Prague, the city of traditions and shopping centres A case study

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Abstract

Prague is one of the most beautiful cities in Europe. In this metropolis of history and traditions shopping centres have also appeared and they have made remarkable impact on the city's commercial structure. The impact of shopping centres on trade and shoppers in Prague was examined in details. In our research we aimed to describe the evaluation and the changes in buying habits in the city. We gave a brief historical review of the opening of the centres and their locations in the Czech capital were also examined. Our examination was based on primary and secondary researches. In our primary research we relied on a questionnaire in which 501 customers were inquired about the aim of their shopping. Data collection took place in Palladium shopping center in the Old Town of Prague and in Arkády Pankrác shopping center in the suburban area. The number of respondents in Palladium was 252, while in Arkády Pankrác it was 249.

Keywords: shopping centres, gravity zone, customer behaviour

Introduction

Shopping centres are essential elements of the daily life of costumers and they play an increasing role in the European urban societies. These centres have been a result and a motor of the economic boom since the 1950s. According to the definition, they are designed for shopping and they serve as market places for sellers and costumers. They are meant to place a specific offer in a single location and building with a specifically designed ambiance. They can be characterised by a common marketing strategy, activity and management being typical for all retailers operating in the shopping centre.

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Nevertheless, beyond the mail commercial purpose of shopping centres, they are also used as a place for leisure and wellness as well as meeting places and places for entertainment. This is quite new for Europe where the historical city centres used to fulfil those functions and where shopping centres designed for the general public appeared only relatively late.

The recent work focuses on those features through the spatial organization and geographical structure of retail trade network concerning shopping centres of Prague, the capital of the Czech Republic. The study attempts to indicate the specifics of the shopping centres of Prague, the main characteristics of their costumers as well as the shopping patterns of theirs.

Preliminaries and methodology

Our research was part of an international project referred to four Central European capitals (Budapest, Bratislava, Vienna and Prague) (Sikos T., T. and Mrs. Hoffmann, M. 2012). Earlier more experiences were collected on the basis of preliminary comparative studies aimed at shopping centres of smaller cities such as Klagenfurt in Austria, Bern in Switzerland (Wastl-Walter, D. 2010), Komárno in Slovakia (Sikos T., T. 2007; Sikos T., T. and Tiner, T. 2007) and Tatabánya in Hungary (Kovács, A. 2010) .

The research was carefully established both theoretically and methodologically. The typology of Prague shopping centres was worked out on the basis of Dawson's models (Dawson, J.A. 1983). The location strategy and the trends of spatial dynamics were evaluated according to the works of Brown, S. (1991) and Borchert, G.J. (1998), respectively. Additional Hungarian, Austrian and Slovakian experiences end procedures were also absorbed into research during the analytical phase of the study (Sikos T., T. 2000, 2009; Kovács, A. 2010; Tiner, T. 2010).

Moreover, it could be possible to draw more sophisticated conclusions on the development of retail trade and the shopping centre evolution in Prague by studying comparative studies referring to certain shopping centres in Budapest (Sikos T., T. and Mrs. Hoffmann, M. 2004) and in Vienna (Sikos T., T. 2013). The main streams in evolution trends in shopping centre development (Dawson, J.A. 2007, 2010) were also taken into consideration.

The method of the research was based on the processing of huge quantity of data collected from a large number of questionnaires. Here we have to emphasize, that all the volunteers taking part in the survey were selected randomly, but despite that fact, the sample cannot be considered representative. Data processing was made by mathematical and statistical software SPSS 19. The analysis of gravity zones of shopping centres in Prague was supported by GIS methods.

Evolvement of shopping centres in the capital of the Czech Republic

Prague's administrative area is 496 km^2; the number of inhabitants is 1,233,211, making it the biggest city in the Czech Republic. 25% of the country's GDP is concentrated there, which makes the city the most productive capital in East -Central Europe. The headquarters of several large international corporations are located in Prague. It is an important tourist center; half of the touristic activities of the country also take place in the capital. 40% of the college and university students of the Czech Republic study here; and so do 55% of the international students in the country. Prague is an important transport hub. Three underground lines, 25 tram lines, 200 bus lines and the train network make up the city's public transport system. Ruzyně, the airport of the city, receives more than 11 million travellers a year, thus being the fastest developing airport in East Central Europe. Road transport routes are radial. Two highways lead through the capital, highway D5 in the direction of Plzeň, connecting the country with Germany, while highway D8 goes to Bratislava, in the direction of the Slovak Republic. At the moment 33 shopping centres operate in the Czech capital.

Before 1996 only three commercial centres existed in Prague. The increase in the number of shopping centres happened at approximately the same pace as in Hungary. The actual increase started in 1996, and until 2000 another six commercial centres were opened for the public. The real boom happened after the millennium, from 2001 until today 24 shopping centres were established. These trends are rather similar to the processes in Hungary, but different from those in Slovakia. The delay can be captured in the development processes, which can be partly explained by the differences in the income-levels of the countries.

