Shopping malls are one of the most important public spaces in contemporary public life. Since the 1950s, the privatization of malls and the replication of the shopping mall model all over the world have changed the way we experience them and our relationship with them. This project is an attempt to examine shopping mall as a type of public space to understand its unique spatial qualities that give rise to the series of complicated relationships formed within and with it over time. Ultimately, the project seeks to raise questions about what is valuable about a space and what constitutes a desirable public space through the lens of the shopping mall.
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Thesis Statement

Shopping is namely one of the most important leisure activities in our life. Despite e-commerce has grew to become one of the major retail forms for recent generation, shopping mall still remain a spatial activity for the most part (Dehaene 2008, 140). Shopping spaces have become one of the most occupied public spaces and have grown to define what contemporary public life is.

After the attack on the World Trade Centre on September 11, 2001, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani of New York urged people to consider it a day off work and to go shopping (Zukin 2018). Instead of staying home with family, or take a stroll in the park, the advice of going shopping suggests a common association of shopping with the normality of life. It implicates that shopping has become or had always been an inseparable part of our life, across time and space (Zukin 2018). Shopping has become something that infiltrates our whole life and has grown to shape our value and ideologies about the world.

The project begins with an inquiry and documentation of the spatial qualities and social meanings of shopping malls in a systematic and objective way. It is then followed by a close up study of Vancouver’s Kingsgate Mall to understand its unique makeups, values and social relationship formed within. Overall, the project argues that the shopping mall provides a microscope for understanding the qualities desired in modern public spaces, the primary intention is to seek answers to the values that we are constantly looking for in a society and world that are in flux.

Methodology

This graduate project is rooted in my personal experiences with shopping malls, which triggered interests in the topic and the subsequent discussions. The topic recognizes the importance of shopping as one of the most popular social activities in the city and shopping spaces as popular public spaces.

The project is composed of two parts, a documentation of the history, structure and social meaning of shopping spaces and a design proposal in response to the findings. The first part of the project presented in this report is the result of literature review as well as precedent and case studies. A historical review illustrates the evolution of shopping spaces over time and highlights significant changes in form, structure as well as the factors that induce such changes.

It is followed by an in-depth analysis of the development of shopping mall design, including a look at the architectural and spatial frameworks that define it and an examination of the social meanings and values that shape and are shaped by the shopping mall. The examination aims to provide an objective and comprehensive overview of the different ideas and perspectives regarding the status of shopping space as public or private.

A study of precedents provides the opportunity to extract strategies that can be used to frame future design proposals. These strategies will be developed into graphic forms and specific interventions during GP2. Overall, the content presented in the first half of the report provides context to situate the GP2 design proposals but also provides a theoretical framework to guide other future design interventions relevant to the issue.

“...in the face-off between two places invested with a strong emotional force: the shopping center and the garbage dump. It is between these two poles that entire sections of the contemporary urban experience are organized.” (Picon 2000, 75”)
Shopping & Consumption

Consumption speaks to the life-long process of buying and using certain selected goods and services, as shopping refers more specifically to the act of browsing and selecting goods that are presented in a retail space.

Being associated with pleasure and addiction mechanisms, shopping is as much a leisure activity as it is an economic activity. To understand the needs that drive consumption and its long lasting impact on human history, it is necessary to look at the origin of the act and ideology of shopping, how it began and how it evolved to the form it takes today.

The most representative form of shopping space today is shopping mall which has seen significant growth in recent years. Between 2012 and 2016, the number of large regional shopping malls has seen a 1.7% increase in Canada, a 2.7% in Europe and a 5% in Asia Pacific. By 2017, there are 3,742 enclosed shopping malls that are larger than 40,000 square foot in Canada (ICSC, 2017). The most profitable shopping mall for three years in a row, the Yorkdale Shopping Centre in Toronto has experienced a 15% growth in annual sale between the year 2017 and 2018, rolling from $1,653 per square foot to $1,905 per square foot (Retail Council of Canada 2018).

Consumption

“In order to meet the needs and requests of goods and services produced to be used by people” (Karalar 2002)

“An ongoing process from birth to death which a product or service is searched, purchased, used or destroyed to satisfy certain needs” (Odabaşı 2009).
Trading, the exchange of goods and services have existed long before we know. The barter system invented during the 6,000 BC introduced a system where goods and services were exchanged with objects. It continued with the invention of currency later ("Guide to the Barter Economy & the Barter System History" 2013). The activity of trade began with people exchanging objects and necessities with each other, often in public meeting and gathering spaces. With time, cities and town grew stronger while trading with more remote areas became common, and a bigger market space is needed (Coleman 2006). The Greek meet in the public plaza known as the agora: an open space set out for multiple function such as public debate, events and performance, an equal and democratic space that performs important religious, cultural and economic functions. Surrounded by prominent religious and political buildings in the city, the agora is usually framed by the stoa, a covered pathway that allows public use and facilitates pedestrian movement. It also allows merchants to layout their goods under the shadow while trade is performed over the informal stall with close proximity to the goods and the merchants ("Introduction to Greek Architecture" n.d.). Therefore, the very first act of trading happened in the centre of city, conducted in open space, and usually included direct communication and interaction between the merchant and the consumer.

The form of the agora got well transcended into the Roman forum. Like the agora, the roman forum is a rectangular open space surrounded by important political and religious buildings that allow for religious activity, play, public gatherings and markets. The Trajan forum built around 115 AD, featured a four-storey crescent-shaped terrace building that housed shops facing the forum on the ground level and another two-storey grant hall above it for public buildings uses. It is likely there were around 150 stores selling wine, grain and oil. It is also the first trace of covered shops in history (Coleman 2006).

Trading activities were largely limited throughout the 500 years of dark ages after the Roman Empire crumbled. When order and stability finally returned to northern Europe under the rule of Charlemagne and the Normans, trading revived, and public markets flourished again in major cities and towns. Trading is usually conducted within administrative buildings due to strict regulation on trades. Typical layout of a market space features a market hall on the ground floor of the town hall with columns surrounding it.

