

SHOPPING MALLS IN POLAND – IS THEIR TIME COMING TO AN END?

Waldemar W. Budner*¹

¹ Poznań University of Economics and Business, al. Niepodległości 10, 61-875 Poznań, Poland, e-mail: waldemar.budner@ue.poznan.pl, ORCID: 0000-0001-8812-2480

* Corresponding author

ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
<p>Keywords:</p> <p>life cycle of shopping centers, the transformation of shopping centers, Poland</p> <p>JEL Classification:</p> <p>M31, R33</p>	<p>Retail plays a special role in cities, significantly influencing the functional and spatial sphere of cities and their development. Over the years, the formats of retail facilities have evolved, reflecting the theory of the life cycle of forms of commerce. In the mid-1990s, the first modern shopping centers appeared in the Warsaw, Poznań, and Tricity metropolitan areas. Since then, two construction booms have been observed in this segment of retail facilities (1998-2003 and 2008-2012). Currently, some of them are facing a growing wave of reconstruction, modernization, and recommercialization. Others, especially the oldest ones (though not exclusively), will be demolished. The aim of the study is to: determine the life cycle phase of shopping centers and the current development trends and its pace; diagnose the existing stock of "shopping centers" in Poland by location and time of their construction; and project scenarios for the transformation of Polish shopping centers in light of the 4Re phenomenon. For the purpose of the analysis, most of the existing retail facilities in Poland built from the 1990s to the present were taken into account, meeting the criteria of: a traditional shopping center, a retail park, an outlet center, department stores and shopping malls.</p>
<p>Citation:</p>	<p>Budner, W. W. (2026). Shopping malls in Poland – Is their time coming to an end? <i>Real Estate Management and Valuation</i>, 34(1), 115-123. https://doi.org/10.2478/remav-2026-0009</p>

1. Introduction

Trade is an economic activity closely linked to the exchange of goods. It is also closely related to cities. The development of cities has usually followed a similar scenario, in which commercial functions (especially supra-local ones) have played a particularly important role and are still regarded as city-forming. Trade, therefore, has transformed the face of cities. This is still the case today, when economic and spatial processes are particularly intense in cities. Trade in these processes is one of the most important links influencing the functional and spatial spheres of cities and their development.

Retail is among the areas of the Polish economy where the post – 1989 political transformations were particularly noticeable, both as a sector of the national economy and as an activity at a local level. In cities, trade began to play a new, increasingly complex role –

not only as a source of supply for the population but also as a significant factor in socio-economic transformations and changes in spatial development. The early 1990s in Poland saw the expansion of street vending, supermarkets, and above all, the emergence of the first shopping centers in major cities. The following decades brought the development of numerous shopping centers in cities of all sizes, with an estimated number of 671 facilities (mid-2025).

More than 30 years after the first shopping centers were built in Poland, the question arises whether these facilities will stand the test of time? What future awaits shopping centers in Poland? Answering this question is the general objective of the study, taking into account the current economic and market conditions and progressive transformations, changing consumer preferences and attitudes, as well as the ongoing aging of these facilities and their functional inadequacy. This broadly formulated objective has been disaggregated

into three specific objectives. They are:

- Determination of the phase of the life cycle of shopping centers and the current trend of development and its pace.
- Diagnosis of the existing resources of "shopping centers" in Poland by location and the time of their construction.
- Projection of scenarios for the transformation of Polish shopping centers in the light of the "4 Re" phenomenon.

The analysis is preceded by considerations of the importance of retail to the national economy and cities, as well as the evolution of contemporary retail forms in Poland. For the purposes of the analysis, retail properties meeting the criteria of a traditional shopping center, retail park, outlet center, department stores, and shopping malls were taken into account. Sources of information included reports by international real estate firms Colliers and Jones Lang LaSalle, statistical yearbooks of the Central Statistical Office (GUS), and the RetailMAP.pl portal.

2. The importance of trade for the city and the economy

Commercial functions, especially those at a supra-local level, play a crucial role in urban development and are considered city-forming. They constitute not only a factor in the city's existence but also in the growth of its attractiveness – its economic foundation and an element that determines the specificity in the social division of labor and the city's spatial organization.

There is a close interdependence between the trade function and other functions of a city. This means that trade can exert a direct or indirect influence on virtually most elements of the functioning of urban life, which in turn affects its overall development and competitiveness as a center within the settlement system of the region, and sometimes even the country. This is emphasized in W. Christaller's classic work on central cities (1933). The pro-development role of trade is also emphasized by contemporary authors, including Fujita et al. (1999), Coe and Wrigley (2007), Mikołajczyk (2008), Rodríguez-Pose and Crescenzi (2008), Glaeser and Gottlieb (2009), Glaeser (2011), Ciok and Ilnicki (2011), Berube and Parilla (2012), Dzieciuchowicz (2013), Storper et al. (2015), Rodríguez-Pose (2018), Storper (2018), Sassen (2019), Glaeser and Cutler (2024). In this context, it can be stated, that while trade can function without a city (e.g. e-commerce), the city (and above all its inhabitants and economy) cannot

function without trade.

