Shopping Malls and its Social Impact on the Outer Metropolitan Zones (The Example of the Silesian Voivodeship)

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Abstract

Shopping malls have become an inseparable element of modern agglomerations and large cities in Poland. They derive from the tradition of former town marketplaces, around which trade was developed and the life of local community flew. Similarly to them, modern shopping malls are becoming important centres of social life, serving for commercial, entertainment, recreational, cultural, educational, integration as well as socialising purposes. Their comprehensive trade offer makes it possible to shop, cafés are a place for meeting friends, cinemas, discos, bowling alleys ensure entertainment, and playgrounds for children provide a response for the needs of the youngest visitors. More and more often municipal offices and public utility establishments are located at shopping malls, you can also find places of religious worship. The most recent investments are becoming elements of municipal infrastructure even more, as they integrate within their space office and hotel spaces and residential premises. Entertainment parks, theme parks, galleries or theatres constitute an inseparable part of new shopping malls, and development of the entertainment and cultural, and commercial offer is one of the ways of competing with the traditional city centre and developing e-trade. In this way, they have become a place where entire families spend their free time.

Shopping malls in the Silesian Voivodeship have a significant impact on smaller settlement units located in outer areas of agglomerations. It consists mainly in changes related to social, economic, as well as functional and spatial spheres. Research conducted (2012) directly among residents, entrepreneurs and local authorities made it possible to identify consequences of the functioning of shopping malls in the region. Studies shows that shopping malls take over more and more functions of higher order (services, public culture, administration) and restrict the economic activity in outer areas of agglomerations. Their social impact refers mainly to inhabitants of towns and rural areas influenced by agglomerations. By providing a comprehensive, attractive and modern commercial, service and entertainment offer, shopping malls have become a commonly visited and used place. At the stage of the irrepressible process of suburbanisation of rural areas surrounding large urban agglomerations and structural changes in towns, it is difficult to conclusively assess the consequences of the

At the stage of the irrepressible process of suburbanisation of rural areas surrounding large urban agglomerations and structural changes in towns, it is difficult to conclusively assess the consequences of the operation of shopping malls in outer economic areas. Opinions of residents are positive and indicate many benefits. The impact of shopping malls on small towns and rural areas located in the outer economic area is, in terms of time and form, a very dynamic process which requires further systematic research.

Key words: retail trade, shopping malls, social impact, small town, rural areas, outer areas of agglomerations

JEL Classification: L8/L81; F1/F14

1 Introduction

Social impact of shopping malls – problem description

Today, the retail trade in Poland is not very different in terms of sales forms from the trade in Western Europe countries. Opening of the market and its high absorptiveness caused an inflow of numerous foreign investors who introduced new technologies and buyer service forms mainly as part of large-format shops launched by them. Among new forms of large-

format trade, apart from super- and hypermarkets, the greatest importance is attached by the customers to shopping malls that have been emerging in Poland since mid-90s. Within nearly 20 years of operation on the Polish market, shopping malls changed in terms of sales area, location, mall structure, architecture, scope of operation and technological solutions. Their development constitutes certain stage of qualitative transformation of commercial activity stemming from the needs of the market, its evolving infrastructure, changes in patterns of consumption and lifestyle of Polish consumers. Commercial facilities of new generation that come into being equipped with non-retail uses, with extended offer of services and entertainment, recreational and office and residential functions, evidence the fact that the distance of Polish trade in relation to the countries of the Western Europe is diminishing. Also, it reflects the fact that the development of shopping centres in Poland "entered" the stage characteristic of highly developed countries. It seems that shopping centres settled in the landscape of Polish cities for good, and with no doubt they contributed to the improvement of supplies and facilitated every-day shopping. More and more frequently, they also become a meeting place, a place to spend free time or celebrate various occasions. Social and cultural changes resulting from their operation may be already observed not only in large cities, but also in small ones, and even in rural areas located within the outer zone of large municipal agglomerations.

