

Globalisation and Urban Spatial Reconversion. Case-Study: Commercial Services in Romania

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Abstract

The ever-growing concentration of income in the capital-city and in major towns has encouraged the development of a series of specialized products and services and the opening of commercial units. The only limit to this type of localization seems to be the continuous social segregation which restricts demand and creates preferential segments of users. New types of urban-rural polarisation are created, directly proportional to the social and cultural segregation and polarisation that condition the Romanian urban system's capacity to absorb globalizing fluxes. Thus, strong financial segregation among the urban population in the wake of restructuring industrial activities restricts the penetration of globalizing fluxes. Even if the products of the consumerist culture are intensely penetrating at local level, yet the population's access to them is still limited. Global culture tends to combine with endemic culture, grafted on poverty, deteriorating the quality of life and stimulating urban subculture and organised crime. Financial investments constitute the basis of the spatial distribution of commercial investments. The outlet market potential is the decisive factor for commercial investments, that is chains of stores usually set up by transnational companies. The establishment and diffusion of these commercial units in the territory is closely correlated with the location of banks, dependent on the income-based spatial segregation of the population. Thus, big commercial units are more frequently found in large cities with macro-regional polarisation functions and a positive economic dynamic that ensures the presence of an outlet market competitive enough both financially and quantitatively, so as to guarantee that the investment is profitable. On the other hand, the east/west financial segregation existing in Romania directly reflects segregated localisation of commercial investments which are placed mostly in Bucharest and the large cities from the central and western regions of the country – Transylvania, Banat and Crișana.

Keywords: *globalisation, global consumerist goods, urban systems, urban spatial reconversion, services, functional diversification, commercial investments, location, Romania, Bucharest*

Rezumat. Globalizare și reconversia spațiului urban. Studiu ce caz: Serviciile comerciale în România

Concentrarea tot mai mare a veniturilor populației în capitală și în orașele mari a determinat dezvoltarea de produse și servicii specializate, precum și localizarea de unități comerciale. Acest tip de localizare pare însă să fie condiționat de segregarea socială tot mai evidentă, prin limitarea cererilor și conturarea unor segmente preferențiale de beneficiari. Astfel s-au evidențiat noi tipuri de externalități urban-rural, direct proporționale cu segregarea socială și culturală, externalități ce condiționează capacitatea de absorbție a fluxurilor globalizante la nivelul sistemului urban românesc. Astfel, puternica segregare financiară care există în rândul populației urbane, ca urmare a restructurării activităților industriale, determină limitarea pătrunderii fluxurilor globalizante. Chiar dacă la nivel local produsele culturii de consum au un potențial ridicat de penetrare, accesul populației la acestea continuă să fie limitat. Cultura globală tinde astfel să se combine cu o cultură endemică, grefată pe sărăcie, cea ce contribuie la degradarea calității vieții și favorizează apariția subculturilor urbane și a criminalității organizate. Investițiile financiare reprezintă astfel premisa localizării celor comerciale. Potențialul pieței de desfacere constituie factorul determinant pentru amplasarea de investiții comerciale, reprezentate de obicei prin lanțuri de magazine înființate de companii transnaționale. Amplasarea și extinderea în teritoriu a acestor unități comerciale este strâns corelată cu localizarea unităților bancare, dependentă la rândul său de segregarea spațială a populației în funcție de nivelul veniturilor obținute. Astfel, cea mai mare frecvență a unităților comerciale mari este în marile orașe, centre de polarizare cu funcții macro-regionale, cu o dinamică economică pozitivă, ce pot asigura o piață de desfacere suficient de competitivă, atât din punct de vedere financiar cât și al cantității de mărfuri operate, asigurând astfel profitabilitatea investiției. Pe de altă parte, segregarea financiară est/vest se reflectă direct proporțional și în segregarea localizării investițiilor comerciale, acestea fiind amplasate mai ales în București și în marile orașe din regiunile centrale și vestice – Transilvania, Banat și Crișana.

Cuvinte-cheie: *globalizare, produse ale culturii globale de consum, sisteme urbane, reconversia spațiului urban, servicii, diversificare funcțională, investiții comerciale, localizare, România, București.*

Aim and methods

The economic market potential is a major decisive factor in the placement of big commercial investments, whether it is a commercial centre like a mall, that gathers together a variety of supermarkets, that is, a chain of stores usually set up by transnational companies (Dunning, 1993).