In the realization of the city's development goals and its land use, retail, broadly defined, performs a number of important and diverse functions. There are many of them. Budner (2014) calls these functions city-forming, constructing a model of retail functions in the city development process. It consists of the following four groups: 1) general city development functions, 2) city economic functions (creating a business environment, consumer, employer, and income), 3) city development functions (urban planning and architecture), and 4) socio-cultural and integration functions. Functional groups and individual functions should not be treated separately. They all interconnect and complement one another directly or indirectly, creating a context of mutual dependencies.

Modern trade is characterized by high dynamics of change. These changes are influenced by numerous factors that determine its development and location in cities. Conducting commercial activities and coordinating this sector by city authorities or of the entire economy requires knowledge of the determinants of its development. These can be divided into two categories (Budner, 2014): internal – related to a specific commercial entity and external – resulting from changes in its environment (e.g., within the city).

Fundamental internal conditions are related to the need to improve the efficiency and profitability of business operations. These include owned resources, access to resources, employee competencies, and the company's development strategy. In turn, the main external conditions influencing transformation in trade – its state and structure – create its determinants. These include: economic determinants; demographics and consumer behavior; competition and competitor behavior; intensifying economic globalization (including trade globalization and capital concentration); technological determinants (particularly the dynamic development of digital technologies and e-commerce); and legal conditions. Analysis of these determinants allows for a deeper understanding of the role of trade as a factor shaping contemporary urban space and the local economy.

When considering the function and role of trade, its significant importance in the economy should be emphasized. In Poland, trade, despite a slight decline, still maintains its position as a significant sector of the national economy. In each of the following indicators, trade ranks second only to industry. This is illustrated by the comparison from 2012 to 2022¹:

¹ Central Statistical Office (GUS) data (2013) & (2024).

- share of trade in GDP: 17.2% → 14.4%,
- share of trade in GVA: 19.0% → 16.2%,
- share of trade among total employment: 15.1% → 14.9%,
- share of trade among all economic entities: 28.0% → 20.1%.

In terms of entity structure, retail in Poland is a highly diverse business. It comprises a wide variety of companies, ranging from small entities operating only one or two stores (this group dominates, making up approximately 98% of the total) to branches of international retail corporations globally recognized.

Moreover, it should be added that the role of trade in the economy increases, the more efficiently and effectively the trade sector itself functions. On the other hand, trade also depends on the level and dynamics of development of the national economy as a whole. Therefore, the functioning of the economy and the development of trade are inherently interdependent. As the national income increases, the needs of citizens constantly grow, while the nature and structure of goods consumption change, as do the level of supply in stores and their quality (aesthetic, technological, organizational, work culture, and service). In this sense, trade reflects the situation of the entire economy.

3. Evolution of retail trade forms and trends of change

The exchange of goods in the second half of the 20th century led to the development of various types of intermediation in trade. This was reflected in the evolution of retail trade forms, resulting from intensifying competition between companies. This led to strong tendencies towards organizational concentration and the emergence of mass-oriented trade forms (Grzesiuk, 2010, p. 114). These transformations became the premise for the creation of a concept that explains and predicts changes in sales formats in retail trade, i.e., the concept of the life cycle of the forms of trade.

The starting point of the theory is the notion that retail enterprises are subject to the laws of life cycle development – analogous to material products on the market, as formulated by R. Vernon (1966). The duration of each life cycle phase depends on sales profitability and market share. The life cycle theory for commercial enterprises was formulated by Davidson et al. (1978). They distinguished four successive stages of the cycle: 1) innovation (market entry), 2) growth (expansion), 3) maturity (market saturation), 4) decline (decline). A simplified description of each stage is presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Criterion	Characteristics of the life cycle phases of retail trade forms			
	Innovation	Growth	Maturity	Decline
Competitors	None/very few	Few appear, but are growing	Many direct and indirect appear	The number of direct competitors decreases and the number of indirect competitors increases
Profit	Modest/negative	High and growing	Moderate stable/falling	Almost no formation/negative
Share in sales volume	Low	Increasing	High/falling	Falling
Sales dynamics	High	Very high	Moderate	Stops/falls

Source: own compilation based on: Ciechomski (2010, p. 29).

