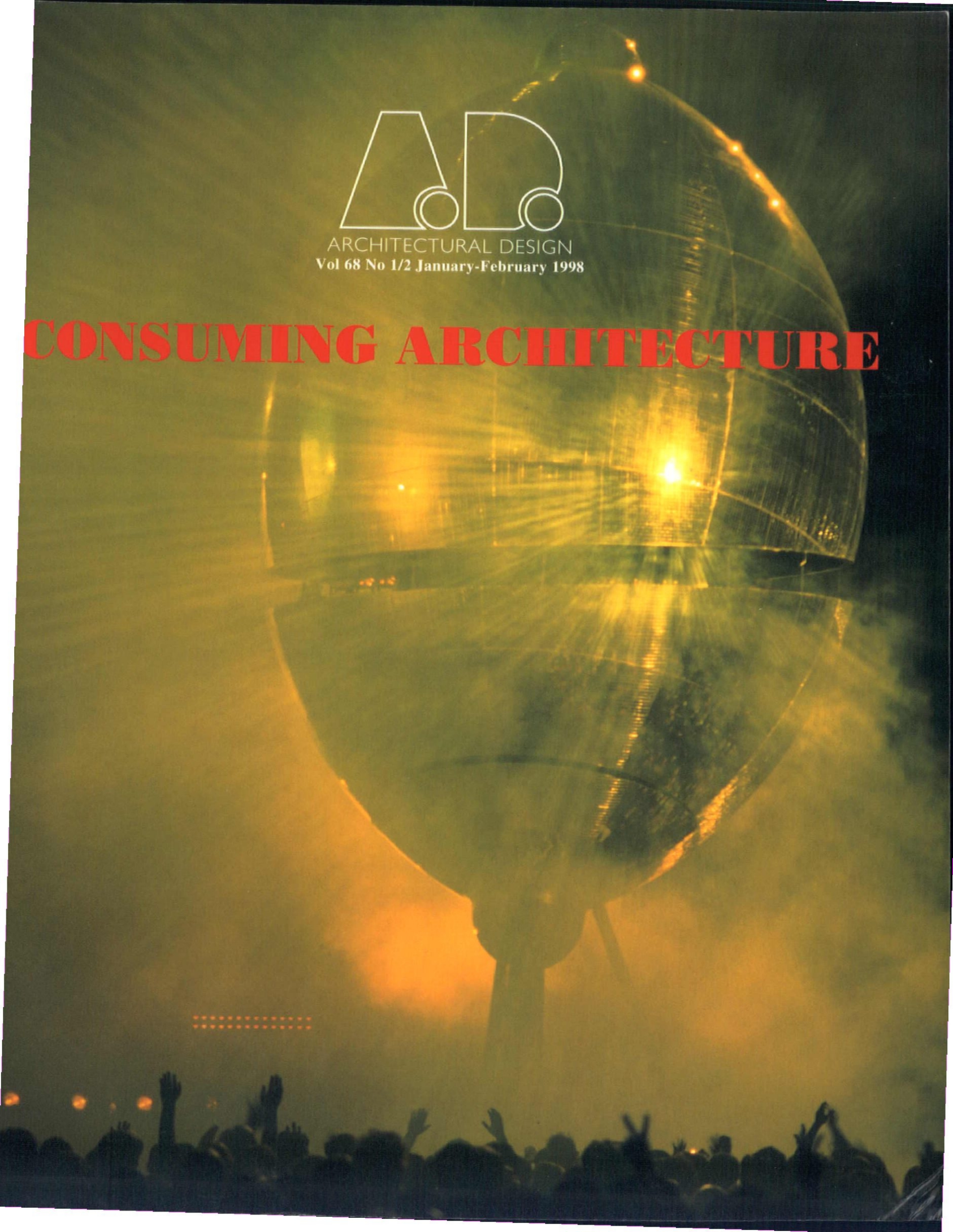

ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN
Vol 68 No 1/2 January-February 1998

CONSUMING ARCHITECTURE

PEI COBB FREED & PARTNERS
600 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

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ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN
Vol 68 No 1/2 January-February 1998

EDITORIAL OFFICES:
42 LEINSTER GARDENS, LONDON W2 3AN
TEL: + 44 171 262 5097 FAX: + 44 171 262 5093

EDITOR: Maggie Toy
PRODUCTION EDITOR: Ellie Duffy
ART EDITOR: Alex Young

CONSULTANTS: Catherine Cooke, Terry Farrell, Kenneth Frampton, Charles Jencks, Heinrich Klotz, Leon Krier, Robert Maxwell, Demetri Porphyrios, Kenneth Powell, Colin Rowe, Derek Walker

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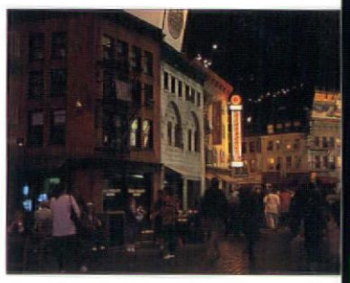
ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES 1998: UK £90.00, *student rate*: £65.00; ***Outside UK*** US$145.00, *student rate*: $105.00. Prices are for six issues and include postage and handling charges. Periodicals postage paid at Jamaica, NY 11431. Air freight and mailing in the USA by Publications Expediting Services Inc, 200 Meacham Ave, Elmont, NY 11003.

SINGLE ISSUES: UK £18.99; ***Outside UK*** $29.95. Order two or more titles and postage is free. For orders of one title please add £2.00/$5.00. To receive order by air please add £5.50/$10.00.

Printed in Italy. All prices are subject to change without notice.
[ISSN: 0003-8504]

CONTENTS

Mark Dziewurski Architects, Virgin Megastore, Sacramento



New York New York, Hotel and Casino, Las Vegas

TOWARDS COSMOPOLIS

UTOPIA AS CONSTRUCTION SITE

Leonie Sandercock

In the late 1990s the world of planning education and practice uneasily straddles an old planning paradigm, and one that is struggling to be born, in a way that is evocative of Matthew Arnold's great mid-19th-century image of wandering between two worlds, one lost, the other yet to be found. The old planning served modernist cities in a project that was, in part, dedicated to the eradication of difference. Metaphorically, this planning can be linked with the machine images of the great Fritz Lang film, *Metropolis*. The emerging planning is dedicated to a social project in which difference can flourish.

The metaphorical image of Cosmopolis is meant to suggest that diversity. To ensure planning's continued relevance into the next century as a significant social project, contributing to the creation of cosmopolis, it is important to give more flesh to these bones. I do this by developing three notions: the importance of an expanded language for planning (involving a re-linking with the design professions); of an epistemology of multiplicity; and of a transformative politics of difference. This extract can deal only with the first of these. My personal vision is for a profession embracing concerns for social and environmental justice, for human community, for cultural diversity and for the spirit. In post-war planning's rush to join the (positivist) social sciences, some of its capacity to address these concerns was lost because it turned its back on questions of values, of meaning, and of the arts (rather than science) of city-building. The language, and the mental and emotional universe of planning were thus constricted. We can expand this universe by talking about the city of memory, the city of desire and the city of spirit.

City of memory

Why do we visit graves? Why do we erect sculptures to dead leaders or war heroes or revolutionaries? Why do we save love letters for thirty or forty years or more? Why do we make photo albums, home movies, write diaries and journals? Why do we visit the sites of cave paintings at Lascaux, at Kakadu? Because memory, both individual and collective, is deeply important to us. It locates us as part of something bigger than our individual existences, perhaps makes us seem less insignificant, sometimes gives us at least partial answers to questions like, 'Who am I?' and 'Why am I like I am?'. Memory locates us, as part of a family history, as part of a tribe or community, as a part of city-building and nation-making. Loss of memory is, basically, loss of identity. People suffering from amnesia or Alzheimer's are adrift in a sea of confusion. To take away a person's memories is to steal a large part of their identity. The past dwells in us and gives us our sense of continuity, anchoring us even as we move on.

Cities are the repositories of memories, and they are one of memory's texts. We revisit the house(s) we grew up in, we show our new lover the park where, as a kid, we had our first kiss, or where students were killed by police in an anti-war demonstration . . . Our lives and struggles, and those of our ancestors, are written into places, houses, neighbourhoods, cities, investing them with meaning and significance.

Modernist planners became thieves of memory. Faustian in their eagerness to erase all traces of the past in the interest of forward momentum, of growth in the name of progress, their 'drive-by' windscreen surveys of neighbourhoods that they had already decided (on the basis of objective census and survey data, of course) to condemn to the bulldozer, have been, in their own way, as deadly as the more recent drive-by gang shootings in Los Angeles. Modernist planners, embracing the ideology of development as progress, have killed whole communities, by evicting them, demolishing their houses, and dispersing them to edge suburbs or leaving them homeless. They have killed communities and destroyed individual lives by not understanding the loss and grieving that go along with losing one's home and neighbourhood and friends and memories. Since nobody knows how to put a dollar value on memory, or on a sense of connection and belonging, it always gets left out of the model.

This is not an argument against change. (Decaying and growing, cities can't choose to stay the same. They have to choose all the time between alternative changes – blight or renewal, replacements or additions, extensions outwards or upwards, new congestions or new expenditures.) It is rather an argument for the importance of memory, for the need to pay attention to it, to understand that communities can and do go through grieving processes, to acknowledge these in some sort of ritual way. We need to remind ourselves of the importance of memory, and of ritual in dealing with loss. If we need to destroy, as part of our city-building, we also need to heal.

Recent work by planner-historians like Gail Dubrow, Dolores Hayden and John Kuo Wei Tchen, among others, indicates that there is a new multicultural sensibility at work in planning in the 1990s. Hayden's *The Power of Place* dwells on the ways in which public space can help to nurture a sense of cultural belonging and at the same time acknowledge and respect diversity.[1] She writes of the power of ordinary urban landscapes to nurture citizens' public memory, and notes that this power remains untapped for most working people's neighbourhoods in most American cities, and for most ethnic history and women's history. Urban landscapes are storehouses for individual and collective social memories. Both individuals and communities need to find ways to connect to the larger urban narrative. Some urban planners are now working with artists, anthropologists, landscape architects, archaeologists and communities to do just that in public history and public art, community mapping and urban landscape projects that seek a more socially and culturally inclusive approach to our urban memories.

City of desire

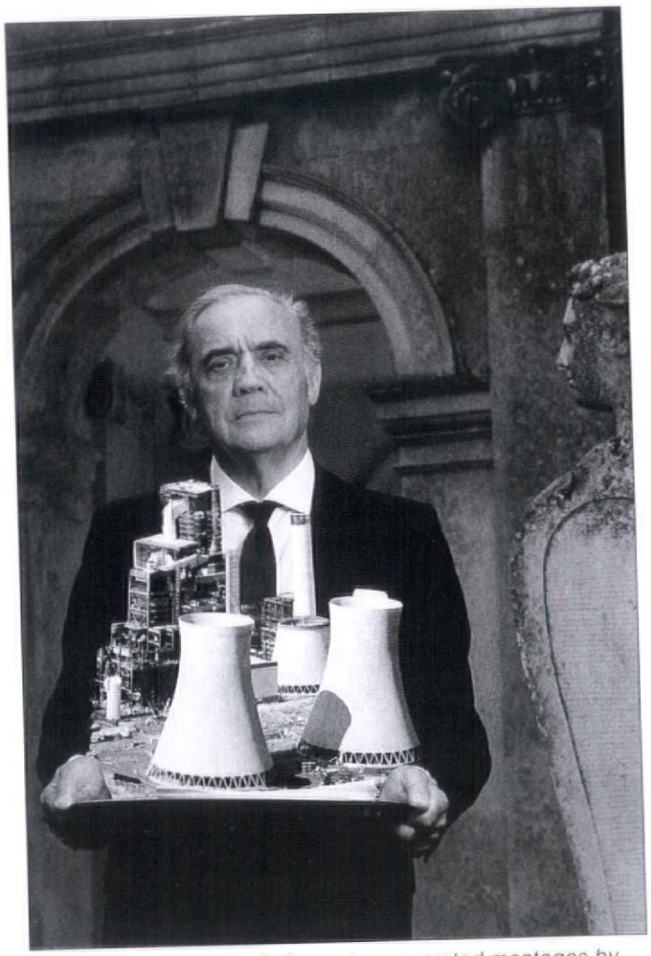
Why do we enjoy sitting alone in a coffee shop, or outdoor cafe, or on a park bench, apparently day-dreaming? If city dwelling is

in part about the importance of memory and belonging, it is also about the pleasures of anonymity and of not having to belong. These are closely related to desire, to sexual desires and fantasies. We sit on a bus, empty seat beside us, watching new passengers come on board, wondering whether anyone will sit next to us, and if so, who? This is the thrill and the fear of the chance encounter.[2] We sit on the beach or stroll through a park, watching others and being watched, and in that watching are hidden fantasies and desires, sometimes unacknowledged, other times a conscious searching. This is the eroticism of city life, in the broad sense of our attraction to others, the pleasure and excitement of being drawn out of one's secure routine to encounter the novel, the strange, the surprising. We may not want to partake. But we enjoy the parade. If city life is a coming together, a 'being together of strangers', as Iris Young suggests in *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, we need to create public spaces that encourage this parade, that acknowledge our need for spectacle – not the authorised spectacle of the annual parade or the weekly football game, but the spontaneous spectacle of strangers and chance encounters.[3] Yet the opposite is happening. Planners are systematically demolishing such spaces in the name of the flip side of desire – fear.

The city of desire – and its place in city planning – is one of the aspects of city life that has only just begun to (re)surface in writings about the city. (It was certainly there in Walter Benjamin's writings in the 20s and 30s.) There are many themes to be unravelled and stories yet to be told relating to desire and the city, to sexuality and space. Elizabeth Wilson's *The Sphinx in the City* argues that the anonymity of big cities has been liberating for women (at the same time as it increases our jeopardy from sexual assault);[4] and George Chauncey makes the same point with respect to gay men, in his history of gay New York, noting how many gays have moved from the oppressive, homophobic atmosphere of small towns to the anonymity of New York.[5]

In Barbara Hooper's account of the origins of modern planning in 19th-century Paris, 'The Poem of Male Desires', the role of desire on the one hand, and fear of it on the other, produces the desire to control desire, which Hooper argues has been a central organising theme of planning practice.[6] Hers is a story of 'bodies, cities, and social order, and more particularly of female bodies and their production as a threat to male/social order'.[7] Hooper investigates planning's texts and uncovers the theme of 'disorderly bodies'. 'Significantly, this list of disorderly bodies includes not only prostitutes, but lesbians, excessive masturbators, nymphomaniacs, and hysterics – also suffragettes, female socialists, feminists, independent wage-earners.'[8] She argues that planning developed in the late 19th century as a participant in new forms of social control directed at women.

In making the hitherto invisible visible – that is, the significance of desire, of eros, in urban life – we also make it discussable. In breaking the taboo, the silence, we move slowly



ABOVE AND OVERLEAF: Computer-generated montages by Peter Lysiottos

towards a richer understanding of urban life and of what has been left out of planners' models and histories. Billboards are an ongoing issue for planners, especially those advertising billboards that explicitly link sex/desire/the body with the sale of merchandise. As the ads get more explicit and provocative, there are pressures on city councils and planners to ban such displays. The pressures come from left and right, from feminists objecting to the objectification of the female body, to fundamentalist religions objecting to any public acknowledgement of eros. This conflict over billboards is, then, more than an aesthetic issue. It is about the (unresolved and unresolvable) 'problem' of desire in the city.

But there is much more to the city of desire than eros, as philosopher Iris Young has suggested:

> The city's eroticism also derives from the aesthetics of its material being: the bright and coloured lights, the grandeur of its buildings, the juxtaposition of architecture of different times, styles and purposes. City space offers delights and surprises. Walk around the corner, or over a few blocks, and you encounter a different spatial mood, a new play of sight and sound, and new interactive movement. The erotic meaning of the city arises from its social and spatial inexhaustibility. A place of many places, the city folds over on itself in so many layers and relationships that it is incomprehensible. One cannot 'take it in', one never feels as though there is nothing new and interesting to explore, no new and interesting people to meet.[9]

The city of desire is also an imagined city of excitement, opportunity, fortune. It is what brings millions of people from the countryside to the big city – Nordestinos to São Paolo, Turks to Frankfurt, Anatolians to Istanbul, Michoacans to San Diego, the Hmong to Chicago, the people of the Maghreb to Paris. It fuels dreams. By not understanding the power of such dreams, or by dismissing them as irrational, planners' own dreams of rational control of migration processes, of orderly human settlements, will remain just that – dreams. The daily stories of border-crossings from Mexico into the United States, crossings in which people all too often risk, and sometimes lose, their lives, illustrates the point. Such is the power of the city of desire, a power strikingly rendered in Gregory Nava's movie, *El Norte*, and John Sayles' *Lone Star*, both of which also show how easily the city of desire may become the inferno. One symptom of the narrowness of modernist planners' horizons is the fact that they find it very hard to focus on desires rather than needs. A need is supposedly an objectifiable entity, identified in 'needs surveys': 'I need a more frequent bus service'; 'I need more police patrols in my neighbourhood'. A desire, by contrast, involves the subconscious, a personal engagement, dreams and feelings, an ability to intuit the atmosphere and feeling of a place. How does the city of desire translate into planning? Perhaps by giving more attention to places of encounter, specifically those which are not commercialised – the street, the square – and which are not placed under the gaze of surveillance technologies. Perhaps also by recognising that some places of encounter must necessarily be appropriated, and not trying to regulate the uses of all public spaces.

City of spirit

What draws many of us to visit places like Machu Picchu, Stonehenge, the Dome of the Rock or the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, the Kaaba stone at Mecca, Chartres, or Uluru, in the apparently empty centre of Australia? Why do certain mountains, springs, trees, rocks, and other features of landscape assume symbolic and sacred values to certain peoples and cultures? Historically we have invested our surroundings, urban as well as non-urban, with sacred or spiritual values, and we have built shrines of one sort or another as an acknowledgement of the importance of the sacred, the spiritual, in human life. The completely profane world, the wholly desacralised cosmos, is a recent deviation in the history of the human spirit. Beginning perhaps in the 19th century we have created landscapes, cityscapes, devoid of the sacred, devoid of spirit. The tall chimneys that arose in the nineteenth-century factory landscape (Mumford's 'Coketown') and the skyscrapers of the late 20th-century city, perhaps symbolise the excessive dominance of the masculine yang force and its values. From East Germany and Russia to California or the Mississippi Delta, parts of the devastated countryside are left sterile and dead, a monument to the consequences of human rapacity unchecked by considerations of spirit. We are so deadened by our Western industrial landscapes that we now go in search of comfort to Aboriginal songlines or Native American sacred places.

The environmental message is clear. It is time to re-introduce into our thinking about cities and their regions the importance of the sacred, of spirit. In his superb book about black and white Australians' relationship to the Australian landscape, *Edge of the Sacred*, David Tacey calls for such a 'resacralisation' as a social and political necessity.[10] 'White Man Got No Dreaming' was the partial title of a book by anthropologist WEH Stanner.[11] The Aboriginal Dreaming and Western rationality stand to each other as thesis to antithesis. What the one affirms, the other denies. In Aboriginal cosmology, landscape is a living field of spirits and metaphysical forces.[12] Our English word landscape, as the poet Judith Wright has pointed out, is wholly inadequate to describe the 'earth-sky-water-tree-spirit-human continuum which is the existential ground of the Aboriginal Dreaming. Obviously white Australians cannot appropriate Aboriginal cosmology, tacking it on to their own overly-rational consciousness, and nor can alienated North Americans adopt the cosmology of Native Americans (although much of so-called new age spirituality, the world over, seems to be attempting something very much like that). But there are Western traditions of re-enchantment to which we might connect. The point is that perhaps our modernist/progressive longing for freedom from the non-rational is inherently flawed; out of date and out of touch with the real needs of our time.

How can cities/human settlements nurture our unrequited thirst for the spirit, for the sacred? In the European Middle Ages, it was in the building of cities around cathedrals. But that was long ago. In the more secular cities of today, at least in the West, life does not revolve around the cathedral, although in many communities the church, synagogue or mosque continues to play a vital role in social organisation. But if we look at cities as centres of spontaneous creativity and festival, then we get a different sense of the presence of spirit around us. Our deepest feelings about city and community are expressed on special occasions such as carnivals and festivals. Our highest levels of creativity are seen in art galleries or heard in symphony halls. But the nourishing of the spirit, or soul, also needs daily space and has everyday expressions: two women on a park bench 'gossiping'; a group of students in a coffee shop discussing plans for a protest; an old Chinese man practising his *tai chi* on the beach or in a park; amateur musicians busking in front of cafés and museums; an old woman tending her garden; kids skateboarding

among the asphalt landscaping of sterile bank plazas . . . Rational planners have been obsessed with controlling how and when and which people use public as well as private space. Meanwhile, ordinary people continue to find creative ways of appropriating spaces and creating places, in spite of planning, to fulfil their desires as well as their needs, to tend the spirit as well as take care of the rent.

There is another dimension to the city of spirit which has begun to actively engage some planners, in collaboration with artists and communities. That is the process of identifying what we might call sacred places in the urban landscape. The works of Hayden,[13] Dubrow,[14] and Kenney,[15] are suggestive. Kenney's work in mapping gay and lesbian activism in Los Angeles reveals the connections between place and collective identity which are at the heart of gay and lesbian experience of the city. Kenney evokes Stonewall – the scene of three days of rioting in Greenwich Village in 1969 in protest at police entrapment and harassment in a bar frequented by African American and Puerto Rican drag queens – as essentially a sacred site for the gay and lesbian movement. The labour movement, the women's movement, African Americans and Native Americans could each name such 'sacred urban places', and have begun to do so, and to commemorate such sites.

What the above discussion suggests is the need for a diversity of spaces and places in the city: places loaded with visual stimulation, but also places of quiet contemplation, uncontaminated by commerce, where the deafening noise of the city can be kept out so that we can listen to the 'noise of stars' or the wind or water, and the voice(s) within ourselves. An essential ingredient of planning beyond the modernist paradigm – planning for cosmopolis – is a reinstatement of inquiry about and recognition of the importance of memory, desire, and the spirit (or the sacred) as vital dimensions of healthy human settlements and a sensitivity to cultural differences in the expressions of each.

Adapted from Towards Cosmopolis: Planning for Multicultural Cities, *by Leonie Sandercock, John Wiley & Sons (Chichester), January 1998*

Notes

1 Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place. Urban Landscape as Public History*, MIT Press (Cambridge, Mass), 1995.
2 Dora Epstein, 'Afraid/NOT: Psychoanalytic Directions for Planning Historiography', in Leonie Sandercock (ed), *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural History of Planning*, University of California Press (Berkeley), 1998.
3 Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, Princeton University Press (Princeton, NJ), 1990.
4 Elizabeth Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder and Women*, University of California Press (Berkeley), 1991.
5 George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World 1890-1940*, Basic Books (New York), 1994, p135.
6 Barbara Hooper, 'The Poem of male desires: female bodies, modernity, and "Paris: Capital of the Nineteenth Century"', *Planning Theory* 13, 1995.
7 Ibid, p105.
8 Ibid, p120.
9 Iris Marion Young, op cit, p240.
10 David Tacey, *Edge of the Sacred*, Harper Collins (Melbourne), 1995.
11 WEH Stanner, *White Man Got No Dreaming: Essays, 1938-1973*, ANU Press (Canberra), 1979.
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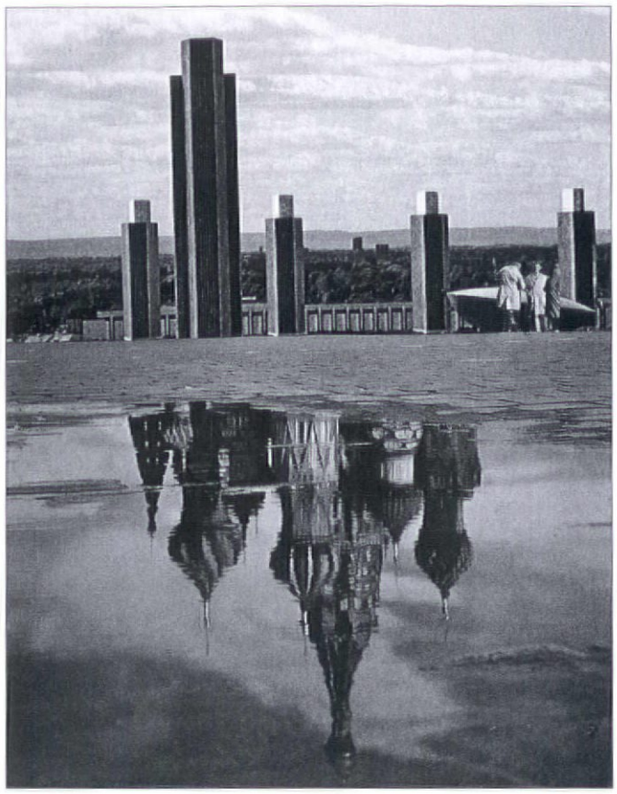
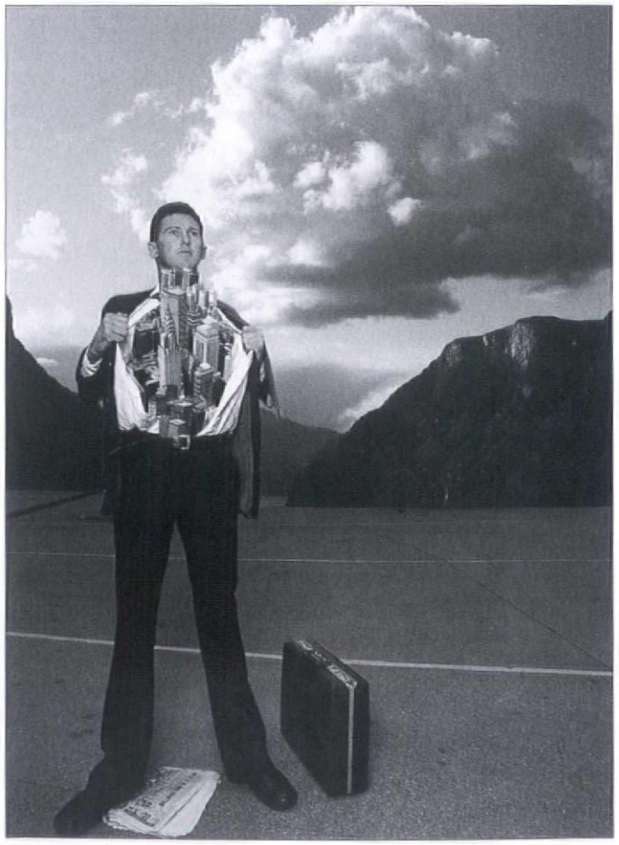
13 Dolores Hayden, op cit.
14 Gail Dubrow, 'Redefining the Place of Historic Preservation in Planning Education', *Planning Theory* 13, 1995, pp89-104.
15 Moira Kenney, 'Remember, Stonewall was a Riot: Understanding Gay and Lesbian Experience in the City', *Planning Theory* 13, 1995, pp73-88.






Virgin
MARIAH CAREY
DAYDREAM
lenny kravitz

MARK DZIEWURSKI ARCHITECTS

VIRGIN MEGASTORE

Sacramento, California

Virgin Records, the British-based retailer and record company, has begun to break into the American market with stores in existing buildings in Los Angeles and San Francisco. Being a relatively new company in America, Virgin was looking for a strong and identifiable architectural image with which to project its market identity – particularly in the light of Sacramento being the first home of Tower Records, the chief competitor which takes its name from the city's historical Art Deco theatre.

The programme called for 22,000 square feet of space on two levels adjacent to a well-established retail and entertainment centre. The design had to provide solutions to a variety of complicated requirements in the context of severe site constraints; the very tight and relatively narrow lot, for example, did not offer an appropriate frontage. This was resolved by extending the second floor over and above the adjacent existing buildings, doubling the perceived length of the facade.

The overall composition is essentially made up of two forms. The front portion facing the main street is a steel and glass wedge, expressing lightness and movement. The principal body of the building behind is more solid and firmly rooted, anchoring the composition to the ground.

The two forms are connected via a sinuous curving steel wall that appears like a flexible and folding 'bridge', almost as though it could accommodate movement of the lighter form.

A dialogue is created between the two elements, similar to that between the stability and solidity of an airport terminal, fixed as it were to the ground, and the mobility and lightness of an aeroplane; connected to one another by flexible coupling or a gangway. The sleek, steel shell structures of aircraft, which are light and fragile but strong and rigid in performance, were a source of inspiration. Their structural form, if viewed anthropomorphically, is more akin to the externally carried structure of the insect family than the internal frame system of mammals, which is a more typical analogy for building structures.

It is this external expression of structure and shell that gives language and articulation to the form. The massing of the north side of the building is more solid but still carries the sculptural movement of the front facade

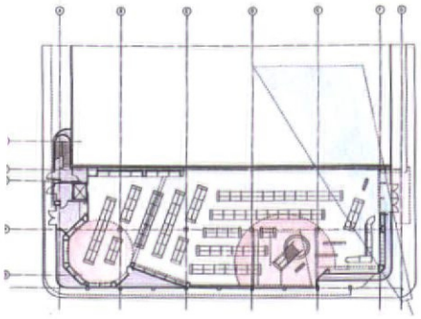
while expressing the stair tower and second-floor cantilever in a three-dimensional abstract composition.

Not only does the sculptured three-dimensional form of the building provide an efficient engineering solution to the complex structural problems involved but it gives Virgin Records a distinct presence and identifiable image. The composition appears much larger as a result of the sweeping curve of the structure and the dynamic vertical truss. The detailing and reflective metal surfaces do not allow the familiar frame of reference and scale with which to judge the size of the building.

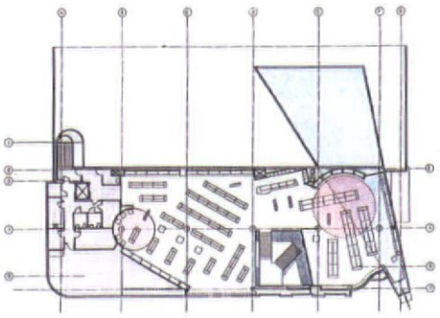
From the outset, the signage was incorporated into the design process for the facade – while giving Virgin prominent identification, the graphics are an integral part of the massing and form and meant to enhance and embellish the composition. The relationship between the signage and the building form afforded another opportunity to reinforce the association of brand name with the building itself.

Special attention was given to the second entrance facade at the rear of the building which accommodates half the available parking. Making this a dynamic entry point encourages use of the parking spaces and improves overall traffic circulation in the centre.

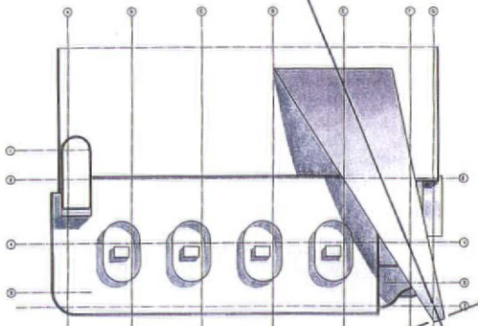
The new megastore has become an icon for the retailer and a draw for the public, thereby increasing business for the entire shopping centre.



Ground floor plan



First floor plan



Roof plan

Highlights from Academy

BEHNISCH & PARTNERS

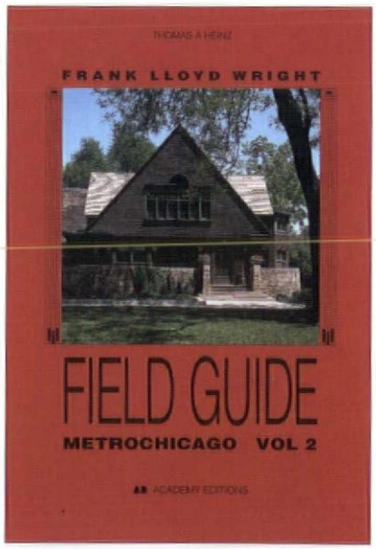
50 YEARS OF ARCHITECTURE

Dominique Gauzin Müller

The work of German architect Günter Behnisch has been admired in his native land for nearly 30 years – ever since he designed the acclaimed tented structure for the 1967 Olympic Games in Munich. However, it is only recently that he has become something of an international star and perhaps the most celebrated German architect since the pioneers of an earlier generation, Hans Scharoun and Frei Otto.

This book celebrates a half-century of designs in architecture by Behnisch. It is a definitive study of his work and that of his practice, Behnisch & Partners. The buildings, which are frequently the result of architectural competition entries, include schools, old people's homes, kindergartens, offices and other public sector installations. In this monograph his most important buildings, including the famous Hysolar building in Stuttgart and the Museum of Post and Communications in Frankfurt-am-Main, are featured with colour images and previously unpublished photographs, providing an invaluable resource and record of his work.

PB 0-471-97746-2, 290 x 260 mm, 312 pages. Illustrated throughout, mainly in colour. £39.95: September 1997



FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT: FIELD GUIDE

VOLUME II: METRO CHICAGO

Thomas A Heinz

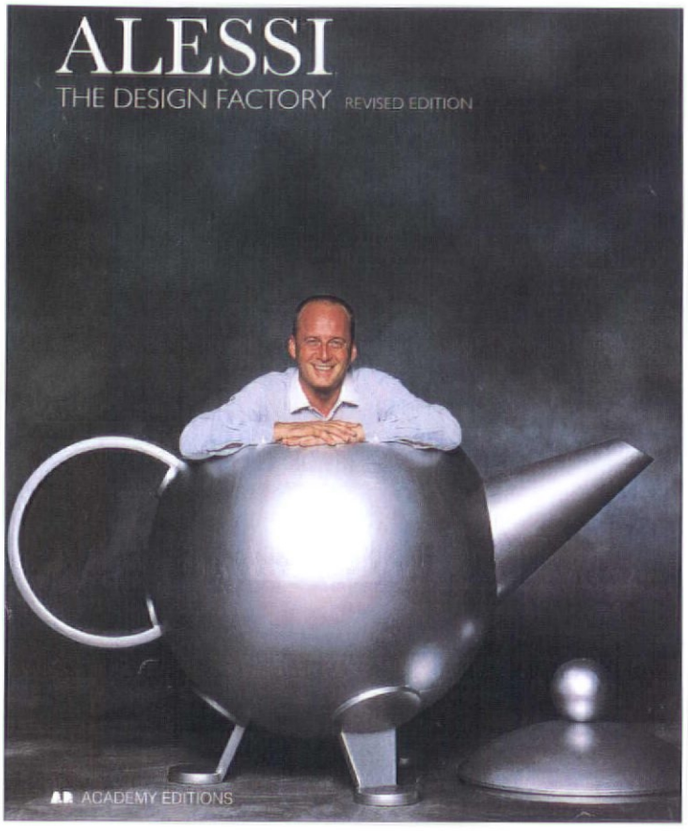
Frank Lloyd Wright's buildings, of which nearly 400 still stand, were designed to be lived in and experienced in person. This unique series of field guides provides details of all of his buildings plus sites of unexecuted projects, demolished buildings and other locations associated with Wright so that they may be enjoyed at first-hand. Many previously unpublished photographs are used to illustrate the 200 or so buildings featured in each volume, alongside a lively and informative commentary on the architectural features, history and client of each location. Comprehensive maps showing every site, along with directions, accessibility and suggested local and regional tours, make this series an invaluable reference to anyone keen to learn the truth behind the many myths and stories that surround Wright and his buildings.

The first volume in the series focused on buildings in the Upper Great Lakes region (Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota). Volume II features sites in and around Chicago – the largest concentration of Wright buildings outside California – including his house and studio at Oak Park and the Unity Temple among many others.

Thomas Heinz is an architect and writer based in Chicago. He is the former editor of the Frank Lloyd Wright newsletter, an acknowledged expert on Frank Lloyd Wright and a keen observer and photographer of architecture.

PB 0-471-97692-X, 200 x 135 mm, 176 pages. Illustrated throughout, mainly in colour. £14.99: December 1997

Highlights from Academy



ALESSI: THE DESIGN FACTORY

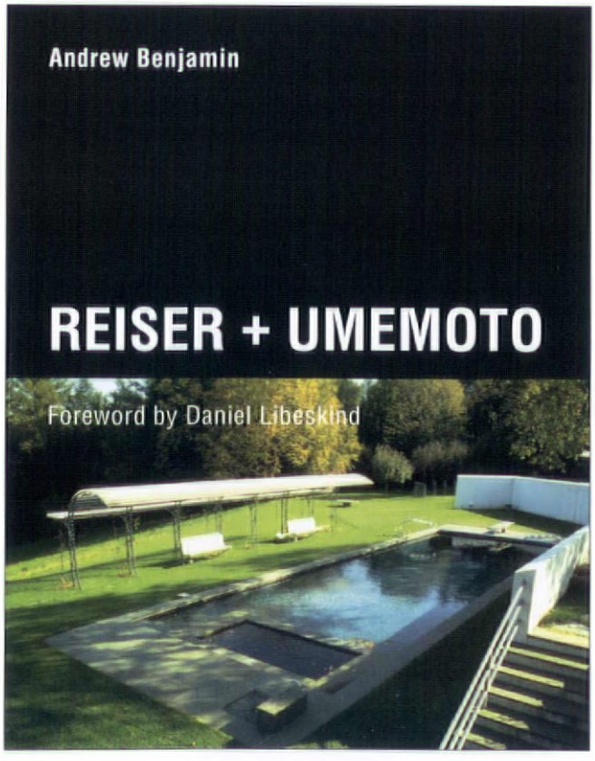
ART & DESIGN MONOGRAPH (REVISED EDITION)

Alberto Alessi

During the 1980s the Alessi company emerged at the forefront of design activity. Founded in 1921 to produce crafted products in metal for eating and drinking, Alberto Alessi launched the company into the design decade through his unique collaboration with designers and architects such as Sottsass, Sapper, Castiglioni and Mendini and the creation of two main trade marks: 'Alessi', geared towards mass production and 'Officina Alessi' towards more experimental limited editions. In this beautifully illustrated monograph Alberto Alessi discusses the company's design ethos, presenting it as a research laboratory in the Applied Arts, along with essays by Nonie Nieswand, Daniel Weil and Michael Graves. All the famous products are fully illustrated and this new edition features new product designs developed over the four years since the original best-selling edition was published.

Alberto Alessi is head of the Alessi design company in Northern Italy.

PB 0-471-97857-4, 305 x 252 mm, 152 pages. Illustrated throughout, mainly in colour. £22.50: January 1998



REISER + UMEMOTO

Andrew Benjamin and Daniel Libeskind

New York-based architects Jesse Reiser and Nanako Umemoto have been attracting international praise in recent months. In the words of Andrew Benjamin, their work 'is inspiring . . . characterised by an inventive constellation of amazing objects which raise questions about the chaotic disorder of institutionalised arrangements'. This monograph focuses on the architecture of Reiser and Umemoto which responds to the latest freedom in geometry brought about by the extensive use of the computer within architectural design. The authors are significant supporters of this innovative work and provide intricate descriptions of their theories and design.

Andrew Benjamin is Professor of Philosophy at Warwick University and a successful author who has published many titles with Academy Editions. Daniel Libeskind is a practising architect with a high international profile, having recently won the competition to design a new gallery at the V&A Museum, London.

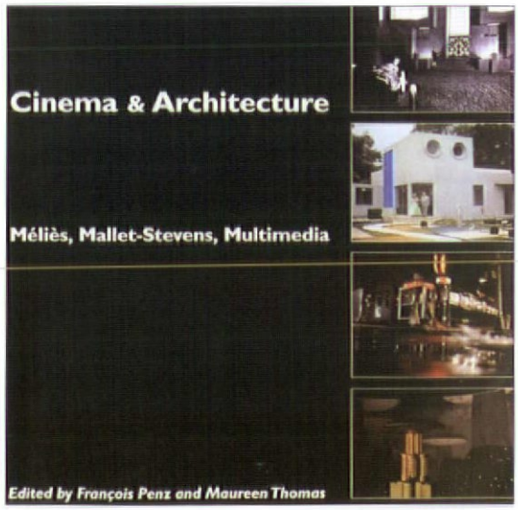
PB 0-471-97864-7, 279 x 217 mm, 96 pages. Illustrated throughout, mainly in colour. £18.99: February 1998

Chora I Works: Jacques Derrida and Peter Eisenman, *edited by Jeffrey Kipnis and Thomas Leeser, The Monacelli Press (New York), 1997, 212pp, b/w ills, PB $40.00*

'How they wrote certain of their books'

PE: So why isn't *chora* the word? Before God and nature . . .
JD: The word? Because it's not a word. It's pre- . . . It's only before in the sense of allowing. It's before before.

The first substantive word in the Greek text that meets the reader's eye on opening this book is αρχη, *arché* – starting-point, beginning, principle. To begin again at the beginning, from first principles. This determination led Plato at a certain point in the *Timaeus* towards an inescapable conclusion – that the emergence of Becoming out of Being, or the reflection of Being in Becoming, required a third condition, neither purely intelligible nor merely sensible, which he eventually terms χωρα, *chora*, loosely translated as 'place'. In trying to expand on this realisation, Plato's attempts to grasp what proves to be ungraspable are distantly echoed in the strategies of the main protagonists here, although their instincts shrink from such a direct confrontation with the problem of origin.



To begin at the beginning, the material assembled here records a collaboration between Peter Eisenman and Jacques Derrida. The absent interlocutor behind the proceedings is Bernard Tschumi, who in 1985 invited Eisenman and Derrida to work together on a project for one of the 'gardens' along the 'promenade cinematique' at La Villette, Paris. What has been collected centres around transcripts of meetings between the principal participants, together with private correspondence. Eisenman contributes a brief account, dating from 1989, of his concerns in making the project.

Most of the remaining material has already been published elsewhere. Derrida's key essay on his reading of *chora* in the *Timaeus* – published in 1987 in a *festschrift* dedicated to Jean-Pierre Vernant – appears here in an English translation (in need of careful editing), as well as in French. Derrida's 1987 commentary on the collaboration, first published in an English translation in *Threshold* and *A+U* in 1988, is included in both English and French. Also added (though here in a less satisfactory translation with key passages omitted) is the correspondence between Derrida and Eisenman originally published in *Assemblage* in 1990, and Kipnis' penetrating overview of the whole episode which appeared in *Assemblage* the following year.

So this collection has been long awaited, and rumours have abounded concerning its progress. After such a delay, sheer curiosity would justify a further overview of the entire story. Tschumi, with admirable restraint, supplies a single page introduction, during which he quotes the view of the client that the aim of the participants was not to produce a garden but a book. And so they have. Derrida, at the end of his commentary, does not forget to refer to Hugo's remark: 'the book will kill the building'. So concerned are the producers of this book to avoid a narrative unfolding that, apart from the transcripts, the material is distributed without regard to chronology. The contents are folded in on themselves, so that the beginning (the table of contents and the introduction) appears in the middle.

Nonetheless, this is an enormously valuable collection. To follow any creative collaboration over the lifetime of a project is a fascinating exercise in its own right, let alone one during which the character of its chief protagonists emerges over such a sustained period, and through which the limits of different disciplines are so directly addressed. Eisenman questions the limits of architecture as a humanistic inheritance; Derrida says that what he writes is not within philosophy. Both are revealed as having subtly distinct approaches. Derrida is attracted by the pursuit of the elusive, Eisenman intrigued with eluding the possibility of pursuit. Eisenman equates his interest in the 'trace' with Derrida's meditation on *chora*. Eisenman's concern with trace appears connected with its elusive aspect – that which continually frustrates detection. Derrida's preoccupation with *chora* seems to hinge on its resistance to any conceptualisation – that it lies 'behind' representation itself.

Before the collaboration, Eisenman had become interested in devices to elude the tracing of accountable authorship, specific origin, or definitive interpretation, developed in the 1985 *Moving Arrows* text under the term 'scaling'. The transcripts reveal that such devices, always already present, eventually dominate the proceedings and determine the drawn explorations of the project. Strangely, nowhere during the preliminary meetings do the participants other than Derrida appear to show curiosity as to the problematic nature of *chora*, introduced by Derrida as a condition unable to be entertained as a direct object of thought, which consequently disappears beneath the surface of their conversation. Only upon being asked to 'draw' something in response to his reading of the *Timaeus* does Derrida, engaging

in a 'misreading' of his own, produce a figure from which he can derive concepts ('filter', 'grid') and suggest objects ('sieve', 'lyre'). Even then, this figure, introduced specifically in order to frustrate a finite deciphering of the other materials subjected to scaling, is itself transformed graphically by the project designers. Even its role as title or signature: *Choral* (another misreading – the musical connotation derives from a different Greek word, χῶρα) has its final 'L' separated in homage to Eisenman's earlier 'El'- shaped elements, so that it now reads, like the signature of an American public figure, *Chora L Works*. Such textual battles have persisted throughout the life of the collaboration; the published correspondence reveals the private tension.

Chora has so far proved resistant to all concepts, all illustrations, brought to bear upon its supposed nature. Metaphors of 'generation', 'nourishment', 'containment', 'impression'; *chora* as womb, receptacle, gold, clay. All were employed by Plato. Eisenman briefly thought in terms of sand and water. Derrida suggested glass. During early discussions, such a translation was hinted at and materials that fostered the illusion of impermanence and uncertainty were considered. But these remained fleeting dreams, and dissolved before the persistence of other metaphors – inscription, excavation, erasure – which returned the illustration of the project to the devices of scaling.

This is not to say that, in Eisenman's terms, the reverberation of 'iconic' and 'indexical' materials 'at displaced and condensed scales, as if there were infinite reflections in an imperfect mirror' would not offer another possible analogue of the undecidable *chora*. It is rather that the raw material to be subjected to these procedures remains firmly within the authorship of Tschumi, Eisenman and Corbusier, and what is more carries with it inescapable echoes of the sites each had operated upon – the figure and ground, earth and water, of Venice and Paris. In the face of this 'iconic' and 'indexical' onslaught, the elusive possibility of *chora* instantly effaces itself, as does darkness before light, before the onset of ingrained metaphors, the dumb resurgence of materiality, and the recurring reference to historical 'place'. It is ironic that such aspects of architecture's humanistic legacy have been implicitly rejected by Eisenman since *The End of the Classical*.

This is a discourse written upon holes – holes which literally penetrate the bound book. The first of these holes, as one opens the cover, obscures the one word, the first metaphor, in the extract from Plato's text which hints at what he was trying to convey (the word – the Greekless reader would never guess it – is 'nurse', the metaphor that of 'nurturing', 'support'). The project has become a discourse upon holes. The holes of the virtual foundations of Corbusier's hospital grid laid over the Cannaregio abattoirs. Holes punched through the fabric of Covent Garden by Tschumi in homage to James Joyce. Holes Eisenman superimposed upon Corb's holes; holes out of which climb, like stunned Martians, differently scaled versions of Eisenman's 'El' houses. Holes with which Tschumi pierced the space of La Villette, a spacing of points, absences around which programmes cluster. Holes Eisenman introduces, scaled up from Venice, arriving to occupy Tschumi's positions. Holes, scaled down within the space of a garden, through which we, humans, like giants, wander and wonder.

Dick Bunt

Cinema & Architecture: Méliès, Mallet-Stevens, Multimedia, *edited by François Penz and Maureen Thomas, British Film Institute (London), 1997, 212pp, b/w ills, PB £14.99*

Cinema & Architecture is a transcription of the symposium on film and architecture held at Cambridge University in April 1995. The symposium, which consisted of film screenings and the presentation of the papers now published in this book, was organised jointly by the Department of Architecture at Cambridge and the National Film and Television School – a collaboration clearly apparent in the multi-disciplinary approach of the book.

Despite the fact that the book relies for illustration on black and white stills from the films discussed – which, at best, can serve only as an aid to memory – *Cinema & Architecture* contains an immensely valuable collection of ideas and references (including an extensive 'Filmography') and will, no doubt, become a standard text for the generation currently in architectural education.

The scope of this study is vast – it presents a multi-faceted view of the subject, investigating film and architecture from diverse angles in a series of views ranging from the 'macro' to the panoramic. The papers overlap and interrelate throughout, but are cleverly structured into five distinct chapters which progress, more-or-less chronologically, from historical analyses in the academic tradition (such as Andres Janser's classification of films on building, architecture and urbanism from the mid-1920s onwards, in which he analyses the different approaches of the CIAM and the Deutsche Werkbund to filming architecture), through the approach of literary criticism applied to film (such as Patricia Kruth's comparison of depictions of New York in the films of Woody Allen and Martin Scorcese), to methodology and discussions of the application of new digital tools in the design and production of both architecture and film ('Computer-Aided Art Direction' by Paul Richens, or 'Production Design as Process' by Diana Charnley) – by the time the book reaches the 'process' stage, the film-makers have definitely taken centre-stage.

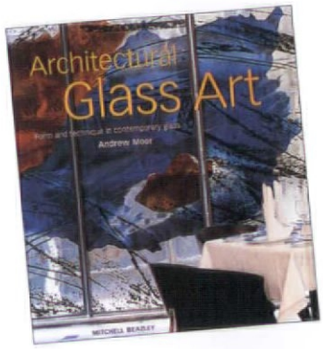
Despite this overall progression towards discussions of process, the book's presentation of such a collection of diverse approaches to the subject of cinema and architecture allows for the juxtaposition of ideas, and therefore for a variety of readings and conclusions. One such reading is something of a cautionary tale for architects: in 1928, Sigfried Giedion, commenting on the houses at Pessac by Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, said 'only film can make the new architecture intelligible'. However, film, by introducing the 'human factor', was equally capable of presenting this same 'new architecture' as utterly unintelligible, as displayed in the series of films made between 1949 and 1973 by the French mime-artist and film-maker, Jaques Tati. In these films Tati himself played the slapstick character, Monsieur Hulot, who manages single-handedly to make a mockery of the new architecture simply by attempting to exist in it.

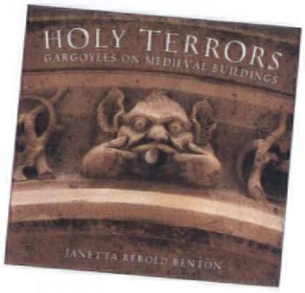
In the same way that film can depict people appropriating space in the manner envisaged by its architect (such as *Die Frankfürter Küche*, Dr Paul Wolff, 1927, or *Wir wohnen wir gesund und wirtschaftlich/How to Live in a Healthy and Economical Way*, 1928, Ernest Jahn), it can depict people confounded by the realisation of the architect's vision (*Playtime*, Jaques Tati, 1964), or the brutalising effect of architecture (*Meantime*, Mike Leigh, 1983 – not mentioned in the book's filmography).

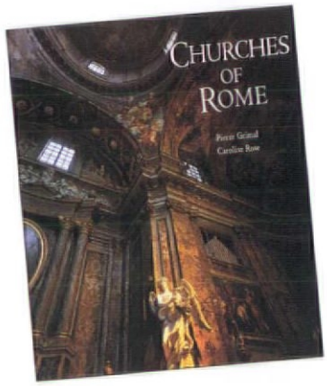
The subject of cinema and architecture is not limited to a concern with an appropriation of the tools of the film-maker in order to depict evermore fantastic visions of architecture. It is also concerned with gaining an understanding, through the observational eye of the film-maker, of the ways in which people actually exist in space, or of how narrative is structured by space, or of the depth and range of symbolism that is applied to architecture and space by people as they inhabit it. It is concerned with an understanding of architecture as a backdrop and a set of props.