The location of the shopping centres in Prague

The 34 shopping centres of the capital are concentrated in eight districts of Prague. Their locations do not reflect completely the concentration of purchasing power. The individual gravity zones considerably overlap, especially in the case of Old Town shopping centres. In the capital, the Old Town has a distinguished place as well as the districts with housing estates and houses, which provide home for 64.7% of the shopping centres. Most of them (11) can be found in the Old Town. The shopping centres are embedded among historical buildings or they are situated in one of them. Some of them are declared historical and cultural heritage (*Figure 1* and *2).*

A smaller part of shopping centres in Prague are situated on the outskirts of the city near the highways. Their buyers coming by cars and they provide

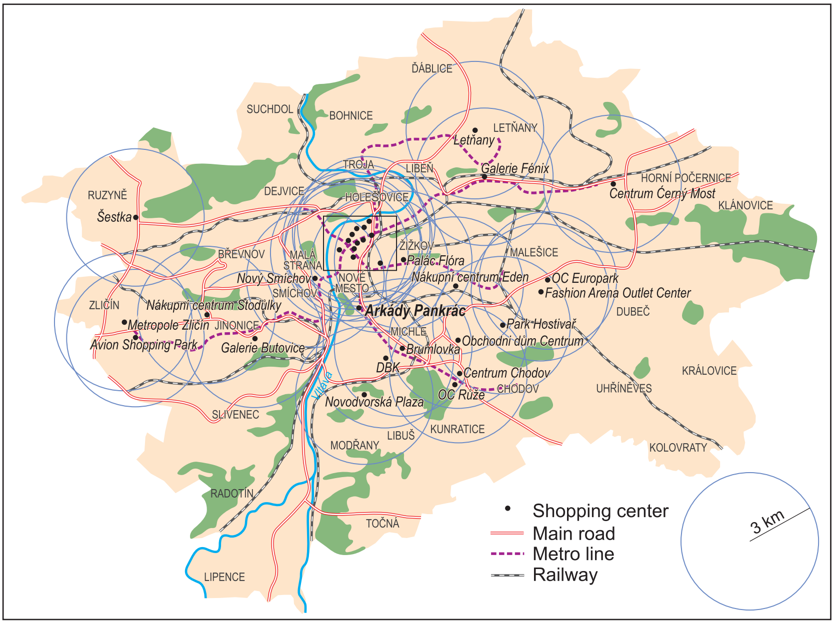

Fig. 1. Locations of shopping centres with their 3 km gravity zones in Prague. *Source*: own edition

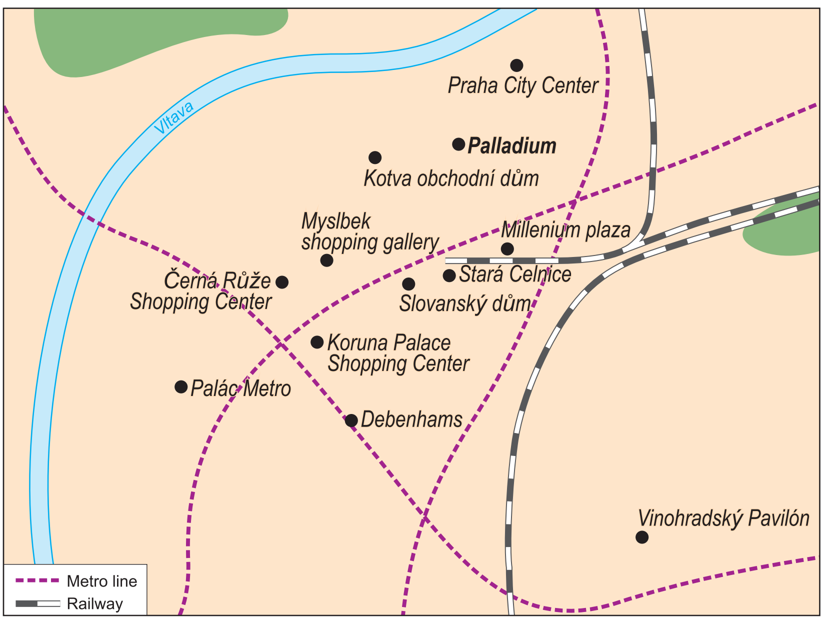

Fig. 2. Shopping centres in the historical city centre. *Source*: own edition

convenient parking places as part of their services. In the majority of the shopping centres in Prague the above mentioned criteria are not fulfilled, because the narrow downtown streets and historical heritage buildings do not allow parking lots to be built. The largest one of Prague and at the same time of the Czech Republic is Letňany with a shopping area of 125,000 m^2 and more than 300 parking places near highway E55. There are 200 shops providing comfortable shopping facilities. Among its commercial units we can find Tesco hypermarket open all around the clock and Kika with its largest shop in the Czech Republic. The shopping complex offers numerous services to its visitors; they can spend their free time in the sports center: there is a skating rink, a tennis court, an aqua center and a gym. For families with children, a child care unit helps comfortable shopping. There are restaurants and cafés to improve the experience. Palace Cinemas multiplex movie theatre also offers a possibility to relax.

The development process of shopping centres similarly to the development process of the Hungarian shopping centres can be divided into different phases which will be analyzed in the following chapters.

According to their age, Prague's shopping centres belong to three generations. The first period lasted until 1996, as we see it, the second phase of development lasted from 1996 to 2000 and the third one from 2000 up to now. Next we will introduce the most characteristic commercial centres of the individual periods.

