PUBLIC SHOPPING HABITS AND CONVENIENCES

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Tata Institute of Social Sciences
Bombay, India

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PREFACE

SHOPPING is a complex social problem. In fact, for the bulk of the population, personal shopping is both an economic necessity and a pleasurable activity. Public shopping needs reflect in large measure the pattern of consumption, whilst shopping habits indicate the covenience with which the consumer can meet his day-to-day needs. It follows that shopping facilities and shopping hours should be planned not only to afford maximum convenience for the shopping public, but also to fill up the gaps caused by the lack of social facilities in different areas of the city.

It is not enough for goods and services to be available in a shopping centre ; their accessibility and ease of distribution are of paramount importance. The shopping public should be able to obtain them whenever it suits their convenience. Since the public does the bulk of shopping personally, and will continue to do so in the foreseeable future, the type and quality of shopping facilities should be commensurate with the broad issues of public interest.

This brochure presents the findings of systematic inquiry into public shopping habits and conveniences in four city areas, consciously selected from urban and suburban localities, in order to give a representative cross-section of the shoppers belonging to different income levels and occupational classes. The areas surveyed were Worli (low-income, urban), Kurla (low-income, suburban), Dadar (medium-income, urban), and Khar (medium-income, suburban). Sections from these areas, containing approximately 1, 200 households were delimited for investigation, and a sample of 400 households was drawn at random from each section. This sample information represents, therefore, 2,622 shoppers, distributed in 1,600 households containing 9,408 persons. Generalizations have been made for 28,244 consumer population, the universe of inquiry, representing all areas as a whole.

The experiences of the shopping public, crystallized as they are in their habits, should be the best guide to a more efficient pattern without unduly altering the existing shopping practices. Nevertheless, to make retail distribution more effective, and to satisfy the needs of the public with greater efficiency, a continuous and systematic reorganization of existing shopping facilities may become inevitable.

If the facts embodied in this survey are given due consideration alike by the retail distributor and the Local Authority, not only the errors of the past can be rectified, but the future needs of the shopping public accurately forestalled. It would be possible, eventually, to remove for all time many of the problems of control and regulation now attendant on shopping legislation. There should certainly be opportunities for such fruitful enterprise in all cities of India where future shopping requirements are being planned by Local Authorities.

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CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

PUBLIC SHOPPING HABITS AND CONVENIENCES

I CROSS-DIVISION OF SHOPPING PUBLIC

Shopping is, perhaps, an activity next in importance only to working for a livelihood. It is carried out by the vast majority of people in modern society. Since a major portion of household income is spent in shops, it is a matter of some importance that the system of distribution should conform to the needs of the consumer population as a whole.

To appreciate fully the various aspects of the shopping problem in urban society, it is desirable to know with some accuracy the existing habits of the population concerned most with shopping responsibility. Shopping habits vary with groups of shoppers belonging not only to different income levels, age and sex, or occupational classes, but also to urban and suburban neighbourhoods. A cross-division of the shopping public should indicate the characteristic shopping habits and practices of each group of shoppers, and guide the planner in reorganizing the existing shopping facilities and conveniences to suit the requirements of the public concerned.

A broad analysis of consumer population in all areas revealed that every household indulges in some form of shopping, and that every fourth person is one type of shopper (main) or another (subsidiary). Though the number of main shoppers is approximately constant in all areas, the relative strength of subsidiary shoppers (assisting the main shopper) is greater in low-income areas (e.g. Worli and Kurla) than medium-income areas (Dadar and Khar). It appears that, in low-income areas, a larger number of household members supplement the work of the main shopper. This is due to two reasons: *first*, that the main shopper in low-income groups is a working shopper and does not find enough leisure to attend to all shopping commitments, and *second*, that comparatively low-income households indulge in more frequent buying in small lots, particularly in the local marketing centres, than the medium-income households.

TABLE No. 1

DISTRIBUTION OF MAIN AND SUBSIDIARY SHOPPERS

Area	Main	Subsidiary	Total
Worli	400	288	688
Dadar	400	254	654
Kurla	400	295	695
Khar	400	185	585
Total	1,600	1,022	2,622

On the average, about 66 per cent of the total number of main shoppers come within the age-group 25-44 years, which implies that younger and older persons usually do not take to main shopping activity unless forced by circumstances. The largest proportion of female shoppers (43%) are between 25 and 34 years, and most of these confine their activities to the local shopping centre. Generally speaking, most of the males below 25 years of age and females of all ages, make a greater use of the local shopping centre. The main shopping centre is used largely by males of middle age only.

In order to study the influence of household income on shopping commitments and shopping habits, the shoppers were distributed into three major income-groups, viz., low income (below Rs. 3,600 per annum), medium income (Rs. 3,600-7,200) and high income (Rs. 7,200 and over). The following table shows the distribution of shoppers according to income level of the household :—

TABLE No. 2

ANALYSIS OF SHOPPERS BY INCOME GROUP

Area	Low Income (%)	Medium Income (%)	High Income (%)	Total (100%)
Worli	92.0	8.0	—	688
Dadar	19.9	52.5	27.6	654
Kurla	89.1	10.7	0.2	695
Khar	30.5	40.0	29.5	585

TABLE No. 3

Size and Composition of Shopper's Households in Urban and Sub-Urban Zones

Zone	No. of Households	Type of Households		Composition of Household				Total	Average No. of Persons per Household
		With Dependants	Single Person Only	Adults		Children			
				Male	Female	Male	Female		
I *Urban* : (Sub-Total)	800	793	7	1,886	1,303	805	769	4,763	6
(*a*) Worli	400	398	2	981	560	331	329	2,201	6
(*b*) Dadar	400	395	5	905	743	474	440	2,562	6
II. *Sub-Urban* : (Sub-Total)	800	792	8	1,741	1,443	811	650	4,645	6
(*a*) Kurla	400	396	4	743	621	349	238	1,951	5
(*b*) Khar	400	396	4	998	822	462	412	2,694	7
Total ..	1,600	1,585	15	3,627	2,746	1,616	1,419	9,408	6

Obviously, the largest proportion of shoppers in the low-income level is found in Worli and Kurla, and that of the medium income level in Dadar and Khar. It is only in Dadar and Khar that the high-income class of shoppers appears in some strength. The mingling of income groups in varying proportions offers a clue to the quantity and variety of goods and services consumed in different localities, and gives a characteristic stamp to shopping problems of each neighbourhood area.

Not only the size of shopper's household, but also the composition (males and females) and relative strength of its members (i.e., adults and children, working and non-working dependants) determine the shopping needs and throw some light on the shopping habits of consumer population. Our analysis showed that the average shopper's household consists of 6 persons ; the ratio between adults and children is 2:1, and between males and females 3:2. Except for 15 households, out of a total of 1,600 under survey, all contain dependants. The proportion of male to female dependent children is higher in suburban areas than in urban areas. Although the "Single-person-households" are equally divided between the urban and suburban areas, their frequency is higher in the medium-income, urban area (Dadar) and lower in the low-income, urban area (Worli): Ref. Table No. 3.