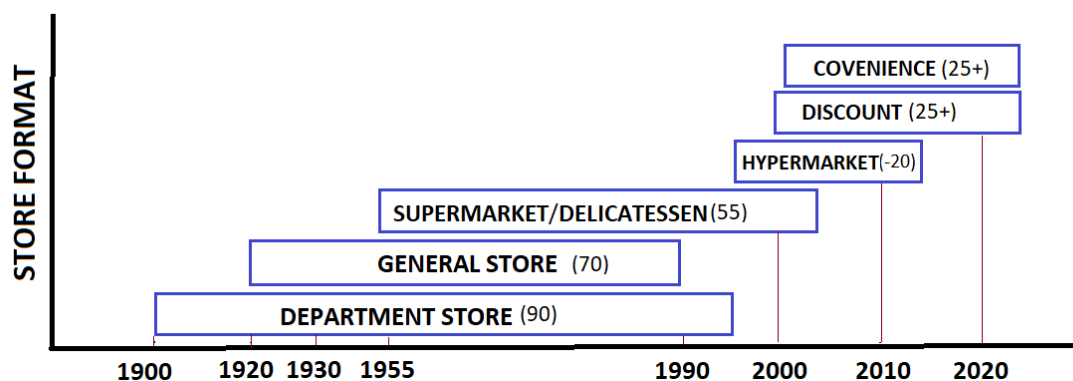


Fig. 1. Approximate the life cycle duration of selected retail formats from inception to maturity in Poland. Source: own compilation based on Davidson et al. (1978, p. 74).

The life cycle of retail forms implies the inevitability of their changes. Individual innovative store formats experience a period from inception to achieving maximum market share, after which they enter a phase of decline. Analysis of empirical data on the duration of these cycles allows us to conclude that cycle times are systematically shortening (see Fig. 1). This demonstrates the increasing dynamics of change in the retail sector over time. Borusiak (2008, p. 204) emphasizes that the cycle concept, however, seems not fully sufficient to explain the nature of this variability, primarily due to its lack of universality. It should also be emphasized that the emergence of innovative forms of retail did not occur simultaneously in different parts of the world. However, the course and variability of trends in Poland are similar to those in highly developed Western European countries.

The changing determinants of retail development and location in cities have influenced its transformation. These impacts include both quantitative aspects – the increase in the number of stores and the associated expansion of retail space – and qualitative - functional aspects – the organization of the sales process and methods, as well as the evolution of retail formats. Among the main trends in the 21st century market, the most noticeable are:

- a systematic decline in the number of small shops with an area below 99 m² (with up to 9 employees), which cannot compete with large stores operating online,
- moving away from the hypermarket concept and the closing down of department stores and trading houses - their number is systematically decreasing,
- a constant, dynamic growth in the number of supermarkets, which should be attributed to the expansion of discount store chains (3,596 Biedronka stores; 2,688 DINO; 930 LIDL – as of the end of 2024),
- an explosion in the number of convenience stores (over 11,000 ŻABKA stores),
- the emergence of a new retail format after 2018 – retail parks (e.g. Franowo Retail Park in Poznań; Futura Park Kraków, Rental Park in Gdańsk),
- the renaissance of shopping streets (walk-in; e.g. Półwiejska (Poznań), Nowy Świat (Warsaw), Floriańska (Cracow), Piotrkowska (Łódź), Długi Targ (Gdańsk),
- the development of the e-commerce market (from March 2020); its share in 2025 increased 5-fold compared to 2019 Cushman & Wakefield,

2022),

- the expansion of shopping centers (malls), whose construction boom occurred in two periods: 1998-2003 and 2008-2012).

The trends presented mirror a general pattern in the development of trade, which is associated with the decreasing importance of some goods distribution channels, in favor of new ones. According to Ciechomski (2009, 2010), this pattern is consistent with the theory of the life cycles of forms of trade. In the competitive struggle, outdated formulas lose out to increasingly new, more attractive forms of sales, such as shopping malls and online stores.

4. The shopping center market in Poland - diagnosis

Nowadays, the retail facilities that most noticeably invade the urban space are shopping centers, also known as shopping malls. They represent a modern, attractive, and very popular form of organizing large-area retail in large and medium-sized cities.

Shopping centers are facilities built specifically for retail stores (usually not exceeding 2,000 m²), with a predominance of units with retail space of 40 to 80 m². However, the core of these facilities is usually large-format *fast-moving consumer goods* (FMCG) stores. Shopping centers are composed of key tenants with smaller retail spaces, complemented by small retail, food, and service outlets. Each store operates under its own brand, while the center promotes itself under its own name.