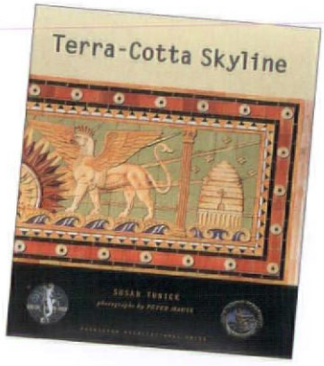
Ellie Duffy

Reviews Books









Architectural Glass Art: Form and Technique in Contemporary Glass, *by Andrew Moor, Mitchell Beazley (London) 1997, colour ills, HB £30.00*

For many of us the discovery of contemporary architectural glass art is a revelation, as few opportunities exist in everyday life to come into contact with it. Confined to none of the limits of traditional stained glass, it can be sculptural, abstract, highly colourful, textured and bold. One of the only spaces in London that the full impact of this medium can be experienced is in the V&A's new Glass Gallery (1984). Here, Danny Lane's staircase and balustrade have banisters made up of stacked pieces of glistening, green glass and the individual glass steps and balustrade floor test the visitor's faith in the strength of the material.

This book fully acknowledges the difficulties that glass artists, architects and the public have in encountering site-specific works. It sets out its main purpose as being 'to bring about a wider cross-fertilization of ideas, with images that will inspire other artists'. This, of course, puts a high priority on the visual content of the book, and the choice, extent and quality of the illustrations featured are certainly inspirational.

The book's structure is also conducive to readers who are primarily interested in the images. Though a continuous text is organised into separate chapters focusing on particular styles, long captions accompany the illustrations enabling the book to be read picture by picture. A further opportunity for browsing is offered up by the discrete sections dealing with individual glass artists – namely, Danny Lane, José Fernández Castrillo, Stephen Knapp, Ed Carpenter, David Wilson, Brian Clarke, Graham Jones, Narcissus Quagliata and Jamie Carpenter.

The inclusion at the back of the book of a glossary, bibliography, an international list of places to visit and useful addresses is further evidence of the fact that the writer and publisher were determined to fulfil the original remit that they had set themselves.

Despite an initial chapter on glass techniques, architectural glass art is approached very much as an 'art' emphasising movements, individual artists and their influences. There is very little attempt to step back and look at the way that pieces may be employed in different architectural contexts. Glass art's role as public art or as prestige commissions paid for with corporate finance or by industry remains unexamined. This is a book that incites excitement in the art form, leaving a more critical examination of architectural or cultural practices aside.

Helen Castle

Holy Terrors: Gargoyles on Medieval Buildings, *by Janetta Rebold Benton, Abbeville Press (New York), 1997, 140pp, colour ills, HB £19.95*

The subject of gargoyles is of enduring appeal. One wonders why so much artistic attention was lavished on these decorative waterspouts. Benton analyses the purpose of these decorative waterspouts and examines aspects of their construction and meaning in the context of medieval life and art. An informative introduction to the subject is followed by three chapters devoted to human, animal and grotesque gargoyles, accompanied by much photographic documentation. A list of the most interesting gargoyle sites to visiting is also provided at the end of the book.

Churches of Rome, *by Pierre Grimal, with photographs by Caroline Rose, Tauris Parke Books (London), 1997, 180pp, colour ills, HB £35.00*

Using Roman churches as his springboard, Grimal charts the history of Christianity, from the earliest foundation of the Holy Roman Empire, through the division of Eastern and Western Churches, the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, up to the present day position of Rome as the centre of the Catholic world. Over 100 large-format colour photographs complement the text.

Terra-Cotta Skyline, *by Susan Tunick, with photographs by Peter Mauss, Princeton Architectural Press (Princeton, New Jersey), 1997, 160pp, b/w and colour ills, HB £30.00*

'It's like a secret city existing on an ethereal plane', wrote Anatole Broyard in a 1981 article in the *New York Times*, referring to the rich imagery of New York's tall buildings. Tunick's study seeks to draw attention to the widespread use of terra cotta (literally, 'burnt earth') which enlivens much of our architecture. Although this clay legacy has been largely ignored it is experiencing a renewed interest, partly as a result of the focus on preservation and the reintroduction of ornament, colour and pattern into contemporary architecture (Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates is making use of the medium in the Medical Research Laboratories at UCLA in Los Angeles and the Seattle Art Museum). In her quest to uncover the hidden treasures of the New York skyline – aptly referred to as the 'clay jungle' – the author explores the history of terra cotta and the working methods of those who designed with the material, using over 75 colour images to convey the variety of detail.

Reviews Books

Splendours of an Islamic World: Mamluk Art in Cairo, 1250-1517, *by Henri and Anne Stierlin, Tauris Parke Books (London), 1997, 222pp, colour ills, HB £45.00*

This study aims to bring to life the glory of Mamluk art and architecture, which in the 13th and 14th centuries underwent an astonishing development. Under the Mamluk sultans (descendants of slaves captured by the Ottomans) Cairo became the centre of a powerful empire and gave birth to a new style, which is celebrated by just over 200 of the 700 monuments or so that still stand today. Many of these were recorded by artists such as David Roberts (whose *Egypt and Nubia* was published in 1849).

This glossy publication looks at the historical and religious traditions of the magnificently decorated mosques and *madrasas*, and captures the intricate stonework, mosaics and ornamentation of the period with a substantial number of colour illustrations. A chronological table of political and cultural events and maps are included at the end of the book but unfortunately not an index.

ABC of Architecture, *by James F O'Gorman, with drawings by Dennis E McGrath, University of Pennsylvania Press (Philadelphia), 1997, 144pp, b/w ills, HB $26.50, PB $14.95*

This slender volume offers a brief, uncomplicated introduction to architecture that will provide the reader with a preliminary understanding of the subject. The 'A', 'B' and 'C' of O'Gorman's analysis relate to *Utilitas, Firmitas* and *Venustas* (function, structure and beauty), considered by Vitruvius to be the essential components of architecture. The book concludes with a chapter on 'Learning the Lingo' and a basic glossary of terms.

Design and Analysis, *by Bernard Leupen, Christoph Grafe, Nicola Körnig, Marc Lampe, Peter de Zeeuw, 010 Publishers (Rotterdam), 1997, 224pp, b/w ills, PB £23.00*

This useful handbook explores the diversity of ideas on design, introducing the analytical drawing as a way to obtain insight into the process of design. Each chapter focuses on one aspect of the design field – order and composition, functionality, structure, typology, context and analytical techniques. A resourceful selection of examples is taken from the field of architecture, urban design and landscape architecture, and over 100 line drawings used to furnish the reader with a better understanding of space design.

Inside Architecture: Interiors by Architects, *by Susan Zevon, with photographs by Judith Watts, Mitchell Beazley (Philadelphia), 1997, 192pp, b/w and colour ills, HB £25.00*

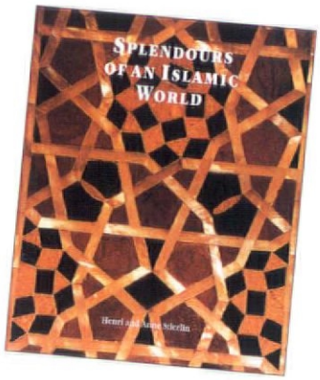
This compilation of 22 projects features a selection of urban and rural interiors and includes the work of Venturi/Scott-Brown, Michael Graves, Charles Gwathmey, Stanley Tigerman, Buzz Yudell and Debora Reiser. Each project is accompanied by a concise description and detailed perspectives which constitute the bulk of the volume.

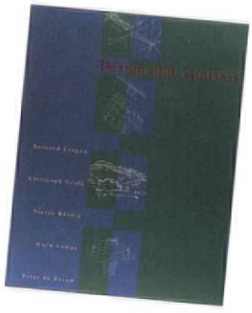
Andrée Putman, *by Sophie Tasma-Anargyros, Laurence King (London), 1997, 192pp, colour ills, PB £24.95*

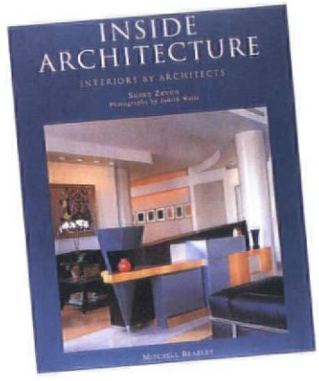
This volume is an extended and updated version of the author's 1993 monograph. The conversion of Morgans Hotel, New York, in 1984, was in many ways the catalyst for the Paris-based interior designer, ensuring a steady flow of commissions. This large-format edition illustrates 16 of Putman's latest projects, including her work for the cinema (Peter Greenaway's *The Pillow Book*), hotels, offices, museums and galleries, restaurants, shops, apartments, and a varied selection of objects. Elements of Putman's approach and design ethos are outlined in the introduction, including her interest in 'the gap between discipline and madness'.

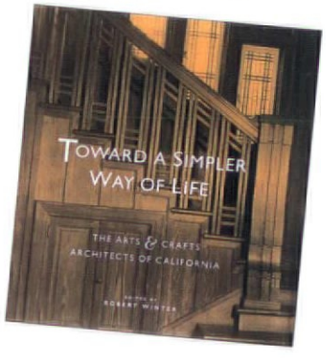
Towards a Simpler Way of Life: The Arts & Crafts Architects of California, *edited by Robert Winter, Norfleet Press/University of California Press (Berkeley), 1997, 310pp, b/w ills, HB £35.00*

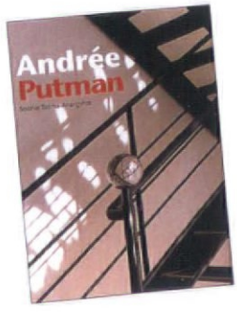
This volume brings together a collection of 28 essays by different authors. The first of two sections (entitled 'The First Generation' and 'The Second Generation'), contains the meat of the book. Among the many architects featured here are Bernard Maybeck, Ernest Coxhead, Charles and Henry Greene, Julia Morgan, Irving Gill. The book also celebrates the work of lesser known architects such as Francis Underhill, Hazel Wood Waterman, and amateur-architects Arthur and Alfred Heineman. The influence of the Arts and Crafts aesthetic is assessed in the second section which features the work of William W Wurster, Charles Warren Callister, Joseph Esherick, Harwell H Harris, Cliff May and Calvin Straub – architects who were acquainted with the modernist movement led by Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe.











ART Lab

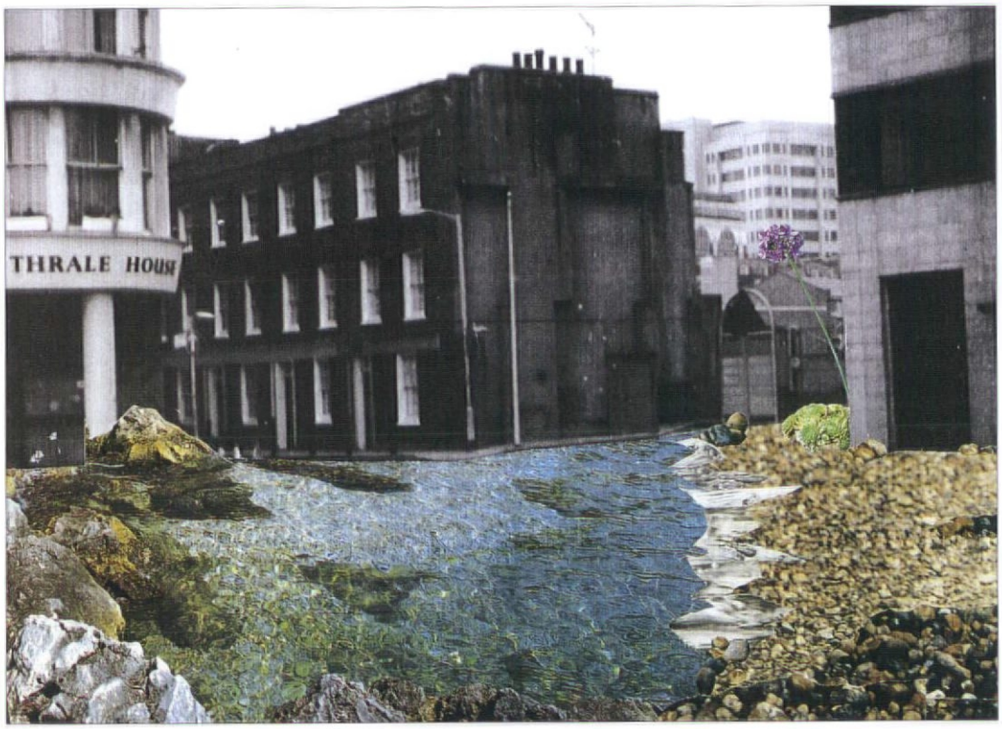
IMPERIAL COLLEGE

London

Imperial College may at first seem an unlikely place for an art gallery, despite being at the heart of museumland, but the new exhibition space turns out to be an appropriate venue for this series of exhibitions: ARTLab evolves from the collaborative efforts of artists, architects and scientists.

The first exhibition, which was held in November 1997 and entitled 'The Matrix of Amnesia', featured new sculpture and video work by the artist John Isaacs, incorporating a working laboratory. This was followed by an exhibition presenting films made at Imperial College and large photographic pieces produced with the department of Bio-Chemistry – involving recent graduates of Goldsmiths College.

'Inside' (which opens on the 26 January and runs until 10 February) features the work of Helen Sear and Carol Robertson. Sear's photographic work incorporates material from the archives and collections in the Department of Geology, while Robertson's abstract paintings have been created in response to the structure and organisation of the Imperial College campus.



MUF Architects, pilot project for Southwark St, London; montage by Katherine Clarke

The fourth and final show in the series has been produced with artists Sarah Staton and Christina Mackie, and the architectural practice MUF (Modern Urban Fabric) – who redesigned the gallery space last October. This exhibition (27 February-10 March) examines the plausibility and outcome of 'collaborative' projects between Art, Architecture and Science.

For the last two years MUF has been involved with a pilot project for Southwark Street in London which sets out to improve the urban environment of the area by expanding the south-facing pavement 'as if the foreshore of the river had been turned inland, to make the south side of the Thames the sunny side of the street'. Entitled 'Shared Ground', the scheme evolves from consultation with the local residents and children (who were invited to shadow the project) and is expected to be completed this spring.

On a purely architectural note, it is not long before the Imperial campus is graced with the presence of Sir Norman Foster & Partners' new Biomedical Sciences (BMS) building. This will be completed later on this year – hot on the tail of John McAslan & Partners' Central Libraries extension.

These newcomers to this part of Albertopolis will hopefully exceed the life of the original Institute by Thomas Calcutt, which was completed in 1893 and demolished in the early 1960s, despite the protestations of John Betjeman among others. The tower, however, was saved and remains a focal point of the campus. The French landscape designer Alain Provost proposes regenerating the space around it with a scheme that unites the themes of landscape and science – incorporating, for example, a series of symbolic fountains.

With so much building activity in this area (MacCormac Jamieson Prichard's Wellcome Wing is under construction by the Science Museum) we should perhaps spare a thought for Prince Albert, who masterminded this educational and cultural district, and in particular, the vision of his original plan – if executed, this would open up a vista from the Albert Memorial to the Natural History Museum.

Iona Spens

For further information on ARTLab contact Jeanine Tulkens, Exhibitions Curator Tel: 0171 594 8442 Fax: 0171 594 8432

Architectural Design

CONSUMING ARCHITECTURE

OPPOSITE: JON JERDE INTERNATIONAL, FREMONT STREET EXPERIENCE, LAS VEGAS;
ABOVE: NEW YORK NEW YORK, LAS VEGAS, CASINO AND HOTEL COMPLEX

ACADEMY EDITIONS • LONDON

Acknowledgements

We would like to express our gratitude to all the contributors and especially to Sarah Chaplin and Eric Holding for guest-editing this issue of *Architectural Design*.

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Front and Back Cover: Mark Fisher, U2 PopMart tour stageset, 'lemon'
Inside Covers: Richard MacRae, music project, Berlin

EDITOR: Maggie Toy
PRODUCTION EDITOR: Ellie Duffy; ART EDITOR: Alex Young
DESIGN: Mario and Andrea Bettella/Artmedia; EDITORIAL: Nicola Kearton

First published in Great Britain in 1998 by *Architectural Design*
42 LEINSTER GARDENS, LONDON W2 3AN

A division of John Wiley & Sons
Baffins Lane, Chichester, West Sussex PO19 1UD

ISBN: 0-471-97859-0

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Architectural Design Profile 131 is published as part of
Architectural Design Vol 68 1-2 /1998

Architectural Design Magazine is published six times a year and is available by subscription

Printed and bound in Italy

Contents

ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN PROFILE No 131
CONSUMING ARCHITECTURE
Guest-edited by Sarah Chaplin and Eric Holding

Photo Martin Parr

Vending Machine, Barcelona

SARAH CHAPLIN AND ERIC HOLDING

CONSUMING ARCHITECTURE

We have gathered together in this issue of *Architectural Design* a range of different articles and projects which focuses on the nature of consumption with respect to architectural practice. Consumerism is a dominant force in the shaping of our environment, and is therefore an important factor in the production of architecture. It is regarded as the practical ideology of capitalism, a set of social, cultural and economic practices based upon the notion of commodity exchange. In considering the ways in which architecture is consumed, a range of perspectives opens up, encompassing appraisals of recent retail and entertainment architecture, speculative projects which probe and rethink architectural approaches towards the practices of consumption, and theoretical essays which offer interpretations of our engagement with its spaces and processes.

We are not concerned to mount a campaign which suggests an uncritical embracing of consumerism as the way forward for architecture: consumption is not all good, as many commentators have pointed out. Being politically wedded to capitalism, it has been critiqued by authors in search of an alternative system for the functioning of society in the modern world. However, with the recent fall of Communism in the Soviet Bloc, and the earlier failure of the revolutionary events in Paris in May 1968, it is difficult to imagine a radically different system or ideology in place in our lifetimes. There are those thinkers, such as Baudrillard, who yearn for some pre-consumer-led society, where symbolic exchange was the dominant cultural force, where use-value held sway over exchange-value. This innocence is not one we can recover, and is in any case an arguably rose-tinted way of underestimating the extent of medieval commodification.

Looking forwards, the imperative to consume is also damaging our environment with refuse and pollutants and depleting ever more scarce resources. However, whilst we recognise these crucial issues confronting consumption, there is not the space here to do them justice. Ethical imperatives to do with ecology and sustainability are in any event high on the consumer's list of priorities today, and are subtly shaping the market with these concerns. The image of the irresponsible consumer whose wanton desires entail a proliferation of useless consumer durables, and who sets the standard for obsolescence, is outdated. However, there is often little attention paid to the ways in which the consumer can be helped to fulfil their new, more informed priorities: ironically, in a world driven by consumer choice, consumers often lack the opportunity to choose more responsibly.

The architect's own agenda regarding the changing environment, has long been informed by a sense of social purpose, characterised typically as being at odds with commodification, despite the fact that modernity produced both impulses. The 'proper' calling to architecture is taken to be working towards some utopian ideal to do with achieving a harmonious existence in quality, well-designed surroundings for everyone. Any hint of consumerism would taint this idyll, detracting from its main underlying purpose: to free society from the structures of desire. This unwritten contract of modernity contains within it the seeds of its own failure: it privileges progress, yet progress needs a motivating force, and in the 20th century consumption has been its most effective impetus.

In this issue, we present work which examines some of these factors, concentrating on the convergence of retail and entertainment architecture, and attempting to set this within a broader social and cultural context. Many of the articles are concerned with the role that architecture as an object of consumption has to play in the formation of identities and subjectivities, with its impact on lifestyle choices, which are themselves consumed. Increasingly, it is the image of architecture that is consumed, often vicariously through its mediated presence: on TV, at the cinema, in magazines, and this publication is no exception. Such mediated forms of consumption raise consumer expectations of the architecture itself, heightening desire for its pristine, empty, sculptural qualities by means of seductive imagery, so that built reality can easily seem disappointing. As a response to this tendency, architects all too often seek to create buildings which will photograph well from a certain angle in certain light conditions, and will restrict the use of any images other than these few official signature shots. Unseen rear or minor elevations are deliberately never captured, as architecture enters the culture of the 30-second soundbite. It can be assumed, therefore, that consuming architecture impacts on the attention different parts of a design receive relative to each other.

Within theories of consumerism, there is always the spectre of the anti-consumer, who by means of renunciation, appropriation, customisation, and wilful manipulation alters the consumed object to suit their own purposes. In terms of architecture, this subversive role is usually attributed to the likes of graffiti artists, rollerbladers, and arsonists. Through their direct action they consume, in the sense of use up completely, and it could be argued that any time somebody adapts or augments the built environment, they are in fact participating actively in a process of consuming architecture. Some architects have been known to encourage this kind of activity, such as Hundertwasser in Vienna, whilst others, such as Mies van der Rohe, have been forceful in their attempts to dissuade users of their buildings from altering the arrangement of the blinds, say, to suit their own ends.

As is often the case with recognisable subcultures, their own 'brand' of consumption is later re-absorbed back into the process, with advertisements for new products aimed at this unruly sector of society appropriating the same subcultural elements back into a manufactured and marketed 'youth' style. It is rare to see this kind of consumer feedback loop operating in architectural terms, perhaps because architecture is a slow ponderous process which cannot react so quickly to pressures. Only at the most commercial end of the architectural 'spectrum' does an awareness of these reactions get built into the product: shop

interiors and amusement arcades, and most notably, the anti-mall in California.

This brings us to the fact that within the architectural profession there is always a distinction drawn between commercial 'firms' and the more design-orientated 'practices', which needs to be mentioned here in the context of an examination of consuming architecture.[1] An invisible hierarchy of value and merit exists within the profession which categorises and castigates those who build for profit, leaving more 'committed' architects the moral victors. This has created a situation in which what gets the most attention and the highest accolades in the architectural press is not the vast majority of highly effective projects built, but those considered aesthetically or theoretically worthy. These are the projects heralded as 'Architecture', and by implication the rest of the products of the construction industry are consigned to some un-noteworthy category. Competition for attention in the few pages that matter has distorted the practice of architecture, and measures the achievements of the profession against a very narrowly defined yardstick.

Ask an architect to conjure up an image of a person consuming architecture, and the figure of the *flâneur* will probably come to mind. This Baudelarian gentleman who strolled through the 19th-century city, appreciating the sights and sounds of urban life, carries powerful connotations for architects, who often assume the manner of this archetype themselves when visiting a new city. There are some who believe that this limited, leisured notion of consuming space keeps architects from participating more fully in the imaginative process of designing for everyday life: the problem being that architects only ever experience space, whereas people live in it. This is to differentiate between self-conscious aestheticisation and the more ordinary pragmatic concerns of life.

Nowadays, the public's idea of an Experience might relate to a managed touristic artifice consisting of sound and light designed to inform and excite the visitor at a historic site. Consumption permeates all aspects of the Experience, from the greeting at the door to the visit to the shop-cafe on the way out. It is a merchandised, mechanically choreographed affair, with an exactly timed duration. Its architecture is as much to do with time as with space, with the design of human as well as spatial standards of hospitality. A visit to the Fremont Street Experience or the White Cliffs Experience is a carefully researched, marketed, and monitored product, with its own promotional literature.

If all this has been happening in the name of entertainment and retailing, why have architects in the main been slow on the uptake? Why has there been so much literature generated in the 1980s on consumption, theorising almost every aspect of everyday life, from healthcare to gay lifestyle magazines, but so little of it focused on architecture?

One reason is undoubtedly to do with taste. Many of the projects built for consumers, for the sake of retail or entertainment, are deemed by the influential, elite end of the profession to be populist and therefore outside the normal boundaries of good taste set by professional designers. The perpetuation of this narrow taste cartography (identified as 'high brow' by Pierre Bourdieu)[2] prevents many capable architects from pursuing practice in the broadest professional sense. By allowing their aesthetic preferences to exert control over what they accept by way of a commission, they run the risk of missing much of what commercial architectural opportunities have to offer. They allow peer acceptance to come higher on a list of what is important than public approval. Venturi, Izenour and Scott-Brown drew attention to this common tendency amongst architects when they published *Learning from Las Vegas* in 1972, in which they urged for 'a positive, non-chip on the shoulder view' to architecture.[3] This is one of the few books brave enough to transgress taste boundaries or call them into question. In it they stated: 'Architects are out of the habit of looking non-judgementally at the environment, because orthodox Modern architecture is progressive, if not revolutionary, utopian and purist; it is dissatisfied with existing conditions.'[4]

This sense of dissatisfaction is given as the main justification for regarding the processes of environmental Disneyfication, MacDonaldisation, Heritagisation as anathema to 'good design': such effects do not and will not lead to social emancipation, and are critiqued for their scripting of behaviour and their suppression of individual expression. Theme parks and shopping malls in particular are often seen by architects and theorists as places of extreme social control, despite their obvious popular appeal, yet the very places in cities which supposedly serve an unscripted civic function, are frequently feared and deserted. There is however no difference between the representational quality of a designed environment themed so as to be reminiscent of another place and time, and the modernist urban designer's representations of the Greek 'polis' or the Italian 'piazza': all are fantasies. However, with spaces of 'pure' consumption there is a payoff: dependable conditions of safety and predictability, guaranteed pleasure, simple bought gratification. The primary revolutionary argument against such participation in spaces of this type is that they reproduce us as docile bodies, without will to power, and with only limited consumer choices to exercise by right: which film to see, which part to visit next, which souvenir to buy. However, leisure theory has shown that without spaces which cater so attentively for our need to relax and be entertained, we would suffer from more anxiety, and society would be more dysfunctional as a result.

In most formerly industrial cities where there are large-scale redevelopment opportunities, the vast majority of sites is being let for service-related uses, for the expanding leisure industry which Adorno and others so deplored. Contrary to modernist arguments about authenticity, these places are where the authentic experiences of modern life now occur, places where people meet, make friends, and deal with their sense of alienation generated by the kind of sensory urban overload which Georg Simmel noted in his 1906 essay, *The Metropolis and Mental Life*. Increasingly, it is the spaces of consumption that the city is being constructed of, and it is therefore important for architects to reconsider their position where consuming architecture is concerned, to take account of the wide array of possibilities and insights it has to offer.

We have brought together a few such insights here: Mark Gottdiener's piece provides a useful review of ideas on consumption and space. Joe Kerr's piece on the work of D^2, and *Jump Cuts* by Diller and Scofidio deal with articulating consumer desire, making it a conscious part of the process of consuming architecture, while the articles on OMA's Luxor Theatre, Alsop and Störmer's ICA, and Richard MacRae's speculations about the way the nightclubs of Berlin are consumed each give a different take on what it means to re-configure exclusive spatial typologies to take account of the consumer's restructuring of social space. Likewise, the contributions of Jon Jerde, Mark Fisher and the piece on Bluewater reveal how scripted environments are

produced to guarantee specific pleasure-orientated experiences for the masses as well as serving to generate a consumable brand identity for the design consultants concerned.

Norman Klein problematises the way in which such practices operate, and asks us to remember the role of memory in the creation of the built environment: memories are what consumers of experiences have to show for it, and if these are impoverished or worse still erased, consuming architecture loses its enduring qualities. Appropriation in the act of consuming architecture features in articles by Simon Ofield and Rosamund Diamond: Ofield traces the emergence of the glass brick into modern social space as a gay icon which has its roots in pre-war public toilets and early modernist architecture. Diamond shows how the desire to consume museums manifests itself in the presence of camcorders, where architectural artefacts on show are appropriated for later acts of vicarious consumption, when viewed again at home. The vicariousness of the consumer's experience of architecture is also the theme of Paul Davies' article, which looks at the New York New York casino in Las Vegas and the *Cheers* bar at the Hollywood Entertainment Museum as examples of architecture consumed via Hollywood. Our own piece on Japanese theme parks alludes to similar practices of virtual tourism, consuming careful reconstructions of foreign architecture on home territory. The mediated consumption of place is also represented by Stephan Doesinger's piece on *Simcity* and *Urban Feedback* by Sophie Greenfield and Giles Rollestone: both present projects in which the city has stimulated desire for a richly structured, dynamic representation, a simulated environment with its own layout and stimuli, which is then in itself offered as a virtual architecture for consumption.

The function of architecture in the formation of a new language of identity forms the basis of articles by Davina Chaplin and Anne Boddington: the former looks at the way in which the purchase of a second home contains many stages, both passive and active, of consuming architecture, a process which causes purchasers to re-evaluate their lifestyles and their identity. The latter considers the environmental by-products of consumption, the waste or 'slack' spaces which surround towns and cities. These contribute to the changing identity of places and non-places, a fact which Andrew Durham's piece on *Edge Cultures* also seeks to explore.

Martin Pawley's approach is somewhat different: his conception of 'terminal architecture' is grounded in the notion that architects' consumption of too much art history is preventing them from engaging with the real demands of today's society, and that as a result architecture faces its own moment of obsolescence. Lastly, Rob Shields chooses to regard architecture as a good like any other, a nuanced object worthy of our attention, with a key role to play in aiding our understanding of the changing circumstances that we face as consumers.

What might have been left out along the way, due to lack of space to do justice to this large, underrepresented subject, is the way in which architecture is consumed by the architectural community: the superstar system which we have seen grow in stature, fuels the cult of the individual, and recent graduates applying for jobs at the offices of these heroes of the profession are in fact engaged in a form of architectural consumption. The way in which the architectural publishing industry purveys architecture is also a key factor, tempting us to consume architecture not only as image, but then to consume the advertisements for new construction products, which we then go on to specify, thereby taking the act of consumption through to its logical conclusion. In private meetings, images of architecture are routinely bought and sold to clients, who consume architecture every time architects make presentations, hand over design reports and brochures. Even the fickle theory market is part of the whole equation of consuming architecture from within the profession: reputations rise and fall on architects' abilities to say the right thing, and this thirst for theory, according to Japanese cultural theorist Asada Akira, is one more example of intellectual endeavour being converted into intellectual property to be sold as a consumer durable.

These are all unavoidable truths about the way architectural practice operates. What we are hoping to achieve here is to promote a deeper awareness of the ways in which architecture is consumed, enabling readers in perusing these pages to experience their own desires consciously as consumers of architecture.

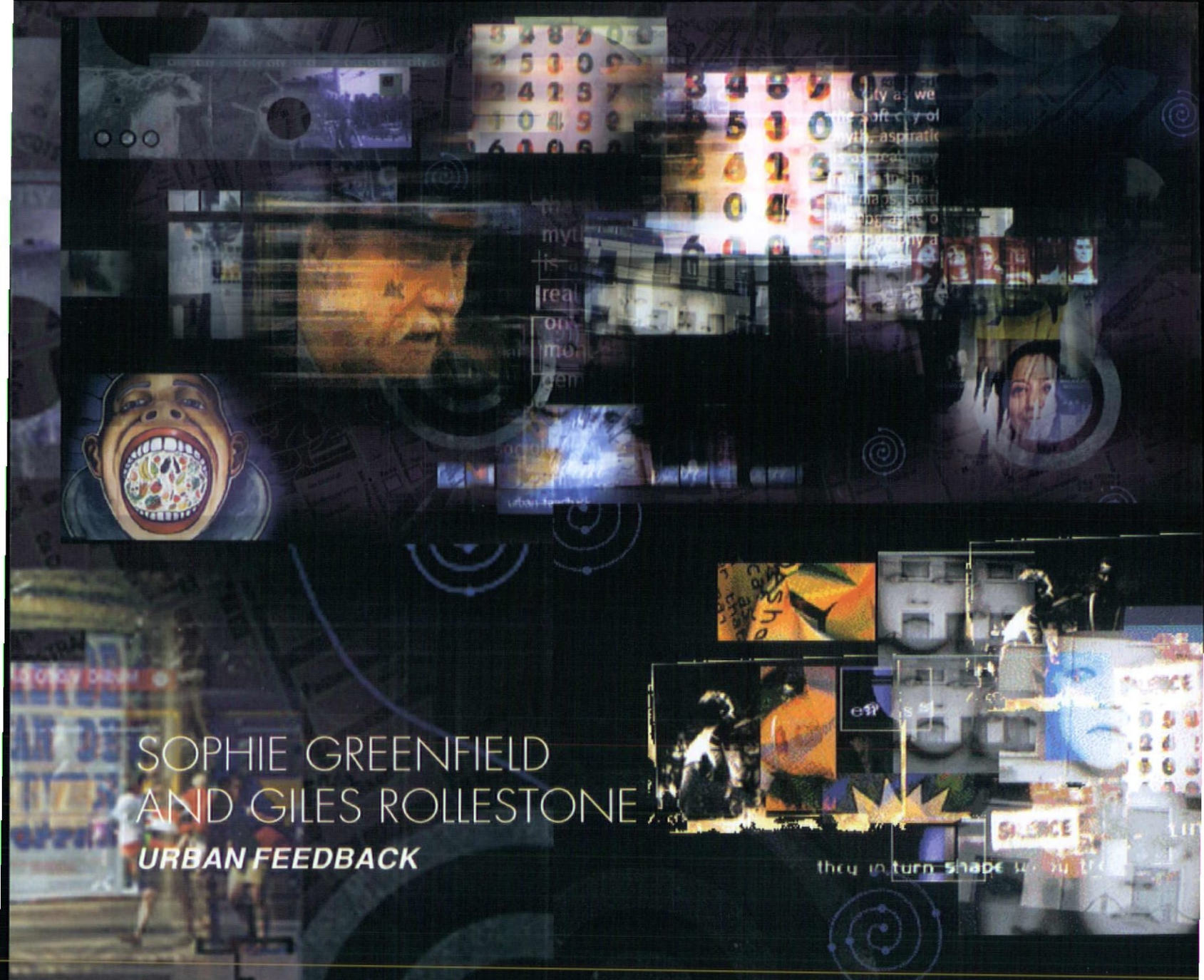
Notes

1 Magali Sarfatti Larson discusses this in, *Behind the Postmodern Facade*, University of California Press (Berkeley), 1993.

2 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Routledge (London), 1994.

3 Robert Venturi, Steve Izenour and Denise Scott-Brown, *Learning from Las Vegas*, MIT Press (Cambridge, Mass), 1972, p3.

4 Ibid, p3.



SOPHIE GREENFIELD AND GILES ROLLESTONE

URBAN FEEDBACK

The city as we imagine, the soft city of illusion, myth, aspiration, nightmare is as real maybe worse than the real city we can locate on maps, statistics, monographs on urban sociology, demography and architecture.

Jonathan Raban, *Soft City*[1]

The city as a text, as signs and inscriptions by human beings in space, so that users, people moving through the city, can be seen as readers of poems . . .

Roland Barthes, *Semiotics and the City*[2]

Urban Feedback is a CD-ROM, inspired by the chaotic energy of modern cities. Fragments of media, ranging from scanned radio to Super8 film, are fused together to form dynamic, reactive collages. Based on journeys through the streets of London and Amsterdam, we have tried to develop an abstract digital language that captures the beauty and discord of the urban experience. Sound, image and text are used to construct a series of free-form explorative 'spaces' like dreams played in fast forward; a seductive mantra for the media-savvy city dweller.

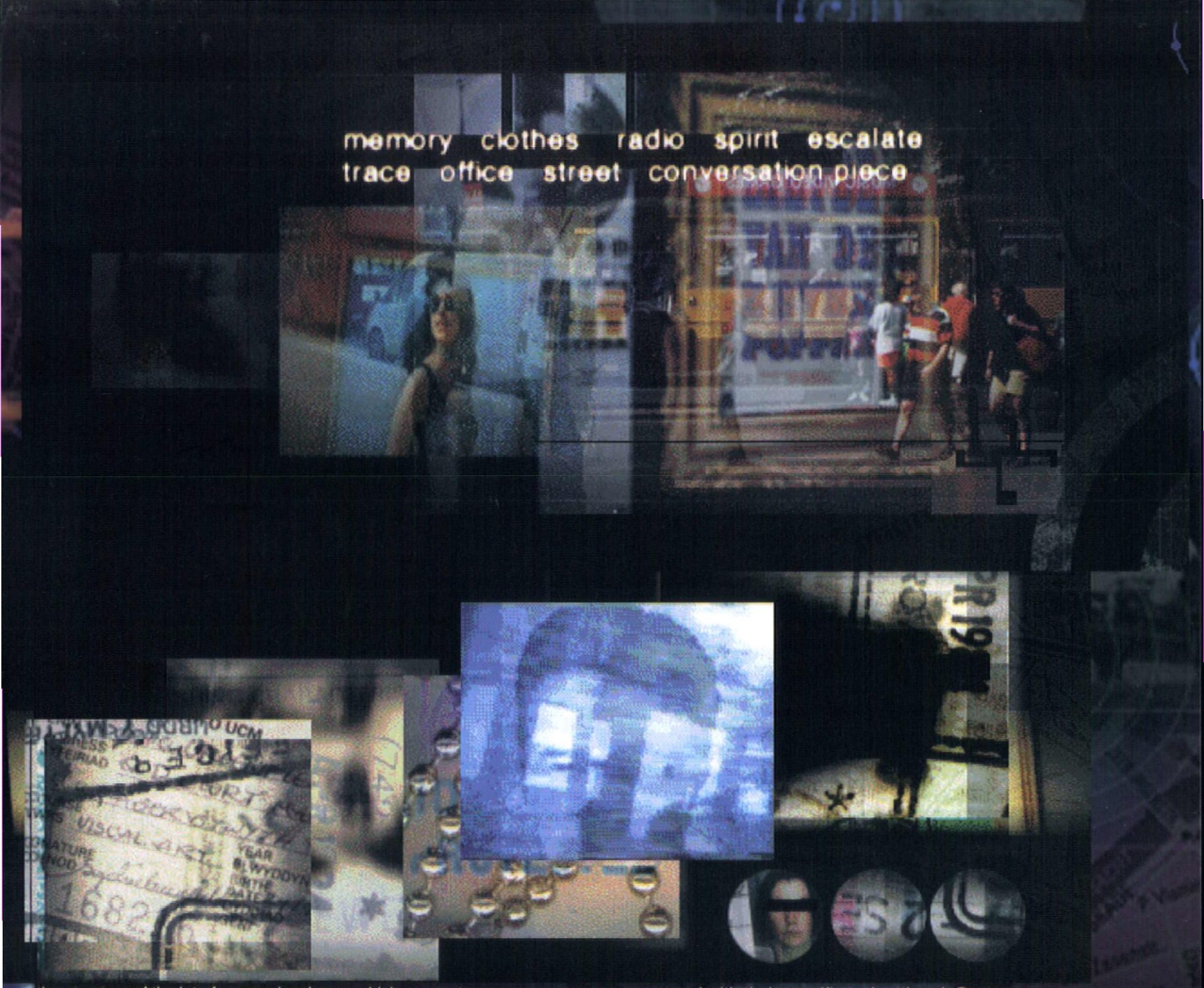
The city as metaphor and inspiration

Each individual lives within their own perception of the city. Nothing is ever experienced in isolation, always in relation to its context, which includes the sequences of events leading up to a given moment and the memory of past experiences. In different situations these sequences are reversed, cut and sometimes lost, sometimes abandoned.

We are at once drawn together and mutually divided by our subjective awareness of the same physical architecture. The softer architecture of perception is not as readily definable. It exists in the hyper-reality of the mind, a fiction built of eidetic flashes and fragmentary memories.

In developing the interface for the CD-ROM, the aim was to stay close to this perception of urban space. The limitations of the concrete need not apply in digital space. The work is an attempt to identify and develop a more sensitive language based on the subjective imaging of the visual landscapes we carry within us.

Urban Feedback is comprised of sampled and abstracted visual and aural elements which reflect this spatial and temporal mapping process. These are woven into



the structure of the interface as visual cues which are scattered throughout the virtual environments within the project.

The work functions as a scrapbook of random quotes, found sounds and glimpses of nostalgia 'authored' by the users as they interact with the work, much as an individual may wander through an actual street and derive significance from things others may not notice. The casual juxtaposition of word and image within an urban space can have tremendous poignancy for one individual, whereas another may be seduced by a different visual or aural incident within the same street.

The juxtaposition of image, sound and text acts as a filter that manipulates the user/audience response. This leads to the possibility of 'open' meaning which provokes the user/audience actively to consider and experience multiple interpretations of the piece's meaning, creating associated, subjective narratives of their own.

The journey as navigation

Within any urban environment there are those who wander like Baudelaire's *flâneur* and those who rush through spaces consumed with their specific task at hand. Some 'consumers' of the work have felt uneasy with the absence of specific rules and an obvious goal or reward based structure by which to navigate. Others have been inspired, and have understood the synthesis of subject and form. We believe in the natural capacity of the medium to deliver a vision of a flickering, image-rich landscape. The added ability of the viewer to choose their own journey through the layered spaces lends a strong sense of connection which would be hard to emulate in any other media.

Choosing to represent a city as a structure made up of transient, fluid connections between people, places and situations offers an opportunity to explore the fundamental patterns and motivations behind city life. These could offer insights into how we might participate in computer network-based spaces and come to understand the relationships between ourselves and the world outside.

Notes

1 Jonathan Raban, *Soft City*, Collins Harvill, London, 1984, p10.
2 Roland Barthes, 'Semiotics and the City', from Jan Brand and Hans Janslign, *Het idee van de Stad*, Arnhem, 1983.

MARK GOTTDIENER

CONSUMPTION OF SPACE AND SPACES OF CONSUMPTION[1]

There is no consumption of space without a corresponding and prior production of space. Our understanding of the production of space may be characterised in two broadly conceived ways. First, the production of space is directly and intimately part of the capital accumulation process that is increasingly tied to global linkages in the investment, disinvestment, construction, reconstruction, renovation and redesign of real estate. In short, settlement space today is a resource turned into a commodity by the political economy of contemporary capitalism. It can be bought, sold, rented, constructed, torn down, used and reused in much the same way as any other kind of investment. The production of space now follows its own subset of the laws of capital accumulation.

Second, the vast uncharted domain of the natural world has disappeared. The satellite technology that maps the entire globe into discrete parcels is the end result of the great age of exploration that began in the West during the Middle Ages. Every region of the earth is photographed, mapped, fragmented into parcels, homogenised, labelled, and either commodified for present capital investment or claimed by the State and expropriated by political interests, as with the 'national parks'. Now commodification, surveillance and regulation of land are all pervasive and globally ubiquitous as practices of capital and the State. The so-called 'natural' realm of the imagination has disappeared as a place on earth and imaging activity has been transferred today to visions of outer space and planetary exploration.

By 'production of space' I mean the process of capital accumulation as it transpires in the real estate sector or the 'second circuit of capital'. This followed the earlier mercantilist phase which produced the great port cities of the world during the 17th and 18th centuries, and the industrial phase, which produced for example the 'great towns' of England, when society was divided into the two main classes of capitalists and workers.[2] We can speak of a 'consumption of space' during this period, but only in a limited sense, confined to the ownership and use of landscaped land exclusively for the privileged, such as country clubs, yacht and harbour facilities, and resort places in the country.

Later in the 19th century, reformers concerned about the social evils of industrial capitalism attempted to reclaim a part of accumulated wealth for public purposes. In the United States, for example, the City Beautiful Movement, inspired by the Garden Cities of England, pressured the State to create parks, recreational facilities and green spaces for free public use, such as the great urban park landscaping schemes of Frederick Law Olmsted in the United States. Central Park in Manhattan and Golden Gate Park in San Francisco are some examples of Olmsted's work. At the same time, world fairs, such as the Pan Am Exposition of Buffalo in 1901, and commercial but inexpensive amusement spaces, such as Coney Island in New York City, or Brighton, in England, provided alternatives spaces for the masses to the dreary, claustrophobic housing areas in the industrial inner city. These places were limited extensions of spatial production for the general purpose of enjoying space, of consuming space, made available to the public, sometimes for a modest fee, as in the case of the amusement park or public zoo.

In the early 20th century, as societies struggled to break free of the one-dimensional land use schemes produced by capitalist industrialisation through green space planning schemes, tourism was also developed systematically as a commercial enterprise enabling people to consume specially prepared spaces. This 'consumption of space' through tourism was initially out of reach for the working class. Wealthy and middle-class patrons, however, enjoyed an increasing variety of tourist experiences ranging from the development of Niagara Falls, New York, as a fashionable 'honeymoon' spot for newly weds in the United States, to organised African safaris for wealthy Americans and Europeans. State regulation of public lands developed 'national parks' that were also included in the organised travel vacation known as 'tourism'.[3,4] Tourist destinations were produced by capital investment in hotels, resorts, road and airport infrastructure, public services such as electricity and police protection, and particular normative offerings for guests, such as sumptuous meals, golf and tennis, and evening lounge entertainment.

By the 1950s, the process I am calling 'the consumption of space' still remained a limited affair. But settlement space configuration began to change in a most fundamental way. Developers, banks, government agencies, and individual as well as corporate investors belonging to the second circuit of capital began the mass development of suburbia. By the 1970s, most of the American population was residing in the suburbs and not in the centre of cities. Thus, the urban configuration was radically altered to produce a new form of settlement space, the 'multicentred metropolitan region'.[5] Everyday life became increasingly based on a regional routine of commuting which involved the separation of places of work, from housing and shopping. It is only at this point, after 1950 in the United States, that we can talk of a critical mass of locations and activities involving a large enough population to be called 'the consumption of space'.

The consumption of space: shopping and tourism

Activities involving the consumption of space have in common the use of a thoroughly commodified and regulated environment, commodified by capital and regulated by the State. Organised family outings on Sundays to urban 'pleasure zones', like public green spaces or amusement parks, trips to the country club for a round of golf or the weekend cottage at the seashore, are examples of the consumption of space. Thus, once advanced industrial societies progressed to the extended commodification of everyday life, most activities involved some form of spatial consumption as the built environment itself assumed the

backdrop of an increasingly ubiquitous consumer culture.

As tourism became an activity of the middle class due to the development of the tourist industry as a mass, commodified sector of the economy, it became exemplary of the consumption of space. As Lefebvre observes, instead of the circulation of commodities among people, as in the stage of industrial capitalism, tourism involves the circulation of people to specific locations that are consumed as spaces of leisure, sport, recreation, 'nature', amusement, 'history', or simply 'otherness'.[6] As the latter suggests, the phenomenon of cultural difference is as important to tourism as any spectacular site. One visits New York City from a base in London, not to experience a city so much as a difference. Familiarity with urban culture from years of living in London, enables the tourist to negotiate the strange environment of New York because of common urban features. The tourist consumes the differences that the foreign space offers.

The consumption of space is clearest in the stereotypical tourist activity of picture taking. Photography has been commodified and mechanically retooled for easy access by the most unaccomplished amateurs in everyday life. Now an amazing variety of formats, films and cameras is available to tourists seeking to capture images for show, storage and documentation of trips. The consumption of places themselves that are documented with the help of the photography industry and also videotape technology is intrinsically a part of the consumer 'vacation'. In short, the production and consumption of films, video tapes, still cameras, video cameras, accessories, and processing labs articulates together with the production and consumption of tourist spaces – with the moulding of beaches, 'natural' scenic wonders and 'pleasure environments', the construction of hotels, the building of infrastructure, the acquisition, training and support of staff, and the pacification of foreign places with unstable political climates through state and corporate means. These components, in turn, articulate with the vast tourism industry consisting of advertising, travel agents, service personnel in hotels, the car, rail and air transportation industries, rental activities, and the pictorial modelling of *astral* visions of desirable destinations by media driven culture, including novels, magazines, TV and the cinema.

Any discussion of the consumption of space through tourism would not be complete without mention of the production of places to shop that are always a part of any destination. Indeed, many travel 'vacations' are in reality shopping trips. The intent is the same whether discussing the activity of suburban housewives who journey by plane to places with famous mega-malls, like the giant Mall of America, in Minnesota, USA, or the organised bus trips of Northern Greeks to Istanbul, Turkey.

Of particular interest are the trinket shops that can always be found adjacent to tourist sites. In some cases, they contain products once produced by local craft skills that have been appropriated, re-imaged and retooled for mass production. In others, manufactured souvenirs in low wage, developing countries are mass marketed in advanced societies, such as little statues of the Eiffel Tower, or coffee mugs with scenic images, or sealed snowy paperweights with tiny images of natural wonders. Labour from the developing world is also employed in the production of the T-shirts, hats and jackets that are equally available in tourist shops for consumption. This trinket industry is also part of the global circuit facilitating the accumulation of capital through the stimulated circulation of people to sites around the world for the consumption of tourist spaces.

Spaces of consumption: themed environments, malls, casinos

Themed environments appear to be everywhere and most of them are successful as commercial enterprises. There are themed restaurants, malls, airports, hotels, gambling casinos, fast food courts, sports stadiums, even themed museums or monuments, like the Holocaust Memorial in Washington, DC. The growing reliance on themes for commercial spaces is relatively recent.

Until the 1970s shopping places were recognised by their names or the labels of famous clothing manufacturers and designers. Today relatively few people shop in the downtown of any city. The major portion of retailing sales takes place in suburban shopping malls, many of which are fully themed environments. Today people are drawn to the motif of the mall and its reputation as a space of consumption, and then find places to shop within it, rather than being attracted to a particular store because of some unique marketing ploy. In fact, the hundreds of small, boutique stores rely on the impulse buying of consumers as they walk within the mall environment thereby consuming its space – itself an important activity of suburban shoppers.

The function of architecture within a commercial environment is the seduction of the consumer. Las Vegas is a multi-dimensional experience of seducing pleasures – money, sex, food, gambling, nightlife. It constitutes a specialised space, one of several global 'pleasure zones', like Monte Carlo (now also the name of a new casino in Las Vegas) and the French Riviera (the Riviera is the name of a Las Vegas Casino too), the Greek islands, Rio de Janeiro (also another Las Vegas casino), or Disneyworld.

Las Vegas casinos, which are themed consumption spaces designed principally for gambling, epitomise this type of pleasure zone architecture. In recent years casinos have extended their use of symbols from the heavily denotative electric signs that signify place through names, such as The Desert Inn, to iconic representations comprising the entire casino building itself, such as the Luxor Hotel and Casino which was constructed as a large, Egyptian-style pyramid, or New York New York which is a collage of famous Manhattan landmarks, which connote otherness, excitement and luxury.

Semiotically speaking, difference in Las Vegas is not created in the system of signification by all thematic casinos. The downtown is uniformly structured by an Old West theme with little variation from casino to casino. Once five Strip casinos shared an Arabian Nights theme and three, the Sands, Desert Inn, and Sahara, refer generally to the climatic location of Las Vegas. A continental theme is shared by several casinos which are in close proximity to each other including the Flamingo, the Monte Carlo and Bally's, and further north the Riviera. Thematic similarity, rather than semiotic difference, characterises these casinos.

In the most recently developed section of the Strip, however, overarching casino themes are produced through difference, thereby creating a multi-themed and multi-levelled symbolic environment. Here, meaning is produced through difference, by contrasts between one casino theme and another. Metonymy and the juxtaposition of themes produces a spectacular system of signification. The entire outside area stimulates participation through the use of fantasy images from Hollywood movies, travelogues and television and becomes one immense, multi-themed consumer space designed principally for the purposes of casino gambling.


MALL OF AM

The role of symbols or themes in the circuit of capital

A nation of consumers must be fed by appeals to consume even when the goods they are presented with have dubious use-values. Basic human needs are relatively simple and consist, as every third-grade school child can attest, mainly of food, clothing and shelter, not to mention a job that can provide for these necessities. The needs pumping up a consumer society, however, extend much beyond these basics, and are elaborated by the practice of consumption. Shelter, for most people, for example, means a basic three- or four-bedroom suburban house complete with a fully equipped kitchen. Consumers also view the commodities that stock such a 'basic' home as 'necessities'.