Information on the use of shopping centres is tabulated below :—

TABLE No. 4

PROPORTION WHO USE THE LOCAL OR THE MAIN OR BOTH SHOPPING CENTRES, ANALYSED BY URBAN AND SUB-URBAN AREAS

Area	Local Centre Only (%)	Main Centre Only (%)	Both Centres (%)
Worli ..	2.0	..	98.0
Dadar ..	18.2	0.2	81.6
Kurla ..	70.0	..	30.0
Khar ..	13.0	..	87.0
All Areas	25.8	0.2	74.0

The Local Shopping Centre refers to shops round the corner and includes footpath stalls of a permanent nature. The Main Shopping Centre is the central market in the heart of the city. The distinction between the Local and the Main Centre is not very rigid in urban areas, because the Main Centre is often an extension of the local market. In suburban areas, however, the Local Shopping Centre is confined within the neighbourhood, and the Main Centre is the nearest main market in the city-area.

Except in Kurla, a low-income suburban area, almost four-fifths of the total number of shoppers use both the Local and the Main Shopping Centres. Main shopping facilities are available in urban areas, but in suburban areas the distance factor (involving high cost of travel) tends to restrict the shopping activity largely to the Local Centre. Besides regional differences, apparently the highest proportion of shoppers who use the Local Shopping Centre is found amongst the low-income groups.

A further analysis of shoppers, according to the use of shopping centres, shows that the type of shopping activity undertaken at the Main Centre is either of a *capital* or *luxury* type, i.e., to meet periodic and non-essential wants, and therefore less frequent. Shopping at the Local Centre is of the *daily-use* type, to meet basic and recurrent wants, and therefore more frequent. Since shopping commitments in terms of commodities indicate the reasons for visiting the Local or Main Shopping Centre, it is necessary to study the proportion of shoppers visiting different trade types of shops in each centre.

Table No. 5 will show that in all areas as a whole, the largest number of shoppers use the following trade types of shops in the Local Centre only: IV. Services (83.4%), I. Food and Foodstuffs (71.9%), V. Grocery (65.7%), VI. Books and Stationery (59.8%), and II. Cloth and Clothing (50.4%). Consequently, not Food but Services group exhibits the highest density of shoppers, and not Clothing but Grocery group indicates the greatest intensity of wants for certain commodity class in the Local Shopping Centre.

The trade types of shops which show the highest density of shoppers in the Main Shopping Centre are: XI. Automobile Service

(96.6%), X. Luxury Goods (95.1%), IX. Jewellery (84.5%), and III. Household Equipment (80.6%). Other trade types, equally used in the Main as well as the Local Shopping Centres, are, Medical Services, Recreational Centres, Tobacconist, Cloth and Clothing. Consequently, not the capital type but the luxury type exhibits the highest density, and not Medical Services but Cloth and Clothing group indicates the greatest intensity of wants which prompts the public to use preferably the Main Shopping Centre.

TABLE No. 5

DENSITY OF SHOPPERS ANALYSED BY AREA AND TYPE OF SHOP

	Type of Shop	Worli (%)	Dadar (%)	Kurla (%)	Khar (%)	All Areas (%)
I.	Food & Foodstuffs	66.1	61.6	81.1	75.1	71.9
II.	Cloth & Clothing	27.0	61.6	73.3	39.6	50.4
III.	Household Equipment	14.4	30.1	13.4	19.7	19.4
IV.	Services	84.7	83.5	76.6	88.7	83.4
V.	Grocery	18.5	77.0	94.2	73.2	65.7
VI.	Books & Stationery	33.5	81.7	53.5	70.5	59.8
VII.	Tobacconist	42.8	42.8	64.8	32.0	45.6
VIII.	Medical Services	24.9	44.8	21.4	40.3	32.9
IX.	Jewellery	..	19.0	22.7	5.0	15.5
X.	Arts Emporium	..	10.0	0.3	4.5	4.9
XI.	Automobile Service	0.1	2.5	..	7.5	3.4
XII.	Recreational Centres	0.5	44.0	64.7	49.0	39.6

N.B.—In each area (column heading) and for each type of shop (vertical caption) 400=100.0 per cent.

II FREQUENCY OF VISITS

Although several reasons may prompt the shoppers to visit a shopping centre, the question: "how often do you visit the Local or the Main Centre," applies, in this form, to purchases rather than mere visits. Thus the influence of a certain amount of aimless shop walking is eliminated, but not the fact that more than one exploratory visit may be customary before some relatively expensive article is purchased. As would be expected, despite this flexibility in visits to the Main Shopping Centre, the Local Shopping Centre is visited far more frequently than the Central. The following table shows the proportion of shoppers in all areas who use the Local and Main Shopping Centres respectively by frequency of visits :—

TABLE No. 6

FREQUENCY OF VISITS TO SHOPPING CENTRES

Frequency of Visits	Local (%)	Main (%)
Every Day	82.7	25.7
Thrice a Week	5.1	1.6
Twice a Week	3.5	7.0
Once a Week	3.6	22.4
Twice a Month	0.2	4.7
Once a Month	..	25.9
Occasionally	4.9	12.7

It is evident that about four-fifths of the total number of shoppers, alike in urban or suburban, and high-income or low-income areas, visit the Local Shopping Centre everyday, and more than nine-tenths under a week ; the corresponding proportions for the Main or Central Shopping Centre are one-fourth and one-half respectively. For a majority of shoppers, visits to the Main Shopping Centre are Weekly, Monthly or Occasional activities.

The age and occupational status of the shopper exercise no particular influence on the frequency of visits. But the shoppers of ages below 24 and above 55 go far less frequently to the Main Shopping Centres. In comparison with the Local Centres, the Main Centres are much farther away and are not only used by a smaller proportion of younger and older shoppers, but they are also used less frequently. Differences in frequency between certain occupational groups are also not very striking ; relatively small proportions of the Mill-hands, Clerical and Menial Service classes in

TABLE No. 7

Proportion Who Use Local Shopping Centres Analysed by Frequency of Visits

Zone	FREQUENCY OF VISITS								Total (100%)
	Every Day (%)	Six Days a Week (%)	Five Days a Week (%)	Four Days a Week (%)	Three Days a Week (%)	Two Days a Week (%)	One Day a Week (%)	One Day in a Fortnight (%)	
Worli	83.0	..	..	..	7.8	5.5	2.7	1.0	400
Dadar	92.7	..	..	..	4.5	2.0	0.8	..	399
Kurla	77.7	12.5	0.5	4.0	2.7	0.8	1.8	..	400
Khar	77.5	1.2	0.8	0.5	5.2	5.8	9.0	..	400

Worli and Kurla (the low-income areas) do not visit the Local as well as the Main Centres frequently, and this is true also of the Merchant, Professional and Managerial classes in Dadar and Khar (the medium-to-high income areas).

