CINCCI
V Colóquio Internacional
sobre o comércio e a cidade: uma relação de origem

São Paulo, 21 a 24 de Março de 2016

Espaços públicos da cidade pós-consumista: a 'alteridade' dos enclaves comerciais de Auckland, New Zealand

Public spaces in the post-consumerist city: the 'otherness' of Auckland's shopping enclaves

Los espacios públicos de la ciudad post-consumista: la 'alteridad' de los enclaves comerciales de Auckland

MANFREDINI, Manfredo and RUGIK GOMEZ, Sergio
School of Architecture and Planning, the University of Auckland, New Zealand

Corresponding Author: MANFREDINI, Manfredo, m.manfredini@auckland.ac.nz

Public spaces in the post-consumerist city: The 'otherness' of Auckland's shopping enclaves

Espaços públicos da cidade pós-consumista: a 'alteridade' dos enclaves comerciais de Auckland, New Zealand

Resumo

Novos fatores recombinantes emergentes no espaço público urbano contrariam a crescente disjunção de lugares urbanos sujeitos a mercantilização e privatização. Nas cidades de baixa densidade no âmbito de quadros políticos neoliberais, esses fatores têm desenvolvido lugares peculiares de relação social: os enclaves urbanos integrados dedicados ao consumo e estilo de vida, que são a mais recente evolução dos centros comerciais. Estes enclaves são locais heterotópicos mobilizados pelo espetáculo que rapidamente incorporam as mudanças fundamentais que ocorrem nas relações entre arquitetura e vida associativa em nossa era digital pós-consumista contemporânea. O artigo discute uma análise comparativa da nova tipologia de shopping centers recentemente introduzidas em Auckland, New Zealand, explorando o importante desafio que representam para a arquitetura e design urbano na definição do futuro do espaço público.

Palavras-chave: Auckland, Espaço Público, Shopping centers

Public spaces in the post-consumerist city: the ‘otherness’ of Auckland’s shopping enclaves

Abstract

New recombinant factors emerging in urban public space counteract the increasing disjunction of urban places subject to commodification and privatisation. In low density cities within neoliberal political frameworks, these factors have developed peculiar places of social relationship: the integrated urban enclosures devoted to lifestyle consumption that are the latest evolution of shopping centres. These enclosures are heterotopic places mobilised by spectacle that quickly subsume the fundamental changes occurring in the relations between architecture and associative life in our contemporary post-consumerist, digital era. The paper discusses a comparative analysis of the new mall typology recently introduced into Auckland, exploring the important challenge they pose to architecture and urban design in defining the future of public space.

Keywords: Auckland, Public space, Shopping centres*.*

Los espacios públicos de la ciudad post-consumista: la ‘alteridad’ de los enclaves comerciales de Auckland

Resumen

Nuevos factores recombinantes emergentes en el espacio público urbano contrastan la creciente desconexión de los lugares urbanos sujetos a la mercantilización y la privatización. En las ciudades de baja densidad dentro de los marcos políticos neoliberales, estos factores han desarrollado lugares peculiares de relación social: estos son enclaves urbanos integrados dedicados al consumo y estilo de vida, que son la última evolución de los centros comerciales. Estos recintos son lugares heterópicos movilizados por espectáculo que incorporan rápidamente los cambios fundamentales que ocurren en las relaciones entre la arquitectura y la vida asociada en nuestro momento contemporáneo post-consumista, la era digital. El artículo discute un análisis comparativo de la nueva tipología de centros comerciales recientemente introducidos en Auckland, Nueva Zelandia, explorando el importante desafío que suponen para la arquitectura y el diseño urbano en la definición del futuro del espacio público.

Palabras clave: *Auckland, espacio público, centros comerciales*

1. Introduction

Shopping centres emerge in our cities as hegemonic social places, prodigiously magnifying the characteristics of the “worlds in miniature” that Walter Benjamin found in the Parisian arcades of the nineteenth century (Benjamin, 2002 [1935]: 3; Böhme, 2012). The recent spatial metamorphosis of that introversion of ‘worlds’ is at the centre of this study, and is elaborated through the theories, concepts and notions of scholars engaged with its agency in the contemporary transition of urban public space. Its exploration focuses on the transformations of the physical, social, and psychological spatialities our post-industrial cities, examining the relationships between architecture and the new forms of consumption emerging in the main centres of shopping, entertainment and socialisation in the suburban space of Auckland. Particularly important for its discussion is the notion of 'urban otherness,' as originally developed by Michel Foucault the concept of "heterotopia" – the place where the ordinary meets the extraordinary in conditions of simultaneity, juxtaposition, ambivalence and dispersion (Foucault, 2008: 21) – and further elaborated by Graham Shane – with the description of heterotopia's constitutive role in the contemporary city's system of enclaves and armatures (Shane, 2005) – and Dehaene and De Cauter – with the reconceptualization of the heterotopic device as disentangling instrument to understand the "equally treacherous and fertile condition" of the public space of our "post-civil society" (Dehaene & De Cauter, 2008). Further key references framing our theoretical interpretation of this phenomenon are: the concept of "postmodern hyperspace," as developed by Fredric Jameson to describe the dramatic territorial mutations created by the disjunction of body and built environment (Jameson, 1984); the elaborations on the "paradox of isolation" and the critique of spatial publicness and over-determination as central characters of the contemporary urbanity, as proposed by Sharon Zukin and Richard Sennett (Sennett, 1977; Zukin, 2010); and the recent descriptions of post-consumerist society and interpretations of related emerging practices (El Hedhli, Chebat, & Sirgy, 2013; Miles, 2010; Ritzer, 2013). Overall, the attempt here is to describe the idiosyncratic formal and semantic aspects that are emerging in the new "public" places of the metropolitan centres of Auckland, the largest New Zealand city. Their discussion is based on the results of an empirical investigation of spatial elements that deserves particular attention given the recent changes in the technological framework, with specific focus on the growing digital realm.

