Development of the Tertiary Sector and its Land-Use Impact in the Built-up Area.
Case-Study: Commercial Services in Romania

Radu Săgeată, Claudia Bucura, Maria Bud, Teodor Toderaş, Virginia Gherasim
“Dimitrie Cantemir” Christian University, Faculty of Tourism Geography, Sibiu, Romania.

Abstract: The fall of the communist regime and the demise of the bipolar order have led to the development of globalising connections in the urban systems of the Central and East-European states. The main social impact of this complex phenomenon is the expansion of the diffusion area for the of global consumerist goods, entailing the development and the diversification of commercial services [1, 3]. Their localisation is still a direct consequence of financial segregation; the determining agent of the degree of penetration of global consumer goods at local level is the localisation and dispersion of investments [2]. In this context, the article analyses the strategies of localisation and the dispersion factors of commercial services in the Romanian urban system and in its capital city, in particular [5, 21].

Key words - globalising flows, global consumerism goods, commercial services, hypermarkets, malls, Romania.

I. INTRODUCTION

The downfall of the communist system in Central and Eastern Europe and the abolishment of the ideological barriers has created the premises for closer globalising links within the urban systems from this part of the Continent [17, 26]. On the line of former experience as COMECON members, the first half of the 1990s witnessed, after the dissolution of that organisation, a rise in the volume of trade exchanges, of imports in particular; services and investments were aimed at developing small and medium-sized enterprises [52].

Towns acted as nuclei, polarising and re-directing fluxes in the territory. However, development, as it were, could not compensate for the industrial decline and its demographic and especially social consequences [13, 15]. After over fifty years of forced industrialisation drive associated with hypertrophic development, the Romanian urban system has been experiencing a radical transformation, basically de-urbanisation both as regards town population and town quality, its functional attributes undergoing substantial changes [37]. Thus industry, which was the main factor of urbanisation for almost all of Romania’s towns, has been overcome by the tertiary sector, a phenomenon specific to large cities, the capital and the regional metropolises strengthening their co-ordinating positions in the territory [18, 19]. Large cities tend to assume the attributes of cosmopolite cities due to greater ethnical diversity, the development of specialist services and the large-scale assimilation of global consumerist goods, basically products and services which go beyond geo-cultural spaces [9, 12, 35, 47].

Foods and fashion items have the strongest impact on the population. Almost 75-80% of the space allotted to malls is occupied by fashion shops and 10-15% by restaurants [4, 48]. The settlement in Romania of Arab, Turkish, or Chinese nationals engaged in trading or in small industrial businesses, the presence of foreign citizens who have come to study here, of the personnel of diplomatic missions, of multinational firms or NGOs has diversified the services sector (Chinese, Libanese, Italian or Greek restaurants; French or German bakeries; African, Indian or Latin-American artisanal shops, etc.) [39, 41]. Their localisation within commercial centres (malls and hypermarkets) explains the importance of these units for the local diffusion of the products of global consumerist culture (Figure 1) [8, 51]. The potential of the outlet market is a decisive factor in earmarking investments to big commercial units, e.g. malls (which gather together a wide range of shops and services units, restaurants, recreation and entertainment areas, cinema-halls, banks, swimming-pools, play-grounds for children, etc.), or supermarkets, chains of stores usually set up by transnational companies [10, 11, 22].

II. FINANCIAL & COMMERCIAL INVESTMENTS

The logic behind the establishment and diffusion in the territory of these commercial units closely correlates with the location of banks, according to the spatial, income-based segregation of the population [31]. Thus, large commercial units (malls and hyper-markets) are frequently opened up in large cities with macro-regional polarising functions and a positive economic dynamic that ensures an outlet market competitive enough, in terms of both financial and quantitative considerations, so as to guarantee profitability [20].

On the other hand, investments in towns that are at the base of the urban hierarchy materialise in supermarkets, but if towns have below 30,000 inhabitants they are considered unprofitable (Table 1) [43].
The same pyramidal distribution observed in the case of financial investments holds also for commercial units, provided that the extent of the investment is directly proportional to the size of the respective town [44]. The east/west financial segregation mirrors the development of commercial services (Table 2), this type of investment being drawn mainly by Bucharest and the large cities from Transylvania and Banat. Thus, the largest malls are situated mainly in Bucharest (Băneasa Shopping City, AFI Palace Cotroceni, Sun Plaza, Plaza Romania, Bucharest Mall, Liberty Center, etc.) and in four western metropolises: Timișoara, Cluj-Napoca, Arad and Oradea [40, 43].