Social and cultural changes induced by development of shopping malls were observed also in the world, in 40s and 50s in the United States, and in 60s and 70s in the Western Europe. In North America, a dynamic suburbanisation process took place when population migrated from large cities to suburban and extra-urban (rural) areas, where service and shopping centres were placed. Central Business Districts (CBD), which were dominated by administrative and commercial functions, became deserted in the afternoon and served as a labour market only. The next stage of this process was situation of multi-purpose shopping malls (with an extended service, recreation and cultural offer) in the very city centre for the sake of revitalisation. In Western Europe, the phenomenon of dynamic development of shopping malls took place in 70s and 80s of the 20th century. Social and cultural changes which then occurred were mainly related to consumption patterns and the way of doing shopping and spending free time. State-of-the-art facilities with a broad commercial, service, entertainment, and cultural offer, attracted whole families, independently of their social and economic status, and preferences and needs [Thomas, Bromley 2002, s.793-813].

In Poland, shopping malls became an inseparable element of modern agglomerations and large cities. They derive from the tradition of former city marketplaces, round which trade was developed and the life of local community flew. Similarly to marketplaces, modern shopping malls have become important centres of social life, serving commercial, entertaining, recreational, cultural, educational, integrational and socialising purposes [Kochaniec 2011, p. 238]. Their comprehensive trade offer makes it easier to shop, cafés are a place to meet friends, cinemas, discos, bowling alleys provide entertainment, playgrounds for children constitute a response for the needs of the youngest visitors, fitness clubs, climbing walls and theme parks satisfy the need of recreation. Exhibitions and concerts provide an opportunity to associate with arts. More and more often municipal offices and public utility agencies are located at shopping malls, and the same may be said of places of religious worship. The most recent investments are becoming elements of municipal infrastructure even more as they integrate offices, and hotel and residential premises within their area. Entertainment parks, theme parks, galleries or theatres constitute an inseparable part of a new shopping mall, and development of entertainment, and cultural and commercial offer is one of the ways of competing with a traditional city centre and developing e-trade, as it offers

experience that is unavailable in the virtual world and constitutes an additional incentive to go out. In this way, shopping malls became a place where whole families spend their free time. Modern shopping malls are the answer to the needs of contemporary clients who have less and less time but more information and requirements as regards shopping, who expect a comprehensive offer in a pleasant surroundings, and seamlessly combine shopping with other activities. On the occasion of shopping it is also possible to go to hairdresser, laundry, meet friends at a café, handle financial issues at the bank, plan holidays in a travel agency, get more fit in a fitness club or check one's health condition in a health-care establishment. Apart from that, modern shopping malls are perceived as a sightseeing attraction and often are the main goal of a trip (half of American tourists indicated shopping as the first or the second purpose of tourist trips) [Dudek-Mańkowska, Fuhrmann 2009, s. 269]. Thus, shopping malls play a role of a "sheltered market in a city centre", where it is possible to walk, meet friends, shop or relax in a pleasant atmosphere and interesting surroundings, in warmth, and listening to the music. Therefore, it seems that they are becoming competition for the city centre whose offer no longer encourages clients to stay there for longer. A spacious, warm, dry and brightly illuminated shopping centre constitutes an oasis (an excellent offer) for the client in a chilly and rainy urban areas. Light and warmth are subconsciously associated by the clients with peace and safety. At the same time, separation from the surrounding and a possibility of focusing on shopping makes this space more tamed and friendly, and cleanliness and order constitute an additional encouraging factor. Paradoxically, space of such type may be also an oasis of serenity, especially in antemeridian hours and weekdays. In countries with cold and rainy climate and poorly illuminated streets, a modern shopping mall is a "lighthouse", it attracts crowds of "travellers", and a wide, comprehensive offer makes it the most preferable place for shopping in fall and winter. At the same time, the attractiveness of such place rests upon both the quality as well as the level of investments and the innovativeness of the solutions adopted.

A widely understood clients' longing for the sense of security is transferred also on the space in which shopping takes place. A client gladly returns to a mall where they feel safe, and security is first of all an impression invoked by surroundings. The latter is comprised mostly of lesser overcrowding, good lighting, appeasement, visible presence of security guards. In modern shopping malls of the Western Europe, the presence of security services - albeit unobtrusive - is nevertheless sufficiently visible to provide additional sense of security to the clients. The concept of a modern shopping mall is often "an illusion of a happy world free of poverty". What the protection measures applied at the mall mean in practice is an unwritten trespassing prohibition for people deprived of the means of support (beggars etc.).