An analysis by economic status showed that rather more of those belonging to the lower income groups (i.e., below Rs. 3,600 per annum) went every day to the Local Shopping Centre than those belonging to higher income groups; it shows also the tendency for an increase in frequency of visiting the Main Shopping Centre as income rises. In Worli about 14% of the shoppers in the income group 'below Rs. 75 p.m.', and in Dadar and Khar about 33% and 20% respectively, in the income group 'Rs. 75-150 p.m.', visited the Local Shopping Centre only once in a week. This tendency is due, perhaps, as much to the nature of occupation which prohibits opportunities for "everyday" shopping, as to the limited purchasing power in the hands of shoppers who could not afford more frequent visits even to the Local Shopping Centres. An unusually large proportion of shoppers in Dadar visit the Main Shopping Centre, which may be due to the contiguous location of the Local and Main centres, one merging imperceptibly into the other at several points in that area. Wherever the Main centre is more accessible as in Parel-Dadar or Dadar-Matunga area, a higher frequency of visits to the Main centre will generally become the rule for all income groups.

It should be particularly noted that the types of shops visited every day by a large proportion of shoppers are Food and Foodstuffs, Services, Grocery and Books and Stationery, whereas the bulk of visits to Clothing shops, Hardware stores, Laundry, Flour Mill, Music shops and Recreation Centres are at the rate of under a week, and to the Medical Store, Furniture and Household Equipment, Arts Emporium and Bank fairly over a month. The generally high calling rate for Books and Stationery shops is influenced by calls for periodicals and newspapers ; whilst for Services the high frequency of visits is, in general, neither stable throughout the year nor universal for all services (personal and impersonal) in all areas. Visits to the flour mill and fuel store, for instance, are under a week in low income areas, but under a month in medium-to-high income areas ; likewise, whilst the Laundry is visited

TABLE No. 8

Proportion Who Use Main Shopping Centres Analysed by Frequency of Visits

Zone	Frequency of Visits												Total (100%)
	Every Day (%)	Six Days a Week (%)	Five Days a Week (%)	Four Days a Week (%)	Three Days a Week (%)	Two Days a Week (%)	One Day a Week (%)	One Day in a Fort-night (%)	One Day in a Mon-th (%)	One Day in 3 Mon-ths (%)	One Day in 6 Mon-ths (%)	One Day in a Year (%)	
Worli ..	14.3	..	..	..	1.5	3.3	20.9	16.8	22.2	16.8	2.1	2.1	392
Dadar ..	32.4	..	..	..	1.5	5.1	24.5	1.8	18.6	2.7	5.8	7.6	327
Kurla ..	0.8	15.8	..	..	1.7	0.8	10.0	15.0	45.8	4.2	4.2	1.7	120
Khar ..	5.2	..	..	..	1.7	18.7	34.2	16.4	17.0	5.7	0.8	0.3	348

weekly and Hairdressing Saloon under a month in medium-to-high income areas, the rate of visits to these personal service shops is over a month and under three months in low income areas. The frequency of visits is greater, in general, for personal than impersonal services in low income areas, and for impersonal than personal services in medium-to-high income areas. A careful study of the frequency of calls at different trade types of shops should enable the planner to estimate the proportion of various trade types in determining the size and composition of shopping centres in low and high income areas.

There is a large body of shoppers who visit certain types of shops several times during the day. Shops visited two-to-three times a day are Milk and Milk Products, Greengrocery, Provision Store, Tobacco and *Pan* Shops, Restaurants and Food and Drink (Footpath) Stalls. In lower income households, foodstuffs are usually bought piecemeal, and often at separate times for the main mid-day and evening meals; hence the high rate of frequency for the Food Groups in low income areas. Not infrequently the Restaurants and *Pan* Shops are visited more than three times a day. It is the habit of many workers to take their meals or light refreshments on their way to or returning from work, and even during working hours. Moreover, since Bombay Restaurants, besides providing food and drink, also stock general merchandize, patent medicines, stationery and tobacco, they are repeatedly visited by many shoppers during the day. The frequency of visits to *Pan* Shops during the day is even greater than to Restaurants. In the case of addicts, it may range between 6-12 times a day, because *pan* is consumed at frequent intervals. Not only that it cannot be stored very long, but, to be relished, it must be consumed fresh. In the light of these observations it stands to reason that those Trade Types of Shops which are visited two or more times a day should be not only well represented in the Local Shopping Centre, but also located at convenient spots in close proximity to the shoppers' homes.

III PREFERENCE FOR WEEKDAYS

In view of the close association between leisure and shopping, an analysis of visits to Local and Main Shopping Centres on particular days reflects the convenience of mid-week or week-end shopping activity in the urban and sub-urban areas. It also gives the clue to the differences in the usual times of call amongst occupational groups and for various commodities and services. As is natural and to be expected, full-time housewives, unoccupied and retired persons would have no preference for any week-day, but workers and otherwise occupied shoppers will find it rather convenient to cover a large part, or all of their shopping commitments on certain week-days most convenient to them. Differences in preference for week-days are analysed by shopping centres in all areas under survey :—

TABLE No. 9

DAY-PREFERENCE ANALYSED BY SHOPPING CENTRES

Day	Local Centre (%)	Main Centre (%)	Total (%)
Monday ..	6.9	5.2	6.1
Tuesday ..	4.2	3.3	3.7
Wednesday ..	6.1	4.4	5.3
Thursday ..	4.2	4.0	4.1
Friday ..	5.8	3.8	4.8
Saturday ..	5.5	18.4	11.9
Sunday ..	6.5	39.5	23.0
Any Day ..	60.8	21.4	41.1
Total (100%)	1,599	1,187	2,786

The results of this analysis are interesting and reinforce some of the above observations. Generally speaking, of the total number of shoppers visiting both Local and Main Shopping Centres in all areas as a whole, about two-fifths indicate no preference for any particular day of the week ; slightly over one-third undoubtedly prefer to make their calls in the week-end, i.e., Saturday and Sunday ; whilst the remaining one-fourth show an approximately equal preference for five week-days (Monday to Friday), where Monday records the highest frequency and Tuesday the lowest. For a majority of the shoppers, therefore, preference for week-days is more or less a shopping habit ; a habit more pronounced rather for visiting the Main than the Local Shopping Centre, and in Urban than Suburban neighbourhood areas.