Table 1: Distribution of hypermarkets and cash&carry-type investments in Romania (October 1, 2010).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chain Store</th>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Total Romania</th>
<th>Investments in Bucharest</th>
<th>Investments in other cities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General commodities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auchan</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Militari, Titan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrefour</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Băneasa (Freeria), Berceni, Colentina, Orhideea, Militari, Unirea, Vitan (Vitantis).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cora</td>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bercei (Sun Plaza), Lujerului, Pantelimon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metro</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Băneasa, Berceni, Militari, Titan (Pallady), Voluntari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Arad, Bacău, Baia Mare, Brașov (Ghimbav), Brașov (Bucharest Avenue), Cluj-Napoca, Craiova, Constanța, Deva, Galați, Iași, Piatra Neamț, Oradea, Piatra Neamț, Pitești, Ploiești, Satu Mare, Sibiu, Suceava, Țârgu Mureș, Timișoara (Șagului), Timișoara (Torontalului).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: The West/East financial and commercial segregation in Romania.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Population (July 1, 2010)</th>
<th>Bank units (no.) *</th>
<th>Hypermarkets (no.) **</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Population (July 1, 2010)</th>
<th>Bank units (no.) *</th>
<th>Hypermarkets (no.) **</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Timișoara</td>
<td>311,440 inh</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Iași</td>
<td>308,663 inh</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluj-Napoca</td>
<td>307,215 inh</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Galați</td>
<td>290,467 inh</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oradea</td>
<td>204,880 inh</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Brăila</td>
<td>211,161 inh</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arad</td>
<td>165,014 inh</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Piatra Neamț</td>
<td>107,214 inh</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satu Mare</td>
<td>112,143 inh</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Botoșani</td>
<td>115,751 inh</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


III. STRATEGIES OF PLACING COMMERCIAL INVESTMENTS

Bucharest was the first Romanian city in which malls were set up. The Bucharest Mall (initial trade area 37,000 m²) was opened on September 10, 1999. Situated in Vitan district, in a dismantled urban area, this mall has rapidly become a point of convergence in the city. As a result it was enlarged up to...
99,000 m² in 2003 and 2007, hosting 140 stores, most of them subsidiaries of international companies’ sales units [54]. In 2004, the same investor opened the second mall in the west of Bucharest, between the Militari and Drumul Taberei districts. This investment, called Plaza Romania, was intended to be the largest commercial centre of its kind, with a built up area of 104,000 m² profiled on shopping (over 150 stores), fast foods, entertainment and business (Figure 2).

However, its supremacy was short-lived: in 2005 the largest mall at the time was commissioned in Timișoara, a cross-border convergence point of the Danube – Criş – Mureş – Tisa Euroregion; two years later another complex was opened in Cluj-Napoca (November 10, 2007). The same developer opened up Julius Mall in Suceava (September, 2008), overall area 132,000 m² opened up Julius Mall in Suceava (September, 2008), overall area 132,000 m². It was the biggest unit of its kind in Moldavia, and a regional convergence point for the counties of Suceava, Botoşani and Neamţ, as well for the cross-border area with Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova. One year later, on October 29, 2009, the AFI Palace Cotroceni (214,000 m²), investor the AFI Europe, Israeli Group, was commissioned [56]. This is the biggest mall-type centre in Romania and in Eastern Europe (Figure 3).

The construction, raised on the site of a former factory, houses 300 shops and the “Real” hypermarket, the largest skating-rink and karting track built inside a commercial centre, an escalade wall, a bycicle track, a lake for small electric boats, play-grounds for children, a cinema-hall with 20 screens, the first IMAX (3D) in Romania, two casinos an exhibition hall and many more attractions [53]. Forthcoming is the construction of four offices buildings (cca 12,000 m²) and a 4-star hotel. The same consortium has scheduled two projects for the near future: in Ploieşti (AFI Palace Ploieşti) and in the Bucharest district “Bucureşti Ndre” (AFI Bucureşti) [33].