For the most part, the production of desire for consumption at the intense level that it exists in our society today depends directly on symbolic mechanisms. Signs and themes play a central role in the proper priming of the consumer society. We have matured into a society possessing a fully themed mass culture. Mass advertising fuels the spending activities of our society through the production of desire. Marketing procedures encompass not only the appeals made by advertising, such as those found on TV or in magazines, but also appeals within the built environment itself, that is, in the suburban and city consumerscapes, or the stores and malls that remain responsible for the realisation of capital. The key economic relation of the consumer society is not the exchange of money for goods as it was in the 19th century, but the link between the promotion of desire in the mass media and advertising and the commercial venues where goods and services can be purchased. Store environments are only an extension of TV, magazine and newspaper advertising. They provide material spaces for the realisation of consumer fantasies primed by movies, rock videos, the record industry, commercial advertising, lifestyle orientations from religious, ethnic, racial or class origins, and even political ideologies that are propagated in community discourse or at the place of work.

Themed consumer spaces are increasingly important to commercial capital. The abundance of companies producing similar products has created a need for competitive marketing practices that has helped develop an image driven culture along with the mass media. These efforts now occur on a grand scale and include the deployment of architectural design, environmental engineering, advertising, mass media technology and recreational science in the service of selling an experience along with commodities.

The new economic realities of a consumer-orientated economy derive from the crisis base of capitalism that is, above all, a crisis in the realisation of capital among highly competitive global producers. While most countries in the world possess immense productive capacity, their development depends on the ability of corporations to sell goods and services after they are produced. Increasingly, the problem of capital realisation is solved through the creation of image driven, themed environments that are attractions themselves but also contain outlets for the sale of commodities. People today consume symbols and environments along with goods and services.

Themed environments work not only because they are connected to the universe of commodities and are spaces of consumption, but because they offer consumers a spatial experience that is an attraction by itself; that is, they promote the consumption of space. People may come to the mall, for example, to shop, but they also come there to see and be seen, much like people have done for centuries through daily visits to the town square or central city 'downtown'. For this reason future changes will not only involve fashionable shifts in the content of desirable images, but also changes in the types of environments offered to consumers in conjunction with retailing.

Notes

1 Mark Gottdiener, *The Theming of America: Dreams, Visions and Commercial Spaces*, Westview Publishers (Boulder, CO), 1997.
2 Frederick Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, Progress Publishers (Moscow), 1973.
3 C Rojek, *Capitalism and Leisure Theory*, Tavistock (London), 1985.
4 D MacCannell, *The Tourist*, Schocken Books (New York), 1989.
5 Mark Gottdiener, *The Social Production of Urban Space* (second edition), University of Texas Press (Austin), 1994.
6 Henri Lefevbre, D Nicholson-Smith (trans), *The Production of Space*, Basil Blackwell (Oxford), 1991.

OPPOSITE: Mall of America, Minneapolis; ABOVE L TO R: Planet Hollywood, London; Caesars Forum Shops, Las Vegas

JOE KERR

THE WINDOW AND THE PAVEMENT

Architecture, Consumption and the Spaces In-Between

This article investigates a recent collaboration between the London department store Selfridges and the design practice D². An examination of this project – entitled 'Play and Display: Reflections on Oxford Street' – explores what might be gained from the convergence of two value systems, culture and shopping, often regarded as being 'at opposite ends of the cultural spectrum'. Implicit in this discussion is the assumption that the relationship between architecture and shopping is an indicator of a profound transformation in our cultural values.

Consuming architecture

Architects in this country have traditionally faced a problem in defining their proper relationship to the mechanisms and institutions of production and consumption. Just as the old debate about whether architecture should be an art or a profession has never been satisfactorily resolved, so it still remains unclear in the minds of architects, critics and the general public alike, whether architecture should strive to operate wholly as some high cultural practice, untrammelled by mere commercial demand, or whether it should simply continue to provide society with the buildings it demands, whatever their economic or ideological programmes might be. Architectural theory from August Pugin onwards, has tended towards an explicit critique of capitalist modes of production and consumption, most famously voiced in the writings of John Ruskin and William Morris.

It is hard to imagine any other profession in which the word 'commercial' could so clearly be intended to have a derogatory meaning, and while the majority of architects has always simply designed and built whatever they were paid to, there still remains a widespread cultural snobbery about certain categories of work, and particular clients. This discourse has always run counter to the material realities of architectural production, but never more so than in the last two decades, when the world's most economically prosperous cities have aggressively set about reshaping their buildings, spaces and infrastructure to serve the interests of their own rampant commercial sectors, and their burgeoning tourist and cultural industries. Today no profession involved with the built environment can realistically afford not to engage with these forces. The reluctance, or the inability, of the profession to deal adequately with this unprecedented scale of urban restructuring has undermined their subsequent condemnations of the quality of what has been built.

In contrast to these entrenched attitudes, a younger generation of practitioners seems more willing to explore new kinds of patronage and new forms of work, and in the process is participating in a general blurring of established disciplinary boundaries, of which the example discussed here is a case in point.

In January 1997 the prestigious London department store Selfridges gave over all 31 of its main display windows to a multimedia installation by design practice D². This was, in the context of London, a highly unusual collaboration between cultural producers and mainstream retailers, and it reflects on the implications for new relationships between culture and consumption that arise from this project.

The client

Selfridges is an established department store, founded in the early 20th century by a Chicago businessman, who pioneered American methods in London's traditional retail markets. Widely tipped to fail when it first opened, Gordon Selfridge proved his critics wrong, and the shop quickly became an established force in the West End of London. However, despite its radical origins, the store has increasingly been perceived – and perceives itself – as being rather downmarket and dowdy in comparison to competitors such as Harvey Nichols who have successfully modernised their identity. In a bold move, Selfridges has recently appointed a new team to improve the public image of the store, under Managing Director Vittorio Raddice, who is renowned for successfully undertaking a similar role for the Habitat shops.

The concept

The first visible component of this new ambition was an original and aggressive marketing campaign, based on the slogan 'It's Worth Living in London', designed to display Selfridges' 'dedication to being at the heart of metropolitan life,'[1] and described by Marketing Director Nick Cross as 'building a bridge out to London, to the people who live and work in this city'. As a prominent tactic of this carefully nurtured urban sensibility, they have adopted an adventurous strategy of creating links with high cultural institutions, including signing a three-year sponsorship deal with the Serpentine Gallery, hosting multi-site exhibitions with other galleries and museums such as the British Museum,[2] and promoting the work of various artists, architects and designers within the store itself. This complex web of relationships and agendas has certainly not been without its significant problems, but Cross strongly defends what might still be perceived as a rather high-risk commercial strategy, saying that 'what we're looking for is a collusion, where our interests are well served but also where we ensure for the artist or the gallery or whoever it may be, that their integrity is maintained as well.'

Indeed he emphasises that this collaboration with architects should not be seen as unprecedented, and that it is little different from the way in which fashion and advertising commonly utilise other forms of cultural production such as photography and film. He also points to the strong tradition of architects and artists working within retail culture that has operated since the turn of the century with stores such as Liberty's.

Design

The company made the decision not simply to display 'art' in the windows as other shops such as Harvey Nichols have done, but

to be actively involved in developing works that would be curated specifically for the space, and the milieu, of Selfridges. Their ambition in sponsoring this 'Play and Display' project was to mark a dramatic new chapter in the marketing of Selfridges. It was the store's own decision to present a highly visible demonstration of this by turning over all their main shop windows to an 'art' installation, curated from outside the conventional culture of window display. The desire to exploit their own space suggested the possibility of developing an architecturally-based project.

Their choice for this first foray into art patronage were video artist Clare Gerrard and architect Mark Hewitt, whose design practice D^2 combines video and architecture in ways that challenge received ideas of form and practice. The practice welcomed this challenge to investigate ways of integrating broader cultural concerns with the 'world of shopping', which allowed them both to develop architectural ideas that were not object-based, and also to experiment with conceptual ideas about consumption:

> As a design practice we are interested in finding areas for working which are outside or which slip between preconceived territories of architectural design. We liked the idea of making shop displays because they are ephemeral, and for this project there was an opportunity to take advantage of an apparent freedom. The windows were successful in the sense that people walking past on the street liked them but did not respond to them (quite rightly) as they would to art or architecture – both of which usually provoke prejudiced responses.

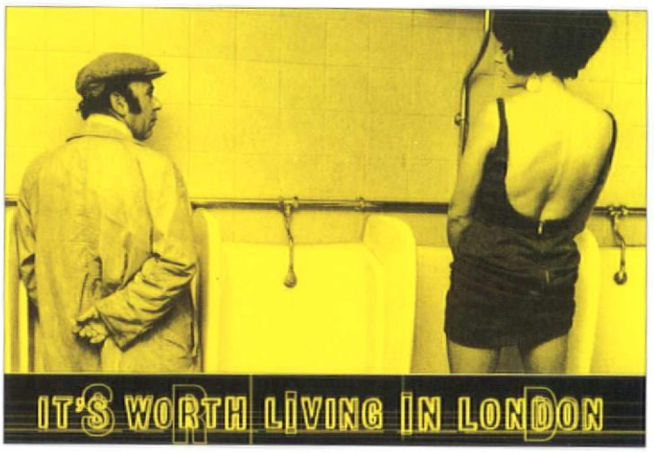
This idea of judging success outside the received contexts of space, place and audience is one way in which this work was designed to challenge the existing architectural value system.

The leitmotif that informed the project was that just as the work was colonising the real, architectural spaces that lie behind each of the enormous windows, so it was simultaneously inhabiting the conceptual space which lies between the store and the shopper – the pavement and the window – and that by manipulating this territory, new connections could be engaged between culture, commodity and the spectator. By a process of what Hewitt and Gerard describe as 'animating' this zone, the aim was to pull the passer-by into the space of the store, and simultaneously project the space of Selfridges out into the city beyond.

In designing for windows intended to engender a new relationship between shop, commodity and consumer, and the separate spaces they conventionally occupy, a number of key concepts emerged. These can briefly be identified as: the use of illusion; the utilisation of materials; the relationship of the spectator to the spectacle (conceived both spatially and in time); and the mode of display of Selfridges' own commodity items.

Outcomes

As postmodern theory customarily posits, we exist in an image-saturated and commodified world, in which the institutions and producers of culture can no longer afford the pretence that they stand outside and above the forces of consumption, nor that their conventional products are necessarily the correct ones for this new consumer-led world. The world of commerce has no problem with this, and is utterly versed in utilising high culture and its images in the service of selling. But it seems only very recently that (some) architects have come to realise not only the benefits to be had from exploiting this alliance, but the necessity of doing this if they are to have any influence at all on the image, and the



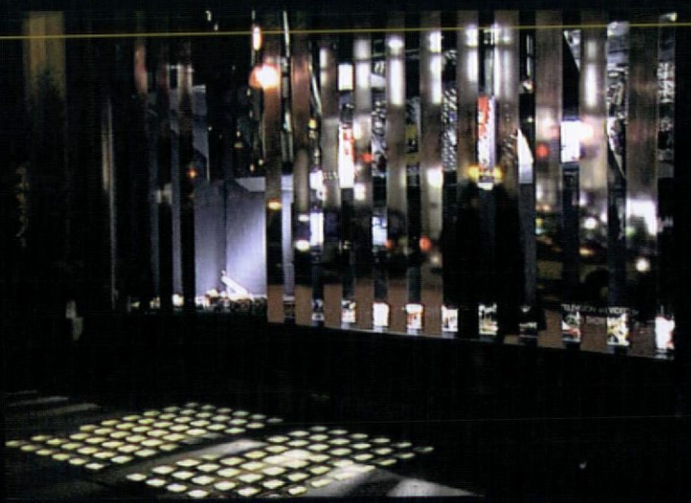
FROM ABOVE: Selfridges Store, Oxford Street, London, during the D^2 installation; Selfridges advertising campaign by BBH; window dressing detail with reflections

Here vision is manipulated, challenging the physical separation of the window space from the pavement, and so revealing the illusory nature of this zone of consumption.

As a contrast in scale, some openings and images were big and bright, to be seen at a distance or at speed – either from the other side of Oxford Street or from a passing bus.

Since Selfridges chose many of the objects, these came to represent a middle ground where both designer and client could meet and negotiate; an uncertain, undetermined territory, between the two extremes of a conventional shop display, or a wholly art-based installation.

The theme of the window was carpets, and what appears/disappears is a Vivienne Westwood 'carpet' dress. When the dress disappears, one sees video monitors showing a selection of appropriate videos; here one entitled 'coverings'.



Tiny toys low down at children's height are displayed, viewed again in a reflective plane suspended above the window, but at a different angle. Strips of reflective film cut up the view through the window, so the passer-by alternately catches their own reflection, then into the window beyond. Uplighting through pavement lights extends the shop space out into the street, just as the reflective film takes the street back into the window.

An elaborate arrangement of make-up is displayed, looking intriguingly like a carefully constructed image of a real city. The intention was not to display these commodity items exactly as they are, but reflected in a tilted screen hanging above to be seen at eye level. The make-up was rearranged several times by Selfridges' display team who continued to act as if this was a conventional display.

shape, of the world at large. One aspect of this has been the advancement of new ideas about changing the objects conceived and produced by architects; for architects to be concerned with more and other things than the act of building. Another is the realisation that perhaps architectural culture, which has traditionally represented little more than the private tastes of a privileged elite imposed on society at large, might profitably learn from what they perceive to be the opposite end of the cultural spectrum.

In design terms, it might seem to some audiences problematical to even consider this project as an architectural production at all, but this would be to impose highly limiting conceptual constraints on what kinds of spatial practices might constitute architecture. For not only do traditional disciplinary boundaries between different professions and practices seem increasingly limiting and unworkable, they also pose unnecessary restraints on architects exploiting substantial sources of finance. As another multi-disciplinary design practice Fashion Architecture Taste (FAT) has recently argued, this kind of work involves a certain degree of 'reconfiguring capital', meaning that relatively small sums of money can be deployed far more visibly in the creation of this type of ephemeral structure than in the slower, and vastly more expensive business of erecting permanent buildings. The priceless quality that such projects can bestow on architecture is immediacy, the ability to avoid on occasion the enormous investment of time demanded by construction, and thus exploit the proximity between conception and dissemination of ideas and images.

Collaboration

The ability of these different worlds of shopping and high design to meet and engage with each other is critical to any discussion of architecture redefining its links with the culture of consumption. In fact in this case the challenge of opening common means of communication proved to be one of the most productive constraints on the whole project. It was the success with which D^2 was able to develop a clear idea and then articulate it which created a shared language with the Selfridges team, for it matched their own understanding of an advertising campaign. Indeed the guiding notion of projecting from the store out on to the street and vice versa exactly matched the advertising strategy of 'It's Worth Living in London', that is of reaching out to stimulate the wider urban population.

But the most significant area of engagement – and perhaps of dissension – between commercial imperatives and design formulations came with decisions about what should be displayed, and how, for the need to recognise the ultimate concerns of the client dictated to a large extent the choice of objects installed. Thus it was the commodities themselves, the stuff of life for Selfridges, and of course the normal occupants of the windows which provided a fulcrum for the collaboration.

This whole episode, although highly successful, might still represent an unusual client/designer relationship, but an increased convergence between cultural institutions and spaces of consumption is not only probable, but inevitable. This is partly as a result of wider changes in the ownership and use of urban space. In America, for instance, where the 'death' of public space has been widely forecasted,[3] it is increasingly common to find cultural institutions contained within shopping malls.[4] There is now in Britain an increasing obligation for museums and galleries to become more articulate in the language of consumption. Such campaigns run by a mainstream retailer like Selfridges are highly visible manifestations of the reconstitution of the economic landscape of Central London into an exclusive zone of leisure and consumption, where art and shopping are the adjacent stimulants of mass tourism.

As far as Selfridges is concerned this experiment has been largely successful, and it fully intends to maintain its significant programme of artistic patronage. The ambition with which it has embarked on this campaign has certainly impressed its new partners in high culture. Indeed, as Rebecca King Lassman of the Serpentine Gallery emphasises, they genuinely consider themselves very fortunate to have secured such a significant level of sponsorship from Selfridges. But once again for the store itself this makes hard business sense, for if it can encourage the affluent patrons of such a successful gallery into the store, it is tapping into a whole new and discerning market. As a clear illustration of this explicit ambition, a recent collaboration between the two institutions involved the artist Anya Gallaccio, who designed a limited edition fabric entitled *Dandelion* for sale in Selfridges, complete with certification from the artist. This intended blurring of the conceptual differences between a work of art and a straightforward commodity item not only raises questions about the real status of both, but is perhaps also an exemplar of a highly probable future, in which culture and consumption are not seen as very separate and antithetical realms of everyday life.

Structuring desires

The biggest impetus towards a 'consuming architecture' comes specifically from the relentless commodification of fields of cultural production that had previously been perceived, perhaps incorrectly, to be aloof from wholly commercial impulses. Manufacturers, advertisers and retailers are alert to the persuasive influence of the imagery of high culture and are now very well versed in its exploitation. The question to be answered by architects and artists now is to what extent they can afford to resist this process from the outside, or whether they might profit from working in partnership with these new sources of patronage. As Gerrard and Hewitt argue, 'We are interested in the shopping phenomenon, and regard the shop window as an exciting and dangerous place, at the epicentre of the consumer explosion.'

While it might be true that this kind of theorising which identifies itself so closely with consumption has contributed to 'a condition within architectural discourse today in which production is almost totally ignored,'[5] nevertheless there is evidently a space emerging for new kinds of critical architectural practice, which are not necessarily wholly bound by the traditional constraints of expense, permanence and time.

Notes

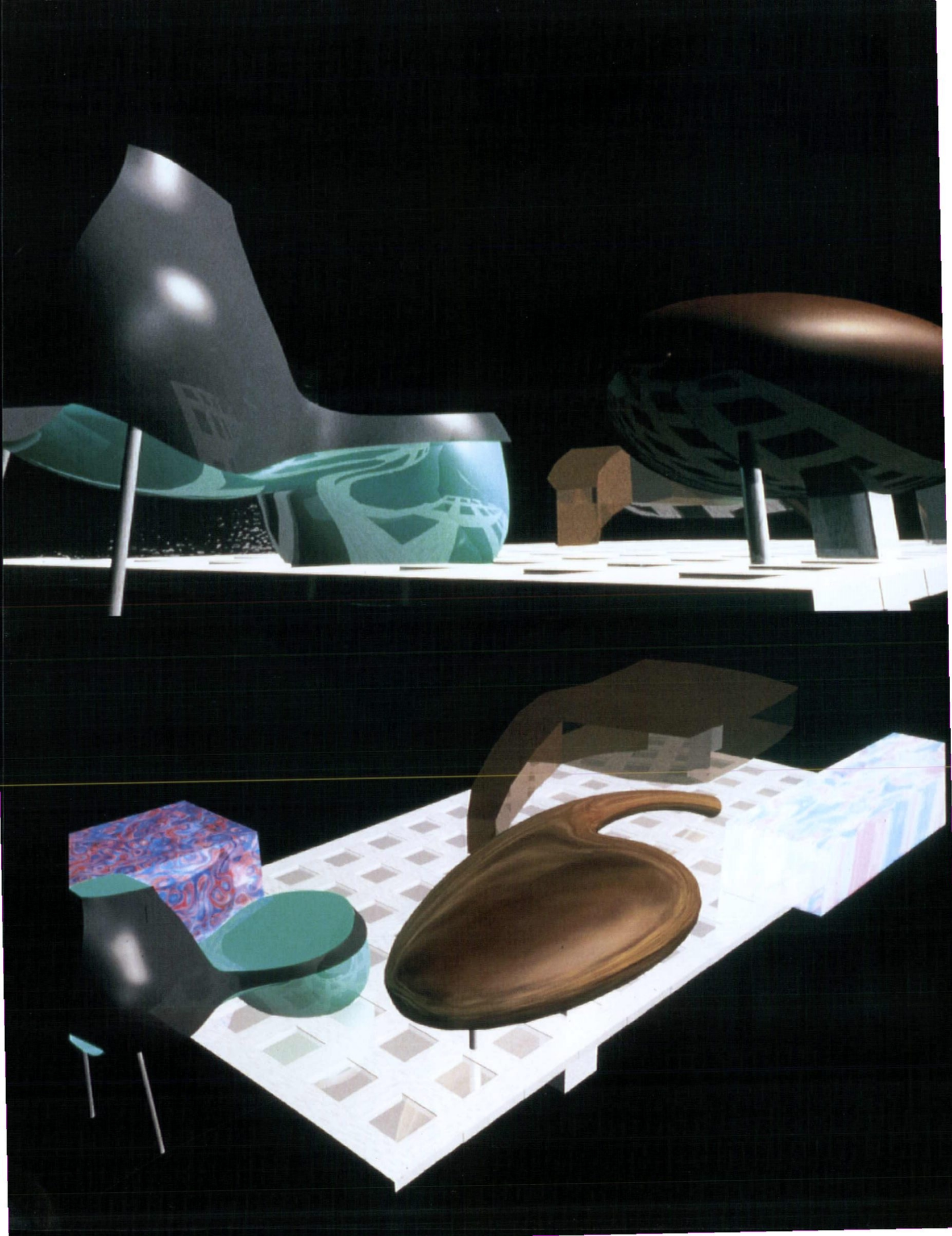
1 Selfridges Press Release, 'Selfridges Arts Programme 1997'.

2 Neil Cummings and Marysia Lewandowska (curators), *Browse: The British Museum and Selfridges Department Store*, April 1997.

3 See Michael Sorkin (ed), *Variations on a Theme Park*, Hill and Wang (New York), 1992.

4 In Columbus, Indiana, the shopping mall, designed by New York architect Cesar Pelli, contains an outpost of the State Art Gallery, exhibition spaces, a stage and two cinemas. *A Look at Architecture: Columbus Indiana*, Columbus Visitor Centre, 1991, p96.

5 Murray Fraser (ed), *The Oxford Review of Architecture*, no 2 (Oxford), 1997, p5.



ALSOP AND STÖRMER

ICA BRIDGE, LONDON

Cultural Browsing: Reconfiguring the Arts Centre

Currently constrained by the nature of its accommodation in Crown property on The Mall, the Institute of Contemporary Art approached Alsop and Störmer to explore a series of options for its relocation within the capital.

The brief was constructed from two simple but seemingly incompatible desires: to increase accessibility to the ICA but to do so by utilising a low cost site in Central London.

This increased accessibility of the public to the ICA was not based on the currently fashionable 'dumbing down' of culture to appeal to a mass audience (which Alsop believes makes art less interesting to everyone), but rather by becoming more visible to greater number of people.

Two potential sites were investigated: Jubilee Gardens adjacent to the Royal Festival Hall, and Blackfriars Bridge, with the latter scheme developed to a considerable degree of detail. At a time when petrol stations and airports are rapidly evolving as significant sites of consumption, it was perhaps only a matter of time before someone should propose the unlikely marriage between transport interchange, bridge and arts centre.

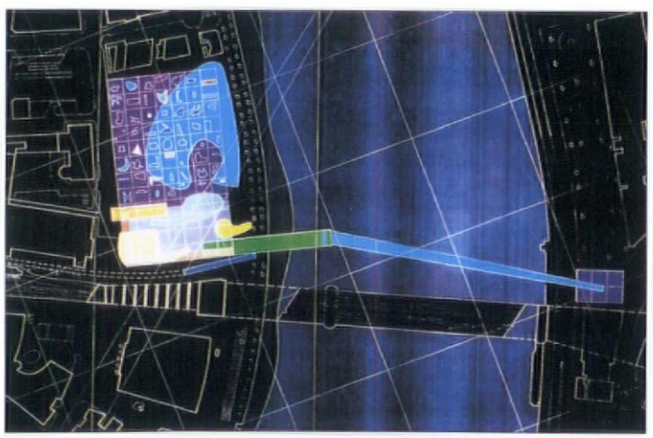
This strategy of arts centre-as-bridge, however, ensures a high profile for the ICA, with a guaranteed exposure to pedestrians crossing the river to the numerous other arts establishments on the South Bank, the passing traffic on Blackfriars Bridge, and the captive audience of passengers waiting for trains at Blackfriars station, who for so long have only had the extended copy of advertisements for entertainment, designed by agencies specifically to pass the time.

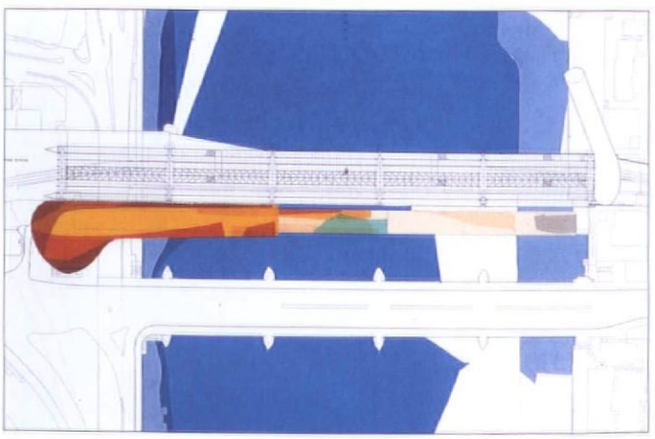
Whilst the choice of site location figures as one part of a successful reformulation of the arts centre, Alsop also perceives that the spatial programme itself needs to be brought into question, and redefined to take account of changes in consumer desire, if it is to prove more successful in the future.

At the heart of this concern is traditional gallery space, which Alsop considers creates two distinct problems. Firstly that the visitor has a certain level of expectation about the nature of such interiors, generally a neutral or discreet architecture which instead of playing a facilitating role, actually limits and influences the production of art into what can be consumed within it. Secondly, exhibitions are essentially fixed spatial configurations, which tie up large areas of these buildings for long periods of time, discouraging frequent visits.

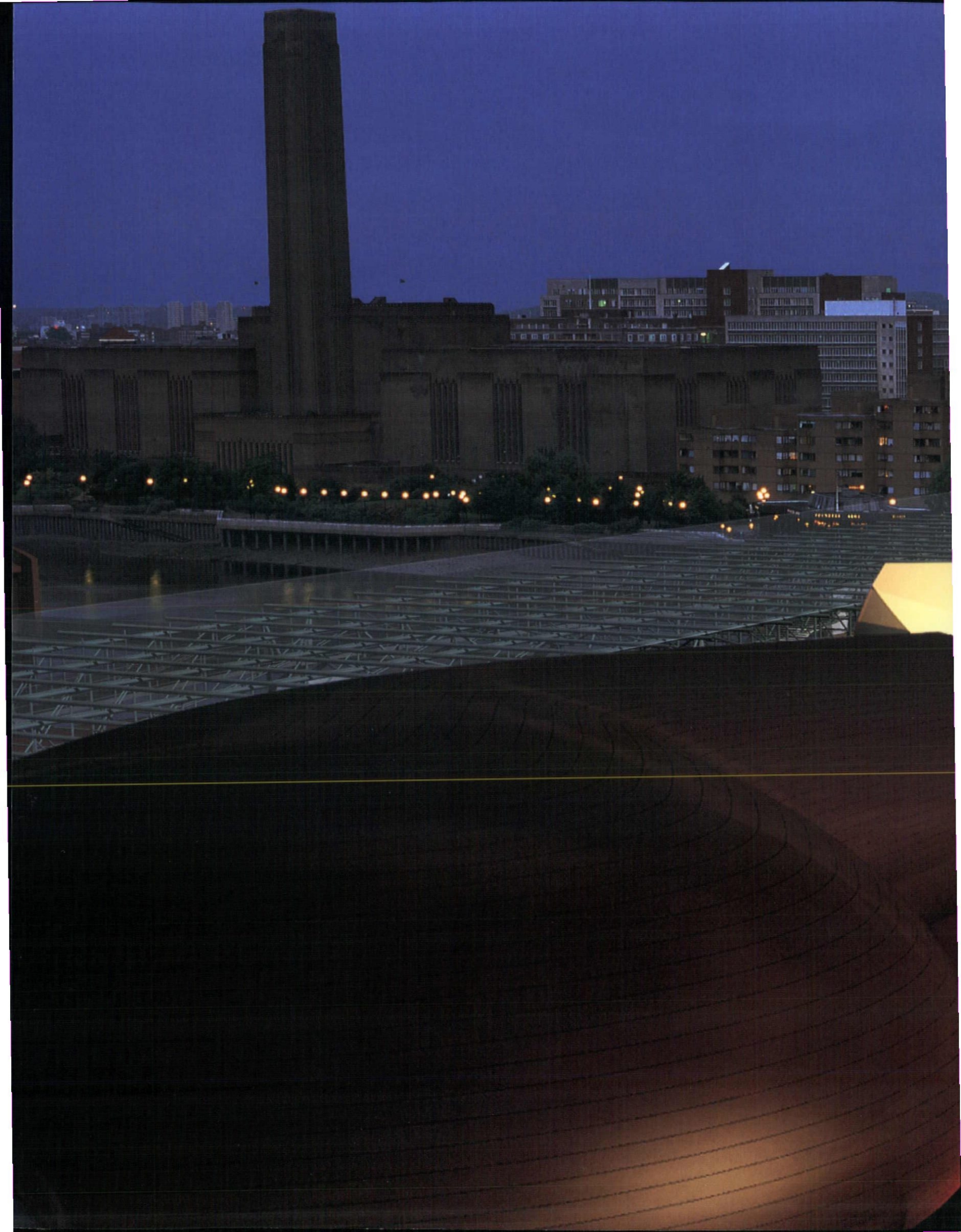
Alsop's response to this situation is as simple as it is radical; the new arts complex will contain a minimum of on-site gallery space, and will instead act as a focus for information about its activities in spaces scattered throughout London, whether used for traditional exhibitions or more speculative site-specific art works.

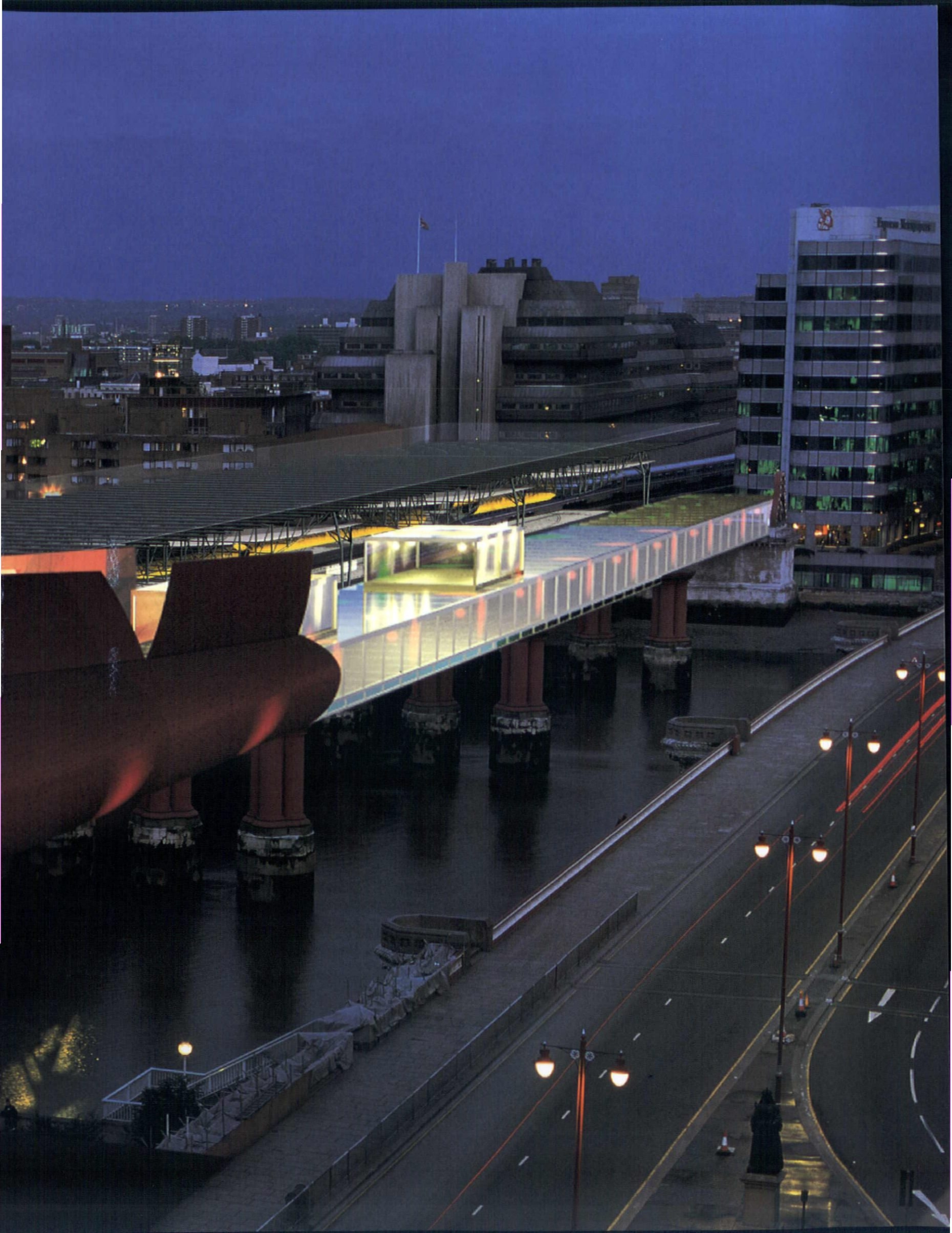
With this dispersal of gallery space, the opportunity is created for a re-focusing of the arts centre around real-time events, with a major emphasis placed on the moving image in all its forms including cinema and video, HDTV and the new interactive media. When mixed with other more traditionally consumer-orientated elements of the ICA, including the restaurant, bar and book-shop, the net effect of this reconfiguration is the subtle branding of the Institute. This alters the perception of the consumer, towards an identification with the ICA as a place to be; somewhere to visit without specific intention





OPPOSITE: Computer rendered images of Jubilee Gardens site; ABOVE L TO R: Jubilee Gardens, site plan; Blackfriars Bridge, site plan; OVERLEAF: Computer simulation of Blackfriars Bridge scheme





where something different will always be happening.

As such, the arts centre is realigned in the face of leisure consumption, supporting an activity Alsop refers to as 'cultural browsing'. It becomes a location for the kinds of 'incidental activity' or unplanned entertainment he perceives as singularly lacking in the capital, outside certain types of tourist-orientated environments exemplified by Covent Garden.

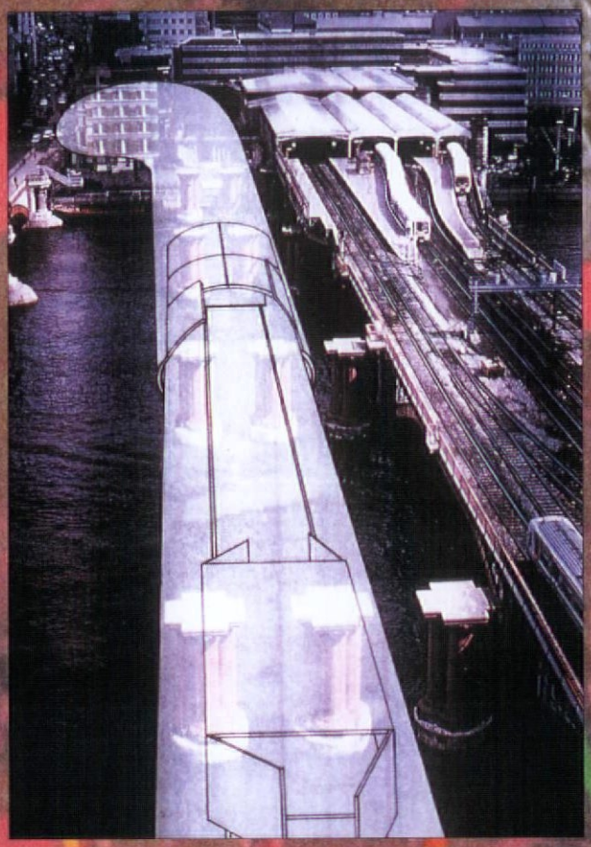
In this way the proposals for the ICA can be seen as an extension of the ideas of the 'urban park' and 'matrix of opportunities' that Alsop had developed as early as 1983, in a project for the reutilisation of the DeLorean Factory in Belfast. This scheme attempted the convergence of education (in the form of evening classes) with shopping and leisure into a single experience; after all, as Alsop wryly suggests, 'it is hardly a night out at a technical college'.

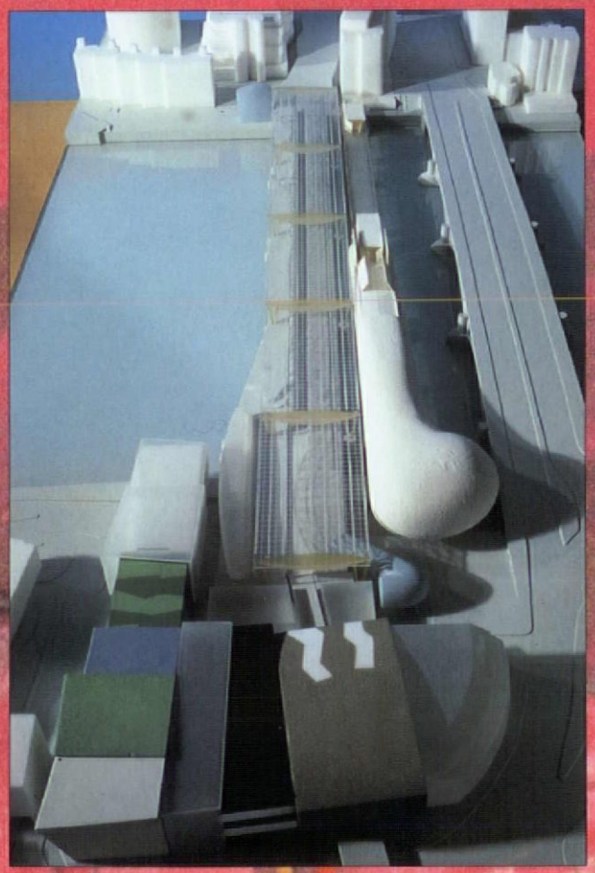
This notion of the temporal dimension of architecture, an event-based place-making, appears to be a continual source of both inspiration and disappointment for Alsop. For whilst conceptually underlying many of his formal responses to projects, it is rarely the source of a client's brief. 'Architects', he observes, 'never get asked to design a piece of time'.

Whilst this is unquestionably true within the confines of traditional commissions for public facilities, the same cannot be said for that branch of the profession curiously demarcated 'entertainment architecture'. Here the design of *spaces of experience* (places people witness or take part in events) has always taken precedence over the design of the *experience of space*, which is best concurred through the lens of the camera in the uninhabited environments of architectural photography.

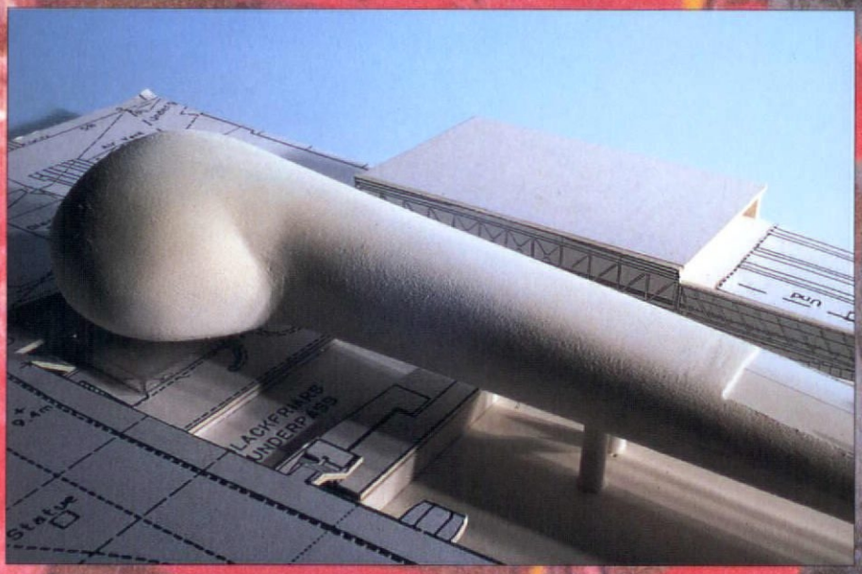
Alsop's proposals for the ICA suggest that such delineation in architectural intention can no longer be sustained in today's market-led economy, but also prove that an intelligent response exists to this situation, which bridges between a new consumption of art, and a new art of consumption.

From an Interview with Eric Holding





ABOVE: Montage of new ICA with Blackfriars Station; BELOW AND OPPOSITE: Blackfriars model, four views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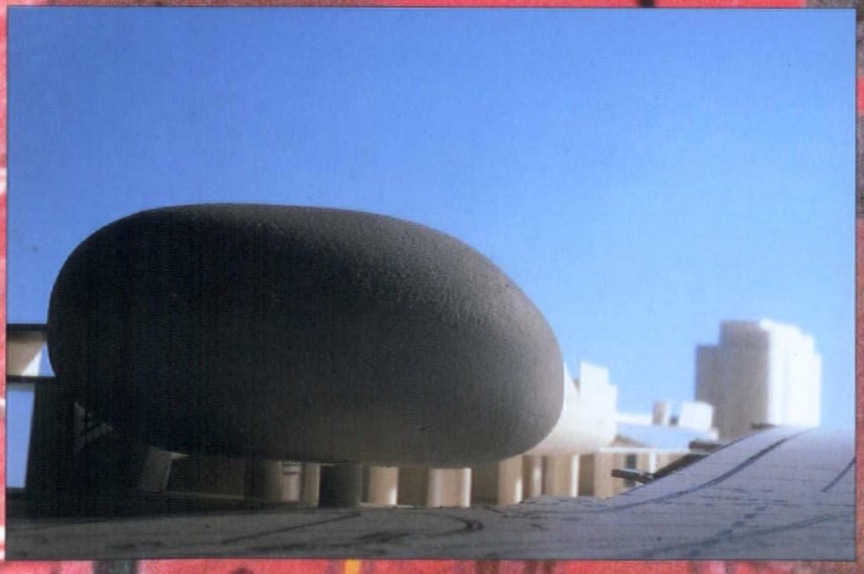
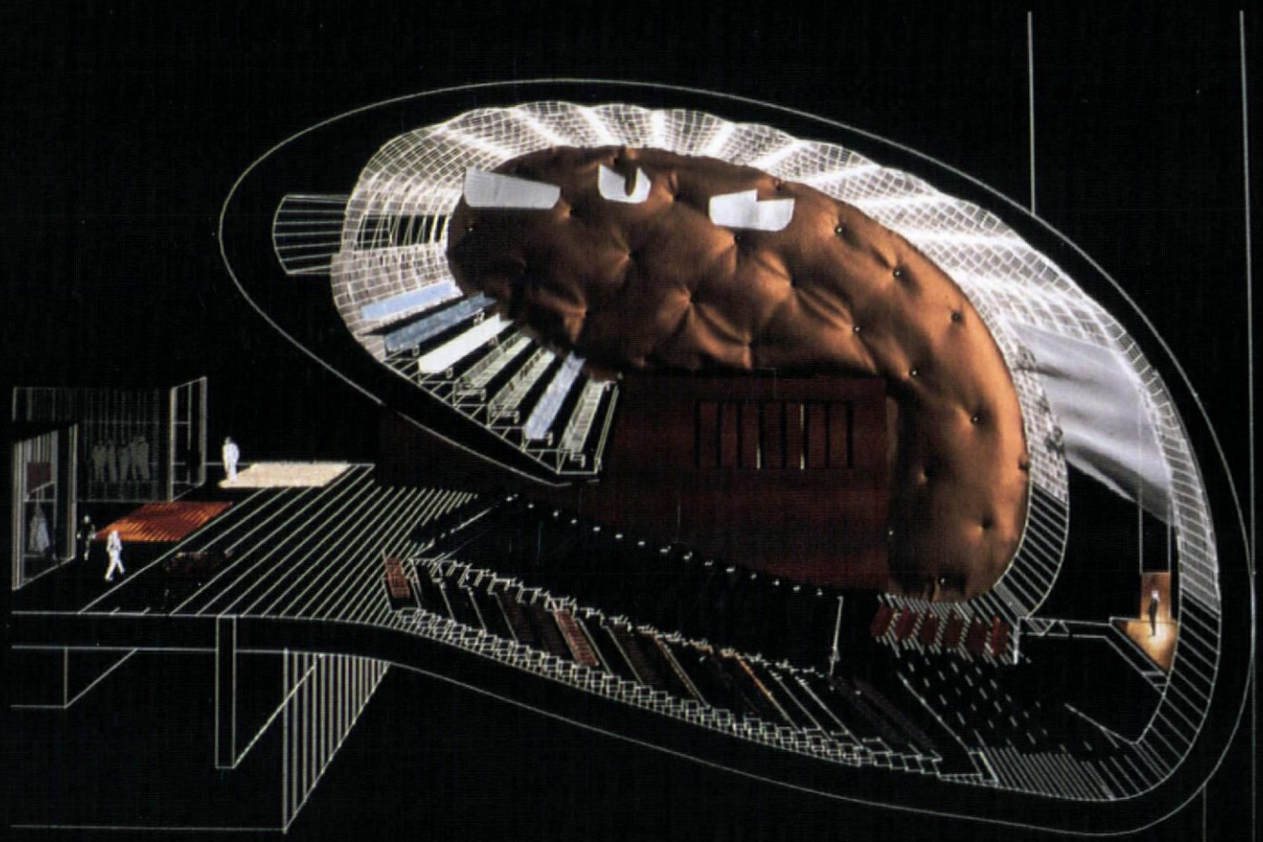
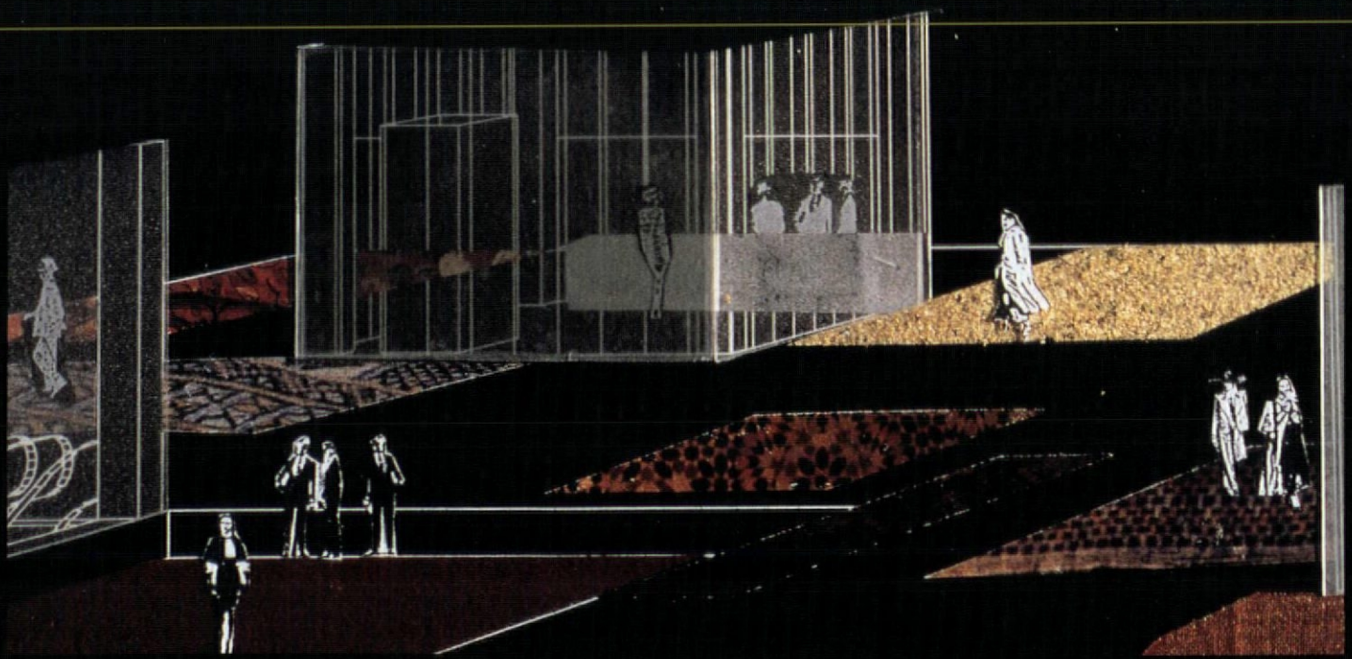






OFFICE FOR METROPOLITAN ARCHITECTURE

AN AUDIENCE CONSUMES THE LUXOR THEATRE

On a site regarded as being on the 'wrong side of the tracks' in a former port area of Rotterdam, OMA's competition-winning scheme for the Luxor Theatre is faced with the difficult task of making something special out of a disused part of the city. It must achieve a synthesis between the block and the bridge – the heavy and the light. It does so with three urban proposals: Turning the axis of the theatre so that the main foyer is orientated towards the water; creating a public square between the foyer and the river bank; subdividing the mass of the building, creating a synthesis between the new Rijksgebouw (courthouse) on one side and Ben van Berkel's Erasmus Bridge on the other, while at the same time setting up a continuous movement of arrival and departure.

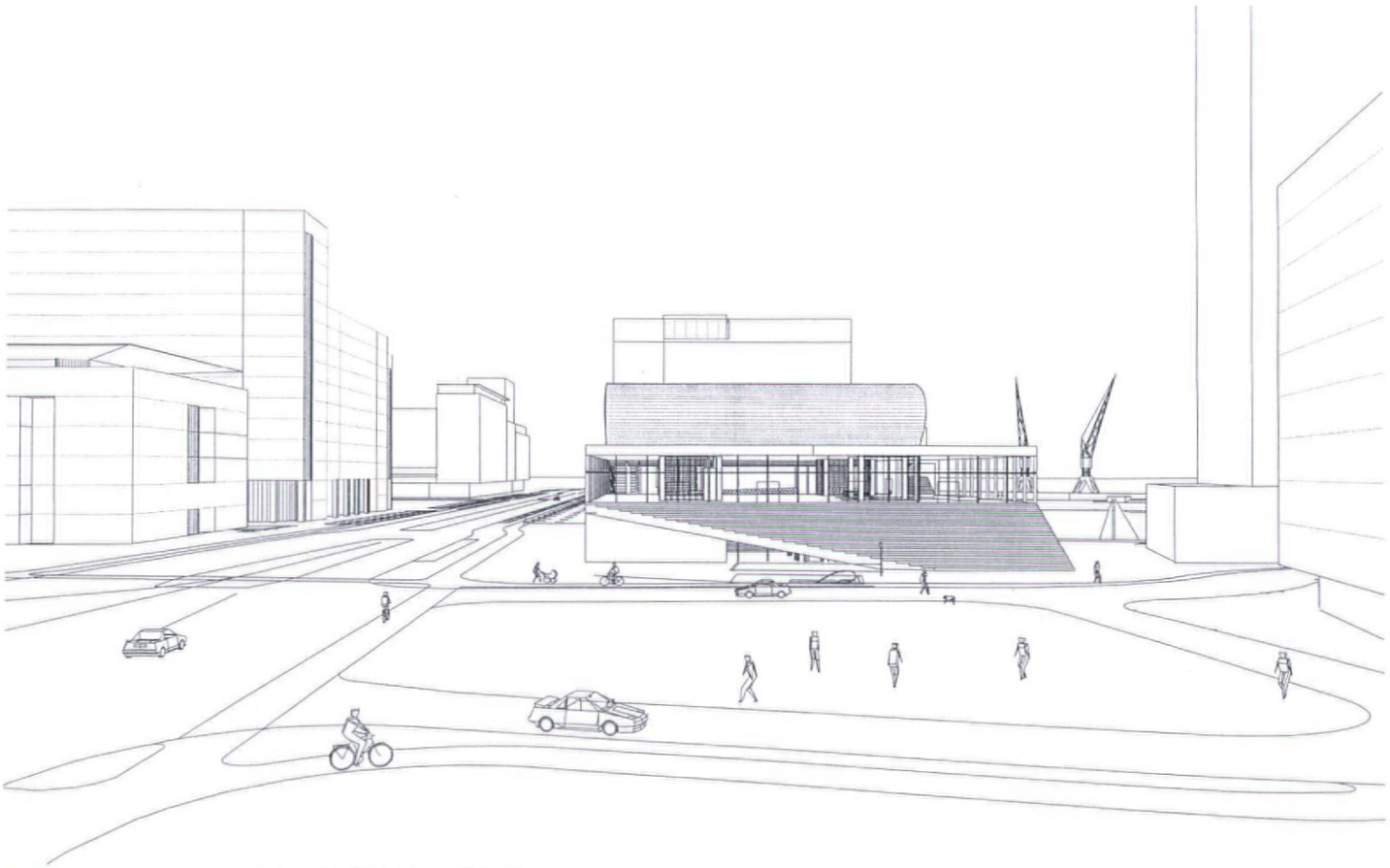
It is a paradox of theatres that the space where the event is consumed is overwhelmed by the accommodation in which the spectacle is produced. A blind fly tower usually dominates, but in this case, the backstage facilities are regarded as a 'stage factory', and the separation between the production and the consumption of a play thus becomes the conceptual starting point.