The logic behind the establishment and dissemination of these commercial units in the territory is closely correlated with the location of financial services, depending on the spatial segregation of the population based on income levels (Kralj & Marki, 2007). In this context, the paper analyses localisation strategies and the dispersion factors of financial and commercial

services in the Romanian urban system and particularly in its capital-city.

The methods used were both deductive and inductive.

Globalisation and the diversification of services in Romania

Globalisation and the urban systems

The downfall of the communist system in Central and Eastern Europe and the abolishment of ideological barriers has created the premises for closer globalizing links within the urban systems from this part of Europe (Robertson, 1993; McFarlane, 2006).

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 (Wackermann et al., 1997).

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 (Featherstone, 1990, 1995; Friedman, 1994). After over fifty years of forced industrialisation drive associated with hypertrophic development, the Romanian urban system (Fig. 1) has been experiencing a radical transformation, basically de-urbanisation both as regards town population and town quality, its functional attributes undergoing substantial changes (Holm, 1997).

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 (Ianoş & Tălângă, 1994; Ianoş et al., 2000; Knox & Marston, 2001).

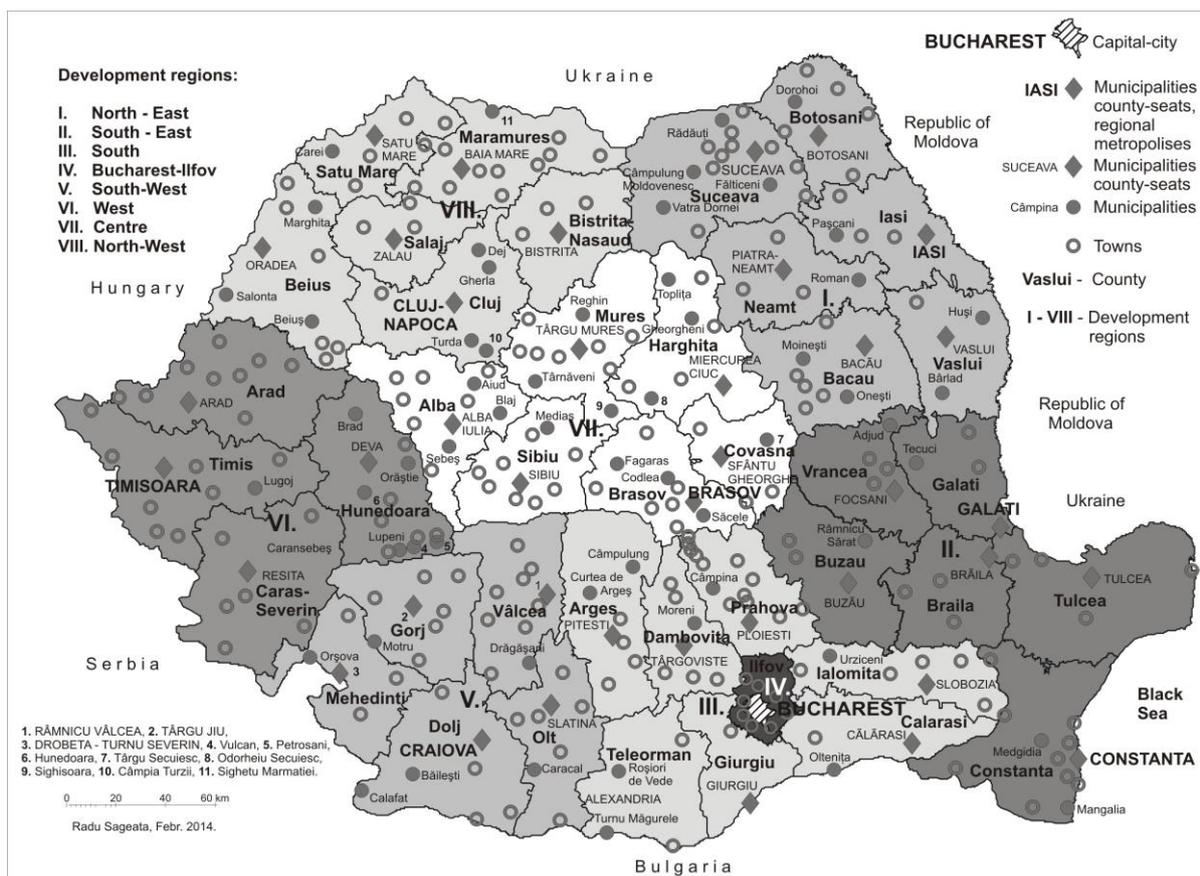


Fig. 1: The Romanian urban network (Source: Radu Săgeată)

Cosmopolitan cities

Large cities tend to assume the attributes of cosmopolitan cities due to greater ethnical diversity, the development of specialist services and the large-scale assimilation of global consumerist goods

(Bonnet, 2000), basically products and services which go beyond geo-cultural spaces (Sassen, 1991; De Lotto, 2008).