In February 2010, another mall – Sun Plaza (210,000 m², out of which 80,000 m², commercial area) was added to the network. It is a 200 million euro worth investment which houses 150 shops, coffee bars and Cora Hypermarket. However, in the conditions of the present economic-financial crisis its profitability is put in question, because the southern city districts (Ferentari and Rahova) are inhabited by lower-income people, have social problems and moreover it has to compete with similar structures recently commissioned (City Mall, Grand Arena and Liberty Center). However, these are drawbacks that might be compensated for by locating Sun Plaza in an convergence area of population fluxes (Piţa Sudului) with access to the underground network through a subterranean passage [59].

That this type of investments has a positive dynamic is confirmed by the opening of such poly-functional centres in most country-seats, outstanding among them being: Iulius Mall in Iaşi and Arena City Center in Bacău (Moldavia), Tiago Mall in Oradea, housing an in-door skating-rink, the first in a series of 10 Tiago malls to the built in towns with over 200,000 inhabitants; Atrium Center in Cluj-Napoca, City Park Mall and Polus Center in Constanţa, Civis Center and Plaza Center in Timișoara, Mega Mall in Braşov, Promenada Mall in Sibiu, Euromall in Galaţi and Ploieşti, etc (Figure 4).

In the northern part of Bucharest stands Băneasa Fashion Center (85,000 m² rentable area, basically twice that of Plaza Romania or of Bucharest Mall), with over 220 stores, opened on April 18, 2008. It is part of the Băneasa Sopping Center complex, a commercial area of hypermarkets (Metro, Carrefour, Bricostore and IKEA) with a total built-up area of 250,000 m². It offers modern shopping, entertainment and business facilities. Its location was chosen because of transport facilities: Băneasa and Otopeni airports, Băneasa railway station and prospectively a heliport. Băneasa Shopping Center holds a singular position as the district it lies in has the highest GDP per capita, remarkable demographic growth and a flourishing built-up area. This mall alone brought 45 new international brands in the Romanian market [46].

The same distribution in the case of hypermarkets and supermarkets. Positive segregation exists in Bucharest, in some counties from Transylvania, Banat and in Constanţa county, strictly correlating with the polarisation of incomes; negative segregation have the counties from the eastern and south-eastern parts of Romania. Thus, according to a study made by the market research company MEMRB Retail Tracking Services in October 2006 and October 2007, the counties most likely to be targeted for the expansion of such commercial lines were Sibiu, Constanţa and Mureş, while Botoşani, Tulcea, Teleorman and Buzău, featured almost exclusively traditional trading [38].

Spatially, two types of distribution seem to emerge: one going from Bucharest to the major cities (e.g. Cora, Carrefour, Metro, Auchan, etc.) and a second one from cities...
located in the west of the country, especially Timişoara and Cluj-Napoca (e.g. Selgros, Spar, Profi, Real, etc.). There is also spatial complementariness: some companies (Profi, Spar) prefer Bucharest and the major cities from Transylvania, others opt mostly for the extracarpathian area (Proges, Mini Max Discount, etc.).

![Figure 4: Romania. Investments in malls (existing and in construction).](image)

Most malls built in Bucharest (Bucharest Mall, Plaza Romania, City Mall and Liberty Center) have been raised on the site of the unfinished buildings of former food complexes (mockingly, people used to call them “hunger circuses”), whose construction had begun in the 1980s in convergence areas of population flows, subsequently contributing to the development of their neighbourhoods. The next investments had in view either empty spaces on the outskirts of the city (Carrefour and Metro Militari, Cora Pantelimon), using the rail-and-road infrastructure in place at the margin of Bucharest, or the sites of former industrial units later demolished (e.g. Cora Lujerului, built on the site of a dairy factory, could use Cotroceni railway station), similarly AFI Cotroceni Mall, situated on the premises of the former UMEB plant, had the advantage of a railway infrastructure.

In many situations, there have been preferred, for the localization of the great commercial investments, the administrative territories of certain communes situated in areas that are peri-urban to big cities, due to the lower prices of outside built-over areas [29, 30]. In this category there are registered hypermarkets such as Real Timişoara-South (situated on the administrative territory of Giroc commune); Real-Timişoara-East (on the territory of Ghioara commune); Real-Suceava (in Schela commune); Selgros Târgu Mureș (in Ernei commune); Selgros București-Pantelimon (on the administrative territory of Pantelimon town); Carrefour Pitești (Blejoi commune); Dedeman Constanța (Agigea); Dedeman Brăila (in Baldovinești, to serve both Galați and Brăila towns); Dedeman Roman (Cordun commune); Dedeman Piatra Neamț (Dumbrava Roșie commune); Praktiker Bacău (Nicolae Bălcescu commune); Praktiker Pitești (Bradu commune) etc.