The hypothesis articulated here is that we are witnessing a deep change in the conceived (i.e. planned, implemented and managed), practiced (i.e. used on the daily basis) and described (i.e. emerging from direct interpretation) geographies of the urban public space as a consequence of the process of continuous de-retorrialisations and re-territorialisations that occurs in places with the most intense coaction of highly activated physical and digital spatialities – the shopping enclaves of our post-consumerist era. To validate this hypothesis we searched for evidence of the correlation between concurrent intensification of spatio-digital conditions (in agencies of both deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation) and amplification of identity conferring spatial representations, both quantitative and qualitative related to the emerging spatial references in collective image of the city. Accordingly, we sought correlations between three phenomena: (1) the contribution of shopping enclaves to urban fragmentation and the consequent physical and social disembedding of urban territories (Giddens, 1991), dissipating the linkages fundamental to shape place and diversity.[1] (2) The introversion of public space operated by shopping enclaves through a powerful set of agencies of social and cultural recontextualising, introducing heterotopic devices to 'reembed' both functionally and cognitively consumers' spatial experience. (An example of this phenomenon is the production of scripted spaces, where finely orchestrated physical,

[1] Multiple kinds of boundaries make the relation between isolation and penetrability of those places particularly critical, as Foucault described in one of his principles: "everybody can enter into those heterotopian emplacements, but in fact it is only an illusion: one believes to have entered and, by the very fact of entering, one is excluded (Foucault, 2008: 21) .

social and digital infrastructures seamlessly merge the actual – the provision of places for interaction – with the simulated – the provision of themed environments evocative of communitarian life – to engage users with the construction of personal and collective routines and narratives (Bryman, 2004: 15-56)). (3) Shopping enclaves support the emergence of new references in the collective urban geographies, providing sets for relevant transfigurations of the perceived city that reflects the fundamental semantic turn of the post-consumerist notion of public space.

Through the analysis of the spatial conditions of these enclaves and their social and physical context, heterotopic attributes (functional, experiential and semantic), and new social practices of interaction, this study explores how key urban public spaces are becoming increasingly introverted, externally disconnected, yet somehow integrated environmentally, socially and culturally. It examines the city of Auckland as it represents a relevant case study due to its peculiar socio-economic, cultural and environmental conditions: it is a city top-ranked for liveability and mobile digital technology usage, with a social life polarised in few centres often dominated by large format retail, and with a very active retail sector that includes one of the world's leading shopping mall operators. The study of these places, ultimately, intends to provide evidence of the ways these centres produce new forms of re-identification that recombine their constitutive loss of authenticity (Zukin, 1995, 2010) by being continuously re-scripted, by the organisations controlling their combinatory logics (i.e. mall operators), and re-written by the public of interpreting participants (i.e. the new consumers). The attempt is made here to use methods and tools of spatial analysis to assess their introversion and disconnection, as well as their unconstrainedness and hyper-connectivity granted by modern infrastructures – particularly in relation to the digital public sphere and the pervasion of information technology. This interrelation between the physical and the digital spatialities of the malls is also interpreted considering the profound changes in the retail sector that have recently given primacy to the emotions and experiences of citizens and consumers not only in the conception and management of shopping enclaves but of entire cities (Richards & Palmer, 2012; Rigby, 2011).

2. The experiential turn in the conception of spatial enclosures for shopping: experience as commodity and normalisation of spectacle

The current post-consumerist age has been described as a global phenomenon that brings substantial changes to shopping patterns and deeply transforms people's behaviour in their broader private and public social, cultural, and recreational lives (El Hedhli et al., 2013; Ritzer, Dean, & Jurgenson, 2012). One of the most important factors in its evolution is the advancement of the technological framework and, in particular, the digital infrastructure that has recently pervaded our environments and has led to the saturation of our mediated communication capacity (Kang & Cuff, 2005; Soukup, 2012).

