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### 11.433J / 15.021J Real Estate Economics

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## Week 6: Retail Location and Market Competition.

- Retail Real Estate must understand Retailing (a Business) to correctly attract tenants.
- Patterns in Retail location, travel and shopping behavior.
- Classical theory: trip frequency, price competition, entry and the determination of retail density.
- Neo-classical theory: retail clusters, inter-store externalities, shopping centers, incentive leases.
- Simulating and forecasting shopping center demand.


## Retail Sales Data:

## Surveys of sales establishments = \$ by SIC <br> Surveys of consumers = \$ by product or line of Merchandise

Boston CMSA Retail Census Data, 1987

| SIC Code | Kind of Business | Number of Establishments | Sales (thousands) | Sales per Establishment (thousands) | Paid Employees | \% of Personal Income (thousands) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total Retail Trade | 25,419 | \$32,109,978 | \$1,263 | 375,662 | 37.2\% |
| 52 | Building and Garden Materials | 1,020 | 1,679,530 | 1,647 | 11,756 | 1.9 |
| 531 | Department Stores | 168 | 2,914,184 | 17,346 | NA | 3.4 |
| 54 | Food Stores | 3,075 | 5,756,751 | 1,872 | 66,223 | 6.7 |
| 541 | Grocery Stores | 1,794 | 5,178,412 | 2,887 | 51,992 | 6.0 |
| 546 | Retail Bakeries | 665 | 223,496 | 336 | 9,159 | 0.3 |
| 55* | Automotive Dealers | 1,228 | 7,102,357 | 5,784 | 24,978 | 8.2 |
| 56 | Apparel and Accessory Stores | 2,585 | 2,051,969 | 794 | 26,684 | 2.4 |
| 562,3 | Women's Clothing and Specialty Stores | 1,076 | 809,699 | 753 | 11,754 | 0.9 |
| 566 | Shoe Stores | 712 | 321,123 | 451 | 4,304 | 0.4 |
| 57 | Furniture and Home-furnishings Stores | 1,887 | 1,555,169 | 824 | 13,442 | 1.8 |
| 58 | Eathing and Drinking Places | 6,950 | 3,372,405 | 485 | 127,978 | 3.9 |
| 591 | Drug and Proprietary Stores | 900 | 1,148,159 | 1,276 | 12,978 | 1.3 |
| 59** | Miscellaneous | 5,515 | 4,138,376 | 750 | 44,669 | 4.8 |
| 592 | Liquor Stores | 834 | 154,438 | 185 | 1,480 | 0.2 |
| 5944 | Jewelry Stores | 504 | 326,084 | 647 | 3,719 | 0.4 |
| 5961 | Catalog and Mail-Order Houses | 148 | 558,813 | 3,776 | 3,670 | 0.6 |

* Except 554, Gasoline Service Stations. $\quad$ ** Except 591, Drug and Proprietary Stores. NA, not available.
adapted from DiPasquale and Wheaton (1996)

Centers exhibit the same patterns as do individual stores in classical theory: Many smaller centers, fewer larger ones.

Boston Shopping Centers, 1992
(National Research Bureau)

|  | Neighborhood | Community | Specialized / <br> Regional | Super Regional |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Number of Centers | 144 | 112 | 22 | 10 |
| Average GLA (sq. ft.) | 50,996 | 165,226 | 448,130 | $1,037,266$ |
| Average Number of Stores | 11 | 20 | 69 | 139 |
| Average GLA/Stores | 4,540 | 8,196 | 6,504 | 7,494 |
| Total Stores | 1,584 | 2,354 | 1,518 | 1,390 |
| Grand Total: 6,846 |  |  |  |  |

GLA, gross leasable area.
adapted from DiPasquale and Wheaton (1996) and shorter shopping trips. Larger, more sparsely located centers have less frequent and longer shopping trips

Travel behavior for retail shopping, 1991.