First generation of shopping centres before 1996

Prague's oldest shopping center *Kotva* was opened in 1977 and it still operates. Its opening took place after a three-year-long building and construction process. The idea of the project originated from the Machonin family. The capital for the implementation was provided by Siab, a Swedish company. In its underground parking place 360 cars can be parked. The center provides home for 100 shops and restaurants and several service units; its unique feature is its free Wi-Fi. A dance and a wellness studio and a child care unit also operate there. The center issues its own magazine called Kotva Magazine listing the sales and discounts from which shoppers can choose (*Figure 3, Photo 1.*)

In the period of 1991–1996, two other shopping centres were opened. In 1991 Palác Metro, then in 1994 Vinohradský Pavilon opened their gates to the public. *Palác Metro* is located in a Victorian building on the border of the Old and the New Town. The building was purchased by Mr. and Mrs. Kleinhampl in 1919. Back then several catering and entertainment units – cafés, restaurants and a cinema were established in the building. After the nationalization, the palace lost its character as a commercial and service center. The successors of the Kleinhampl family bought back the building and in 1991 they opened it again as a shopping center.

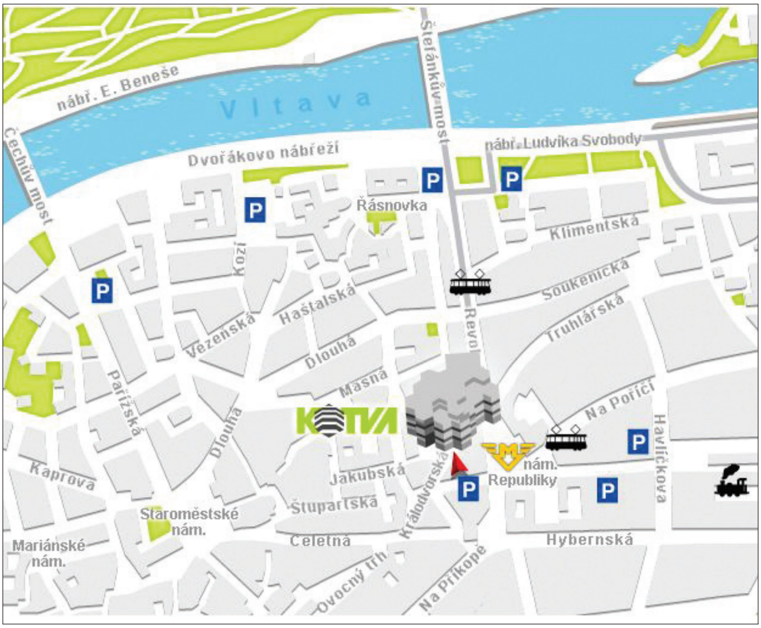

Fig. 3. The location of Kotva shopping center in the downtown of Prague. *Source:* www.od-otva.cz

Photo 1. Massive concrete building of the Kotva shopping center. (Photo: Sikos T, T.)

Vinohradský Pavilon is one of the three market halls surviving in Prague. It was built in 1903 by the suggestion of Antonin Turk, an outstanding engineer of the city since 1899. When designing the building, an important point to consider was its short distance from the main square. The chief city architect suggested that a classical market place should be built with a central hall lit by the sunlight as well as two other floors for shops and storage places underneath.

Second generation of shopping centres between 1996 and 2000

The first years of the 1990s were only the beginning. From 1996 a new shopping center was born opening new dimensions for shopping and entertainment. New commercial complexes built in Prague utilized contemporary buildings, so relatively few manifestation of modern architecture can be captured there.

Koruna Palace Shopping Center serves customers with its 5,115 m^2 shop floor. The building of the shopping center was ready in 1912. Its main characteristic is the tower with its great number of statues and with a crown ("koruna") on the top after which the building was named. The L-shaped building was re-modelled at the beginning of the 20th century to home offices and business premises; back those times a café and an art gallery operated on the ground floor. During the years it experienced several reconstructions, finally, in 1931 after another conversion, the café was closed and between 1957 and 1978 when the underground line was built, the building witnessed further structural changes. Among those, the biggest one took place during the period of 1991–1996, when the building reached its present character as a shopping center (*Photo 2a, b).* Its location in one of the main pedestrian streets of the city greatly contributed to the fact that Koruna Palace Shopping Center was accepted and liked by the inhabitants.

Slovanský dům, a historical monument, is located in the centre of Prague (*Photo 3*). It was opened in 1997, previously it served several purposes. According to the earliest records, in 1414 the building already existed. During its existence it had a number of owners. In the 17th century a geometric, French style garden was added to it, in 1873 the Deutsches Casino company bought the palace and its name was also changed. Its new name was Německý dům (German house). After World War II it got back its original name. Nowadays a shopping center operates in it on 32,000 m^2. In the center there are cafés, restaurants and the only multiplex cinema of the city can also be found here.

Avion Shopping Park was opened in 1998 in the Czech capital (*Photo 4*). The "Power center"-type Avion with its 52,400 m^2 is one of the biggest and most popular shopping and entertainment centres focusing on customers with families. The magnet tenants of Avion Shopping Park are IKEA, Tesco, Datart, Giga Sport and H&M Studio. The "open-air" center has an L-shaped layout

Photo 2a, b. Koruna Palace Shopping Center. *Source:* www.koruna-palace.cz

Photo 3. Slovanský dům. *Source:* www.slovanskydum.com

Photo 4. Avion Shopping Park. *Source:* ww.prague.avionshoppingpark.cz

Photo 5a, b. Černá Růže Shopping Center. *Source:* www.cernaruze.cz

with some 2,400 parking places in its central area. The number of visitors in the complex reaches 5.7 million annually; its attraction zone – in a time zone of 60 minutes – is estimated to encompass 800,000 people.

Černá Růže Shopping Center is located in the Nové Město ('New Town') part of Prague near Univerzita Karlova (Charles University) (*Photo 5a, b*). The center consists of two parts, vertically connected to each other.