Differences in the habit of shopping on preferential week-days are, nevertheless, very marked if we compare the shopping public visiting the Local and the Main Shopping Centres. Whilst shoppers visiting the Local Centre show no preference for any particular week-day (60.8% amongst them shopping on any day), more than a moiety (57.9%) of those visiting the Main Centre do prefer to pay their calls on Saturday and Sunday. In view of the half-day holiday for many workers, this leisure is fruitfully utilised in shopping at the Central Market. Sunday is the usual holiday for all occupational groups, and shopping as well as social calls have become a habitual past-time for that day. The fact that only about one-fifth (21.4%) of shoppers visiting the Main Centre call on any day, as against three-fifths (60.8) of those visiting the Local Centre, is an indication of a definite habit of shopping in the Main Centre and its relative absence in the Local Centre. Many shoppers, who show no preference for shopping on specific days in the Main Centre, are probably those who are workers in the city-area and can take advantage of the Central Market near about their places of work.

Interesting revelations of shopping habits in connection with week-day preference are again found in the following analysis of urban and sub-urban shoppers :—

TABLE No. 10

DAY-PREFERENCE OF URBAN AND SUB-URBAN SHOPPERS ANALYSED BY SHOPPING CENTRES

Day	Local Centre		Main Centre	
	Urban (%)	Sub-urban (%)	Urban (%)	Sub-urban (%)
Monday	1.2	12.6	1.2	9.2
Tuesday	0.8	7.6	1.0	5.6
Wednesday	1.2	11.0	1.0	7.8
Thursday	0.7	7.8	1.5	6.4
Friday	0.9	10.7	0.3	7.3
Saturday	1.9	9.0	6.9	29.9
Sunday	4.4	8.6	47.1	31.9
Any Day	88.9	32.7	41.0	1.9
Total (100%)	799	800	719	468

TABLE No. 11

Proportion Who Usually Buy at the Local and Main Shopping Centres on Particular Days in the Week

Zone		Monday (%)	Tuesday (%)	Wednesday (%)	Thursday (%)	Friday (%)	Saturday (%)	Sunday (%)	Any day (%)	Total (100%)
Worli	Local ..	0.2	..	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.2	4.3	94.3	400
	Central ..	0.5	0.8	1.8	1.3	0.2	4.6	67.6	23.2	392
Dadar	Local ..	2.3	1.5	2.3	0.8	1.5	3.7	4.5	83.4	399
	Central ..	1.8	1.2	0.3	1.8	0.3	9.2	26.6	58.8	327
Kurla	Local ..	19.8	12.2	18.0	12.5	18.2	10.0	9.3	..	400
	Central ..	14.2	8.3	10.8	9.2	11.7	21.7	24.1	..	120
Khar	Local ..	5.5	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.2	8.0	8.0	65.3	400
	Central ..	4.3	2.9	4.9	3.7	2.9	38.0	39.6	3.7	348

In urban areas, despite their economic differences, the majority of shoppers show little preference for any week-day (except Sunday) for paying calls to the Local Centre ; preferential calls on Saturday and Sunday do appear for those visiting the Main Centre. The low frequency of shoppers is apparent from Monday to Friday in both Local and Main Centres. In suburban areas, on the other hand, all week-days are almost equally important for about two-thirds of the shoppers in the Local Centre ; but while all week days are fairly well utilized for shopping in the Main Centre, there is again a relatively larger proportion of shoppers on Saturday and Sunday. In contrast with the frequency of suburban shoppers on any day in the Local Centre, that in the Main Centre pales into insignificance.

Certain inferences may now be drawn from the foregoing analysis : *first*, that there is no established practice of shopping on specific week-days in the Local Shopping Centre, whilst the habitual preference for Saturday and Sunday for shopping in the Main Centre is clearly apparent ; *second*, that differences in preference for week-days are more pronounced amongst occupied shoppers than amongst the unoccupied ; *third*, that urban shoppers show little preference for any week-day for shopping in the Local Centre, but they do show some preference for Saturday and more for Sunday for visiting the Main Centre ; *fourth*, that suburban shoppers show somewhat equal preference for all weekdays in the Local Centre and, while they indicate a similar habit for shopping at the Main Centre, they undoubtedly prefer to pay a far greater number of calls on Saturday and Sunday to that centre.

IV USUAL TIMES OF CALL

The attitude of the public to shopping convenience is largely moulded by experience ; the experience that counts is the time at which they shop. The convenience of such a shopping time is reflected by differences in the habits of visiting different shopping centres and buying different goods. An analysis of shopping times for all areas under survey shows the average proportion of shoppers who usually do their shopping in the Local and Main Shopping Centres :—

TABLE No. 12

TIMES OF CALL ANALYSED BY SHOPPING CENTRES

Time of Call	Local Shopping Centre (%)	Main Shopping Centre (%)
Before 10 A.M.	45.8	7.2
10 A.M. to 1 P.M. ..	2.3	5.1
1 P.M. to 4 P.M.	2.8	16.5
4 P.M. to 7 P.M. ..	44.0	66.6
7 P.M. to 10 P.M. ..	4.7	3.7
At Any Time	0.4	0.9
Total (100%)	1,599	1,187

At the outset it will appear that for the majority of shoppers the most convenient times of call to the Local Shopping Centre are in the morning and in the afternoon, whereas for shopping at the Main Centre the most convenient times of call lie mainly in the evening. The greatest frequency of calls to the Local Centre appears during the period '4 p.m. to 7 p.m.', closely followed by the period 'before 10 a.m.' and the least frequent calls are paid between 10 a.m. and 1 p.m. and the following period '1 p.m. to 4 p.m.'. The frequency of calls to the Main Shopping Centre, on the other hand, is the greatest during 4 p.m. and 7 p.m., preceded by the period 1 p.m. and 4 p.m., and it is the least during the period 7 p.m. to 10 p.m., as well as between 10 a.m. and 1 p.m.

That less than one per cent of the total number of shoppers visiting the Local or the Main Shopping Centre, show no preference for time of call to either centre, is an indication that times of call have now become more or less a matter of habit with the shopping public. Slight differences, however, in the habits of visiting Local and Main Shopping Centres are noticeable from an analysis of data by regional and economic groups: Table No. 12.

TABLE No. 13

PROPORTION WHO USUALLY VISIT THE LOCAL AND CENTRAL SHOPPING CENTRES ANALYSED BY TIMES OF CALL

ZONE		TIME OF SHOPPING						Total (100%)
		Before 10 A.M. (%)	10 A.M. to 1 P.M. (%)	1 P.M. to 4 P.M. (%)	4 P.M. to 7 P.M. (%)	7 P.M. to 10 P.M. (%)	Any Time (%)	
Worli	Local	45.3	2.8	1.2	48.7	1.5	0.5	400
	Central	9.2	8.9	13.5	61.5	6.6	0.3	392
Dadar	Local	25.0	1.3	1.3	64.9	7.5	..	399
	Central	11.9	1.2	8.9	75.0	3.0	..	327
Kurla	Local	55.0	0.5	5.5	33.0	6.0	..	400
	Central	5.0	5.8	21.7	66.7	0.8	..	120
Khar	Local	58.0	4.7	3.3	29.5	3.8	0.7	400
	Central	2.9	4.6	21.8	63.2	4.3	3.2	348

It will appear from the above Table that, in the urban areas, the proportion of shoppers visiting the Local Centre is higher in the afternoon (4 p.m. to 7 p.m.) than in the morning (before 10 a.m.); a reverse tendency is noticeable in the sub-urban areas. The forenoon (10 a.m. to 1 p.m.) and late evening (7 p.m. to 10 p.m.) periods do not show any marked difference between the urban and sub-urban areas, except that in the forenoon a comparatively smaller proportion of shoppers visit the Local as well as the Main Shopping Centres in the urban areas, whereas a larger proportion visit both centres in the suburban areas.

