

The World in a Shopping Mall

Larger than a hundred football fields, the West Edmonton Mall is, according to the *Guinness Book of Records*, the largest shopping mall in the world. At 5.2 million square feet, the world's first megamall is nearly twice as large as the runner-up, the Del Amo Mall in Los Angeles, which covers only 3 million square feet. Other *Guinness* titles the mall holds are World's Largest Indoor Amusement Park, World's Largest Indoor Water Park, and World's Largest Parking Lot. Besides its more than 800 shops, 11 department stores, and 110 restaurants, the mall also contains a full-size ice-skating rink, a 360-room hotel, a lake, a nondenominational chapel, 20 movie theaters, and 13 nightclubs. These activities are situated along corridors of repeated storefronts and in wings that mimic nineteenth-century Parisian boulevards and New Orleans's Bourbon Street. From the upper stories of the mall's hotel, the glass towers of downtown Edmonton are just visible in the distance.

Seen from above, the mall resembles an ungainly pile of oversized boxes plunked down in the middle of an enormous asphalt sea, surrounded by an endless landscape of single-family houses. Inside, the mall presents a dizzying spectacle of attractions and diversions: a replica of Columbus's *Santa Maria* floats in an artificial lagoon, where real submarines move through an impossible seascape of imported coral and plastic seaweed inhabited by live penguins and electronically controlled rubber sharks; fiberglass columns crumble in simulated decay beneath a spanking new Victorian iron bridge; performing dolphins leap in front of Leather

World and Kinney's Shoes; fake waves, real Siberian tigers, Ching-dynasty vases, and mechanical jazz bands are juxtaposed in an endless sequence of skylit courts. Mirrored columns and walls further fragment the scene, shattering the mall into a kaleidoscope of ultimately unreadable images. Confusion proliferates at every level; past and future collapse meaninglessly into the present; barriers between real and fake, near and far, dissolve as history, nature, technology, are indifferently processed by the mall's fantasy machine.

Yet this implausible, seemingly random, collection of images has been assembled with an explicit purpose: to support the mall's claim to contain the entire world within its walls. At the opening ceremony aboard the *Santa Maria*, one of the mall's developers, Nader Ghermezian, shouted in triumph, "What we have done means you don't have to go to New York or Paris or Disneyland or Hawaii. We have it all here for you in one place, in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada!"¹ Publicity for the Fantasyland Hotel asks, "What country do you want to sleep in tonight?"—offering theme rooms based not only on faraway places such as Polynesia and Hollywood, and distant times such as ancient Rome and Victorian England, but also on modes of transportation, from horse-drawn carriages to pickup trucks.

The developer's claims imply that the goods for sale inside the mall represent the world's abundance and variety and offer a choice of global proportions. In fact, though, the mall's mixture of American and Canadian chains, with a few local specialty stores, rigorously repeats the range of products offered at every other shopping mall. Internal duplication reduces choice even further, since many stores operate identical outlets at different points in the mall. Despite the less than worldwide selection, shoppers still come from all over the world (70 percent of the mall's visitors are from outside Alberta) and spend enough to generate profits of \$300 per square foot—more than twice the return of most malls. The West Edmonton Mall (WEM) dominates the local commercial economy. If superimposed onto downtown Edmonton, the mall and its parking lot would span most of the central business district. Commercially overshadowed by the mall, long-established downtown stores now open branches in the mall. As a gesture of urban goodwill, the WEM's developers have agreed to build another mall downtown



West Edmonton Mall

to replace some of the revenue and activity drained off by the megamall.²

The inclusion of more and more activities into the mall has extended its operating day to twenty-four hours: a chapel offers services before shops open, nightclubs draw customers after they close, and visitors spend the night at the mall's hotel. The mall is also a workplace, with more than fifteen thousand people employed in its shops, services, and offices, many of whom also eat and spend their free time there. In the suburbs of Minneapolis, the WEM's developers are now erecting an even larger complex, the Mall of America, complete with office towers, three hotels, and a convention center. Orange County's Knott's Berry Farm theme park will supply the mall's entertainment centerpiece, "Camp Snoopy."³ The mayor of Bloomington, Minnesota, exults, "Now people can come here and watch a Vikings game and stay for the weekend. It's a different world when you have a megamall."⁴

The mall's encyclopedic agglomeration of activities requires only the addition of housing, already present in other urban mall megastructures, to become fully inhabitable, a world complete in itself. In a sense, the fragmented forms and functions of modern living are being brought together under the mall's skylighted dome. This suggests the possibility that the unified world of premodern times might be reconstituted through the medium of consumption, an ironic reversal of the redemptive design projects imagined by nineteenth-century utopians such as Fourier and Owen, who sought unity through collective productive activity and social reorganization. Although Fourier's Phalanstery merged the arcade and the palace into a prefigurative mall form, its glass-roofed corridors were intended to encourage social intercourse and foster communal emotions, rather than stimulate consumption.

The Science of Malling

The WEM's nonstop proliferation of attractions, activities, and images proclaims its uniqueness; but, beneath its myriad distractions, the mall is easily recognizable as an elephantine version of a generic type—the regional shopping mall. Indeed, the WEM is only the latest incarnation of a self-adjusting system of merchandising and development that has conquered the world by deploying standardized units in an extensive network. And, as the state-of-the-art mall

is continually redefined, the WEM's jumbled collection of images is already on the verge of becoming obsolete. More seamless alternative worlds are coming off the drawing boards. Disney "imagineers" have recently designed an entertainment center and shopping mall for Burbank inspired by the "lure and magic of the movies." The cinematic medium, inherently fragmented and unreal, structures a sophisticated fantasy world that will be both more complex and more coherent than the WEM.⁵

Although it is, for the moment, unrivaled in size and spectacle, the WEM is not exempt from the rules of finance and marketing that govern the 28,500 other shopping malls in North America.⁶ These rules date from the golden years between 1960 and 1980, when the basic regional mall paradigm was perfected and systematically replicated. Developers methodically surveyed, divided, and appropriated suburban cornfields and orange groves to create a new landscape of consumption. If a map of their efforts were to be drawn, it would reveal a continent covered by a wildly uneven pattern of overlapping circles representing mall-catchment areas, each circle's size and location dictated by demographic surveys measuring income levels and purchasing power. In a strangely inverted version of central-place theory, developers identified areas where consumer demand was not being met and where malls could fill the commercial voids.⁷ Dense agglomerations of malls would indicate the richest markets, and empty spots the pockets of poverty: West Virginia, for example, has the lowest shopping-mall square footage per inhabitant in the country.⁸

The size and scale of a mall, then, reflects "threshold demand"—the minimum number of potential customers living within the geographical range of a retail item to enable it to be sold at a profit. Thus, *neighborhood* centers serve a local market within a two-mile radius; *community* centers draw from three to five miles. The next tier of 2,500 *regional* malls (at least two department stores and a hundred shops) attracts customers from as far as twenty miles away, while an elite group of 300 *super-regional* malls (at least five department stores and up to three hundred shops) serve a larger, often multistate, area within a hundred-mile radius. At the peak of the pyramid sits the West Edmonton megamall, an international shopping attraction. The system as a whole dominates retail sales in the United States and Canada, accounting for more than 53 percent of all purchases in both countries.⁹

The mall-ing of America in less than twenty years was accomplished by honing standard real-estate, financing, and marketing techniques into predictive formulas. Generated initially by risk-free investments demanded by pension funds and insurance companies (sources of the enormous amounts of capital necessary to finance malls) the mall-ing process quickly became self-perpetuating, as developers duplicated successful strategies. Specialized consultants developed techniques of demographic and market research, refined their environmental and architectural analysis, and produced *econometric* and *locational* models. Mall architect Victor Gruen proposed an ideal matrix for mall-building that combined the expertise of real-estate brokers, financial and marketing analysts, economists, merchandising experts, architects, engineers, transportation planners, landscape architects, and interior designers—each drawing on the latest academic and commercial methodologies. Gruen's highly structured system was designed to minimize guesswork and to allow him to accurately predict the potential dollar-per-square-foot-yield of any projected mall, thus virtually guaranteeing profitability to the mall's developers.