At the same time in the East, market space is referred to as bazaars. According to Clement, comparing to the mix functions of market space in Europe, markets in north Africa and middle east are set out to be single use spaces for trading (2006). The first type of bazaar features shops lined on both side of a linear passageway with wood woven covers overhead to shield sunlight. The shops are usually raised above the road, while wooden shutters close off shops at night. The second type of bazaar, the ‘souk’, is formed by a grid of small alleyways lined with a variety of shops and buildings with exterior colonnade and vaults that cover the overhead spaces. Compared to Greek markets set up in open public space, the bazaars tend to face inward, towards the street and to other shops, while also having some degree of cover and protection. This form serves as a reference to the later arcade during the 19th century.
During the late 16th century in Europe, the production of banking, credit and trading companies lead to a new type of retail building, the exchange halls. The Royal Exchange built in London between 1566 and 1568 featured a two-storey arcaded building with open courtyard. There were open stands selling goods on the first floor and trading stalls on the ground floor. The items for sale are mostly luxury items for the wealthy (Thornbury 1878). This is the first building to sell luxury goods in a large interior space and it influenced the style of the later arcades and department stores.

At the same time in Europe, shopping also flourished in street spaces but was strictly guided and organized. Street shopping were mostly arranged based on the type of commodities for sale. It is reflected in a lot of the street names at the time such as “Milk Street” and “Bread Street”. Certain streets that sell similar kind of commodities merged to form a quarter of specialized goods (such as the jewelry quarter) (Coleman 2006, 27). Furthermore, the form of retail stores was also undergoing significant changes. While before shops were usually open fronted with counter that separated the merchant and the customer, storefront was now sealed with improvement in glass making skills. Shopfront usually features small panels of glass fixed together that separate the interior space from outside. Sightline into the shop is usually shielded. The first glass shop front appeared in Holland during the late 17th century and became the trend in the 18th century in London. It is only until 1840 that advance technology in sheet glass allow larger panel of glass to be installed that allow for visibility into the interior of the shops (Coleman 2006, 28).

In the 18th and 19th century, another major type of trade building is the market building. The main purpose is to trade livestock and agricultural products. The structure features an open courtyard surrounded by arcades lined with stalls and shops. Under the influence of world exhibition buildings and technology advancement in glass making and iron making skills, the buildings grew to become large glazed pavilions with covered avenues (Coleman 2006, 28). Shopping spaces at the time are also multi-functional, featuring a mix between retail and entertainment. The Foire St Germain in the 18th century near the gates of Paris was famous for its luxury goods and entertainment, including dancing, gambling, exhibition and performance (“La Foire Saint Germain” 2017).

Throughout the late 18th and the 19th century, shops are more exclusively designed for the single purpose of trading. The arcade flourished up until the beginning of World War Two and was the most representative retail space, with 300 being built around the world. The first arcade, Galeries de Bois was built in 1788. It’s ideology largely reflected urban issues at the time, a fast expanding core, pressures on land use, heavy traffic on the road and degraded environment as a result of industrial development (Coleman 2006, 30). The arcade provided a safe and convenient place for shoppers and pedestrians that separate them from the outside world. It features shops aligning both sides of the interior passage selling a variety of manufactured goods. According to Coleman, the early ones are mostly two-storey high, with a 3m wide street. The width slowly increased to over 8 m over time (2006, 30-31). The Galerie d’Orleans is the first to have continuous vaulted glass roof along the entire length of the arcade. The space houses a variety of different shops and commodities that break away from the single commodity street stores and shopping district. The most complex arcade was the New Trade Hall in Moscow built in 1893. The building occupies an entire city block and 2.24 ha of surface area. The building has three arcades covered by three sections of glass roof to form a completely covered shopping space (Coleman 2006, 32).

In the 188 and 19th century, another major type of trade building is the market building. The main purpose is to trade livestock and agricultural products. The structure features an open courtyard surrounded by arcades lined with stalls and shops. Under the influence of world exhibition buildings and technology advancement in glass making and iron making skills, the buildings grew to become large glazed pavilions with covered avenues (Coleman 2006, 28). Shopping spaces at the time are also multi-functional, featuring a mix between retail and entertainment. The Foire St Germain in the 18th century near the gates of Paris was famous for its luxury goods and entertainment, including dancing, gambling, exhibition and performance (“La Foire Saint Germain” 2017).
During the second half of the 19th century, department store grew to dominate retail spaces. Grew out from the bazaar stores in London originated from the late 18th century and inspired by the world exhibition hall and arcades at the time. The structure features interconnecting rooms in a centralized building with skylight coming down from the central well. The department stores, different from the former arcade and exchange halls, provided a wider range of goods under fixed price that attract a wider group of shoppers. The first department store, Bon Marche built in 1852, had undergone several renovations due to its success and eventually featuring a glamorous interior space with overlooking galleries, skylight, grand circular staircase. The earlier department stores featured a range of two-storey window elements connected by columns on their exterior façade and had become a recognizable pattern for department stores over time (Coleman 2006, 34). In the meantime, in North America, the United States had its first department store. The Haughwout & Co built in New York in 1857 was the first one to have a passenger elevator incorporated. Since then, elevator became commonly used as a mean of movement in the department stores. Department store dominate retail building types in America during the second half of the 19th century. The Macy’s built in 1858, Bloomingdale built in 1872 and Marshall Field built in Chicago in 1865 were all representative models at the time. With technology advancement in steel making, most store façade moved from cast iron to steel frame, which allowed the building to be built taller and interior space to be grander (Coleman 2006, 35). A larger interior space was also made possible by incorporating escalators. Bloomingdales in New York and Harrods in London are among the first ones to have escalators installed. In the meantime, the introduction of bigger panels of glass allow skylight to penetrate through the roof.

Chain stores were also introduced at the end of the 19th century due to the advancement in the transportation system (Coleman 2006, 39). Grocery stores are among the earlier examples. Then supermarkets emerged providing greater convenience of having a wide variety of household items and food under one roof. They also echoed the emergence of automobiles, were equipped with large parking space and were often located by the highways and the side of major roads. The first supermarket, King Kullen in New York was born in 1930. Over the next four years, there were 94 supermarkets built in the United States, and the number grew to 1200 in just another two years (Coleman 2006, 40).

With the flourish of chain stores and supermarkets, large regional shopping centres were born. The first suburban shopping centre, Country Club Plaza was designed outside the city centre serving people with automobiles. In the mid 20th century, a series of factors such as population growth, urban expansion, private automobile ownership, traffic congestions and technical advancement in air ventilation and conditioning lead to the dramatic growth of suburban malls. The basic form of shopping centre is represented by linear pedestrian walkways with shops lined on both sides. The basic format is later developed into a dumbbell plan with anchor shops at each end of the walkway (Baek 2015, 300). Victor Gruen, the famous architect who envisioned shopping malls as suburban community centres, built the Southdale Centre in Minneapolis, which is the first fully enclosed environmentally controlled shopping centre (Coleman 2006, 42). The size of the shopping centre is only made possible by the air conditioning system. Gruen’s visions of a fully enclosed mall was triggered by his researches on customer behaviours that show people tend to walk further in climatized and protected environments.