Advantageous locations lead in time to the development of commercial parks: Băneasa outside Bucharest on DNI highway to Ploiești; Militari on A1 to Pitești and Dragonul-Roșu on the highway to Voluntari-Urziceni. A similar commercial park is scheduled to develop in the Lujerului-Cotroceni area and encompass also Cora Lujerului hypermarket, Plaza Romania and AFI Cotroceni malls.

Student campuses are considered potential markets for commercial complexes. Carrefour Orhideea, placed in the close vicinity of the student campuses Grozăvești and Regie, is a typical example of such a strategy. Iulius Mall in Iași and the new Iulius Mall in Cluj-Napoca, located in the Gheorgheni
district, near the campus of the University of Economic Sciences, follow to the same location logic, besides like in other cases entertainment is complementary to shopping. Other establishments having in view the same complementariness, combine tourist services with residential environments: Eliana Mall in Brașov situated in the Bartolomeu commercial district, towards the tourist area of Bran resort; City Park on the outskirts of Constanța (Tabăcăriei area), on the road to Mamaia sea-side resort.

Another location strategy is to modernise the large commercial units built before 1989 (the so-called universal stores) and turn them into malls. The most typical example of such a strategy is Unirea stores in Bucharest, which was extended and updated into what is now Unirea Shopping Center, with a Carrefour hypermarket developing in its proximity (Figure 5).

Some hypermarket chains have attracted to their proximity some other commercial investments, usually of the same origin, but with a strictly specialised offer. The hypermarkets of “Bricostore” French chain have been localised in the proximity of “Carrefour” hypermarkets (Bucharest-Orhideea, Bucharest-Băneasa, Arad, Constanța, Focșani, Ploiești, Suceava etc.) or “Auchan” (in Pitești); the hypermarkets of “Praktiker” German chain have evolved in partnership with those of “Metro” chain (Bucharest-Milițari, Bucharest-Băneasa, Arad, Constanța, Pitești, Ploiești etc.); and those of “Obi” chain have been localised in the proximity of those of “Real” type (Bucharest-Berceni, Bucharest-Pallady, Arad, Oradea etc.). Other hypermarkets have been localised in the proximity of malls: Cora Sun Plaza (Bucharest-Berceni); Auchan Cluj-Napoca, Auchan Suceava and Auchan Timișoara (near Iulius Mall Shopping Center); Carrefour Lotus-Oradea (near Lotus Shopping Center); Carrefour Era (Iași & Oradea – near Era Shopping Center); Carrefour Polus Cluj-Napoca (in Polus Shopping Center); Cora Constanța (near the “City Park Mall”); Real Cotroceni Bucharest (in “AFI Palace” Shopping Center); Cora Baia Mare (near the “Gold Plaza” Mall) etc.

Figure 5: Location of the main commercial investments in Bucharest [39, 40].
IV. THE SOCIAL IMPACT

The social impact of these trading centres is worth considering. The concept of “mall” goes beyond the strict commercial function, being associated with luxury and fashion: one goes to a mall to see new trends, socialise, make acquaintances with a certain segment of the population [14, 34].

Therefore, financial segregation combines with social segregation, both being embodied in commercial segregation, and malls are the best way to express it [49]. Not surprisingly, in some commercial centres shopping and business facilities are associated with social facilities (e.g. Julius Mall in Timişoara has a register office and a chapel).

Besides fashion clothes, cosmetics, accessories and household appliances shops, malls include fast food restaurants, coffee shops, multiplex cinemas, casinos and games, intended to disseminate global consumerist goods within the Romanian urban society [32, 45]. The social function of malls in the built-up area is visible in the number of visitors to the eleven Bucharest malls.

On the other hand, building some of these commercial centres implies special works to improve the infrastructure, e.g. the construction of Trident Plaza in Constanţa requires the consolidation of the city’s sea cliffs area; other special works imply the rehabilitation and integrations of certain historical buildings into the respective commercial centres (e.g. the former slaughter-house in Timişoara will became part of the future Civis Center).