In a game with such high stakes, competition became irrelevant. The technical expertise and financial resources required for mall-building restricted participation to a small circle of large developers. The pioneers—DeBartolo, Rouse, Hahn, Bohannon, and Taubman—established their own institutions: the International Council of Shopping Centers and trade journals such as *Shopping Center World* and *National Mall Monitor* insured rapid circulation of investment and marketing information; the Urban Land Institute worked to standardize mall-development procedures. The application of such standardized methods of determining locations, structuring selling space, and controlling customers produced consistent and immense profits. In their first twenty-five years, less than one percent of shopping malls failed; profits soared, making malls, according to DeBartolo, "the best investment known to man."¹⁰

For the consumer, the visible result of this intensive research is the "mix"—each mall's unique blend of tenants and department-store "anchors." The mix is established and maintained by restrictive leases with clauses that control everything from decor to prices. Even within the limited formula that the mix establishes for each mall, minute variations in the selection and location of stores can

be critical. Detailed equations are used to determine exactly how many jewelry or shoe stores should be put on each floor. Since branches of national chains are the most reliable money-makers, individually owned stores are admitted only with shorter leases and higher rents. Mall managers constantly adjust the mix, using rents and leases to adapt to the rapidly changing patterns of consumption. The system operates much like television programming, with each network presenting slightly different configurations of the same elements. Apparent diversity masks fundamental homogeneity.

The various predictable mixes are fine-tuned to the ethnic composition, income levels, and changing tastes of a particular shopping area. Indexes such as VALS (the Values and Life Styles program), produced by the Stanford Research Institute, correlate objective measures such as age, income, and family composition with subjective indicators such as value systems, leisure preferences, and cultural backgrounds to analyze trade areas. For instance, Brooks Brothers and Ann Taylor are usually solid bets for areas populated by outer-directed *achievers* ("hardworking, materialistic, highly educated traditional consumers; shopping leaders for luxury products") and *emulators* ("younger, status-conscious, conspicuous consumers"). But since climate, geography, and local identity also play a role in spending patterns, these stores may not succeed in areas like Orange County, California, where good weather allows more informal dress. *Sustainers* ("struggling poor; anger toward the American system") and *belongers* ("middle-class, conservative, conforming shoppers, low to moderate income"), on the other hand, tend to be "value-oriented," making K mart or J. C. Penney good anchors for malls where these groups predominate. Shoppers' perceptions of themselves and their environment furnish more accurate predictions of shopping habits than income. According to the Life-style Cluster system, an alternative index, even with identical incomes, the *black enterprise* and *pools and patios* groups will exhibit very different consumption patterns.¹¹

Through a careful study of such spending patterns, mall-builders can generate a mix that makes the difference between a mere profit-maker and a "foolproof money-machine" such as Southdale, outside of Minneapolis, the most successful of Equitable Life Assurance's one hundred shopping malls. Southdale's managers are constantly adjusting its mix to reflect increasingly refined

consumer profiles. They know, for example, that their average customer is a 40.3-year-old female with an annual income of over \$33,000, who lives in a household of 1.7 people. She is willing to spend more than \$125 for a coat and buys six pairs of shoes a year in sizes 5 to 7. Southdale's mix reflects this ideal consumer; women's clothing stores and upscale boutiques have now replaced Woolworth's and the video arcade. The mall's decor and promotions target her tastes through "psychographics"—the detailed marketing profiles which identify the customer's aspirations as well as her stated needs in order to chart "identity" as well as income.¹²

Such precision in locating and satisfying consumers has become increasingly important since 1980, when malls approached the saturation point. The system demonstrated a surprising adaptability: in spite of its history of rigidly programmed uniformity, new economic and locational opportunities prompted new prototypes. Specialty malls were built without department stores, allowing a more flexible use of space. To fit urban sites, malls adopted more compact and vertical forms with stacked floors of indoor parking, as at the Eaton Center in Toronto and the Beverly Center in Los Angeles. To insure financing in uncertain markets, developers formed partnerships with redevelopment agencies. The Grand Avenue in Milwaukee and the Gallery at Market East in Philadelphia are both joint ventures by HUD, municipal redevelopment agencies, and the Rouse Company. To survive in high-rent downtown locations, malls added hotels, condominiums, and offices to become omni-centers, such as Trump Tower on Fifth Avenue, or Water Tower Place and Chicago Place on North Michigan Avenue.

Existing malls renewed themselves by upgrading their decor and amenities. Future archaeologists will read Orange County's social history in South Coast Plaza's successive levels: the lowest floors, featuring Sears and J. C. Penney's, recall the suburbs' original lower-middle-class roots; the elaborate upper levels, with stores such as Gucci and Cartier, reflect the area's more recent affluence. Open-air plazas, once thought obsolete, have been revived and a new generation of consumers now stroll uncovered walkways.¹³ Virtually any large building or historic area is a candidate for reconfiguration into a mall. Americans regularly browse through renovated factories (the Cannery and Ghirardelli Square in San Francisco), piers (North Pier in Chicago), and government buildings (the Old Post Office in Washington, D.C.). The imposing neo-

classical space of McKim, Mead, and White's Union Station, which once solemnly celebrated entry into the nation's capital, now contains a shopping mall. The city of New York has even considered developing the Brooklyn Bridge as a historic shopping mall, with the brick arches of its Manhattan approach enclosing retail shops and a health spa.¹⁴

Although by 1980 the American landscape was crowded with these palaces of consumption, the rest of the world was still open for development. The form could be exported intact into third-world economies, with local developers providing enclosed shopping malls as exotic novelties for upper-class consumers in Caracas or Buenos Aires. Planners of new towns such as Milton Keynes, England, and Marne-la-Vallée, outside Paris, followed the example of Columbia, Maryland, to create state-sponsored social-democratic malls, combining government and community facilities with retail space to create new town centers. Asian versions in Hong Kong and Singapore adapted local marketplace traditions, filling vast malls with small, individually owned shops. The enormous new market opening up in Eastern Europe will surely place Warsaw and Budapest on *Shopping Center World's* list of hot spots ripe for development. The variations are endless, but whatever form the system adopts, the message conveyed is the same—a repeated imperative to consume.

The Utopia of Consumption

The ethos of consumption has penetrated every sphere of our lives. As culture, leisure, sex, politics, and even death turn into commodities, consumption increasingly constructs the way we see the world. As William Leiss points out, the best measure of social consciousness is now the *Index of Consumer Sentiment*, which charts optimism about the state of the world in terms of willingness to spend. The decision to buy a washing machine or a fur coat depends less on finances than on subjective reactions to everything from congressional debates to crime and pollution.¹⁵ Consumption hierarchies, in which commodities define life-styles, now furnish indications of status more visible than the economic relationships of class positions. Status is thus easy to read, since the necessary information has already been nationally distributed through advertising. Moreover, for many, the very construction of the self

involves the acquisition of commodities. If the world is understood through commodities, then personal identity depends on one's ability to compose a coherent self-image through the selection of a distinct personal set of commodities.

As central institutions in the realm of consumption, shopping malls constantly restructure both products and behavior into new combinations that allow commodities to penetrate even further into daily life. Most directly, the mall, as its domination of retail sales indicates, functions as an extremely efficient agent for the circulation of large numbers of goods. However, the rigid financial and merchandising formulas that guarantee and maximize its profits restrict the range and variety of goods it can offer. Retailers and shoppers are equally subject to a commercial logic that forces both to constantly justify themselves by concretely realizing the abstract concept of consumption in money terms. These economic imperatives are clearly expressed in the inescapable measurement of mall success in terms of dollars per square foot.