The intensification of people's remote communication practices has also contributed to the urban segmentation supported by the modern development of mobility infrastructures, exacerbating the disembedment provided by the modern shopping mall type – the enclosed retail environments that Kim Dovey has referred to as "reversed worlds" (Dovey, 1999: 123-138). The recent development of these 'heterotopic reversions' has been achieved through conflation of spaces, activities and institutions, which has led to the production of extremely large, integrated and mixed-use enclaves that are the prime centres for the provision of goods and services in the vast majority of developed countries (Feinberg & Meoli, 1991). The magnitude of their development has eventually reached a scale that, according to George Ritzer, is comparable to that of religious centres of traditional civilisations, qualifying them "for the label of cathedrals of consumption" (Ritzer, 1999: 7). Their growth has been accompanied by what Amin and Thrift call a "performative push" (Amin & Thrift, 2002: 125) that aims at permeating their environments with performative, creative, evocative, and always variating events, to stimulate, excite, surprise, entertain, indulge and, ultimately, generate a positive emotional state in the consumers' shopping experience (Arnold & Reynolds, 2003, 2009; K. L. Wakefield & Baker, 1998), Accordingly, the retail operators of these centres strive continuously to renew the sources of values engaging their patronage, creating sets that can recombine the multiple layers in which locality and community are lived, interpreted and represented. Yet these sets have an ambivalent relation to their specific contextual variables, since they are conceived as iterable models that optimise the use of resources and reinforce brand identity (Ng, 2003; Schwartz & Hochman, 2014; Voyce, 2006).

The evolution of the mall type with continual growth in size and articulation seems eventually to come close to Gruen's original idea of constituting properly integrated civic and cultural centres. However, if this is occurring, it emerges in the form of accomplished heterotopias that coalesce elements of public and private, house and city, ultimately providing a 'normalisation' of all of them within enchanting ambiences that introduce in the daily routine the experience of the 'unpolitical extraordinary.' Institutions that in the past set the civic framework of cities, such as schools, public libraries and police stations, are now belittled, dispersed and decentred, yet re-activated within steadily revised grand spatial narratives articulated within the closed fields with dead-end shopping 'anchors' and interspersed grand nodes of pseudo-public space. The architectural response to this transition is accompanied by the crisis of the traditional typology of malls, described by Rem Koolhaas a lost in the continuum of the 'junkspace' (Koolhaas, 2001), and replicates with a twist what has recently been brought about in the tourism sector. In that sector, after the 1980s crisis of the world's largest short-term accommodation establishments – the centres of the gaming industry – the major hospitality structures were suddenly reoriented from service-based businesses to lifestyle and entertainment venues. This reorganisation eventually produced the gigantic kaleidoscopic lifestyle venues that dominate the urban landscape of its world capital, Macau (Manfredini, Yuen, Fung, & Wu, 2012; Rothman, 2002) and is epitomised by the most lavish and expensive structure of that kind: Moshe Safdie's Marina Bay Sands. This spectacular building seamlessly merges embedding and disembedding elements of urban Singaporean-ness that make it the most represented place of its city on social media, with images and videos of lived events such as the *Wonder Full* light and water show with the waterfront of the historic city as its backdrop, the indoor rides on traditional sampans and the rooftop city-vertigo with the renowned infinity pool.

Shopping centres have followed a similar path, starting with the suburbanisation of the enticing, secure and clean "realms of the goods" of the 19th century department store model (Sennett, 1977: 141-149). They then became eventful places of the most important social activities, integrating culture and entertainment, with exhibitions, performing art, lifestyle and wellness programmes (Bloch, 1994;

Crawford, 1992; Goss, 1993), and, eventually, integrated spectacular machines that cater both physically and virtually for all everyday acts, needs and desires of public life in an age of telepresence. This latest evolution has also accommodated the changing role of consumers, who have profoundly transformed their shopping practices and strongly increased their market power. Their empowerment has increased their autonomy, awareness and choice mainly through new digital functionalities that include instant access to product information, price comparison, remote purchasing and, ultimately, to on-line retail (eMarketer, 2015). Consequently, as this has a direct impact on the very economic base of retail, operators have been pushed to make an additional effort in reorganising the market logic, structure and landscape that were recently revised with the introduction of branding, diversification and segmentation strategies (Chung et al., 2001; Wedel & Kamakura, 2000). Their efforts were then directed to establishing synergies between the real and the digital creation of eventful shopping environments and to implementing high performing amalgamated realities with multiple hybrid platforms for the interaction between consumers and spaces, organisations and peers. This has also comprehended the provision of services complementary to digital retail that emphasise emotional and sensorial aspects, ranging from instant purchase gratification to immersive participation in spectacular events. The mix of physical and digital agencies has supported the experiential dimension in supplanting the mere money–goods transaction as the prime form of commodity, and constitutes the ideal framework for the development of the new post-consumerist acts described as “prosumption” by Ritzer (Ritzer, 2013; Ritzer et al., 2012). The new type of mall operates as catalyst for all the new practices in the public life of the ‘prosumers’ – the new type of consumers – that include co-production of information (e.g. through contributions on web-based media) and events (e.g. with participation in grassroots festivals), as well as labour performances (e.g. with participation in electronic group–buying practices).