The development and modernisation of trading services is one of the main components of the tertiary sector in Romania. The process has gained in importance after 2000; according to available data only 6% of the consumer goods were sold through store chains in 2000, 27% in 2005 and 50% in 2010 [42]. The dynamics of this process is due to Romania ranking 8 on the preferential trade list of investors, Russia and the Czech Republic heading the list [56].

At the same time, the globalising character of this process is given by the specific consumer goods found in commercial centres and by the fact that over 90% of the modern trade network belongs to international store chains (Table 3) [16, 50].

Table 3: The Bucharest malls and elements of social impact.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malls</th>
<th>Commission in</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Area [m²]</th>
<th>Investor [Country]</th>
<th>Number of stores</th>
<th>Week-end visitors (estimate)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFI Palace Cotroceni</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Centre-West: Cotroceni</td>
<td>214,000</td>
<td>AFI Europe [Israel]</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>60,000 – 70,000 / day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Băneasa Shopping Center (Freeria)</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>North: Băneasa</td>
<td>170,000</td>
<td>Băneasa Development [Romania]</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>60,000 – 70,000 / day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bucharest Mall</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Centre-South: Vitan</td>
<td>99,000</td>
<td>Anchor Group [Turkey]</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>40,000 – 45,000 / day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Mall</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>South: Eroii Revoaţiei</td>
<td>38,000</td>
<td>Victoria Holding [Australia]</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>18,000 / day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocor Department Store</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Centre: Unirii Square</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>Retail Group [Romania]</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>30,000 / day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fashion House – West Park</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>West: Militari – A1 Motorway</td>
<td>93,000</td>
<td>Liebrecht &amp; Wood [Belgium]</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>40,000 / day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Arena</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>South: Berceni</td>
<td>120,000</td>
<td>Euroinvest Intermed [Switzerland]</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>40,000 – 45,000 / day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iris Shopping Center</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>East: Titan</td>
<td>67,650</td>
<td>DEGI [Germany]</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40,000 / day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jolie Ville Galleria</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>North: Băneasa – Iancu Nicolae</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>HKS [Egypt]</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>30,000 / day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberty Center</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>South: Rohava</td>
<td>65,650</td>
<td>Mivan Group [Northern Ireland]</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>30,000 / day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasaud Shopping Center</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>South: Viilor – Heavy Traffic</td>
<td>5,500</td>
<td>Elbit Medical Imaging [Israel]</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plaza Romania</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>West: Militari – Drumul Taberei</td>
<td>104,000</td>
<td>Anchor Group [Turkey]</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>40,000 – 45,000 / day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun Plaza</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>South: Sudului Square</td>
<td>210,000</td>
<td>EMCT Romania Sparkassen Immobilien [Austria]</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>40,000 – 45,000 / day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unirea Shopping Center(over-hauled)</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Centre: Unirii Square</td>
<td>83,971</td>
<td>Adamescu Family [Romania] *</td>
<td>45,000 / day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vitantis Shopping Center</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>South-East: Vitan-Bărzeşti</td>
<td>80,000</td>
<td>Equest Balkan Properties [UK]</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>10,000 – 15,000 / day</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
With the concentration of incomes in the Capital and in the large cities, commodity markets, or specialist services units ended up in big commercial complexes. Their localisations are seemingly the result of increasing social segregation, tending to limit the area in which this type of goods and units are likely to be spread, because demand rests with a specific segment of users [6, 28].

Hence, a new type of urban-rural polarisations, directly proportional to social and cultural segregation, is dependent upon the capacity of the Romanian urban system to absorb the globalising fluxes [7, 23, 24].

The severe financial disparities, affecting the urban population in the wake of industrial restructuring, filter the penetration of globalising fluxes [25, 27]. At local level, although the items produced by the culture of consumption are somehow easily penetrating, they are not very accessible. Thus, the combination of global culture with endemic lack of culture grafted on poverty, is a fertile ground for the recrudescence of urban sub-culture and organised crime [39].

V. THE ECONOMIC-FINANCIAL CRISIS AND THE COMMERCIAL INVESTMENTS

The economic-financial crisis has a powerful impact on trade investments, the market being oversaturated and people’s purchasing power fairly low, especially in Bucharest [16, 46]. Thus, shortage of investors made some projects be abandoned (Oltenia Mall in Craiova, Galleria in Bucharest, Siret Plaza in Galați, Three Galleria in Buzău etc.), postponed or their destination changed to offices buildings, e.g. Axia Shopping Center in Iași, while some hypermarkets (Pic in Brăila, Oradea and Călărași, Spar in Târgu Mureș) have been closed down.