To emphasize the differences that clearly exist in the habits of different occupational strata of the shopping population, two commodity divisions, i.e. (1) Food Groups and Personal Services, and (2) Non-Food Groups and General Services, should be considered in relation to the conventional periods of call. The full-time housewife and non-working shoppers tend to make their food purchases in the Local Centre in the morning (before 10 a.m.) and usually call for personal services in the forenoon (10 a.m. to 1 p.m.); whilst the working housewife and other working members of the household record the highest percentage of evening calls (4 p.m. to 7 p.m.) for Food Groups and Personal Services. The high percentage of afternoon calls (1 p.m. to 4 p.m.) by working men and women shoppers in the Main Centre is not surprising. They work in the Central Shopping Area of the city, and find the lunch recess their best opportunity for shopping in the former group, and in the latter group at the time of returning home after work (4 p.m. to 7 p.m.). Thus, housewives and the retired and unoccupied persons pay some calls in the morning and forenoon both to the Local and Main Shopping Centres, but workers who are occupied during these hours, very few.

Certain occupational groups of shoppers, e.g., millhands distributive workers, transporters and carriers, and managerial or supervisory class, vary their calls most often. The mill workers often adjust their calls in keeping with the shifts of duty in the mills; hence in such localities as Worli and Kurla where millhands predominate, the density of shoppers in the morning and evening, both in Local and Main centres, alternates with the proportion of shoppers engaged in the morning shift or the evening shift. Distributive workers, transporters and carriers, since they work in the city and constantly move from one locality to another, tend to vary their times of call, but generally find the afternoon (1 p.m. to 4 p.m.) convenient for shopping in the Main Centre. Whilst the managerial or supervisory groups prefer the forenoon to morning, and evening to afternoon, to suit their personal convenience, occupation having no influence on their times of call either to the Local or Main Shopping Centre, the clerical and merchant groups, the professional class, and the cottage workers have all developed a habit of calling for Food Groups and Personal Services in the morning (before 10 a.m.) and for Non-Food Groups and General Services in the evening (4 p.m. to 7 p.m.), the former preferably in the Local and the latter in the Main Shopping Centre.

An analysis of shopping times according to types of commodities shows that although a large body of shoppers vary their time of call for certain specified goods and services, there is only a small body of shoppers who vary their time of call for all groups of commodities and services. When definite times are specified there are some marked differences in the habits of users of each group of commodities. Thus, about three-fourths of the shoppers visiting the Local Centre in the morning (before 10 a.m.) pay their calls primarily to Food and Foodstuffs Group (e.g., milk shop, greengrocery, bakery and provision store), and a majority of the remainder buy these commodities in the evening (4 p.m. to 7 p.m.). Although the time of call for Restaurants varies greatly, by far the largest use is made during the afternoon (peak around 1 p.m.) and late evening (peak around 8 p.m.) when calls for other Food groups are least frequent. Forenoon calls (between 10 a.m. and 1 p.m.) are popular where personal goods and services are concerned (e.g., tobacco, pan-supari, laundry, hairdressing, haberdashery and medical services). Morning and Forenoon calls are far scarcer in Cloth and Clothing, household equipment and Recreational groups, but this practice does not influence the special morning and forenoon calls for periodicals and newspapers. For all commodity groups, other than Food, the greatest frequency of calls is in the '4 p.m. to 7 p.m.' period, although calls to Recreational Centres are usually made late in the evening (7p. m. to 9 p.m.).

V ACCESSIBILITY TO SHOPPING CENTRES

From the nature of the function it fulfills, the Local Shopping Centre is generally more accessible than the Main Shopping Centre. There is also far less variation in distances between the shopper's home and the Local Centre in different types of areas than is the case with the Main Centre. The table below shows the proximity of shopping centres to the shoppers' homes and the mode of transit in the urban as well as the suburban areas :—

TABLE No. 14

PROXIMITY TO SHOPPING CENTRES AND MODE OF TRANSIT IN URBAN AND SUB-URBAN AREAS.

Shopping Centre		Median Distance from Home (Yards)	Median Time Taken to Reach the Centre (Minutes)	Mode of Transit		
				Trans-port (%)	Walking (%)	Total (100%)
Urban Areas						
Worli	Local	239	9.2	0.5	99.5	400
	Central	1,981	35.3	100.0	..	392
Dadar	Local	230	9.0	0.3	99.7	399
	Central	1,022	39.0	72.5	27.5	327
Sub-Urban Areas						
Kurla	Local	212	8.6	..	100.0	400
	Central	2,978	62.4	100.0	..	120
Khar	Local	243	9.6	0.7	99.3	400
	Central	2,874	57.9	99.4	0.6	348

Practically all shoppers' households in urban as well as sub-urban areas are in close proximity to the Local Shopping Centre. Despite minor variations, the mean distance ranges around one furlong ; the longest distance (243 yards) being recorded for Khar, and the shortest (212 yards) for Kurla. The Local Shopping Centre as suggested in the definition does indeed consist of the shops around the corner, and for almost all shoppers it lies well within a few minutes walk from their homes. The Main Shopping Centre is usually situated at widely varying distances (viz., from 5 furlongs in Dadar to over 13 furlongs in Kurla and Khar) from the shoppers' households, and is clearly the less accessible of the two shopping centres. It is just this centre which involves more travelling time and cost of travelling, and which shoppers are likely to want to visit less frequently or preferably after their working hours. These observations reflect to some extent a general picture of shopping convenience: that, on the average, shoppers have to travel to the Main Centre roughly nine times the distance to the Local Centre; that, in view of the time involved, the occupied classes visit the Main Centre less in comparison to the unoccupied; and that, due to the high cost of travelling involved, the Main Centre is less frequently visited by shoppers of low income groups.