The stage factory is to be clad in steel and plate glass, in keeping with the industrial nature of the port.

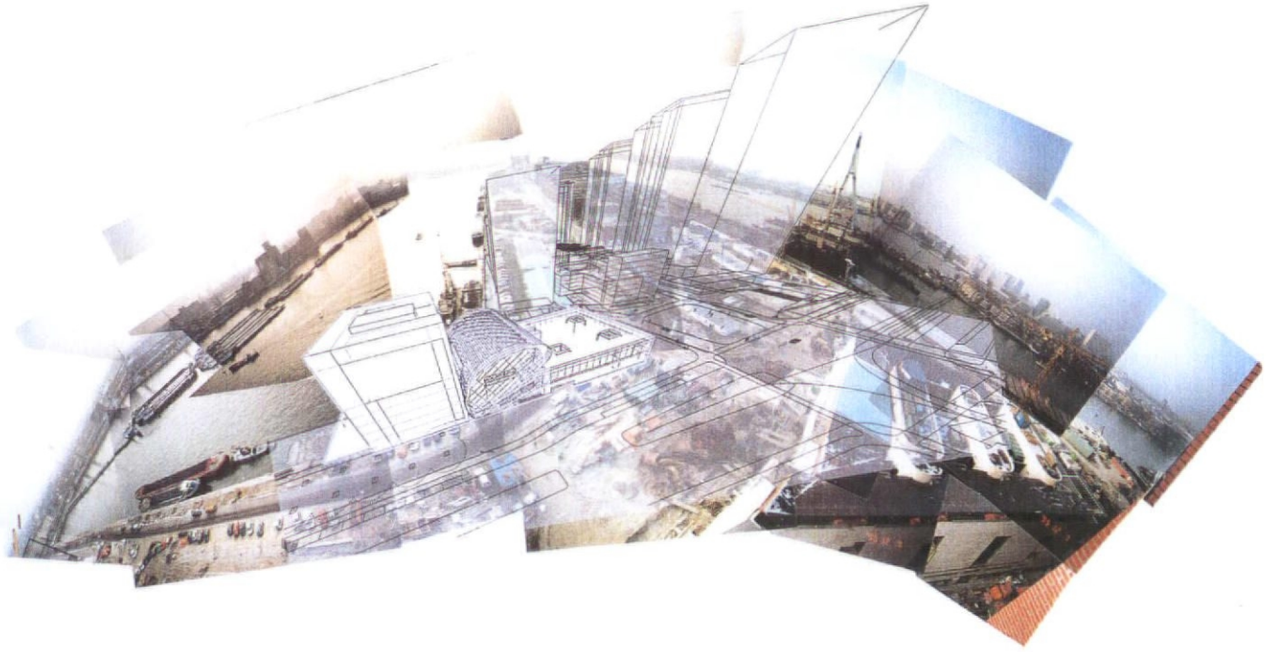
All the public functions are rolled into one continuous plane. An inviting carpet creates a visual link, so that portico becomes entrance foyer, auditorium, proscenium, ceiling and upper balcony, all in a single sweep. This makes for an intentionally non-hierarchical viewing experience, enclosing the act of consuming theatre into a single elegant gesture.

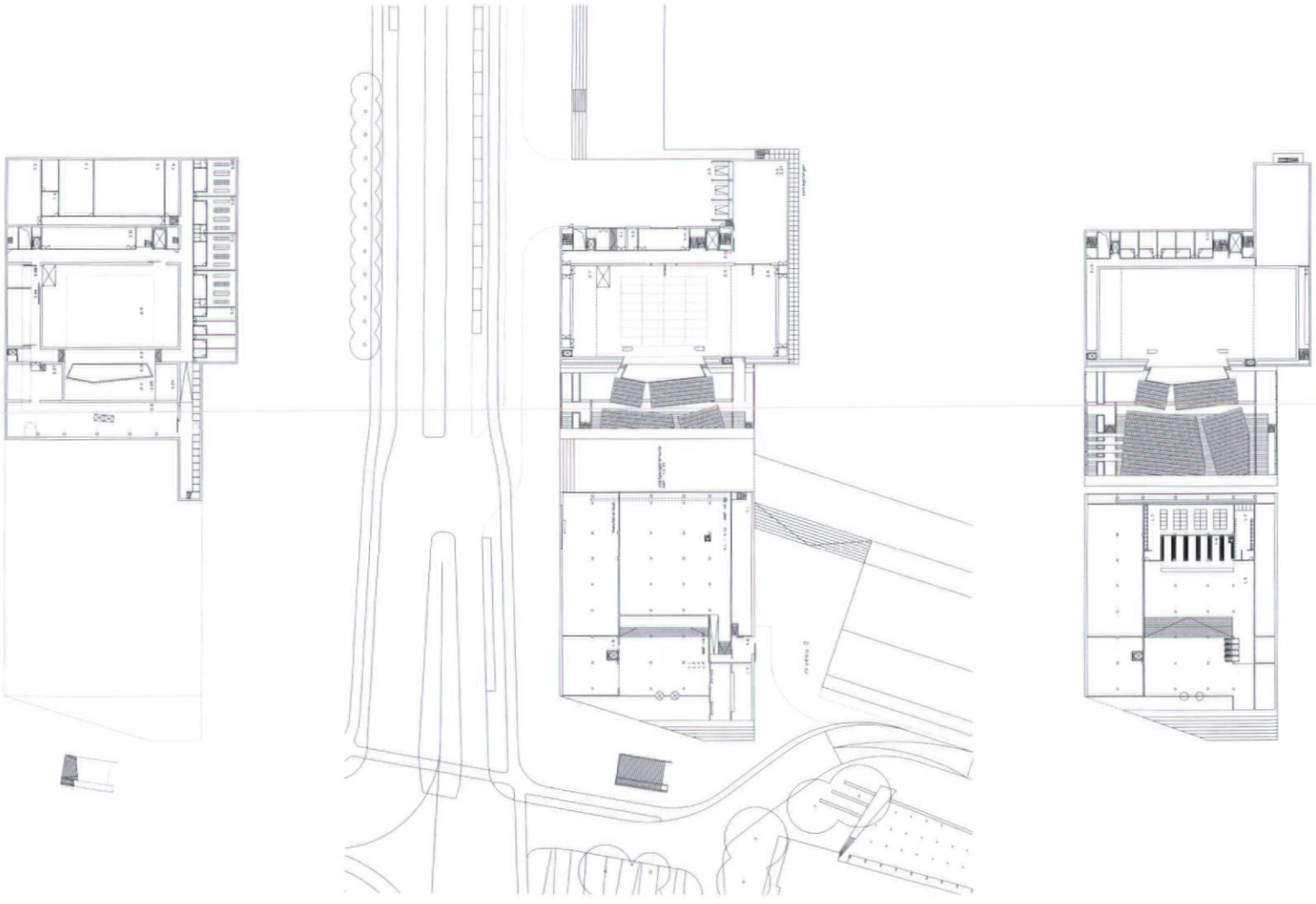
The project is to be homogeneously executed in white concrete, which varies in thickness, form and structure according to the different uses. For acoustic reasons, the part that forms the ceiling of the auditorium has a sine/cosine rippled surface, and a variety of wall and floor coverings will be employed to emphasise the contrast between production and consumption areas.

Before every performance there is the

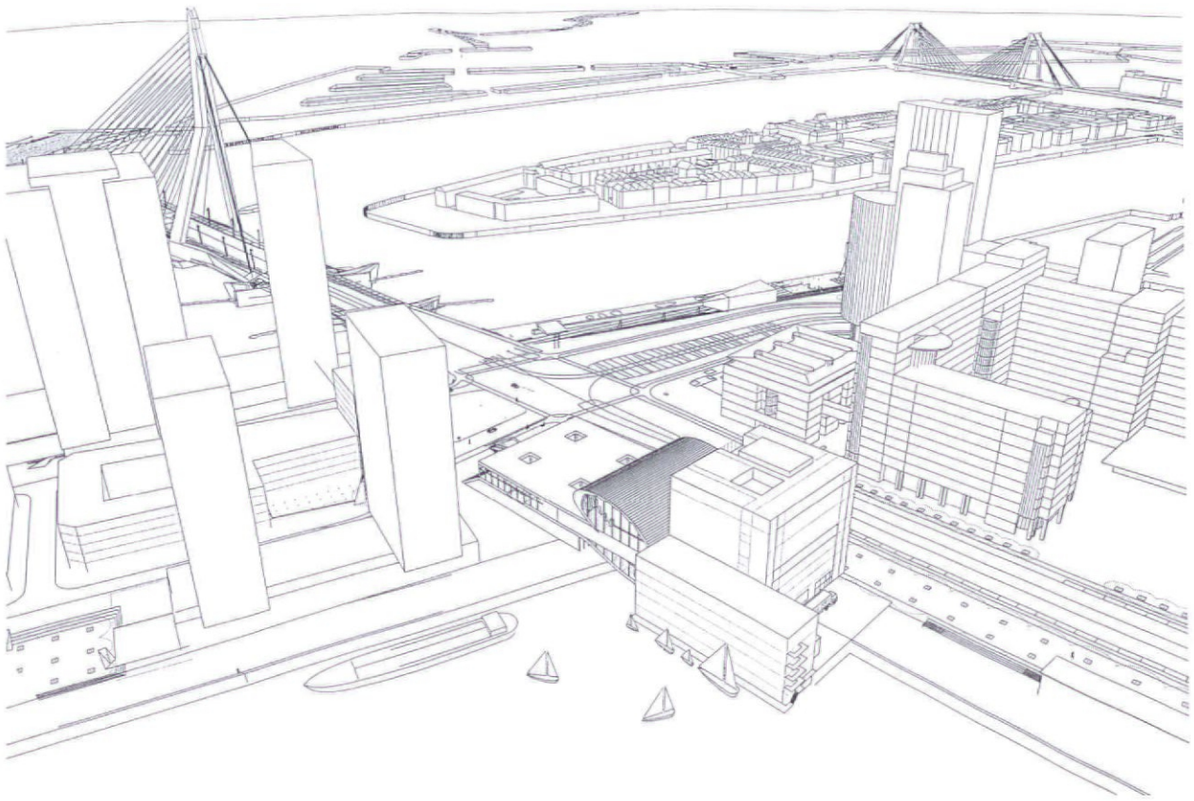


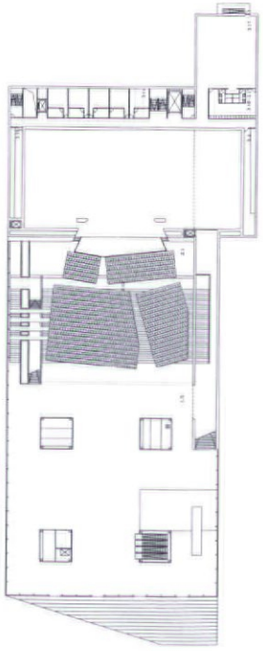
OPPOSITE: Views of the interior; ABOVE: View of the facade

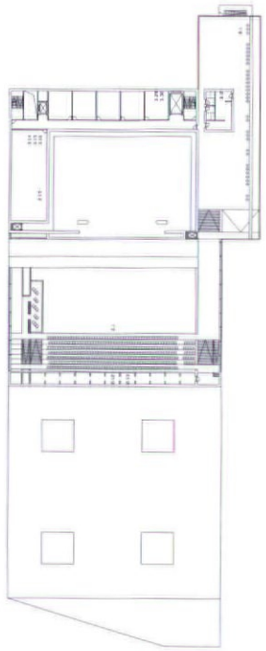


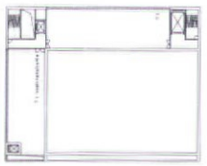


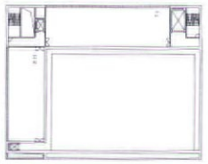
ABOVE: Collage showing aerial view; BELOW L TO R: Plans of level -1, ground floor, level +1

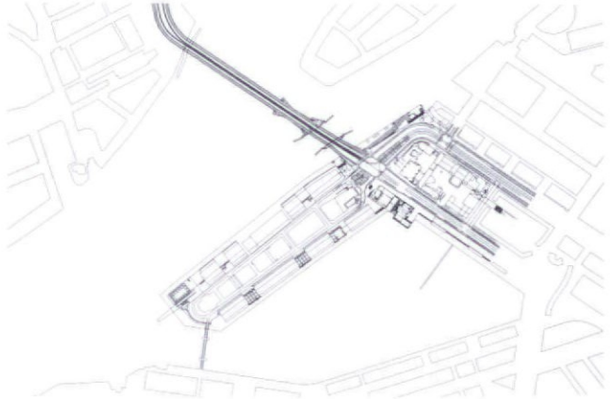




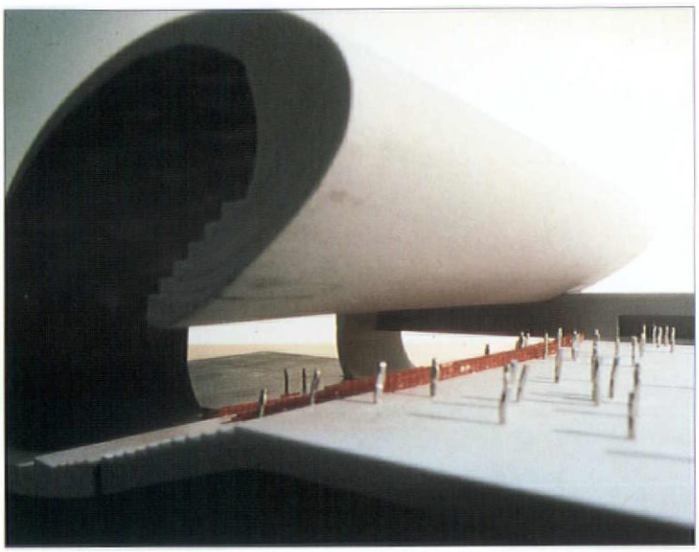


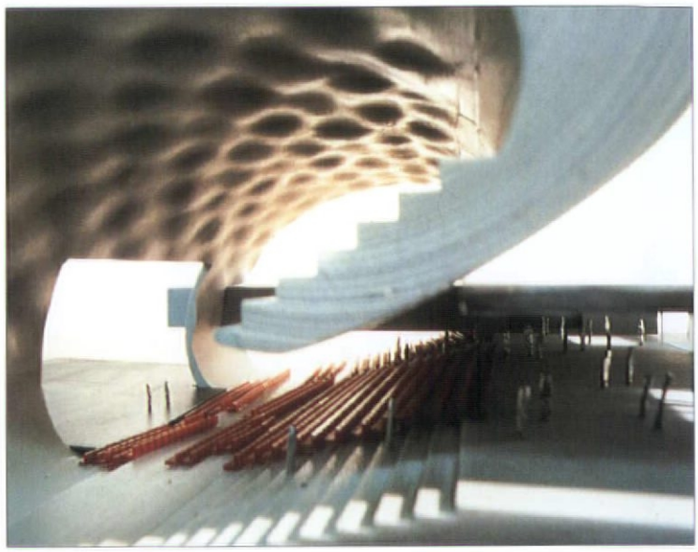


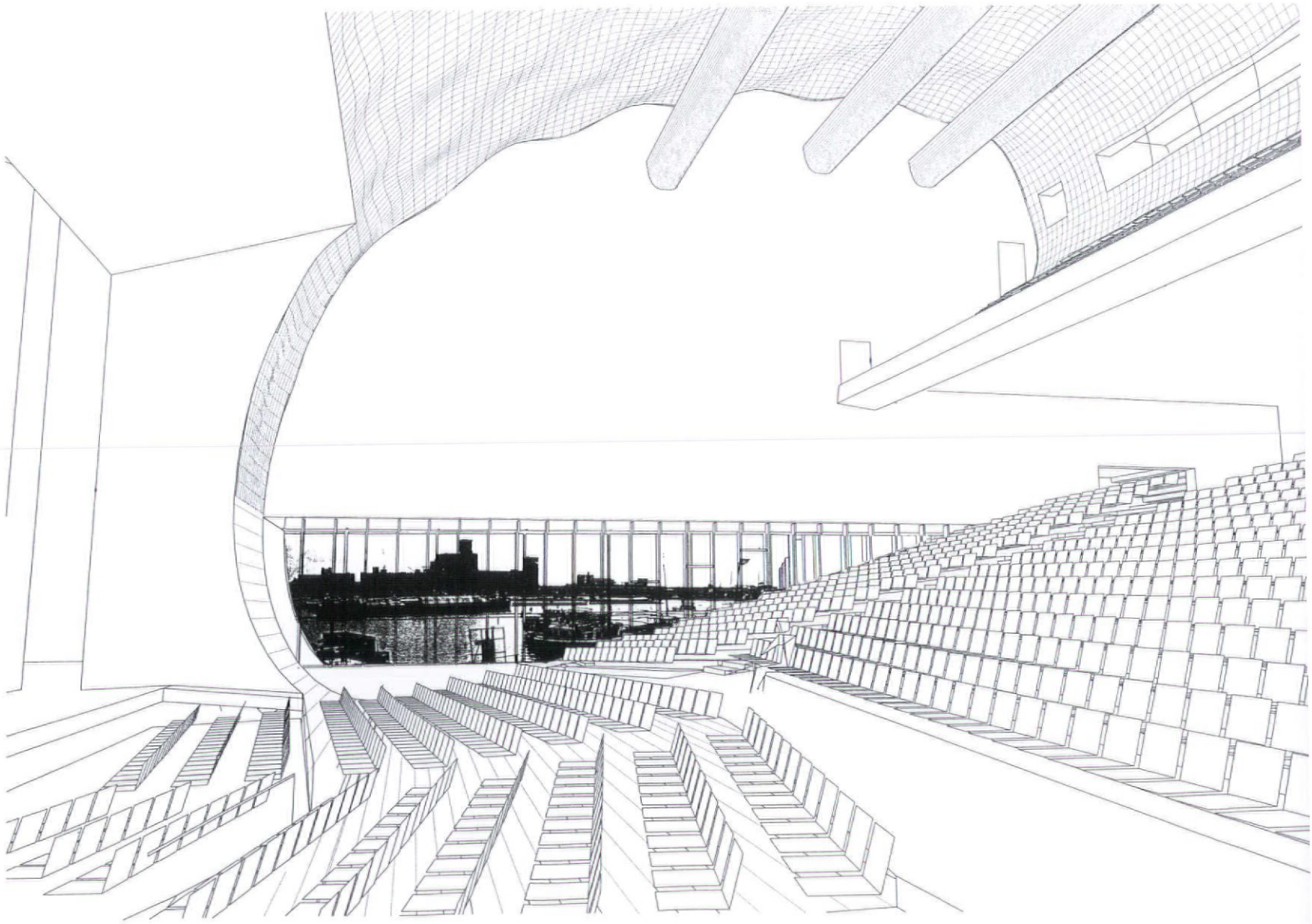


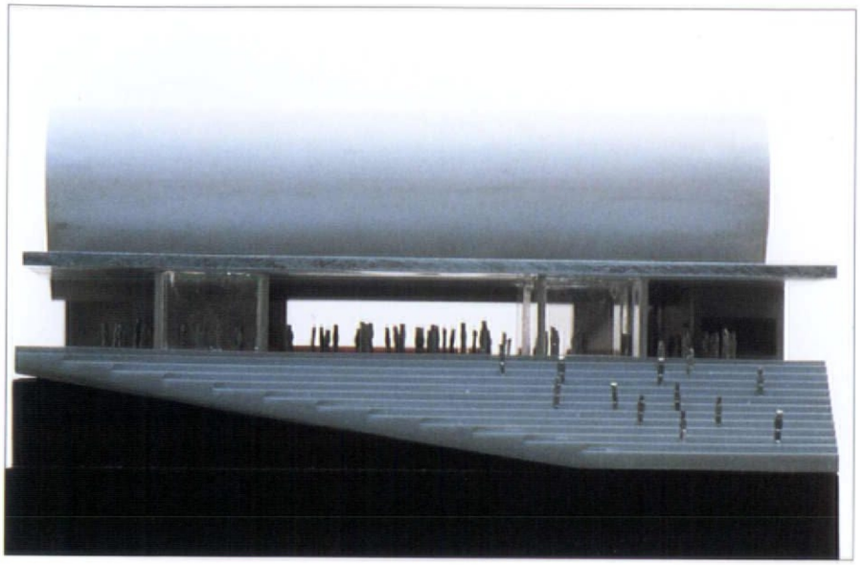


ABOVE: Aerial view; BELOW L TO R: Plans of level +2, +4, +6, +7, site plan







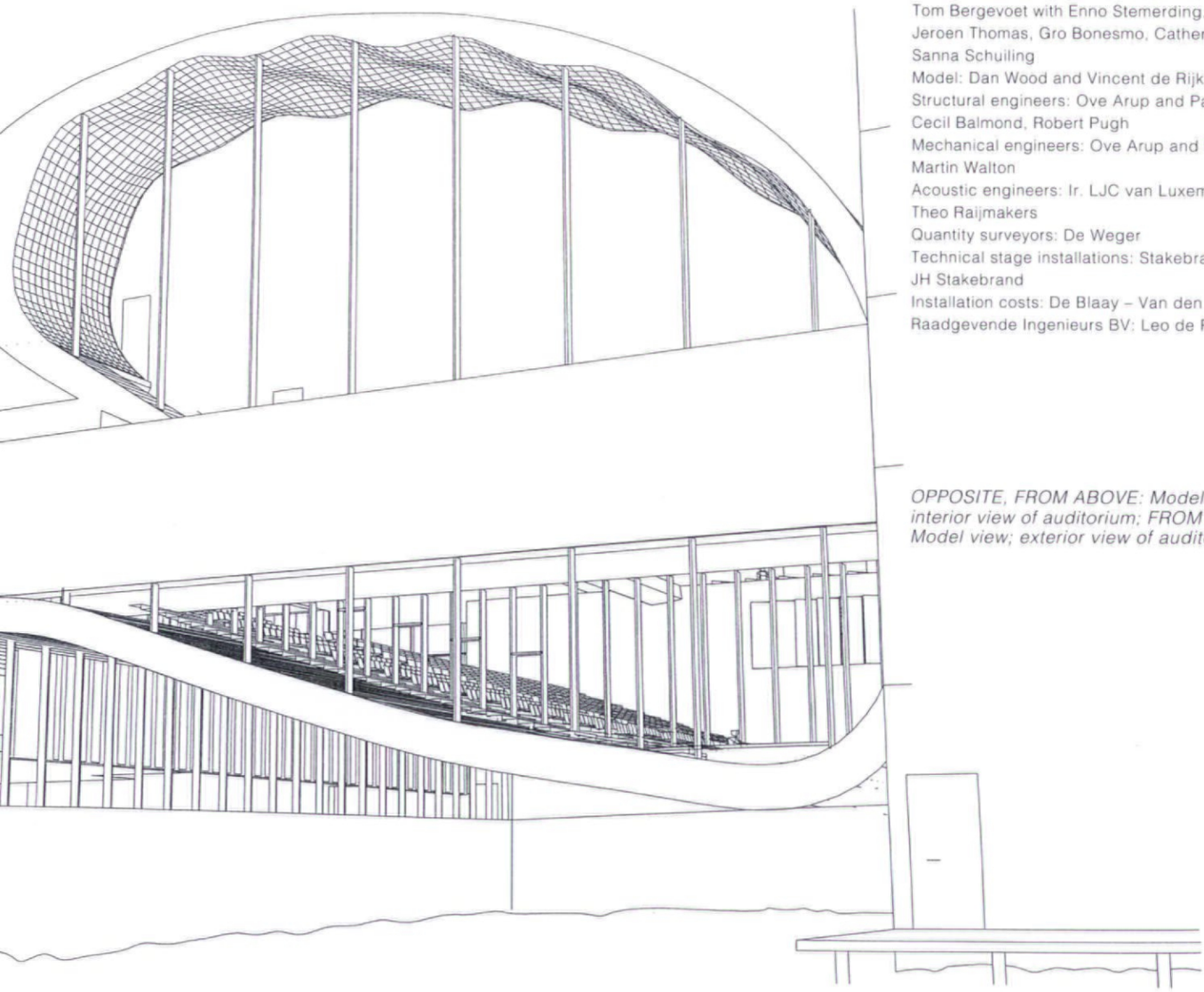


raising of a steel blade-like curtain dividing the stage from the auditorium: each element is incomplete by itself, and it is only at the moment of performance that both are brought to life through the opening of this crucial interface.

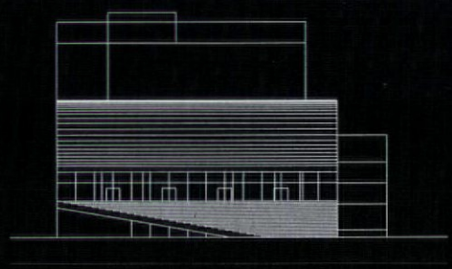
The architecture of the Luxor Theatre is in its own right a player on a much larger urban stage, establishing a dialogue with the harbour and the city skyline. To celebrate this, an exterior stage, rising directly over the water, offers space for other spontaneous performances.

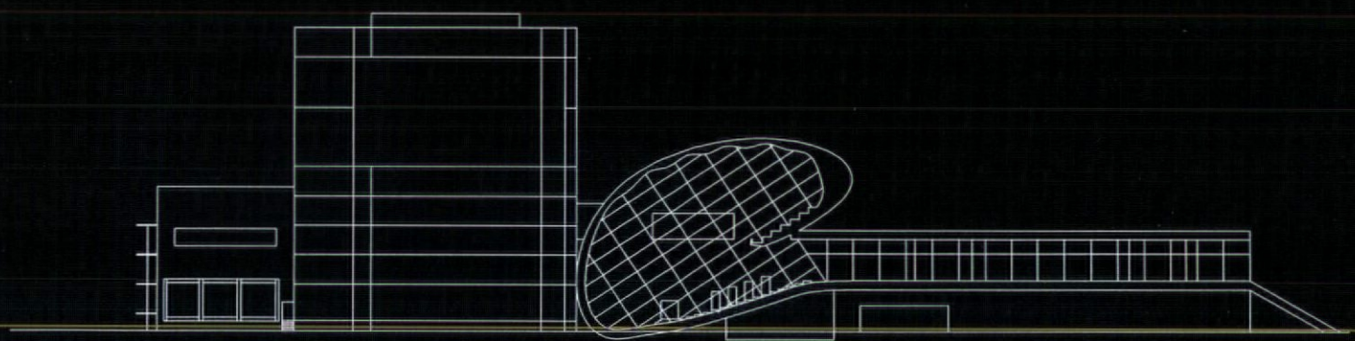
Sarah Chaplin and Eric Holding

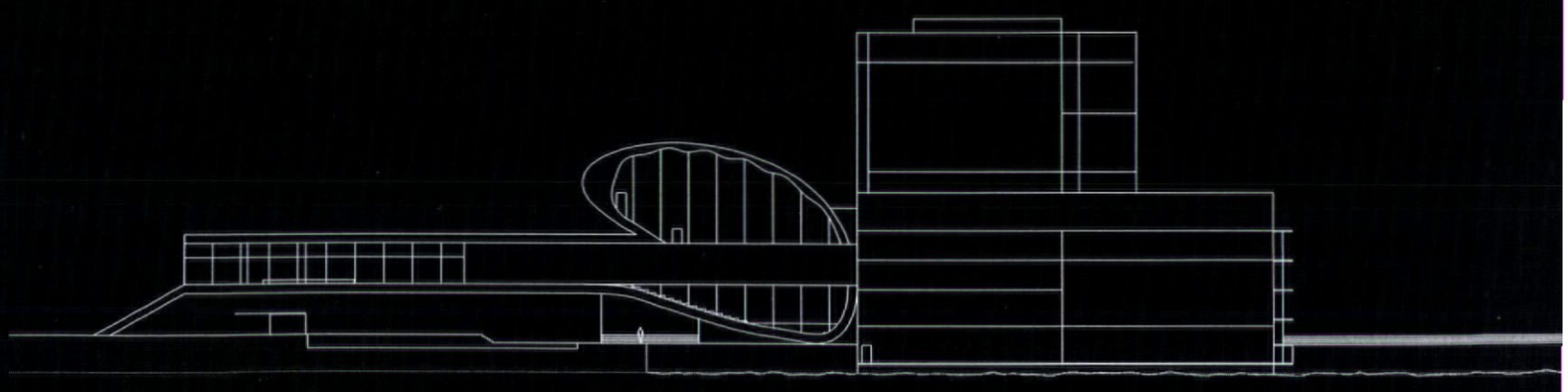
Project details:
Luxor Theatre (1,500 seats)
Competition: January 1996
Location: Kop van Zuid, Rotterdam
Client: Municipality, Rotterdam
Gross area: 15,776.8m²
Gross volume: 90,772.3m³
Principal architects: Rem Koolhaas, Floris Alkemade, Christos Marcopoulos, Ole Scheeren, Frans Blok, Tom Bergevoet with Enno Stemerding, Jeroen Thomas, Gro Bonesmo, Catherine Lassen, Sanna Schuiling
Model: Dan Wood and Vincent de Rijk
Structural engineers: Ove Arup and Partners: Cecil Balmond, Robert Pugh
Mechanical engineers: Ove Arup and Partners: Martin Walton
Acoustic engineers: Ir. LJC van Luxembourg, Theo Raijmakers
Quantity surveyors: De Weger
Technical stage installations: Stakebrand BV: JH Stakebrand
Installation costs: De Blaay – Van den Boogaard
Raadgevende Ingenieurs BV: Leo de Ruijsscher



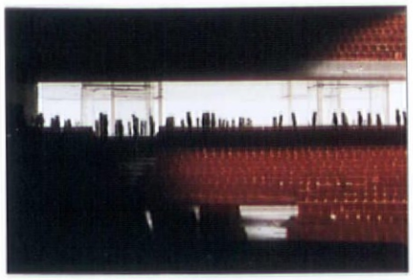
OPPOSITE, FROM ABOVE: Model views; interior view of auditorium; FROM ABOVE: Model view; exterior view of auditorium

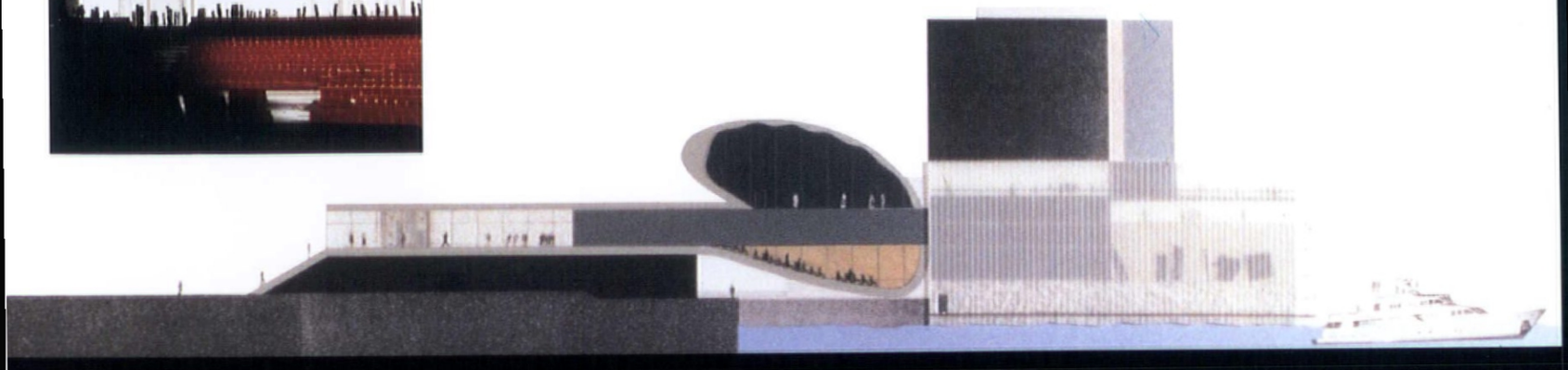


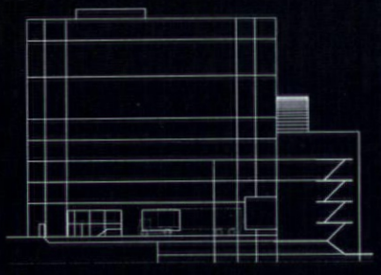


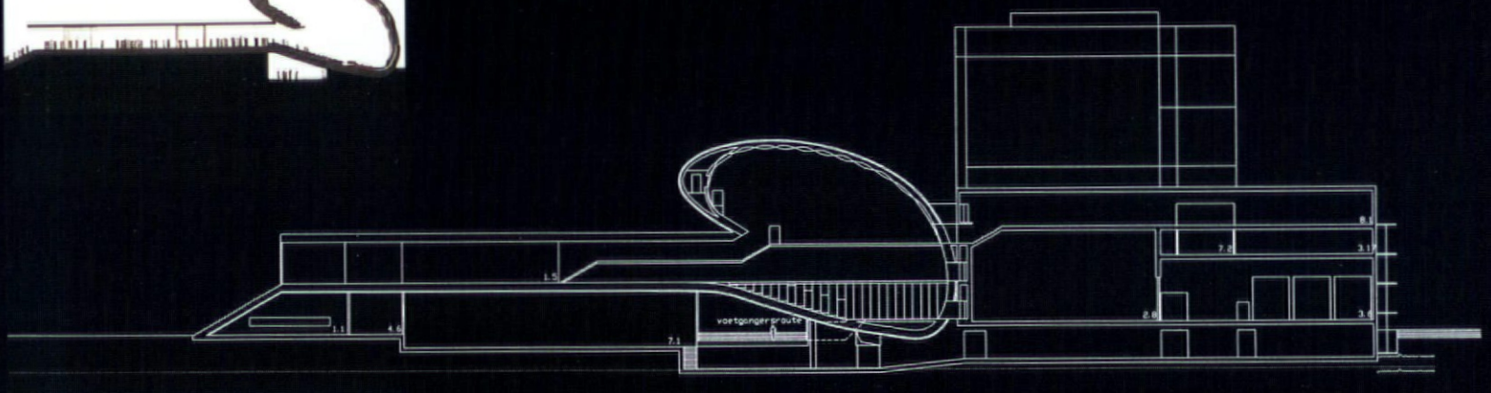


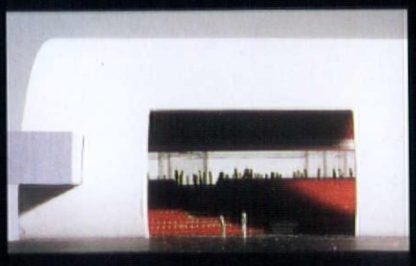
FROM ABOVE: Rendered section; north elevation; east elevation; west elevation

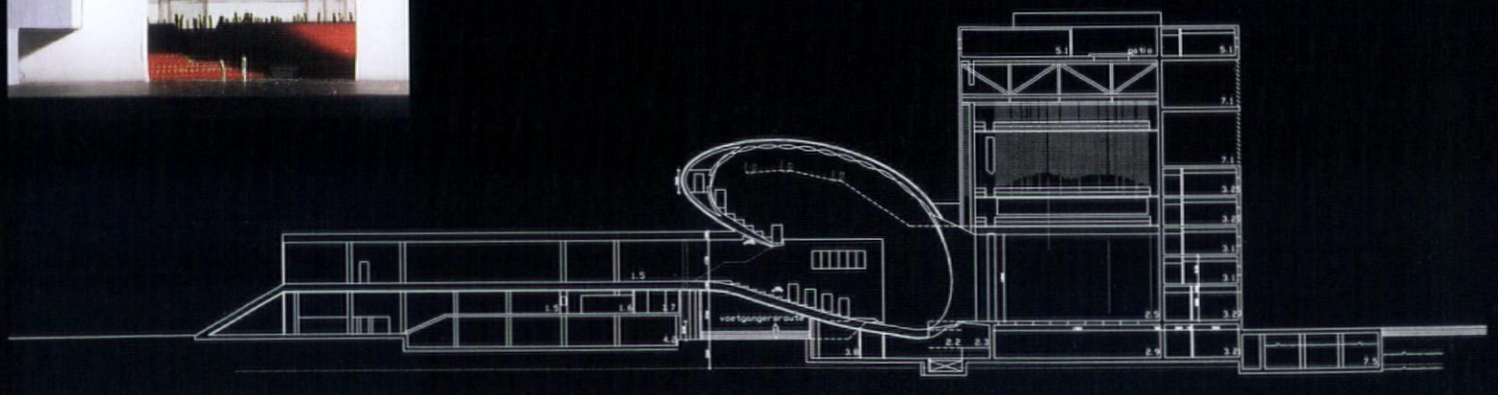








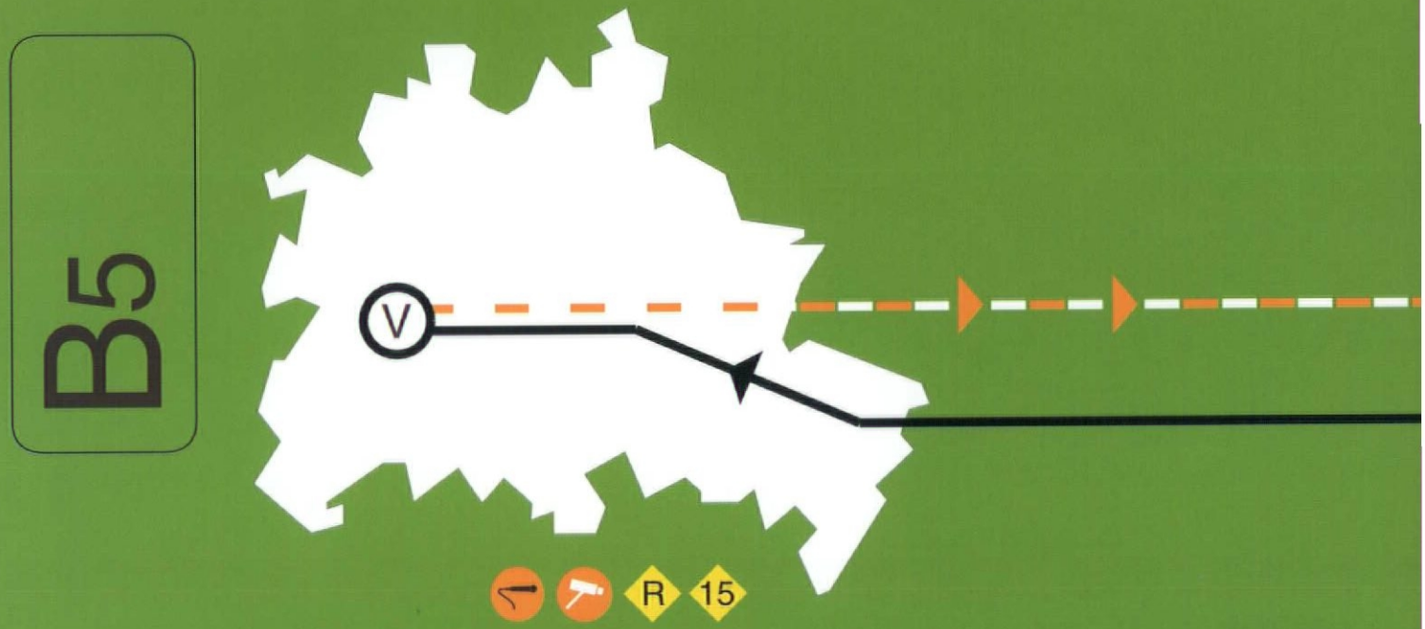




FROM ABOVE L TO R: Rendered section; views of the model; south elevation; sections

RICHARD MACRAE

A NEW URBAN STRATEGY FOR CLUBBING IN BERLIN



the building as indexation of the city – how to use this map

EXTENSION OF THE EYES

EXTENSION OF THE EARS

V VENUE

O OMNIPRESENCE

R REALITY/REVOLUTION/RETAILING

15 15 MINUTES OF FAME 24/7

SR SELF REFERENTIAL

N NULLIFICATION OF MEANING

WD WORLD DISTRIBUTION

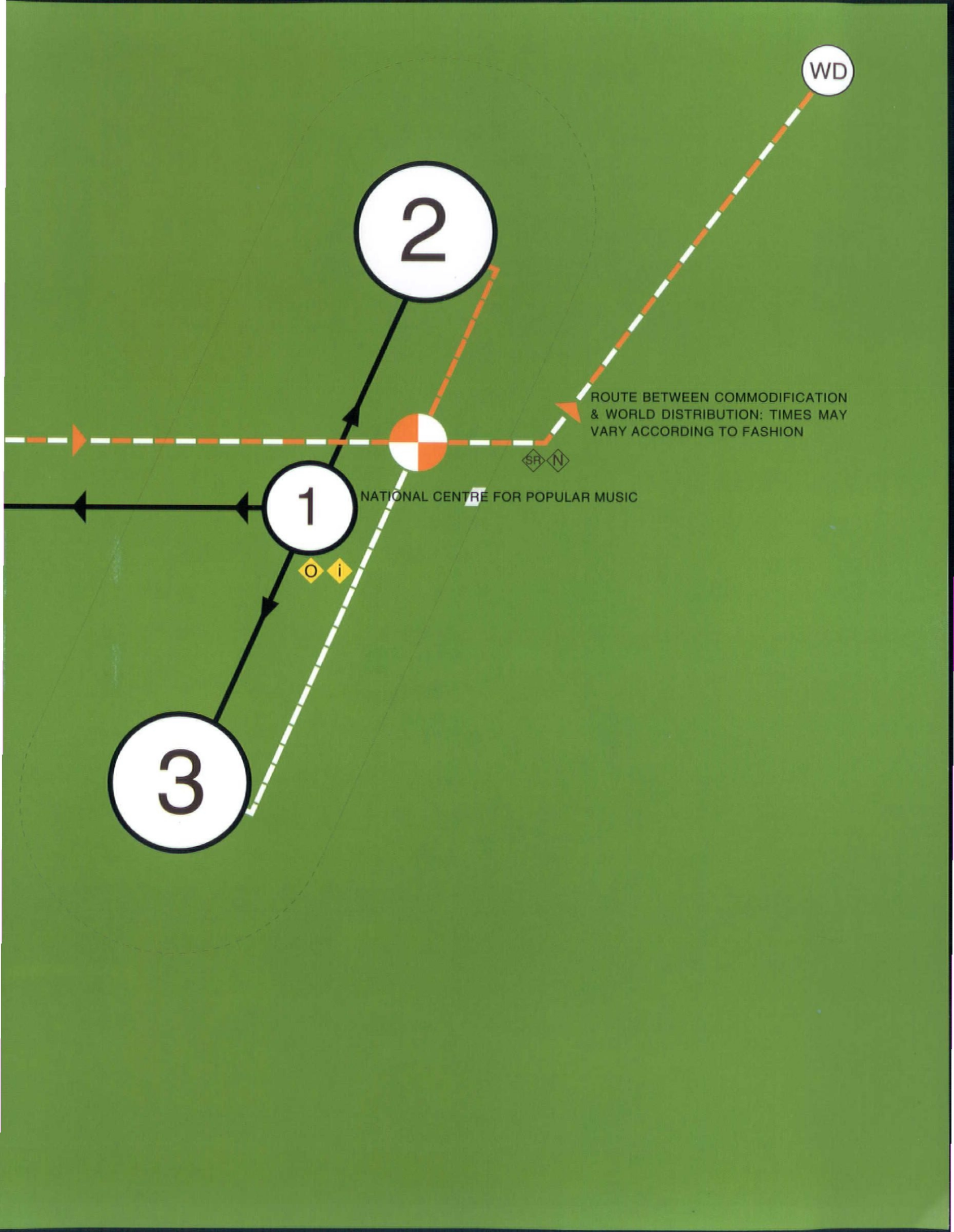
VISUAL & AUDITORY INFORMATION

PATH OF HEDONISTIC HOBO/
RECORDING REVOLUTIONARY

1 ZONE 1 – departures/arrivals lounge: a zone for social intercourse/ outcasts
departures (pre-club): a 'reality' zone between technologically mediated auditory and visual omnipresence – dependent on your criteria for your final destination/experience. zone 1 is the place to B and the place to B scene. your destination is a taxi ride away. MORE INFORMATION = LESS RISK.
arrivals (post-club): an 'illusory' zone between experience and 'experience' – dependent on whether there was a final destination/experience. zone 1 allows you to B scene without being in the place to B. your destination is a video tape away. B THERE AND B SQUARE.

2 ZONE 2 – V.I.D. >> Visual (mis)Information Device >> IMAGE ONLY – 65 terminals offer visual-only cues to 65 different destinations. each view is uncensored and transmitted in real time. zone 2 is to be used for seduction purposes only. ANY PROFOUND INTERPRETATION OF THE IMAGES IS FORBIDDEN. each person is responsible for his/her, his/his, her/her seduction. VISITORS ARE REMINDED THAT THE MEDIUM IS[N'T] THE MESSAGE.

3 ZONE 3 – A.I.D. >> Audio mis(Information) Device >> AUDIO ONLY – 65 terminals offer audio-only cues to 65 different destinations. each transmission is uncensored and transmitted in real time. ANY PROFOUND INTERPRETATION OF THE PRE-COMMODIFIED LYRICS IS FORBIDDEN. VISITORS ARE REMINDED THAT THE MEDIUM IS[N'T] THE MESSAGE.


WD
2
ROUTE BETWEEN COMMODIFICATION
& WORLD DISTRIBUTION: TIMES MAY
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NATIONAL CENTRE FOR POPULAR MUSIC
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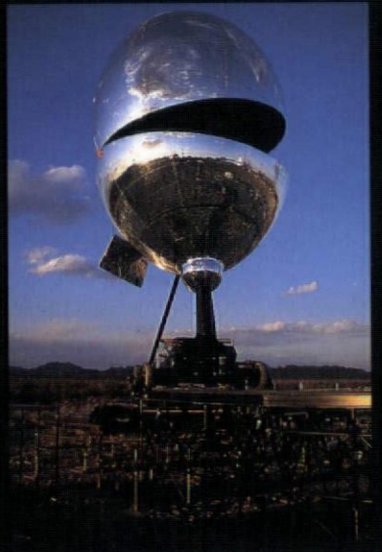
MARK FISHER

ARCHITECTURE AS A CONSUMER EVENT



Like many aspects of culture which have their origins in an anti-establishment tradition, rock and roll music over the last 20 years has acquiesced to the forces of commodification, and taken its place in consumer society alongside other marketed products.

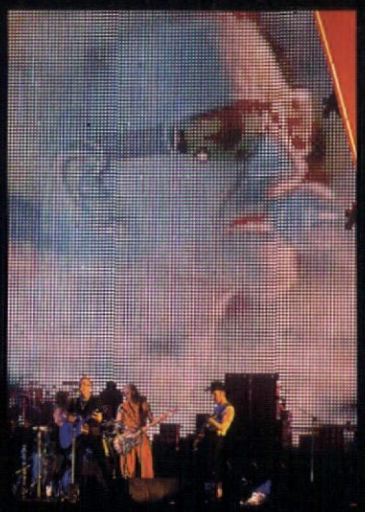
Perhaps the most remarkable outcome of this situation has been the emergence of the spectacular touring stage shows produced by bands to promote their products to a global audience.

Many of the most ambitious of these projects are designed by the architect Mark Fisher, whose clientele includes such rock luminaries as U2, Pink Floyd, and The Rolling Stones.

Fisher notes that the emergence of many of these giants in the music world was a consequence of a particular set of factors which emerged in the mid-to-late 1960s and continued through to the early 1980s, when a post-war teenage baby-boom generation was armed with a disposal income, yet faced a limited number of consumer options. In recent years, as the music market has become more fragmented, and taste more tightly focused, an increasing number of groups are achieving success, but with less market penetration of their product.

As a consequence, at the moment, it is difficult to see where the next generation of acts who could afford such lavish productions might emerge from. However, whilst several commentators have read this situation as the death-knell for this cultural phenomenon, recent ticket sales have demonstrated that it is still a form of entertainment with vast market appeal.

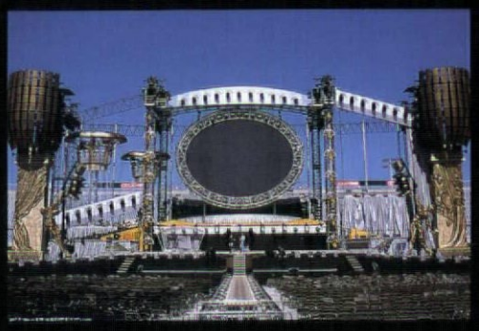
Whilst Fisher's designs frequently give



the impression of an unconstrained creative freedom, they are in reality governed by a series of tight economic and practical constraints, which ensure the delivery of the three to four shows per week that are needed in order to make the tour financially viable. Of primary importance in this equation are the logistics of transportation and set-up times. In most cases this follows the strategy of using three structural sets and one of scenery. The former are constructed from specialised component systems which have been developed from the scaffolding that was used in the past, and are now much faster to erect and easier to transport. Utilising more than one structural set means these can be set up in advance of the more expensive scenery, which arrives on the day of the concert, and is dismantled and shipped on immediately afterwards.

With financial investment running at approximately one million dollars per show, Fisher is aware that his designs are constantly 'walking the tightrope between creative innovation and public rejection'. Their thematic content is therefore carefully controlled to create ephemeral places that are not alienating, but which resonate within people's memories, allowing them to read the environment and get emotionally involved. This mass interaction, a 'tribal' response to the charisma of a few individuals, is what Fisher perceives as separating this form of entertainment from that of the theme park, which he characterises as an essentially private form of public leisure.