CONCLUSIONS

The main types of location of malls and hypermarkets in Romania are the following [40, 43]:

- On the site of former food complexes that started being built before 1990 (mainly in Bucharest) but were later abandoned: Bucharest Mall, Plaza România, City Mall and Liberty Center. Scheduled to be built in the unfinished structure of what was to be the “Radio House” is Dâmboviţa Center;
- In the proximity of some great commercial centers already existent (the hypermarket chains Carrefour, Cora, Auchan, Praktiker, Bricostore, Obi etc.). This type of localization has led to the development of retail and business parks (Bucharest-Băneasa, Bucharest-Militari, Sibiu-Șelimbăr etc.).

- On the site of dismantled industrial units: AFI Cotroceni (UMEB Plant); Sema Park (Semănătoarea Plant); Atrium Center Cluj-Napoca (Someșul Knitwear Mills); Craiova Mall (IRA Factory); Plaza Center Timișoara (Modern Footwear Factory); Civis Center Timișoara (formerly a slaughter house); Korona Brașov (Partec Factory); Gold Plaza Baia Mare or Cora Lujerului in Bucharest (demolished dairy products factories) (Figure 6);

![Figure 6: Cora Lujerului in Bucharest (under extension).](image)

- On the major highways, at the city margin: Commercial Park Băneasa, on DN 1 Bucharest-Ploiești, Militari Commercial Park on A1 Bucharest-Pitești, Dragonul Roșu on Bucharest-Urziceni Highway; Euromall Pitești on A1 Pitești-Bucharest (Figure 7); Șeșlimbăr-Sibiu Commercial Park on the highway to Timișoara and Bucharest; Constanța South-Agigea, on the road to Mangalia; West Gate and Oltenia Mall in Craiova on the roads to Filiași and Malu Mare, respectively; Perla Shopping Centre in Ploiești on DN1; Galleria in Suceava on the road to Fălticeni; Plaza Center in Timișoara on the road to Lugoj; Plaza Center in Hunedoara on the road to Deva; Silver Mall in Vaslui; in the north of the town, on the road to Iași, Real and Obi Pallady Bucharest on A2 Constanța Bucharest etc.;

![Figure 7: Euromall in Pitești [58]](image)

(located on A1 Motorway Pitești-Bucharest).
- On the outskirts of towns, on the road to tourist zones: 
  *Eliana Mall* in Brașov, on the road to Bran-Moeciu, and 
  *Mega Mall* on the road to Predeal; 
  *City Park Mall* in Constanța in 
  Tăbăcăriei district, on the road to Mamaia sea-side resort, etc.;
- In the proximity of student campuses: 
  *Iulius Mall* in Cluj-Napoca, 
  *Iulius Mall* in Iași, 
  *Crizantema Mall* in Târgoviște, 
  *Carrefour Orhideea* in Bucharest, etc.;
- On the site of former stadiums: 
  *Mercury in Arad* (Strungul Stadium);
- In central areas, using local urban polarising nuclei: 
  *Alba Mall* in Alba Iulia, 
  *Bistrița Mall* in Bistrița, 
  *Forum Center* in Piatra Neamț, 
  *Grand Mall and Atrium Center* in Satu Mare, 
  *Akvit Plaza* in Zalău, 
  *Winmarkt Central Mall* in Vaslui, 
  *River Plaza* in Râmnicu Vâlcea, 
  *Grand Center* in Sinaia;
- On the site of universal stores overhauled and turned into 
  malls: 
  *Unirea Shopping Center* in Bucharest, 
  *Tomis Mall* in Constanța, 
  *Mures Mall* in Târgu Mureș, 
  *Moldova Mall* in Iași, 
  *Winmarkt Shopping Centre* in Galați (Figure 8), 
  *Maramureș Shopping Center* in Baia Mare etc.;

**Figure 8**: Winmarkt Shopping Center in Galați
(former “Modern” Shoppig Center)
(photo R. Săgeată).

- In the proximity of parks associated with recreation and 
  other functions (trade, business): 
  *Park Lake Plaza under construction near Titan Park*, 
  or 
  *Galleria Bucharest* (still a project because no investors have come forward) in 
  Plumbuita Park.

**REFERENCES**