From the spatial perspective, such presumption activities are particularly important since they are deeply involved in the collective process of construction and representation of the new urban geography. They are fundamental acts of the collective interpretation of what can be considered the contemporary version of the ‘over-stimulation of the sensory apparatus’ found by Georg Simmel in the modern metropolis (Simmel, 2002 [1903]). They are new forms of ‘flâneuring’ (Böhme, 2012) that fully exploit the communication potential of the means of the digital “3.0 culture era” (Sacco, 2011; Stikker, 2013), allowing each sign, environment, act and event to be captured, recorded, named, analysed, broadcast, stored, modified and represented almost ubiquitously, with a wide range of means (digital and analogue, fixed and mobile, situated and wearable), in multiple times (synchronic and diachronic) and with the use of very common devices (such as phones and action cameras). Their liaison with the malls is grounded in the rich and vibrant social realm of the mall itself granted both with highly performative physical infrastructure (Wi-Fi, network access points and media displays) and communication platforms (websites, blogs and social media applications). As a consequence, and also considering that a large proportion of mall visitors use smartphones,[2] the development of innovative retail ecosystems integrating digital realms has become a central commitment for all

[2] This is confirmed by Westfield estimates showing that 75% of their clients use internet features, 62% Facebook and Twitter (Westfield Labs, 2015).

leading operators.[3] 'Shopping assistant' apps allow customers to easily navigate centres and allow – as with the Westfield US mobile application – to select and find their preferred retailers, restaurants events, and receive personalised offers and discount vouchers directly on the phone. Free Wi-Fi access is usually offered mall-wide for activities such as updating social media channels or Skype friends to get their opinion on some clothes while they are tried on. The malls' communication activity on multiple internet and social media platforms, such as Facebook, Foursquares, Twitter and Instagram incessantly inspire, inform and guide the public of prosumers. Digital kiosks with interactive mega-displays in key locations of the mall – as in the experiments led by Westfield– provide links to e-commerce services, 3D navigation tools, and multifarious information on offers and events (Johnson, 2014; Moin, 2014).

This changing framework has triggered a strong re-articulation of the overall mall architecture that has moved beyond the "dialectical intensification of the autoreferentiality" (Jameson, 1984: 82) typical of both the allegorical pastiches of post-modernist architecture and the traditional decorated utilitarian clustering of anonymous volumes. New malls are increasingly complex elaborations of spatial and decorative patterns that, emphasising ostension and originality, propose outstanding elements of identification and imageability. 'Prosumers' are no longer meant to lose control and orientation, but supported in locating themselves while contributing to map these changing territories with easily intelligible spatial structures and distributed landmarks. At the urban scale, the logics of re-embedding the dis-embedded have produced solutions that creatively elaborate the ambivalent effort to conceive architectures that at the same time guarantee introversion and provide widely recognisable reference as memorable urban landmarks. Using the very same means that Foucault found in the extreme heterotopias dissipating reality by showing themselves as real illusions, powerful metaphors are now employed to combine effects of spatio-social integration with the ones of iconic boundlessness, resurrecting Bruno Taut's kaleidoscopic 'Stadtkrone' idea in the frame of the 'network city.' Paradigmatic examples are Jerde's 'Kanyon' in Istanbul, Hadid's Dongdaemun Design Plaza in Seoul and Renzo Piano's 'Il Vulcano Buono' in Naples. The first centre achieves the effect of boundlessness with its curvilinear gorge/main street providing dramatic spatial sequences, the second transfigures the civic into a striking seamless field of pixilation and perforation patterns, that last introduces a new prominent topography in the periurban semirural area of the city, asserting the iconic role of the new element by figuratively mirroring the main feature of the city skyline – the Vesuvio – and using the crater as central market piazza. Antithetic to them, yet still aimed to create "another space, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is disorderly, ill construed and sketchy" (Foucault, 2008: 21) are some recent projects of de-malling and 'mall-overs' that in the US and elsewhere repurpose declining centres in perfected, masterplanned communities (Dunham-Jones, 2011; Gibbs, 2012; Southworth, 2005; C. Wakefield, 2015). In any case, no matter form or location, most of these places have been able to become in a short lapse of time hyper-active, prime urban venues for the new form of social interaction

[3] A relevant example is Westfield's "digital lab," a centre created to develop new concepts to capture and elaborate emerging needs, such as the quick quality on-demand businessmen dining that triggered the development of "Dine on Time," an app enabling customers to precisely schedule food orders from different restaurants, registering the history of the past orders. (Westfield, 2015).

– as demonstrated by the findings on digital media usage in the newest Auckland malls discussed later in this paper.

3. The transition from enclaves to heterotopias in Auckland's urban space

In New Zealand the modern retail sector that developed following the North American model and, accordingly, in recent times its most innovative operators have also embraced the above-mentioned 'experiential turn.' However, the introduction of models consolidated overseas seems to trigger the growth of peculiar interpretations that respond to idiosyncratic aspects of its context. Two contrasting sets of structural background aspects of the Auckland context seem here particularly relevant: on one hand, globally, the city stands out socially and culturally for its high quality of life and education, as results from assessments of educational attainment (OECD, 2014), use of mobile digital technology[4] work-life balance,[5] multiculturalism,[6] high and overall liveability show (Economist [The], 2015; Mercer, 2015). On the other, it also presents problems in geographical polarisation of persistent social inequality (Atkinson, Salmond, & Crampton, 2014; Spoonley & Meares, 2011) and of development of urban commons, where social life is increasingly moving to centres dominated by the presence of large format retail clusters led by very active protagonists, such as Scentre Group - one of the world's leaders in the shopping mall industry (Colliers, 2015; Fairgray, 2013). Within this framework, from the economic perspective the recent development of the retail sector has seen a consistent and steady growth in revenues, shop numbers and total floor area,[7] leading to very positive forecasts for the coming decades.[8] This situation is mainly due to the combined effects of steadily increasing population[9] and moderate availability of retail area *per capita*, which we estimate in 2014 approximately two thirds of that in the US. In this respect, it is worth noting that even though these predictions may soon require a review that considers the above average performance of the country's online retail,[10] the positive trend is confirmed by consistent financial information released by