Faced with such restrictions, the mall can realize its profits only by efficiently mediating between the shopper and the commodity. The process of shopping begins even before the shopper enters the mall, in the commercialized contemporary social environment that William Leiss has characterized as the "high-intensity market setting." Primed by a barrage of messages about what he or she "needs" (before the age of twenty, the average American has seen 350,000 television commercials), the shopper arrives at the mall with "a confused set of wants." Presented with a constantly increasing range of products, each promising specialized satisfaction, the shopper is forced to fragment needs into constantly smaller elements. These are not false needs, distinct from objectively determined "real" needs; rather they conflate material and symbolic aspects of "needing" in an ambiguous, unstable state. Because advertising has already identified particular emotional and social conditions with specific products, the continuous fracturing of emotions and artifacts forces consumers to engage in intensive efforts to bind together their identity and personal integrity. Consumption is the easiest way to accomplish this task and achieve at least temporary resolution.¹⁶

Similarly fragmented attributes make up the commodities themselves. These bundles of objective and imputed characteristics and signals are in constant flux, rendered even more unstable by

the consumer's fluctuating desires. As Leiss observes, "the realm of needs becomes identical with the range of possible objects, while the nature of the object itself becomes largely a function of the psychological state of those who desire it."¹⁷ The shopping mall prolongs this exchange by offering a plethora of possible purchases that continuously accelerate the creation of new bonds between object and consumer. By extending the period of "just looking," the imaginative prelude to buying, the mall encourages "cognitive acquisition" as shoppers mentally acquire commodities by familiarizing themselves with a commodity's actual and imagined qualities. Mentally "trying on" products teaches shoppers not only what they want and what they can buy, but also, more importantly, what they don't have, and what they therefore need. Armed with this knowledge, shoppers can not only realize what they are but also imagine what they might become. Identity is momentarily stabilized even while the image of a future identity begins to take shape, but the endless variation of objects means that satisfaction always remains just out of reach.¹⁸

The shopping-mall mix is calculated to organize the disorienting flux of attributes and needs into a recognizable hierarchy of shops defined by cost, status, and life-style images. These shops, in turn, reflect the specific consumption patterns of the mall's marketing area. Merchandise contextualized by price and image orients the shopper, allowing the speculative spiral of desire and deprivation to be interrupted by purchases. The necessity of this double action—stimulating nebulous desire and encouraging specific purchases—establishes the mall's fundamentally contradictory nature. To survive profitably, it must operate within the enormous disjunction created between the objective economic logic necessary for the profitable circulation of goods and the unstable subjectivity of the messages exchanged between consumers and commodities, between the limited goods permitted by this logic and the unlimited desires released by this exchange.

The physical organization of the mall environment mirrors this disjunction; this is one reason why conventional architectural criticism, a discourse based on visible demonstrations of order, has not been able to penetrate its system. All the familiar tricks of mall design—limited entrances, escalators placed only at the end of corridors, fountains and benches carefully positioned to entice shoppers into stores—control the flow of consumers through the

numbingly repetitive corridors of shops. The orderly processions of goods along endless aisles continuously stimulates the desire to buy. At the same time, other architectural tricks seem to contradict commercial considerations. Dramatic atriums create huge floating spaces for contemplation, multiple levels provide infinite vistas from a variety of vantage points, and reflective surfaces bring near and far together. In the absence of sounds from outside, these artful visual effects are complemented by the "white noise" of Muzak and fountains echoing across enormous open courts. The resulting "weightless realm" receives substance only through the commodities it contains.¹⁹

These strategies are effective; almost every mallgoer has felt their power. For Joan Didion the mall is an addictive environmental drug, where "one moves for a while in an aqueous suspension, not only of light, but of judgment, not only of judgment, but of personality." In the film *Dawn of the Dead*, both zombies and their victims are drawn to the mall, strolling the aisles in numb fascination, with fixed stares that make it difficult to tell the shoppers from the living dead. William Kowinski identified *mal de mall* as a perceptual paradox brought on by simultaneous stimulation and sedation, characterized by disorientation, anxiety, and apathy. The jargon used by mall management demonstrates not only their awareness of these side-effects, but also their partial and imprecise attempts to capitalize on them. The Gruen Transfer (named after architect Victor Gruen) designates the moment when a "destination buyer," with a specific purchase in mind, is transformed into an impulse shopper, a crucial point immediately visible in the shift from a determined stride to an erratic and meandering gait. Yet shoppers do not perceive these effects as negative: the expansion of the typical mall visit from twenty minutes in 1960 to nearly three hours today testifies to their increasing desirability.²⁰

Retail Magic

Malls have achieved their commercial success through a variety of strategies that all depend on "indirect commodification," a process by which nonsalable objects, activities, and images are purposely placed in the commodified world of the mall. The basic marketing principle is "adjacent attraction," where "the most dissimilar objects lend each other mutual support when they are placed next to

each other."²¹ Richard Sennett explains this effect as a temporary suspension of the use value of the object, its decontextualized state making it unexpected and therefore stimulating. Thus, placing an ordinary pot in a window display of a Moroccan harem transforms the pot into something exotic, mysterious, and desirable. This logic of association allows noncommodified values to enhance commodities, but it also imposes the reverse process—previously noncommodified entities become part of the marketplace. Once this exchange of attributes is absorbed into the already open-ended and indeterminate exchange between commodities and needs, associations can resonate infinitely.

At an early stage, malls began to introduce a variety of services, such as movies and restaurants, fast-food arcades, video-game rooms, and skating rinks, which, while still requiring expenditure, signaled the malls' expanded recreational role. As "mall time" has become an increasingly standard unit of measure, more and more promotional activities have appeared; first fashion shows and petting zoos, then symphony concerts (the Chicago Symphony performs regularly at Woodfield Mall), and even high-school proms. Hanging out at the mall has replaced cruising the strip; for teenagers, malls are now social centers, and many even find their first jobs there. Now malls have become social centers for adults as well. The Galleria in Houston has achieved a reputation as a safe and benevolent place for singles to meet, and "mall-walkers"—senior citizens and heart patients seeking a safe place to exercise—arrive at malls before the shops open, to walk a measured route around the corridors. Popular culture also attests to the incorporation of the mall into daily life. Recent films such as *Scenes from a Mall* and *Phantom of the Mall* suggest that virtually any cinematic genre can be successfully transposed to this familiar setting. *Beverly Center*, the first novel named for a shopping mall, recounts the torrid adventures of retail employees in a place "where everything is for sale and nothing comes cheap."²² Proximity has established an inescapable behavioral link between human needs—for recreation, public life, and social interaction—and the commercial activities of the mall, between pleasure and profit in an enlarged version of "adjacent attraction." As developer Bill Dawson sums it up: "The more needs you fulfill, the longer people stay."²³

Indirect commodification can also incorporate fantasy, juxtaposing shopping with an intense spectacle of accumulated images

and themes that entertain and stimulate and in turn encourage more shopping. The themes of the spectacle owe much to Disneyland and television, the most familiar and effective commodifiers in American culture. Theme-park attractions are now commonplace in shopping malls; indeed, the two forms converge—malls routinely entertain, while theme parks function as disguised marketplaces. Both offer controlled and carefully packaged public spaces and pedestrian experiences to auto-dependent suburban families already primed for passive consumption by television—the other major cultural product of the fifties.

While enclosed shopping malls suspended space, time, and weather, Disneyland went one step further and suspended reality. Any geographic, cultural, or mythical location, whether supplied by fictional texts (Tom Sawyer's Island), historical locations (New Orleans Square), or futuristic projections (Space Mountain), could be reconfigured as a setting for entertainment. Shopping malls easily adapted this appropriation of "place" in the creation of a specialized theme environment. In Scottsdale, the Borgata, an open-air shopping mall set down in the flat Arizona desert, reinterprets the medieval Tuscan hill town of San Gimignano with piazza and scaled-down towers (made of real Italian bricks). In suburban Connecticut, Olde Mystic Village reproduces a New England Main Street, circa 1720, complete with shops in saltbox houses, a waterwheel, and a pond. Again, the implied connection between unexpected settings and familiar products reinvigorates the shopping experience.