Figure 6. Collage made by author. Timeline: late 19th century, department store

Figure 7. Collage made by author. Timeline: 20th century, shopping mall
During the late 1990s, shopping malls were on the decline while online shopping was on the rise. With development in technology devices and the world wide web, the online world has grown to become the dominant form of retail space. The convenience of online shopping made people turn away from traditional shopping malls and lead to the decline of shopping mall sales and eventually a series of abandoned mall structures. The website deadmalls.com documented a series of abandoned malls across the United States over the years. Together with recent environmental movement and rising consciousness of green consumption, typical retail structures are undergoing tremendous changes (Lin and Niu 2018).

The Hills at Vallco is a project that aims to revitalize the old mall of Vallco into a complex community centre that features a safe, convenient, sustainable and multi-functional environment (“The Hills at Vallco” n.d.). Similar visions are presented in Vancouver’s local mall transformation, the proposed Oakridge Centre redevelopment.

Within each type of retail space, we can see the trace of a former type. Through the evolving style and format of these shopping spaces, we observe advancing technological skills, such as glass-making, steel making, lighting, the introduction of escalator and elevator and the air-conditioning system and ultimately the Internet. We also witness societal changes, from inclusive luxury good for the wealthy to fix-priced goods in the department stores and to discounted goods in chain supermarkets, and major urban events such as the emergence of private automobile ownership and the issue of urban expansion (Glennie, n.d., 184). We also see a change in ownership and location, shopping spaces have turned from being central, open and public towards more inward, private and separated from the outside world (Orillard, 124; Zukin 2018, 12). Today, we are seeing a new trend and form of shopping complex that aims to reconstitute an open and public space facing outward to the community, serving as a multi-functional community hub. The evolution of retail space illustrates how shopping has always been an inseparable part of our society, across time and space, and had also been subject to constant change due to various economic, social and technological factors.

Conclusion

Within each type of retail space, we can see the trace of a former type. Through the evolving style and format of these shopping spaces, we observe advancing technological skills, such as glass-making, steel making, lighting, the introduction of escalator and elevator and the air-conditioning system and ultimately the Internet. We also witness societal changes, from inclusive luxury good for the wealthy to fix-priced goods in the department stores and to discounted goods in chain supermarkets, and major urban events such as the emergence of private automobile ownership and the issue of urban expansion (Glennie, n.d., 184). We also see a change in ownership and location, shopping spaces have turned from being central, open and public towards more inward, private and separated from the outside world (Orillard, 124; Zukin 2018, 12). Today, we are seeing a new trend and form of shopping complex that aims to reconstitute an open and public space facing outward to the community, serving as a multi-functional community hub. The evolution of retail space illustrates how shopping has always been an inseparable part of our society, across time and space, and had also been subject to constant change due to various economic, social and technological factors.

Reference

Historically, retail spaces have taken on different forms. Today they continue to be reproduced in various ways as consumption infiltrates many public spaces such as hotels, museums, airports and train stations (Goss 1993, 18). However, the most current and representative form of all places of consumption is the shopping mall. Despite declining in a lot of places, shopping malls are still major destinations for consumption and leisure activities.

Shopping mall is an American term referring to large regional and super regional shopping centres and a generic term for enclosed centres. It is typically covered by a roof, environmentally controlled with air conditioning system. It usually features a structure between two to three-storey high but can vary in different setting. Linear passages with stores lined on two sides of the passage occupy each floor. Movement and circulation is facilitated by escalators and elevators. Mall is also used in Filipino, Indonesian, Kurdish, Latvian, Norwegians and Romanian languages to refer to shopping centres. Other languages refer to mall as shopping centre, centro commercial, shopping precinct, shopping arcade, 购物中心, Mōru, and etc. (Flight n.d.).
The Layout

In Koolhaas’s Harvard Design School guide to shopping, he examined the two typical layout of shopping malls, a cluster layout and the dumbbell plan (Chung et al. 2001). The Northland Mall in Southfield Michigan, USA was designed by the architect Victor Gruen and had a four floor Hudson’s department store surrounded by a ring of shops. This is known as the cluster layout. In one of his other designs, the Southdale Centre in Edina Minnesota, the mall featured a shape of a dumbbell with department anchor stores on both ends of the corridors lined with smaller shops. With malls getting bigger and more anchor being stores are drawn in, some layouts feature the shape of a T or a cross with a core connecting all corridors leading to the department store. As malls developed bigger in scale and size, corridors extended as anchor stores/spaces (such as hotels) are added (Flight n.d.). As observed from the Florida mall plan below (Figure 11).

Goss argued in his article on the form of malls that designing the retail environment means designing for an illusion of dissociating from the act of shopping (Goss 1993). It is important to understand that shopping centres are typically produced by large corporations and are meticulously planned (Goss 1993, 22; Miller 2014, 15). Therefore, the development of shopping malls is very much driven by the goal of profit and commercial gain. Shopping centres are a landscape of power, a strategic space, owned and controlled by institutions, depending on the constant appropriation and control of territory and its subject (Goss 1993, 35; Giuliani, n.d., 18; Goss 2006, 24).

Poole said that we each have two separated minds, one is logical while the other is emotional, the logical one looks at price and quality while the emotional one is controlled by passion, excitement and sensations (2003, 6). The design layout and structure of shopping malls are often the synthesis of customer behaviour studies and a collective effort between a wide range of professionals. Private developers often take advantage of our emotional mind, and design shopping malls to attract and trap both our body and our minds. Zukin said in her book on consumption that “once we accept [shopping spaces]” value, we are its captives” (2018, p. 28). We then think shopping is the most free and relieving activity in our daily life, separated from the daily hustle (Zukin 2018, 34). What we don’t know is that these feelings are much generated through mechanisms controlled by technology and studies on customer behaviour. According to Deharme, “Mall design emphasize(s) the psychological effects of mall environments – the experience”, therefore everything that is in place is to satisfy the psychological needs of the customers (2008, 140).