One wing located in Na Příkopě was built based on the plans of Jan David Frenzl in the 1840s. The interior design was created by Josef Fanty in 1880. The court and the entrance were built in 1932 after the plans of Oldřich Tyl. The building was declared a historical monument a few years ago. Reconstruction works started in 1996 and the rule of preserving the original style of the building was strictly observed. The shopping center opened its gates in 1998. It goes with the atmosphere of the city architecture; still, it offers proper conditions for modern shops and services. The number of retail units in Černá Růže Shopping Center is 200.

Third generation of shopping centres between 2001 and 2010

In the first decade of the 21st century, 24 shopping centres were opened in Prague. The dynamic increase enlarged the total size of shop floors by 600,000 m^2 in the capital of the Czech Republic. 14 out of the 24 centres were built in the second half of the decade. In the following parts we are going to introduce the two complexes which served as a location of our research. Both of them were opened in the second part of the decade.

A unique feature of *Palladium* – inaugurated in 2007 – is that its building (located in the center of the town, in Old Town) carries modern and old architectural features in the right proportion (*Photo 6a, b).*

In this part of the capital architectural monuments from as early as the 12th century can be found. The building of the center served as an army barrack from the 1780s. By the second part of the 20th century the property had been deteriorated, it needed reconstruction. Its renovation process started in 2005. As much emphasis was placed on refurbishing the facade of the building as on designing interior places. Historical monuments were also included: for

Photo 6a, b. Palladium shopping center. (Photo: Hodján, T.)

example, there is a fountain in the office lounge. Apart from relics from old times, the art pieces of several contemporary artists also contributed to forming the present look of the center. Natural light, fountains, benches, plants, pillars, pavilions for shopping all create a special ambience for customers and offer pleasant pastime. The center awaits shoppers on its 13,500 m^2 area with its 200 retail units, 20 cafés, restaurants and bars making Palladium one of the most remarkable centres in Prague. The center is served by a 900-place parking lot and there are office buildings on 19,500 m^2 connected to it. Palladium's 24-hour opening makes shopping comfortable in the historical part of the town.

Arkády Pankrác Praha opened its gates for the public in 2008 and with its 45,000 m^2 area it became one of the most significant centres in the Czech capital (*Photo 7*). The center can be found in the residential area of the city, the number of inhabitants is approximately 141,000. The attraction zone of the center reaches 1,000,000, which is actually the total number of the inhabitants in the capital. The building can boast of modern architectural features, so Arkády Pankrác fits into the line of ECE-owned shopping centres represent in style.

In its square layout, a unified indoor space was created giving the complex a homogenous spatial structure. Arkády Pankrác gives room to 125 retail units; its magnet tenant is Interspar. The complex was formed to attract families. Inside the center an Aztec playhouse was also formed. It evokes the atmosphere of South American jungles. To please the children, the management of the house planned a separate mini movie theatre in the building. The shopping center can be easily reached by car and by public transport as well.

Photo 7. Interior of Arkády Pankrác Praha. *Source:* www.arkady-pankrac.cz

Arkády Pankrác Praha provides about 1,100 parking places for its customers. And for the convenience of people arriving by car, a text message based on booking system was introduced in parking.

A comparative analysis of Arkády Pankrác Praha and Palladium

Prague belongs to the most beautiful metropolises in Europe. Its rich history, dynamic present and promising future captures visitors immediately. Luckily, urban planners considered its characteristics and the individual centres were placed into the ancient buildings in the Old Town. The way the commercial centres were formed and located was different from the processes in Bratislava or Budapest. The establishments are not situated in the outer area of the city, along highways, but are concentrated in t he downtown. They operate almost next to each other, in historical buildings, in the pedestrian street. There are 33 centres at the moment. This large number proves that the solvency of the inhabitants of the Czech capital is considerable.

Next, we examine two shopping centres in Prague in details: the Arkády Pankrác Praha and the Palladium. The architecture elements and locations of the two buildings show remarkable differences. While Palladium can be found in the historical Old Town, Arkády Pankrác Praha is located in the residential area of the capital. Their ages are similar: Palladium opened its gates in 2007 and Arkády Pankrác a year later. The number of retail units in Arkády Pankrác is 125 and they are situated on 45,000 m^2, while Palladium's 200 shops take up 13,500 m^2. The number of parking places in Arkády Pankác is considerably larger (1,100), which can be explained by its outer location. Providing a large number of parking places is essential.

In our survey 501 shoppers were interviewed. In Palladium 249, in Arkády Pankrác 252 people were asked. Our questionnaire of 12 questions helped us get a picture about the customer behaviour of the two centres. Customers were selected randomly, but in spite of that fact, the sample cannot be considered representative.

Distribution of customers according to their age and gender

First the gender distribution of the visitors was examined. In the case of both malls, the proportion of female visitors was larger, but only slighter. At the same time, there was no significant difference between the two centres. 55% of visitors in Palladium were women, while that number in Arkády Pankrác was 58%. So there was no significant difference in the distribution of sexes among visitors in the centres. The age group of 21–30 was determinative in both places.

The aforementioned age group mainly uses the establishments for points of meeting, dating. They will make the determinative group of customers in the future. Almost twice as many young people under the age of 20 visit Palladium (downtown) than Arkády Pankrác (suburban). That considerable shift derives from the geographical location of the centres. Age groups of 30–40, 40–50 and 50–60 are represented almost equally in the sample. These are the age groups shopping centres focus on. The older generation – customers over 60 – represent only 8% in both places. Our researches so far underline that shopping centres do not concentrate on the elderly because of their lower income level (*Figure 4* – A = Palladium; B = Arkády Pankrác).