The larger the mall, the more sophisticated the simulation. The West Edmonton Mall borrowed yet another design principle from Disneyland: the spatial compression of themes. To simultaneously view Main Street and an African jungle from Tomorrowland was a feat previously reserved for science fiction. By eliminating the unifying concept of "land"—Disneyland's main organizing principle—the WEM released a frenzy of free-floating images. If Disneyland's abrupt shifts of space and time suggested that to change realities could be as easy as changing channels on a television, the WEM, as one writer observed, was more like turning on all the channels at once.²⁴ Again, the principle of "adjacent attraction" ensures that these images will exchange attributes with the commodities in the mall. The barrage of diverse images, though, may heighten the unstable relationship of commodity and consumer

needs to such a degree that the resulting disorientation leads to acute shopper paralysis. This discouraging prospect makes oases of relative calm, such as the water park and the hotel, necessary for recuperation. Even the all-inclusive mall must acknowledge perceptual limits.

The contrived packaging, obvious manipulation, and mass-market imagery of formula malls was not without critics, particularly among affluent and educated shoppers. To please this more demanding audience, developer James Rouse expanded the definition of "adjacent attraction" to incorporate genuinely historic and scenic places into the world of the mall. Rouse's successful packaging of "authenticity" made him a legend in development circles. "Festival marketplaces" such as Faneuil Hall in Boston, Harborplace in Baltimore, and South Street Seaport in Manhattan reject the architectural homogeneity of the generic mall in favor of the unique character of a single location enhanced through "individualized" design. These scenic and historic areas use cultural attractions such as museums and historic ships to enliven predictable shopping experiences. Festival marketplaces, then, reverse the strategy employed at the WEM—imagery is reduced and activities focus on a single theme rooted in a genuine context—but with comparable results, the creation of a profitable marketplace. Faneuil Hall attracts as many visitors each year as Disneyland, confirming Rouse's slogan: "Profit is the thing that hauls dreams into focus."²⁵

Public Life in a Pleasure Dome

The shift from a market economy to a consumer culture based on intensified commodity circulation became apparent in the first mass-consumption environment, the Parisian department store, which, after 1850, radically transformed the city's commercial landscape. The enormous number of goods presented in a single location dazzled shoppers accustomed to small shops with limited stocks. By 1870, the largest of the *grands magasins*, the Bon Marché, offered a huge assortment of goods to ten thousand customers a day.²⁶ Moreover, the department store's fixed prices altered the social and psychological relations of the marketplace. The obligation to buy implied by the active exchange of bargaining was replaced by the invitation to look, turning the shopper into a passive

spectator, an isolated individual, a face in the department-store crowd, silently contemplating merchandise. Richard Señnett observed that haggling had been "the most ordinary instance of everyday theater in the city," weaving the buyer and the seller together socially; but the fixed-price system "made passivity into a norm."²⁷

Department stores gradually discovered the marketing strategies required by this new passivity and began to theatricalize the presentation of goods. Emile Zola modeled his *Au Bonheur des Dames* on the Bon Marché; it portrays the modern retail enterprise as hardheaded commercial planning aimed at inducing fascination and fantasy. Zola vividly describes the display practices that dazzled and intoxicated the mostly female customers: "Amidst a deep bed of velvet, all the velvets, black, white, colored, interwoven with silk or satin, formed with their shifting marks a motionless lake on which reflections of sky and landscape seemed to dance. Women, pale with desire, leaned over as if to see themselves." Another shopper is "seized by the passionate vitality animating the great nave that day. Mirrors everywhere extended the shop spaces, reflecting displays with corners of the public, faces the wrong way round, halves of shoulders and arms." Zola's retail pleasure dome alternates such disorienting perspectives with comfortable resting places, reading and writing rooms, and a free buffet, countering the escapist fantasy world with comfortable homelike spaces where shoppers could reacquire a sense of control.²⁸

In fact, the shopper's dream world was always firmly anchored to highly structured economic relations. The constant and rapid turnover of goods demanded standardized methods of organization, subjecting employees to a factorylike order that extended beyond working hours into the carefully supervised dormitories and eating halls. A strict hierarchy separated the sales clerks, drilled in middle-class manners and housed in attic dormitories, from the proletariat that staffed the workshops and stables and slept wherever they could. Class boundaries also put limits on the "magic" of merchandising. For instance, stores like the Magasins Dufayel and Bazar de l'Hôtel de Ville, located closer to the proletarian northern and eastern suburbs, offered more straightforward selections of inexpensive goods to their working-class clientele.²⁹

The possibilities of material abundance and mass consumption first suggested in Zola's department store also inspired a number

of other nineteenth-century writers and thinkers. While the naturalist Zola called his novel "a poem of modern life," more speculative thinkers imagined ideal futures in which the problematic realm of production withered away completely, leaving consumption the dominant mode of experience. In America, Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* outlined a future in which reorganized production systems efficiently supplied necessities to the entire population, reducing the workday or eliminating the need for work altogether. In this labor-free world of material plenty, the idle masses could now devote themselves to the pursuit of self-realization and aesthetic pleasure as well as the idle rich. Other writers enlarged the miniature dream world of the department store into a full-scale Utopia. Inspired by temples of abundance such as Wanamaker's and Macy's, the novel *The World a Department Store*, written by Ohio department-store owner Bradford Peck, proposed an ideal state modeled after a department store that equitably supplied housing, food, and endless goods to its contented citizens.³⁰

America after World War II seemed to promise the realization of many such dreams. The booming consumer economy offered a previously unimaginable prosperity, with full employment supplying consumers for the large-scale distribution of affordable goods, while advertising and planned obsolescence insured their continuous circulation. Standardized work weeks allowed free time for new leisure activities. Jobs and housing quickly migrated to the suburbs, propelled by Federal subsidies and guaranteed mortgage insurance, and highway programs initiated a cycle of growth by stimulating the automobile, oil, and construction industries. In the cities, even the poor had housing and money to spend. On the cities' edges, suburban growth produced an economic landscape of single-family tracts connected by superhighways and punctuated by shopping centers.

With suburbs and automobiles, downtown department stores were no longer relevant. Interstate highways and suburbs created the demand for commercial services in newly developed areas. City stores built suburban branches; roadside strips and strip centers (collections of stores with shared parking) grew up along major routes and at important intersections; and developers continued to construct tasteful shopping centers in upscale suburbs, following

earlier prototypes such as the Roland Park Shop Center outside of Baltimore (1907) and Market Square in Lake Forest (1916). All of these forms provided convenient off-street parking.

J. C. Nichols, generally regarded as the father of the shopping center for his role in developing Country Club Plaza in Kansas City (1924), established many of the financial, management, and merchandising concepts that were fundamental to postwar shopping centers.³¹ Nichols's 1945 Urban Land Institute publication, *Mistakes We Have Made in Developing Shopping Centers*, codified his experience into a list of 150 maxims, which covered everything from strategies to ensure local political support to adequate ceiling heights. Although Country Club Plaza's elaborate Mediterranean architecture—complete with tiled fountains and wrought-iron balconies—distinguished it from the bland exteriors of later centers, Nichols argued against any unnecessary expenditure on decor. The key to shopping-center success, he claimed, lay in providing abundant, even unlimited, parking. By 1950, as the varieties of neighborhood shopping centers merged into a single new form—the regional mall—Nichols's wisdom was confirmed.