Whilst Fisher reveals his own interest in event-based architecture as deriving from the avant-garde Happenings of the 1960s, the stage sets tend to reflect the desires of individual bands to make a contemporary statement, more at the level of the cinema than the art gallery, and which draws on current preoccupations in



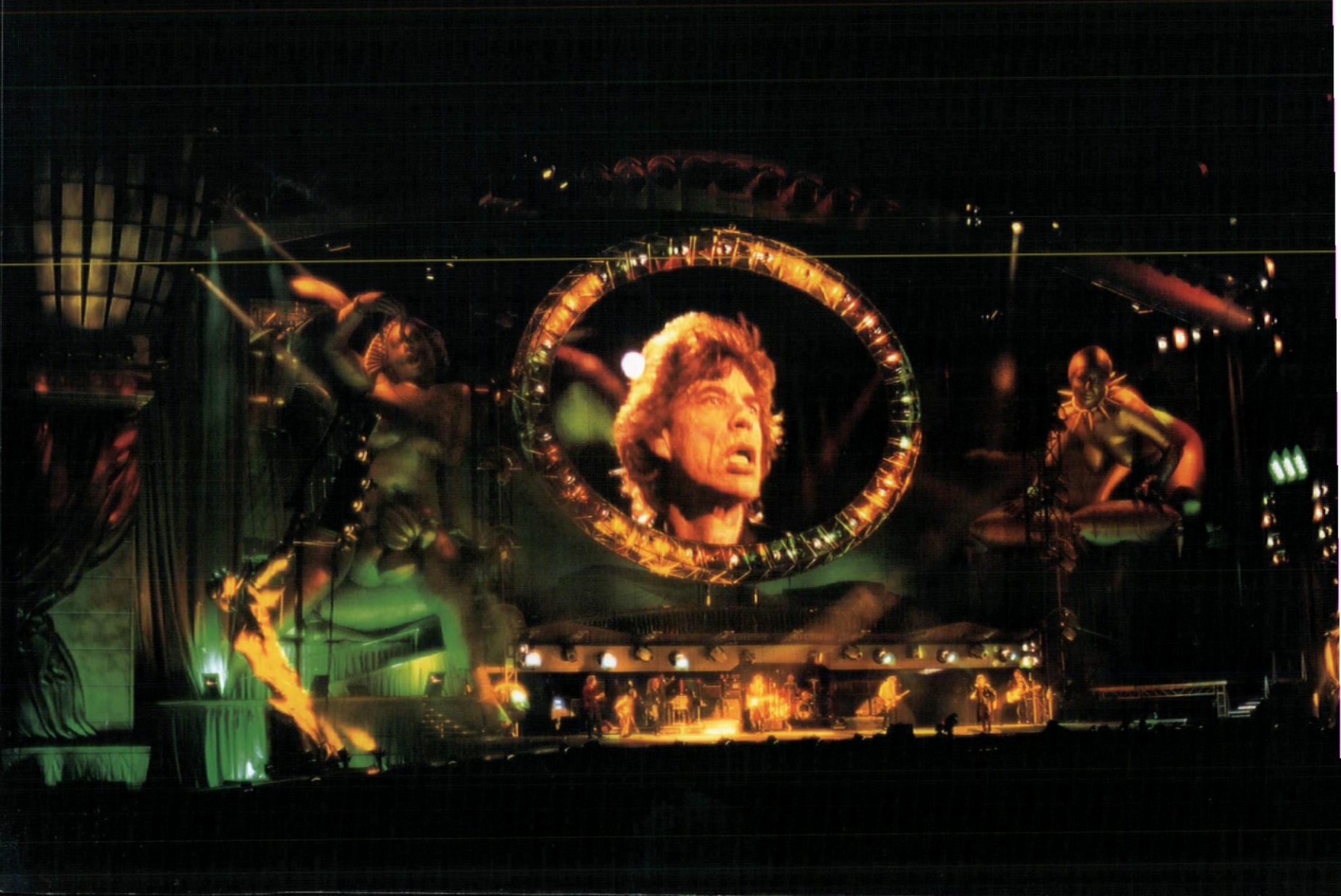
mainstream culture, where popular music itself is situated.

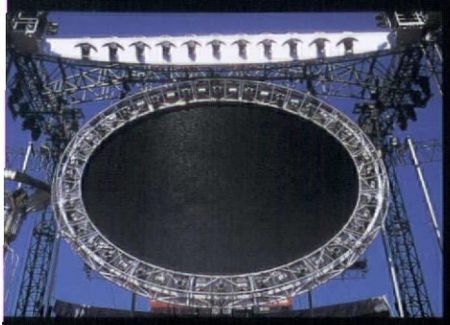
The intention behind these events is the creation of a memorable experience. This offers more than simply music, of which the audience can hear perfect reproductions on the cheapest of CD players in the comfort of their own homes. The delivery of spectacular entertainment however, has to contend with the often blasé attitude of an audience over-saturated with the special effects of Hollywood movies.

This situation calls for strong themes such as the 'Steel Wheels' show for The Rolling Stones, in which the set resembled industrial structures such as the launch gantries for the Space Shuttle, and North Sea Oil Rigs. These were re-packaged and presented by Fisher as the last legacy of Victorian engineering, redundant structures in an information age, ideas echoing the sentiments of the science-fiction/cyberpunk author William Gibson in his novel *Mona Lisa Overdrive* and the dystopian aesthetics of Ridley Scott's *Bladerunner*.

One of Fisher's most recent sets, commissioned by the band U2 for their 'Popmart' tour, explores a totally different area of culture, being conceived as a satire on consumerism and the corporate world. Loosely based around the theme of the supermarket, its forms and colours are drawn from the LA and Miami Beach Modernity of the 1950s, and contain unmistakable references to the work of Morris Lapidus and Raymond Loewy. Fisher points out that these are not just wilful allusions, but rather highly charged cultural motifs, which still resonate with the public through the corporate graphics of many multinationals which were established in post-war America. Fisher orchestrates these elements, together with an absurdly scaled video system (which parodies TV as a delivery medium), to create a highly idiosyncratic visual environment for the band's performance.

At the time of the interview, the Rolling Stone's latest tour to promote their current album, 'Bridges to Babylon' was about to start out to North America on the first leg of a world tour. Fisher's opulent stage-set designs are the result of a lengthy dialogue with the band, which began with an initial presentation featuring photographs of the heavily



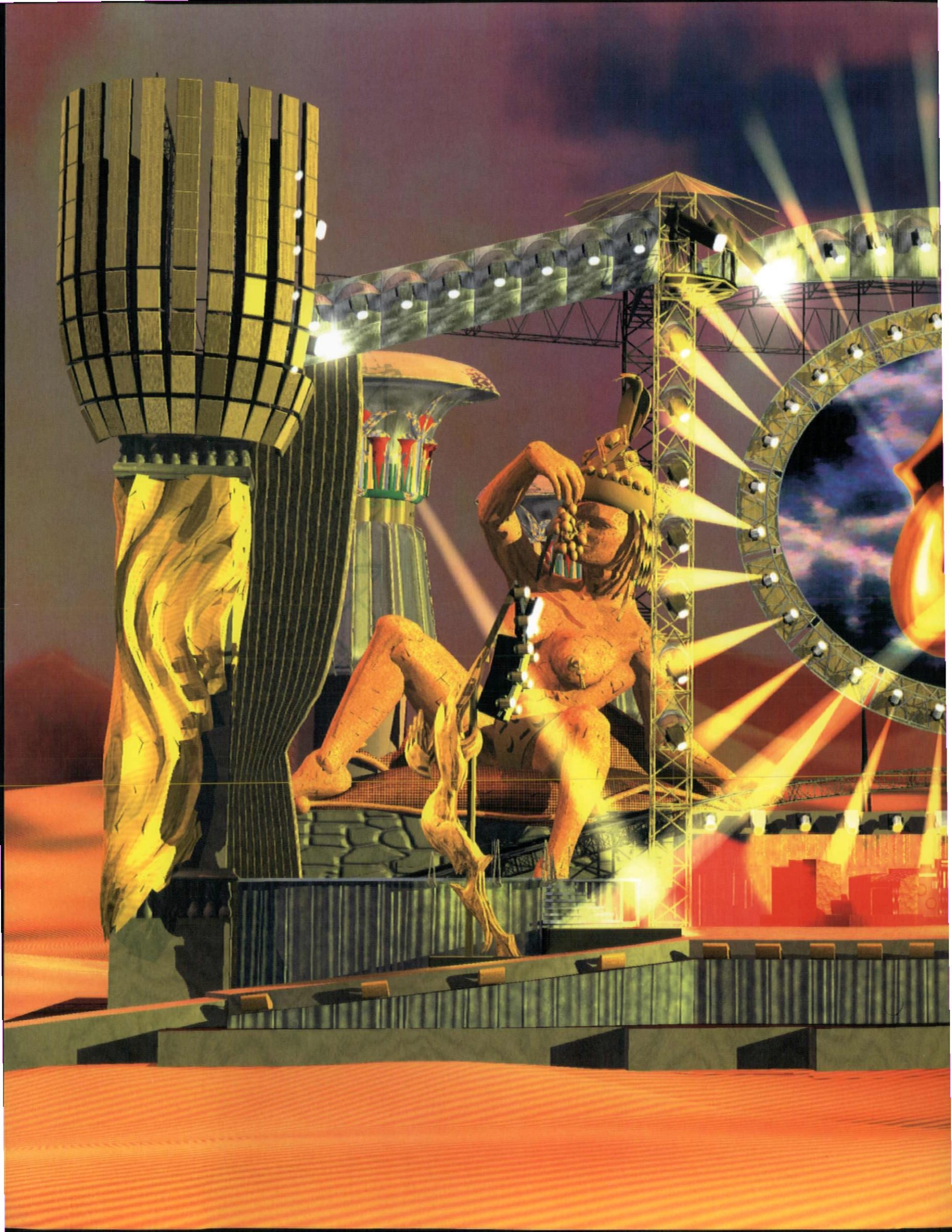


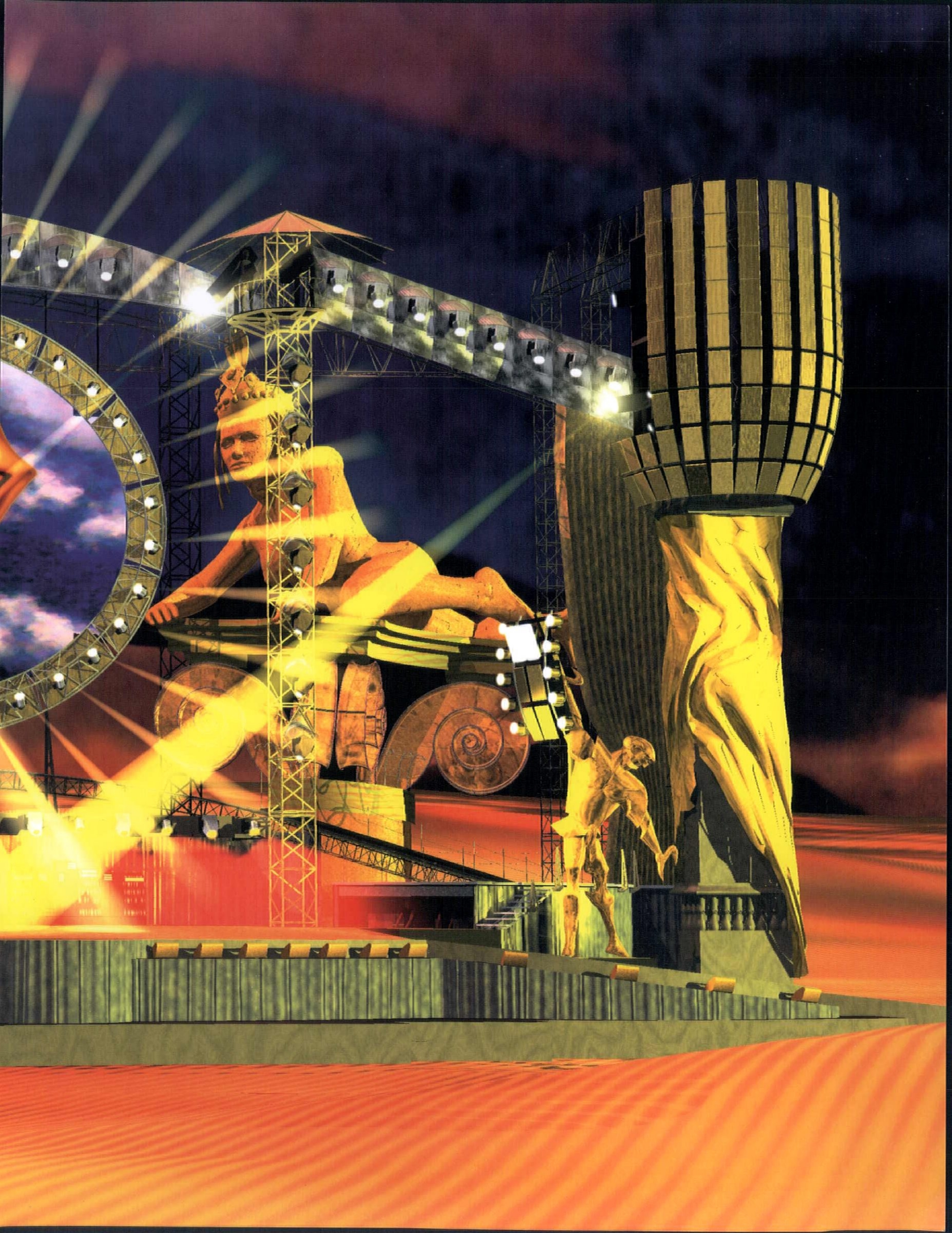
ornamented Baroque churches of Latin America.

Placing the images of this environment alongside those taken from U2's 'Popmart' tour, Fisher reveals that whilst appearing to present fundamentally different worlds to the spectator, they and all the other sets like them are essentially the same, with only a surface treatment creating the illusion of a unique experience. This difficult condition is one faced by all commodities; brand differentiation, the making of something identical appear different in the eyes of the consumer, which requires the skilful hand of the designer. Here the foundations supporting the high moral ground of modern architecture undergo failure, 'form does not follow function', Fisher remarks, 'yet I have known grown men who believe in that'. This is the closest he comes to commenting on the permanent architectural environment, except to record his belief that 'too much architecture is made to last too long'.

This statement returns us to the notion of architecture as a consumer product, and the wary reception his work gets in the architectural press, where he believes it is published as a curiosity, tainted as it is by commercialism in the eyes of a liberal establishment wedded to the idea that only public funding is capable of delivering architecture of cultural significance. The fact that his work is yet to be consumed/categorised by Charles Jencks, is proof, he wryly suggests, that his *oeuvre* is beyond even the margins of architecture.

From an interview with Eric Holding





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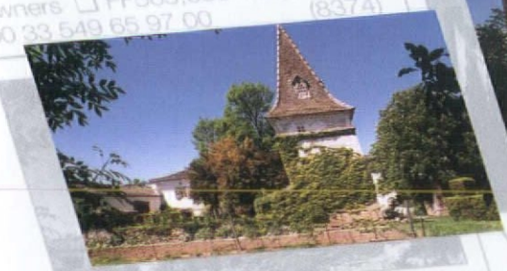

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DAVINA CHAPLIN

AN ENGLISHMAN'S FRENCH HOME IS HIS FERMETTE

Consuming French Rural Life

A study of recent British purchases of second homes in rural France reveals interesting patterns of consumption and production with respect to architecture, patterns which differ from the consumption and production of first homes on the one hand and from the consumption of places on the tourist map on the other.

Over the last 10 years or so, some of the least popular areas of France as far as traditional tourists are concerned, areas which have suffered the effects of rural depopulation, have attracted a considerable number of British buyers of mostly long vacated properties. The majority are in search of a retreat to a rural idyll, a bolt-hole from the stresses of urban life in Britain, a familiar yet eternally fresh environment in which to unwind, relax with family and friends (both British and French) and live life at a different pace. This retreat does not mean, however, a passive consumption of a finished holiday home; it frequently involves a long term investment of money, time and effort in the restoration, renovation and maintenance work required to convert and adapt the buildings for the new owners' use. There is some indication that exclusivity is important, and in this respect second homes are 'positional goods',[1] illustrated by the comment of one second home-owner in Picardy about other British people arriving in 'her' village: 'If many more came it'd be ruined. The point of buying it would have gone.'

However, in many ways even the production aspect of French second home ownership is consumed as an experience for its own sake, rather than for status-affirming purposes. As Cross comments, biases about the role of emulation and domestic consumption 'have tended to blind observers to the complex purposes of domestic consumerism.'[2]

The complexity of motives and practices associated with the purchase and consumption of second homes on the part of British buyers of properties in four geographical areas of France (the Limousin/Périgord Vert and Lot-et-Garonne in West Central and South West France, and in the North, in Picardy and Lower Normandy) between 1985 and 1995, is reflected in attitudes and activities at successive stages of the process of acquisition, renovation and use of the properties.

Consuming dreams

In the initial stage, when purchasers are thinking about owning a French rural house, they often have a dream (frequently an unrealistic one) of what it would be like, and the process of finding the house which they eventually buy proves sometimes to be as important as the end result:

> We spent quite a lot of time . . . looking around, and found a wonderful house, as one does. This was our fantasy phase, I don't know if everyone goes through it, but we did . . . I think we knew that we were in fantasy phase then, of the sixteenth-century sort of château something or other . . . We were quite enjoying it, it was part of the fun . . .

This is an example of what Campbell identifies as the essential activity of consumption within modern consumerism, namely 'imaginative pleasure-seeking',[3] rather than the actual selection, purchase or use of products. The role of the imagination is central to this form of 'self-illusory hedonism'[4] and forms a part of the process of acquisition, renovation, decoration, as well as the eventual use of the house for holidays or living in.

The dream, for those suffering from the effects of urban life in Britain, also takes the form of escapism; many people use the same words to describe their feelings about their French house, 'bolt hole' or 'escape hole', for example a woman who had subsequently taken early retirement remembered her first few years' use of the house in Picardy: 'Originally it was an escape hole, to get away from the pressures of London, and working.' This almost primitive desire for a refuge is an echo of Bachelard's discussion of the significance of the 'hut-dream' as a flight of fancy from city to rural simplicity and solitude.[5]

For some people, the dreams seem to be less about escaping from and more to do with escape to new opportunities, whether to live a different life ('It's just a second bite at life.'), or to create another home and rebuild a relationship: 'We're lucky enough to have done it twice, in two different locations, in two different ways . . . and it's what brought us a lot more together.'

Consuming work

Once the dreaming stage is over and the purchase is achieved, the majority of British owners of second homes in France (over 80 percent of purchasers before 1988 and around 60 percent after 1988)[6] undertake major building work on the property. The production period lasts from a few months to ten years or more, and becomes a way of consuming the property for many owners, who view the DIY projects as creative and enjoyable, unlike work of a similar nature in Britain on their first homes: 'I certainly resent doing DIY in London. Feel it's a real erosion of my spare time. It doesn't feel like that here.'

Even for professionals with expert knowledge of buildings, the story is only slightly different: architects talk about plastering as creative therapy and the ongoing process of renovation, reconstruction and maintenance over a number of years in France as a welcome change from the pressures of life as a practising architect in urban Britain.

Although many owners claim only to undertake what they call 'cosmetic DIY', involving mainly painting and varnishing, they derive pleasure from this, expressed in such phrases as 'slopping paint around', 'pottering in the barn' or having 'a lovely place to do jobs in'.

Part of the enjoyment of these activities comes from the rural environment and the creative freedom which this gives: 'It's just that things aren't quite as perfect, surroundings wise, it is a rural community and things aren't as pristine . . . on the outside. But you go inside and you create your own little world.'

Belk identifies the importance of the home as a key consumption object in defining self for the family.[7] In the case of French second homes, there seems to be considerable support for the thesis that this group self is created, defined, refined and symbolised during and through the process of acquisition, renovation and consumption. The production aspect of decorative and maintenance DIY often goes hand in hand with a consumption object of a more creative kind: the home as an expression of taste. One couple in the Limousin described the process of creating their French home in terms of it giving them an outlet for their different tastes and style preferences:

> How we feel is that we love this house, for its style and what we've done to it and how we've done it and when we've done it, but equally France fulfils a gap that our house in the UK can never do. We can have a more rustic look, it wouldn't work there, so we've got the best of both worlds, both to me are as important as each other.

Ironically, the attempt to create 'a French look' provokes comments from their French neighbours about how English it looks. Others, however, have designed and furnished their second homes along similar lines to their first homes, installing wood-burning stoves and IKEA kitchens in both, putting their habitus[8] into practice in both their British and French surroundings.

Consuming the fruits

The dreams and hopes which those who have bought and worked on French houses talk about when recalling the pre-purchase stages are subsumed into the experience of consuming the fruits of their labours; many people, in describing how they use and consume the house and its location, appear to enjoy looking back over the previous stages and reliving the anticipation, just as they also enjoy looking back on the reconstruction and renovation stages and comparing what they have now with how it was then: 'We have a gawp time, and the gawp time is when we look at the room and what we've got around us and we still get a kick out of what we've done and what we've got there . . . and perhaps remembering how we got it.'

It is as if reflecting on their investment of effort, time and money as well as the creative process gives another layer of pleasure to the consuming experience.

Eating and drinking, both away from the French home and at home, often outside, are very important parts of the consumption object, most of the owners expressing pleasure in the fresh produce, the quality of the meals at simple auberges, and the time they spend on eating, as a family or large party of friends, or as a couple:

> We enjoy, oh, it sounds quite odd, but the rigmarole of going through the evening meal . . . Aperitifs will take us an hour and a half and then we'll have a starter . . . and then we may go for a walk . . . and then come back and do us the main course, and of course there's the wonderful cheese in France . . . And we always have four or five bottles of wine on the go, according to what we're eating.

Observing and watching nature is very important to those who have more isolated houses or homes within hamlets and larger villages, both for their children or grand-children and for themselves:

> The children saw glow worms for the first time, and the stars! There's so much sky and it's really dark . . . We looked through the hedge and there was S. just cuddling a goat! She doesn't get much chance to do that back home in England!

For some this takes on almost a spiritual dimension, sometimes in conjunction with music. As one owner in the Limousin expressed it:

> It was the Easter Hymn from Cavalleria Rusticana, and just as it got to the real crescendo, this buzzard took off and just flew straight up. I thought this is the meaning of life, you know, this beautiful music, this great big bird flying over, and I sort of caught a view of it in the sun roof as I was driving along, and I was just crying as I got home, it was an odd thing.

However the most commonly mentioned activity is relaxing, pottering, 'just being', and most people rest and sleep much more than they say they do at home in Britain. In general, it appears that many do 'home' more properly, in the context of their own view of domestic consumption, in France than they do in Britain, and this is often a source of satisfaction and pleasure which they emphasise as important. ('I associate having the house there with also time enough to take life in and just to be . . . more than there often seems to be time to do with day-to-day working.') Calm and an atmosphere of rural peace and quiet play a large part in the consumption practices of the second home owners, often leading to a decision not to install a telephone and to do without central heating, enjoying instead the delights of wood fires.

Consuming place and space

The location of the property, its situation and its outlook hold great significance for the majority of owners. Some of their comments reveal an attachment to rural life, which some claim only to have read about or remember from childhood.[9] Several express the belief that only in France is it possible to find the kind of peace and isolation they value. Interestingly, it tends to be those who live in urban or densely populated suburban areas in Britain who claim particular competence in this consumption of rural French life, perhaps displaying a fetish for the rural, with its drawbacks as well as its delights, as a man in Lot-et-Garonne revealed:

> There's a kind of stillness, it's magical, I can't explain it. I seem to spend a lot of time just walking to the edge of my land and just looking, at the view, the light . . . and at night it's really dark and quiet. In London it never gets really dark.

Consuming self

Some people reflect on their feelings about their own identities and whether these have changed as a result of owning and living in the house in France; this is often linked to the dreaming phase which they describe as the initial part of the process. As one woman put it: 'I think we're different, I think it touches a bit of us that we're not able to be in touch with in London, and we're much more relaxed, peaceful, nature-loving people.'

Becoming a different person figures in some of the men's narratives too, as they reflect on and laugh about the roles they feel that they slip into whilst in France: 'It's ritual, isn't it? I think it's the idea of the man going out doing the hunting . . . I go out every morning and nip down to C. about 7 kilometres away.' 'When I'm piling up wood, I'm a man of the earth, a man of the soil, it's unreal, I know, but it's nice to pretend!'

Feelings about home and the meaning of home give an insight into the underlying motives associated with the consumption

practices. There seem to be two main aspects to this, ownership itself and the control which this gives, and the transforming of novelty into familiarity and routine. Comments such as, 'Now, we're going back to the same place, but it's ours' and, 'I like to have my own things the way I want them, I like that security' reveal the possessive instinct which Saunders sees as being carried through genetic transmission, an inherited expression of personal identity;[10] the fact that the French home is a second home, not the primary one, seems to make no difference.

Those who do not directly express possessiveness in relation to their house talk about the familiarity of it and the sense of belonging, to the community and the place: 'I like it, I like the fact that we know people in the town, I like to be able to walk down the street and say good morning to people'; 'I need familiarity. I like to go back to the same place each time'; 'Knowing where my slippers are . . . a sense of the place where things belong'; 'Yes. A sense of belonging, but somewhere else, than England'.

Home truths

Making a home to live in, not merely to stay in, becomes in the process of its production and consumption, a means of self-expression and development. As James Yandell wrote in a foreword to CC Marcus' book *House as a Mirror of Self*: 'We create our immediate environment and then contemplate it and are worked on by it. We find ourselves mirrored in it, see what had been not yet visible, and integrate the reflection back into our sense of self.'[11]

This seems to be a very apt articulation of what some of the owners express, for example the couple who described their 'gawp time' when they first arrive at the house and renew their acquaintance with what they have created. The process of anticipation, purchase, renovation, and final use is not only an extended consumption–production experience; it is also the process whereby British owners of French rural properties stake out new identities for themselves, constructing their own version of French life which leaves room for listening to *The Archers* or for other interests which are part of their British existences, but at the same time learning new skills and finding fulfilment and frustration in the work involved in their second homes. On the way they discover some home truths, often just as much personal as domestic.

Notes

1 F Hirsch defines 'positional goods' as those in which 'satisfaction is derived from intrinsic characteristics, but influenced by extensiveness of use', *Social Limits to Growth*, Routledge and Kegan Paul (London and Henley), 1977, p30.
2 G Cross, *Time and Money: the Making of Consumer Culture*, Routledge (London), 1993, p31.
3 C Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, Basil Blackwell (Oxford), 1987 p89.
4 Ibid, p78.
5 G Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, Beacon Press (Boston), 1969, p31.
6 K Hoggart and H Buller 'British Home Owners and Housing Change in Rural France', *Housing Studies*, volume 10, n.2: 179-198, 1995, p189.
7 R Belk, 'Possessions and the Extended Self', *Journal of Consumer Research*, volume 15, September 1988, '[. . .] the expressive imagery of the house that is definitional of the family is only fully acquired during consumption', p152.
8 P Bourdieu, *Distinction*, Routledge and Kegan Paul (London), 1994, p173.
9 W Rybczynski, *Home: a short history of the idea*, Heinemann (London), 1988. 'But whether the way of life is remembered, or simply imagined, it nevertheless signifies a widely held nostalgia', p13.
10 P Saunders, *A Nation of Home Owners*, Unwin Hyman (London), 1990, p83.
11 J Yandell, Foreword to CC Marcus, *House as a Mirror of Self*, Conari Press (Berkeley), 1995, p.xiv.

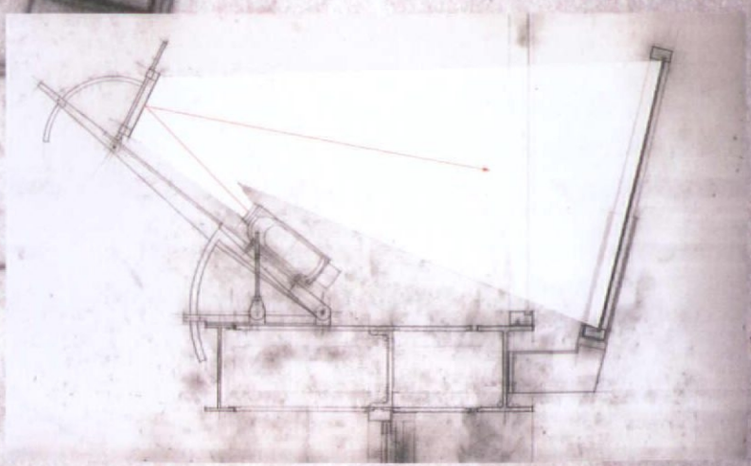
FROM ABOVE: Provincial French charm; 'hut dream'?

ELIZABETH DILLER AND RICARDO SCOFIDIO

JUMP CUTS

To transmit information to the street, the traditional 'marquee' transgressed the civic space of the sidewalk as a form of urban seduction. *Jump Cuts* – a permanent installation at the United Artists Cineplex, in San Jose, staged during 1995 – interprets the mechanism of the marquee through new forms of seduction, using sculptural, electronic and video elements, broadcasting images and texts, both informational and contemplative, to the street.

Adding to the atmosphere of the spectacle already at play in the United Artists theatre, the installation teases the visual accessibility of activity in the glazed lobby by alternating between the actual view from the street and live video views from within, thus, flipping the building inside-out and back, electronically. An armature appended to the theatre's north facade supports 12 liquid crystal panels which phase between transparent surfaces and translucent projection screens. Twelve video projectors, cantilevered into the interior, sequence the unmediated views inside and diverse strands of video imagery direct feed from a series of live cameras positioned over the escalators which scan bodies in plan and elevation. They also direct feed from live video cameras panning the audience from the projection rooms of the theatres, and taped movie trailers playing in series.



SIMON OFIELD

CONSUMING QUEERSPACE

Deconstructing the Glass Brick Wall

René's flat was over the studio in Baker Street. Gary thought it a knock-out. It had just the empty, elegant effect they had striven for in the Pinner house: indeed, they had achieved it for a while, before they started moving in the rest of the junk that one needed to make life endurable.

'Wow!' said Gary reverently. 'I hope my tie don't kill the colour scheme!'

'I had it remodelled,' René told him.

'On what?' Gary laughed.

'The new cottage' at Hyde Park Corner,' Mervyn simpered. 'Have you been there lately? One of our favourite night-spots. All those clean, cool lines.'

'Of men,' said René, under his breath.[2]

The characters René and Mervyn in Stuart Lauder's novel *Break and Begin Again* know a thing or two about public toilets and what goes on in them. They know that the clean cool lines of contemporary 'cottages' are as much a part of many men's everyday pleasure as any gay bar or more legitimate night-spot. In keeping with one of the great traditions of what we now call gay subjectivity, they also have an eye for design, particularly of the modern kind. What is more, as sophisticated theorists of the popular, they can consider the connection between their pleasure in design and their pleasure in toilets. The connection between these two pleasures can be used to direct a consideration of the glass brick.

The glass brick has the potential to become the exemplary architectural symbol of contemporary queer theory. Since the beginning of the 1990s, 'queer' has been the name given to forms of political and theoretical engagement which intend to disturb social and sexual identity. It has been said that part of the purpose of 'queer' is to move away from forms of gay and lesbian politics which promote identity and assert the importance of its visibility. 'Queer' is intended to be about theoretical and political practices able to consider how social and sexual identities are differentially constructed and supported, disrupted and perhaps demolished, in particular historic, social and geographic environments. However, 'queer' has at times become a synonym for 'gay' and 'lesbian' identification, and also the name for a new form of identity able to include all those who do not understand themselves as socially or sexually 'straight'.

'Queer', in theory, can be understood as being somewhat precariously situated between identity and its disturbance. It is the ambiguity within queer theory which suggests the glass brick as its symbol. The glass brick and the consequent translucent wall provides a partition between transparency and opacity, in practice and in theory. The translucent division offers a distorted view, often of that which should remain out of sight. It both enables and disturbs vision.

To consider glass bricks and queer theory I want to compare two places. The first could be any of a number of bars, restaurants or shops on and around Old Compton Street in the Soho area of London, an area which has become re-established in the 1990s as the focus of London's commercial gay scene.[3] I'll choose a bar called Rupert Street because at the time of writing it has just opened. The second place is a public toilet in the East End of London, on Chatsworth Road in Hackney. Bringing together Rupert Street and a public toilet is not such an improbable conjunction: for many men it is possible that they already are connected as sites of sexual pleasure only separated by the time it takes to travel between them. However, it is not just the cruising or the sexual acts that may take place in these two spaces which is interesting, but their exterior and interior design, the use made of glass in general and of the glass brick in particular.

The glass brick is ubiquitous in London's high-design commercial gay, or queer, spaces and has become popularly established as part of the modern vocabulary for domestic renovation and conversion via magazines aimed at what has been called the 'queer consumer'. The glass brick is also found in public toilets, particularly those built towards the end of the 1950s and in the 1960s. My comparison of glass bricks in a contemporary bar and those in a public toilet built almost 40 years earlier is fuelled by the potential of 'queer' to evoke the 1940s and early 1950s in Britain. Before 'homosexual' became popularly established as the word through which men who engaged in sexual acts with men could be understood, or understand themselves, men who had sex with men were 'queer'. My suggestion is that the glass brick, as a part of the rhetorics of architectural modernisation in the 1950s, became attached to the promotion, which was perhaps a creation, of the homosexual as a coherent and modern identity.

This suggested connection between the glass brick and the promotion of homosexual identity in the 1950s can be used to disturb two of the most prevalent theoretical understandings of queer space available at the moment. It has been proposed that the opening up of space through the demolition of partitions, barriers and walls, to create a place in which vision is not obscured and movement not impeded, is a direct expression of a more confident and visible queer identity. This proposition is based upon understanding 'queer' as simply the latest identity to disturb established social and spatial orders: 'Through the erection of partitions that divide space, architecture colludes in creating and upholding prevailing social hierarchies and distinctions.'[4]

To consider how securely a form of spatial deconstruction plays a part in forming contemporary queer, or gay, commercial places we can take a look at Rupert Street. We don't have to enter, we can stay outside and view the interior of the bar through the large floor to ceiling windows which allow an unobscured view of its open plan interior. Based upon consumer research Rupert Street's owners, Bass Taverns, established social visibility allied to political progress as the key idea to direct the

OPPOSITE: Interior of Rupert Street Bar, Soho, London; INSET: Public Conveniences, Hackney

bar's design. From the beginning of the design process the architectural and interior design company Cube established the use of glass as the expression of gay liberation. The design team's understanding of glass as an expression of social and political progress has a long history in modern design, but it is a history that can be disturbed, perhaps queered, by considering the modernisation of public toilets in the 1950s and 1960s.

Turning to a moment in Britain in the 1950s when the construction of public toilets and the construction of male homosexuals align with one another provides the possibility for an understanding of the use of glass in Rupert Street, particularly of the large glass brick interior wall which forms part of the perimeter of the bar. Though the wall can be viewed from the outside, particularly if the bar is approached from Shaftesbury Avenue, to appreciate it fully we have to enter Rupert Street and spend some time there. As we enter we begin to play a part in the spectacle created by the large plate glass windows which form the boundary between the inside of the bar and the street. If we locate ourselves in a place which allows us a view of the glass brick wall we notice that the bricks are made from a soft pale green glass, matt in texture as though gently sand-blasted, iridescent, quite dense but lit in such a way as to suggest that they transmit natural light into the bar. The glass brick wall divides the bar from a narrow staircase which descends to the cloakroom and toilets. When we walk down these stairs we will find another glass brick wall between the toilets and the cloakroom.

To consider the queer pleasure that can be attached to the glass bricks at Rupert Street, and to gain a perspective on the connection between these glass bricks and those that we will find in a public toilet when we leave Soho and travel into the East End, we must first re-locate to a kind of public urinal which had largely disappeared from London by the end of the 1950s.

> These small unobtrusive urinals were, in many ways, the most important meeting places for homosexuals of all and every kind. Always open, usually unattended, and consisting of a small number of stalls, over the sides of which it was quite easy to spy and get a sight of one's neighbour's cock, they were ideally built for the gratification of the voyeur's sexual itch. Very frequently the sides of the stalls were covered with graffiti and randy writing, which served to excite the urinating frequenter. It was pleasant indeed to add to the writing and suggest meeting someone for sexual purposes and, in due course, see if someone had added to one's own writing and suggested a meeting.[5]

In this account of the pleasure that could be found in a particular form of public urinal, the relationship between the sexual encounter which took place within them and their discrete locations, construction from perforated and decorative ironwork, interior design and absence of lighting is made clear. The relationship between the form of these public urinals and the acts which took place within them provides a very important background to the modernisation of public toilets in the 1950s. In tune with many accounts of sexual acts between men written before and just after the Second World War, the account also suggests that participating in the encounters which took place in these urinals was not necessarily the expression of a sexual identity.

When one considers the numbers of men, not by any means all homosexuals, who used these small urinals, it is almost certain these graffiti and suggestive writings and appointments introduced hundreds of so-called 'normal' men to the pleasures of homosexual gratification, and to an easy way of making a few extra pounds to add to their wage packets.[6]

Many accounts of male sexuality in this period suggest that sexual acts between men were not securely fused to social identities. That these public urinals provided an introduction to social and sexual practices and pleasures which were not necessarily the expression of a sexual identity provides the possibility of questioning another popular understanding of queer space. Often queer space is understood as that which has been appropriated or disrupted from its authorised intention and the use of public toilets by men to have sex with one another, cottaging, is often presented as an example. However the suggestion that these public urinals provided an introduction to particular social and sexual practices requires that exterior and interior spaces are not understood as the stages on which sexuality is expressed but as the places in which 'sexuality is generated'.[7] To understand particular sites as productive of forms of sexual activity suggests that some spaces are queerer than others, by design.[8]

It was in part a concern that certain social and geographic environments could provide a seductive and formative sexual encounter between men which prompted the setting up of the Departmental Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution, known as the Wolfenden Committee, in 1955. The committee was set up as a response to a popularly held belief, promoted by the press and the police, that the incidence of male homosexuality was on the increase. An increase which was thought to be directly caused by the social and political instabilities and anxieties of the post-war period. Under its chairman Sir John Wolfenden, the committee understood its task as the application of rational principles to the social problems of homosexuality and prostitution. Repeatedly during its deliberations the committee considered the problem of public toilets and cottaging.

The Wolfenden Committee was explicitly motivated by an interest in re-ordering public places, including Soho and certain public toilets. The committee combined its interest with a desire to tidy up the definitional complexities of what it understood as male homosexuality. The consequence of the committee's proceedings, which extended over a period of two years and involved taking evidence from a large number of official organisations, was the presentation in its final report of the ideal homosexual as a coherent and private identity. The recommendations in the report were largely intended to insist upon men who engaged in sexual acts with other men understanding themselves as being homosexual. The process which resulted in the Wolfenden Report streamlined a complex of differential acts and identifications and presented a homosexual figure attuned to the productive, if not the reproductive, demands of the modern world.

It was often suggested to the Wolfenden Committee that one way of solving the problem of men engaging in sexual acts with men in public toilets was improved lighting and modernisation. Paul Bennett reported to the committee on the public toilets in the City of Westminster:

> I do think in the City of Westminster, which is my area, they might do something about these horrible lavatories. Instead of being decent, well lit, large places, they are miserable little 'black holes of Calcutta', black in the middle of the day and just the place for these fellows to meet.[9]

In the committee's final report the connection between inadequate lighting and homosexual offences is not sustained, preferring to recommend that 'uniformed police officers in the

course of their duties on the beat keep a vigilant eye on public lavatories'. However, the design of public toilets since the 1950s has supported the confluence of modernisation, improved lighting and surveillance to prevent men from engaging in sexual acts with men in these public places. The confluence of these elements will enable us in a moment to return to Rupert Street and consider its glass bricks in a different light but we must first enter the public toilet on Chatsworth Road in Hackney.

This particular public toilet has survived largely undisturbed since it was built around the end of the 1950s. From the outside it is not really possible to look in. Though there are windows on the exterior wall they are now covered with wire mesh screens and the view they offer of the attendant's room can only be gained by standing close and peering in. Just before entering we should note that this toilet is on a main road and in full view of people going about their everyday business. During the day the 'decent, well-lit, large' interior is provided with natural light through a large panel of glass bricks in the roof and from the windows on the exterior wall, the light from which passes through glass bricks. The translucent glass brick division plays a part in forming the attendant's room and is located next to the hand basins and directly in line with the urinals. The glass brick division fulfils the modern requirements of improved lighting and surveillance, and is a part of the ideologies and practicalities of modern design instituted to prevent men from engaging in 'queer' sexual acts with other men.

To develop an understanding of the use of glass we must place our public toilet amongst other examples of modern British architecture of the 1950s and compare it to exemplary examples of British modernism, such as the Royal Festival Hall, the Hertfordshire Schools or the local authority housing developments of the post-war period. The use of transparent and translucent glass in our public toilet, and in Rupert Street, shares in the ideologies which motivated the use of glass in modern British architecture of the post-war period. The route from Paul Scheerbart's *Glasarchitektur* through German modernism of the 1930s and Le Corbusier to British post-war architecture is a convention of architectural history, an ideology of transparency shared by our toilet and our bar:

> If we want our culture to rise to a high level, we are obliged for better or for worse, to change architecture. And this only becomes possible if we take away the 'closed' character from the rooms in which we live. We can only do that by introducing glass architecture, which lets in the light of the sun, the moon, and the stars, not merely through a few windows, but through every possible wall, which will be made entirely of glass.[10]

In contemporary queer theory, understanding transparency as social freedom and progress can only be sustained if the disciplinary and surveillant use of glass in the modern public toilet is ignored. In the modernisation of the public toilet the glass division plays a part in creating a modern and hygienic environment in which the potential of being surveyed is a constant possibility. The use of glass pursues the sanitary and rational ideals of the Wolfenden Report which created the possibility of modern homosexual identity. For many men this kind of surveillance, both in practice and in theory, insisted that they took on a homosexual identity. We are being drawn to conclude that the connection between our public toilet and Rupert Street is their shared investment in identification and the delineation of homosexual form by the passage of natural light through glass. This link suggests that the disciplinary creation of the homosexual in the 1950s can be understood as the precursor of contemporary queer identity. Considered in this historical 'light', this identity doesn't look very disturbing. But modernism's architectural and interior design rhetorics have another history, one that disturbs the ideologies which instituted the modernisation of public toilets, and can be used to historically 'queer' the glass brick.

In popular fictions published at the beginning of the 1950s the modern interior became the environment in which to locate queer men who threatened to disrupt the predominant social order,[11] and these books played an important part in establishing a difference between responsible and queer forms of homosexuality. However, the potential for modern interior design to become attached to disturbingly queer figures was an established part of the history of German modernism.

Stephen Spender in his published journals, diaries and fictions makes clear the strength of the connection he felt between homosexuality and German modernism in the 1930s. In his published diary entry for September 1939, Spender writes of the link between homosexuality and German modernism:

> A life in which people are exercising sexual freedom without, apparently, anyone suffering or paying for it in any way is very attractive. One wonders how it is done. In this case, I think it was done at the cost of making everything exist on exactly the same level. The new architecture, the Bauhaus, the social equality, the most casual affairs, marriage, an abortion, a party, were all the same level – they were a pack of cards of equal value, precariously constructed – so that when one fell the whole house came down.

The connection between homosexuality and German modernism provided a negative vocabulary for representing homosexuality in Britain in the post-war period. The link between modern design and homosexuality was therefore already available in the 1950s to subvert the use of modernism's architectural and design rhetorics to survey and prevent queer behaviour between men in public places. The quotation which begins this article makes it clear that the attempt to prevent men from engaging in sexual acts with one another in public toilets by modernising them was a failure, it was perhaps an incitement.

It is with Mervyn and René's understanding of modernism and public toilets that we can return to Rupert Street. We can now take a seat, or lean against the bar, and consider, with pleasure, the glass brick wall.

Notes

1 In other words a public toilet.
2 Stuart Lauder, *Break and Begin Again*, Longmans (London), 1966, p147.
3 For an explanation of the relationships between homosexuality and Soho see Frank Mort, *Cultures of Consumption*, Routledge (London), 1966, pp151-99.
4 Joel Sanders (ed), *STUD: Architectures of Masculinity*, Princeton Architectural Press (New York), 1996, p17.
5 H Montgomery Hyde, *The Other Love*, Heinemann (London), 1970, p205.
6 Ibid, pp205-6.
7 Henning Bech, *When Men Meet*, Polity Press (Cambridge), 1997, p118.
8 For an analysis of cottaging see Les Moran, *The Homosexuality of Law*, Routledge (London), 1996 and Laud Humphreys, *Tearoom Trade: Impersonal Sex in Public Places*, Aldine (Chicago), 1970.
9 PRO HO 347/7 Memorandum from Mr Paul Bennett, Metropolitan Magistrate, Marlborough Street.
10 The quotation from Paul Scheerbart's *Glasarchitektur* (1914) is taken from David Button and Brian Pye (eds), *Glass in Building: A Guide to Modern Architectural Glass Performance*, Butterworth Architecture (Oxford), 1993, p1.
11 See for example, Mary Renault, *The Charioteer*, Longmans (London), 1953.

ROSAMUND DIAMOND

CONSUMING THE MUSEUM

The Impact of the Video Recorder in the late 20th-Century Museum

The frame teaches us that the image is not just given to be seen. It is legible as well as visible . . . The frame has the implicit function of recording not merely sound information, but also visual information.[1]

The heist endures as one of the most popular cinema themes of the past 40 years. Increasingly elaborate thefts have unfolded before transfixed audiences. Above all, the characteristic on which the cinema depends is a watching audience. The theft film has taken this to extraordinary lengths, positioning its audience before a keyhole and mesmerising it. In the 1955 classic *Rififi* the theft is portrayed in a 25-minute soundless sequence, in which the audience supplants the surveillance video camera.[2] In the later film *Topkapi,* a spectacular attempt to steal a notorious jewel encrusted dagger, involves entering through the roof immediately above the glass case, and exchanging the real dagger for an identical fake.[3] The exchange is perfectly effected but the theft is discovered because birds fly into the gallery unnoticed while the thieves are working, and their presence alerts the guards' suspicions the next morning.

This dependency of the cinema on a public accustomed to screen watching, may begin to explain what visitors are doing when they negotiate museums with camcorders: The moving picture's reliance on public visuality affects the way that we view displayed objects. This article will speculate on how and why video cameras are used in museums, exploring how instead of looking at things directly, visitors mediate their vision with the intervention of a viewfinder lens and a motion picture playback, as if framing what they see.[4] This can be seen as an expression of how the public draws museum visiting into a structure of values and desires that it applies to daily life, thereby judging all objects, exhibited or otherwise. The films that visitors make, and their subsequent replays, are narrative manipulations of real time, which nevertheless appear to endorse present cultural mores. Behind cameras, visitors may, as quickly as possible, be recording things they have seen, as instantaneous proof of their visits. Behind camcorders, visitors are recording their living experiences, in order to watch future reconstructions of reality. Filming museum exhibits expresses a need to visit original works in their locations, with other people present, and sometimes to be filmed with the works as hard evidence. For the average viewer, the presence of an artefact or a work of art in a respected institution confirms its status and its authenticity.

> The artistic field is a universe of belief. Cultural production distinguishes itself from the production of the most common objects in that it must produce not only the object in its materiality, but also the value of this object, that is, the recognition of artistic legitimacy.[5]

When the first national museums were established, concern was voiced at the detachment of exhibits from their original contexts, which were replaced by curatorial contexts, whose early determinants were classificatory systems.[6] Simultaneously, the potential to self aggrandisement by the artful placement of an exhibit emerged as a new context. When public institutions began to organise themselves as receptacles of display, their most prized possessions were positioned for greatest effect; the Portland Vase placed at the head of the main staircase in the British Museum, and more strikingly; the Victory of Samothrace placed at the head of the Daru staircase in the Louvre, where it remains. The arrangement of exhibits could encompass dramatic effect and yet simultaneously establish a didactic approach through the ordering of contents.

The video is another context; whether it alters existing readings and contexts is open to question. Exhibits filmed by viewers, may often be accompanied by the residue of their immediate environments which adds to their aura.

Ironically, the camcorder's presence has different and opposed effects: for the visitor using the video it might reinforce the institutional versions of reality portrayed in the traditional museum, and the determinist singularity of subject–object relationships that have been established between viewers and exhibits; whilst for the curator these aspects of the museum experience might be exposed to question. While viewers filming in museums appear to affirm established museological order, they unwittingly demand a reconsideration of the reasons for this ordering of space and material.

The discussion is paralleled by the other use of the video camera in museums namely the omnipresence of video surveillance technology (the CCTV – closed circuit television). This agent of social control has simultaneously revealed and obscured the video recorder's part in filtering vision and recording narratives that affect our visual perception. The pervasiveness of camera flashes, audio guides and panning camcorders in museums, has provoked a reaction of distaste among the professional curatorial body; simultaneously questioning scholarship and education as the purpose of public museums today, and the toleration of the public visitor solely for economic reasons. A number of recent critiques and symposia concerning curatorial position in London's museums demonstrate the ubiquitous conflict between scholarship and spectacle that coincides with the public museum's establishment, and have maintained their concomitant paradoxical situations.[7] As much as they could be portrayed as didactic, the great public museums that emerged in the 19th century sustained the dependency of bourgeois life in its publicness, its need for an outward expression of wealth, displayed by the privilege of leisure time. If visiting museums and galleries was contiguous with contemporary social life, then it was as a collective experience; concerned as much with the display of the visitor as the exhibits. Foreseeing the complex relationships that were developing as museums and their exhibits became more accessible, Walter Benjamin argued that the popularised public museum was problematic for art:

> The simultaneous contemplation of paintings by a large public, such as developed in the nineteenth century, is an early symptom of the crisis of painting, a crisis which was by no means occasioned exclusively by photography but rather . . . in a relatively independent way by the appeal of artworks to the masses.[8]

During the evolution of these museums, an autonomy was established for exhibits which were displayed as trophies, privileged within Western society's value systems and detached from their physical and intellectual contexts. The arrangement of collections, in the public museums, reinforced the predominance of the 'Cartesian perspectivalism' on which Western painting from the 15th century onwards was based, constructing a predetermined vision for the spectator.[9] The viewer, focusing on a work in the new context of the museum setting, was placed in a singular visual relationship that influenced how a work was likely to be read, and implied a containment of meaning. Even after modernisation, many museums have maintained such relationships, predicated on linear narratives and visual surface; although compromised by overcrowding and complex floor plans.

In the past 25 years, Marxist-led art historical theory has exposed the ways in which exhibits have been privileged, questioning the validity of received museum constructs (such as taxonomies of period, canon and school), and the conditions by which most public museums in the West have been assembled.[10] Spatial arrangements in museums have been found to affect how visitors move in museums and consequently how they gain access, experience the contents and receive knowledge of the exhibits.[11]

In the museum, the notion of the gaze encompasses the viewer's subjective scrutiny of the exhibits, and the unseen eye of the surveillance camera.[12] The camcorder in the hands of the viewer confirms the old perspectival spatial order established in the paintings themselves. Videoing artworks as part of a visit does not affect their reading, merely altering the viewer's relationship to them locally and temporarily. It does, however, in presenting the viewer with a frame, disrupt the interaction of the exhibits' actual and virtual contexts, displacing them to a nether space by reducing the peripheral vision of the viewer.

If the frame is the mediator, its intervention may be highly paradoxical – on the one hand it is seen to detach the exhibit from its context, to separate it for discrete contemplation from its proximity to other exhibits, while on the other hand, excessive framing (encapsulating) for security purposes makes contemplation almost impossible: why, then, do visitors to the Louvre record the *Mona Lisa* in a bullet-proof reflecting glass case, which makes it difficult to see the painting so that its iconography remains independent of its substance? The frame, whether an actual frame or a glass vitrine, defines the exhibit's realm which is further set by the camera or video lens. This kind of framing would seem to confirm a conventional power relationship in which the viewer is tolerated, and where the purpose is to keep an object of value safe. Display is secondary. However, for the visitor, to video the *Mona Lisa* in all its encumbrance is paradoxically to capture its extreme authenticity at the same time as its culturally iconic aura.