The fact that a greater number of shoppers tend to use some form of transport to visit the Main Shopping Centre is clearly suggestive of the influence that distance may have on frequency. It will appear from Table No. 14 that, except in Dadar where the Local and Central markets are contiguous, almost all shoppers use transport for visiting the Main Centre, whereas the usual mode of transit to the Local Centre is walking. Not unexpectedly, every shopper in Kurla walks the distance to the Local Centre, which is the shortest from shoppers' households in comparison to other areas. A good proportion of shoppers in Dadar also prefer walking to the Main Centre. This habit, despite the distance involved, is the natural result of the contiguous lay-out of the shopping centres around housing estates with undefined catchment areas. Not infrequently, therefore, a shopper walking down to the Local Centre, unconsciously steps into the catchment area of Central shops, hence the confusion on the part of some shoppers to indicate as to which centre was used. Aimless shop-walking, particularly by women (helping with household shopping), is more common in Dadar than anywhere else in the city.

The time taken to reach shopping centres is once again an index to the convenience for shopping, and may, like the distance factor, influence the frequency of visits. The median time taken to reach the Local Centre in all areas is around 9 minutes, and this to cover the median distance walking. The range of median time for reaching the Main Centre varies widely from 35.3 minutes in Worli to 62.4 minutes in Kurla; and this to cover the median distance both by walking and transport, though largely by the latter. The travelling time required to reach the Main Centre in Dadar looks somewhat inflated if we judge it from the proportionate time taken to cover an equal distance in other areas. This anomaly is due, perhaps, to the inclusion of some shoppers who walk to the Main Centre and therefore take more time than is usually taken by those using transport. In the case of Worli, however, some shoppers have the habit of shopping on the way to or from work, and this tends to cut down travelling time. Compared with the Main Shopping Centre, in general, the average time taken to reach the Local Shopping Centre is scarcely longer (slightly more than one-fourth in urban areas, and slightly less than one-sixth in suburban areas). The Local Shopping Centre, consequently, involves a shorter journey and is the most frequented of the two centres under observation.

Certain inferences that emerge from the foregoing analysis of distance and time factors involved in shopping convenience are worth consideration by the Physical Town-Planner: *first*, since a conveniently located Local Centre is obviously extremely important to the majority of fulltime housewives and otherwise occupied shopping public, and increasingly so with age, it should not be more than a furlong away from any household in the neighbourhood estate; *second*, the data confirm the view that the suburban areas are not as well provided with facilities for shopping at the Main Centre as the urban areas; therefore, in order that a greater use can be made of the Main Centre by the suburban public, the inconvenience of journey (involving longer distance and time, besides high cost of travelling) should be removed by greater provision of cheap and quick means of transport; *third*, in a planned neighbourhood unit, with spiral groupings of communities around the Local Shopping Centre in the order of low-to-medium and medium-to high income households, the lay-out of the Local Centre should be so deflected toward the Main Centre as not only to form a spearhead for the central shops, but also to push the low-income groups nearer to the Main Centre which should induce them to use it more frequently.

Given equal conveniences for shopping at both centres, the full-time housewives and occupied shoppers of low-income groups will, probably, prefer to go to a main shopping centre where they have a wider range of shops ; whilst shoppers belonging to medium-to-high income groups will be prepared to travel greater distances, possibly because of the chance of an outing which it offers them. For the majority of suburban public visiting the Main Shopping Centre, convenience and cost of travelling appear to be of most concern in regulating their times of call. These, in turn, are reliable pointers to the closing and opening hours in the Main Shopping Centre.

VI PREFERENCE FOR ECONOMIC TYPES OF SHOPS

To appreciate fully the effect of various shopping facilities on the use of shopping centres, it is desirable that the shop-keepers should know with some accuracy the habits and attitudes of the shopping public toward the existing conveniences in the urban and suburban areas. Public attitude to the facility available for the use of various Economic Types of Shops (e.g. Department Stores, Multiples, etc) and the convenience of shopping hours and closing times (on working days and holidays), will not only reflect the size and composition of a shopping centre, but also indicate the frequency of visits and the preferential use of centres for specific goods and services.

Shoppers' preference for various Economic Types of Shops appears to be influenced both by regional as well as economic factors. It will appear from Table No. 15 (p. 28) that, on the average, about 53 per cent of the total number of shoppers in all areas as a whole prefer to shop at Department Stores; an equal proportion show preference for Multiple Stores (17.1%) and Footpath Stalls (16.9%) ; only a small proportion indicate preference for speciality shops (8.7%), and very few amongst them (4.5%) show no preference at all.

Analysed by income groups, differences tend to appear clearly. Whilst Department Stores (i.e., shops dealing in several commodity

TABLE No. 15

SHOPPERS' PREFERENCE FOR ECONOMIC TYPES OF SHOPS

Area	Department Stores		Multiple Stores		Speciality Shops		Hawkers and Footpath Stalls		No Preference		Total	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Urban :—												
Worli ..	168	41.9	92	23.0	9	2.3	108	27.0	23	5.8	400	100.0
Dadar ..	279	69.8	60	15.0	52	13.0	2	0.5	7	1.7	400	100.0
Sub-Urban:—												
Kurla ..	158	39.5	86	21.5	2	0.5	124	31.0	30	7.5	400	100.0
Khar ..	240	60.0	35	8.8	77	19.2	36	9.0	12	3.0	400	100.0
Total..	845	52.8	273	17.1	140	8.7	270	16.9	72	4.5	1,600	100.0

classes at the same time) and Speciality Shops (i.e., single-branch shops, specializing in one commodity class, and offering a very wide range of qualities and varieties in that commodity class only) are very popular with shoppers in medium-to-high income areas, the Multiple Stores (i.e., firms dealing in a commodity with several branches in different localities of the same shopping area) and Footpath Stalls (i.e., hawkers and one-man shops located at convenient spots along the roadside) are comparatively more popular in the low income areas. In comparison with Worli and Kurla (low-income areas), fewer shoppers in Dadar and Khar (medium-to-high income areas) show preference for definite Economic Types of Shops. In planning new shopping centres in neighbourhood units, the town-planner should bear in mind that, whilst each type of area demands a relatively greater proportion of Department Stores than other economic types of shops, a proportionately larger number of other economic types of shops should be provided in low-income areas than in the medium-*to-high income areas.*

Regional differences, though not very marked, indicate to some extent the characteristic needs of urban and suburban population. *Preference for Department Stores and Multiple Stores* is greater in urban areas than in suburban, whereas Speciality Shops and Footpath Stalls are preferred more in suburban than in urban areas. The suburban areas show a greater preference for Hawkers and Footpath Stalls not merely collectively but severally also, and this tendency is a testimony to the fact that small one-man independent shops or multiple-branch Speciality Stores serve the needs *of the shopping public more effectively in the outskirts of the city.*

VII CONVENIENCE OF SHOPPING ON WORKING DAYS

Evidence was collected on the convenience of shopping hours on working days affecting urban and suburban shopping public who visit the Local and Main Centres. All shoppers interviewed were asked "Are shopping hours convenient to you on working days ?" Their answers inevitably applied to the times that shops actually open and close in their areas and not to any specific period. On the average, about 62 per cent of the shoppers affirmed that the existing hours for shopping at the Local Centre were convenient to them, whereas they were not for about 26 per cent of the total; the corresponding proportions for the Main Centre being 34 per cent and 12 per cent respectively. It will appear at once that a large proportion of shoppers showed less concern about convenient shopping hours for the Main Centre (54%) than about the Local Centre (13%). This indifference to shopping convenience on working days is a characteristic feature alike of the urban and the suburban areas, and may indicate the comparative importance of the Local Centre over the Main Centre in the general well-being of the shopping public. Nevertheless, if we compare the definite opinions of shoppers to whom shopping during existing hours is convenient or not on working days, we shall find an approximate ratio of 3:1 for the Local and the Main Centres.