Facilities of this type are located in suburban areas, most often as single- or two-story buildings (with ample off-street parking). Shopping malls are also located in central parts of cities, as multi-story buildings (with multi-level parking). Shopping malls vary in scale, expressed in terms of leasable area. The International Council of Shopping Centers (ICSC) has defined the minimum size as a retail facility with a *gross leasable area* (GLA) of 5,000 m² and a minimum of 10 units, managed centrally. There is practically no upper size limit, and some shopping centers exceed 100,000 m². According to RetailMAP.pl, the largest shopping centers in Poland are: Aleja Bielany in Bielany Wrocławskie (145,000 m² GLA), HOME PARK Targówek in Warsaw (124,300 m²) and Manufaktura in Łódź (110,000 m²).

The first shopping mall in Poland designed with modern retail in mind was Galeria Panorama in Warsaw, built in 1993. A significant investment boom occurred between 1998 and 2003, when the largest amount of

shopping center space was built. The second period in terms of growth in the number of facilities was 2008-2012. Colliers (2023) estimates that a quarter of all existing facilities were built during this period. To date, 671 modern shopping centers have been built in Poland.

An important relationship illustrating the level of maturity of individual markets is the size of the market (city) and the level of retail space saturation. As a result of completed investments, total retail space stock reached 13.4 million m² by the end of the second quarter of 2025. This means that the average GLA saturation rate in the country is 344 m² / 1,000

inhabitants. 7 million m², or 52%, accounted for the eight largest agglomerations. This results in a saturation rate of 671 m² / 1,000 inhabitants. Although the largest retail market is located in Warsaw (13% of Poland's stock), combined with the relatively low GLA saturation (627), this still offers significant development potential. The highest values of the GLA saturation index are found in Wrocław (817), Tricity (718) and Poznań (716). The greatest development opportunities are still offered by the agglomerations of Łódź (520), Cracow (560), Silesia (575) and Szczecin (584) (Fig. 2 and 3).

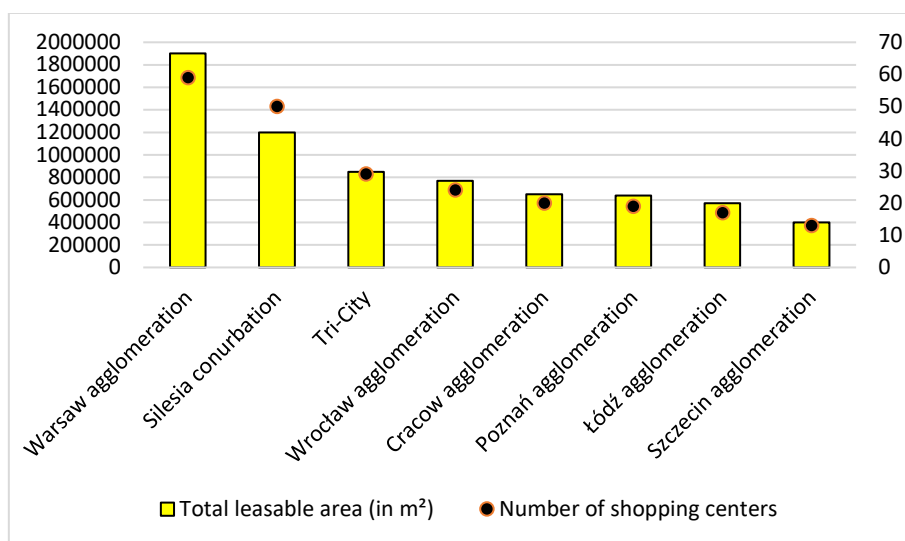


Fig. 2. Resources and floor space of shopping centers in eight major Polish agglomerations (as of the end of 2024).
Source: based on Colliers (2025).

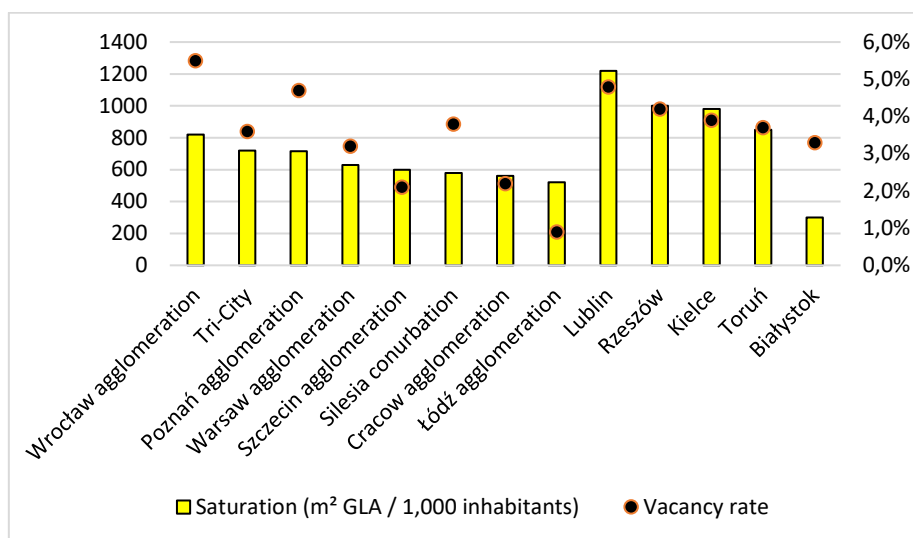


Fig. 3. Vacancy rate and retail space saturation in eight major Polish agglomerations and selected cities with fewer than 400,000 inhabitants (as of the end of 2024). Source: based on Colliers (2025).