[4] New Zealanders' early adoption of new technology is reflected in the high use of smartphones, that in 2014 concern almost 60% of the population (Nielsen, 2015).

[5] According to the New Zealand Government "Guide to living & working in New Zealand," the Country "the work-life balance just right" (New Zealand Immigration, 2015).

[6] 2013 census data showed the increasing cultural diversity of Auckland's population, with the European progressively declining to 50% of the total (Social and Economic Research, 2014)

[7] A recent Colliers International report highlighted how, with the continuous growth of the real GDP of the retail sector, negative only in 2009, across New Zealand its development activity is rising in all its forms (Colliers, 2014, 2015).

[8] A study of the Research, Investigations and Monitoring Unit of the Auckland Council estimated that in 2012 the City's almost 4 million m2 of retail floor space offered a share of 7.79m^2 per household, and predicted a growth by 35 per cent between 2012 and 2031, with large format retail, already accounting for over one-third of the total, taking over half of retail floor space growth (Fairgray, 2013). The positive trend is also confirmed by a study by Colliers International that points out the success of high profile premises, with vacant space in regional centres at just 0.3%(Colliers, 2014; Ltd, 2008).

[9] For the next 30 years Statistics New Zealand has projected a medium population growth of 700,000, while the Auckland Council has developed the plan for its future development on the high population growth projection of one million people (Council, 2012).

[10] Recent data confirm the growth of New Zealand online shopping estimated by PwC in 2012, when the forecast of the future lustrum annual increment of its spending share, estimated at 5.9%, was forecasted to steadily lie in double digits. (BNZ, 2015; Sullivan, 2012).

the mall operators.[11] The overall growth, however, is not evenly distributed throughout the sector and shows a growing divide between a positive prime and a languishing secondary group. Main agents of the divide are the emergent 'new breeds' of retailers adept at adapting to changes, who continuously innovate the way goods and services are offered and spaces defined (Colliers, 2014, 2015). Since this difference in performance has a direct correlation to their ability to appraise, elaborate and implement the changes required by the 'experiential turn,' information concerning the different attitudes of operators is substantive in understanding the drivers of change in the conception and implementation of the new retail centres. This difference informs the way malls expand in physical scale, patronage and amenities, leading to varying intensities of the condition of dis-embedding, physical – e.g. the mismatch of their morphology and typology at both urban and building level – , social – e.g. the minimal social interaction caused by the high number of visitors (over 10 million per year in the largest ones) – and political – e.g. the concentration of amenities overpowers the role of the commons as civic agency. Yet, it also informs the way their expansion develop re-territorialising and re-embedding potentials – leading, for instance, to the strong 'experiential' transductions of the heterotopic 'othernesses' of the primary sector.

Comparatively analysed the different prime centres in Auckland – the A group composed by the top 10 shopping and recreational enclaves of the city (using the common ranking made by market analysts is articulated on three qualitative categories)[12]. The study included collection of information on the population, built environment and digital realm of eight A-malls and their urban environment,[13] seven of which located at the core of respective metropolitan centres (Albany, Henderson, Manukau, Sylvia Park, Newmarket, Botany and Manukau) and one in a town centre (Glenfield). The analysis of these enclaves and their context included detailed investigation of spatial structure and configuration, permeability and accessibility, physical and social infrastructures, building typology and morphology, function and use of spaces, articulation of people's practices, and spatial legibility and memorability. Each individual business and amenity of the selected enclaves was analysed and classified according to its basic characteristics, range of traded goods and provided services, business type (chain store/independent shop), targeted customer group/s, brand, location, floor area, operating times). Each activity of users (both traditional consumers and new prosumers) was then related to a pertinent class of practices belonging to one of the four macro categories: basic shopping (e.g.

[11] For example, financial information released by Scentre Group in 2014 state the continuing positive retail sales growth occurred in the previous 18 months and the yearly increase of its net operating income in New Zealand and Australia by 2.2%. The Group, which was created in 2014 from a Westfield Group reorganisation, operates six Westfield centres in Auckland and three others in New Zealand (Hamilton, Wellington and Christchurch) with a total of 1,410 retail outlets and 379,000 square metres of retail space), (Scentre, 2015).

[12] This classification of centres is a generic distinction widely used in the sector to distinguish structures that respectively have the best construction and location (A), high quality of one of the two above (B), and everything else (C).