Conception

Measures like planning tenant mix affect how one might experience the mall: repair shops, laundromats and thrift stores are usually hidden or eliminated to hide the “ugly truth” from customers and to eliminate “unwanted” customer groups. Stores under renovation are often hidden behind painted posters and drawings that say “opening soon” or presenting the scene of the new storefront to persuade “business is as usual”.

Time

Time is also a factor, the goal of the shopping mall is simply to acquire target consumers and to retain them for as long as possible. Researches show that the amount of spending is directly related to the amount of time spent at the centre. Thus, anything that can prolong shopping time is in the developer’s best interest (Goss 1993, 22). According to Goss, the developer’s first law of shopper behavior says that the American shopper will not willingly walk more than 600 feet (1993, 33). There are several measures to draw customers including setting up anchors, as demonstrated in the dumbbell plan mentioned earlier or adding landscape elements like plants and palm trees. Mall widths are conventionally restricted to about 6m in width so that consumers can easily reach store fronts on both sides, and to maintain a sense of intimate human scale.

Image Production

Shopping malls are designed in a way that reflects our nostalgia for authentic community. By reimagining scenes that exist only in past and distant places, we promote shopping centres as an alternative to modern community life. This is achieved by imitation of traditional market towns and villages, characteristic architecture and landscaping styles (such as the planting of desirable plants associated with the idea of being green and sustainable), just to name a few examples. Earlier development also aims to create an illusion of being in an urban community rather than in the suburbs (Goss 1993, 23).

Separation

Most importantly, there is the factor of separation. The shopping mall is designed to ensure customers remain in these isolated places for a long time. The outside does not give information about what is inside, and the inside is not connected to the outside. That is a result of time-space separation(Yılmaz and Yılmaz Çakmak 2018, 146). The mall is an idealized social space, strictly planned and controlled, excluded from the inconvenience of the reality, the weather, danger and pollution of automobile, the terror and crime associated with today’s real street life (Goss 1993, 24). When approaching the entrance of the shopping mall through the parking lot, we often first notice the uniform and overly plain and dull exterior façade. The entrance is often noticeably marked either with plants or special architectural elements such as glass. Once one steps through the entrance, they find themselves separated from the outside world and reality is displaced. Temperature is kept at optimum for human comfort, typically 68 degrees in winter and 72 degrees in summer. Lighting is soft to highlight the natural colours of the commodities on display. Researches show that psychologically customized music may increase retail sales by up to 40 percent (Goss 1993, 32). Mirrors and reflective glass multiply the images and colours, doubling the space and mesmerizing the crowd. There is no window to look out and the world inside is concealed from outside as well.
The only way is to look up to the sky. The backstage area, where commodities are delivered and prepared is concealed by landscaping, painted panels and underground construction to protect the customer from knowledge of the activities that take place. Not to mention, tremendous efforts are put into maintenance to ensure experience is constantly pleasant (Miller 2014, 21).

These design strategies intend on drawing the visitor deeper into the mall and directing movements in certain ways. The introduction of signages and information panels provides guidance and purpose, yet leaves room for the mall to be a place to be discovered.

Thus getting lost in this sense is a pleasurable experience. Baek points out that creating intellectual manipulations provide exploratory experience which leads to an interesting experience for the consumers (2015, 201).

Altogether, the shopping centre is a place that sells paradoxical experiences. As customers, we can safely enjoy danger, being separated from the busy and chaotic city traffic and the unpredictable weather; we can also experience the world without having to travel far; we maintain a polite and distant relationship with each other while being in the most crowded place in the city. Ultimately, the shopping mall appears to us as a public realm, given the various programs and activity spaces it provides, but also remains private as it ultimately pursuits profit and eliminates any element that threatens it (Goss 1993, 40).
Introduction

A shopping mall is more than a simple structure that provides space for shops and commodities. It is also a highly heterogeneous place that accommodates a series of programs and activities. A shopping mall is a place and a non-place, a physical space that exists within reality but also out of time and space. It is a realm where everyone can find something to do, yet represents different meanings for everyone. It is a place for all but also highly exclusive for some groups of people. It is a land of freedom, as long as rules are followed. Overall, shopping malls are spaces of paradox, they project our ideas of an ideal public space, yet are owned and managed by private parties and are subject to strict surveillance and control.
It is the general trend that city centres in cities around the world are deteriorating while suburban shopping malls become the new public enclaves. It is the new public space for people today, but as Jon Goss, Mike Davis and many other scholars have argued, it is ultimately a pseudo place, an illusion — enclosed, guarded, safe, clean, aromatic and green (Djukic and Cvetkovic 2016, 2; Goss 1993, 19).

The biggest character of pseudo-public space is the private ownership of the space. It is subject to selective access, restricted behaviours and constant surveillance coming from the management and other users of the space (Zhelnina 2011; Djukic and Cvetkovic 2016). It is inclusive yet exclusive to certain groups of people, namely homeless people, drunk people and beggars, people who do not fit into the social norms (Tonnelat 2010, 5); it is accessible yet inaccessible for those who do not own a car; it is free yet restricted as any unwanted or outstanding behaviours will be expelled; it is equal yet subject to class difference by having lower status shops on the lower level of the mall with more exclusive store on top (Zukin 2018, 23). According to Stéphane Tonnelat, if modern public space is defined by the degree of accessibility and communication, the constant surveillance and the exclusion of the “undesirable” diminish its quality of being a true public space (Tonnelat 2010, 5).

From urban planners to designers to ordinary people, we are all constantly looking for the meaning of a true public space. Perhaps the pursuit of an ideal public space can be traced back to the origin of shopping mall, a new architectural model emerged in the 1950s. It was visualized and realized by the architect Victor Gruen, with the vision of creating a new community centre for the suburbs. The initial proposition is a closed and linear pedestrian space open to the use of the public, but cut off from the outside world of cars. In short, its model represents the reinvention of the traditional urban elements of the street for a suburban society (Orillard 2008, 122). It was an experiment that if succeeded in the suburbs would be apply the same in the city centre to solve the problem of deteriorating retail due to traffic congestion and accessibility issues. The ideal was to create a centrally located public space that brought together commercial and civic activity (Orillard 2008, 140).