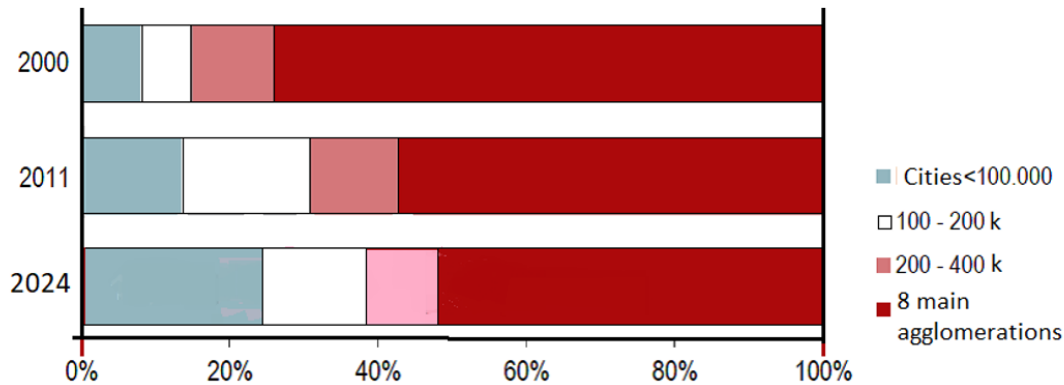


Fig. 4. Distribution of retail space in Poland by city size. *Source:* based on Jones Lang LaSalle (2011) and Colliers (2025).

Currently, investment activity in the shopping center sector in metropolitan areas has slowed down, in favor of small retail parks and convenience centers, particularly in smaller towns (Fig. 4). This is largely due to changes in consumer behavior. Therefore, investor activity in recent years has been increasingly concentrated in medium-sized towns with populations up to 200,000 residents and smaller. Investments located there accounted for the majority of the space built in recent years. This is also where the largest number of shopping malls have been built. 13 % of the total space is in medium-sized markets (100,000-200,000 inhabitants), while the remaining 24% is located in 165 smaller towns with populations under 100,000. The cities with existing shopping centers also recorded the highest GLA saturation rates. For example, in Zgorzelec, this rate is over 1,500.

To summarize the discussion so far, it can be concluded that the shopping center market in Poland has already reached significant maturity. Compared to the eight largest urban areas, this market is practically saturated. The GLA ratio per 1,000 inhabitants in these cities exceeds the European average (~336 m²). New investments in these cities are therefore considerably rare. However, niches still exist in smaller towns where new retail facilities (convenience format) are being built. The trend is shifting from "classic" shopping centers (shopping malls) to smaller formats such as retail parks, convenience shopping or outlet centers.

5. Shopping centers transformation scenarios – 4Re strategies

Shopping centers undergo an inevitable life cycle: they are built, grow, mature, and then reach the end of their prime, entering the aging phase which means into a significant decline in customer and tenant interest and

an increase in vacancy. The pace of aging in retail facilities is primarily influenced by: other retail projects - competition, including e-commerce, excessive retail market saturation, poor location and urban planning decisions, outdated design and architectural solutions (technological and material deficiencies), and the need to repurpose their functions. Consequently, actions were typically taken however their goals were short-term. These involved expanding, remodeling, or modernizing shopping centers. Their objectives stemmed from current market needs, such as responding to the growing demand for retail space and improving: functionality, design, furnishings, aesthetics and comfort of the place.

However, it turns out that changes in the retail market and its surroundings are progressing faster than the shopping center's life cycle. This presents their owners with the challenge of increasing the value of their retail projects. This will result in more frequent and larger-scale changes to facilities, modernizations, and renovations. It's worth recalling that shopping centers historically began to emerge in the largest metropolitan areas in the mid-1990s as typical facilities with a dominant hypermarket retail function. This means that approximately one-third of retail facilities in the eight largest agglomerations in Poland were built over 20 years ago, and in the Warsaw and Szczecin agglomerations, this represents over half of the existing retail space (Fig. 5 and 6). Initially, they were built mainly in suburban areas with good transport accessibility. Secondly, the centers were located near large housing estates. The youngest group of facilities are modern centers located in city centers. They are the most visible change in the image of cities, shaping their character, and attracting consumers.