Thus, the social impact of a shopping mall is very wide, starting from the possibility to do comprehensive shopping in one place and in convenient conditions, on preferable time of the day (extended hours of operation), through the use of numerous services, culture, entertainment, sports, recreation, and even healthcare or educational offer. The biggest segment of purchasers are averagely-affluent and affluent clients, young, educated and professionally active people. Older people, with lower income, often visit shopping malls to contemplate shop windows, make a walk, watch people or participate in organised meetings, advertising, promotional, or art projects. But the offer of the centres is addressed to all age and income groups, to individual clients, whole families, or social groups [Makowski 2003]. The specificity of new-generation facilities consists in creation of a comprehensive offer in more and more perfect architectural and urban space. An attractive space is supposed to play an important role both in retaining the client as well as in prolonging their time of stay at a facility.

2 Citizens of the Outer Metropolitan Area as Users of Shopping Malls in the Silesian Voivodeship

Citizens of the outer metropolitan area in the Silesian Voivodeship are a numerous group (more than 3.2 million) with specific social and economical features stemming from the specificity of their dwelling area. The Silesian Voivodeship is inhabited by nearly 4.7 people which constitute 12.2% of Poland's population, of which 3.7 million are city residents. The region is characterised by the highest degree of urbanisation in Poland - 78.4% of the population are city inhabitants. Also, it is the most densely populated area - 377 people/km², given the national average of 123 people/km². Within the functional and spatial arrangement of the Silesian Voivodeship, four sub-regions are distinguished (the so-called development policy areas): northern, southern, central, and western one. In terms of area and population, the central sub-region ranks first - with 2,835 thousand people, i.e. more than 60% of the whole region's population¹. The Silesian Voivodeship is a region highly diversified in economical, social, spatial, environmental, and cultural terms. It is very attractive for investments due to its geographical situation, business activity of market entities, large market, raw material resources and well-developed infrastructure. Industry and services, and in particular modern commerce, are intensively developing. In each of sub-regions, newgeneration shopping malls were created and operate. They are located both in the city centres as well as in the suburbs, in the biggest towns and in smaller settlement units. Significant functional and spatial changes caused by the development of shopping centres are taking place in small cities and rural areas of the outer zone [Twardzik 2013, s.115-117].

Small cities in the outer metropolitan area of the Silesian Voivodeship serve an important purpose consisting in provision of services to inhabitants of rural areas located within the range of their influence. Agriculture and rural areas in the Silesian Voivodeship are an important element of the regional economy. The arable land constitutes 39.2% of the total area of the voivodeship. There are approx. 102.1 thousand of farms operating on nearly 483.1 thousand ha. More than 82% of them are small farms with an area not exceeding 5 ha. Within the rural areas of the Silesian Voivodeship, there are 994.8 thousand people, which constitutes approx. 21.1% of the general population of the region, however a positive migration balance to rural areas has been observed for a couple of years. City inhabitants willingly move into suburban and rural areas, situated usually in the closest surroundings of a metropolis, seeking for better life conditions, peace, and convenience. Although they live outside town, most of their activity takes place there, e.g. work, shopping, entertainment, and in result, the place of residence becomes only their "sleeping-room", and the areas of small cities and villages – a monofunctional-residential place.

During the last decades, the Silesian Voivodeship witnessed a dynamic development of shopping malls. High absorptiveness of the market, high average salary that exceeds the national average, large number of citizens concentrated in the Silesian agglomeration, mobility of the inhabitants, well-developed road network and public transportation as well as low unemployment rate create excellent conditions for placing various types of shopping malls in various cities of the region. There are presently 52 facilities of various functional types operating in the cities of the Silesian Voivodeship. They provide a diversified commercial and service assortment as well as a recreation and entertainment offer.

¹ Data of the Central Statistical Office / regional data bank.