GLA, gross leasable area.
adapted from DiPasquale and Wheaton (1996)
1). Purchase frequency (V).
$u=$ units of good purchased annually
p $=$ price per unit
$\mathrm{i}=$ storage cost per dollar of purchase $\mathrm{k}=$ transport cost per trip
$\mathrm{V}=$ annual trip (purchase) frequency.
$\mathrm{Q}=$ quantity purchased per trip
2). Average inventory $=\mathrm{Q} / 2$

$$
\mathrm{Q}=\mathrm{u} / \mathrm{V}
$$

3). Annual consumption costs (CC):

$$
\mathrm{CC}=\mathrm{pu}+\mathrm{kV}+\mathrm{i}[\mathrm{pu} / 2 \mathrm{~V}]
$$

4). Minimizing with respect to V :

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { implies } \partial \mathrm{CC} / \partial \mathrm{V}=\mathrm{k}-\mathrm{ipu} / 2 \mathrm{~V}^{2}=0 \\
& \text { or: } \mathrm{V}^{*}=[\mathrm{ipu} / 2 \mathrm{k}]^{1 / 2}
\end{aligned}
$$

5). How do $\mathrm{V}^{*}$ (and Q ) vary with $\mathrm{i}, \mathrm{u}, \mathrm{k}$ ?

Classical Retail Market Areas when retailers compete over only price and consumers shop where the full price (including travel cost is lowest).

Consumer's full price

6). Market areas and imperfect competition.
$\mathrm{v}=$ frequency of purchase trips (good consumption)
$\mathrm{f}=$ density of buyers along line $\mathrm{mc}=$ wholesale price or marginal cost of goods to retailer.
$\mathrm{c}=$ fixed cost of retailers (structure...)
$\mathrm{P}=$ retail price of good.
$\mathrm{D}=$ distance between stores [even spacing?]
$\mathrm{T}=$ market area size (one side distance)
S = retailer sales
7). Market areas based on equal purchase costs:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \mathrm{P}+\mathrm{kT}=\mathrm{P}_{0}+\mathrm{k}(\mathrm{D}-\mathrm{T}) \text { implies } \\
& \mathrm{T}=\left[\mathrm{P}_{0}-\mathrm{P}+\mathrm{kD}\right] / 2 \mathrm{k} \\
& \mathrm{~S}=2 \mathrm{vTf}=\mathrm{vf}\left[\mathrm{P}_{0}-\mathrm{P}+\mathrm{kD}\right] / \mathrm{k}
\end{aligned}
$$

8). Profit maximization (with respect to $P$ given $P_{0}$ ):

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \pi=[\mathrm{P}-\mathrm{mc}] \mathrm{S}-\mathrm{c} \\
& \partial \pi / \partial \mathrm{P}=\mathrm{S}+\partial \mathrm{S} / \partial \mathrm{P}[\mathrm{P}-\mathrm{mc}]=0 \text { implies: } \\
& \mathrm{P}=\left[\mathrm{P}_{0}+\mathrm{kD}+\mathrm{mc}\right] / 2
\end{aligned}
$$

9). Nash ("A Beautiful Mind") Equilibrium assumption: $\mathrm{P}_{0}=\mathrm{P}$ implies:

$$
\mathrm{P}=\mathrm{kD}+\mathrm{mc}, \mathrm{~T}=\mathrm{D} / 2, \mathrm{~S}=\mathrm{Dvf}
$$

[profits higher with less competition, why?]
10). Free entry determines store density (1/D) so as to erode profit:

$$
\begin{aligned}
\pi & =[\mathrm{P}-\mathrm{mc}] \text { Dvf }-\mathrm{c}=0 \text { implies: } \\
\mathrm{P} & =\mathrm{mc}+\mathrm{c} / \mathrm{Dvf}
\end{aligned}
$$

11). Solving (9) and (10) simultaneously:

$$
\mathrm{D}=[\mathrm{c} / \mathrm{kvf}]^{1 / 2}, \mathrm{P}=\mathrm{mc}+[\mathrm{kc} / \mathrm{vf}]^{1 / 2}
$$

- As f doubles (population) the distance between stores less than halves. Hence sales per store rise. Is the average (clothing) store larger in larger MSAs (NBER paper 9113)?
- store selling more frequently purchased items (v) have more dense distributions.
- stores with high fixed costs [showroom space] are less densely distributed.
- What happens with higher Gas Prices?