There is also the idea of non-place, a compressed environment where time and space are abolished and not bound to traditional definitions (Orillard 2008, 147). A non-place is place that is not anthropological where human beings are rendered anonymous (Üngür 2015, 2). Within the non-place, we do not form relations, the place bears no significance or specific meanings to individuals or to the community as a collective. To consumers and visitors of a shopping mall, the mall is a non-place.

“At this point non-place welcomes its neurotic traveler: You don’t have to decide! You don’t have to belong somewhere! Just push that button or pass that card and you don’t even have to talk with anyone! Frequentation of non-places provides an experience of solitary individuality combined with non-human mediation between the individual and the public authority. So, while anthropological places create the organically social, non-places create solitary contractuality.” (Üngür 2015, 5)

For staff working in the mall, the shopping mall is a workplace where they form relationships within and therefore is not a non-place. However, for consumers to come into the mall for the purpose of shopping or meeting with family and friends, most relations they form within the shopping mall remain impersonal. Interactions between staff and customers are only made when needs regarding selecting a commodity are raised, which rarely leads to meaningful relationships. Between consumers, everyone follows a mutual code performed within public space, where everyone remains a polite and often at a distance from each other and “minding their own business” (Tonnelat 2010, 5). On the other hand, some argue that shopping malls in some cases, can act as meaningful public space too. For example, shopping mall for teenagers who come to socialize, to meet and make new friends would not be considered a non-place as they did not come to the mall with the sole purpose of consumption (Lazzari 2012, 3).
**Heterotopia**

Using the concept of heterotopia as a tool to analyze the quality of shopping mall is also a helpful way of understanding what shopping mall means to us, why do we go there and what do we hope to achieve or to receive by going. Heterotopia, the concept created by the French philosopher Michel Foucault, literally means “other places”. It describe a place that is “off-centre with respect to normal and everyday spaces, on that possesses multiple, fragmented or even incompatible meanings” (Dehaene 2008). Foucault believes that heterotopia is the actualized utopia, an unreal place and a placeless place of an idealized society (Foucault 2008, 17). He also provided a set of five principals of heterotopia that can be used here to test if shopping mall is a heterotopia --- “a society perfected or a society inverted” (Foucault 2008, 16).

1) The first principle is that there is no single culture in the world that does not constitute heterotopias. The form of heterotopia is not universal but is generally separated into two forms: one refers to the heterotopia of crisis, reserved for individuals experiencing certain kinds of crisis in relation to the society or the environment in which they live; the other refers to the heterotopia of deviation, reserved for people whose behaviours are deviated from the social standard or norms.

The shopping mall is for sure a globalization phenomenon, which can be observed in every consumer society. One can argue that the mall is a heterotopia of deviation reserved as a place to accommodate rule-breaking. Similar to the design of a hospital or a prison, the shopping mall is also a place of deviation where “otherness” is localized. Imagine a theme park, where it function very much similar to function, where you behave and act in a way that is different from your daily routine. The society set aside these places as a way to manage and release the tensions of public life.

2) A society can make a heterotopia that exists and has not ceased to exist function in a very different way. Each heterotopia has a precise and determined function within a society and the same heterotopia can, under the synchrony of the culture in which it occurs, have one function or another.

Spaces for consumption took on various forms throughout the history and each performs different functions. For instance, arcades and exchange halls were used to serve only wealthy class, while supermarkets and chain stores accommodate the needs of a wider range of people. While arcades were created as an attempt to shield traffic in the public street, suburban malls were created to accommodate car traffic. Therefore, the different forms and functions of shopping spaces are subject to the unique context along the historical timeline.

3) Heterotopia has the power to juxtapose in a single real place several spaces, several emplacements that are in themselves incompatible.

Shopping centres present the world to the customers: the inclusion of cinema, performance space, food courts, kids’ playgrounds brought multiple places into one. Winter clothes are selling next door to summer clothes, palm trees are planted in rest areas. One can experience different sensations, seasons and locations in one place.

4) Heterotopias are most often linked to slices of time. The heterotopia begins to function when people find themselves in a sort of absolute break with their traditional time.

As mentioned earlier in the description of the mechanism that set up and control the environment of the mall, time is stopped in a shopping mall. Purposely constructed without any windows that allow consumers to look outside, the mall constructs an environment that is separated from outside space and time. There are no signs or reminders of reality within the mall, and therefore it breaks away from the traditional sense of time.

5) Heterotopias also presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable. One can only enter with a certain permission and after having performed a certain number of gestures. There are other kinds, that look like pure and simple openings, but conceal curious exclusions. It is an illusion that everybody can entre into those heterotopian emplacements, but one believes to have entered and by the very fact of entering one is excluded.

The interior of shopping is completely concealed from the outside, one must enter first to understand what is going on inside. By entering the shopping mall, it also means one is completely isolated from the outside world. Entry is controlled by security and subject surveillance; unqualified behaviours or unwanted group of people will be excluded. You will also notice that certain windows and doors are sealed on purpose to direct you to the desired entrance, service and maintenance entries are shielded.

6) They have in relation to the rest of space, a function. Either their role is to create a space of illusion that exposes all real space, or to create another space, another real space, as perfect, meticulous, as well arranged as ours is disorderly, ill constructed and sketchy. This would be the heterotopia of compensation.

Shopping mall is ultimately the projection of the outside world in an idealized way. From arcade to shopping mall, existing spaces are recreated in a safe and protected manner where only the preferred qualities of space are preserved while the unwanted ones are discarded. It is also a destination to compensate for reality, a place where we are separated from work, politics and life. It is an illusion created for us to make up for the many things we are lacking in real life.
Based on the principles of Foucault’s heterotopia, shopping mall is a heterotopia and very much an utopia. It reflects our wishes of getting away from the burden and undesirable quality of life, yet still being able to enjoy the pleasures. It protects us from the danger and risks of outside world, pause time and space, allows us to experience multiple places at once. Despite the many functions it might perform, its foremost function is to promote consumption, a process in which our values and understanding of the world are also being influenced.

Sociologist Georg Simmel had pointed out in 1910 that all exchanges in a money economy involve the “objectification” of value. The things one buys must be worth something to that person. It may be social --- as a way to earn respect from the others; it can also be cultural, where one can feel a sense of satisfaction when one finds the right fit for a product or a service; it could also be economic, achieving a balance between price and quality. According to Zukin, these values are abstract and personal and have specific meaning and quality for only the one who is experiencing it (2018, 14). This process plays a central role in shaping one’s values and self-identity, where consumers construct and refine their identities throughout the process of shopping repeatedly (Dehaene 2008, 141). Shopping mall ultimately satisfies our need to be in public and feel like we are a part of public life. It provides the opportunity and space for us to spend our time and money. Zukin argued that shopping reflects our longing for value because of our deprived relationship with nature and religions (2018). It is the place where we look for values and create values. Therefore, shopping and shopping spaces have come to define and guide who we are, and who we want to become.