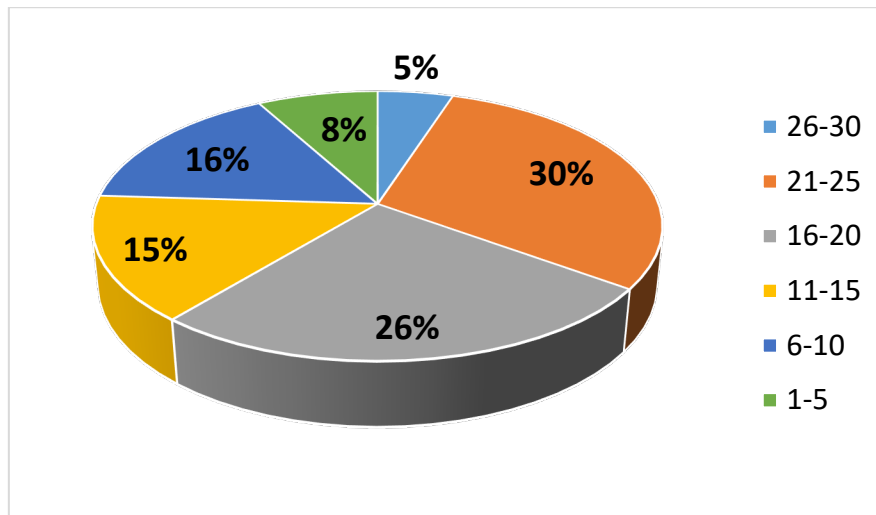


Fig. 5. Age of commercial properties in the eight largest agglomerations in Poland (as of 2023). *Source:* Colliers (2023, p. 9).

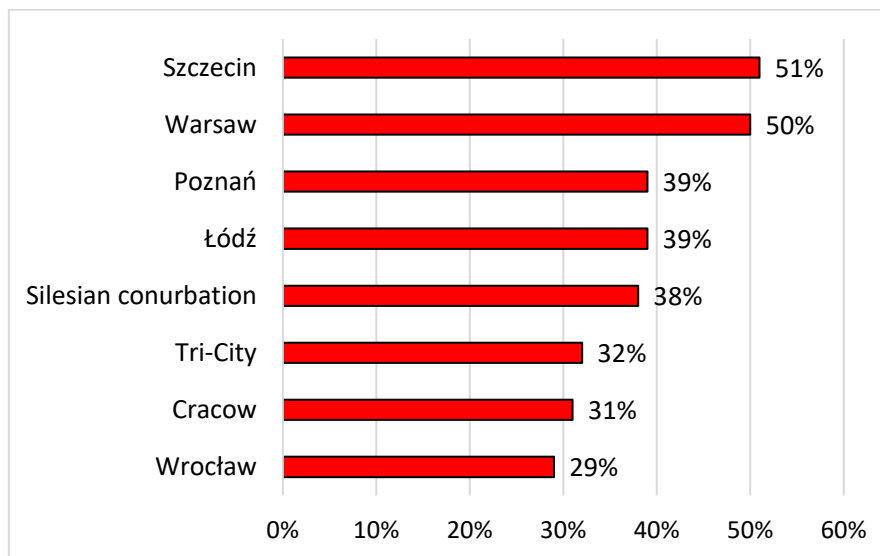


Fig. 6. Share of shopping centers over 20 years old in the total supply of commercial facilities in the agglomeration (as of 2023). *Source:* Colliers (2023, p. 9).

Retail facilities should respond to changing consumer behavior and needs. One of the contemporary consumer trends is the ability to satisfy everyday needs in one place. This is not possible with early-generation retail facilities. Contemporary facilities combine an increasing number of functions: retail, services, entertainment, office space, hotel, restaurant, and residential. Shopping centers are evolving into self-sufficient "towns" where all consumer needs are comprehensively met. Due to the complexity of this type of investment, the implementation process is more complex and lengthy. Therefore, remodeling existing facilities and adapting them to the changing needs of users allows for the extension of the life cycle of these properties. Using an analogy to cities, it can be said that shopping centers are dynamic systems, whose

development is determined by the laws of economics and social development. Thus, it can be argued that shopping center development is, in its own way, a continuous process. It should not necessarily be treated as a finite, definite and unchangeable facility. Constant development and change can prove to be a way to extend the life cycle of a shopping center.

The commercial real estate industry has noticed the need to meet the demands of the changing market, to attract customers by increasing the comfort of stay and increasing the functionality of the facilities. The response to the identified needs and challenges is the "4Re" strategy, which in practice means an action plan aimed at increasing the attractiveness of the shopping center in general and sometimes even saving it. The term "4Re" has no specific author. It is a concept

developed in the commercial real estate industry, used and popularized by real estate consulting firms such as CBRE, Colliers, Cushman & Wakefield, Jones Lang LaSalle, and Savills.