How well does this classic theory explain Shopping Center success (see: Eppli, Shilling, JRER, 1996)? Sales/sqft across 40+ Regional Shopping Centers explained by range of center characteristics, market area income, weighted distance of center to other competing centers [ $\left.\mathbf{R}^{2}=.86\right]$. Without Center characteristics [ $\left.\mathbf{R}^{2}=.73\right]$ !

| Shopping Center <br> j Size (000 s.f.) | Base Case | Competitive <br> Shopping <br> Centers <br> Decrease 20\% <br> in Size | Competitive <br> Shopping <br> Centers <br> Increase 20\% <br> in Size | Distance to <br> Competitive <br> Shopping <br> Centers <br> Increases 20\% | Distance to <br> Competitive <br> Shopping <br> Centers <br> Decreases 20\% | Aggregate <br> Household <br> Income <br> Increases 20\% | Aggregate <br> Household <br> Income <br> Decreases 20\% |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 800 | 212 | 275 | 178 | 221 | 202 | 235 | 190 |
|  |  | (30\%) | (-16\%) | (4\%) | (-5\%) | (11\%) | (-10\%) |
| 1000 | 220 | 297 | 178 | 231 | 206 | 247 | 192 |
|  |  | (35\%) | (-19\%) | (5\%) | (-6\%) | (12\%) | (-13\%) |
| 1200 | 233 | 327 | 183 | 248 | 217 | 267 | 201 |
|  |  | (40\%) | (-21\%) | (6\%) | (-7\%) | (15\%) | (-14\%) |

Estimated Shopping Center Sales per Square Foot Based on a Changing Set of Competitive and Socioeconomic Variables

## Complimentary, Comparative, and Competitive Shopping

## Complimentary:

-Shoppers more likely to come to one store if the other is there.

- Shoppers more likely to purchase at one store if also purchase at the other. [Shoes \& Clothing, Antiques]


## Comparative:

-Shoppers more likely to come to one store if the other is there (compare prices-quality).

- Shoppers less likely to purchase at one store if also purchase at the other.


## Competitive:

-Shoppers no more likely to come to one store if other is there.

- Stores selling same product in same price range.


## Complimentary - Comparison Shopping Synergy

v : \# visits to each store if in and isolated location
n : number of stores in "cluster" or center
s: \# visits to each store in cluster = total cluster visits
x probability of store visit given visit to cluster.
Total cluster visits $=\mathrm{vn}{ }^{\alpha}$
$\alpha$ : attraction factor for "clustering" $[\geq 0]$
Probability of store visit if at cluster $=1 / n^{\beta}$
$\beta$ : degree stores compliment/compete [=0 if pure compliments, $=1$ if pure competitors]
Hence: $s=v n^{(\alpha-\beta)}$, and stores cluster if $(\alpha-\beta)>0$

## Store Mix and Shopping Centers

- Center Size $S=\sum S_{i}, i=$ space of store type (one of $n$ )
- Store revenue $R_{i}=R_{i}\left(S_{1} \ldots S_{n}\right)$
- Complimentary/Competitive: $\partial \mathrm{R}_{\mathrm{i}} / \partial \mathrm{S}_{\mathrm{k}}><0$
- "Draw power": $\partial R_{i} / \partial S_{k}>0$ for all $i$ (e.g. Anchors).
- Center Revenue: $=\sum \mathrm{S}_{\mathrm{i}} \mathbf{R}_{\mathrm{i}}\left(\mathrm{S}_{1} \ldots . . \mathrm{S}_{\mathrm{n}}\right)$
- The rent stores are willing to pay depends on: their expected revenue - which depends on the overall mix!
- Given fixed S , allocate space $\left(\mathrm{S}_{\mathrm{i}}\right)$ to maximize rent.
- Landlord: Charge high rent to stores that "live off of other stores", charge lower rent to stores that draw customers and create synergy" = "rent discrimination".
- Brueckner (1993)


## MIT Center for Real Estate

Table 1: Average lease terms by type of store.