The exhibits that the visitor records as video images are thus dematerialised into their representations, which started with the frontality of their recording. In the hands of the unwitting visitor, the mode of representation of the exhibits becomes its authenticity: the irony of *Topkapi*'s dagger lies in the irrelevance of its

ABOVE: Topkapi *(Director Jules Dassin), 1964, film stills*

authenticity and the idea that exchanging it for a fake would pass unnoticed.

In many ways, the panning camcorder represents theft-without-removal and at the same time conducts its own act of moving surveillance. In filming exhibits, the viewer may be removing them from the museum to look at them later, without alteration to their visual field; perpetuating their existing containment in the context of their surrounding spaces, whilst effecting a double act of consumerism. They take the images of the exhibits and then take them home to consume them. Viewers filming in museums appear to affirm established museological order, without necessarily changing scopic space, or the engagement of thought with sight. It is unlikely that by using camcorders visitors are placing themselves in a critical position in relation to what they chose to survey. Enclosing themselves in the act of optical recording, viewers tend to become isolated from each other as they draw their individual subjectivity into their camcorders' sights and confirm the belief that 'vision is still theorized from the standpoint of a subject placed at the center of a world.'[13]

However, the presence of other visitors, caught incidentally in the camcorder's gaze as it films museum space, includes a much wider visual field, identifying the exhibit's real context. The video captures others engaged in their own acts of looking and therefore inadvertently acknowledges their subjective standpoints as being elsewhere. 'The real discovery here is that things we took to be private, secluded, and inward – perception, art, the perception of art in the museum – are created socially. What is at stake is the discovery of a politics of vision.'[14] What makes the presence of the video in the museum so intriguing is the possibility that it might propose alternative relationships of subjectivity and objectivity, that fold the museum as an institution back onto the world beyond, pointing its audience towards greater circumspection when it takes a look.

Certain video installations have been used to make a critical assessment of what museums or art galleries and their contents might represent. The explorations of such artists as Marcel Duchamp, whose ready-mades replaced as exhibits predictable works of art with everyday objects, offered a reassessment of the privileging of the artwork as it appeared in galleries. In his posthumous installation work *Etant donnés*, for which he left detailed manual instructions, Duchamp specifies the viewer as voyeur.[15] *Etant donnés* – a naked woman in the landscape, viewed through the gap in a door – directly confronts the viewer's position, the exhibit becoming a collection of passive details awaiting activation by the onlooker. By demanding the viewer's intimate participation in the work, placing an eye to the 'keyhole', Duchamp is asking viewers to question the whole process of looking and predetermined museum distinctions.

This effect has been used to construct critical work in the case of the (installation) architects Elizabeth Diller and Ricardo Scofidio, who have in several projects manipulated public awareness of CCTV in institutional spaces, and in so doing have attempted to question accepted conventions about our own behaviour inside the museum. Duchamp has been one of Diller and Scofidio's main influences, particularly in their critique of the museum institution. As they state in their explanation of *Para-site*, their 1989 critical site-specific installation in the Museum of Modern Art, New York:

> The museum itself, however, could never be other than a richly encoded optical construct, thoroughly menaced by the social – by the stained eye of the 'educated' viewer, by gendered vision, by carnal vision, by the productive subjectivity of the viewer, by the controlling eye of authority.[16]

Para-site questions the social mores encompassed in the typical museum, by using the gaze of the video exhibit to examine itself. The work is extended beyond its gallery by placing video cameras in three places on MOMA's circulation routes connected to receiving monitors in the main installation. A chair representing a 'fictive viewer' is suspended before the monitors so that at a certain point the fictive and actual viewers' eyes coincide: 'But while the structural lines converge at eye level, a reference to the diagram of classical perspective, the video monitors undermine any single, unified viewing experience.'[17] The recorded observations are all played at real time. Unedited, they are constructed into 'ficto-real episodes' in the gallery. Presented to the museum visitor, who is typically in a state of perpetual motion, the real time video recording as exhibit, renders ambiguous the relationship of reality to the filmic construct – what Paul Virilio refers to as 'the factual and the virtual'. When the installations of Diller and Scofidio question the institutionalised and assumed relationships of subject and object in environments such as museums, they do so by using real time to reveal alternative plausible realities. It is this characteristic of synthesised vision of the video, as with film, that has determined their work. The real yet absurd images of visitors circulating in the museum, construct a filmic vision to parallel reality. Its mode of existence is questioned as much as its power relations. The visitor recording, endorses the surroundings' existing circumstances unquestioningly. However, installations such as *Para-site* operate on, 'the relative fusion/confusion of the factual and the virtual; the ascendancy of the "reality effect" over a reality principle already largely contested elsewhere.'[18] *Para-site* does not edit what it finds, but alters its presentation, establishing a consistent autonomy of the representation, to produce what in cinematic equivalence has been described as naturalism.

What differentiates the viewer's camcorder from video installations such as Diller and Scofidio's *Para-site*, is that, whereas the viewer unwittingly sets out to exclude visual interference, Diller and Scofidio set out to use the visual interference of continuously filmed, live random and broadcast movement of, for example, museum visitors, 'to (lure) a public unwittingly into a closer inspection of vision . . . The guest structures interrupt the direct scopic circuits in the exhibition space by turning the gaze back on itself, into an object of its own scrutiny.'[19]

It is the irony of the video camera that its high speed operations memorising and recording its view enable it to 'see' faster than human vision. The fixity of the video camera lens does not resemble human vision, which is not so static or so unconscious in what it sees. Experiencing the contents of a museum, depends on the interconnection of a number of properties of sight that help viewers to make decisions on what they see. Viewers do not normally enter galleries already filming. Even those who apparently spend a large proportion of their time looking through a camcorder lens, first make decisions about where to start filming. The human glance which comes closest to the eye's unconscious motion, scans to make choices, and in so doing crosses the multiple contexts of surroundings. The camcorder, even more than the camera, comes to resemble a bodily extension, a prosthesis.

These installations can also reveal how certain late 20th-century activities, like watching a television screen, have become nearly instinctive, habitual extensions of our everyday

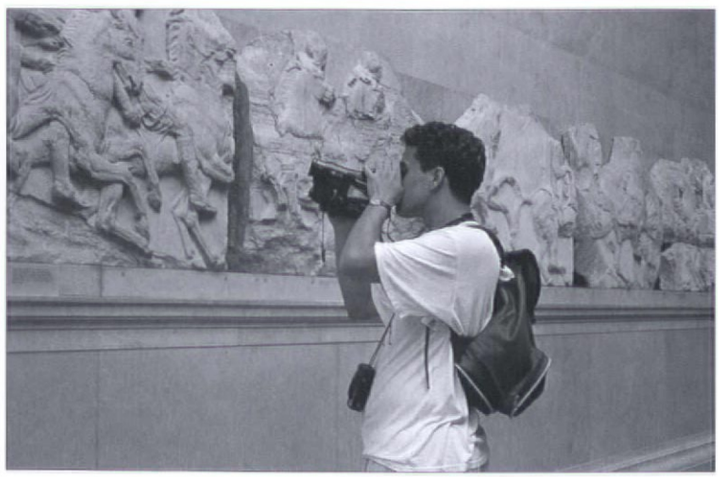
lives. Where the video installations of Diller and Scofidio differ is in their ability to demand of the viewer self-reflection, like Duchamp, turning us from viewer into voyeur in order for us to achieve a critical insight. As with the early work of Luis Buñuel, instead of the narrative characteristics of film, Diller and Scofidio use the potential of video installations to generate thoughts from multiple, non-consecutive imaging, a technique which is activated by viewers whose stereoscopic and dysmorphic viewing practices have been honed by remote controls and channel hopping. The alternative realities of these video installations, frequently including images of self in the recordings of visitors, are utterly absorbing; to the point where spatial subjectivity dissolves: the visitor becomes both inside and out (like the closed circuit images in shop windows selling television sets), simultaneously as artwork and spectator. Diller and Scofidio's work in the museum may be seen to reinvigorate and enhance the 19th-century role of the museum as a bourgeois vehicle of social interaction; invoking the spectator to engage with the exhibits, while simultaneously questioning the institution and its contents. In this respect it raises both the expectations of the visitor and the curator to a new level.

In the hands of the visitor, however, the camcorder does not appear to alter the material surveyed, despite its ability to maintain the complexity of its contexts. Nor does it appear to overcome spatial arrangement in its portrayals of exhibits, which maintain their existing museum constructions. Yet, when viewers look through their camcorder monitors at exhibits, their visual awareness is altered by the need for them to make conscious choices about what to film.

It is for the museum curator to consider how the camcorder might enlighten the public's consumption of museums. Existing compact disc guides to museums present conventional walks to explore their contents, informing the viewer through interactive data on each exhibit. Fears that microgalleries in institutions such as the National Gallery, or museum websites, would detract from live visits, are unfounded, since more visits are generated by greater knowledge. So the camcorder as a resource in the hands of many visitors, perpetuates the desire to experience original work: given the circumstances, it might lead to a dialogue rather than a dualism between the idea of spectacle and scholarship in the late 20th-century museum.

Notes

1 Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 1: The Movement-Image*, Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (trans), University of Minnisota Press (Minneapolis), 1983/1986, p12.
2 *Rififi*, Director Jules Dassin, 1955.
3 *Topkapi*, Director Jules Dassin, 1964.
4 There is no empirical data to accompany this text. Its propositions are based upon random observations in certain national museums, for example, the Louvre and the British Museum.
5 For some of the earliest views on the subject, see Quatremère de Quincy, *Considérations morales sur la destination des ouvrages de l'art*, Paris, 1815.
6 For example, the arrangement of sculpture in the British Museum.
7 See, for example, Brian Sewell, *The Evening Standard*, London, 22 May, 1997.
8 Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', 1936, (H Zohn trans) in *Illuminations*, Schocken Books (New York), 1969, p234.
9 For the use of this expression, see Martin Jay: 'Scopic Regimes of Modernity' in Hal Foster (ed), *Vision and Visuality*, DIA Art Foundation Discussions in Contemporary Culture Number 2 (New York), 1988.
10 See for example: Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 1962 (trans 1989), and Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, 'The Universal Survey Museum', in *Art History*, vol 3-4, 1980.
11 See John Peponis and Jenny Hedin, 'The Layout of Theories in the Natural History Museum' in 9H No 3, 1982, pp21-25. More recently, research has also been conducted on the Tate Gallery: see *Tate Gallery, Millbank: A study of the existing layout and new masterplan proposal*, a report prepared for the Trustees of the Tate Gallery by the Space Syntax Laboratory, UCL, Jan 1996 (unpublished), and on the British Museum and the Louvre: Rosamund Diamond: *An Investigation into access in 'universal survey' museums and their use by visitors*, MSc thesis, Sep 1995 (unpublished).
12 See for example, Norman Bryson: 'The Gaze in the Expanded Field' in *Vision and Visuality*, *op cit* note 9.
13 Ibid, p87.
14 Ibid, p107.
15 Marcel Duchamp, *Manual Instructions for* Etant Donnés, 1966. See Rosalind Krauss' discussion in *The Optical Unconscious*, An October Book, MIT Press (Cambridge, Mass), 1993, pp110-.
16 Elizabeth Diller and Ricardo Scofidio, *Flesh*, Princeton Architectural Press (New York), 1994, p164.
17 Ibid, p166.
18 Paul Virilio, *The Vision Machine*, Julie Rose (trans), Verso (London), 1994.
19 Diller and Scofidio, op cit note 16, p164.



MICHAEL AUKETT

THE FUTURE OF SHOPPING

Mixed-Use Schemes in Britain

For some 10 years, my architecture and design business was in London's Covent Garden Market and I fought my way through the flower boxes to get to my office. After the reprieve from major redevelopment to provide a new parallel road system to The Strand, the area was returned to a sustainable mixed use. It is the classic regeneration story.

I bought my office building from the Greater London Council, the market moved to Nine Elms and the area became again a multi-use city space; my local restauranteur, Luigi, expanded into the vegetable market building above, and an amazing regeneration story began. Residents have moved back into the area, and life and vitality has been restored.

In much of London and in most cities and towns there is a rich mix of uses, commerce, industry, shopping and housing, located together as they have been for centuries. Concern to retain and enrich this mix of land uses is strong and comes from politicians, developers and architects alike.

Sustainability

Businesses are becoming smaller, fragmenting and modernising, the contraction of the city-based manufacturing industries has been followed by an expansion of commercial and service sector activity. By and large, the stock of office property is outdated and in need of redevelopment, modernisation or recycling and investors in the development industry are looking for new opportunities.

At the same time, environmental concerns are encouraging sustainable development and limiting damage from the motor car. There is increasing demand for new inner city housing as commuting from suburbs is seen to be less attractive, and a new mood for working and living in the centre is taking hold.

Equally, we now wish to prevent damage to the vitality and viability of our towns and cities, which has arisen due to housing, commerce, shopping and leisure being zoned separately and located on sites out of town or in new towns, and by the failure of some to respond to what the shopper actually wants. Dependency on the motor car is being deliberately reduced and the opportunity given to us to regenerate our old centres with mixed use development.

Changing patterns have emerged from the last recession as a result of economic and social pressures. This move towards mixed use has gained widespread public support and is now accepted in our society.

Government Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) has set out the policy framework within which Local Authorities are required to draw up their Unitary Development Plans. Hence PPG1 covers 'General Policy and Principles', which highlights the need to protect the natural and built environment and achieve sustainable development, and identifies mixed-use development as a priority. PPG6, 'Town Centres and Retail Developments', deals with the planning of retail and town centres, the promotion of mixed-use development and retention of key town centre uses, car parking strategy and maintenance of urban vitality, the promotion of good urban design and the assessment of retail proposals. PPG13 is concerned with transport issues, namely the reduction of the number of non-essential car journeys, and focuses on alternative means of travel.

Considerable pressure is being applied to retain green belt. New uses of 'brown land' and the regeneration of old industrial land and buildings for re-use are now commonplace. Docklands is an extreme example of a mixed-use development area, assisted financially to prevent the wholesale dereliction of the old docks, and improve an area already rich in terms of opportunity, including ample water frontage.

Funding

Economics are such that Local Authorities cannot pay for these new facilities without other forms of financial assistance or incentive. Government has helped with Regeneration Budgets (SRBs), but essentially regeneration and conversion have to be paid for by self-funded schemes, largely driven by retail and residential development.

Early examples of this change in planning policy can be seen at Brook Green, where Tesco has redeveloped the old Osram factory site and built a mixed-use scheme of 4,152 square metres (44,675 square feet) of retail with parking on two levels, houses and flats and further residential car parking for the Peabody Housing Trust.

As retail designers, we would like to see Local Authorities' Business Development and Economic Groups working alongside the planners on what the Council and community needs. Any form of Government funding is going to be limited, so it seems sensible for Local Authorities to set out not just limited objectives, like UDP plans, but worthwhile planning briefs for new inward investment and facilities, articulating a proactive and pragmatic approach to realising the potential of each of our towns and cities. It is important to realise that since the recession a number of retailers, like Marks and Spencer, Boots and Tesco, have become facilitators and catalysts for new mixed-use schemes: their potential as stakeholders and collaborators should not be overlooked in the transition towards healthy mixed-use developments, which have real financial muscle, generate good job creation opportunities and wealth creation for the people. More dialogue and a greater interactive approach is needed.

Apart from some lottery funded projects, in Britain there is little new public architecture being built. Government and Local Authorities are finding it difficult to meet social and educational needs, let alone finance libraries, museums and health centres. Yet our towns and cities are best preserved with their architectural heritage maintained and regenerated for future generations to enjoy.

Redevelopment and regeneration are expensive, and apart from Government funding, Local Authorities are unable within their budgets to meet the demand for renewal. Private finance initiatives have been promoted to try to meet this problem, but in order to provide truly sustainable and viable development in the community more creative measures are needed.

Effective partnerships between retail interests and Local Authorities, such as the one arranged between Sainsbury and Chesham Council, are becoming more widespread. There, the Local Authority had an old library and land off the pedestrianised high street on which the retailer was able to provide a new library over a supermarket and turn the land at the rear into a car park for linked shopping trips to the high street – all funded by private finance. The location of a major retailer in the town or city centre ensures that a large amount of car parking will be provided close to other retailing outlets enabling the linked shopping trip to be made at the same time as the bulk shop for food.

New consumer trends

Where the retail site is more on the edge of town, 'park and ride' schemes have been introduced, as at Tesco Sheffield, or at Barking, where Tesco runs a small bus service, provided by the retailer, to link the store and the town centre. There are now many examples of this sensible collaboration between the community and retailing – however, more is required. This application of mixed uses and support for the local community can be seen as a return to the corner shop or market square, on a grander scale. It reflects the fact that all changes in society are led by a balancing of forces to meet changing patterns of work and leisure.

In addition, there is a major shift towards more eating out, and treating shopping as an enjoyable leisure activity, particularly when the store becomes more a marketplace, or place of interest, with a wide range of goods: fresh foods, exotic fruits, delicatessens, fish counters, tantalising the taste buds making it a worthwhile experience. Terence Conran's Gastrodrome is the classic example of an experience where shopping for delicacies and eating out are combined under one roof.

Similarly, the interiors of our Tesco stores now express the light, airy market experience, and the store has a new environment of its own which becomes part of its brand identity. In certain circumstances, the shopper now expects to prolong their trip out, to savour it as a leisure experience. In other circumstances, the shopper demands more convenience, which Tesco has responded to with its Tesco Metro outlets. This amazing development in shopping habits has come about with a small store of 15 to 20,000 square feet, located right on the metro, railway or underground station. Its target market is a busy workforce, young working married couples or single people, who shop for a small basket of fresh food after work or in their lunch hour. Remarkably, in a typical Tesco-Metro store, an entire

FROM ABOVE: Tesco Supermarket, Sheffield; mixed-use development for Tesco, Cromwell Road, London; riverside development, London

football crowd of people passes through each week, so despite the fact that it caters to basket-loads rather than trolley-fulls, it deals with a large throughput. But from the point of view of mixed use, what is important is that it fits well into the existing urban fabric, acting as a new kind of unobtrusive anchor to secure the economic and social viability of the local environment. Some stores even have singles nights!

Leisure now dominates much of today's lifestyle: cinema, games, sports activities, theme parks – and these are increasingly found adjacent to one another in the town centre. Sometimes they can become a central focus in which a good food store and specialist shops can also play a major role.

Mixed uses and urban design

Concepts such as 'the Compact City', 'the 24 Hour City' and 'the Urban Village' have been widely discussed in Europe and America, and give a positive, lively image to what is meant by mixed use. However, it is in the detailed urban design and refinements of the spatial townscape, that the success of mixed uses lies. To elaborate, it is important to consider scale and context, grain and texture, intensity of use, aspects of the pedestrian experience such as permeability, the layout and nature of different uses, allocation of public and private areas, and resolving issues of conflict and security.

The design criteria that for me have the most importance are vitality and urban quality and the enhancement of pedestrian experience. The key characteristics of successful mixed-use schemes are summarised as the 'fine grain' of the urban fabric and intensity of use. Covent Garden is a good example. Mixed use focuses on the precise composition of uses. For a neighbourhood to have intensity of use and vitality it requires a multiplicity of uses, attractions and routes. These attractions may comprise shops, small commercial outlets, bars, restaurants, clubs, multiplex cinemas, hotel and residential uses, that offer opportunities for the public to interact. With opening hours now more or less throughout the week and round the clock, this ensures we have a continuous ebb and flow of activity.

Traditional shopping centres

Some very good examples exist where traditional shopping centres in the heart of the town or city have been roofed over and modernised to bring back a strong and vital centre, for example, the Lower Precinct, in the centre of Coventry, which is going to be roofed over and linked to the existing market building, where new large magnet stores have been introduced, or the recently refurbished Bull Ring in Birmingham.

Many historic examples of mixed use schemes are regarded as key references, not least the old High Streets, with coaching inns and 'Lanes' such as those found in Brighton, Bath, York and Canterbury, which provide plenty of useful precedents. Arrowcroft's new Blackfriars town centre project in Gloucester, is in effect extending the existing streets and lanes based upon the historic pattern dating from Roman times.

Tesco and Marks and Spencer were the first to pioneer joint neighbourhood shopping malls, sometimes with other supporting retailers alongside. There will, of course, still be a place for these in suburban areas and edge of town centres where there are regeneration sites, but opportunities are becoming fewer.

So, what is the future of shopping?

It is important to see that this change in the planning framework, with its emphasis on urban vitality and pedestrian experience, will strongly influence retailing and store design, and vice versa.

Greater integration of shopping will occur, as with the Tesco-Metro, at stations and centres of public transport. Greater public awareness and a desire for more interesting leisure experiences, means that simply shopping for food is no longer the only objective. More and more, the linked shopping trip, the stop for lunch, the meeting place, the association of other leisure activities, a visit to the cinema, will all take place as part of the leisure cycle, in the evening or over a three-day weekend.

Differentiation

Throughout Britain, the high street has reached a point of boredom and sameness with the ubiquitous spread of the same monotonous stores and images. Greater differentiation of towns and shopping neighbourhoods will begin to make these places memorable and diversified once again.

We are seeing, in London, an explosion in eating out and food taken to theatrical proportions. Good examples are Conran's Mezzo restaurant in Soho, which apart from catering for 700 covers, is also associated with a butcher's and a baker's shop, where you can take away high quality food. Also, the newly opened Bluebird Restaurant in the Kings Road: converted from the old motor garage used by Sir Malcolm and his son Donald Campbell, it combines high quality but simple food products sold in parallel in either the food market, restaurant or café. Each of these retail activities is self sufficient and independent yet assists and supports the turnover of the others. Underneath are the kitchens where 100 chefs manufacture, in a factory environment, fresh products for immediate consumption in any of the three retail outlets. This variety of activity sets up its own mini food chain. Flour from the store is turned into 60 different varieties of house cooked breads. These breads in turn are sold in the store and then sold on for consumption in the restaurant or café. The fresh fish counter, replenished daily, is true to its name. At the end of each day, surplus fish is either channelled up into the restaurant, or down into the kitchens below, only to reappear as prepared restaurant-style food to take home or cooked into an appetising dish to be sold in the trattoria.

We might in the future see the emergence of restaurant quality food at home – Home Meal Replacement – pushed one step further – properly and imaginatively put together. Entrepreneurs are selling skill and care, using the same fresh ingredients available from the shop floor. Classic dishes may be assembled from high quality, in-season ingredients: potential dinner party food with a minimum of fuss. Fresh, natural and preservative free foods are the mainstay of the philosophy and traditional and regional British suppliers used, whether organic farms or home grown fruit and vegetable small holders.

All this gives something worthwhile back to the high street. Individual counters and stalls which can be both outdoor and indoor, set out as in a typical continental high street – butcher, baker, patissier, traitoir, charcutier, fish, meat, sweets, cheese, pasta and pulses – each counter manned by an expert offering genuine advice.

Likewise, the traditional supermarket will concentrate more and more on selling fresh food. In America, stores have increased their fresh product ranges to 60 per cent of the total and we may see the 40 per cent of bulky, non-fresh food items either sold in the discount store or ordered by computer and then delivered to your home.

Discernment

We become more discerning shoppers: it is just not enough to see, one must also be able to feel the quality of what we buy – fresh food has to be seen and then sampled. Some outlets now allow customers to taste wine or cheese before purchase, rather than just read the label. This service will become more popular as shoppers take their time to make the right purchase.

The challenge to all retailers is to be skilled observers with flexibility which simultaneously sustains market position and responds effectively and quickly to customer demand. For the future, the priority for the retailer must be focusing on and entertaining the customer, recognising that customers often shop for retail and entertainment at the same time. No retailer has enjoyed long-term success through price only. The issue now is to develop an appropriate environment in keeping with customers' entertainment expectations. Because of increasing demands on time and energy, arising from work, home and family, consumers are looking for shopping experiences that result in a sense of satisfaction, not just low price. Low price is merely a ticket to the market place – what the customer is seeking is a 'night out at the shops'.

Delivery

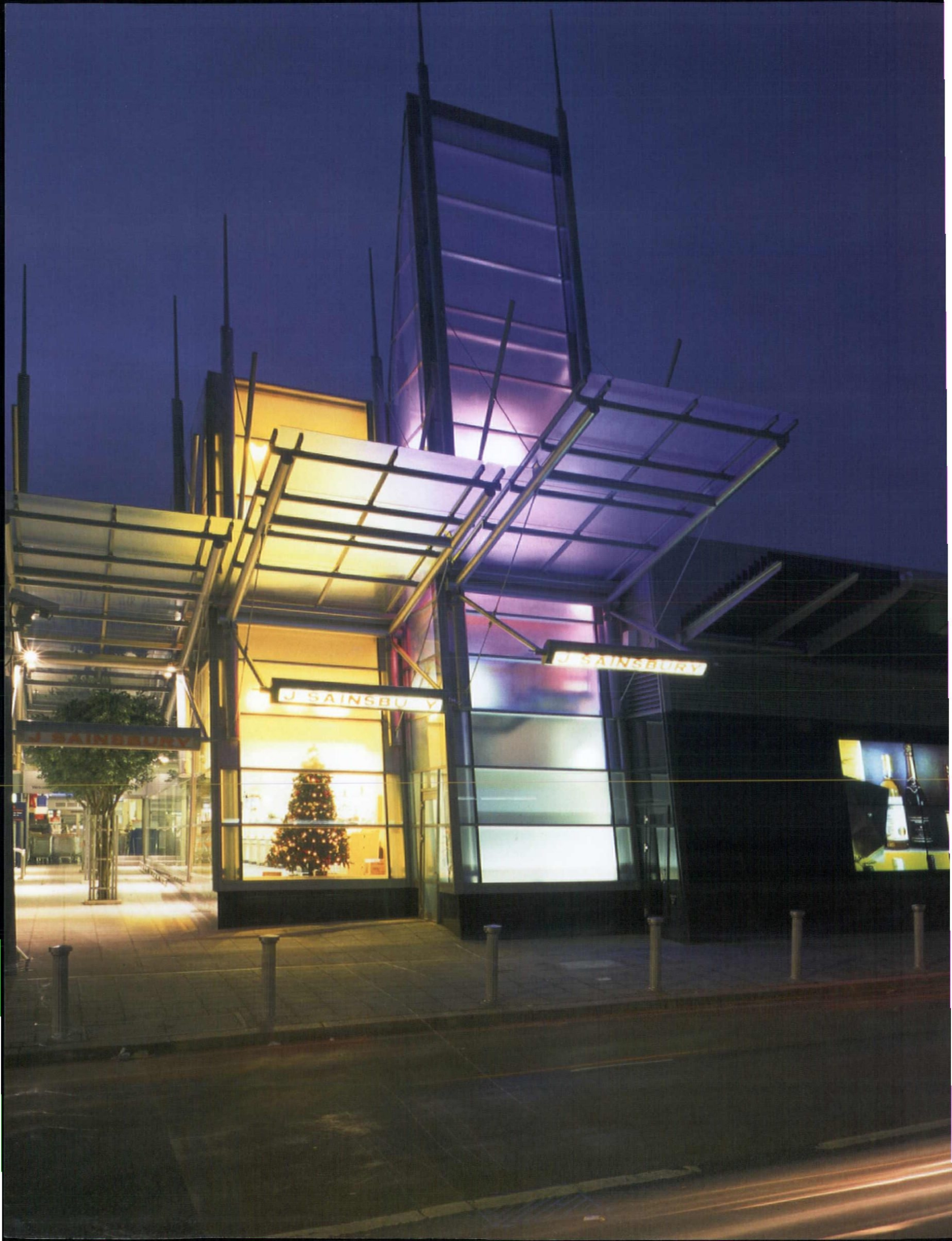
Public transport systems will certainly develop as reliance on the car reduces. We have to consider re-engineering the delivery of general food lines and the transport of bulky goods, so that such goods are delivered to our door by the retailer. In the interim, these will be picked up in crates at a pickup point and the supermarket trolley may become largely redundant.

One scenario worth thinking about could be: you travel by car from the suburbs, you park your car on the edge of town in the 'Transferium'. You collect your taxi 2000 or bubblecar on the high level monorail, punch in your town centre destination by computer, take it to a small siding where it is then collected by another who wants to make a different journey in the centre (stations are say 500 metres walking distance apart). You spend the morning shopping, eating out, and then take in a film and return home in the late afternoon.

The car and its parking space is with us for some time and we need to provide well managed and organised parking systems. Land is limited, so we will see a multi-level approach to retailing – cars under or alongside the store/shopping – concealed parking, but accessible by travelator and lifts. This is now the norm in Japan.

The emergence of 'town centre improvement zones' and 'town centre management' recognises the need to do something. However, all of this will not work unless street improvement schemes are implemented on a wholesale basis. Streets are the stage upon which the retailer 'acts' – the environment must be improved in many of our towns and cities which do not have the immediate appeal of the Kings Road. Having improved the stage, arrangements must be made to maintain and manage it. We wait to hear what the Labour Party, who supported town centre management and town centre improvement zones in their manifesto, will do about these important aspects now they are in power.

ABOVE: Covent Garden, London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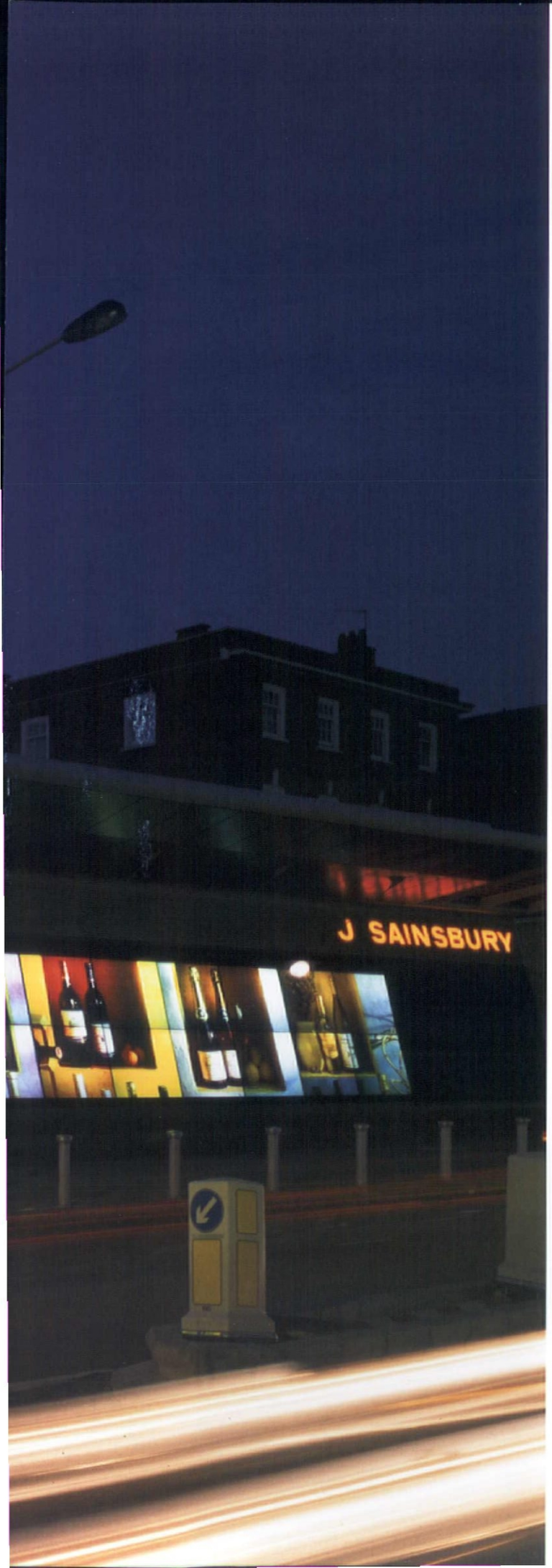


PAUL HINKIN

LIPSTICK ON THE FACE OF AN ELEPHANT

Introduction

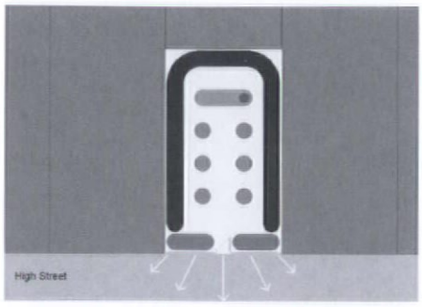
In considering the way in which the design of supermarkets has evolved it is important to identify the social and political changes which have shaped their development. Unlike many other buildings, supermarket design is directly informed by the prevailing social and economic climate. This is due to the relationship between these buildings and the market forces from which they seek to benefit. Social changes such as the level of expendable income of their customers or the level of car ownership result in changes to the locations and type of stores which retailers seek to build. Recent planning legislation has also resulted in a period of rapid change in the design of supermarkets.

The development of the supermarket as a building type is a relatively recent phenomenon. Prior to the Second World War the majority of food retailing was undertaken within domestic scale grocer's shops or larger open or covered markets situated on high streets in town or city centres. The desire to offer a wider range of products resulted in a need for larger stores. Initially, this was achieved by combining two adjacent units and thereby doubling the size of the shop. However, as car ownership increased, the need to provide parking meant that this approach could no longer satisfy demand. It was this factor, combined with reduced land values away from the town centres, which forced retailers to move out, first to the edge of town and subsequently out of town altogether. The desire to develop supermarkets out of town provoked a debate about how building of this scale could successfully be accommodated within rural locations. Architects and planners looking for precedents quickly identified barn buildings as being the most obvious building type to inform these discussions. This architectural strategy, whilst good in intention, was brought into operation during a period of rapid retail expansion and resulted in the construction of large supermarket buildings overlaid with a superficial agricultural aesthetic (which held no relationship with the activities contained within): lipstick on the face of an elephant.

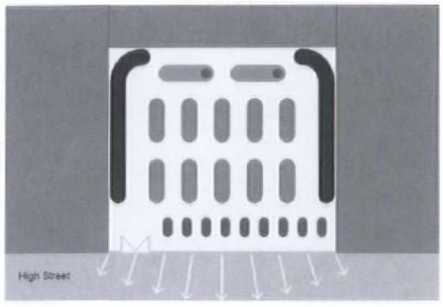
Transition

The development of out-of-town stores resulted in a reappraisal of the interior design of such buildings. The internal arrangement of supermarkets is designed by a number of in-house experts who subsequently provide the architects of the shell with a finalised layout. This results in a separation of the design of the interior and exterior of the building and can present the designer of the building envelope with a number of constraints, which are difficult to resolve. One of the most challenging of these is that the flank walls of a store have little or no fenestration so that display shelving can be maximised. Another, has been the trend to include additional offers such as restaurants and concessions along the front elevation of the store. This has pushed the

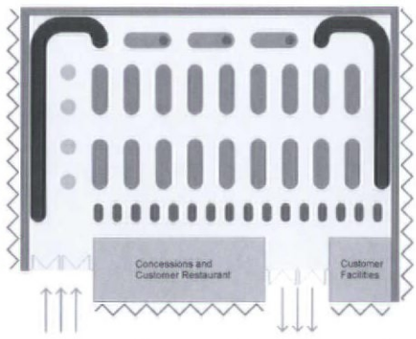
Chetwood Associates, Sainsbury's, Clapham High Street, London



The Grocer's Shop – usually located within the ground floor of domestic buildings. The shop front usually filled the street allowing potential customers the best possible view into the store. Displays either inside or outside the shop further enhanced kerb appeal to passing trade



First Supermarkets – formed through the combining of two or more adjacent shop units. While the shop front was still the main communication device, the inclusion of checkouts moved the merchandise further into the interior



Out-of-Town Supermarket I – the need to accommodate additional facilities such as concessions and customer restaurants results in there being little fenestration in the front of the building

checkouts away from the front of the building and means that the glazed portions that remain do not provide direct visual connection from outside into the sales floor and vice versa.

The Woking store for Sainsbury's Plc was designed by Chetwood Associates during this period on an edge of town site. The store shell is treated as a simple brick box with parapet walls concealing the junction with the roof. This envelope is then elaborated through the design of the canopy, which provides covered access from the car park along the facade of the buildings to the entrances. This pragmatic approach provides the user with a stimulating environment through which they pass and acts as a foil to the simplicity of the rest of the building's envelope.

Aspiration

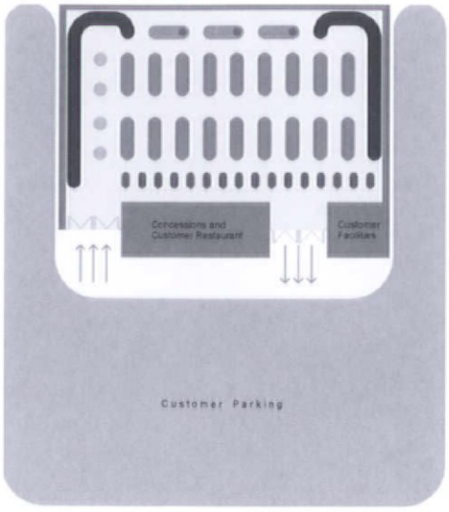
Chetwood Associates' relationship with Savacentre began with a commission to develop new interior concepts for a number of their existing stores. A typical Savacentre has a large sales floor of between 80,000 to 100,000 square feet and stocks a range of both food and non-food products. Following a detailed analysis of a number of trading stores, it became apparent that one of the major issues was the need to provide the customer with a series of features which would allow them to orientate themselves within the sales floor. There was also a need to provide clear signage to locate the different products on offer. It was also thought beneficial to fragment the space, particularly around the perimeter, so that the perceived volume could be reduced. An underlying theme identified by the retailers was the increasingly strong link between retail and leisure. The idea of creating an environment, which not only satisfied the requirements of the customer but also provided an entertaining experience, which would encourage families to return more frequently, became a core theme which shaped the finished product.

A system of large two-metre-deep curved bulkheads was developed which used colour, text and graphics to sign the various offers located below each section. The portion of the sales floor, adjacent to the entrance, containing the clothing offer was defined by changing the floor finish from terrazzo to wood strip vinyl. This device also allowed the line of the walkway through the space to be changed, from a linear route to a more meandering curved form, keeping the shopper in this area longer and therefore encouraging impulse purchases. To attract customers into the corners of the store, 'destination products' were positioned in these difficult areas. Putting electrical goods immediately after clothing and using a television wall in the bulkhead for signage created a strong visual attraction.

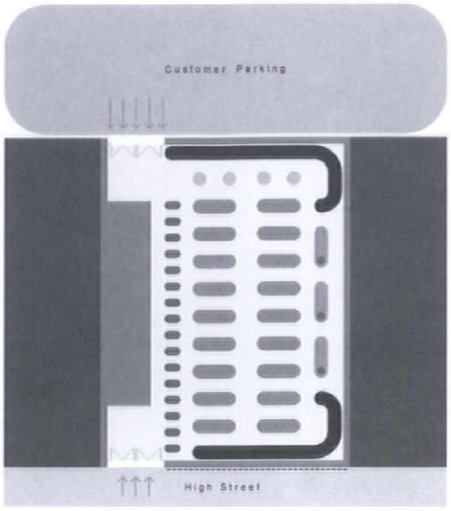
The approach taken in the redesigning of the interiors of existing Savacentres formed the starting point for the design of a new store in Sydenham. The site for this project was previously owned by British Gas and is situated on the edge of the existing town centre at the far end of the High Street. Buildings directly adjacent to the site are industrial in character and the immediate locality is rather drab. In response to this context it was thought that the building should provide a dynamic form and utilise a cladding system rather than using more traditional materials such as brick or blockwork. The form of the building is generated from a simple and economic portal frame structure. Due to the speed of construction necessary, this solution was considered to be the most efficient method of supporting the large roof area whilst keeping the number of columns within the sales floor to a minimum. This core geometry is then refined, by sculpting the flank elevations and treating them as curved topped parapet walls, thus creating the illusion of a curved roof without incurring the costs related to a fully curved solution. As part of the development, Savacentre had a requirement for a petrol filling station. This element, being situated closest to the access to the site, occupies a prominent location and acts as a built icon for the whole development.

Reconciliation

The Rio Summit was convened to formulate world-wide strategies for the reduction of atmospheric carbon dioxide levels, which are strongly linked with global warming. As a direct response to the Rio Summit, two planning policy guidance notes (PPGs) were issued which significantly affected the nature of retail development. The first of these, PPG 13, entitled 'Transport', was issued in 1994 and sought to reduce the amount of car usage generated by new developments. The key element of this guidance note was the introduction of a link between land use planning and transport planning. The second element of planning policy to be introduced was PPG 6, entitled 'Town Centres and Retail Development', introduced in 1996. This document sought to prevent further out-of-town development through the introduction



Out-of-Town Supermarket II – additional facilities such as concessions and shopper restaurants are located at the front of the store resulting in little fenestration to the main facade



High Street Supermarket – the reintroduction of the supermarket back into the High Street results in the need to gain access to the store from both the street frontage and the rear carpark. By turning the sales floor at 90 degrees to the main road, access is provided from both sides but a potentially blank facade is presented to the High Street

of the concept of the 'sequential test'. This test is applied to a development proposal to identify whether a suitable site for the proposed use exists nearer to the town centre. If such a site does exist then the proposal fails the test and the scheme is rejected.

The design of the new store at Clapham was the first building which Chetwood Associates undertook following the changes brought about in response to the Rio Summit. The site for this scheme was a former bus garage, which provided an element of frontage onto Clapham High Street with vehicular access to the rear. Most of the land available is situated behind the existing development, which fronts onto the High Street. The building was positioned to fill the gap in the High Street facade with access for both car-borne shoppers and deliveries from the rear. This disposition of elements resulted in the need to reconcile pedestrian access from two directions, either directly from the High Street or from the car park. The main sales floor is orientated to face the internal street with the checkouts positioned along this edge. Because the sales floor was turned through 90 degrees to the High Street, it presented a blank wall to the street. Fenestration could not be accommodated on this elevation since the retailers required full height shelving along this edge of the sales floor. The concept of inhabiting this edge with animated advertising was conceived as a response to this facade at a fairly early stage in the design process. The site is located on the A3, which is the fifth most heavily used route into and out of London. The idea of generating revenue from the sale of advertising space, while providing a vehicle through which the local authority and local artists could communicate with residents and passing traffic, was thought to be of significant value. The decision to utilise a video wall, similar to those used at outdoor concerts and sporting events, was made because it allowed the messages to be animated. This has distinct advantages over static advertising because moving images are more eye-catching and addressed the planners' concern that they did not want to see a blank facade facing the High Street.

Refurbishment

The changes to planning legislation have caused a fundamental review of the manner in which supermarket operators manage their building stock. With fewer opportunities available for new building, food retailers have been forced to maximise the returns generated by their existing sites. This has resulted in a commission to redevelop an existing store, located at Balham in South London. This building is an early example of the supermarket form and was built in the 1960s. The building is typical of that period in that it presents a fully glazed shop front to the Balham High Street elevation. Additional accommodation is positioned above the shop front which helps to relate the massing of the store with the adjoining four-storey Victorian building on the left. The new store plan is conceived with the car park entrance as the principal point of arrival, with the checkouts again turned through 90 degrees to face the flank wall. A similar internal street device is used to reconcile the two points of arrival. The High Street elevation has been designed to be as transparent as possible to maximise views into and out of the store. The glazed shop front is terminated at either end by two solid elements. The one to the left contains the access to the hostel above and is finished in intense blue ceramic tiles. At the other end of the elevation there is a white tiled wall, behind which the delicatessen counter is situated.

Redevelopment

Chetwood's first commission for the design of a large area of land in the centre of a town was the redevelopment of the Romford Brewery site. The 18 acres of land for this development were formerly occupied by a large brewery complex, which became redundant in the early 1990s. The redevelopment proposals incorporate a mixture of uses including a hypermarket, a multiplex cinema, a significant quantity of non-food retail, three pub restaurants, a petrol filling station, a surface car park for 800 vehicles with an additional 1,000 multi-storey spaces and a sizeable housing development. The mix of uses contained on this site would have historically been considered as out-of-town types. The need for such uses to be located in an urban location has come about as a direct response to the changes that have taken place in planning legislation.

A detailed photographic survey of the various edge conditions was undertaken which identified a prominent road frontage onto Waterloo Road with a number of irregular, rear facades, presented on two sides. A Victorian railway embankment defines the third edge of the site. The only building that is retained is an existing multi-storey car park in the south-east of the site. The

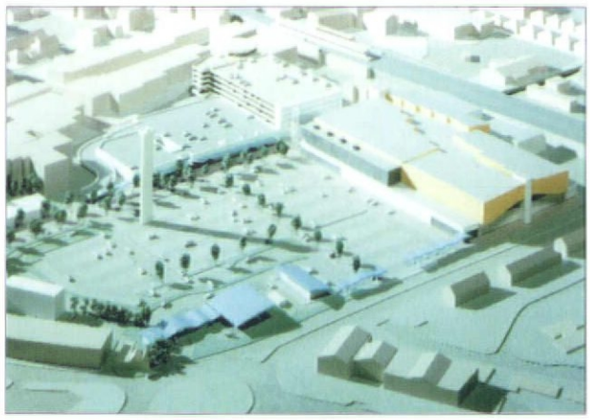
Chetwood Associates, FROM ABOVE: Sainsbury's, Woking, Surrey; Savacentre, Sydenham, Kent

need to repair these edges formed the guiding principle that controlled the positioning of the built elements upon the site. The hypermarket and multiplex building are positioned adjacent to the railway embankment. These two buildings are separated by a covered atrium space which forms the entrance to both buildings and provides access to new non-food retail, inserted into the ground floor of the car park. Non-food buildings, running from the car park, repair the long edge of the site and are separated to allow connection to the existing footpath network that links the site to the High Street. At the end of this edge the scale of the buildings is reduced with a restaurant building turning the corner and connecting to the second of the pedestrian links. The siting of these uses is appropriate because the return edge of the site back to Waterloo Road contains existing housing and two listed brewery buildings. New housing of a similar scale is located behind them to form two, private landscaped courtyards. A third pedestrian connection is made between these two housing elements. The fourth edge is less densely developed and contains roadside uses including a petrol filling station, a drive-through restaurant and a bus stop, separated by the main routes into and out of the development.

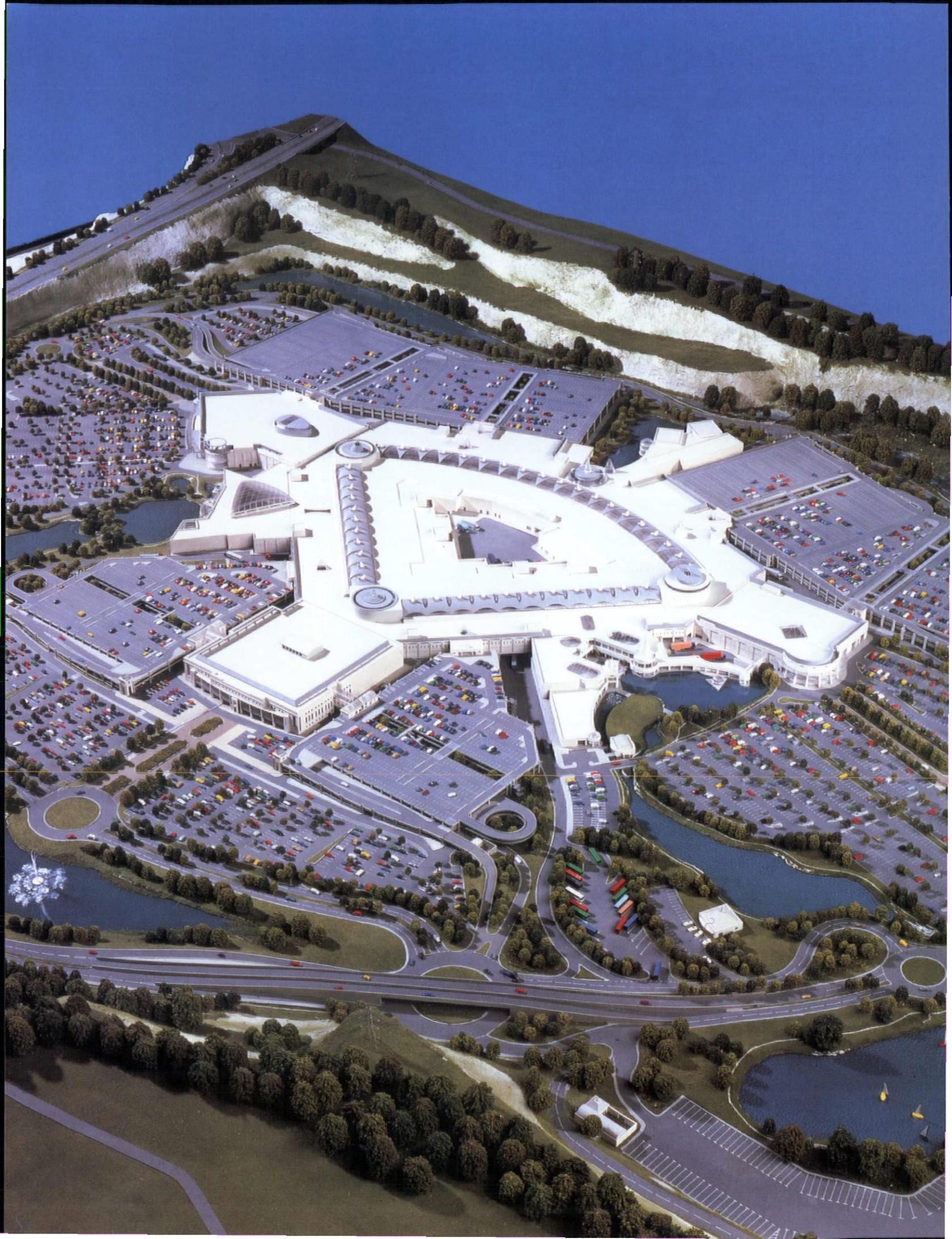
The nature and mix of uses which are proposed for the Romford Brewery site have been assembled as a direct response to the changes in planning legislation which sought to foster the development of town centre mixed-use retail developments. In designing the individual buildings it has been necessary to reconsider the assumptions which have previously been made regarding buildings of this type. The inclusion of parking on top of the non-food buildings is a new departure for this building type and has been prompted by the move from out of town to the town centre. The changes which town centre locations impose, on historically out-of-town uses, are also provoking a dialogue about the application of the institutional standards which form the constraints within which such buildings are developed. Town centres such as Romford are increasingly trying to attract larger retail stores because of the reduction in trade, which has been caused by the development of mega-centres such as Lakeside, Thurrock and Bluewater Park. If traditional market towns like Romford are to survive as viable alternatives then it is essential that they are able to provide the accommodation which operators such as Savacentre require.

Conclusion

Supermarket design has undergone a number of significant changes during its relatively short life as a building type. However, the fastest rate of change is occurring at the present moment. The market that these buildings operate within is more competitive than it has ever been, largely as a result of the control which central government has sought to exert over this sector. The effects that these controls will have are only just beginning to become apparent. While the desire to re-invigorate town centres and reduce car usage is laudable, the application of a building form developed for out-of-town locations requires reappraisal.



Chetwood Associates, Romford Brewery Development, Essex, FROM ABOVE: Atrium space linking entry points into non-food retail, savacentre and multiplex cinema; aerial view



SARAH CHAPLIN

BLUEWATER: OUT OF TOWN, OUT OF MIND?

Bluewater is the product of a creative partnership between client Lend Lease Corporation, lead consultants Benoy Architects and Designers, the American concept architects Eric Kuhne and Associates, and an ensemble of some of the best-known British retailers, including John Lewis, Marks and Spencer and House of Fraser. The stated intention of Eric Kuhne is to make Bluewater 'one of the finest retail experiences in Europe', where notions of customer service derive more from the latest hospitality management principles than from established retail industry standards.