From among 52 facilities, the majority (76%) is constituted by centres with a hypermarket, and the remaining ones are clusters of shops without a hypermarket (7%) and centres with a supermarket (17%). Hypermarket centres with a small mall of stores dominate (70,8%). The least numerous are clusters of shops without a hypermarket. One of the centres without a hypermarket is Fashion House Shopping Mall in Sosnowiec – the first factory centre in the Silesian Voivodeship. The facilities are of various sizes, have different strategic tenants and specific detailed locations. All of them form new space of towns and new market conditions, both for the citizens as well as for local entrepreneurs. Effects of their operations should be viewed in economic, social, spatial and environmental field. In 2012, a direct research was conducted among 600 inhabitants of the outer area of Upper Silesian Agglomeration and the area of influence of Bielsko-Biała, Rybnik, and Częstochowa. The study was conducted using face-to-face interview, the interview using a questionnaire among a group of respondents (purposeful selection)². The aim of the study was to identify the consequences of operation of shopping malls in the Silesian Voivodeship, with particular focus on their social impact on small cities and rural areas located in outer areas, as well as to answer important questions: How the shopping malls influence the operation of rural areas and small cities located in outer metropolitan areas? Is there a relationship between the location of a shopping mall (city centre, suburbs), and the type of influence on the local development? The study was conducted with the use of a direct method. Respondents of the research were recruited from selected localities - they were people who shop in shopping malls. A preliminary condition to qualify a city (rural area) for the survey was presence of at least one shopping centre within the range of influence. The study was non-exhaustive. A non-random sample was used, with advantages and disadvantages specific for this type of sample selection taken into account.³. The sample comprised 150 people from each outer area Most of the surveyed were women (66.7%). In the following age groups: (18-34), (35-49) and (50-64 years of age), the distribution was even. More than a half of respondents had secondary education, every fourth person – higher education, and every sixth one – primary or vocational one. The sample comprised 63.3% professionally active residents of the Silesian Voivodeship. From among people professionally inactive, the majority was constituted by women – 67%, aged between 50 and 64 years. More than 36% of the surveyed originated from 3-person households, 30% from 1-2-pseson households, and 33% from households comprising 4 persons or more. A half of the surveyed described their materials situation as very good and good, (41%) - as sufficient, and 8.7% as difficult. The surveyed assessed the shopping malls' impact on outer areas of selected cities in Silesian Voivodeship.

Shopping malls located in large and medium-size cities of the Silesian Voivodeship serve clients within a range of even up to 100 km from the place of their residence, which is a proof of superregional influence of the malls. Taking into account their number, offer, and location, one may suppose that they have a significant influence on the development and operation of small cities and rural areas in the outer metropolitan, zone in the scope of commercial services and social conditions of living.

² Selection of respondents - the residence

³ A non-random selection is based mainly on intuition, experience and knowledge of the surveyor and although it is conducted on the basis of knowledge of parameters of a given population, it does not entitle to apply probability theorems, and thus - also statistical mathematics. Nevertheless, non-random selection has undeniable advantages when compared to the random one. See: [Steczkowski 1995, pp. 41-42].

3 Social Impact of Shopping Malls on Small Cities Located in the Outer Area of Silesian Agglomeration

Despite changing social and economic realities, trade still has an important role in the development of municipal centres in Poland. Taking into account the dynamic development of state-of-the-art commercial facilities in the Silesian Voivodeship, as well as change in the life style and consumption patterns, it seems important to recognise their impact on the smaller settlement units in the outer metropolitan area. Studies conducted among the citizens of selected small cities and rural areas located in outer agglomeration zones⁴ provided grounds for verification of the consequences of operation of shopping malls in the Silesian Voivodeship, taking particularly into account their social impact. Assumptions were as follows:

- The impact of a shopping mall on small cities and rural areas located in outer zones depends on its type and detailed location,
- The biggest social changes take place in the scope of the consumption style, the manner of supplying households,
- Shopping habits of inhabitants of small cities and rural areas in the outer zone become similar to habits of metropolitan consumers,
- Shopping centres are becoming a place where inhabitants of small cities and rural areas spend their free time.

The results of the conducted studies confirmed in vast majority the scope and manner of social influence of the modern shopping centres on small cities and rural areas located in the outer agglomeration zones. During the studies, respondents' knowledge of the modern commercial facilities, identification thereof and their manner of operation, were examined. Moreover, the frequency of use of their commercial, service, and recreational and entertainment offer was verified. The surveyed also indicated reasons for choosing modern commercial facilities and assessed their accessibility. Respondents do shopping in shopping centres for various reasons. For majority of the surveyed, such choice is determined by the wide offer of products (64.8%), the possibility to do shopping "under one roof" (49%), low prices of products (46.5%) and convenient opening hours of commercial centres (46%).