[13] This study considers 8 of the 10 malls commonly identified as regional retail centres (the CBD and New Lynn are excluded as currently under relevant expansion and redevelopment). They are located in the administrative areas of the pre 2011 amalgamation cities of North Shore (Albany and Glenfield), Waitakere (Westcity) Auckland City (St. Lukes, Newmarket and Sylvia Park) and Manukau (Manukau and Botany). These malls are rather evenly distributed throughout the urban area, with relative distance ranging from ca. 4 to 7.5 km, comprised in an interval of total leasable area ranging from ca. 30,000 to 70,000 m², and comprehending a number of shops ranging from ca. 110 to 200.

groceries/groceries shopping), consumerist shopping (e.g. fashion store/fashion shopping), lifestyle consumption (e.g. movie theatre/cultural entertainment consumption) and socialising consumption (e.g. lifestyle hospitality services/socialising consumption). Data concerning activities and practices were collected during the three different seasons in 2014 and 2015 then normalised and analysed, and results synthetized in charts and maps. A summative map was then produced to visualise results with multilevel pie charts, where size variation comparatively reflects the relative score of each mall in the socialising consumption index (figure 2). Data on spatial representation were collected over 12 months (January-December 2014) in each mall using Instagram, the most popular online mobile photo and video sharing social media platform, using geo-tagging attributes. Data were critically analysed and classified according to characteristics of contents, tags and accompanying texts, focusing on character and memorability of spatial representation of the mall Results were synthetized in graphs and maps. A summative map was then produced to visualise results with multilevel pie charts, where the overall pie size variation reflects the relative normalised proportion between iconic representations of the enclaves and the thickness of each ring the relative number of image per class (figure 3). Detailed results of this part of the investigation are available in other publications (Manfredini & Hills, In print; Manfredini, Jenner, & Litterick, 2015).

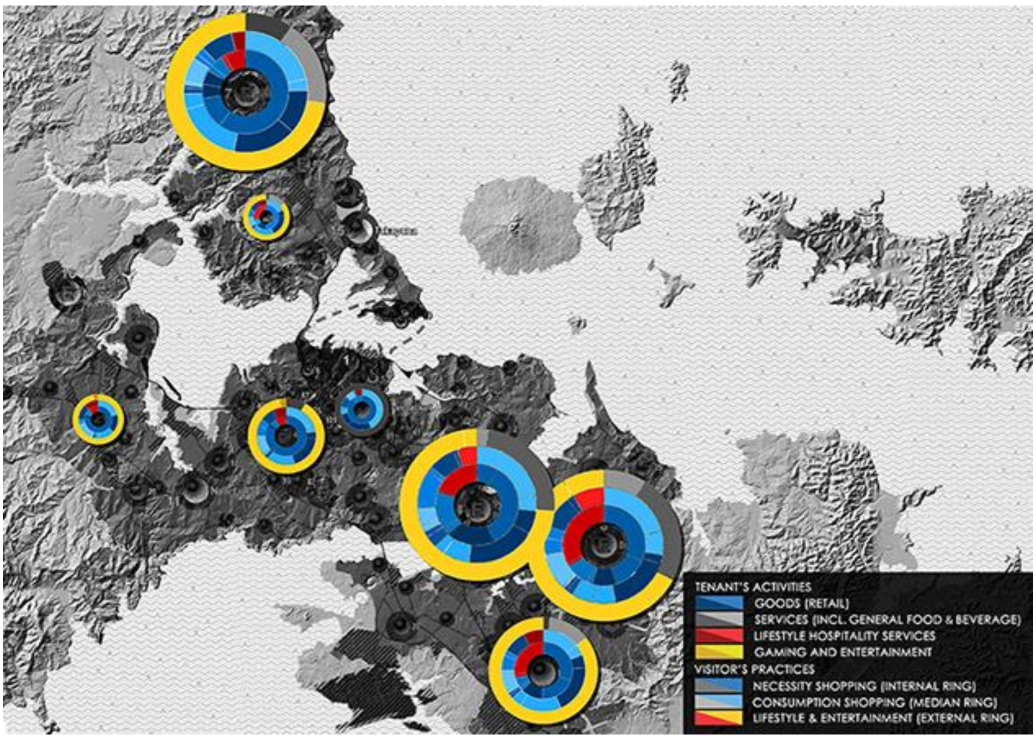

Figure 1: Functional integration and practices of Auckland's shopping enclaves.