## Average Shopping <br> Center Lease terms by store category

1. Anchor
2.Access
2. Apparel Unixex
3. Children
4. Women specialty
5. Women
6. Mens
7. Shoes
8. Jewelry
9. Misc.
10. Discount
11. Drug
12. Books
13. Services
14. Hobby
15. Audio
16. Theatre
17. Restaurant

| $\begin{gathered} \text { Store } \\ \text { category } \end{gathered}$ | $\underset{\operatorname{ares}^{\mathbb{1}}}{\text { ULI }}$ | S a mple area | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ULI } \\ & \%^{2} \end{aligned}$ | $\underset{\%}{\text { S a mple }}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { ULI } \\ \text { Rent }{ }^{\mathbf{3}} \end{gathered}$ | Sample rent | $\underset{\text { SLI }}{\text { U S }{ }^{4}}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | 102.9 | 126.4 | 1.01 | . 47 | 2.18 | 2.36 | 148.1 |
| 2 | . 8 | . 7 | 7.9 | 8.3 | 33.5 | 72.1 | 278.4 |
| 3 | 2.7 | 5.5 | 6.0 | 5.8 | 20.3 | 36.8 | 261.2 |
| 4 | 2.1 | 3.3 | 5.0 | 5.4 | 21.0 | 35.5 | 268.9 |
| 5 | 2.6 | 3.7 | 5.1 | 5.9 | 20.1 | 36.9 | 235.4 |
| 6 | 3.9 | 5.9 | 5.0 | 5.3 | 15.0 | 28.9 | 175.6 |
| 7 | 2.3 | 2.5 | 6.0 | 6.0 | 16.2 | 36.2 | 203.9 |
| 8 | 2.2 | 2.4 | 6.0 | 6.2 | 18.8 | 37.3 | 232.5 |
| 9 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 6.0 | 6.6 | 40.5 | 82.1 | 525.4 |
| 10 | 1.8 | 2.3 | 5.6 | 5.7 | 18.7 | 42.8 | 231.1 |
| 11 | 42.6 | 29.7 | 2.5 | 2.4 | 3.5 | 13.2 | 129.3 |
| 12 | 8.0 | 6.4 | 3.7 | 3.2 | 8.6 | 19.3 | 210.8 |
| 13 | 2.9 | 2.9 | 6.0 | 7.4 | 17.3 | 40.4 | 207.2 |
| 14 | 1.3 | 2.3 | 4.7 | 6.1 | 19.1 | 39.7 | 237.8 |
| 15 | 1.8 | 3.0 | 6.2 | 6.3 | 24.2 | 36.1 | 266.1 |
| 17 | 3.9 | 4.1 | 5.5 | 6.0 | 13.8 | 31.0 | 191.2 |
| 18 | 2.4 | 2.5 | 4.7 | 5.8 | 19.6 | 42.3 | 290.3 |
| 20 | 8.9 | 5.6 | 8.9 | 17.1 | 13.7 | 40.9 | 93.4 |
| 21 | 5.6 | 4.1 | 5.0 | 6.5 | 12.8 | 40.5 | 225.4 |
| 22 | . 9 | . 9 | 7.9 | 8.7 | 32.2 | 74.2 | 305.1 |
| 23 | . 8 | . 7 | 7.8 | 8.9 | 39.5 | 112.3 | 336.2 |



Retail lease income as a function of store sales

```
Rental payments = R + max[0, r(S - B )]
R = Flat rent per square foot.
r = Percentage of sales to be made as a rental payment.
S = Sales per square foot.
B = Threshold sales per square foot, or breakpoint.
```


## Explanation for Percentage Rent

- Risk Sharing: tenant pays fixed rent, absorbs business risk if landlord more risk adverse. If both equally risk adverse $=\%$ rent [why only retail?].
- Not a substitute for fixed rent [notice that tenants paying higher fixed tend to pay higher \% as well]
- With fixed rent, landlord can relet space to the detriment of existing tenants - and face no consequences until their leases renew.
- With percentage rent, landlord faces immediate loss in rental revenue if his actions in any way hurt the sales of existing tenants [Wheaton]


## Centers, "Main Streets", BIDs, Traditional Business Districts

- Stores are attracted to each other - to the degree they do not compete. This is not necessarily efficient! [examples]
- Centers "won" the battle against older business districts partly from location, but also from the mix/management advantages of centers.
- BIDs and Main Streets solve the mix issue only if they are owned and managed in entirety.
- Arbitrage. Buy up the disconnected stores in an old business district and run as a center?