More than (42%) of respondents indicate the possibility to do shopping for a longer period of time, for 1/3 of them, an important selection factor is the possibility to shop on Saturdays and Sundays, every 4th of the surveyed appreciates the possibility of paying with debit/credit card, and for every 5th respondent, what counts is the free-of-charge parking and convenient access from the city centre. Negative opinions on shopping malls are more often expressed by men, people aged 50-64 (51%), who declare sufficient (33.1%) and difficult (43.6%) financial situation. The surveyed inhabitants of the Silesian Voivodeship do not like to shop at shopping malls because of: queues at the cash desks (65.5%), crowd (51.7%), lack of information about products (40.5%) and incorrectly stated prices (40%). More than 1/3 of the surveyed purchase unnecessary items on impulse, waste too much time for shopping, for 1/5 of the surveyed the products at shopping malls happen to be past the expiration date, and prices on products are marked in a poorly legible manner.

⁴ The surveys were conducted in the following localities: Wojkowice, Szczyrk, Wilamowice, Imielin, Chełm Śląski, Goleszów, Skoczów, Kruszyna, Olsztyn, Toszek, Rudziniec, Jastrzębie – Zdrój, Kłobuck, Wręczyca Wielka, Koszęcin, Woźniki, Orzesze, Ornontowice, Myszków, Koziegłowy, Pszczyna, Suszec, Racibórz, Kornowac, Nędza, Tworóg, Tarnowskie Góry, Gorzyce, Wodzisław Śląski, Zawiercie, Żywiec, Ślemień.

For many citizens, large-format commercial facilities are overwhelmingly big, noisy, and invoking a sense of anonymousness. Elderly people see many more disadvantages of such facilities as they offer a manner of operation which is very different when compared to the traditional district stores. Modern shopping malls in the Silesian Voivodeship dispose of a wide offer of services (hairdresser, dry cleaner, beauty services, catering), as well as of recreation (cinema, billiards, fitness). Less than a half of the surveyed (47.4%) use the services at the shopping malls, more often men (52%), people aged from 18 to 49, professionally active (63%), and declaring good or sufficient financial situation (77.6%). At the shopping malls, the surveyed inhabitants of the Silesian Voivodeship usually use an ATM (28.5%), dry cleaner (20%), photographic services (14.7%), and catering services (13.1%)(fig.1). Every tenth respondent uses bank and hairdresser services [Twardzik 2013, s.124-128].

The recreational offer of shopping centres is used by 14% of the surveyed only, and mainly young people (up to 34 years of age), with secondary or higher education (78.2%), declaring good financial situation (78.1%). More than 92% of the surveyed inhabitants of the Silesian Voivodeship go to the shopping malls to do shopping, and for 2% of them it is a way of spending free time. The offer of services and recreation facilities of the shopping malls constitute an additional element of their attractiveness, but is of no significance for most of the buyers. Among the products most frequently purchased by them are groceries, chemistry, cosmetics, and garments.

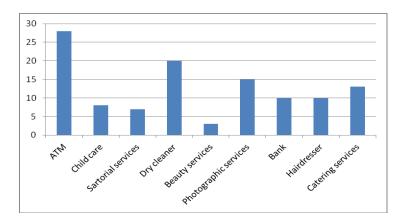


Fig. 1 Services used by the respondents

Source: own research

The recreational and entertainment offer attracts the highest interest among young people (17-40 years); people aged 60 and more cannot find a suitable offer for themselves.

The respondents reach a shopping mall using their own car or by municipal transport, whereby the average distance to the closest facility is 17 kilometres, and the average time of drive is 18 minutes (fig.2).

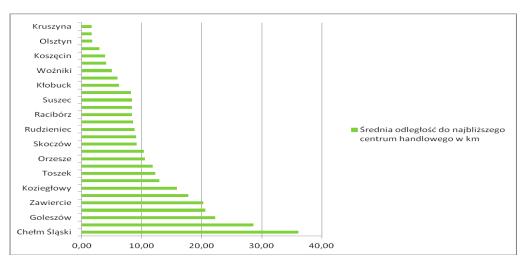


Fig. 2 Distance from the nearest shopping centre (average distance in km)

Source: own research

The above is a proof of very high accessibility of the modern commerce for the citizens of the outer Silesian agglomeration zone. The aim of visit in a shopping mall is most often shopping, but also more and more often meeting with friends, using services, watching shop exhibitions and rest. The non-commercial offer (services, entertainment, culture) is most often used by the youngest respondents (17-25 years of age), people aged 60 and more only declare that they use the services and take the opportunity to see shop exhibitions in the shopping mall.