Source: Manfredo Manfredini and Jisoo Jung

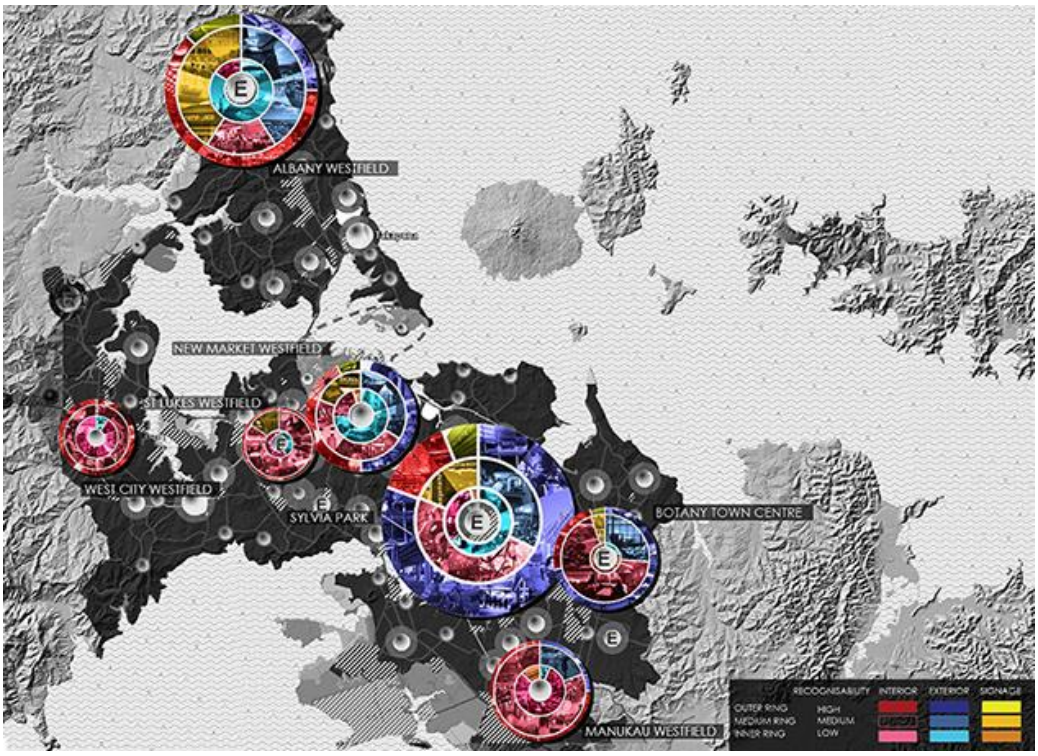

Figure 2: Spatial representation using 2014 Instagram data of Auckland's shopping enclaves. Source: Manfredo Manfredini and James Lee

Overall, findings confirmed the research hypothesis, consistently showing across the spectrum of analysis the anticipated overperformance of the three A+ centres concerning the heterotopic intensity of both conceived (physical and digital frameworks set by the operators), practiced (used by the new type of consumers) and described (interpreted, elaborated and shared by the new type of consumers) spatialities: data regarding the shopping enclosures in the three main areas – respectively addressing contribution to dis-embedment (urban fragmentation, community disconnection and non-placeness), re-embedment agency (enclavic integration, event-based socialisation and hyperspatial contextualisation) and emergence of new collective urban geography (consistence of representation, magnitude of participation, memorability of represented subjects) – are all coherent, showing the top three A+ malls – Westfield Albany, Sylvia Park and Botany Town Centre – outperforming the other across all indices.

4. About Auckland’s enclaves of shopping, entertainment and socialisation

At present, a distinctive feature of Auckland’s ten A malls is their state of major transition that, besides the property changes regarding eight of them,[14] includes

[14] In 2014, AMP Capital sold Botany Town Centre, while all Auckland’s Westfield mall have been in some way involved in property changes: in 2012 the group alienated a A mall, CBD’s Downtown Shopping Centre, two Bs, Pakuranga Plaza, and Takapuna’s Shore City; in 2014, sold a major share, 49%, of their top four malls (Westfield Albany, Westfield Manukau, Westfield Newmarket and Westfield St Lukes) to Singapore’s Sovereign Wealth Fund; in the near future it will sell WestCity in Henderson and Glenfield. (Gibson, 2014, 2015b; NZH, 2010, Wednesday 17 November)

important extension or redevelopment interventions that embrace the discussed 'experiential turn' affecting five of them. Extensions to upgrade existing closed malls to open and integrated lifestyle centres involve three structures: the semi-central St Lukes will double in size, with the addition of an open air mall;[15] the mall located in the Newmarket's shopping area has an expansion planned to include a large mall extension and the development of a commercial precinct on adjacent public streets;[16] and Lynn Mall is currently expanding to include a new lifestyle and entertainment precinct with a seven-theatre cinema complex and a range of cafes and restaurants (Gibson, 2015a). One mall, the Downtown Shopping Centre, will be replaced with a new development expanding onto a recently alienated public square, located at the very centre of the CBD, to "kick-off the creation of a world-class downtown area" including new open public space and transport facilities. (Auckland Council, 2014; Matt, 2015). The last one, Sylvia Park – the currently largest mall in the Country –, is planning an addition to expand of approximately one third its leasable area (Gibson, 2015c). Concerning mall redevelopments, a relatively minor phenomenon, yet relevant as the first consistent de-malling scheme in Auckland, involves a medium size centre, Pakuranga Plaza, with major problems of primary trade area overlaps, since two main competitors built major centres in its proximity (the A+ malls Sylvia Park and Botany Town Centre, both with more than double its retail space).[17] Its proprietor, which changed twice in 2012-2014, intends to transform the existing mall area to create a proper town centre with "high quality civic and community amenities, and [...] a greater mix of uses" (Auckland Council & Howick Local Board, 2015).

