wholesale system;
- interest -free 12 months loans for stocking;
- commitment to support the International Co-op Alliance goal of making the co-op self-reliant within 2 years.

A potential problem with the community-led approach is that it asks already disadvantaged communities to adopt a double burden. Already lacking commercial services, they now have to become social entrepreneurs for their community.[46] Work in the USA demonstrates that neighbourhood stores or businesses that develop a community perspective - alongside business efficiency issues such as good labour, security and volume – can succeed.[47] The argument is that there is a mutual interest for business in helping develop community perspectives. Consulting with and involving the community should be part of good management principles. Local Government action can help success of neighbourhood stores by helping tackle issues of crime and safety. The US Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) puts together a variety of community businesses.[48] In Harlem, New York, shops such as a supermarket, an optical store and a playground have been set up using Community Development Corporations (CDCs). In contrast to this community approach favoured by Anglo-Saxon neo-liberal culture, in continental Europe, policy, where it has existed, has tended to promote diversity of shopping formats.[49] In Germany, for example, there is a federal scheme ‘Neighbourhood Shop 2000’ which helps transform existing small shops into neighbourhood stores.

National government, regional and local authorities may need to find ways of attracting capital to deprived areas in order to encourage commercial provision of food in local areas.[50] This could, as suggested in PAT 13, be achieved by establishing a loan guarantee scheme to help retailers set up new businesses in deprived areas or the development of community owned shops. Whatever the wider issues of sustainability these need to be built in. The 1997 community-led Foodworks Enquiry in Scotland concluded that supermarkets should “*be encouraged to operate in residential areas with easy access by foot or public transport. Supermarkets should be*

encouraged to market locally sources and branded goods." [51] For all its limitations, the PAT 13 survey sets an important precedent such as, a health department led national inquiry into ways of improving access to a decent diet and other retail services. This could be a welcome sign of public health getting involved in decisions and structures for so long left to planners.[52] In the UK, the system of Planning Policy Guidance Notes (PPGs) needs to be revised to include health dimensions. PPG6 on Town Centres and Retail Developments currently allows for consultation on the range of facilities and appropriately sized local supermarkets, and to keep pharmacies and post offices available to all. PPG13 emphasises getting shopping into existing centres and promoting neighbourhood centres also can be used to consult with local communities.[53] [54]

In addition, new policy directions such as Health Improvement Plans and Health Action Zones allow for consultation with the local community over matters impacting on their health status.

The place and role of local shops in the community should not be underestimated. The good news is that both at the political level and among academics, there is agreement that public policy needs to change and could make a difference.[7] [24] [40] [43] The future may be one where both health and local authorities take a more active role in ensuring a mix of food retailing, which includes the full range from community development and volunteer projects and farmers or street markets, to local small shops and local rather than distant supermarkets.

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