In our research we examined the distribution of customers by the places of their residence (*Figure 5*). The majority of shoppers were Prague residents:

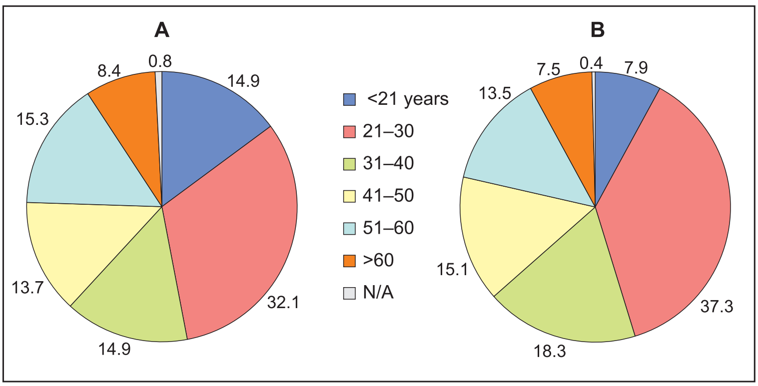

Fig. 4. Distribution of the visitors according to age. *Source:* own data collection

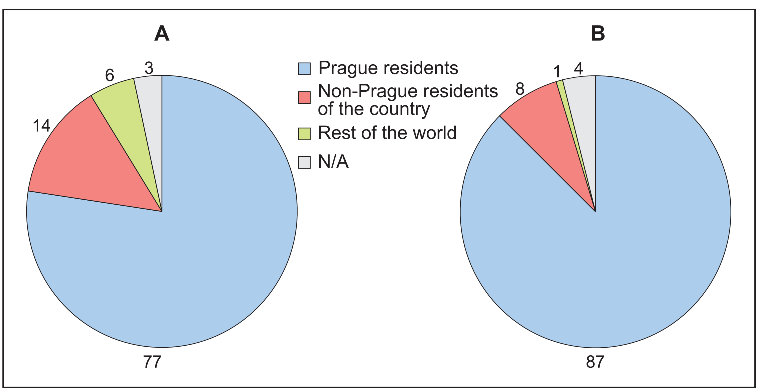

Fig. 5. Distribution of customers by the places of their residence. *Source:* own data collection

in Palladium 77% of the buyers came from the capital, while in case of Arkády Pankrác, that number was 10% higher. The centres have considerable gravity zones in the country, because in Palladium 14% of the people came from another settlements, while in Arkády Pankrác 8% of the visitors were not from Prague.

The percentage of foreign visitors was 5% in Palladium which was a higher ratio than in Arkády Pankrác. It can be explained by Palladium's central location in the Old Town. It offers a great entertainment opportunity for tourists. However, some – rather few, about 3–4% – respondents failed to declare the places of their residence. The proportion of local residents was 10% higher in Arkády Pankrác, which reflects the fact that it is mainly visited by the locals.

Employment structure of customers

The fifth question of the survey referred to employment. It was an open question; the answers we received were grouped into eight categories (*Figure 6*). In case of Palladium, the three main categories were "students", "skilled workers" and "other intellectual workers". In case of Arkády Pankrác, the same categories were the strongest, but their order was different: "skilled workers", "other intellectual workers" and "students". Skilled workers were the most represented group in Arkády with its 32%. The ratio of "other" employment (police officers, army officers, housewives and unemployed) was low, only 2%.

Most visitors go to Palladium for private purposes (81%) and the same applies to Arkády Pankrác (92%). It is not surprising since people go to shopping centres for buying goods and looking for entertainment. We must note here that 14% of Palladium's customers are private entrepreneurs, while that number in Arkády Pankrác is only 4%. The ratio of people doing errands for

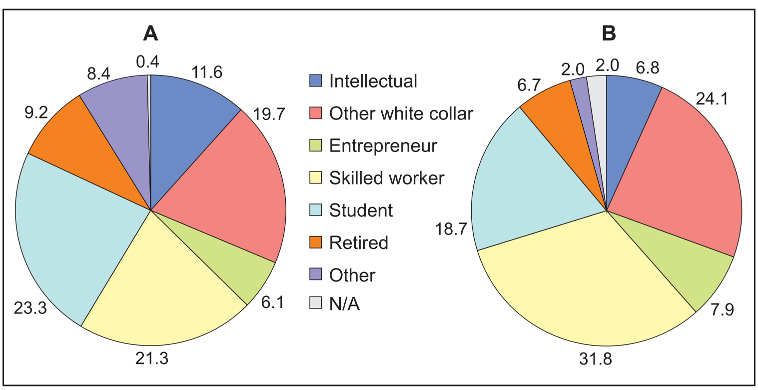

Fig. 6. Distribution of visitors by the structure of employment. *Source:* own data collection

their company in Palladium is only 3%; this group could not be detected in Arkády Pankrác. Public employees make up 1–1% of shoppers in both centres. In Palladium only 1% of the respondents did not answer the question concerning their employment, in Arkády Pankrác 3% of them failed to answer.