Currently under fast-track construction on the former Blue Circle cement works, a 240-acre site within easy access of the M25 and the A2, Bluewater is due for completion in spring 1999, and will comprise three Leisure Villages, four Welcome Halls, and three Streets of Shopping on two levels, forming a triangular loop. It will be linked to the Eurostar rail network at Ebbsfleet Station, and it is hoped that because of its prime location in the Southeast, Bluewater will be able to serve both domestic and European consumers alike, functioning as both a 'Gateway to England' and a 'Threshold to the Continent'.

This identity as a cultural meeting point will be sustained not only through the generous mix of retail and entertainment, but also through the integration of educational and cultural initiatives in a wider sense. The design brief demanded that the use of time as well as space be considered, with the setting out of a Retail and Cultural Events Calendar, featuring festivals hosted by Bluewater which celebrate the cultural diversity of Kent and the surrounding region. Educational programmes will ensure that Bluewater features as a centre for local civic arts projects and other landscaping initiatives in the future (there are to be 70 locations for art works in total), eventually becoming a significant tourist destination for the United Kingdom, and ultimately a new symbol for Britain internationally.

It is clear that Bluewater represents much more than a transplanting of the American mall concept to British soil, but has aspirations to figure in the lives of both local and overseas visitors as different from a glorified shopping centre. With a distinctive management philosophy, it intends to treat people not simply as consumers, but will seek to attract them to participate as its new citizens. The design process involved detailed consultation with focus groups to examine the quality of the Bluewater experience from different perspectives: employees, suppliers, as well as members of the public.

Bluewater adopted the blueprint of what other centres like Lakeside, Thurrock and Brent Cross before it sought to create, and takes this paradigm further: more attention to landscaping, more environmental sensitivity, a better range of amenities, greater efforts towards contextualisation, even fresh air. As a place to be, the designers and developers of Bluewater are aiming for a 'lyrical', even 'poetic' garden architecture befitting a leisure-orientated attitude to consumption, rather than opting for a concept inspired by urbanism, which is perhaps deemed to be inappropriately associated with a culture of production.

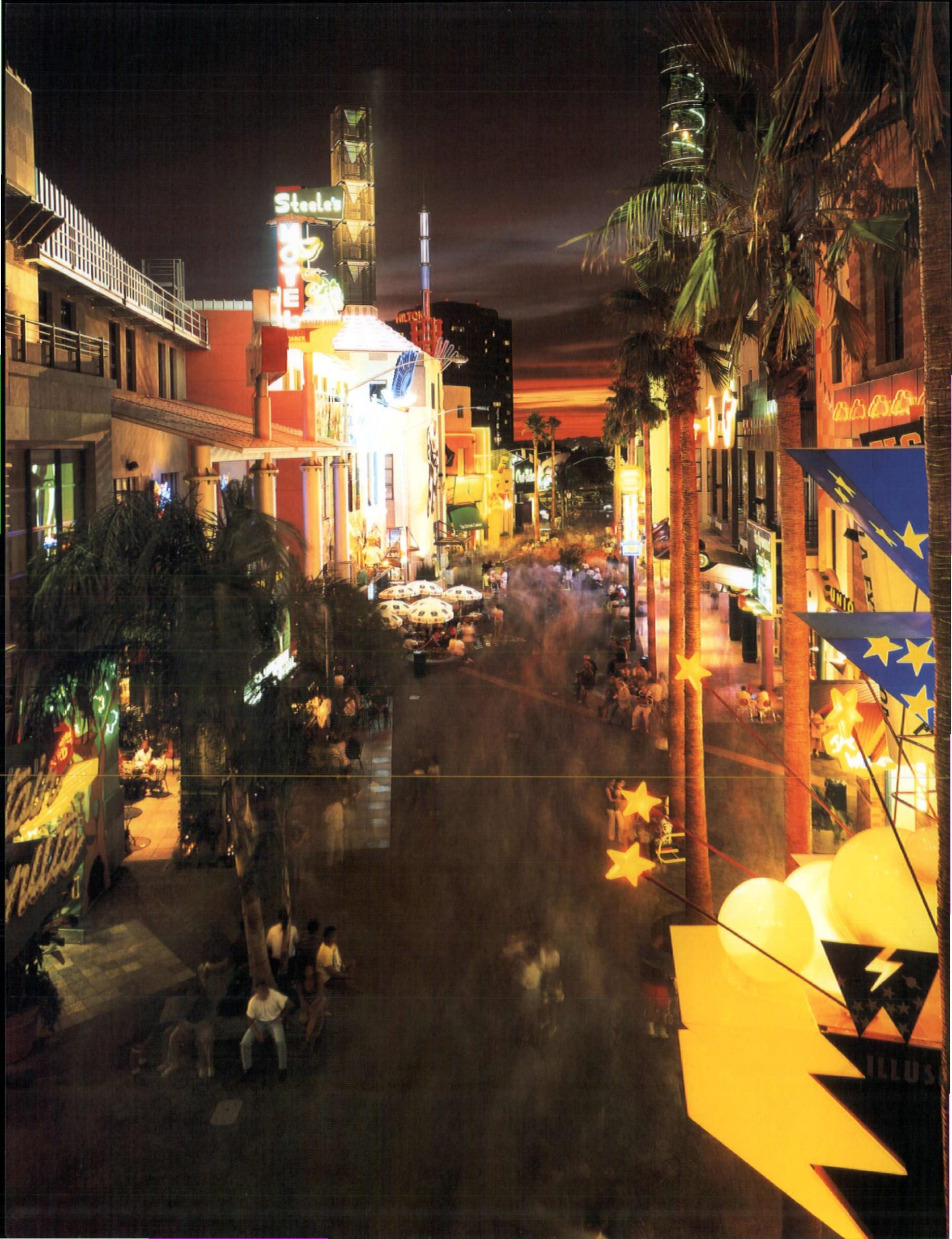
Bluewater's press release lists among its 'points of difference' (which suggest that the approach to design borrows the language of successful advertising campaigns), their aim to establish the site as the premier retail/entertainment 'destination' of its kind. However, it could be argued that in the consumer's mind, it is less likely to be compared with other urban periphery complexes, and is more likely to compete for their patronage against older local market towns. Arriving at this new 'marketed' non-town with its abundance of lakes, parking, restaurants, and entering one of the Welcome Halls, will feel more like checking into a luxurious country hotel resort for the day than a battle from shop to shop against the traffic up a narrow high street.

Bluewater is of course part of the reason why older towns, particularly some of the popular tourist spots in north Kent, such as Chatham and Rochester, choose to historicise and heritagise rather than modernise. Quaintness and authenticity is *their* point of difference: the tea shoppe and the antiques lane, historic docks and literary connections made ever more self-conscious in a bid to draw visitors back to these places.

What Bluewater represents is a definitive statement about late 20th-century lifestyle, one which many architects would dispute, but which demographics and statistics prove otherwise. Professionals in architecture and planning are apt to demonise the whole out-of-town mall phenomenon, which offers pleasure and relaxation in exchange for profit, but in doing so they run the risk of misunderstanding current consumer tastes in the mistaken belief that as professionals they still know what's best. Some would say that the Bluewater development borrows too much from Disney and MacDonalds: customers are to be referred to as guests, there will be a reassuring level of predictability and social control, a scaled-down version of the dramatic chalk landscape of Kent to enjoy, something to eat, drink or buy every so many metres, but the formula is in demand, and the architectural ambience something which retailers and customers alike are queuing up to consume.

The problem is not that Bluewater and others like it operate as a theme park, it has to do with their impact on the surrounding urban and rural environment: the effect of developments like Bluewater is to make the neighbouring historic towns into theme parks, an expedient coping strategy for treating what came before. What is needed is not Government intervention to ensure the abandonment of policies which encourage environmental 'encroachment' in the form of developments such as Bluewater, but an approach which tackles the problem of the long-term viability and vitality of historic towns and villages, aiming to create places which complement rather than compete with the kinds of activities offered at Bluewater.

OPPOSITE: Model of Bluewater Development


Steele's
MOVIE

JON JERDE

CAPTURING THE LEISURE ZEITGEIST

Creating Places to Be

The city is the teacher of man. (Simonides, *Fragments*, *c*475 BC)

What is the city but people? (Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, 1623)

There is in the world today an ever increasing, an ever more hungry population whose rising expectations for quality of life and communal experience are changing the way architects and designers are approaching their work. This population, be they referred to as consumers, guests, tourists, locals, users, shoppers or audience, this public is looking for an enriched sense of now. People seek to enjoy themselves today in all their interactions, not only when playing, but when working, when shopping, when running errands and when learning.

Perhaps in contrast to the emerging virtual reality and a sensory-limited cyber society, a mass collective consciousness is yearning for a more integrated lifestyle – a super reality. This enriched sense of now, this super reality, is the new urban zeitgeist. My inspiration as a designer is to create places to capture, cherish and celebrate this zeitgeist.

Many today label as entertainment design or entertainment architecture the diverse vessels the Jerde Partnership International (JPI) has moulded and mastered over the last two decades: the Fremont Street Experience in Las Vegas, Horton Plaza in San Diego, the 1984 Olympic Games and Universal CityWalk in Los Angeles, Canal City Hakata in Fukuoka, Japan, Robina Town Centre in Queensland, Australia and the Beursplein in Rotterdam, Holland. Each is unique, responding to varying sites, the varying goals of distinctly different clients and varying values of the public. What may work in one place may not be right for another. If our designs have a signature it is their singularity. With each challenge we break the mould. As a result, there are no easy catch phrases or enfolding categories to describe what JPI pursues and practises and what has made our projects popular.

What we seek to create are inviting, evocative places where people feel safe, comfortable and happy; unique places that speak to a site's climate, context and culture; genial places where variegated populations gather to have a fantastic time. The attempt is to offer a great human experience, an event. Increasingly, we are applying this approach to obsolete urban environments in need of regeneration, helping them to become animated and revitalised.

Simply put, JPI is a firm of 'place-makers' trying to give a heart and soul to each particular project. The structure and shape of the architecture are important, as are the bones and muscles of the body, but for it to have meaning it must have life. It is this sense of life that imbues a project with a sense of place.

In terms of the design process, what distinguishes our projects around the world is the commitment of individual talents working as teams 'co-creatively' to shape and style spaces that will bring people together to share a communal human experience, be entertained and be part of the entertainment. I like to think our designs are also enriching, even educational, certainly commercial – what planners like to call PTBs, 'places to be' – places to see and be seen, places to remember and which to return.

To achieve this, I found it necessary to break away from the object-making that characterises so much recent architecture and design. Working instead with the notion of place-making involves creating an inviting stage on which a dialogue can take place between performers and an ever-changing audience. What makes entertainment-orientated, mixed-use, pedestrianised promenades like CityWalk, Canal City Hakata and Horton Plaza so much fun and why people keep going back is that they don't have to be mute and passive there; they are the entertainment.

For the audience to feel liberated enough to participate, the planning, programming and architecture, or 'script', has to be flexible so as to really encourage interaction. This means that where the context and climate are conducive, simple grid-iron planning, *de rigeur* with many urban designers this century, needs to be bent, twisted and turned to create surprises, or what could be called 'hyperspaces'.

Districts are clustered around event spaces to reinforce a sense of place. These spaces are strung together like pearls on a necklace, providing an organic collection of variety, vitality and interaction. These types of experiential spaces invite an almost cinematic sequence of mystery, anticipation, unfolding and surprise. We attempt to create spaces of memorable sensory stimulation, sometimes subliminally by stretching or shrinking scale, or by abstracting the indigenous vernacular, often through layering of graphics, landscape or multimedia. We concern ourselves not just with how our projects look and function, but also how they feel, how they will be remembered, and, ultimately, how they will evolve.

JPI's architecture is intentionally idiosyncratic, celebrating complexity and curiosity. Our goal is to bring civility, continuity and relatedness to the chaotic built environment of the late 20th century. Over the years, we have produced a diversity of engaging designs of varying scale, scope and setting, each in their own way celebrating a sense of place, each establishing a new standard of experiential design, and with each new project, attempting to define and redefine the zeitgeist.

OPPOSITE: CityWalk, Universal Studios, Los Angeles

ABOVE: CityWalk, Universal Studios, Los Angeles; OPPOSITE: Fremont Street Experience, Las Vegas


OPLESS

PAUL DAVIES

SITES OF VICARIOUS CONSUMPTION

Hollywood's Living (Room) History

The world famous series may be officially over, but via satellite, cable, tape and on paper, *Cheers* is bigger than ever; a complete package, a brand no longer subject to the vagaries of weekly filming, no longer subject to accident. Meanwhile, the fictional bar has become synonymous with genuine good times all over the world. Even the most cursory scan of the Internet will reveal bars marketing themselves as '*Cheers*' from Montreal to Mönchengladbach, Southwark to San Francisco.

Life in *Cheers* beneath the chilly streets of Boston was warming; a world of social stability and friendship that never declined into boredom and brawling. Inside *Cheers*, viewers whose happy-go-lucky days seem over – for whom, 'making your way in the world today takes everything you've got, taking a break from all your worries sure would help a lot' – grab half an hour of perpetually adolescent bar life: a world of individuals smarting at the thought of commitments. *Cheers* never viewed spousehood with anything but disdain, children were never seen, the notion of work translated to a happy and perpetual absenteeism and even alcohol seemed good for you. This new cast of gods had human qualities not unlike their classical antecedents ('Norm' the rotund, jovial, god of beer, 'Sam' his athletic coach, 'Frazier' god of mental health, 'Cliff' the winged messenger – resting). Whilst not exactly the perfect role models for the middlebrow viewing public *Cheers* enjoys, they could at least crack the occasional Kierkegaard joke.

Chasing the authentic sites of the *Cheers* bar reveals six orders in the translation of television images into facilities serving the desires of real consumers. From original show through archaeological site, icon, exhibit, franchise, inspiration and finally label. As a consequence of just the original show, the popular response to the question 'Where is the *Cheers* bar? we could expect to be 'Boston'. Recognising the first translation to archaeological site, we soon realise that *Cheers* was not created under the chilly streets of Boston, but within the sunny 63-acre Paramount Studios off Melrose Avenue in Hollywood.

Founder Sam Goldwyn had travelled west in search of better light for his film stock and better critical reception to allow him to make movies the way he wanted them. If he needed scenes of New York and Boston he had them built in the backlot. The archaeological site of *Cheers*, my guide pointed out, is an anonymous sound stage known only by a large painted number on its outside wall. He motioned at the site where the mighty edifice of *Cheers* was built, adding that he believed the original bar to lie somewhere beneath us in vast catacombs below, dismantled, but ready at any moment for resurrection.

I was intrigued, later scanning the *Cheers* merchandise in the Paramount Souvenir shop, at both this absence of physical remains, and the variety of the synthesised product on display. Perhaps here set before me lay some fulcrum in the translation of all that is air (no pun intended) to solid material. I was simultaneously within two arenas with the same name, where the shows become solid, where the solid become shows: *entertainment retail*. The positioning of a show's merchandising makes for shops articulated by merchandise. *Entertainment retail* is where shops themselves attain the status of performance.

The most successful entertainment retail complex in the world is Forum Shopping at Caesars Palace Las Vegas. In Santa Monica, I called on Forum developer Richard Rich of Gordon Group Holdings to find him poring over the fine wash renderings of Forum Stage Two (by David Rockwell, architect of the Planet Hollywood chain). They featured a magnificent chariot racing arena which Rich will build adjacent to the original.

Baseball hats, T-shirts and mugs do not these days escape the notice of building developers. Richard Rich started out as a Disney Imagineer, but like many, soon saw wider opportunities in taking the entertainment giant's tactics and applying them directly in retail. Rich can see that entertainment retail will soon become *retail theatre*. When I met him, Rich was looking through all the *Ben Hur* razzmatazz of Forum Stage Two for the architectural equivalent of Mickey Mouse ears.

For Rich, the *Cheers* bar is such an animal, since for many Americans it represents the ultimate idea of a comfortable bar (translation no 2). For the developer, the task is to capitalise on that iconic value, and provide the experience for real.

Rich admitted there were a few problems with the franchise, for Paramount itself has been no slouch in spotting *Cheers*' potential, with the advantage that it held a trump card, the remains of a set which would normally find itself in a skip for recycling. This original set has already been resurrected (translation no 3) as the prime exhibit in Hollywood's latest infotainment facility: The Hollywood Entertainment Museum.

The ironically named Last Design Company reconstructed it there, and partner Jeremy Realton explained how the *Cheers* set had become a star in its own right. The designers for the Oscar celebrations found themselves with a live set to accommodate within a 33,000-square-foot miniature reconstruction of a 63-acre Studio lot complete with tiny foley rooms, wardrobe and prop departments adjacent to Mann's Chinese Theatre and somewhat poetically placed beneath Hollywood Boulevard's latest multiplex cinema.

Realton started out as a theatre designer, and now works with Barry Howard who is a museologist. The basis of the Hollywood Entertainment Museum is educational, but its mission is defined by the strict limitations of the tour bus route. A simulated studio that takes less than an hour to visit, in the centre of Hollywood, can accommodate the pressing schedules of young college kids' itineraries. Here they can pick up the basics of the industry along with visits to Disneyland and Universal Studios or the Hollywood Bowl (some will do all four in a day). The climax of their visit to the Hollywood Entertainment Museum (more popular even than the Star Trek 'bridge') is an ordinary bar, the 'real' *Cheers* bar.

The attendant assured me that this reconstructed set, minus a four-foot-long middle section (the original proved too large for this miniaturised sound stage) did indeed function as a 'real' bar, it was popular for birthday parties and receptions, when beer would flow miraculously from the taps. Only water was poured for my visit, but I was assured of its authenticity – for the stars had carved their names into the bar top at the end of their last show.

I could become Norm! For over Norm's stool a hidden camera would relay me into a TV monitor behind. Suddenly I was in *Cheers* on television alongside other TV monitors showing famous episodes. This moment was short lived, for as I savoured my own (reverse) transformation into the world of *Cheers*, missing only Norm's obligatory beer, another flood of teenagers poured shouting and whooping onto the set, and it was clear I should wake from my reverie and shuffle on over to Frazier's stool, which seemed of less interest to the adolescent hoards. Flashbulbs popped as the teenagers became Woody and Sam, their faces alive, anticipating their father's jealousy 'when he gets to hear about this', their broken voices singing the immortal title song.

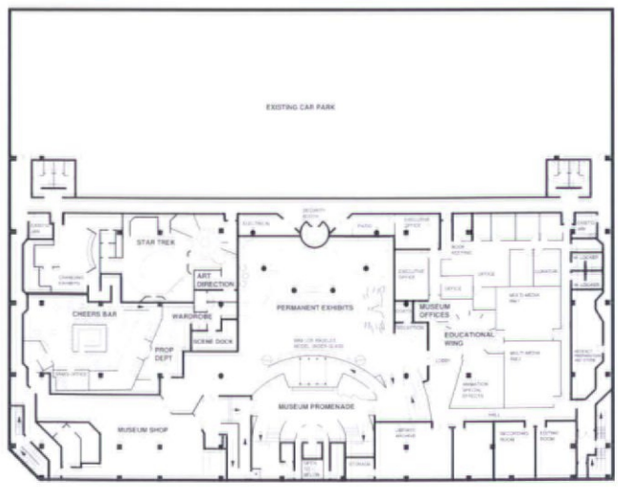
So the real *Cheers* bar, minus four feet, which the actors have childishly authenticated by carving their names into its bar top (now preserved under glass), is now itself a function of education, a classical relic, to be discovered by organised groups of innocent rustics.

To my knowledge, two other bars have so far been franchised to perform as 'real' *Cheers* bars (translation no 4), and, as if obeying some law of extremity and compensation, they are both located in airports (where nobody knows your name). The first is appropriately enough in Boston. Here, proclamations as to the 'placelessness' of the hyperreal are premature, given the proximity of two authentic *Cheers* bars in the same city; one of which being the inspiration for the show (translation no 5) and not originally called *Cheers*, but today a must for all strangers as they visit downtown Boston, since it has assumed the *Cheers* label (translation no 6).

The second airport *Cheers* bar is to be found in the rapidly expanding McCarran Airport, Las Vegas. As Hollywood's Cinderella, Las Vegas is dressed in the finery of all the world's other places, contrived with the eye of the masters of television in Hollywood, and is of course a natural (sic) host for its own *Cheers* bar.

Real famous bars can be seriously disappointing; visit Harry's Bar in Venice and you are not so much following in the footsteps of Ernest Hemingway as those of millions of tourists per year. Not so the *Cheers* bar, which started out as fiction rather than being patronised by fiction writers. (We should note, that of course any *Cheers* bar could seriously disappoint by serving lousy food, but that is another matter.)

Similarly, real famous cities can prove disappointing, and Las Vegas has also taken steps to ensure that a fictional monolith of New York is more captivating than anything on Manhattan Island.



FROM ABOVE: Cheers *bar, Hollywood Entertainment Museum, Los Angeles; Paramount Studios backlot, Los Angeles; The Hollywood Entertainment Museum, plan*

New York New York, Las Vegas, casino and hotel complex

New York New York, Las Vegas, under construction

Architects especially seem first to register awe when confronted with the New York New York Casino Resort, opened in January 1997, but then register disappointment in its cavernous interior and the crush of people. Or so it was for me.

Jean Baudrillard elucidated three orders of translation of the replicated image, which he described as taking place over a much longer time scale in his book *Simulations* (1983). Here with an overwhelming sense of melancholia, he acknowledged and analysed such a sense of disappointment. Held up to be the leading theorist on the category of the 'simulacra', into which *Cheers* bar and New York New York would seem to fall, Baudrillard overlooks much that is of interest with his apocalyptic vision, and this gives cause for concern.

Baudrillard's prophetic writings refuse engagement with the materiality of the imaginary, with the 'distance' between floating simulacra and the sheer tonnage of construction, the real substance, the mechanics, the infrastructure of a city such as Los Angeles (whose sense of 'Industry' itself is the manufacture of images), and its twin, Las Vegas, where those images are concretised for pleasure. For Baudrillard the 'whole weightless system, a gigantic simulacrum', is contrasted with the *edifice* of a representation system now past, mourned and relegated not only to a historical past but a different geographical location – Europe. Baudrillard dwells on the death of Harry's Bars (especially the original on the Grand Canal). Should we conclude from this however, that any *Cheers* bar (or NYNY for that matter) is to be decried as disappointing in the same sense?

In short, the language that Baudrillard uses is infused with metaphors of a past architectural solidity and value, thereby exposing the reader to the paradox of a language that employs the firmest architectural metaphors on a subject more often than not conjured as flimsy pastiche, yet whose mechanisms are in fact no less tangible than those employed to create the great cathedrals.

When discussing NYNY, the simulated city ('the greatest city in Las Vegas' according to the blurb), it would seem more appropriate to compare it to *Cheers* rather than Harry's, since it was conceived through the camera lens, to be consumed like a sit-com. In terms of the issue of 'weightlessness' raised by Baudrillard, we should note that the new Empire State Building as part of the NYNY resort took the same period of time to construct as the original (18 months), and by implication therefore took an equivalent amount of care and human effort.

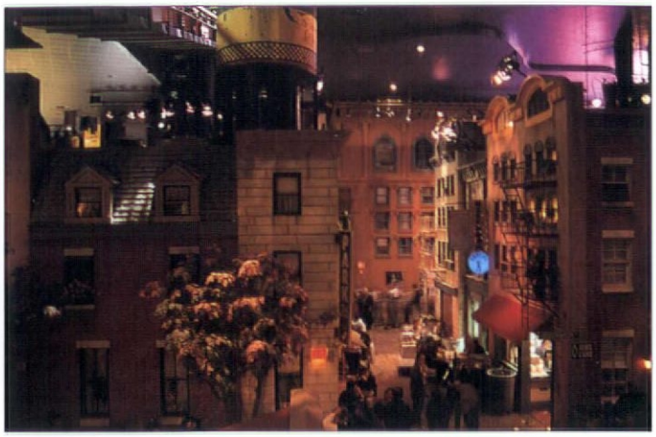
Of course, NYNY hardly needed an architect, instead it has a public relations firm at the heart of its conception (Sig Rogich and Mark Advent). It has taken shape as advertising, as a huge living billboard that captivated the imagination of the visitors who crowded into the preview centre below it every day during construction. From the official opening day onwards, it has been besieged by visitors whose main compunction is to see how the interior could possibly equal the dramatic exterior, anxious to see how the development would deliver the promise.

As a result of the all-too-real reputation of New York City, NYNY, Nevada, was conspicuously marketed as better than the original: New York, New York 'so good they named it twice' easily became 'so good they built it twice'. New York is also one of the world's great locations, and Hollywood film studios have been building replica bits of New York in their backlots since the 1920s. For filmmakers, New York presented a background canvas, but the plans for the NYNY casino complex were not conceived as simply an architectural backdrop. In its planning, the protocols of efficiency were abandoned, favouring instead a more filmic approach. Behind an evocative folding out of NYNY as a continuous billboard of skyscrapers (leaving complicated and residual planning problems literally behind them), inside, the designers used storyboard images to create sets, which rather than sustaining a coherent narrative in space, worked as a series of out-takes, as a compilation.

On completion there were even scolding arguments about copyright. The Taliesin Foundation, for instance, forbade reproduction of the image of the Guggenheim Museum; in so doing representing itself as a bastion of serious, authentic, original, and highly particular (even parochial) views of creativity. Meanwhile nobody seemed to be able to work out exactly who owned the idea for this casino resort, the architectural equivalent of a development deal, a copyright issue borrowed directly from the 'Industry' back in Hollywood.

Maps are not provided for orientation inside NYNY (although carpets were optimistically custom-designed to show main routes). It is the landmarks rising above the slot machines that gradually

New York New York, Las Vegas, exterior view



New York New York, Las Vegas, interior view

provide an overall grasp of the layout: Central Park, the Stock Exchange, Greenwich Village. These are often only ciphers: the only 'bookshop' in NYNY's Greenwich Village has no actual books inside, it is just another food and beverage outlet.

In the selection of particular scenes, received images of New York were used to achieve a balance between the light and the dark sides of the city, allowing a sense of alienation and drift, of isolation and danger of New York's vast physical spaces, alongside the essential kookiness, the amusing, and the idiosyncratic. Any danger is sanitised and representational, made safe: a bit of simulated litter and graffiti in a dark 'back street' for us to enjoy. At the same time, any casino resort of this size, running 24 hours a day automatically takes on some of the less savoury elements of city life. It just so happens that inside NYNY these conditions are no longer synonymous.

In situation comedy, it is often a particular, environmentally negative outlook on life in New York that contributes to the comedy: consider *The Odd Couple*, *Breakfast at Tiffany's*, *Taxi*, *Rhoda*, *Friends*, or *Caroline in the City*. A vast catalogue of life in New York has already been interpreted, constructed and disseminated by Hollywood. Concretisation in Las Vegas meant tapping these as primary sources since they are available to every living room.

This is the essence of NYNY Casino Resort: it is NY done via LA. The interior of New York New York has the atmosphere of a huge Hollywood soundstage, a vast hall populated by sets, whose fakery is disturbingly conspicuous and brightly lit against a blacked-out ceiling. The cashcarts modelled on New York taxi cabs, the blackjack chairs looking like dinner jackets, and a gigantic rumbling overhead rollercoaster, modelled on the subway, highlight a sense of the absurd.

This is not real, this is fun, this is not a simulacrum, so stop worrying. The whole complex was built relatively cheaply, for 460 million dollars, a fraction of the cost of a Mirage Resorts' super destination like Bellagio (presently under construction up-Strip), so the flatness of cartoon graphics and decoration should come as no surprise. It is more directly analogous to a fairground architecture incorporating all the oddities and seriousness of the translation sequence evident with *Cheers*. Within NYNY, Coney Island finds fresh representation of its psychologically fascinating elements as a particularly witty and welcoming computer game arcade.

The best part of NYNY? For Richard Rich it is the rollercoaster which makes for great atmosphere as it rushes in over your heads in Greenwich Village, and where as the ground shakes, you physically experience the strangeness of such fresh interpretation.

Sitting in Hinano's on Washington Boulevard (Venice, CA) 'the last authentic beach bar' as my guide termed it (because or perhaps in spite of the fact that it's been frequented by the likes of Dennis Hopper, Jim Morrison, Jane Fonda and other moguls of the 'Industry'), and where even the Lizard King himself (may have) carved his authentic mark on the window sill, I reflected. Sadly, I was not wearing a 'Norm' T-shirt, because the Hollywood Entertainment Museum had run out of my size, but I could look up at the TV screen and see the advertisements for NYNY, Nevada. Like so many other ads before it, this one re-animated the Statue of Liberty for television advertising, but made her seem bored with NYC, sent her on a sassy smooch through each new possible city location, and finally re-located her in Las Vegas.

As contemporary theorists turn their attention to Los Angeles, we might remember Oswald Spengler, Albert Camus, or Jean-Paul Sartre, whose particular wartime prophesy 'Manhattan, The Great American Desert' declared: 'New York is about to find a history, since it already has ruins'.

With NYNY, one has to come to terms not only with the obvious paradox: we (the public) come to know most buildings by the very images some critics fervently wish architecture would overcome,[1] but that architecture is created by those very same image-making processes. Before we scour the ruins of representation to find history, we could do well to remember that history is created in Hollywood, and that Hollywood has a history of its own.

Note

1 Adrian Dannatt, *Building Design* magazine, 23 May 1997. Reviewing the ANY conference at the Guggenheim Museum, he referred to Robert Somol's presentation on NYNY and the difficulty of authorship, outlining the difference between 'read me' and 'eat me' buildings.

Ove Arup & Partners, Shakespeare Country Park, Maruyama

SARAH CHAPLIN

AUTHENTICITY AND OTHERNESS

The New Japanese Theme Park

Nobody in Japan, it seems, is afraid to grapple with the issue which is so problematic architecturally in Europe: that of authenticity, especially when it comes to designing a new cultural theme park. If a developer thinks that the Japanese public desires to consume replicas of Shakespearean England or a Turkish Bazaar, then it is simply a matter of hiring the right people, constructing with the right materials, using the proper techniques, and stocking the appropriate imported merchandise in the gift shop. It is about creating a place without caricature but with plenty of attentiveness to detail, in order to suggest a specific cultural resonance, and to make the experience sufficiently exotic or 'other', to generate and satisfy an active curiosity. Ultimately it satisfies Japanese visitors' desire to see something of the world without the necessity to visit say, Stratford-upon-Avon or Topkapi Palace, Istanbul.

For the European visitor it is often difficult to take developments of this type seriously, and indeed they are often seen to represent a curious quirk of the Japanese penchant for consuming generally. However, considered in a more traditional Japanese way of thinking, the approach to building these theme parks is in many respects akin to the way in which Shinto shrines are rebuilt every 20 years or so, and visited regularly throughout the calendar, a thoroughly authentic practice which has existed for hundreds of years. What is celebrated is not the actual antiquity of the structures themselves, but the importance of the site on which they are built and the faithfulness and skill of their ritualised reconstruction.

Since the remarkable Huis den Bosch was built on the southernmost island of Kyushu, the idea of building whole pieces of elsewhere in Japan has spawned a form of virtual tourism: consuming foreign architecture on home territory. Huis den Bosch is not just a reconstructed bit of a Dutch city but a complete resort, popular with Japanese honeymooners, which now boasts 58 restaurants, 14 museums and 67 shops, presents nightly laser shows and firework displays, and features the Hotel Europe, modelled on Amsterdam's Hotel de L'Europe but built on a grander scale, with interiors by a Dutch designer. This is consuming architecture on an ambitious level, and ironically, it has been said that because of Huis den Bosch, a proper record of traditional Dutch architecture now exists which will remain untouched by the ravages of history. By comparison, the actual architectural examples in Holland on which Huis den Bosch is based, are likely to be altered by continual use as the Dutch adapt their built fabric to suit the needs of the next century.

There are many other examples of the Japanese actively consuming foreign architecture which date significantly from the mid-1980s: Philippe Starck's Asahi Beer Hall in Asakusa, or Nigel Coates' Wall project in Roppongi both parade their signature designs using imported skills and ideas, and stand out in the street as 'other'. This is similar to the way in which many English or French words have been incorporated into everyday speech, but are written in a different script, *katakana*, compared to indigenous vocabulary, making them immediately visible in a page of text. Even the concept of the theme park has been rendered in *katakana* as Japanese English: pronounced *taimu parku*, it is marked out linguistically as a Western notion, which began with the invention of Disneyland.

During the economic bubble of the 1980s there was a tendency in Japan to consume all things imported: beers, cars, novelists, trends. Such items were part of the conspicuous display of wealth by corporations and individuals alike, where architecture was just one element of a whole shopping basket of appropriation. At the time, such acts of consumption brought added kudos: everyone knew import taxes were high. There is also a certain eroticism for the Japanese concerning European architecture: it is often the turreted palaces and castles such as Neuschwannstein that are evoked in the designs for Love Hotels, and this romantic connotation is deliberately employed to enhance the desirability of these establishments in the eyes of the younger generation who frequent them: they offer the prospect of real sex in the context of virtual tourism.

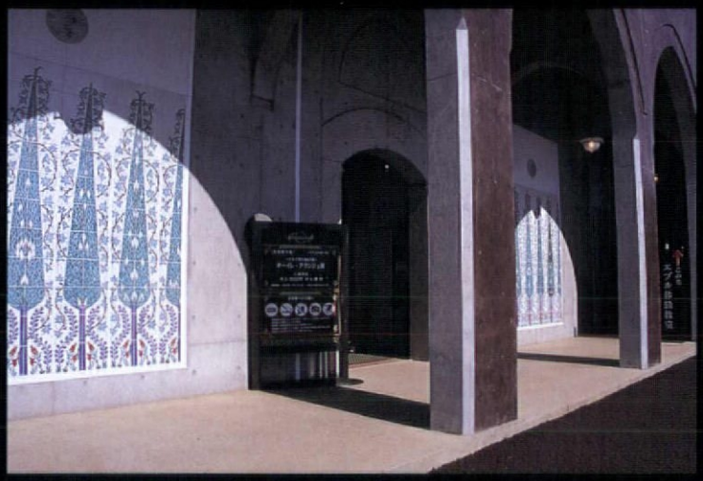
Nowadays, consuming foreign architecture in the form of theme parks has a stronger educational emphasis in Japan, and demonstrates a different kind of commitment to developing Japan's cosmopolitan outlook as a nation. Rather than using architectural otherness to aggrandise the identity of a few entrepreneurs and their respective punters, the Japanese in the 1990s now seem more curious to learn and teach about other cultures through hosting or staging them, where before they sought foreignness for its own sake. With Japanese theme park developers now engaging with the process of cultural representation more actively, some interesting zones of cultural reinterpretation are opening up.

Ultimately, what is desired in Japan in terms of an array of pre-prepared, almost pre-digested architectures to consume, is an experience of intensification: mediated images of other parts of the world dominate the popular imagination, and demand that leisure space be colonised by bits of Merrie Englande, remnants of the Ottoman empire, or an assortment of carnivalesque.

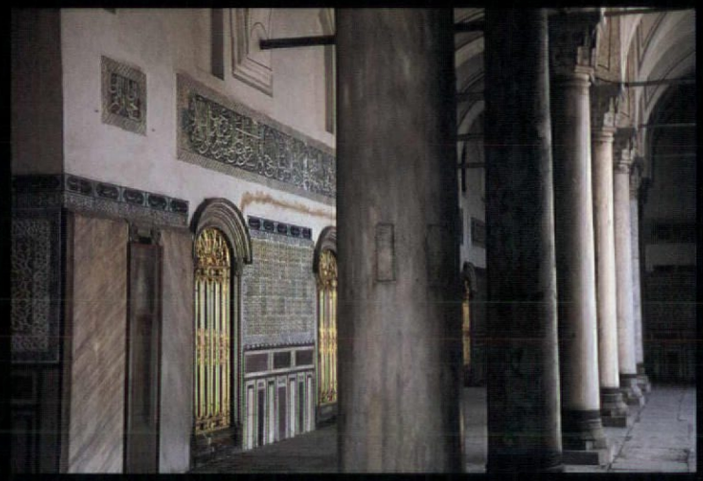
Mary Yoko Brannen, in an article about Tokyo Disneyland,[1] argues that while its Japanese owners, the Oriental Land Company, requested an exact replica of the original Disneyland, subtle alterations occurred in the process of importing the model for their theme park, to do with the specifics of the way Japanese behave in public; for example, not eating while walking along accounts for fewer fast food outlets around the park. She argues that the theme park aesthetic in Japan coincides with the current consumer trend of *yuttari*, meaning easy, comfortable, calm. The commodified cultural artefacts are recontextualised in Japanese terms at Tokyo Disneyland, consisting of two forms of cultural consumption: 'making the exotic familiar and keeping the exotic exotic.'[2] Brannen considers that this entails both American

Kashiwazaki Turkish Culture Village, roofscape

Suleymaniye Mosque, Istanbul, roofscape



Kashiwazaki Turkish Culture Village, art gallery



Topkapi Palace, Istanbul, inner courtyard

Kashiwazaki Turkish Culture Village, traditional Turkish dancing

Kashiwazaki Turkish Culture Village, Turkish bazaar

and Japanese forms of cultural imperialism working together, and not necessarily at odds with each other.

Similarly, with the two projects reviewed here, there is a level of hybridised cultural imperialism in evidence, producing a complex situation for the consumer, who is simultaneously consuming two types of environment: one explicit, the representational architecture, and the other implicit, to do with the consumers' expected code of behaviour.

Shakespeare Country Park, Maruyama, Chiba Prefecture

Ove Arup and Partners' commission to work with architects Julian Bicknell and Associates, Fujiwara Sekkei (co-architects) and John Romayne (exhibition installation designer) to design a Shakespeare Country Park, was completed in March 1997, and had 10,000 visitors in the first two weeks after its opening day on 23 April (Shakespeare's birthday). The client, Maruyama City, wanted to present a kind of abstraction of Elizabethan culture, which was achieved by distilling the project down to the building types of the period: farm, townhouse, inn, theatre, village green, physic garden, and by demonstrating their connections to or effects on literature, theatre, and the visual arts through exhibits and shows. The overall intention was to create a place of recreation that provided a clear educational context through which to understand the meaning of Shakespeare's work.

Searching for an authentic link to Shakespeare, Maruyama town's press release refers to their symbol, Rosemary, a plant 'much loved and referred to by Shakespeare'. This herb therefore features prominently in the landscaping of the Park. Authenticity was also assured by the use of traditional timber building techniques, and the construction company, Border Oak, took great care to adapt Elizabethan detailing to suit local conditions which are invariably more humid than in England, and where typhoons often occur.

Julian Bicknell writes about the project:

> In Europe we might expect a Shakespearean theme park to be an exercise in cynical opportunism and commercial exploitation – a romanticised and watered-down version of Stratford-upon-Avon . . . or worse still a cartoon caricature in the Disney manner. In Japan both the expectation and the finished product are quite different. The Shakespeare Country Park fits neatly into the Japanese tradition of recreational pilgrimage. Shakespeare's name is, amazingly, known to most Japanese school children (who in Europe has heard of Chikamatsu, or any other famous Japanese poet or playwright?). Tourists from Japan visit the Shakespearean properties in Stratford-upon-Avon in greater numbers than from any other country. They have brought the same diligence and curiosity to the new Shakespearean village at Maruyama. They are not discouraged by not seeing the original – after all many of the famous shrines of Japan have been rebuilt, moved, and reproduced, without any loss in their spiritual power.

Kashiwazaki Turkish Culture Village, Niigata Prefecture

Turkish Airlines has sponsored the creation of a sampler of Turkish culture on the west coast of Japan, comprising a bazaar full of produce straight from Istanbul, a restaurant serving Turkish cuisine, an art gallery of contemporary Turkish artworks, a plaza in which Turkish dancing is performed at intervals, landscaped gardens containing a Turkish breed of dog tied up by its kennel, and a minaret, from which announcements are made over the PA system as to when the next dance show will be performed. This 'culture village' adds up to more than a collection of spaces and artefacts: the whole experience has been designed and carefully orchestrated, right down to the Turkish-speaking attendants in traditional costume who greet the visitor and offer cologne with typical Turkish hospitality.

Here the exotic is made familiar through a certain Japanisation in the design of signage at the entrance, the escalator up the steep hill, even the '*bento*-isation' of Turkish dishes in the restaurant to resemble the layout of a traditional Japanese meal. The exotic is kept exotic by excluding any Japanese-made merchandise, hoards of carpets, Turkish delight, rosaries, decorated plates, tea sets and jewellery, all piled high in a dark, vaulted interior, and the elaborate detailing and materials used in the architecture. There are no rides or guided tours, and Japanese visitors wander through the spaces in the same way they would leisurely encounter a foreign city. In comparing images of Kashiwazaki with views of Istanbul and Topkapi Palace in particular, it is also apparent that the overall setting with glimpses of water in the distance over domed rooftops, and the tiled colonnades reproduce some of the urban conditions found in old Constantinople, albeit operating at a subliminal level.

Whether Turkish Airlines intends this cultural sampling to act as an inducement to a visit to the real Turkey, or whether it is an acknowledgement of the fact that what is now wanted by tourists is a planned series of edited highlights as a preferred substitute for the so-called 'real thing' is unclear, but the effect is to provide, by means of a cultural outpost, a form of cultural representation far more effective than the closed world of an embassy, and more available to the public as an active consumer experience.

Notes

1 Mary Yoko Brannen, 'Bwana Mickey: Constructing Cultural Consumption at Tokyo Disneyland', in *Remade in Japan*, Joseph Tobin (ed), Yale University (New Haven and London), 1992.

2 Ibid, p219.

NORMAN M KLEIN

SCRIPTED SPACES

Navigating the Consumer Built City

The architect studies the blueprint of the casino. Its interior is designed never to look entirely finished. Every few months, each entrance must be re-evaluated. Perhaps a corner facing a dreary street is not paying off well. It has to go, and the interior around it must be able to survive radical surgery. Let us say that involves an eighth of the overall floor space, where a 'sportsbook' will be added, with banks of screens running football, basketball, baseball games for betting. New ceilings, colours and lighting – but only there, never throughout.

Every 30 feet or so should be reversible. If any section on the floor begins to look 'tired', showing five years of age, it should be dressed up, made more 'up to date'. A working casino avoids historical memory. Only the memories brought in by the player/tourists are taken seriously. Better to build consumer tourist memory than history. For the tourist, time stands still – no clocks – only the script. The scripted space is the dominant model for consumer-built environments, from casinos to shopping malls to theme parks, and finally to tourist plans for existing cities. Facades become shells for a modernity inside, where the flow across a scripted space is paramount. Each square foot must pay off.

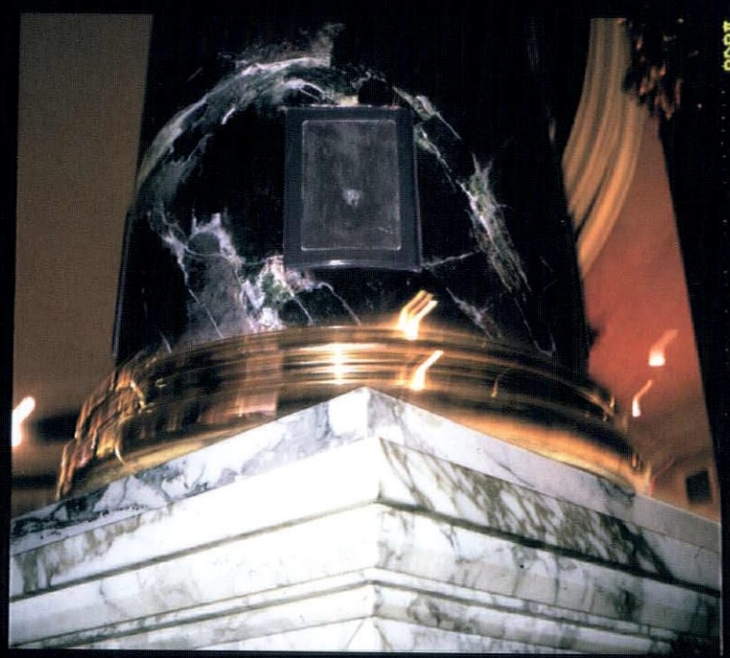
The areas should seem 'junked up' (a term in the casino industry). Murals and statues at a casino might look intentionally primitive compared to the hardwood trim around the entry. The interior should never appear too superior. In fact, it should look a trifle unravelled at the corners. This implies personal freedom; the chance to beat the odds. It also helps mask the obsessive controls needed to make every square foot pay off. Police at a mall in Los Angeles hand out cards to impetuous teenagers who climb 'up' the down escalator. The card warns them not to obstruct the flow of foot traffic. Even what they wear could be construed as obstruction. What's more, no animals 'alive or dead' are permitted inside the premises.

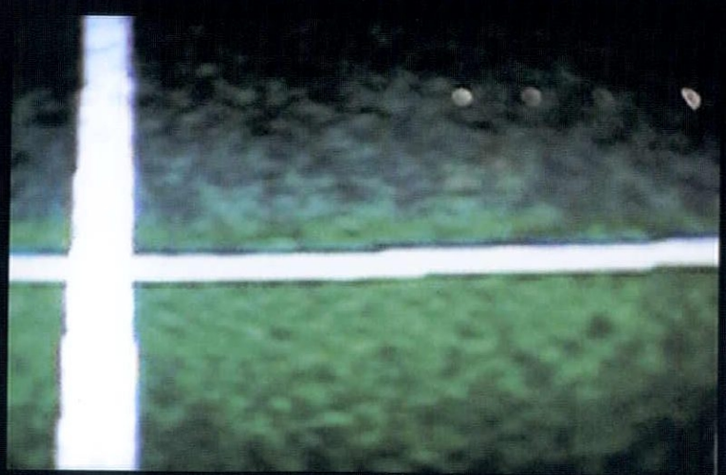
What results is a classist carnival; that is a restricted design – genteel – and at the same time, flamboyant, baroque, in ripe colours (even on the Sistine Ceiling, or in German Baroque churches, or colonial Mexican xocholos). Like a Peronist rally, it mixes populism and political repression. In lectures, I call scripted spaces those that rely on illusionistic effects, 'happy imprisonment' and 'ergonomic fascism'. Certainly Disneyland qualifies as happy imprisonment, and CityWalk, and the World-wide Web, for that matter. But criticising so broadly, and condescendingly, can become a rhetorical evasion. We fail to study the precise details that go into narrative itself, the allegory that the viewer navigates. This is a pilgrim's progress of sorts, where free will and predestination are balanced uneasily. For example, according to Renaissance scripting, the dome was a more humanist story device than the basilica – a more neo-Platonic design. It allows the viewer to wander more, under the watchful eye of the oculus. However glamorous the illusions, the viewer is supposed to sense that the earthbound is of a lower order than the impenetrable cosmic order. The higher order could be understood only through obedience to the pope or the duke; or to Disney, for that matter; or Microsoft, Netscape.

Similarly, one should not be too Manichean when studying how such designs come to be. 'Ergonomic fascism' is too incoherent and wasteful to be monolithic. For example, in Los Angeles, urban planning, with all its illusionistic bizarreness, has operated like a high-stakes poker game between leaders of transportation industries and tourist promotion; and even this confusion seems interrupted regularly by the business equivalent of beer runs. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been frittered away, projects left half finished, or half remembered. What results is whimsical, weirdly contoured scripted spaces, 'non-finished'. Mount Olympus (an instant neighbourhood for the elite) was a real estate fiasco in the 1970s, as was Venice in 1904. Since the late 1950s, downtown Los Angeles has been bulldozed into an alien Manhattanised banking district, like an omelette scrambled more than twice. At first, while the central hill (Bunker Hill) was stripped, the revitalisation was supposed to centre on Spring Street, the fading, stately 1920s banking centre. But that beginning was scrapped half-way through, in the mid-1960s, replaced by a more carceral, glass curtain-wall and brick walkway model for the hundreds of acres left barren on what had once been Bunker Hill. Then the Bunker Hill strategy was scrapped three-quarters of the way through, replaced by a mixed-use plan in the 1980s – to repopulate the rim of downtown, invent an arts district among the old warehouses, add a few 'urban villages'. Then this in turn was stopped in its tracks by the recession of the 1990s, and has been essentially forgotten. Now, in an attempt to prime the pump, public works seems the answer: a new hockey stadium; a bigger convention centre; a new symphony hall; a metro rail that looks mostly ornamental, but with well-appointed, empty stations. What results from these misadventures is a grab bag of ponderous architectural sketches, some in stone, some in stucco, some in glass and steel.

Scripted spaces are very scattershot, a highly randomised mix of greed, business competition gone sour and simple hysteria. What results can have an ironic charm, though – cock-eyed parodies of industrial objects, of consumer rituals. The roller coaster ride in Coney Island (1884) was modelled on rail cars used inside mines. From there, as a kind of Dantesque silliness, tunnels were painted. Then the stakes were raised, more simulated hazard (or sim-death, as I call it), because competition among amusement parks led to higher roller coasters, more 'hair-raising' rides. It is a parody of capital accumulation.

Illusionism has a unique modernity: it captures transitions in mid-metamorphosis. What results, if it succeeds, should operate as both a warning and a feast. The gimmicks should seem a trifle sinister (even Disneyland rides in the 1950s relied on blacklight effects common to horror films); and at the same time, in idealised, exaggerated safety. It is like shopping inside a feudal





ABOVE: Inverting the script: plastic dinosaurs inside a diorama along CityWalk, Universal Studios, Los Angeles; CENTRE: Music for shoppers, CityWalk/Caesars Forum, Las Vegas; BELOW: Armchair athletes, scripts for jet-skiing and a soccer match

ABOVE L TO R: Downtown Manhattan, New York, New York; New York New York, Las Vegas, hotel and casino;
BELOW: Inverting the script: two views of CityWalk

kingdom; no wonder Disney models their parks on a cartoon feudalism. The shopper learns that the space may seem restrictive, but it is still free enough to allow for personal chaos – free will inside a predestined script.

In that sense, even Disneyland resembles a 17th-century pilgrim's progress, Calvinist entertainment. Indeed, cities with scripted spaces are, by themselves, nothing new. Baroque cities were scripted, as were Mayan cities – or even the Vatican, or Mecca. Certainly today, any space where the audience is a central character – where the navigated story dominates – bears an uncanny resemblance to LA, for example, or a theme park city, or even European cities during tourist season. If the entrance and exit are assigned, if the walking narrative is emphasised (even in landscape design), if illusionism is essential to the trip, then the parallels are extraordinary. But the borrowings take on the same haphazard quality that the designs do. In popcorn palaces of the 1920s and Mediterranean-style malls of the 1990s, elements from Renaissance domes have been transplanted, or misplanted, in splendid garishness: plaster phantasmagoria, alongside Egyptiana, mummies guarding movie exits, and gargoyles with glowing red eyes. In how many cities, from Mexico to Western Europe are hotels for the ruling class now restaurants for the tourists?

Wherever my research turns, illusionistic scripted spaces leave a very quirky historical record. However, in this essay, I must isolate problems that are unique to such spaces at the end of the 20th century. And that includes problems in architectural criticism. I will limit these to only a few of the key issues:

Firstly, photos fail to capture the journey taken in a scripted space. I am reminded of early photography in the 19th century, when a street would appear empty because the pedestrians moved too fast for the speed of the camera. Architectural photography still borrows too much from early Romantic landscape painting; it tends to decontextualise, for a world where context is practically everything. I will discuss this along with related issues in postmodern architectural theory, to direct criticism beyond the postmodern, towards what I call the industrialisation of desire.[1]

Secondly, animation: what do I mean by the industrialisation of desire? Simply look at the sheer scale of communications industries, with links to phone companies, auto companies, aerospace, banking. In honour of the integration of cinema into heavy industry, I like to concentrate on the paradigm of animation instead of 'finished' architecture. One builds through animation CD programs as much as on blueprints. And in animation, whether on the computer or on a shopping street, movement is structure to a degree that is staggering.