## Retail Market <br> Analysis done Right

Predicting
Shopper patronage at 13 major retail centers and regional malls in the
Boston
Market

Map of Boston metropolitan area removed due to copyright restrictions. characteristics

Characteristics of Boston-Area Shopping Centers

| $\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{y}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Size } \\ (000 \mathrm{sq} . \mathrm{ft} .) \end{gathered}$ | Parking Spaces | Stores | Discount Stores | Department Stores | Variety <br> Stores | Furniture Stores | Restaurants | Parking Costs ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 239 | Boston CBD | 1,750 | 0 | 300 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 29 | 247 | \$3.50 |
| 39 | Back Bay | 886 | 0 | 402 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 15 | 250 | 3.50 |
| 19 | Harvard Square | 635 | 0 | 300 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 50 | 2.50 |
| 38 | Chestnut Hill | 440 | 2,400 | 67 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 11 | 17 | 0 |
| 15 | New England | 458 | 3,300 | 27 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| 23 | North Shore | 1,550 | 6,700 | 102 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 0 |
| 19 | Liberty Tree | 1,020 | 5,500 | 118 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 10 | 22 | 0 |
| 28 | Burlington | 1,137 | 6,000 | 100 | 0 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 13 | 0 |
| 16 | Dedham | 575 | 2,500 | 50 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| 32 | South Shore | 1,300 | 6,000 | 130 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 11 | 13 | 0 |
| 24 | Natick | 549 | 3,000 | 91 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 12 | 11 | 0 |
| 34 | Lowell | 400 | 3,000 | 161 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 15 | 40 | 0 |
| 23 | Brockton | 450 | 3,000 | 117 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 13 | 21 | 0 |

${ }^{a}$ Cost of parking is for two hours.
Source: Census of Retail Trade, 1987; and telephone surveys by the MIT Center for Real Estate.
13). Shopper utility function:

$$
U^{i j k}=\alpha^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{~T}^{\mathrm{ik}}+\sum_{\mathrm{l}=1, \mathrm{~g}} \mu^{\mathrm{lj}} \mathrm{Z}^{\mathrm{lk}}
$$

$\mathrm{i}=$ origin (home) zone [ $\mathrm{i}=1, \mathrm{n}$ ]
$\mathrm{j}=$ income category of shopper $[\mathrm{j}=1, \mathrm{~h}]$
$\mathrm{k}=$ destination (center) zone $[\mathrm{k}=1, \mathrm{~m}<\mathrm{n}]$
$\mathrm{l}=$ center attribute $[\mathrm{l}=1, \mathrm{~g}]$
$\alpha^{\mathrm{j}}=$ marginal disutility of travel to j. $[<0]$
$\mu^{\mathrm{lj}}=$ marginal utility of attribute l to j .
14). Probability [ $P$ ]of shopper type $j$ living in $i$ patronizing center k :

$$
\mathrm{P}^{\mathrm{ijk}}=\mathrm{e}^{\mathrm{Uijk}} / \sum_{\mathrm{k}=1, \mathrm{~m}} \mathrm{e}^{\mathrm{Uijk}}
$$

15). Total patronization [ S ] at center k by shoppers of type j

$$
\mathrm{S}^{\mathrm{j} \mathrm{k}}=\sum_{\mathrm{i}=1, \mathrm{n}} \mathrm{P}^{\mathrm{ijk}} \mathrm{~N}^{\mathrm{ij}}
$$

Implementation: Center characteristics (easy)
Zone income (census, towns), Travel times (local transportation planning agency). Shopper behavior (ante up for a survey - \$\$\$).
16). Estimation of utility parameters from actual Shopper patronization [ S ]:

$$
\ln \left(S^{\mathrm{ij} 1} / S^{\mathrm{ijk}}\right)=\alpha^{\mathrm{j}}\left(\mathrm{~T}^{\mathrm{i} 1}-\mathrm{T}^{\mathrm{ik}}\right)+\sum_{\mathrm{l}=1, \mathrm{~g}} \mu^{\mathrm{lj}}\left(\mathrm{Z}^{\mathrm{l1}}-\mathrm{Z}^{\mathrm{lk}}\right)
$$

Estimated over i,k (n x m-1 observations) for each shopper type $j$ (h separate equations- one for each income group j).