Table No. 16 (p.31) indicates the proportion of shoppers who find the existing shopping hours convenient on working days, and their attitude to the shops' opening and closing times in the Local and Main Shopping Centres.

Analysed by economic groups, the data show interesting differences. On the average, for a large proportion of shoppers (33%) in Worli and Kurla (low-income areas) the existing hours are inconvenient for shopping on working days at the Local Centre, as against a smaller proportion (18%) in Dadar and Khar (medium-to-high income areas), whilst, for the Main Centre, a reverse position is evident, i.e., 8% and 16% for the low and high income areas respectively. The former tendency is due to the fact that a large proportion of shoppers in Worli and Kurla represents working classes, whereas in Dadar and Khar it is largely composed of full-time housewives, unoccupied and leisure classes; the latter tendency is due as much to the distance factor (rather than the economic status of the shopper), as to the presence of a relatively small proportion of shoppers visiting the Main Centre in the low-income areas.

In order to attach any value to the opinion of those who did not find the existing shopping hours (8 A.M. to 8 P.M.) convenient on working days, a supplementary question was asked: "Would it suit you to be able to buy goods conveniently if shops

TABLE NO. 16

Proportion Who Indicate Convenience of Shopping on Working Days

Zone		(A) (Total-400)			(B) (Total-400)			
		Yes	No	Indifferent	6-8 A.M.	8-10 P.M.	Both	No Preference
Worli	Local	225	95	80	67	71	130	132
	Central	145	65	190	3	138	3	256
Dadar	Local	245	92	63	12	47	34	307
	Central	179	85	136	7	44	39	310
Kurla	Local	213	170	17	56	38	113	193
	Central	17	4	379	1	12	..	387
Khar	Local	305	51	44	115	58	50	177
	Central	195	41	164	17	93	9	281
Average	Local	247	102	51	63	53	82	202
	Central	134	49	217	7	72	13	308

INDEX : (A) Are shopping hours convenient to you on working days ?
(B) Would it suit you to be able to buy goods conveniently if shops open early in the morning and late in the evening on working days ?

opened early in the *morning* (6-8 A.M.) and closed late in the evening (8-10 P.M.) on working days ?" On the average about 50 per cent of the total number of informants expressed a desire for an early opening or late closing of shops, or for both, for the Local Centre ; whereas only 23 per cent desired such convenience for the Main Centre. Amongst these, there is a large proportion for shops opening early in the morning or closing late in the evening, and a considerably larger proportion for both periods, where the Local Centre is concerned ; but, in the Main Centre, a dominant majority considers the late evening period a contributing factor to shopping convenience. There is, however, a general feeling amongst shoppers of all economic groups, both in urban and suburban areas, that an early opening of shops (6 A.M.) in the Local Centre, and a late closing (10 P.M.) in the Main Centre, should make the shopping activity more convenient on working days. This information should be of particular interest to shop-keepers in both shopping centres.

Though it is not the task of the survey to provide detailed suggestions on how opening and closing hours must be planned, it is, however, possible to indicate the basic social needs which the planning authorities should meet. In simplest terms, shopping hours should either be standardized, *all* shops opening and *closing* at *one* standard time, parhaps with some very special exemptions, or different business hours fixed for different trade types or shopping centres.

In general, the shopping public seemed to favour a standard hour at which all shops should open and close in the Local as well as the Main Centre. A broad occupational breakdown shows, however, that the largest minority against standard shopping hours is represented by mill-workers, menial servants and merchants, particularly in the suburban areas. They fear that standardization *might mean an early closing of shops in the Main Centre,* and they may then have to buy certain commodities in the Local Centre which they would otherwise buy in the Main Centre. There are also others, probably those with the latest shopping requirements, who are the opponents of standard shopping hours. Such fears can be allayed by fixing standard closing hours for different trade types of shops, with few exceptions, well within the late shopping period (7 P.M. to 10 P.M.).

The preferences of the working and otherwise occupied classes, particularly in suburban areas, for late closing hours are associated with their views on the convenience or inconvenience of existing times of call; these shoppers are in fact prompted by genuine needs, and are not urging late closing merely in order to permit a very occasional late purchase.

VIII ATTITUDE TO SHOPPING ON HOLIDAYS

The attitude of the shopping public to shopping preference on Sundays and Holidays rather than on Working Days, presents again a very striking picture of experience on the problems of holiday shopping. It is a reasonable assumption that shoppers' preferences for Sundays and Holidays are affected by the extent to which the existing shopping hours on working days satisfy them. Although many shops remain closed on Sundays and Holidays, both in the Local and the Main Centres, yet a very large proportion make the best use of those shops that happen to be open on these days. *This is an indication of the fact that, given the opportunity, many shoppers will prefer to do their shopping on Sundays and Holidays because it is more convenient for them to do so.* This hypothesis is tested by two questions: (*a*) "Would you like shops to open on Sundays and Holidays?"; (*b*) "If yes, for what duration?" The evidence is presented in table No. 17 (p. 34) where the widest sample of shoppers is investigated.

Of the total number of shoppers, visiting the Local Centre, *85.2 per cent are in favour of shops opening on Sundays and Holidays*; the corresponding proportion for those using the Main Centre is 54.7 per cent. There is no great difference in the attitude of the shopping public for holiday shopping in urban and suburban areas. However, the largest proportion (97%) of shoppers who wish all trade types of shops to open in the Local Centre on Sundays and Holidays is found in Worli. This, perhaps, is due to the fact that a large majority of the shopping public is composed of factory workers and daily wage-earners who find little time to complete their

TABLE No. 17

Proportion Who Show Preference for Shopping on Sundays and Holidays Analysed by Shopping Hours