After several false starts, the successful prototype of the classic dumbbell format finally emerged at Northgate in Seattle in 1947: two department stores anchoring the ends of an open-air pedestrian mall, set in the middle of acres of parking. Designed by John Graham, Jr., the innovative combination of easy automobile access and free parking with pedestrian shopping offered both suburban convenience and downtown selection. Graham's mall, a narrow pedestrian corridor modeled after a downtown street, efficiently funneled shoppers from one department store to the other, taking them past every store in the mall.³² Similar multi-million-dollar malls multiplied, spurred on by the abundance of cornfield sites at agricultural-land prices and encouraged by Reilly's Law of Retail Gravitation, which posits that, all other factors being equal, shoppers will patronize the largest shopping center they can get to easily. This served as the rationale for ever-larger centers optimally located near the exits of new interstate highways.³³

The consumers were ready, armed with postwar savings and the benefits of recent prosperity—vital necessities in the newly created world of the suburbs, where the new way of life depended on new ways of consuming. The ideal single-family home—inhabited by the ideal family, commuting father, housewife, and two

children—demanded an enormous range of purchases: house, car, appliances, furniture, televisions, lawnmowers, and bicycles. The mass production of standardized products found a market of consumers primed by advertising, television, and magazines. In a landscape of stratified subdivisions, status, family roles, and personal identity found further expression in consumption. Without familiar neighborhoods and extended-family networks to set social standards, suburban families used their possessions as a mark of belonging. The suburb itself was a product: nature and community packaged and sold.³⁴

Initially, shopping-mall design reinforced the domestic values and physical order of suburbia. Like the suburban house, which rejected the sociability of front porches and sidewalks for private backyards, the malls looked inward, turning their back on the public street. Set in the middle of nowhere, these consumer landscapes reflected the profound distrust of the street as a public arena visible in the work of such dissimilar urbanists as Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier. Instead, streets, preferably high-speed highways, served exclusively as automobile connections between functionally differentiated zones and structures. Although mall apologists cited earlier marketplace types to establish the mall's legitimacy, they ignored their different consequences for urban life. While Islamic bazaars and Parisian arcades reinforced existing street patterns, malls—pedestrian islands in an asphalt sea—further ruptured an already fragmented urban landscape. As suburbs sprawled, so did their only public spaces; the low-rise, horizontal forms of suburban centers reversed the tightly vertical order of traditional urban space.³⁵ Informal open areas landscaped with brick flowerbeds and spindly trees echoed frontyard imagery. Malls, composed of rows of basic boxes enlivened with porchlike overhangs, shared the design logic of the suburban tract; economics rather than aesthetics prevailed.

In 1956, the first enclosed mall—Southdale, in Edina, a suburb of Minneapolis—changed all this. Although its central court surrounded by two levels of shopping floors was quickly surpassed by more extravagant developments, Southdale's breakthrough design firmly established Victor Gruen in the pantheon of mall pioneers. By enclosing the open spaces and controlling the temperature, Gruen created a completely introverted building type, which severed all perceptual connections with the mall's surroundings. In

side, the commercial potential of enormous spaces was realized in theatrical "sets" where "retail drama" could occur. Mall developers rediscovered the lesson of the Parisian department store and transformed focused indoor spaces into fantasy worlds of shopping. Southdale was covered for practical reasons; Minnesota weather allows for only 126 outdoor shopping days. The contrast between the freezing cold or blistering heat outdoors and the mall's constant 72 degrees was dramatized by the atrium centerpiece, the Garden Court of Perpetual Spring, filled with orchids, azaleas, magnolias, and palms. Exaggerating the differences between the world outside and the world inside established a basic mall trope: an inverted space whose forbidding exteriors hid paradisiacal interiors. This combination was compelling enough to ensure that enclosed malls soon flourished even in the most temperate climates.

Recreating a "second" nature was only the first step; the next was to reproduce the single element missing in suburbia—the city. The enclosed mall compressed and intensified space. Glass-enclosed elevators and zigzagging escalators added dynamic vertical and diagonal movement to the basic horizontal plan of the mall. Architects manipulated space and light to achieve the density and bustle of a city downtown—to create essentially a fantasy urbanism devoid of the city's negative aspects: weather, traffic, and poor people. The consolidation of space also altered the commercial identity of the mall. Originally built to provide convenient one-stop shopping, newly glamorized malls now replaced stores serving practical needs—supermarkets, drugstores, hardware stores—with specialty shops and fast-food arcades. Infinitely expandable suburban strips became the new loci for commercial functions expelled from the increasingly exclusive world of the shopping mall. Sealed off from the tasks of everyday life, shopping became a recreational activity and the mall an escapist cocoon.

As the mall incorporated more and more of the city inside its walls, the nascent conflict between private and public space became acute. Supreme Court decisions confirmed an Oregon mall's legal right to be defined as a private space, allowing bans on any activity the owners deemed detrimental to consumption. Justice Thurgood Marshall's dissenting opinion argued that since the mall had assumed the role of a traditional town square, as its sponsors continually boasted, it must also assume its public responsibilities: "For many Portland citizens, Lloyd Center will so completely sat-

* isfy their wants, that they will have no reason to go elsewhere for goods and services. If speech is to reach these people, it much reach them in Lloyd Center."³⁶ Many malls now clarify the extent of their public role by posting signs that read: "Areas in this mall used by the public are not public ways, but are for the use of the tenants and the public transacting business with them. Permission to use said areas may be revoked at any time," thus "protecting" their customers from potentially disturbing petitions or pickets. According to the manager of Greengate Mall in Pennsylvania, "We simply don't want anything to interfere with the shopper's freedom to not be bothered and have fun."³⁷

Repackaging the city in a safe, clean, and controlled form gave the mall greater importance as a community and social center. The enclosed mall supplied spatial centrality, public focus, and human density—all the elements lacking in sprawling suburbs. The mall served as the hub of suburban public life, and provided a common consumer focus for the amorphous suburbs. In New Jersey—which had already spawned settlements such as Paramus, "the town Macy's built"—the importance of the Cherry Hill Mall as a focal point and an object of considerable local pride led the inhabitants of adjacent Delaware Township to change the name of their town to Cherry Hill. Reversing the centrifugal pattern of suburban growth, malls became magnets for concentrated development, attracting offices, high-rise apartments, and hospitals to their vicinity, thereby reproducing a central business district.

The financial success of the simulated downtown-in-the-suburbs also restimulated the actual downtowns, which had previously been weakened by regional malls. Newly placed urban malls brought their suburban "values" back into the city. In urban contexts the suburban mall's fortresslike structures literalized their meaning, privatizing and controlling functions and activities formerly enacted in public streets. Heavily patrolled malls now provide a safe urban space with a clientele as homogeneous as that of their suburban counterparts. In many cities, the construction of urban malls served to resegregate urban shopping areas. In Chicago, for example, white suburbanites coming into the city flocked to the new Marshall Field's branch inside the Water Tower Place mall on upper Michigan Avenue, effectively abandoning the original Marshall Field's department store in the downtown Loop to mostly black and Hispanic patrons.³⁸

In more than one way, downtown malls cash in on the paradoxical prospect of a new order of urban experience, well protected from the dangerous and messy streets outside. Attempting a double simulation of New York, Herald Center, when it opened on 34th Street, offered thematized floors named for the city's familiar sites, such as Greenwich Village, Central Park, and Madison Avenue, which imitated their namesakes with businesses approximating their commercial character: sandal shops, sporting goods, and European boutiques. Not only were the actual places represented in name only, the "typical" goods for purchase reduced to caricature the rich mixtures of a real urban neighborhood. By reproducing the city inside its walls, the mall suggested that it was safer and cleaner to experience New York inside its climate-controlled spaces than on the real streets outside. This particular experiment failed, but did not discourage new efforts. On Times Square, a new mall project designed by Jon Jerde, Metropolis Times Square, tries to upstage the flash and dazzle of its setting with its own indoor light show, featuring hundreds of televisions, neon lights and laser projections. This hyper-real Times Square mall, sanitizing the sleaze and vulgarity outside, offers instead the tamer delights of shops, restaurants, and a cineplex open twenty-four hours a day.³⁹