In conclusion, shopping mall is a heterogeneous place which bears different meanings for different users. For the majority who fits into the description of social norms and equipped with the proper means to get to a shopping mall, entry is relatively easy, and they can enjoy equal access to the goods and services within the mall. However, they might also find themselves under constant surveillance and the pressure of continuing to behave according to certain codes or else they will risk being expelled. Moreover, they do not tend to form any substantial relationship with the shopping mall or other consumers. On the other hand, homeless people might be denied from entering the shopping mall, and therefore are completely shut out from these spaces. For these groups of people, shopping mall is very much a private “public space”, where entry is not free. There are also the groups of people who come to the mall to socialize and to build relationships, where the program and activities within the mall aid and reinforce that purpose. To them, shopping mall is ultimately a space that is public and accessible, but it is also risky that social relations formed here are shaped by the act of consumption. However, despite the difficulties of defining the shopping mall as a public space or not, the process of analyzing it produces insights on the meaning of shopping malls to different groups of people and is helpful in terms of understanding the qualities people are looking for when in public places.

Reference


Lazzari, Marco. n.d. “The Role Of Social Networking Services To Shape The Double Virtual Citizenship Of Young Immigrants In Italy,” 8.


Conclusion

In conclusion, shopping mall is a heterogeneous place which bears different meanings for different users. For the majority who fits into the description of social norms and equipped with the proper means to get to a shopping mall, entry is relatively easy, and they can enjoy equal access to the goods and services within the mall. However, they might also find themselves under constant surveillance and the pressure of continuing to behave according to certain codes or else they will risk being expelled. Moreover, they do not tend to form any substantial relationship with the shopping mall or other consumers. On the other hand, homeless people might be denied from entering the shopping mall, and therefore are completely shut out from these spaces. For these groups of people, shopping mall is very much a private “public space”, where entry is not free. There are also the groups of people who come to the mall to socialize and to build relationships, where the program and activities within the mall aid and reinforce that purpose. To them, shopping mall is ultimately a space that is public and accessible, but it is also risky that social relations formed here are shaped by the act of consumption. However, despite the difficulties of defining the shopping mall as a public space or not, the process of analyzing it produces insights on the meaning of shopping malls to different groups of people and is helpful in terms of understanding the qualities people are looking for when in public places.
Despite the rapid development in the city of Vancouver over the years, Kingsgate mall has remained a strong anchor for the communities around for over 30 years and has gained a lot of love and reputations. It provides a perfect example of a heterotopia held within the traditional structure of a shopping mall, and a public space that features accessibility and inclusiveness that is typically eliminated in modern shopping malls. Together, it provides an interesting looking glass for us to observe and understand the space of a shopping mall, how it is used, the value and qualities that it exhibited and the things people are looking for there. The following chapter provides a close examination of Kingsgate Mall located in the Mt Pleasant neighbourhood of east Vancouver as a unique public space.
The Mount pleasant neighbourhood is among one of the most heavily gentrified area in recent years. New developments of the area have forced out small business, increased housing prices, displaced residents while uprooting people from their local networks. In the latest Mt pleasant community plan, kingsgate mall is one among the three sites that are targeted for upscale development. The image here is a rendering from the community plan that suggests a possible option for its future development. The community plan suggested additional density and height beyond what is permitted under the current zoning (Mt Pleasant Community Plan 2010, 25). The future of Kingsgate mall is filled with uncertainty, but changes are almost unavoidable. According to the latest property assessment by BC Assessment, Kingsgate Mall’s site spans more than 138,000 sq.ft and has a value of over $125 million (BC Assessment, 2019). It is unlikely a place so valuable like this will remains untouched forever in a gentrifying city.

But the mall is special in its own ways, despite it’s very existence contradicts with the city vision, it is a valuable space in the sense that it has and is continuing to support the neighbourhood around and people living in this city.
The mall is hugged by Kingsway and East Broadway, two of the busiest transportation routes in Vancouver. The mall features a simple two-level layout, and to adapt to this substantial topographical change on site, the two levels are to be accessed from different sides of the street. The second floors can be accessed from East 10th Ave to the south and Prince Edward St to the east. Generous ground parking spaces are provided to accommodate the need of people shopping at the supermarket Buy-Low foods and the two other smaller stores.

The first floor features a variety of stores and services and can be accessed from East Broadway and Kingsway. Shoppers Drug Mart, BC liquor store, Marks, Ardene are some of the bigger anchor stores, along with a series of smaller stores such as phone providers and services, lottery centre, flower shop, family own business such as furniture stores and barber shops.

With its many stores and services concentrated mostly on the first floor of the mall, it has become a primary site of inquiry for this project. Based on observations and researches, the central corridor that connects the west entrance and the east entrance has become a major area of interest, given its dynamic mix of commercial exchanges, informal interactions, recreational activities and events.
This diagram here shows the density of activity and frequency of visit within the corridor. The denser the dots are, the more frequent the place is used or visited throughout the day. The most popular areas are the lottery centre and the café.

The below section that cut through the central corridor also show the variety of activities and interactions that take place here. They are mostly accommodated by infrastructures provided within the corridor which includes series of benches, spaces for temporary vendors and services, a stationary lotto centre and café that provide regular services, and various seating around to accommodate different uses.
Observations

The following chapter provides a close observation and documentation of the space of Kingsgate mall and the dynamisms embodied within. The use of sketches is an attempt to capture individual moments in an intimate way while the text accompanies each sketch provides a narrative for that particular moment.

The series of photographs are also taken within the shopping mall. They serve as a tool to encapsulate the complex and dynamic qualities and elements within the mall which provide a reference for understanding the space as a heterotopia.

These processes help breaking down the social dynamics in Kingsgate mall and leads to the understanding of the unique quality and value of this place.

family business.
Look, it’s free sugar cane juice!

Siri, read me my text.
I’ll have a peach & mango smoothie please.

More barbeque sauce please!
How’s my luck today?

Can I interview you?
No.
Figure 31. Sketch 8

Jeez, it’s hot outside.