Foods and fashion items have the strongest impact on the population. 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, Lebanese, Italian or Greek restaurants; French or German bakeries; African,

Indian or Latin-American artisanal shops, etc.) (Fig. 2) (King, 1990; Fall, 1998).

Their localisation within commercial centres (malls and supermarkets) explains the importance of these units for the local diffusion of the products of global consumerist culture (Claval, 1995).



Fig. 2: Globalisation of food services in Romania. *left - Chinese restaurant in Bucharest; right - Lebanese fast-food in Timișoara (Photo: Radu Săgeată)*

Financial and commercial segregation of the urban space in Romania. Case-studies

The logic behind the establishment and diffusion in the territory of commercial units closely correlates with the location of financial services according to spatial, income-based segregation of the population. Bank services were oriented mainly to cities, especially those placed in developed regions (the capital and the counties from Banat and Transylvania). An exception is CEC Bank, the only bank having a large network developed also in the rural areas (Săgeată & Guran, 2007). At national level, there are two strategies for bank location.

Some banks were set up in the Capital and spread to the rest of the cities, while others, founded in the large urban settlements of Transylvania and the western regions of Romania (Cluj-Napoca, Sibiu, Târgu Mureș, Arad, etc.), used Bucharest as a relocation core (Fig. 3). Thus, large commercial units frequently opened up in large cities with macro-regional polarising functions and a positive economic dynamics that ensured an outlet market, competitive enough in terms of financial and quantitative attributes, so as to guarantee profitability. On the other hand, investments in towns that are at the base of the urban hierarchy materialised in supermarkets, but if towns have below 30,000 inhabitants they are considered unprofitable.

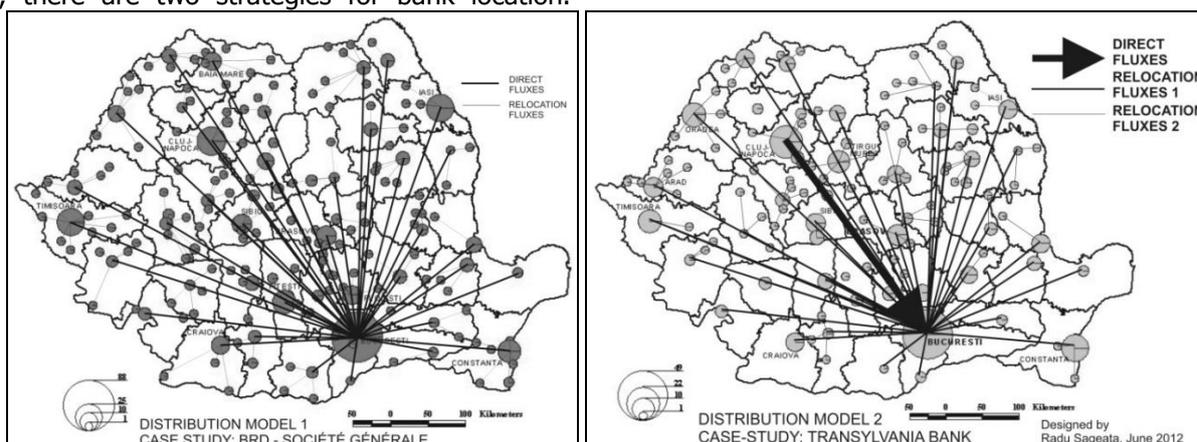


Fig. 3: Distribution models of financial services in Romania. *left - Distribution model 1: Case-study: BRD - Societate Generale; right - Distribution model 2: Transylvania Bank (Source: Radu Săgeată)*

Positive segregation exists in Bucharest, in some counties from Transylvania, Banat and in Constanța County, strictly correlating with the polarisation of incomes; negative segregation exists within 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, Constanța and

Mureş, while Botoşani, Tulcea, Teleorman and Buzău, featured almost exclusively traditional trading.