MIT Center for Real Estate

## Estimated Utility Parameters

Estimated Values for Attributes of Major Boston-Area Shopping Centers

|  | Low | 1 | Marginal Utility by Income Categories $(j)$ |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | HIGH |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Travel, $\alpha_{j}$ | -0.2962 | -0.2224 | -0.1486 | -0.0748 | -0.001 |  |  |
|  | 9,000 | 18,000 | 27,000 | 36,000 | 45,000 | Y |  |

Center Characteristics, $\mu_{i j}$ :

| Square Feet | 0.0021 | 0.0012 | 0.0003 | -0.0006 | -0.0015 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No. Stores | 0.0261 | 0.0162 | 0.0063 | -0.0036 | -0.0135 |
| No. Discount Stores | 1.154 | 0.488 | -0.178 | -0.844 | -1.5 |
| No. Department Stores | -1.35 | -0.36 | 0.63 | 1.62 | 2.61 |
| No. Variety Stores | 1.595 | 0.83 | 0.065 | -0.7 | -1.465 |
| No. Furniture Stores | -0.03 | 0.06 | 0.15 | 0.24 | 0.33 |
| No. Restaurants | 0.0118 | 0.0136 | 0.0154 | 0.0172 | 0.019 |
| No. Parking Spaces | 0.00028 | 0.00046 | 0.00064 | 0.00082 | 0.001 |
| Parking Costs | -0.042 | -0.024 | -0.006 | 0.012 | 0.03 |

Source: MIT Center for Real Estate; Cambridge Systematics, Inc.

## Predicted Shopping Center Patronage

Predicted Number of Shoppers for Major Boston-Area Shopping Centers, by Income

| $\bar{y}$ |  | Income Categories $(j)$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  |  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | HIGH Total |
| 29 | Boston CBD | 9,318 | 20,928 | 31,218 | 20,928 | 2,545 | 84,938 |
| 39 | Back Bay | 84 | 1,009 | 8,244 | 34,806 | 27,990 | 72,134 |
| 19 | Harvard Square | 25,517 | 23,196 | 9,021 | 1,496 | 46 | 59,276 |
| 38 | Chestnut Hill | 117 | 1,506 | 8,145 | 24,334 | 13,674 | 47,776 |
| 15 | New England | 19,959 | 11,047 | 1,639 | 42 | 0 | 32,687 |
| 23 | North Shore | 8,728 | 19,568 | 16,582 | 1,431 | 13 | 46,322 |
| 19 | Liberty Tree | 8,985 | 10,193 | 4,010 | 144 | 0 | 23,333 |
| 28 | Burlington | 7,020 | 20,864 | 31,160 | 15,868 | 932 | 75,843 |
| 16 | Dedham | 8,555 | 6,610 | 1,157 | 77 | 1 | 16,400 |
| 32 | South Shore | 8,799 | 23,400 | 45,283 | 56,054 | 12,529 | 146,066 |
| 24 | Natick | 7,669 | 15,974 | 15,530 | 3,052 | 137 | 42,363 |
| 34 | Lowell | 357 | 2,154 | 8,568 | 12,326 | 3,263 | 26,668 |
| 23 | Brockton | 9,806 | 18,175 | 12,119 | 2,751 | 149 | 42,999 |
|  | Total | 114,915 | 174,624 | 192,676 | 173,309 | 61,281 | 716,805 |

[^0]
## How will the Retail system respond to higher Gasoline Prices?

- People want to shop "more locally".
- Less "cross hauling" - driving to other than the nearest center.
- Centers located near population masses do well, those remotely located suffer.
- Neighborhood and Community Center Sales expand.
- Stores previously locating in larger centers and catering to lower income consumers now willing to increase outlets and locate more locally.


[^0]:    Source: MIT Center for Real Estate; Cambridge Systematics, Inc.