Figure 32. Sketch 9

I want that unicron ice cream!
Hmmm...what's my lucky number?

Ughhh my yogurt is getting warm again.
Shopping is exhausting.

Yesss...we are OPEN.
Heterotopias also presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable. One can only enter with a certain permission and after having performed a certain number of gestures. There are other kinds, that look like pure and simple openings, but conceal curious exclusions. It is an illusion that everybody can enter into those heterotopian emplacements, but one believes to have entered and by the very fact of entering one is excluded.

(Foucault 2008, 21)
Heterotopia has the power to juxtapose in a single real place several spaces, several emplacements that are in themselves incompatible.

(Foucault 2008, 19)
A society can make a heterotopia that exists and has not ceased to exist function in a very different way. Each heterotopia has a precise and determined function within a society and the same heterotopia can, under the synchrony of the culture in which it occurs, have one function or another.

(Foucault 2008, 18)
The first principle is that there is no single culture in the world that does not constitute heterotopias. The form of heterotopia is not universal but is generally separated into two forms: one refers to the heterotopia of crisis, reserved for individuals experiencing certain kinds of crisis in relation to the society or the environment in which they live; the other refers to the heterotopia of deviation, reserved for people whose behaviours are deviated from the social standard or norms.

(Foucault 2008, 18)
Heterotopias are most often linked to slices of time. The heterotopia begins to function when people find themselves in a sort of absolute break with their traditional time.

(Foucault 2008, 20)
They have in relation to the rest of space, a function. Either their role is to create a space of illusion that exposes all real space, or to create another space, another real space, as perfect, meticulous, as well arranged as ours is disorderly, ill constructed and sketchy. This would be the heterotopia of compensation.

(Foucault 2008, 21)
Observation and analysis lead to the conclusion that Kingsgate mall has its unique value that is under appreciated. The place is in no way perfect, but it shows the qualities it takes to make a desirable public space especially in a city where changes and new developments bring more exclusion and isolations everyday. So, recognizing the value of the place, the following proposal aims to recreate a fantasy world, a “heterotopia within a heterotopia” by extracting and enhancing the existing desirable quality of the shopping mall while conserving its social value.
The proposal spans across a timeline which begins with the moment the mall is redeveloped in the future. It proposes to preserve and protect the central corridor through installing glass curtain around it and structures to support its current roof while stores are being demolished around it. Therefore, despite development will eventually take over the place over time, the central corridor remains a protect public space.

The use of the glass wall is meant to preserve the original spatial form of the central corridor as much as possible. The zigzag outline of the corridor footprint is completed by naturalist and spontaneous planting that filled the negative spaces.

It intends on preserving all existing social, commercial activates, services and physical infrastructure within the central corridor while enhancing and maximizing their effects through measures like lighting, ventilation, furniture, image/colour, nature, and sound. The glass wall allows people on the outside to look through to the inside, while on the inside, views are sealed using the led screen films installed on the glass wall. When needed, the led screen films can also be switch off for natural lightings to come in and to divert sight line to the outside.
Figure 46. Proposed elevation looking from North

Figure 47. West-East Section, proposed
The proposal is divided into four parts that are transitioned by virtual LED screens installed on the interior of the glass walls. These screens have the flexibility of being switched from a regular transparent glass window to display screen when it is needed. It also allows customized display that could be used to accommodate the need of different spaces and programs.

These four parts are extracted and re-imagined to represent and reflect the existing qualities of Kingsgate Mall that makes it a desirable public space. It also serves as a microscope to further study and understand the role of shopping malls as public spaces in our cities.
Part 1: "Let’s Trip" aims to create a space where people can contemplate and get lost in distant sceneries. It allows the user to project desirable scenes onto LED screens in front of them. The screen will provide an immersive experience for those who can’t travel far without leaving the bench. Overall, the place allows one to soothe their mind and rest their body.
Figure 49. Proposed immersive led screen, “Let’s Trip.”

Redacted for digital publication due to copyright.
Figure 51. Proposed immersive led screen, “Let’s Trip”.

Redacted for digital publication due to copyright.
The space uses the existing bench furniture that are turned to face opposite directions purposefully, so that users could look like different sceneries at one time. Glass curtains would remain transparent from outside.

The effect of the space is achieved through the use of led projection film installed on the glass wall, based on the principal of using of colour and imagery to lure viewers into another world. The transparency of the glass wall also provide the visitor an opportunity to look outside fan inside-out experience.
Part 2  Game Night at My Place

Part 2, “Game Night at My Place” aims to produce a space will people can comfortably gather and joined by games, very much like our domestic living room. It is a place to hang out with friends, make new friends, enjoy conventional lottery and games on full-size screens.
Figure 54. Proposed lottery centre, "Game Night at My Place"
The set up of the space includes the addition of a group of couch to all the old furniture that is currently used by the lottery booth. The furniture is set up to face towards the northern side of the wall where the screen is acting as a magnified TV screen while on the southern side, room is left for people to mobilize through the space. Fake house plants are brought in to separate the domestic space from passing foot traffic.

The effect of this space is achieved through adding additional neon light to the infrastructure to create a vibrant and appealing setting. This space, different from all the others, is completely sealed and controlled. The led screen on both side will be displaying images and games at all time and cannot be switched off. The place is thus immersed with artificial lighting and is completely separated from the outside world.
Part 3 The Sun Never Sets

Part 3, "the Sun Never Sets", is a place you can sun bath 365 days a year. It aims to create a place infused with natural and artificial lighting to create a tropical dream regardless of the weather outside.
The space preserves the café that is currently there, and it will continue to serve food, drinks, and snacks. Additional visual and sensual elements to imitate the feeling of being at a beach are added, such as the colourful ceramic tile, terrace heater, and a small foot bath. Existing furniture will be preserved while groups of new patio chairs and tables are added.

The space includes the installation of a terrace heater on the wall to imitate the warmth and sensation of bathing in the sun. Skylight can also be opened when weather is good, allowing natural sunlight to penetrate.
Part 4. "Adopt a Plant" is a much narrower space comparing to all the others, it aims to creates a place where real and false nature are blurred. The space takes advantage of the existing landscape painting on the south side of the wall, where viewers are taken into a backyard with mountains in the distance, and pond up-close. At the same time, the place is filled with house plants and fake plants. People can trade, share, exchange plants while having a place to enjoy a bit of isolation time hiding in the plants.
Smaller pot plants are to be placed on the north side in front of the LED screen. While on the south side, bigger fake pot plants are placed along the wall to separate small contemplating space for people to sit alone. Armchairs are collected around the neighbourhood and placed in between the spaces created by the plants facing away from each other on purpose. At the west end, a door leads to the exterior that allows more flexible access. Only one side of the wall is installed with LED screen as the opposed side is occupied by the existing landscape painting.