While the city began to incorporate suburban-style development, the suburbs became increasingly urban. Large numbers of jobs have moved to the suburbs, turning these areas into new metropolitan regions, "urban villages" or "suburban downtowns." Superregional malls at freeway interchanges—such as the Galleria outside Houston, South Coast Plaza in Orange County, and Tyson's Corners near Washington, D.C.—became catalysts for new suburban minicities, attracting a constellation of typically urban functions. Their current importance represents the culmination of several decades of suburban growth. The evolution of the Galleria-Post Oaks suburb in Houston, for example, began in the late fifties with shopping centers built to serve affluent residential areas. The construction of the 610 Loop freeway encouraged retail expansion, notably the Galleria, one of the first spectacular multi-use malls, followed by office buildings, high-rise apartments and hotels, and finally corporate headquarters. White-collar and executive employees moved to nearby high-income residential neighborhoods, which generated the critical mass necessary to support restaurants, movie complexes, and cultural centers. The result now surpasses

downtown Houston, containing the city's highest concentration of retail space, high-rise apartment units, and hotels as well as the state's third-highest concentration of office space. It is also Houston's most visited attraction.⁴⁰

Although these businesses and residences are concentrated spatially, they maintain the low-density suburban building pattern of isolated single-function buildings. Parallel to the 610 Loop and along Post Oak Boulevard rise clusters of freestanding towers, including the sixty-four-story Transco Tower. Each building stands alone, though, insulated by landscaping, parking, and roads. Sidewalks are rare, making each structure an enclave, accessible only by automobile. In this atomized landscape, the Galleria, pulsing with human activity, has expanded its role as town center even further, providing not only food, shopping, and recreation, but also urban experience. For many suburban inhabitants, the Galleria is the desirable alternative to the socially and economically troubled urban downtowns they fled. President Bush, casting his vote in the presidential election at the Galleria, symbolically verified the mall's status as the heart of the new suburban downtown.⁴¹

Hyperconsumption: Specialization and Proliferation

Throughout the period of shopping-mall expansion, economic and social changes were significantly altering the character of the consumer market. After 1970, it became evident that the postwar economic and social system of mass production and consumption was breaking down, fragmenting income, employment, and spending patterns into a much more complex mosaic. More flexible types of production appeared, emphasizing rapid cycles of products that quickly responded to the consumer market's constantly changing needs and tastes. Restructured industries and markets in turn produced a differentiated and fragmented labor force. The pyramid model of income distribution that supported the regional mall was being replaced by a configuration more like a bottom-heavy hourglass, with a small group of very high incomes at the top, and the middle disappearing into a much larger group of low incomes. This picture was further complicated by an increasingly uneven geographic distribution of economic development, which produced equally exaggerated differences between zones of prosperity and poverty.

In this unstable situation, the continued development of existing mall types was no longer assured. Heightened competition—between corporations, entrepreneurs, and even urban regions—forced a series of shakedowns in the industry. Although the system of regional malls continued to flourish, it was clear that the generic-formula mix no longer guaranteed profits.⁴² (Industry experts agree that there are few regional holes left to fill, although the system can still absorb three or even four more megamalls.) Instead, malls expanded by multiplying and diversifying into as many different fragments as the market. An enormous range of more specialized and flexible mall types appeared, focused on specific niches in the newly dispersed market. Such specialization permitted more coherent matching of consumer desires and commodity attributes at a single location, making consumption more efficient, while greater diversity allowed a much greater collection of commodities to be merchandised than ever before.

Specialization occurs across a wide economic spectrum. In the richest markets, luxury malls, like Trump Tower on Fifth Avenue or the Rodeo Collection in Beverly Hills, offer expensive specialty goods in sumptuous settings, more like luxurious hotels than shopping malls. At the other end of the market, outlet malls sell slightly damaged or out-of-date goods at discount prices; since low cost is the major attraction, undecorated, low-rent buildings only enhance their utilitarian atmosphere. New smaller malls eliminate social and public functions to allow more efficient shopping. Strip malls, with parking in front, are the most flexible type: their false fronts can assume any identity, their format can be adjusted to any site, and they can contain any mix of products. Some strip malls focus on specific products or services—furniture, automotive supplies, printing and graphic design, or even contemporary art. In Los Angeles, more than three thousand minimalls (fewer than ten stores) supply the daily needs of busy consumers with convenience markets, dry cleaners, video stores, and fast-food outlets.⁴³

In this overcrowded marketplace, imagery has become increasingly critical as a way of attracting particular shops and facilitating acts of consumption. Through a selective manipulation of images, malls express a broad variety of messages about the world both outside and inside the mall. Large, diverse cities like Los Angeles offer veritable encyclopedias of specialized mall types that cater to recent immigrant groups. Here the images retain a vestige of their

cultural heritage: Korean malls have blue-tile temple roofs, Japanese malls combine Zen gardens with slick modernism to attract both local residents and touring Japanese. Minimall developers in Los Angeles also style their malls according to location: postmodern on the affluent Westside, high-tech in dense urban areas, and Spanish in the rest of the city.

Such imagery treads a thin line between invitation and exclusion. But if mall decor and design are not explicit enough to tell young blacks or the homeless that they are not welcome, more literal warnings can be issued. Since statistics show that shopping-mall crimes, from shoplifting and purse-snatching to car theft and kidnapping, have measurably increased, the assurance of safety implied by the mall's sealed space is no longer adequate.⁴⁴ At the WEM, the mall's security headquarters, Central Dispatch, is prominently showcased. Behind a glass wall, a high-tech command post lined with banks of closed-circuit televisions and computers is constantly monitored by uniformed members of the mall's security force. This electronic Panopticon surveys every corner of the mall, making patrons aware of its omnipresence and theatricalizing routine security activities into a spectacle of reassurance and deterrence. But the ambiguous attractions of a lively street life, although excluded from the WEM by a strictly enforced code of behavior, are not wholly absent. Rather, they are vicariously acknowledged, at a nostalgic distance to be sure, by Bourbon Street's collection of mannequins, "depicting the street people of New Orleans." Frozen in permanent poses of abandon, drunks, prostitutes, and panhandlers act out transgressions forbidden in the mall's simulated city.

Malls have not only responded to changing market conditions, but have also become trump cards in the increasing competition between developing cities and regions. The enormous success of projects like Faneuil Hall and the WEM have brought in revenue and attracted jobs, residents, and visitors to the cities. In a large-scale version of adjacent attraction, malls lend glamour and success to their urban setting, suggesting that the city is important, exciting, and prosperous.⁴⁵ Even if the WEM weakened the commercial power of Edmonton's downtown, as a whole it added luster and money to the urban region overall. Recognizing these potential benefits, cities now court developers with a range of financial incentives, from tax breaks to significant investments, in order to attract major mall projects. Faneuil Hall's success in generating

adjacent development, such as condominiums, shops, and offices, led cities from Toledo to Norfolk into private-public ventures with the Rouse Company to build waterfront centers as catalysts for urban revitalization. This strategy can also backfire: Horton Plaza, San Diego's spectacular, enormously profitable, and heavily subsidized "urban theme park" mall has remained a self-contained environment, a city in itself—with little effect on its seedy surroundings.⁴⁶

In Europe, political participation has gone even further. Municipal governments with extensive planning powers have taken over the developer's role themselves, though state sponsorship has produced no changes in the mall form. Thus, the Greater London Council developed festival marketplaces in Covent Gardens and the St. Katharine Docks as the commercial beachheads for larger urban redevelopment schemes. Built over the opposition of residents who demanded local services, the Covent Garden project produces municipal revenue by duplicating commercial formulas that attract tourists and impulse buyers. In Paris, the lengthy political battle over what would replace the razed Les Halles market was resolved by the decision to build a multi-level shopping center clad in the slick architectural modernism that the French state has adopted as its distinctive design image. This mall was the first step in the reorganization of the entire district and now stands at the center of a regional transport network, connected to a sequence of public sport, leisure, and cultural facilities through underground corridors.⁴⁷

The World as a Shopping Mall

The spread of malls around the world has accustomed large numbers of people to behavior patterns that inextricably link shopping with diversion and pleasure. The transformation of shopping into an experience that can occur in any setting has led to the next stage in mall development: "spontaneous malling," a process by which urban spaces are transformed into malls without new buildings or developers. As early as 1946, architects Ketchum, Gina, and Sharp proposed restructuring Main Street in Rye, New York, as a pedestrian shopping mall; later Victor Gruen planned to turn downtown Fort Worth into an enclosed mall surrounded by sixty thousand parking spaces. More recently, a number of cities have reconstituted certain areas as malls simply by designating them as pedestrian

zones, which allows the development of concentrated shopping. Self-regulating real-estate values allow these new marketplaces to create their own tenant mix, organized around a unifying theme; this, in turn, attracts supporting activities such as restaurants and cafes. In Los Angeles, even without removing automobiles, urban streets like Melrose Avenue and Rodeo Drive have spontaneously regenerated themselves as specialty malls, thematically based on new-wave and European chic.