Zone		(A) (Total-400)			(B)									
		Yes	No	Indifferent	Forenoon 10 A.M.-1 P.M.		Afternoon 1 P.M.-4 P.M.		Whole Day 8 A.M.-8 P.M.		Indifferent		Total	
					No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Worli	Local	389	1	10	7	1.8	10	2.6	372	95.6	..	..	389	100.0
	Central	378	2	20	4	1.1	14	3.7	360	95.2	..	..	378	100.0
Dadar	Local	283	77	40	12	4.2	38	13.4	233	82.4	..	..	283	100.0
	Central	226	60	114	4	1.8	22	9.8	200	88.4	..	..	226	100.0
Kurla	Local	380	18	2	112	29.5	15	3.9	250	65.8	3	0.8	380	100.0
	Central	62	..	338	4	6.4	31	50.0	27	43.6	..	..	62	100.0
Khar	Local	312	30	58	88	28.2	76	24.4	148	47.4	..	..	312	100.0
	Central .. .	210	20	170	34	16.2	75	35.7	101	48.1	..	..	210	100.0
Average	Local	341	32	27	55	16.1	35	10.3	250	73.3	1	0.3	341	100.0
	Central	219	21	160	12	5.5	35	16.0	172	78.5	..	..	219	100.0

INDEX : (A) Would you like shops to open on Sundays and Holidays ?
(B) If yes, for what duration ?

shopping commitments on working days. On the other hand, the smallest proportion (16%) of shoppers who favour holiday shopping in the Main Centre occurs in Kurla. This attitude is the result of two factors: (1) that the shopping public, composed as it is essentially of the low-income groups, does not make much use of the Main Centre, most of the needs of the low-income households being satisfied by local shops, and (2) that the long distance and high cost of travelling involved in reaching the Main Centre, coupled with inconvenient closing hours, tend to make the suburban public very indifferent to the use of the Main Centre even on Sundays and Holidays.

Regional and economic differences, howsoever small, are also apparent. On the average, the demand for shops opening on Sundays and Holidays is smaller for both Local and Main Centres in medium-to-high income areas (Dadar and Khar) than in low-income areas (Worli and Kurla); whereas it is greater for the Local Centre in the suburban areas (Kurla and Khar), and for the Main Centre in the urban areas (Worli and Dadar). The following table shows the percentage ratio of shoppers, who consider holiday shopping convenient, analysed by shopping centres, income and regional groups :—

TABLE No. 18.

ATTITUDE TO HOLIDAY SHOPPING IN LOCAL AND MAIN CENTRES

Income and Region	Local Centre (%)	Main Centre (%)
(a) *Income :*		
Low-Income Areas :	96	55
Medium-to-High Income Areas :	74	54
(a) *Region :*		
Urban Areas :	84	76
Sub-Urban Areas :	87	34

In view of the fact that a substantial body of shoppers in all areas express a need for shopping facilities on Sundays and Holidays, it is necessary to consider precisely what shopping hours they have in mind. The information gathered in Table No. 17 shows that a very large proportion of the shopping public, both in urban as well as suburban areas, desire all trade types of shops to open for the whole day (8 A.M. to 8 P.M.). Peak preferences, however, for the Local Centre appear during the forenoon period (10 A.M. to 1 P.M.) in the suburban areas (Kurla and Khar), and in the afternoon period (1 P.M. to 4 P. M.) in the medium-to-high income areas (Dadar and Khar). For the Main Centre, peak preferences appear both in the forenoon and afternoon periods in the suburban areas only.

The attitude of the public to the duration of holiday shopping hours becomes rather clear when we give substance to the idea already expressed, that a substantial body of shoppers in urban (90.4%) as well as the sub-urban areas (51.2%) desire the shops to open for the 'whole day' in both shopping centres. That there are very few shoppers who show preference for shopping hours in urban areas (9.6%), as against a very large minority in sub-urban areas (48.8%) may be taken as an index to regional conveniences for holiday shopping. Thus, while the 'whole day' period is considered convenient for shopping by the urban population, only a part of it (forenoon or afternoon) may be equally convenient for the sub-urban public. Furthermore, in the sub-urban zone, whilst the medium-to-high income area (Khar) shows roughly an equal preference for the forenoon and afternoon periods for shopping in the Local Centre (28.2% and 24.4% respectively), the low-income area (Kurla) indicates a definite preference rather for the forenoon (29.9%) than the afternoon period (3.9%). Preferences for the Main Centre also indicate that the shopping public of Khar (medium-to-high income area) is rather undecided on the forenoon or the afternoon period (16.2% and 35.7% respectively), but that of Kurla (low-income area) holds clear-cut views on this question (forenoon 6.4% and afternoon 50.0%).

Within limitations, the foregoing analysis should give an idea of shopping convenience on working days as well as on Sundays and Holidays. Though characteristic differences in the attitude of the shopping public to shopping conveniences will always exist between regional and economic groups, certain broad conclusions may now be inferred from the evidence so far collected: *first*, that many shoppers consider shopping both at the Local and the Main Centres more convenient on holidays than on working days; *second*, that whilst holiday shopping at the Local Centre is appreciated more in the low-income areas, that at the Main Centre preferred essentially in the sub-urban areas; *third*, that despite differences in the preference for shopping hours, a substantial body of shoppers express the wish that all trade types of shops should open for the 'whole day' during holidays in both shopping centres. In the light of these observations, the town planning authorities should try to make provision for such facilities and conveniences as would not only suit the characteristic needs of the different categories of shoppers, but also induce the shopping public to make the greatest use of the neighbourhood shopping centres. A successful attempt in this direction is possible only when a carefully planned legislation is introduced for the regulation of shopping hours for different trade types of shops.

To an orthodox and conventional planner, the extension of shopping facilities to holidays may not seem practicable, in view of the existing shopping hours which have now become crystallized by the impact of established customs and habits of the shopping public. For instance, the weekly half-day holiday (on Saturday) and a full holiday (on Sundays and other public holidays) are an accepted tradition in the distributive trade, and, therefore, the opening of shops during these holidays might weigh against the interests of shop-keepers, shop-assistants and other workers, directly or indirectly associated with retail business. This difficulty can easily be surmounted by closing shops on those week-days (in lieu of holidays) which indicate relatively lower frequency of visits. Likewise, an increase in business hours, due to early opening or late closing of certain trade types of shops, may be neutralized by keeping the shops closed during those periods of call when the proportion of shoppers sinks to the minimum. However, as distribution is a service to the community, it is important to ensure that holiday shopping facilities are not out of line with public needs. Shopping convenience is the concern both of the shop-keeper and the shopping public. It is not enough that goods and services are available; it is also vital that the public are able to buy them at times reasonably convenient to themselves. Moreover, where the shopping public is composed essentially of working men and women, their output is likely to suffer if they have not the time to shop in their leisure periods and have to take time off during the working day. Hence inconvenient shopping hours may affect the course of national welfare adversely. The ease or difficulty with which the shopper can meet his household commitments may also vitally affect the business of different trade types in the Local or the Main Centre. The interests of the shopping public involve, therefore, wider social issues, and any alterations in the existing shopping facilities, whether by legislative action or by moral suasion, must, in the long run, contribute to the greatest welfare of the greatest number.

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