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 (Bonneville et al., 1992). The east/west financial segregation in Romania, mirrors the development of commercial services, this type of investment being drawn mainly by Bucharest and the large cities from Transylvania and Banat. Thus, the largest *malls* and supermarkets are situated mostly in Bucharest and in the western metropolises of Romania: Timișoara, Arad and Oradea (Săgeată, 2009-a, Săgeată et al., 2010 & 2011).

The social impact of commercial investments is worth-considering. The concept of "mall" goes beyond a strictly 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 (Jarvis et al., 2001). Therefore, financial segregation combines with social segregation, both being embodied in commercial segregation, and malls are the best way to express it. Not surprisingly, in some commercial centres, shopping and business facilities are associated with social facilities (e.g. *Julius Mall* in Timișoara has a register office and a chapel) (Fig. 4).

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



Fig. 4: "Julius Mall" in Timișoara, the big shopping centre in the West of Romania (Photo: Radu Săgeată)

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 Constanța requires the consolidation of the

city's sea cliffs area; other special works imply the rehabilitation and integration of certain historical buildings into the respective commercial centres - e.g. the former water tower in Bucharest will become part of the *Bricostore-Orhideea Shopping Center* (Fig. 5), or the former slaughter-house in Timișoara will become part of the future *Civis Center*.



Fig. 5: "Bricostore-Orhideea" in Bucharest, and the former water tower (Photo: Radu Săgeată)

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. The dynamics of this process is due to Romania ranking on the eighth place on the preferential trade list of investors, Russia and the Czech Republic heading the list (Ciobanu et al., 2009). At the same time, the global character of this process is given by the specific consumer goods found in commercial centres and by over 90% of the modern trade network belonging to international store chains.

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 services are likely to be spread, because demand rests with a specific segment of users.

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 globalizing fluxes. The severe financial disparities, affecting the urban population in the wake of industrial restructuring, filter the penetration of globalizing fluxes. 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.

Strategies of placing commercial investments in Romania

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 the cities located in the west of the country, especially Timișoara 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.). Most malls built in Bucharest (*Bucharest Mall*, *Plaza Romania Mall*, *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 neighborhoods (Fig. 6).

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 existing 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* situated on the premises of the former *UMEB* plant, had the advantage of a railway infrastructure (Fig. 7).



Fig. 6: Shopping centres located on the sites of former food complexes that started being built before 1990. left – "City Mall" in Bucharest; right - "Plaza Romania" in Bucharest (Photo: Radu Săgeată)



Fig. 7: Shopping centres located on the sites of demolished industrial units. left - "Cora Lujerului" in Bucharest; right - "AFI Cotroceni" in Bucharest (Photo: Radu Săgeată)

In many situations, big commercial investments were preferentially located in the administrative territories of certain communes situated in the periurban areas of big cities, where real-estate prices are lower. It is the case of supermarkets such as *Real* Timișoara-South (in Giroc commune); *Real* Timișoara-East (in Ghiroda commune); *Real* Suceava (in Schela commune); *Selgros* Târgu Mureș (in Ernei commune); *Selgros* București-Pantelimon (in Pantelimon town); *Carrefour* Pitești (in Blejoi commune); *Dedeman* Constanța (in Agiea commune); *Dedeman* Brăila (in Baldovinești

commune to serve both Galați and Brăila cities); *Dedeman* Roman (in Cordun commune); *Dedeman* Piatra Neamț (in Dumbrava Roșie commune); *Praktiker* Bacău (in Nicolae Bălcescu commune); *Praktiker* Pitești (in Bradu commune), etc.

Advantageous locations have led in time to the development of commercial parks: *Băneasa* outside Bucharest on DN1 highway to Ploiești; *Militari* in Bucharest, on A1 motorway to Pitești and *Dragonul-Roșu* on the highway to Voluntari-Urziceni. A similar commercial park is scheduled to develop in Bucharest in the *Lujerului-Cotroceni* area and

encompass also *Cora Lujerului* supermarket, *Plaza Romania* and *AFI Cotroceni* malls; European Retail Park in *Selimbar residential area* (Sibiu) (Fig. 8), and similar parks outside Târgu Mureş, Deva, Botoşani, Arad, Brăila, etc.