Different stimuli can initiate this process. The construction of a regional mall in a rural area of DuPage county, outside Chicago, completely transformed commercial activities in the area. Afraid of losing shoppers to the mall, local merchants in Naperville, an old railroad town, moved to transform its main street into a gentrified shopping area of antique shops and upscale boutiques. By emphasizing Naperville's historical small-town character, providing off-street parking, and offering specialized shops not available in malls, Naperville developed a commercial identity that allowed it to coexist harmoniously with the mall.⁴⁸ When its historical center was inundated by tourists, Florence turned the Via Calzaioli between the Duomo and the Piazza Signoria into a pedestrian zone, which soon resembled an outdoor Renaissance mall with the two monuments serving as authentic cultural anchors. Shoe and leather shops, fast-food restaurants, and the inevitable Benetton outlets—offering merchandise available at malls all over the world—took over from older stores, as tourists outnumbered local residents. In France, state policies to ensure the preservation of historical centers awarded large subsidies to small cities like Rouen, Grenoble, and Strasbourg. This unintentionally redefined commerce: as pedestrian zones brought more shoppers into the center and greater profits attracted national chains of luxury shops, stores for everyday needs disappeared, replaced by boutiques selling designer clothing, jewelry, and gifts.⁴⁹

Clearly, the mall has transcended its shopping-center origins. Today, hotels, office buildings, cultural centers, and museums virtually duplicate the layouts and formats of shopping malls. A walk through the new additions to the Metropolitan Museum in New York with their enormous internal spaces, scenographic presentation of art objects, and frequent opportunities for purchasing other objects connected to them, produces an experience very similar to that of strolling through a shopping mall. The East Wing of

the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., designed by I. M. Pei, is an even closer match. The huge skylighted atrium is surrounded by promenades connected by bridges and escalators; individual galleries open off this space, placed exactly where the shops would be in a mall. Potted plants, lavish use of marble and brass, and, in the neon-lit basement concourse, fountains, shops, and fast-food counters make the resemblance even more striking.⁵⁰

Indeed, as one observer has suggested, the entire Capitol Mall has been malled. A hodgepodge of outdoor displays, a giant dinosaur, a working 1890s carousel, the gothic fantasy of Smithson's sandstone castle, and NASA rockets hint at the range of time and space explored in the surrounding museums. Here, old-fashioned methods of systematically ordering and identifying artifacts have given way to displays intended for immediate sensory impact. Giant collages include authentically historical objects like *The Spirit of St. Louis*, supported by simulated backgrounds and sounds that recall Lindbergh's famous flight. In the Air and Space Museum, airplanes, rockets, and space capsules are suspended inside a huge central court, slick graphics direct visitors to the omni-max theater, and gift shops offer smaller replicas of the artifacts on display.⁵¹ The barrage of images, the dazed crowds, are all too familiar; the museum could easily be mistaken for the WEM. The Museum of Science and Industry in Chicago presents a similar spectacle. Mannequins in glass cases reenact significant moments in the history of science; visitors line up to tour the full-size coal mine; families sample ice cream in the nostalgic ambience of Yesterday's Main Street, complete with cobblestones and gaslights. In the museum shops, posters and T-shirts serve as consumable surrogates for artifacts that stimulate the appetite but cannot themselves be purchased.

If commodities no longer dominate, this is because the salable product no longer carries the same importance, since history, technology, and art, as presented in the museums, have now become commodified. The principle of adjacent attraction is now operating at a societal level, imposing an exchange of attributes between the museum and the shopping mall, between commerce and culture. Even the Association of Museum Trustees, by meeting at Disney World to discuss new research-and-development strategies, acknowledges this new reality. The world of the shopping mall—respecting no boundaries, no longer limited even by the imperative of consumption⁵²—has become the world.

Notes

MARGARET CRAWFORD: The World in a Shopping Mall

I am grateful to those who read and commented on this manuscript during various stages of its development—Marco Cenzatti, Kevin McMahon, Diane Ghirardo, and Ed Soja—and to the excellent editing of Michael Sorkin and Sara Bershtel.

1. Gordon M. Henry, "Welcome to the Pleasure Dome," *Time*, Oct. 27, 1986, p. 60. Other descriptions of the WEM include William S. Kowinski, "Endless Summer at the World's Biggest Shopping Wonderland," *Smithsonian*, Dec. 1986, pp. 35-41; Ian Pearson, "Shop Till You Drop," *Saturday Night*, May 1986, pp. 48-56. A more scholarly approach is offered by R. Shields, "Social Spatialization and the Built Environment: The West Edmonton Mall," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 7, 1989, pp. 147-64.
2. Leonard Zehr, "Shopping and Show Biz Blend in Giant Center at Edmonton, Alberta," *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 7, 1985.
3. Mary Ann Galante, "Mixing Marts and Theme Parks," *Los Angeles Times*, June 14, 1989.
4. *Newsweek*, June 19, 1989, p. 36.
5. Margaret Crawford, "I've Seen the Future and It's Fake," *L.A. Architect*, Nov. 1988, pp. 6-7.
6. N. R. Kleinfeld, "Why Everyone Goes to the Mall," *New York Times*, Dec. 21, 1986.
7. Central-place theory, developed by geographer Walter Christaller and economist August Losch, provides a hierarchical structure of market

areas according to scale economies, transport costs, and number of household units. See Walter Christaller, *Central Places in Southern Germany* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966).

8. John Dawson and J. Dennis Lord, *Shopping Centre Development: Policies and Prospects* (Beckenham, Kent: Croom Helm, 1983), p. 123.
9. Peter Muller, *Contemporary Suburban America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1981), pp. 123-30.
10. "Why Shopping Centers Rode Out the Storm," *Forbes*, June 1, 1976, p. 35.
11. Interview with Linda Congleton (president of Linda Congleton and Associates: Market Research for Real Estate, Irvine, Calif.), who uses both of these systems in market analysis for mall development.
12. Kay Miller, "Southdale's Perpetual Spring," *Minneapolis Star and Tribune Sunday Magazine*, Sept. 28, 1986; Kleinfeld, "Why Everyone Goes."
13. William S. Kowinski, *The Malling of America* (New York: William Morrow, 1985), p. 218.
14. "Metropolitan Roundup," *New York Times*, Jan. 29, 1984.
15. William Leiss, *The Limits to Satisfaction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 4; Lewis Mandell et al., *Surveys of Consumers 1971-72* (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1973), pp. 253-62, 274-75.
16. Leiss, *Limits*, pp. 19, 61.
17. Ibid., p. 92.
18. Rachel Bowlby, *Just Looking* (New York: Methuen, 1985), pp. 1-30.
19. T. J. Jackson Lears, in *No Place of Grace* (New York: Pantheon, 1981) has provided a detailed exploration of the characteristic "weightlessness" of Victorian culture, closely linked to the penetration of market values into the educated middle class.
20. Joan Didion, "On the Mall," *The White Notebook* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), p. 183; Kowinski, *Malling*, pp. 339-42.
21. Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York: Vintage, 1976), pp. 144-45.
22. Muller, *Contemporary*, p. 92; Ryan Woodward, *Beverly Center* (New York: Leisure, 1985).
23. Galante, "Mixing Marts."
24. Ian Brown in the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, quoted in Kowinski, "Endless Summer," p. 41.
25. Michael Demarest, "He Digs Downtowns," *Time*, Aug. 24, 1981, p. 46.