The purpose of shopping

Concerning the purpose of shopping, the answers showed notable differences in the two centres. While in Palladium only 19% of the respondents marked "shopping for food" as the purpose of their visit, in Arkády Pankrác that number was 58%. In Palladium Albert hypermarket can be found, in Arkády we can find an Interspar. As for its price range, Interspar is more favourable than Albert, but we must bear in mind that Arkády is located in a residential area, while Palladium is in a tourist zone. Shoppers buy clothes in a larger proportion in Arkády – 44% do so – while in Palladium only 33% of shoppers buy clothes.

17% of shoppers go to Arkády intending to buy electric goods, while only 7% of shoppers choose Arkády Pankrác for the same purpose. To dine, more people go to Palladium. 24% of the people asked choose restaurants and cafés there, while in Arkády only 12% of them do the same. The same percent of people (15%) use the services available in the center, while people arriving without any definite purpose prefer Palladium (20% compared to 6% in Arkady) (*Figure 7*).

People visiting the centres with other purposes belong to the last category. They are the ones who did not want to answer the questions. Palladium attracts visitors with its services and a great selection of clothing items, whereas people go to Arkády for food and buying clothes.

Frequency of visits

Asking about the frequency of shopping, we gave five options to choose from (*Figure 8*). The largest part of the visitors comes to their preferred center weekly. It is reflected in the 40–41% frequency of weekly trips. At the same time, 13% of Palladium's customers go there on a daily basis; that share is 23%. in Arkády. It/they can be explained by the role of the centres in the area they are located in. The gravity zone of Arkády is based on the surrounding residential area, mainly on the citizens of Prague. Palladium's regulars arrive from the historical city center and they are mainly tourists and employees. The other categories do not show remarkable differences. People coming to the centres every two weeks make up 17 and 16%. Visitors who come more rarely have 20 and 17% share in Palladium and Arkády Pankrác. As a conclusion, we can say that the majority of shoppers visit the centres once a week.

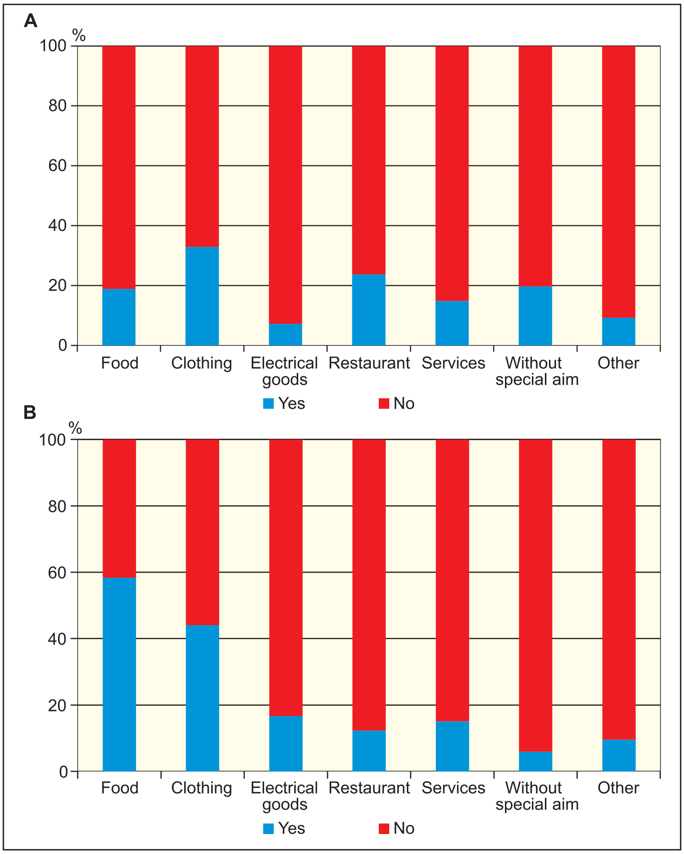

Fig. 7. Distribution by the purpose of visit. *Source*: own data collection

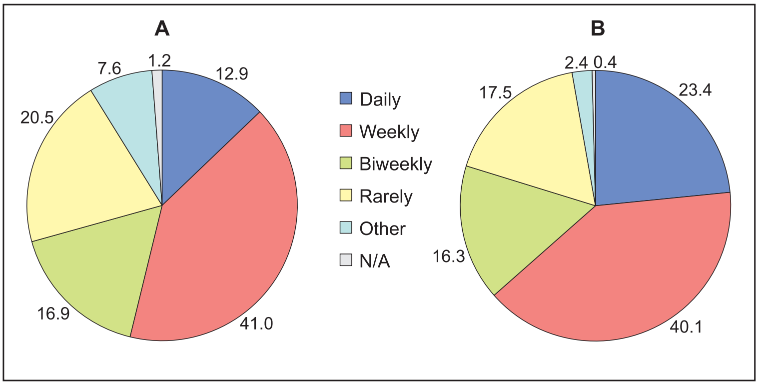

Fig. 8. Distribution of visitors by the frequency of visits. *Source:* own data collection

Among Palladium's visitors, Kotva is the most popular, the very first shopping center in Prague which awaits its customers with about 100 shops, restaurants and several other services. Its favourable location opposite Palladium also increases the number of visitors. Palladium's customers do not prefer visiting Arkády, only 8% of them goes there. Prague's largest shopping center, Letňany, with its 6% share takes only the fourth place among people surveyed in Palladium. Visitors to Palladium mentioned the names of 222 shopping centres altogether; each respondent could name more than one center. The number of centres mentioned in Arkády Pankrác was even higher: it reached 369. Among people who visit Arkády, 42% visit Centrum Chodov too; it is the most popular one among them. Palladium comes second with 21%. The following places are evenly distributed among centres and centres with non-center characteristics. Arkády's customers named some 40 shopping centres, while the customers of Palladium listed 32.