4 Conclusions

According to studies, respondents most often come to a shopping mall with family (66.4%), (13%)the surveyed comes alone, with friends. These opinions are in line with the results of the all-Poland research (52% of respondents do shopping in shopping malls with family, 27% sometimes alone and sometimes with family, 20% of respondents usually do it alone. A broad commercial, service, and recreational offer of shopping centres satisfies the needs of various purchaser groups. Most of people in the group who go to a shopping mall with friends are women (57%), young people, aged up to 34, with a car (67%). Owning one's own car is a factor that determines to a certain degree the place of respondents' shopping. Shopping malls that dispose of large, free-of-charge car parks are adapted to serve customers coming by cars. This rule is confirmed by the survey according to which 2/3 of respondents come to a shopping mall using their own car, every fifth – by municipal transportation, every tenth – on foot (according to the all-Poland survey, 63% of customers come to a shopping mall by their own car, 36% - by bus or another means of public transportation). According to the opinion of the respondents, the customers of shopping malls are mainly young people who appreciate convenience, declare good material standing, and in most cases use their own car. Summing up it may be stated that respondents aged 17-40 correctly identify shopping malls and indicate numerous examples thereof. In most cases, they shop at shopping malls, usually 2-3 times a month, and they purchase preferably: groceries, household chemicals, garments, RTV, household appliances. The respondents declare that they use the commercial, service and recreational offer of shopping malls - in most cases and most frequently they are young people, aged 17-40 (usually they shop, but also spend their free time). The choice of a shopping mall is determined by its comprehensive offer (scope of the offer is the basis for the 1 to 5 generation shopping mall typology), quality of products, prices, location (availability of a car park) and opening hours of the facility. Of some

importance is also the fact that such facilities are open up to late hours and round-the-clock, on Saturdays and Sundays. Most frequently, respondents come to a shopping mall by their own car of municipal transport, which takes them a little more than 15 minutes at the average (18 minutes) and demonstrates general accessibility of modern facilities for inhabitants of small cities and rural areas in the outer Silesian agglomeration zone. Thus, the social influence of shopping malls on the inhabitants of outer metropolitan areas manifests itself in the manner and frequency of shopping and use of services and recreational offer. Until now, consumption patterns and life style of citizens were determined by the offer of traditional stores and a limited choice of services in small cities and rural areas of the outer zone. Inflow of metropolitan citizens to these areas in result of suburbanisation, and then the emergence of state-of-the-art, multipurpose centres, changed the conditions of life and the needs of local communities. Declarations of the respondents as regards new forms of commerce used by them justify the statement that behaviours of citizens from small cities and rural areas became similar to the behaviours of metropolitan consumers, which is obviously influenced by general availability of such forms. With no doubt, their offer is most frequently and to the highest degree used by young and medium-aged people, who do their shopping there, but more and more often meet with friends, family, organise special events (birthdays, weddings) or simply come to a mall to spend their free time. The entertainment, recreational offer (cinema, billiards, special events) creates new possibilities of spending free time for the whole family. Therefore, shopping malls in the Silesian Voivodeship have a significant social impact on the citizens of small cities and rural areas located in the outer zone of Silesian agglomeration and contribute to a change in consumption patterns, style and way of life, possibilities of free time spending and shopping in comfortable conditions.

At the stage of the irrepressible process of suburbanisation of rural areas surrounding large urban agglomerations and structural changes in towns, it is difficult to conclusively assess the consequences of the operation of shopping malls in outer economic areas in the Silesian Voivodeship. Opinions of residents are positive and indicate many benefits, while the point of view of entrepreneurs is rather negative, as they mention many threats and barriers to the development of business activity. The position of local authorities depends on the location in relation to a large urban centre and the intensity of interconnections. The impact of shopping malls on small towns and rural areas located in the outer economic area is, in terms of time and form, a dynamic process which requires further systematic research.

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