Fig. 8: "European Retail Park" in Selimbar residential area (Sibiu) (Photo: Radu Săgeată)

Student campuses are considered potential markets for commercial complexes. *Carrefour Orhideea*, placed in the close vicinity of the student campuses *Grozăveşti* and *Regie*, is a typical example of such a strategy (Fig. 9). *Iulius Mall* in Iaşi and *Iulius Mall* in Cluj-Napoca, located in Gheorgheni district, near the campus of the University of Economic Sciences, follow the same location logic, in

other cases entertainment is complementary to shopping.



Fig. 9: "Carrefour Orhideea" located in the vicinity of student campuses (Bucharest) (Photo: Radu Săgeată)

Other establishments, having in view the same complementariness, combine tourist services with residential environments: *Eliana Mall* in Braşov situated in Bartolomeu commercial district, on the tourist route to Bran resort; *City Park* on the outskirts of Constanţa (*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 (Fig. 10).



Fig. 10: Modernised old shopping centres. Left – Winmarkt Shopping Center in Galaţi; right – River Plaza Mall in Râmnicu Vâlcea (Photo: Radu Săgeată)

A 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* supermarket developing in its proximity. In the proximity of other commercial investments, usually from the same country, but with a strictly specialist offer, some supermarket chains have been attracted.

The supermarkets of *Bricostore* (French chain) localised in the proximity of *Carrefour* supermarkets (Bucharest-Orhideea, Bucharest-Băneasa, Arad, Constanţa, Focşani, Ploieşti, Suceava, etc.), or *Auchan* (in Piteşti); the supermarkets of *Praktiker* (German chain) in partnership with those of *Metro*

chain (Bucharest-Militari, Bucharest-Băneasa, Arad, Constanţa, Piteşti, Ploieşti, etc.); the *Obi* chain sited in the proximity of *Real* chain (Bucharest – Berceni District, Bucharest – Pallady Avenue, Arad, Oradea, etc.). Other supermarkets in the neighbourhood of malls: *Cora Sun Plaza* (Bucharest – Berceni district); *Auchan* Cluj-Napoca, *Auchan* Suceava and *Auchan* Timişoara (near *Iulius Mall Shopping Center*); *Carrefour-Lotus* Oradea (near *Lotus Shopping Center*); *Carrefour-Era* (Iaşi & Oradea – near *Era Shopping Center*); *Carrefour - Polus* Cluj-Napoca (in *Polus Shopping Center*); *Cora* Constanţa (near the *City Park Mall*); *Real* Cotroceni Bucharest (in *AFI*

Palace Shopping Center); *Cora* Baia Mare (near *Gold Plaza Mall*), etc.

Ethnic neominorities and commercial investments

An extremely hypertrophic Capital compared to the other regional metropolises in Romania (Cluj-Napoca, Iași, Timișoara, Constanța, Brașov, Craiova etc.), and its rather remote spatial location from other big cities in Central – South East Europe (Budapest, Kiev, Odessa, Athens or Istanbul) explains why Bucharest can act as an intra-continental city with polarisation functions. In this way, it can better take in globalizing fluxes and accommodate more rapidly to the attributes of a cosmopolitan city (Săgeată, 2009-c).

In 2010, Bucharest numbered about 20,000 foreigners, who chose to group into zones by ethnic criteria, thereby contributing to socio-spatial segregation within the city. It was not by chance that the Chinese gathered in the Obor-Colentina-Voluntari zone, given that their businesses were linked to commercial activities there; for similar reasons the Arabs opted for the Militari area and Grozăvești-Regie student campus area where they did business (Fig. 11).



Fig. 11: "Sir" – Arab commercial investment in Militari residential area (Bucharest) (Photo: Radu Săgeată)

The majority are located in the centre of the city, but also in the centre of residential zones, becoming nuclei that relocate globalizing fluxes inside the urban through commercial activities discharged in the big vegetable markets and in supermarkets. They add specific culinary elements to Bucharest's cultural landscape, but also an original toponymy and symbolistics which tends increasingly to enter the autochthonous cultural heritage. The Chinese Dragon, the green of Islam, the Indian orange, or the Lebanon cedar are only a few of the symbols visible in the city landscape; words like tavern, pub, pizza, paprika, shaorma, croissant, hot dog, or hamburger have already entered the Romanian vocabulary. The Islamic veil, or elements of the traditional Indian or Japanese garment are quite

commonly seen, no longer surprising anyone. In addition, one finds traditional elements of architecture specific to various cultures, strikingly obvious in the built-up area, creating in Bucharest that "cosmopolitan landscape" characteristic of the big metropolis.