26. Richard Cobb, "The Great Bourgeois Bargain," *New York Review of Books*, July 16, 1981, pp. 35-40.
27. Sennett, *Fall of Public Man*, p. 142.
28. Emile Zola, *Au Bonheur des Dames* (Paris, 1897); Rosalind Williams, *Dream Worlds* (Berkeley: California, 1982); Bowlby, *Just Looking*.
29. Cobb, "Bourgeois Bargain," p. 38; Meredith Clausen, "The Department Store—Development of the Type," *Journal of Architectural Education*, vol. 39, no. 1. (Fall, 1985), pp. 20-27.
30. Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward* (New York: Penguin, 1982; reprint of 1888 original); Bradford Peck, *The World a Department Store* (Boston, 1900).
31. Didion, "On the Mall," p. 34.
32. Meredith Clausen, "Northgate Regional Shopping Center—Paradigm from the Provinces," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 43, no. 2 (May 1984), p. 160.
33. Urban Land Institute, *Shopping Center Development Handbook* (Washington D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1977), pp. 29-31.
34. David Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1985), p. 128.
35. Clausen, "Northgate," p. 157.
36. Kowinski, *Malling*, p. 356.
37. "Shopping Centers," *Dollars and Sense*, July-Aug. 1978, p. 9.
38. Muller, *Suburban America*, p. 128.
39. Paolo Riani, "Metropolis Times Square," *L'Arca*, vol. 29 (July 1989), pp. 43-49.
40. E. B. Wallace, "Houston's Clusters and the Texas Urban Agenda," *Texas Architect*, Sept.-Oct. 1984, p. 4.
41. Graham Shane, "The Architecture of the Street" (unpublished manuscript), chapt. 5, p. 10.
42. Mark McCain, "After the Boom, Vacant Stores and Slow Sales," *New York Times*, June 5, 1988.
43. Richard Nordwind, "Cornering L.A.'s Markets," *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, June 28, 1987.
44. Linda Weber, "Protect Yourself from Shopping Mall Crime," *Good Housekeeping*, Mar. 1988, pp. 191-92.
45. Harvey, *Urbanization*, p. 68.
46. David Meyers, "Horton Plaza's Sales Booming," *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 4, 1987.
47. Michele Beher and Manuelle Salama, *New/Nouvelle Architecture* (Paris: Editions Regrex-France, 1988), p. 44.
48. Robert Brueggemann, Suburban Downtowns Tour, Society of Architectural Historians Annual Meeting, Chicago, April 1988.
49. Ivon Forest, "Les Impacts des Aménagements pour Piétons dans les

Centres Anciens des Villes en France" (M.A. thesis, Laval University, Quebec, 1982), pp. 47-57.

50. I am indebted to the unknown author of the manuscript "The Malling of the Mall" for many insights into the relationship between the museum and the mall. After coming across this manuscript a number of years ago, I have attempted, without success, to track down its author, to whom I would like to express my gratitude for not only stimulating my own thinking on the subject but also for providing useful concepts and examples.

51. "The Malling of the Mall."

52. Jean Baudrillard, in *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign* (St. Louis: Telos, 1981) and subsequent writings, argues that this separation from the economic base has, indeed, occurred.

LANGDON WINNER: Silicon Valley Mystery House

1. For accounts of the life of Sarah Winchester and her house see William R. Rambo, ed., *Lady of Mystery* (Santa Clara: Rosicrucian Press, 1967); Phyllis Zauner, *Those Spirited Women of the Early West* (Sonoma, Calif.: Zanel Publications, 1989); Laura Bergheim, *Weird, Wonderful America* (New York: Collier, 1988).
2. For a portrait of the valley as it once was, see Yvonne Jacobson, *Passing Farms, Enduring Values: California's Santa Clara Valley* (Los Altos, Calif.: William Kaufmann, 1984).
3. Norris writes, "Yes, the Railroad had prevailed. The ranches had been seized in the tentacles of the octopus; the iniquitous burden of extortionate freight rates had been imposed like a yoke of iron." But he concludes that despite the obvious signs of destruction, a greater good was served. "Untouched, unassailable, undefiled, that mighty world-force, that nourisher of nations, wrapped in Nirvanic calm, indifferent to the human swarm, gigantic, resistless, moved onward in its appointed grooves." Frank Norris, *The Octopus: A Story of California* (New York: Bantam, 1958), pp. 437-38.
4. Roger Miller and Marcel Cote, *Growing the Next Silicon Valley: A Guide for Successful Regional Planning* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1987). See also Peter Hall and Ann Markusen, eds., *Silicon Landscapes* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1985).
5. Frederick Emmon Terman, "The Electrical Engineering Research Situation in the American Universities," *Science*, vol. LXV, no. 1686 (April 22, 1927), p. 386.
6. Quoted in A. Bernstein et al., *Silicon Valley: Paradise or Paradox?* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Studies Center, 1977).

7. Everett M. Rogers and Judith K. Larsen, *Silicon Valley Fever: Growth of High-Technology Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), pp. 32-34.
8. For a portrait of Hewlett-Packard and its influence upon Silicon Valley see Michael S. Malone, "The Aristocrats," in *The Big Score: The Billion-Dollar Story of Silicon Valley* (New York: Doubleday, 1985), pp. 25-49.
9. James Treybig, quoted in *The Big Score*, p. 285.
10. Brief biographies with photographs of William Shockley, Robert Noyce, and other Silicon Valley luminaries are provided in Carolyn Caddes, *Portraits of Success: Impressions of Silicon Valley Pioneers* (Palo Alto: Tioga Publishing, 1986).
11. For an analysis of the role of military contractors in the development of Silicon Valley, see AnnaLee Saxenian, "Silicon Chips and Spatial Structure: The Industrial Basis of Urbanization in Santa Clara County, California," Institute of Urban and Regional Development, University of California, Berkeley, Working Paper 345, March 1981.
12. The world's first view of many of these devices in action came in the 1991 war in the Persian Gulf. While debates continue about actual effectiveness of weapons like the Patriot and Tomahawk missiles, the immediate public-relations result was to build public and Congressional support for funding of the next generation of electronic weapons. For an analysis of prospects for the high-tech battlefield, see Frank Barnaby, "How the Next War Will Be Fought," in Tom Forrester, ed., *Computers in the Human Context: Information Technology, Productivity, and People* (Cambridge: MIT, 1989), pp. 518-27.
13. This relative position of the United States in international microelectronics is discussed in Michael Borus, *Competing for Control: America's Stake in Microelectronics* (New York: Ballinger, 1988).
14. Descriptions of working conditions in Silicon Valley can be found in Lenny Siegel and John Markoff, *The High Cost of High Tech: The Dark Side of the Chip* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985) and Dennis Hayes, *Behind the Silicon Curtain: The Seductions of Work in a Lonely Era* (Boston: South End, 1989).
15. *The High Cost of High Tech*, p. 149.
16. Quoted in Robert Howard, *Brave New Workplace* (New York: Viking, 1985), p. 136.
17. For a discussion of social bifurcation in Silicon Valley and its consequences, see articles by AnnaLee Saxenian, "Urban Contradictions of Silicon Valley: Regional Growth and the Restructuring of the Semiconductor Industry," in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 7 (June 1983), pp. 237-61; and "Silicon Valley and Route 128: Regional Prototypes or Historic Exceptions?" in Manuel