Another difference is that while the visitors of Palladium mostly named larger centres, Arkády's customers prefer smaller ones, and hyper- and supermarkets were also mentioned (*Figure 9*).

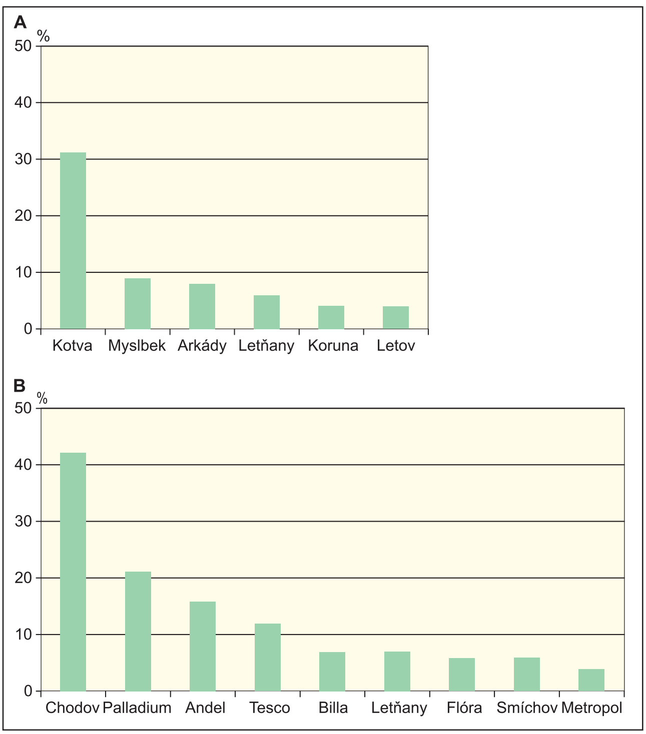

Fig. 9. Differences among purchasers according to visit of other centres. *Source:* own data collection

The fact that Palladium's customers named fewer units as alternative shopping facilities suggests that they are happier with the center or they find its facilities more satisfactory for spending their free time there. Centrum Chodov can be regarded as the biggest competitor of Arkády. It is not surprising because they are located in the same part of the city. The main advantage of Centrum Chodov is that although its area is not much larger than Arkády's, with its 210-unit shop-mix, it can offer a wider range of supply than its competitor with 120 shops.

The value of shopping

The next question aimed at examining the amount of money spent in the different centres. As *Figure 9.* shows, inclination to spend is rather similar among the visitors of the two centres.

The types of shopping are classified into six categories. In the first category there are purchases less than 100 CZK (Kč). The ratio of the first category was rather low in case of both centres, which is obvious, since that amount of money is enough only for very few articles. 6% of Palladium's and 4% of Arkády's shoppers spend less than 100 CZK. It includes the representatives of all age groups, but mainly people under the age of 20 and between 20 and 30 spend such a small amount of money. The previously mentioned age groups visit the centres regularly to buy food products and to go to cafés and restaurants. The representatives of that group visit the centres on a daily or weekly basis. Among Arkády's customers, a considerable group of people belonging to the age group of 50+ also spend less than 100 CZK. They go to the shopping center to buy foodstuff once a week.

The customers spending 101–500 CZK form the second category. That value of shopping is remarkable in both centres: 31% (Palladium) and 29% (Arkády). The second group is mainly made of people aged 21–30 and under 21, but we can also find customers belonging to the age group 51–60 or older than 60 who visit the centres to purchase food, visit restaurants or for recreation purposes once a week. Buying pieces of clothes and the possibility of using services are also important factors. In case of Arkády, the majority of people who spend between 101 and 500 CZK belongs to the age group of 21–30. Among the other age groups, there are no significant differences. Considering the purpose of shopping, we can say that 75% of customers buy foodstuff in the centres. The value of shopping for other items (clothes, services) is insignificant *(Figure 10).*

Spending money between 501 and 1,000 CZK belong to the third category which is the most common in both centres. In Palladium 34% and in Arkády 36% of the customers belong to that group. As for their age, most visitors fall into the age group 21–30, while visitors older than 60 were few. The

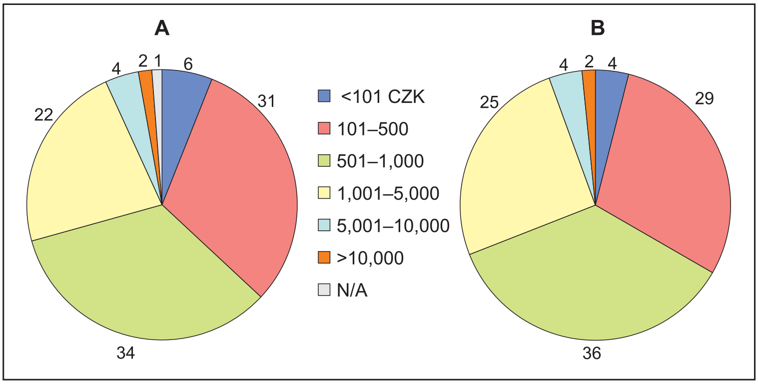

Figure 10. Distribution of consumers by the value of shopping. *Source:* own data collection

main purpose of their visit was shopping for clothes. Among the other options respondents could choose from, the results do not show many differences. The only exception may be electric goods with very few indications. Most people visit Palladium on a weekly basis. Shoppers go to Arkády mainly to buy food and clothing items.