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. Thus, shortage of investors made some projects be abandoned (*Oltenia Mall* in Craiova, *Galleria Shopping Center* in Bucharest, *Siret Plaza* and *Euromall* in Galați, *Three Galleria* in Buzău, etc.), postponed or their destination changed to offices buildings, e.g. *Axa Shopping Center* in Iași, while some supermarkets (*Pic* chain - in Brăila, Oradea and Călărași, *Spar* in Târgu Mureș) have been closed down.

Case-study: Bucharest

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* residential district, in a dismantled urban area, this mall would rapidly become a point of convergence in the city. As a result, it was enlarged up to 99,000 m² in 2003 and 2007, housing 140 stores, most of them subsidiaries of international companies sales units. In 2004, the same investor opened the second mall in the west of Bucharest, between *Militari* and *Drumul Taberei* residential 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-food, entertainment and business (Fig. 6 - right).

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-Criș-Mureș-Tisa Euroregion; two years later another complex was opened in Cluj-Napoca (Nov. 10, 2007). The same developer opened up *Julius Mall* in Suceava (September, 2008), overall area 132,000 m² (out of which 67,500 m² built-up spaces and 45,000 m² for rent and 150 shops). It was the biggest unit of its kind in Moldavia, and a regional convergence point for the counties of Suceava, Botoșani and Neamț, as well as 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 (Fig. 7 - right), was commissioned. The construction, raised on the site of a former factory, houses 300 shops and the *Real* supermarket, the largest skating-rink and karting track built inside a commercial centre, an escalade wall, a bicycle 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. 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 Ploiești (*AFI Palace Ploiești*) and in Bucharest's Bucureștii Noi district (*AFI București*).

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* supermarket. 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* – Fig. 6 – left, *Grand Arena* and *Liberty Center*). However, these drawbacks might be compensated for by locating

Sun Plaza in a convergence area of population fluxes (The South Square) with access to the underground network through a subterranean passage.

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 Shopping City* complex, a commercial area of supermarkets (*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 City* 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 (Fig. 12).



Fig. 12: Shopping centres in Bucharest (Source: Radu Săgeată)

Conclusion

Malls and supermarkets in Romania, main types of location (Săgeată, 2008; 2009-b; 2010):

- On the site of former food complexes that started being built before 1990 (mainly in Bucharest), but were later abandoned: *Bucharest Mall*, *Plaza Romania* (Fig. 6-right), *City Mall* (Fig. 6-left) and *Liberty Center*. Scheduled to be built in the unfinished structure of what was to be the "Radio House" is *Dâmbovița Center*,

- In the proximity of existing large shopping centres forming together commercial and business parks (chains of supermarkets: *Carrefour*, *Cora*, *Auchan*, *Praktiker*, *Bricostore*, *Obi*, etc.);

- On the site of dismantled industrial units: *AFI Cotroceni (UMEB Plant)* (Fig. 7-right); *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 (Fartec Factory)*; *Gold Plaza Baia Mare* or *Cora Lujerului* in Bucharest (demolished dairy factories) (Fig. 7-left);

- 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; *Șelimbăr-Sibiu Commercial Park* on the highway to Timișoara and Bucharest (Fig. 8); *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 Center* 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 A 2 Constanța - Bucharest motorway, etc.;

- 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 (Fig. 9), etc.;

- On the site of former stadiums: *Mercury* in Arad (*Strungul Stadium*);

- In central areas, using local urban polarising cores: *Alba Mall* in Alba Iulia, *Bistrița Mall* in Bistrița, *Forum Center* in Piatra Neamț, *Grand Mall* and *Atrium Center* in Satu Mare, *Aktiv Plaza* in Zalău, *Winmarkt Central Mall* in Vaslui, *River Plaza* in

Râmnicu Vâlcea (Fig. 10-right), *Grand Center* in Sinaia;

- On the site of universal stores overhauled and turned into malls: *Unirea Shopping Center* in Bucharest, *Tomis Mall* in Constanța, *Mureș Mall* in Târgu Mureș, *Moldova Mall* in Iași, *Winmarkt Shopping Center* in Galați (Fig. 10 - left), *Maramureș Shopping Center* in Baia Mare, etc.;

- 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*.

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