Thirdly, immersion: when I interview specialists and audience alike, often I am told that malls feel like computer games. Both spaces are designed around a narrative where the viewer or the shopper is the central character, in an immersive environment built for navigation (walk-through that implies freedom of choice, but actually is severely monitored or limited). All traditional architectural features are subsumed beneath this walk-through narrative. That includes the gimmickry itself, so often rather cheesy, but intentionally so. The pseudo marble is supposed to look false, as upside-down as a balloon in a parade, or a movie set dropped from the top of building. The gaucherie often is intentional, again what designers in the casino business call 'junking it up': banal murals next to expensive wood trim.

It is an aestheticised experience that tries to look like the imagery brought in by its consumers. It should look homey, but always a bit artificial (safely rebuilt, not natural). It should look well appointed, like brilliant packaging, but not superior.

After postmodernism: my research has indicated that terms lifted out of postmodern theory fail to capture the sheer modernity of this process. In other words, the designers know about deconstruction, but so do right-wing radio jockeys like Rush Limbaugh, in their way. Postmodernism is standard to any radio talk show. What is new, however, is the scale of it: public spaces that (to repeat) industrialise desire, much the way locomotives industrialised time and travel a century ago.

Lastly, the panic: as a result of a widening of the classes during this electronic industrial age, these scripted spaces have mutated oddly in the past few decades. Formerly, they were simply panoptical, as in late modernist plazas (sheer walls, glass curtain or otherwise). Now they are increasingly ergonomically surveyed, with miniaturised cameras rather than gangways (layered, with isolated entryways). We are becoming a culture at home with surveillance. We expect it; we assume that the classes will be pre-separated, like packets in a baking kit. However, behind this soothing isolation is a panic about scarcity and the economy that may turn these spaces into neo-Victorian nightmares. Like the war over the Internet, will a million choices outrun a million forms of surveillance?

In consumer-built cities, this dialectic can be summarised easily enough: the trend towards tourist pedestrian marketing in big cities, from Piccadilly to Times Square to CityWalk is producing precisely the kind of 'democratic ways' that made war against the genteel cities of the 19th century, eventually wiped them out, making them non-exclusive for a time.

So the scripted space is always something of a powderkeg. It will blow in some way over the next generation, as the classism and panic, along with the pressure to build bigger crowds of all classes will run head-on into each other.

So not only are the casinos continually unfinished; the consumer-built cities may never be finished, once the social pressures boil over. We are witnessing the first act in a drama that has barely begun. No matter how conscientious the planners may be, to hide clocks, to stop class politics, let us review how well that has worked in the past: in post-war United States, those who bought and those who sold the suburbs assumed that shopping malls by a freeway exit would stop 'history', no more encroachment of Depression poverty into the suburb. How did that work out? Frankly not well at all in many cases. The mix of slums and gridlock in post-war suburbs has reached epic proportions in the past decade.

There is no way to stop aging in cities. Every 40 years, the city matures whether there are clocks or not. Crime in Las Vegas is sharply on the rise, despite all the glamour of the mega casinos. The glitz and spectacle is merely the first stage in the building of any city. No wonder scripted spaces built centuries ago, like Venice, seem oddly prescient today. Pre-Revolutionary Paris, hidden behind the new Louvre and the new Marais, is warning us, and at the same time, soothing us.

Note

1 By industrialisation of desire, I am suggesting a neo-modernist approach like a neo-cubist or neo-dadaist inventing vocabulary. It implies that designers of theme parks or consumer cities use many of the same methods that industrialists did. They are not deconstructing the modern, but rather 'building' sites that fit into electronic capitalism – a re-urbanisation that rivals what took place in the 19th century. The postmodern era has ended. The other shoe has dropped.

the aesthetics of disappearance - virilio
Chew, if only you could
controlled space
loss of public space
SIGN
points
of initial spread of riots
MARINA DEL REY
PLAYA DEL REY
Repression is only one of the
riot spread on the first day
main rule
EL SEGUNDO
above the city average (18.9–37.9%)
RCI
SANTA MONICA
SANTA MONICA MUN AIRPORT
WILL ROGERS STATE HISTORIC PARK
VENICE
WASHINGTON
MANHATTAN
All those moments will be lost in time, like tears in rain.
Time to die..."
L.A. is the city of nightmare - James Ellroy
often suggests violation of a
moral sensibilities of others
2] fault vi (15c) 1: to commit a
produce a geologic fault ~ vt 1:
look and to ~ it --H. G. Roepke
censure ←can't ~ them for not co
The psyche is overtaken by the affect of anxiety if it feels that it is incapable of dealing by an appropriate reaction with a task (a danger) approaching from outside. In neuroses it is overtaken by anxiety if it notices that it is incapable of allaying a (sexual) excitation that has arisen from within.
fault lines
not co

bunkerhill

What I've seen with your eyes!

longer designates the hidden principle
lane of organization, but the process
ne of consistency as it appears on
f its construction.

e like a vase

anisms which defy

ult: fracture in the crust of a planet

'Anxiety arises from a transformation of the accumulated tension.' Freud

fault: mistake

STEPHAN DOESINGER

SIMCITY

In Los Angeles, the notion of the periphery has no meaning, since there has never been a centre. This lack presents a rich source of opportunities for imagining how to image LA: people journey continuously back and forth, and in so doing construct memories, which become an internalised, often unconscious filmic process of capturing and editing. We are all the time making mental movies, and this in a sense is how we consume the city: layered, superimposed fragments loosely associated with faces and conversations, which we can then recall and reconsume later, when remembering.

Los Angeles is full of iterations of other places: Venice, Camden, the Burlington Arcade, often brought there by architects and entrepreneurs from Europe, whose own mental movies were still playing, plaguing their imagination and demanding some form of realisation. Schindler arrives from Austria and builds houses for his clients which remember and recreate, and yet also choose to forget and make anew: beach houses for the West Coast, with a greater freedom in terms of lifestyle than the architectural legacy of the Prussian empire had to offer. Now the Austrian Government, seeing Schindler's work in Los Angeles as a cultural outpost of their national treasures, buys the Mackey house, and funds a project via the Museum of Applied Arts in Vienna for Doesinger to reconsume it as an icon, projecting onto its facades images of a fascist rally taking place in Vienna, which prompt a critical reinterpretation of its context in 20th-century history.

This project and a video project entitled 'From Florence to Normandie' (the location of the Rodney King shooting and subsequent looting), have been an attempt to prevent the perceptual erasure of so much of Los Angeles, a city in which even the news is presented in the form of a live movie whose events have been filmed and broadcast even before the emergency services arrive at the scene. This raises questions about what consuming the environment actually means for us today, what kind of reality are we being asked to consume?

Simcity loops and cuts, an amoral mix which will never be over, never be complete, self-generating, and self-justifying. The challenge is to politicise its contents, to make the mental movies carry more resonant overtones which enrich experience, challenge our awareness and deepen our sense of empathy and injustice.

From an interview with Sarah Chaplin

MARTIN PAWLEY

TERMINAL ARCHITECTURE

The title of this article is a play upon the meaning of the word 'terminal', which is a word that is applicable to the state of architecture at the end of the 20th century in at least two ways. In one sense it describes the way in which the public expectation of architecture – which is something wonderful, nurtured by faith in the art-historical shibboleths of individual genius, permanent value and appropriateness of style – pays no regard to the economic realities governing the production of buildings. In this sense the word 'terminal' is used to define the consequences of a lack of correspondence, as it is when used to define the condition of a hospital patient who no longer responds to treatment and must surely die. Such a patient is said to be in a 'terminal' condition, and so indeed is architecture also in a 'terminal' condition, if not yet in the public imagination.

Equally important however is a second application of the word 'terminal', for it does not only define the fate of an old idea of architecture, it illuminates a new idea of it that might be understood in new ways. Thus the 'terminal' descent into meaninglessness of architecture's old value system does not signal the end of architecture itself – it is factitiously all around us, not only durable and indifferent to the fate of all the theories that describe it, but resistant to virtually everything but all-out nuclear war – so much as the beginning of a new understanding of buildings as 'terminals' for the systems that sustain modern life.

So here we have two quite different visions of architecture illuminated by a single word. One is a Renaissance painting, showing us a moribund body of theory, attended on its way to the grave by a throng of professors, practitioners and administrators, none of whom is capable of restoring it to useful life. The other is a piece of modern art, an abstract pattern illustrating a complicated panorama of overlaid service and communication networks whose connection points, or 'terminals', are merely marked with a coloured dot, like the stations on the map of the London Underground.

The difference between these two definitions is not trivial. Even though – like those of the great millennium computer fault, the realisation that hundreds of thousands of computer systems will have to be reprogrammed to prevent date references being dislocated by the arrival of the double zero in the year 2000 – they are easily underestimated. In the same way that many property valuations today depend upon notions of value established by art historians, computer date references depend upon the two-digit code used by the programmers of the 1960s and 1970s. In fact the second can be used to illuminate the first simply by interposing the fatal computer digits 00 before the assumed value of any derelict house, old telephone box or disused rubber factory. The collapse of value that results, from (say) £5,000,000 to £00.5000000 gives a clear idea of what is at stake. Thus the shift from 'Terminal 1' to 'Terminal 2' is a shift with massive implications. It is a shift that, with another wild comparison, might be equated with the impact of the European Monetary System upon the British economy, the impact of the advent of photography on painting, or of the cinema upon human behaviour. Shifting from one meaning of Terminal Architecture to the other meaning of Terminal Architecture involves a diametric shift in perception: from the unique art object itself as valuable, to image of the art object as valueless; from the city as pre-eminent, to the city as a disabled squanderer of resources; from the visible edifice to the invisible network. It represents in short, a revolution.

The purpose of theory in architecture, like the purpose of function in design, is to avoid arbitrariness. Thus for architectural theory to operate effectively it must have at its core, not a collection of subjective judgements, distinctions without differences and differences without distinctions, but a logical method that can be followed in practice by different people to produce a desired result. More than that, this method cannot be indifferent to the value systems of those other entities involved in the production or modification of buildings, from the selection of sites to the processes of design and the regulation of construction. Theory, in short, cannot exist without method. Nor can it exist with as many methods as there are individuals who describe themselves as architects.

Throughout history, but with exponentially increasing force since the multiplication of roads, canals, railways, airlines and electronic communications to create the supra-national networks we possess today, there has always been a 'Terminal 2' theory for the valuation of buildings, and thus the proportion of resources devoted to creating and maintaining them. Like ships, whose intrinsic artistic beauty was always considered subordinate to their usefulness, many excellent buildings have been viewed as storehouses, staging posts, or nodes in all kinds of defensive systems, transportation, manufacturing and communications networks, rather than as singular works of art. But while this utilitarian value system does from time to time enjoy a certain popularity, as in the heyday of engineering in the 19th century, and again during the middle decades of the 20th century with the ascendancy of the Modern Movement, the 'Terminal 2' view of the purpose of buildings has more generally been subordinated to the 'Terminal 1' value system with its emphasis on the congruence of established wealth and power. While its detailed origins are lost in the mists of time, this method, the value system of art history, was clearly a mode of thought that grew out of the distribution of wealth, and the web of mutual obligations, spun in feudal times. Its last pre-industrial manifestation took place in the 18th century in the shape of what is now called 'connoisseurship', an impressive-sounding name that has been given to the practice of the aristocracy and the fledgling middle class of commissioning, hoarding, trading and displaying expensive artefacts and valuables.

In the 19th century, the century of industrialisation and radical political thought, connoisseurship managed to convert itself into an academic discipline. Notwithstanding the strength of support

that existed for the development of such new media as the telegraph, railways, steam ships and machine production, it contrived to sustain the primacy of subjective aesthetic judgement and navigate the tricky political currents of who should own what and why, by advancing a theory of value that said that the ownership of all that could be classified as 'artistic' was not so much an exercise of personal, or class privilege as a duty and responsibility. In fact a kind of stewardship on behalf of all non-owners. This ingenious thesis proved attractive to conservative and progressive thinkers alike, in both political and economic realms, during the turbulent early years of the 20th century.

After the Russian Revolution of 1917 it was adopted by the Soviet State as a basis for the continued maintenance of Imperial palaces and treasures, and so too by the Nazi regime in Germany which came to power in 1933 and also characterised itself as revolutionary. The election of the first Labour governments in Britain proved that it was equally acceptable to social democracy and, indeed, as far as the preservation of buildings was concerned, its powers were extended by legislation passed by the Labour governments of 1945-51 and 1964-70. In between, and after these Labour administrations it proved equally acceptable to Conservative governments. In short, by the close of the 20th century 'Terminal 1' art-historical interests could look back on having skilfully outflanked and eventually absorbed the whole artistic mutiny of 'Terminal 2' Modernism, finally assigning it the status of a mere stylistic episode in its own conception of history.

Art history, as the art historian Roger Scruton has remarked (*The Classical Vernacular*, Carcanet, 1995), is neither truly the history of art, nor truly the history of art criticism. It is a combination of a selective aspect of history with a subjective technique of criticism. Because the first of these must necessarily be incomplete, and the second cannot be disproved by rational argument, art history ought not to be possible. But it is possible and it survives and thrives because its impossibility is never determinedly established. Like asymptotic lines, the cross wires through which 'Terminal 2' theory takes aim on 'Terminal 1' illusion never actually meet. The target is huge and tantalisingly obvious, but so insubstantial that no missile can lock onto it. Thus it survives, unsubstantiated, ridiculous, out of date, but like some corrupt old imperial regime, still in command.

Art history underwrites itself by way of the idea of the zeitgeist, a philosophical convenience that posits the existence of a causality for all the events and opinions of an epoch, but cannot ever explain it. As far as art history is concerned things happen in an era and that makes them interdependent. It is thus that we reach such tautologous notions as that which says that Georgian furniture is typical of the Georgian age, while Victorian furniture is more characteristic of the Victorian age. There is little or no attempt to explain art-historical events by cause and effect – in art history a question passes for a cause; 'Where but in Italy could the Renaissance have started?' – and no attempt is made to place any era above another in terms of measurable performance. Quite the reverse. As far as architecture is concerned, buildings from all periods become even more self-referential once they fall into the hands of the art-historical establishment than they were in their own time: hence the saturated historical detailing that is applied to derelict buildings that are 'restored', and the insistence on retaining inferior detailing, like the use of softwood window frames, that blights local authority high-rise structures from the 1960s that are deemed worthy of preservation for historic reasons.

The high watermark of art history of this kind occurs when it endeavours to control the perception of posterity, as well as that of present generations. In recent years it has made great strides. Eager as ever to place its own construction upon the activities of the most powerful economic forces of any epoch, the most far-sighted members of the art-historical establishment have stealthily adapted their product to better serve inanimate ends and artificial intelligences. Their most remarkable product has been 'Stealth Architecture', the building designed under their guidance whose exterior reveals no hint of what goes on inside it. The building that, on the outside, could pass muster in the TV dramatisation of a Jane Austen novel and, on the inside resembles the flight deck of an air liner, and is in fact an electronic communications complex without parallel in the history of the world.

This 'Stealth building' is the final product of the pre-terminal age. The last, combination of 'Terminal 1' and 'Terminal 2' in one schizophrenic structure, before the two value systems separate, once and for all. The antecedents of that synthetic structure stretch back into history. On the thesis side its roots stretch back to the architecture of pre-industrial, pre-electronic buildings, hand crafted into a kind of usefulness again and again; on the antithesis side through the architecture of industrial, electronic 'Big Sheds', styleless, historyless, cultureless, but dirt cheap, error-free and quick, to the unattributed warehouses, granaries and barns of prehistory.

These last are the true progenitors of the 'Terminal' building, and as such they have much to teach us for they do not bow to the conviction of countless art historians, professors, students, graduates and enthusiasts that buildings exist to please the eye or magnify the importance of their individual or corporate owners. These structures do not even exist, as did the mausoleums of the past, to perpetuate the corporate or individual influence once vested in those who caused them to be built. And how much better are their chances of survival as a result? Today, whatever respect was once commanded by a specific bloodline, concentration of wealth, or political dynasty can no longer be transferred to a building. After 200 years of profitable trading the prestigious Barings Bank collapsed overnight and was sold for one pound to an overseas competitor. Once its brass plate had been removed from the entrance, there was nothing left behind. The even older Lloyd's Insurance Syndicates, its identity deliberately repackaged in a radically new building in the late 1970s, was almost wiped out too by a run of adverse trading within five years of the building's completion. In the end the new building made no difference, unless it made the crisis worse.

However we try to think of them as national treasures, imbued with certain qualities inherited from certain owners or associated with certain events, these buildings always let us down. They do not care. They have no feelings. They have no compunction about having their identity changed, no loyalty to their previous owners. And so a 19th-century fish market in London becomes the city's largest dealing room: Adolf Hitler's command bunker in the former East Prussia becomes a Polish night club: a 12th-century monastery in France becomes a computer software house; an American shopping centre becomes an office park. The real importance, the real value of all these structures, lies in their use. A use that is not so much functionally defined as terminally defined by the great monopolies of information, memory, electricity, information, energy, water and cool air that sustain life in the modern world.

ANNE BODDINGTON

THE REMAINDERED LANDSCAPE

Post-Urban Esperanto, a Language of Transgression

This article reviews the reciprocal impact of consumption and production with respect to architectural creation and destruction of space and place. Rapid technological development has extended the geographical and architectural imaginations and generated much theoretical and abstract work about the nature of place and 'non-place',[1] though less attention has been given to the material impact and application of these suggestions upon the physical environment within which architects and urban designers generally work. Using the writing of the anthropologist Marc Augé[2] the intention here is to extend the scope of exploration: to go beyond the built environments which consume land and within which consumption is enacted; to encompass broader landscapes which are subsequently produced and consumed as 'other' and frequently rendered transparent with respect to their dominant, consuming neighbours.

Despite the 'doomed to consume' culture implied in the work of Augé and others, architects and urban designers need to remain optimistic and discriminating in order to enlist political support if they are to develop different, less exclusionary environments and in so doing, stem the predominantly one-way shift from place to 'non-place'.

Marc Augé's work is interesting because it does address consumption and production somewhat more broadly. He expands his vision beyond the immediate and focused environments within which consuming occurs to include the impact that these constructions have upon a wider landscape. He uses the term 'non-places' to describe networks of spaces such as malls, motorways and airports which physically consume land and expand the impact of the commercial built environment beyond its traditional urban focus, creating disembodied sites such as the 'out of town mall' or the 'office village'. For Augé these non-places epitomise what he terms 'the condition of supermodernity'; a condition he describes as motivated by the complex conditions of advanced capitalism and the desire for speed and efficiency.

He suggests that the languages of place and 'non-place' are syntactically incompatible, and that 'supermodernity' may more accurately describe the contemporary consuming condition. This he distinguishes both from Baudelarian references to modernity which acknowledge historical continuum; and as the obverse to post modernism, completely ambivalent to temporal and material concerns and more akin to the functionalism of the early 'International Style project' as proposed by those such as Hannes Meyer, which was intent on creating a historical and stylistic rift.[3]

In order to address directly the interrelationship between consuming spaces and the remaindered landscape beyond, this is an opportune moment to consider the development of a mediating discourse, a kind of 'post-urban Esperanto', through which places and 'non-places' can reconfigure their contiguous physical borders. What might constitute such a discourse of transgression and material opportunity will vary depending upon the scale of place under consideration, from the singular body to that of building, city or state. In other words the shifting of scales from the ethnographic to geographic will alter the nature of boundedness between different places from the imagined or socially experienced to the material or the contractual, generally conveyed two dimensionally through maps and texts.

The linguistic analogy of Esperanto is used here not as a form of universal communication, but one which both retains local difference whilst embracing a supra-global discourse across perceived syntactic fault lines. Its use is intended as optimistic (from the Latin *sperare* 'hope') and to accentuate and focus attention upon peripheral territories which are frequently ignored within the spaces of non-place. However, as scale has a tendency to alter the nature of boundedness, so it will alter the exact nature of the language used. Post-urban Esperanto will therefore be required to span from a predominantly textual base through which politics and policy of border territories of regions or state are negotiated; to a more literally-based discourse which can encompass the liminal and spatial possibilities presented materially at the scale of the body with respect to buildings or city.

Within this consuming supermodern context, the positions of the architect and urban designer are challenged, and design activities may have to relocate in order to transgress the schism between the consuming subject and the consumed space.

Consuming sites and sites of consumption

The symbiotic processes of consumption and production are at the core of contemporary Western culture, and despite attempts to camouflage relationships to them through alternative forms of praxis, architects, designers and educators alike are complicit in these activities. In the introduction to her book *Consumer Culture* Celia Lury discusses this interrelationship as a process of transformation or conversion, as simultaneous acts of destruction and construction.[4] Consumption, she argues, is not secondary, derivative or responsive but is a constitutive part of a historical continuum, a system of cultural and social exchange variously interrelated across space and time.

Architects and urban designers are familiar with these processes through the demolition and construction cycles which occur as a consequence of their role in the imagination and reconfiguration of spaces and places. Working concurrently at the scale of ethnographer and geographer and acting as both local and global surveyor, they are required to consume imaginatively the place with which they work, synthesising its scales and comparative languages, and increasing its economic and social potential.

Lury's suggestion of consumption and production as necessarily symbiotic processes seems rarely acknowledged and most research on consumption tends to render this relationship clearly asymmetric.[5] The work of Paul Knox, however, implicitly acknowledges both, in exploring the geographical patterning of consumption.[6] He refers to 'the restless urban landscape',

potentially all consumable, created by the shifts in global economic restructuring which he suggests have been responsible for constructing a new landscape focused upon acts of consumption. He claims that the most prominent of these shifts was that from the Fordist regime of mass production and consumption to a flexible, international system of capitalism more directly sensitised to consumer demands.[7] This 'post-Fordist' condition has destabilised notions of boundaries, produced a 'new bourgeoisie' and a cultural capital with an emphasis on taste and aesthetics best described in the work of Bourdieu.[8] However, Knox and others focus their investigations upon categories of consuming sites, sights of consumption, such as shopping malls and domestic gated communities.[9]

Although these are of relevance to designers because they are their product, they remain insular and disconnected with respect to a wider spatial context. Within the design process other landscapes are simultaneously and often subconsciously produced which remain invisible until such time that they are appropriated for consumption. These are spaces which have typically been regarded as 'other', an agglomeration of service areas such as car parks and loading bays, spaces of urban waste and those of temporal redundancy relished by developers and architects. Potentially these are sites of tactical mediation and opportunity, they are not hostile to capitalism as they form a necessary part of its continuing success, 'indeed the production of waste is one essential function of the consumer economy'.[10]

Emerging as a by-product of technology and of overabundance, supermodernity has extended macro and micro scales of knowledge, causing a changed perception of the world as simultaneously smaller, due to an increase in global high-speed transport; and larger, due to an increased knowledge of international events and places. Identifiable through contractual and frequently economic means of differentiation, 'non-places' are not destinations or places of stasis in themselves but are transient, introverted environments. They are mediated by two-dimensional symbols, signs and texts, giving various instructions for use and rarely providing cause for social interaction, so distinguishing them from what Augé refers to as 'anthropological places' which are those of necessary social interaction, identity and temporal connectedness.

Augé's descriptions of 'non-places' are evocative and offer convincing descriptions of familiar environments. They seem to suggest that the relationships between place and space are less mutually exclusive than the rigid categorisations offered by Knox et al. Explored from a designer's perspective, however, they remain frustratingly ephemeral and insubstantial as they fail to confront the material condition of edge and boundary, which are only fleetingly acknowledged in descriptions of exit signs, toll-booths and ticket barriers. The aesthetic language and materiality of external walls and defences, and the exclusionary strategies and barren landscapes which surround 'non-places' are ignored. 'Non-places' have no exterior and apparently require no physical connectivity to worlds beyond their controlled interior environments, except through their image communicated by two dimensional representations. As Augé suggests, at the scale of the individual body, places are frequently constituted within 'non-place' through social encounters mediated by fashion, class and race or by various forms of tactical habitation.

In his essay 'Slackspace', Patrick Durkee describes a particular form of resistive occupation of 'non-place'. The occupiers of slackspace, the slackers, as he describes them, are the 'detritus of the culture of abundance', those 'more or less college-educated, mostly white, middle-class people in their twenties' who ostentatiously avoid work, slacking off from the obligation to consume, they colonise malls temporarily rearranging the spaces created by the logic of consumption and production and deliberately operating through forms of tactical engagement to deform and obstruct commodifying tendencies.[11] They are strategic occupants that continually short-circuit the contractual rules of 'non-places' and although they may leave traces of their colonisation (such as graffiti) they cannot, and by definition do not desire to, strategically alter the physical environment, but only to disturb it.

By their contractual nature 'non-places' render the individual as a disembodied object which may be momentarily subverted by a chance meeting, as illustrated in the classic film *Brief Encounter* where the place of the relationship is made within the 'non-place' of the railway station. However, once scale extends beyond that of the singular body to that of a building or a city the problem of transgression is more complex and opportunities for softening the peripheries are limited by the established physical and contractual conditions.

From agora to agoraphobia

This rigidity and boundedness of buildings and civic spaces has not always been the case,[12] and it is therefore appropriate to consider briefly the historical relationships of buildings and cities which may inform ideas for fusing the boundaries between place and 'non-place'.

As Mumford describes in *The City in History* the Greek agora developed as an 'anthropological place' of multilateral, multifarious activities including leisure, trade, social and civic interactions all overlaid upon one another within a singular spatial volume.[13] Commonly, the agora was an amorphous form, an irregular widening of the street for public gathering. It was governed by the civic constitution of the city and often only partially bounded. The city of the agora historically developed through the ordering paradigm of the body,[14] an embodied and complete entity within, complemented by the rural 'other' beyond its walls; allegorically an 'organic mediation between earth and heaven'.[15] However, this ordering device of the city has undergone a conceptual slippage which can be traced through the transition from feudalism to capitalism and the paranoia incited by the French Revolution which began what Vidler refers to as 'the great age of confinement'.[16] This is epitomised architecturally by the introduction of Bentham's panopticon, which transformed the ideal city of the 18th century into a model for a building, so 'turning utopia inside out' and incarcerating institutions within.[17] The holistic body of the city was no longer sacrosanct. It was re-imagined as a scientific object of systems and organs upon which rational and improving surgery could be performed to better its efficiency in the service of the State, as reflected in the works of Haussman in Paris in the mid-19th century which subsequently altered the representational form of later urban development.

In comparison to the traditionally conceived city represented through an embodied structural network, the contemporary city of Augé's condition of supermodernity, or what Koolhaas describes as the 'generic city'[18] is represented figuratively by a ubiquitous grid epitomising speed, efficiency and economic success. Most significantly this grid is divorced from, and ambivalent to, the social and civic expression symbolised by the agora. At its simplest and most extreme the 'generic city' is

composed as a regular grid, imposed upon a metaphorically, scaleless landscape, where the 'margins have invaded the centre' and the condition of 'in' is difficult to find.[19] This physically decentred city is rarely experienced in its purest form although it is more evident in parts of Asia and the United States where the interconnective civic tissue is intermittent and fragmented between dislocated objects, and where urban edges are infinitely expandible and consumable.

These two extremes are generally experienced in a more fragmentary form, collaged and overwritten upon one another, although if, as Augé suggests, there is no longer the will or opportunity for optimistic transgression, then as has already occurred, the spaces of 'non-place' will obscure those of place. Commodification and the subsequent reinforcement of boundaries of buildings and places, produces an enhanced agoraphobia of the 'other', the landscape beyond, and subsequently a reconstitution of the social groupings through exclusionary categories of race, class and gender. Supermodernity's obversion of postmodernism and its ambivalence to a simple historical continuum is important as it suggests that neither condition will be necessarily improved or neatly resolved by a simple dualistic exchange of values and structures. Opportunities for social engagement in increasingly diverse urban environments may be necessarily different, both visually and materially, and will consequently require a new vocabulary, a discourse of 'post-urban Esperanto' to catalyse transformation and mediate the shifting scales of the ethnographic and the geographic.

In his essay entitled 'Terrain Vague', Solà-Morales explores the redundant sites of the city of Berlin.[20] Relying heavily on the notions of the European city and its historical and geographical continuum, he questions the plight of the city in conditions of global instability and fragility of the post industrial, post-Fordist condition. His foci are the places that, in economic terms, momentarily 'exist outside of the city's effective circuits and productive structures';[21] 'in short they are foreign to the urban system, mentally exterior in the physical interior of the city, its negative image, as much a critique as a possible alternative'.[22] Typically these are spaces, awaiting new scripts and new colonising forms which are likely to shift them from anthropological places to supermodern 'non-places' of consuming usefulness. Employing the thinking of Gilles Deleuze, he claims that 'architecture is forever on the side of forms, of the distant, of the optical and the figurative'. He suggests that to mediate this condition and offer resistance to objective closure, is to propose an architecture 'of forces, for the incorporated, for the haptic instead of the optic, the rhizomatic instead of the figurative'.[23]

These comments have an obvious potency in a European context, as they acknowledge the historical continuity of the paradigmatic city as body, and the representational structures of social space. Absorbing and engaging the shifts of scale between body, city and global conditions are, potentially the tentative whisperings of Esperanto as they suggest a bridging of the rupture between the interior experience of ' non-place' and its generally invisible and distanced exterior. However, these ideas may find less resonance with the more intensely supermodern city structures for which the creation of less exclusionary thresholds may lie in their continual, temporal incompleteness. Here the ideas of a 'post-urban Esperanto' may be more explicitly useful in re-imagining and designing social spaces of a scattered agora, where 'anthropological place' is differently located, configured and identified across divisions of gender, race and class. The notion of the agora has shifted from a fixed element of the city's geometrical order to become representational of its processes.

Concluding thoughts

'Non-places' and 'the anthropology of supermodernity' described by Augé are the result of advanced capitalist patterns of production and consumption epitomised by an overabundance of temporal and spatial knowledge. The emergence of this condition has disrupted the traditional mediation of scales between the body, the city and the global contexts. Conceptually, these are considered not as linear or fixed relations but as constantly shifting relative to one another. Despite conceptually understanding this, we have yet to develop a coherent and critically considered language with which to explore consciously the material impact of this process, which is ultimately the grand project of architecture, anthropology and geography.[24]

No singular or simple suggestions can provide solutions to the unequal access to the city or the consuming spaces of 'non-place'. These investigations suggest a discourse, a 'post-urban Esperanto', through which to reconsider the nature and sites of social spaces located at or within the contiguous points between place and 'non-place', where gradients of exclusion can be intermittently eroded through tactical occupation. These borderlands are necessarily incomplete and only variously completed through habitation and individual interpretation.[25] They may be vast and open, like the spaces of car parks temporarily colonised by skate-boarders and roller-bladers, or individual places to shelter momentarily from the elements. Most importantly, such places are frequently ambiguous and rarely functionally singular allowing interpretation by different social groups over time. At the interrelational scales of body and building, and through careful material dialogue, Esperanto suggests an intermittently enriched boundary. This is the space of implied thresholds which will constantly be decentred by external productive forces, and which will constantly mirror its consuming counterpoint as a form of tactical resistance. As architecture, it suggests places which are completed through an interdependence of body and solid, which materially shun closure and incarceration, offer shelter and protection, shadow and shade; and are porous and receptive to weathering and the traces of lived experiences.

Similarly, the relationship of a tactical and imaginative design process to traditional architectural practice is necessarily partial because practice is assiduously controlled to eliminate the risk of unpredictable events both pre- and post-construction. Undoubtedly, this is responsible and necessary, although as the site of architectural design has become consistently more exclusive and resisted heterogeneity, its borderlands, and those of the objects it produces, have become more intensely guarded and singularly defined. For tactical practice to be successful, the designer must become the consumer, the ethnographic narrator, and cartographer of multiple narratives of place and 'non-place', mediated across an extended range of scale. This requires a dialogue in 'Esperanto', to enable an architectural language to evolve within the liminal borderlands of place and 'non-place'; and to permit what Tschumi refers to as an architecture of 'cross-programming, trans-programming and dis-programming'.[26] As he concludes, 'architecture is not about conditions of design but about the design of conditions that will dislocate the most traditional and regressive aspects of our society'.[27]

As Michel De Certeau highlights in his essay 'Walking in the

City', the scale of the building and its relations to the city, the spatial and social implications of supermodernity and anthropological place are more evident and more complex.[28] This is borderland territory where architects and urban designers most commonly meet across a syntactic fault line; conflating different but parallel languages they frequently freeze spatial opportunity before it can be designed. At this scale the impossibility of a complete ethnographic knowledge and experience of place is especially evident and is often reinforced by the distancing of site and its mediation through geographic texts such as maps and photographs.

Designing through the interpretation of two-dimensional representations obscures spatial opportunities and privileges the ground plane as represented by maps and plans. It suggests that without the extension of the ethnographic scale, the design of the spaces of production and consumption are likely to be of the order of 'non-place', because of the limitations of the language through which the landscape is represented. Rethinking the limitations of map and plan and their impact upon buildings and cities, designed at a distance, other borderland opportunities can also be imagined; generally obscured by the spatial compression of the remote overview, through which site is usually represented. Potentially, 'post-urban Esperanto' requires a reframing and reconsideration of site, of place and 'non-place'; it also requires multiple scales of cartographic renderings and representations which can assist in revealing rather than concealing parts of the scattered agora, not in order to reconstruct it, but to reveal the material richness of its fragmented parts.

Despite the potential of borderlands they are inherently paradoxical, simultaneously parasitic and independent, created because of and despite social and political forces. Borderlands seductively embrace difference and are necessarily public and polyphonic, volatile and dangerous; they are urban irritants, counterpoints to supermodernity, which impact and disturb bodily comfort zones, shock through defamiliarisation[29] whilst simultaneously offering respite to others. The supermodern spaces of 'non-place' sanitise and render 'anthropological place' impotent by contractually and technically minimising the risk of dangerous or chance encounters, whilst the borderlands, the places of the remaindered landscape are by their more inclusive nature, inherently dangerous. Esperanto suggests a discourse, an invitation to reduce exclusion through fear or privilege, and to delight in the latitude offered by the rhizomatic shifting of scales. For the designer at whatever scale, this is an opportunity to produce and consume imaginatively, to extend as far as possible notions of what place and 'non-place' might be.

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FROM L TO R: Slack space; Non-place

ANDREW DURHAM

EDGE CULTURES

Stories from the North Circular

These images are part of a documentary video project exploring the urban fringes of London, specifically a radial zone around the city. This zone contains a variety of retail sheds, leisure boxes, multiplexes and shopping malls.

These edge developments appear to have altered ideas of town and city life, in which communities were physically and socially linked together within the confines of the town. The 1980s consumer boom and rise in car ownership has changed the social and economic structure of many towns, including how and where people spend their money and leisure time, producing 'edge cultures'.

The car has compressed time and distance, taking us further away from our local communities at the expense of social encounter, and segregates our working and social lives into specific activities such as shopping and leisure.

We are increasingly likely to spend a proportion of our leisure time outside the town or city, in the anonymous surroundings of the urban fringe, making silent electronic transactions at the supermarket checkout, or booking tickets for the multiplex through the automated push-button menu on our phones.

These images explore the experiences of people using, moving through and working in these environments, through a series of detached observations. The aim is not necessarily to draw conclusions, but rather to document aspects of contemporary urban life that would otherwise go uncaptured.

No one really thinks of these places as 'places', they exist somewhere between leaving and arriving: a non-place, and we have very low expectations of them environmentally and architecturally. We're often surprised and pleased to be greeted by the brightly coloured neon signs, graphics and interiors that we would normally judge as banal or tasteless elsewhere.

I began to spend some time in these places. I went there deliberately not by car but as a pedestrian, which is not how you are supposed to consume these places. I was the slowest thing moving in the landscape.

TILE City

SHOWCASE
CINEMAS


Colour TV
1 IN THE
Enjoy
Coca-Cola
Coke
VISIT TO McDON
McDonald's
he best in the world.
Carlsberg
es daily.
NICE FACE, SHAME ABOUT THE LEGS.
CORBY

ROB SHIELDS

ARCHITECTURE AS A GOOD

Architecture is consumed, just as geographical space and the natural environment of the Earth, are routinely consumed. This consumption is part of an active, committed production of self and society through appropriation of elements of the world. Consumption, we might say, always has an ulterior motive and an end result which is, in effect, produced.

Henri Lefebvre, the greatest 20th-century philosopher of space, pointed out that this 'spatial consumption' takes place not only as part of a complex motion of taking-up raw materials and fashioning them through human or machine labour and changing them forever. It also takes place in a manner as simple as using a building or city, or enjoying the quality of nature – sitting out in sunshine or enjoying the facade of a building, relaxing in its cool shade, sheltering behind its defences, or luxuriating in its indoor climate. Just as tourists go to places to consume their climates, natural environment and topography, so we can speak of building users consuming architecture.

Analytically, consumption unfolds into a typology. There are several forms of 'architectural consumption'. Visual appreciation (even in this journal) is a form of consumption which eroticises the visual surfaces of architecture while subjecting the senses to a cultural structure of fetishisms and bias. For example, the heat or smells of a Chandigarh can be glossed over in favour of its forms; its masses can be overlooked in favour of its massing of concrete. A politicised and historico-cultural sense of reality reigns, in which many facets and much sense-data are filtered out. Nonetheless, works of architecture – which may both reveal new beauty within a city and block out the view – present an exterior rhythm of detailing, massings, form and colour. Entry for all to a building is beyond the control of architects themselves, but the sight of architecture is its most 'popular' and free common good, consumed by almost all.

By contrast, tactile, embodied forms of consumption make the body a node at which natural flows are actively coordinated so as to be consumed, transformed, and redirected to mobilise the body itself and to produce cultural and personal identities. The simplest pleasures of architecture pass not through the eye but by the skin and underfoot. 'Tactile proxemics' in which bodies are coordinated with themselves, with other bodies and with elements of the landscape, suggest a definition of architectural pleasure and pain rooted in 'place-ballets', in seasonal and daily rhythms of choreographed motions, and in the gestures of bodies which intermingle, move across each other's paths, detour around obstacles and bump into hard corners. These interactions provide a syntax of the motions of architectural consumption and architectural consumers. Such interactions range from those users forced to deal with restrictions of access (in wheelchairs, for example) to children diverting from the proscribed path for one whirling swing around a lamp post or hopscotching the vari-coloured pavers arranged thanks to a labourer's proto-architectural intervention (beyond and unknown to the preoccupations of the architect). A constant effort is required to maintain the official norms of coordination and consumption.

The practical use of architecture is a further manner in which it can be said to be consumed: in everyday life, the built plan serves as a political instrument, a sweet or bitter pill unpinning and participating in the auto-management of crucial aspects of the means of production by supporting the reproduction relations of production, and institutions such as private property. The populace is channelled, directed and diverted. The mob – a short form for *mobus vulgus*, the crowd's vulgar and unbridled movement – so feared by 19th-century sociologists – is controlled. Defiant misuse, the illegitimate consumption of architectural works is the gesture, if not the consummation, of a revolution.

The notion of consuming architecture allows us to put together otherwise separated but fundamentally related aspects of the appreciation, usage and appropriation of the work. It directs our attention away from classical and beaux-arts preoccupations with 'appreciation' and a fetishism of the visual in terms of ghettoising notions of beauty. It gives us a vision of the multidimensionality of the architectural work, and focuses our attention on the diversity of consumers of urban and architectural productions. In so doing, architectural consumption complements the professional focus on production, offering a bridge by which architects can finally integrate and draw on social theory in a quest for urban well-being. The end result is a retrieval of the political voice and place of architecture.

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LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Alsop and Störmer Architects
London
Tel: +44 171 978 7878
w.alsop@dial.pipex.com

Michael Aukett
Michael Aukett Architects
London
Tel: +44 171 376 7525

Benoy
Architects and Design Consultants
London
Tel: +44 171 404 7666

Julian Bicknell
Julian Bicknell and Associates
London
+44 171 836 5875

Anne Boddington
Senior Lecturer at Oxford Brookes University
admboddington@brookes.ac.uk

Davina Chaplin
Senior Lecturer at University of Central Lancashire, Preston
d.chaplin@uclan.ac.uk

Sarah Chaplin
Associate Lecturer at Middlesex University, London
Director of evolver, London
s.chaplin@mdx.ac.uk

Paul Davies
Senior Lecturer at South Bank University, London
paul@medici.demon.co.uk

Rosamund Diamond
Tutor at the Architectural Association, London
rdiamond@netcomuk.co.uk

Elizabeth Diller and Ricardo Scofidio
Diller + Scofidio, New York
Tel: +1 212 260 7971

Stephan Doesinger
doesinger.hildmann@p-net.de

Andrew Durham
Director of evolver, London
andy@dada.demon.co.uk

Mark Fisher
London
Tel +44 171 713 188

Clare Gerrard and Mark Hewitt
D^2, London, with Deborah Sher and Susanne Müller
Tel: +44 171 609 0931
back@globalnet.co.uk

Mark Gottdiener
Professor of Sociology at the University of Buffalo, State University of New York
mgott@ubvms.cc.buffalo.edu

Sophie Greenfield and Giles Rollestone
Research Fellows at the Royal College of Art, London
g.rollestone@rca.ac.uk

Paul Hinkin
Chetwood Associates
London
Tel: +44 171 490 2400
ca_lond@netcom.uk.co.uk

Eric Holding
Tutor at Oxford Brookes University, Oxford
Director of evolver, London
eric@escalier.demon.co.uk

Jon Adams Jerde
The Jerde Partnership International
Los Angeles
Tel: +1 310 399 1987

Joe Kerr
Senior Lecturer at Middlesex University, and at the University of North London
j.kerr@mdx.ac.uk

Norman M Klein
Professor at the California Institute of Arts
Los Angeles
nmklein@msn.com

Eric Kuhne Associates
Architecture, Landscape and the Civic Arts, London
Tel: +44 171 836 1249

Richard MacRae
67 Bellevue Road,
Ipswich, Suffolk, IP4 2RD
Tel: +44 976 354 591

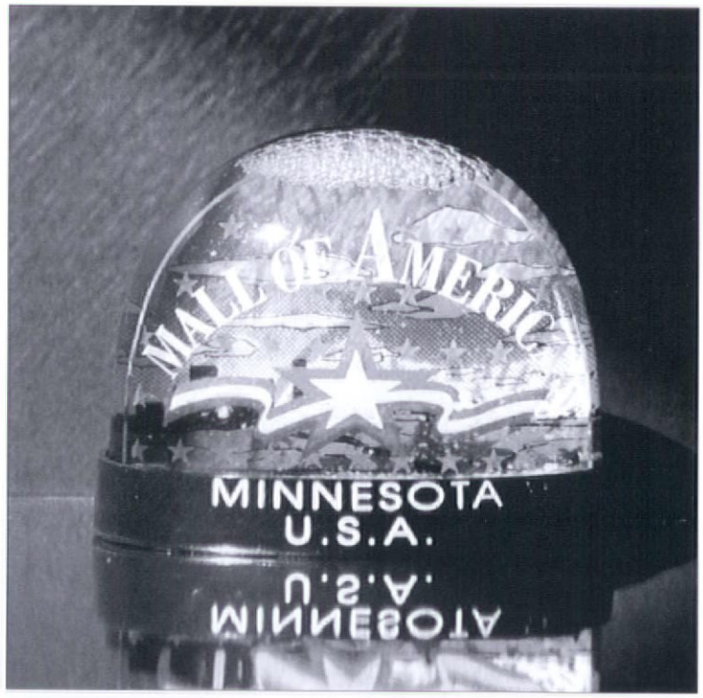
Simon Ofield
Lecturer at Middlesex University, London

OMA
Office for Metropolitan Architecture
Rotterdam, The Netherlands
Tel: +31 10 243 8202

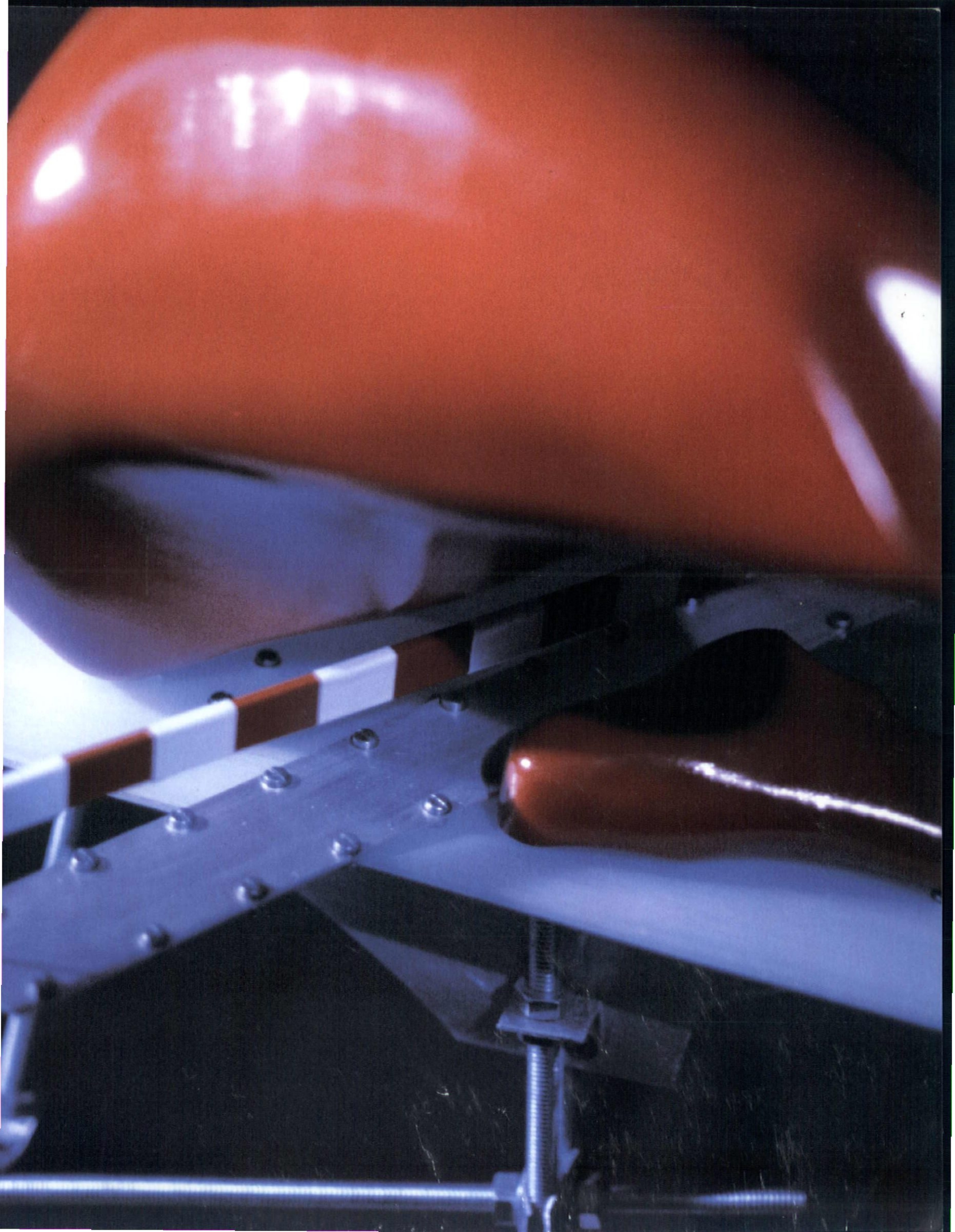
Martin Pawley
c/o *The Architect's Journal*
London

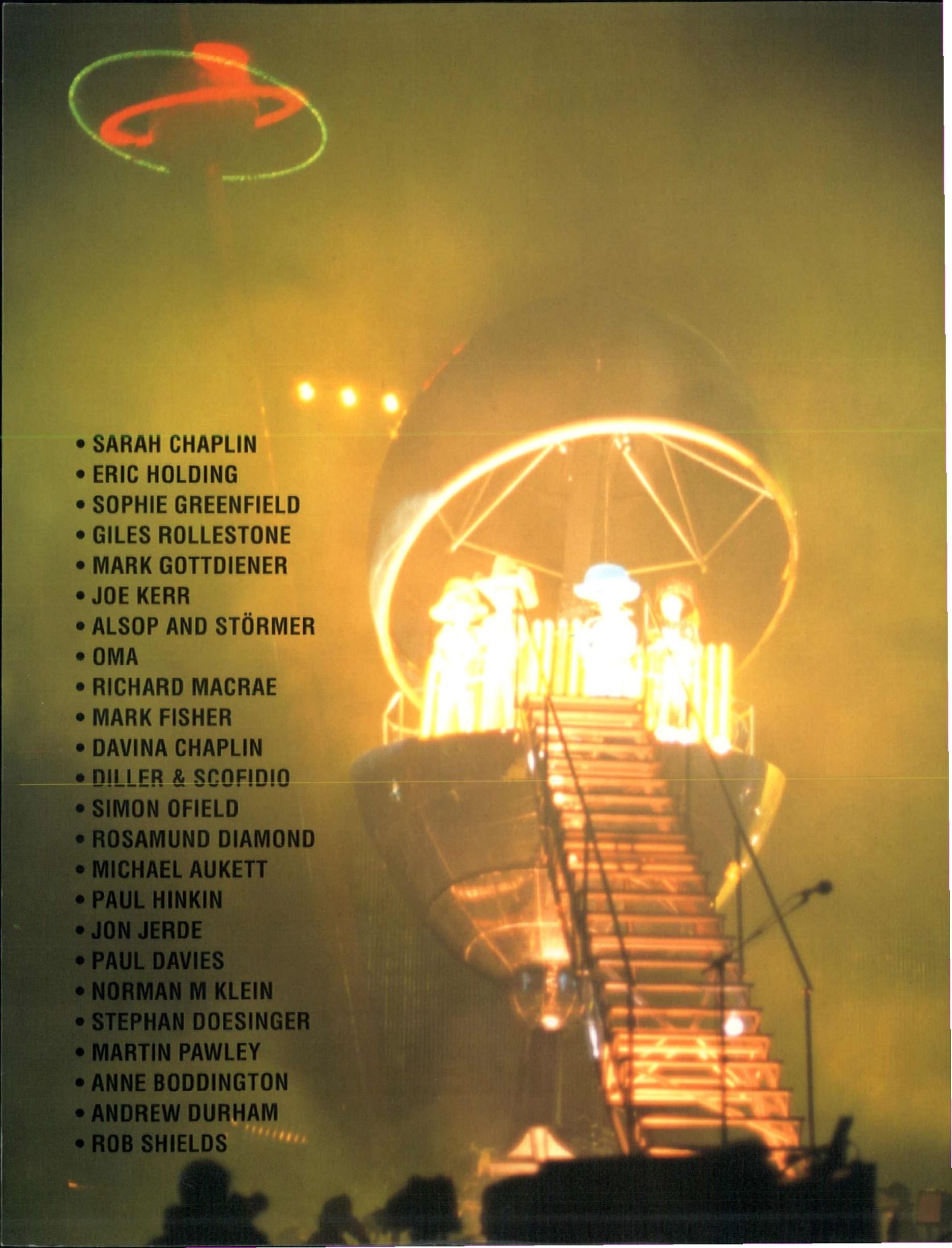
Rob Shields
Professor at Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada
rshields@ccs.carleton.ca

CONSUMING ARCHITECTURE




MARCH OF THE TOY SOLDIERS
MARCH OF THE TOY SOLDIERS
JACKPOTS
VERY
MINUTES




• SARAH CHAPLIN
• ERIC HOLDING
• SOPHIE GREENFIELD
• GILES ROLLESTONE
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• ALSOP AND STÖRMER
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