Next, the purchases for 1,001–5,000 CZK are examined. 22% of customers in Palladium and 25% of customers in Arkády belong to that category of spending. Most of themare between 21 and 30 and mainly interested in clothes. They are the ones who come to the shopping centres weekly, every two weeks or rarely. Two age groups of Arkády's customers spend 1,000–5,000 CZK. They are between 21–30 and 31–40. People aged 41–50 must also be mentioned. The number of customers younger than 20, aged 51–60 or older than that is insignificant in the category. The aim of the visit is mostly to acquire new clothes or to buy food. Most respondents come to the center weekly, but some of them show up there every day.

People shopping for 5,001–10,000 CZK account for only 4% of respondents in both places and in Palladium they are mainly 21–60 years old. HHalf of the surveyed customers bought clothing items. Most of them visit the centres only every second week. Among Arkády's shoppers, there are no customers younger than 20 or older than 60. The majority is between 31 and 40 and usually go to the center to buy electric appliances, many shopped for clothes or food. There are no daily shoppers among them, a great number of them rarely visit the centres.

Only 2% of the respondents fall into the category of spending more than 10,000 CZK in both shopping centres. In Palladium they belong to the age group of 21–50. They mainly bought electric goods or used services and they claimed to visit the shopping centres occasionally. In Arkády the same amount of money was spent by people aged 21–60, again, on buying electric goods. They also said they rarely visit the centres.

Distribution of services

In our analysis, we also examined the distribution of using services (*Figure 11*). We established five categories for the different kinds of services: restaurants, movies, banks, post offices and other services. The majority of people surveyed indicated that restaurants and movie theatres were the most important.

Restaurants, cafés and bars have a determinative role in both centres. In case of Palladium, 57% of the visitors found those services important, while in Arkády 60% of them said the same. Mainly the younger generation, people

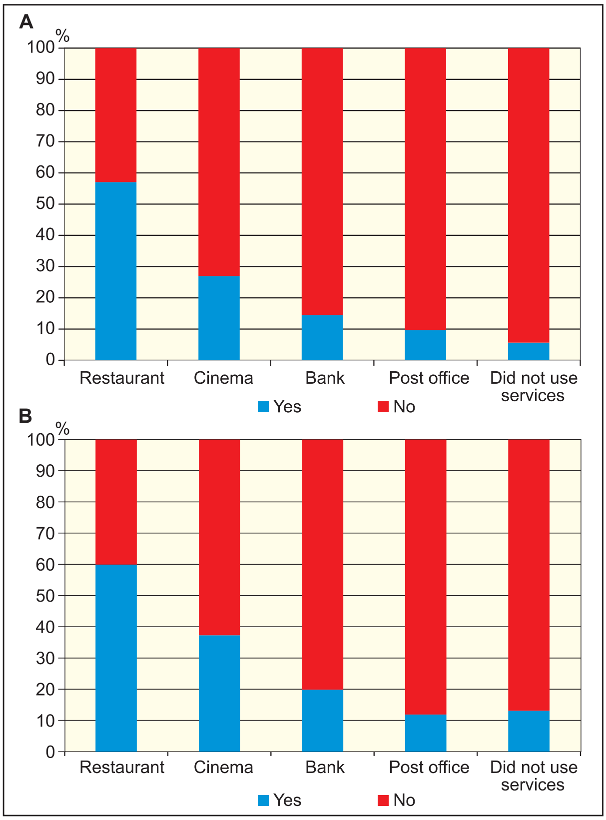

Fig. 11. Distribution of consumers by the use of different services. *Source*: own data collection

aged 21–30, use them; at the same time, the proportion of people older than 60 is almost infinitesimal. The second most popular service is the movie theater. 27% of Palladium's visitors go to see a film; in Arkády that rate is 37%. The younger generation is the largest age group in this respect as well. Considering the other services, the recipients of them are evenly distributed, except for banking where the ratio of pensioners (older than 60) is low.

Transport

At last we also asked the respondents about the means of transport they used to get to the shopping center. We set up three categories (by public transport, by car, by other modes of transport, e.g. by bicycle, on foot etc.). The evaluation of the answers showed that in case of both shopping centres the majority of visitors arrived by public transport (59% in Palladium and 63% in Arkády). It is reflected in the numbers too: arrived by that means of transport. The ratio of people arriving by car is approximately the same for both centres (Palladium: :37%, Arkády 30%. The higher rate in case of Palladium can be attributed to the larger parking lot. Only the very minority (4–7%) of people arrived in these centres on foot or by bike.

Peculiarities of Prague centres

Shopping centres cannot be missing from the Czech capital either. However, taking the city's characteristics into consideration, urban planners tried to fit them into the structure of the city. It practically means that using the special features of the city, old buildings were converted into centres, often as so-called rust zone investments. Another characteristic of Prague shopping centres is that they are concentrated in the historical part of the city with a considerable overlap between their attraction zones. Their downtown location is a logical choice, because they rely on the large number of foreign tourists.

Most shopping centres are located in renovated old buildings, the new, modern shopping centres are situated on the outskirts of the city; the urban planners' main intend was to introduce a new approach of establishing shopping centres. In Prague, the spatial concentration of centres is remarkable: half of the Czech shopping centres can be found there. Certainly, the functions of Prague centres do not digress from the functions of centres, we examined previously. The city's shopping centres also aim to satisfy customers' demand and to provide services of high quality which are their ultimate goals.

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