"4 Re" is an acronym for four words (Colliers, 2023):

1. Refurbishment – meaning to renovate, refurbish, upgrade or "*refresh*" a space.
2. Relaunch – i.e. reopening after closure and major renovation; sometimes a change in strategy.
3. Rebranding – i.e. changing the image of all elements of the new brand (new visual identification - name and logo, new stores and services, upgrading of service, etc.) .
4. Recommercialization – i.e. changes in the tenant structure, expanded retail and service offer adapted to the new needs of the market and customers.

In Poland, 4Re strategies for shopping centers are implemented in similar but slightly different ways, adapted to local conditions. The 4Re shopping center transformation scenarios, "Polish style," are as follows:

1. Partial reconstruction and addition of functions. Scope of work: adaptation of existing facilities, partial demolition, and reconstruction or expansion of a former shopping center, usually into a retail park. Examples: S1 Retail Park in Leszno (2022) – reconstruction of the former TESCO hypermarket; Karuzela Retail Park in Puławy (2019) – reconstruction of the former TESCO hypermarket.
2. Expansion and modernization. Scope of work: expansion or reconstruction and modernization of existing facilities for retail purposes to increase their attractiveness and commercial potential. Examples: Gemini Park in Tarnów (2023) – expansion of the former TESCO hypermarket; Gemini Park in Tychy (2021).
3. Partial conversion of functions. Scope of work: partial conversion of a retail function into another, e.g., office, service, entertainment, recreational, etc. Examples: Plac Unii Warsaw (2023); Rejtan Shopping Center Rzeszów converted entirely into a Medical Center.
4. Reopening. Scope of work: modernization and renovation of common areas (passageways, restrooms, parking lot, etc.) to increase overall attractiveness. Examples: Galeria Kazimierz in Cracow (2024); Fort Wola in Warsaw (2023).
5. The facility was demolished and the land was reclaimed for a new investment. This scenario is implemented in large cities when the value of the land and its potential new use (usually the

construction of an apartment building) exceeds the value of the new development. Scope of work: complete demolition of the facility and preparation of the land for a new investment. Examples: Gemini Gdynia (2019); Pasaż TESCO Kabaty Warsaw (2021); Plaza Kraków (2023); Galeria Malta Poznań (2024). Arkady Wrocławskie Gallery (2025); Dębiec Gallery in Poznań (planned).

The presented typology of activities does not have to be mutually exclusive and does not always occur in its purest form. The forms and methods of shopping center transformation depend on changing economic, competitive, technological, and legal conditions, as well as environmental requirements. Above all, it depends on the needs of customers, who sometimes have much higher expectations of retail facilities than of the shopping experience itself.

6. The future of shopping malls in Poland - summary

Retail, despite changing organizational and technological forms, remains one of the key city-forming factors. It still continues to play a vital role in the economic, social, and spatial development of Polish cities. Shopping centers remain a significant element of the urban landscape. However, a large number of them are over 20 years old and show signs of aging. These facilities fail to meet contemporary functional, aesthetic, architectural, technological, and environmental requirements. The need for their reconstruction and adaptation is becoming a challenge, and the 4Re transformation concept is a response to this challenge. In Poland, it takes the form of various activities: modernization, reconstruction and expansion, reopening after renovation, often combined with a change in visual identity and adaptation of the retail offer to the market needs. Some shopping centers will close down definitely. In some cases the demolished downtown shopping centers will give space to properly developed streets with retail and service functions and open public spaces. ESG policies – focused on energy optimization (photovoltaics), reduced water consumption and pollutant emissions, decarbonization, waste segregation, etc. – could also prove to be a catalyst for change in shopping centers.

Considering the current state of knowledge about modern trends in the development of the entire retail industry in Polish cities, it can be concluded that in the near term (likely in several years), further changes in the process of retail transformation can be expected. This also applies to shopping centers. The following

phenomena should be noted:

1. Currently, urban retail operates under conditions of strong capital concentration and competition, growing consumer expectations, and the dynamic development of digital technologies (e-commerce).
2. It can be assumed that the overall number of stores will stabilize, while the sales area will continue to grow, although its dynamics will slow. This applies to selected large-scale facilities, primarily discount stores. However, the current trend of closing department stores will continue.
3. Shopping center transformations (modernizations, renovations, and expansions) will occur in the largest and most competitive markets (the metropolitan areas of Warsaw, Wrocław, Poznań, Szczecin, and Tricity), where the share of outdated centers operating for at least two decades exceeds 40%. Considering the age of the facilities, the first in adaptations will be made in centers with basic retail and service range (i.e., a hypermarket and a small service gallery). According to Colliers estimates (2023), there are over 140 shopping centers in the largest metropolitan areas (1.5 million square meters, approximately 15% of the total stock). Some of the oldest and dysfunctional centers face closure and subsequent demolition. An interesting and noticeable trend in the market of large and medium-sized cities is the significant increase in the supply of space in newly constructed shopping centers.