The proposed intervention for this space is to replace the concrete roof with glass ceiling, which will also increase the height of the space by half a meter, generating a greater sense of space. The space provides suspended plant holders and spaces on the ground for people to leave their house plants here temporarily or permanently. They can also choose to take away and “adopt” a plant if it is not claimed. Natural lighting and weather conditions outside are incorporated into the site through the glass ceiling to create a fusion between what is real and fake, what is inside and outside, and question what nature truly is?
Figure 6. Process plan drawing
Figure 73. Draft for "Let's Trip"

Figure 74. Draft for "The Sun Never Sets"

Figure 75. Draft for "Game Night at My Place"

Figure 76. Draft for "Adopt a Plant"
Precedents

The Weather Project

This installation uses a combination of mono-frequency lamps, mist, reflection mirrors to create a dazzling sphere where real and fake is blurred. The lamps recreate the colour and radiation of the sun while the mist adds a sense of mystery to this confined space. The mirror installed on the ceiling creates another layer of reality where people can see themselves as an extension of the space below, and also allow them to observe and reflect on their own behaviours. The use of simple light and mirrors recreates the forces of a simple object, the sun, and transformed the room into a separate space, where conventional time and rules do not apply, and behaviours out of social norms are encouraged. It reflects the power of simple imagery and colour in encouraging imagination and transforming space.

Figure 77: The Weather Project, (Studio Olafur Eliasson 2003, accessed from https://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-modern/exhibition/unilever-series/unilever-series-olafur-eliasson-weather-project-0)
**Garden State**

Garden State is an experimental project that explores topics related to gardens, cinema and dance and eventually turned the results of their research and experiments into architectural proposals for an art centres in Frankfurt.

The project is built on the basis of people lending their own house plants to build the space. Various spaces surrounded and exposed by the plants are programed to be gathering spaces for people to interact and connect through performance and activities.

The idea of constructing public shared space through the use personal items such as house plants adds a level of intimacy to the construction of space. It provides an interesting angle to reflect on the qualities that we are seeking in public space. Is it program? Furniture? Familiarity? Comfort or ...?

**Deprograme Tokyo**

Deprograme Tokyo is a student project by Alicia De Nobrega, Génesis Loizaga that envisioned an alternative train station space, freed from the function of consumption. The designers recognized the importance of the train station as a multi-functional urban centre for movement, cultural and leisure activities specific to the context of Tokyo. The train station mirrors the bigger city of Tokyo, dominated by and built upon the idea of consumption. The designers instead remove the current program of shopping from the space and invite people to consume the space and structure left behind. By recognizing and summing up several fundamental acts that make these places alive, the final proposal delivers a series of spaces in the existing train station connected by water (as a metaphor for life cycle) to generate different atmospheres according to the fundamental acts happening in each space. These acts are namely to be born, to live, to create, to eat, to bathe, to cry and to die. The renderings listed provide a preview of what might happen in these spaces, but are not meant to guide what actually happens. The proposal only aims to provide an architectural framework narrated by water, what might (or might not) happen is completely up to the users to define. As such, deprogramming the space allows it to be free from any specific use, in this case, consumption and open it up for unlimited exploration of uses, meanings and exchanges.

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Figure 78. Garden State Installation project (Mamaza 2016, accessed from https://www.dmjn.net/19_gstateNew.html)

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**Parc de la Villette**

Situated on the site of a former slaughterhouse in Northeast Paris, Parc de la Villette is one of the most visited public spaces in Paris, France. The slaughterhouse which closed in 1974, left behind an extensive and abandoned land that was subject to redevelopment in the 1980s. A public competition was launched with a brief that called for a 21st century urban park. The Winner of the competition, Bernard Tschumi, envisioned the park as an escape from the city seeking to increase social interaction. The proposed project intentionally breaks away from the characteristics of a conventional urban park. This is mostly found in its large scale, lack of signage, geometric form, and randomly curved paths that don't lead to any particular destinations. The park features a mix of natural and artificial elements and a general sense of disorientation. Only a series of structures provide some sense of reference. The structure of the park is based upon interfering layers of points, lines and surfaces. The points refer to a grid of evenly placed red structures that allow for a moment of experiencing a space of a human scale. The functions are left to be defined by the visitors. The lines are a series of unorganized curves that represent the paths. The surfaces refer to the open green spaces that allow for larger events, accommodate play, relaxation and so on. The red structures also provide a sense of reference for people entering the park.

The fact that the park resembles the presence of the makes it an extension of the city. It is a reiteration of the city’s disorientation, chaos, and inhuman scale. Its large scale creates space for exploration, movement and interaction, where its user-defined quality creates a sense of freedom (“AD Classics: Parc de La Villette / Bernard Tschumi Architects.” 2011. ArchDaily. January 9, 2011. http://www.archdaily.com/92321/ad-classics-parc-de-la-villette-bernard-tschumi/).

In conclusion, findings from the above precedent studies can be summed into the theme of reveal, provide and create. All projects provide space that invites all people to be both its users and collaborators, a place to trigger critical reflections and discussion on issues at stake. By placing minimum definition on the functions of the structures or spaces displayed in these projects, room is provided for unlimited exploration and self definition of uses. It is through providing a space for discussion and the room for interpretation that people are given the freedom to explore what they want and what is the most important for them. In the case of this graduate project, these qualities presented in the precedent studies help answering the question of what a true public space in a consumerism society looks like.

Reference


**Conclusion**

In conclusion, findings from the above precedent studies can be summed into the theme of reveal, provide and create. All projects provide space that invites all people to be both its users and collaborators, a place to trigger critical reflections and discussion on issues at stake. By placing minimum definition on the functions of the structures or spaces displayed in these projects, room is provided for unlimited exploration and self definition of uses. It is through providing a space for discussion and the room for interpretation that people are given the freedom to explore what they want and what is the most important for them. In the case of this graduate project, these qualities presented in the precedent studies help answering the question of what a true public space in a consumerism society looks like.
**Schedule**

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