In summary, shopping centers will not disappear from the retail landscape of Polish cities. This is not the end of the shopping center era, but rather their transformation. They are evolving from typical retail facilities towards multifunctional, modern complexes. This phenomenon represents a natural stage in the commercial real estate life cycle and a response to evolving market and consumer needs.

References

- Berube, A. & Joseph Parilla, J. (2012). *Metro trade: Cities return to their roots in the global economy*. The Brookings Institution, Metropolitan Policy Program.
- Borusiak, B. (2008). *Growth models of retail enterprises*. Publishing house of the Poznań University of Economics, Poznań.
- Budner, W. (2014). *Trade in city development*. Poznań: Poznań University of Economics, Department of Spatial and Environmental Economics. 142.
- Christaller, W. (1933). *The central regions in Southern Germany*. PRENTICE-HALL, INC. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey
- Ciechomski, W. (2009). *The development of large-scale stores in Poland in 2000-2008*. Scientific Papers No. 17. Poznań University of Trade and Services.
- Ciechomski, W. (2010). Trade concentration in Poland and its implications for the competitive strategies of trading enterprises. *Acta Universitatis Lodzianis. Folia Oeconomica* 242, 119-136.
- Ciok, S., & Ilnicki, D. (2011). Retail trade in the space of a large city on the example of Wrocław [in:] Marciniak K., Sikora K., Sokołowski D., *Concepts and research problems of geography*, WSG, Bydgoszcz.
- Coe, N., & Wrigley, N. (2007). Host economy impact of transnational retail: The research agenda. *Journal of Economic Geography* 7(4), 341-371. <https://doi.org/110.1093/jeg/lbm012>
- Colliers. (2023). *A second life is possible. Shopping center redevelopments in Poland*. Warsaw.
- Colliers. (2024). *2023 Retail Market Poland*. Warsaw.
- Colliers. (2025). *Market Inside 20 25*. Warsaw.
- Cushman & Wakefield. (2022). *E-commerce is bursting at the seams*.
- Davidson, W., Bates, A., & Bass, S. (1978). The retail life cycle. *Harvard Business Review*, 54(6), 217-228.
- Dzieciuchowicz, J. (2013). *Trade in the metropolitan space*. The example of Łódź. University of Lodz Publishing House.
- Fujita, M., Krugman, P., & Venables, A. J. (1999). *The Spatial Economy: Cities, Regions, and International Trade*. The MIT Press. <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/6389.001.0001>
- Glaeser, E., & Cutler, D. (2024). *The Mysteries of Cities and Economic Growth*. Finance & Development Magazine. International Monetary Fund.
- Grzesiuk, A. (2010). *Retail trade as an employer in the contemporary economy*. Poznań University of Economics Publishing House.
- Glaeser, E. (2011). *Triumph of the City*. Penguin Press.
- Glaeser, E., & Gottlieb, J. D. (2009). The wealth of cities: Agglomeration economies and spatial equilibrium in the United States. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 47(4), 983-1028. <https://doi.org/10.1257/jel.47.4.983>
- GUS. (2011). *Rynek wewnętrzny w 2010 r.*
- GUS. (2024). *Rynek wewnętrzny w 2023 r.*
- Jones Lang LaSalle (2011). *The Retail Market in Poland*.
- Mikołajczyk, J. (2008). *Assessment of the level of retail development in Leszno*. Scientific Papers 15, WSzHiU in Poznań, Poznań.
- Rodríguez-Pose, A. (2018). The revenge of the places that don't matter (and what to do about it). *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, 11(1), 189-209. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cjres/rsx024>
- Rodríguez-Pose, A., & Crescenzi, R. (2008). Research and development, spillovers, innovation systems, and the genesis of regional growth in Europe. *Regional Studies*, 42(1), 51-67. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00343400701654186>
- Sassen, S. (2019). Global cities and urban development. *Urban Studies (Edinburgh, Scotland)*, 56(1), 3-12.
- Storper, M. (2018). Urbanization, trade, and economic development: A perspective from the new economic geography. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 18(2), 217-227.
- Storper, M., Kemeny, T., Makarem, N., & Osman, T. (2015). *The rise and fall of urban economies: Lessons from San Francisco and Los Angeles*. Stanford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvqsdtdd>
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9780804796026>
- Vernon, R. (1966). International investment and international trade in the product cycle. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 80(2), 190-207. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1880689>