Within this scenario, it is relevant to report the main characteristics of the three A+ malls that strongly outperform the others in both the investigated areas of the emerging post-consumerist heterotopic condition: practiced spatialities (with the emerging socialisation component) and described spatialities (with the emerging memorability component). These, the largest and newest[18] flagships of competing organisations, are conceived, planned, developed and managed in very similar ways, and are designed with semi-site-specific semi-open plans. They are strategically located in different quadrants of the recently urbanised periphery: Sylvia Park[19] in the south, Westfield Albany[20] in the north and Botany Town Centre[21] in the east. These

[15] The successfully submitted expansion plan of St Lukes includes the increases of the mall's space from 4.5ha up to 9.2ha – well above the ca. 7ha Sylvia Park, currently the largest mall in the country.

[16] Westfield expansion in Newmarket has already gained building consent and includes the construction of a detached new building across a public street, Mortimer Pass, which is seen by Scentre Group as key to ultimately deliver "one fully integrated retail experience", complementing with a tripartite hybrid precinct the retail offer in the second largest shopping area of the central part of the city (Crossley, 2009).

[17] Sylvia Park and Botany town Centre are respectively at 2.5 and 4 Km distance from the Centre.

[18] The recently completed NortWest Shopping Centre, opened in October 2015, is a medium size mall and was not part of this research.

[19] Sylvia Park, designed by Jasmax and NH Architecture, opened in 2006, owned and managed by Kiwi Property, is the largest mall in the Country, with approximately 70,000 m² of leasable area, 190 stores and 4000 car parking spaces. It is developed on a single axis, of more than 600 meters in length, interrupted by an open courtyard and a highway viaduct. It is mainly on one level, with some parts on two, hosting three main anchor tenants and a cinema. Sylvia Park is located at the intersection of two mayor major arteries, the Southern Motorway and the South-Eastern Highway, and in proximity to a railway station on the Country's main line.

[20] Westfield Albany, designed by Woodhams, Meikle and Zhan, Westfield Design and JCY Architects, was entirely opened 2008. It is owned (51%) and managed by Scentre Group, and is the largest mall in the North Shore with approximately 53,000 m² of leasable area, 145 stores and 2300 car parking spaces. It is developed on three axes converging at the main entrance, leading to the three main

centres have also very active managements that secure their adoption of the new experiential paradigm providing multidimensional activities at all levels, from macro (e.g. coordinating major seasonal events) to micro (e.g. curating the emotional labour of staff), with a strong effort in integrating digital and traditional infrastructure and communication. Concerning mediated communication, the high intensity of this activity is indeed a very distinctive feature of these A+ malls as the sheer number of activated internet services, posts, and followers on social media shows[22]. With reference to traditional communication, these malls include the highest presence of themed spaces, both in the branded chain shops and in the in-between common spaces. Common space theming generally focuses on the most obvious re-embedding narratives: the domestic and the civic. The first is usually found in small scale environments of pseudo-private homely cosiness, such as the rest-areas interspersed throughout the aisles. Inside Sylvia Park, rest-areas help set the tone of each specific retail precinct, being either 'lordly' in the high end fashion area (with timber floor, high backed upholstered leather armchairs and ottomans) or 'informal' in the young areas (with boldly coloured carpets and varieties of modern chairs and curved seats). The second is typically used to inform the grand civic gestures, proposed with celebratory introverted plazas and activated streets, as in the stately '*patte d'oie*' urban structure arranged around the self-proclaimed 'Town Square' of the Botany Town Centre, with an ample round open space for 'cappuccino parterres', a sprinkling fountain and vibrant façade scenery of juxtaposed patches in different styles.

These A+ malls are the only ones where the all-encompassing ordinariness of civic life is continuously complemented by special scripted events, such as compelling street shows, choreographed performance series and curated grassroots manifestations. These events, mainly inspired by traditional urban life, aim at instigating a certain sense of community and belonging. Examples in Botany Town Centre have included programmes like the 2015 'Yank Tank Thursdays,' showing American Classic Cars and Motorbikes on the first Thursday of every second month; the 2012 ceremonial start of the Silver Fern Rally, one of the major New Zealand motorsport events; and extensive animation programmes (particularly popular was the 2010 one with performances of 20 meticulously selected buskers). Free community-based programmes are also part of this and proposed in a very ample set of activities, ranging from farmers' markets to non-competitive running events, and from parenting groups to wellness activities, such as the morning ones offered at

---

anchor tenants and a cinema. It is mainly on one level, with some parts on two and has an open plaza facing the Albany Lakes Civic Park. Westfield Albany is situated 300 metres away from the Albany expressway and 1.3 kilometres from an exit of the State Highway 1, the main New Zealand motorway.

[21] Botany town centre, designed by Altoon + Porter and Hames Sharley, opened in 2001, is the largest mall in East Auckland. It is owned by PSP Investments, Canada, and managed by AMP Capital. It has approximately 200 shops and 2400 car parking spaces. It is developed around a central open-air square and has two main anchor tenants and a cinema. It is mainly on one level, with some parts on two. Botany Town Centre is located near the junction of two main arteries of East Auckland, Ti Rakau Drive & Te Irirangi Drive, at 6.4 km from the closest exit of State Highway 1 exit.

[22] A relevant difference emerges also between their reaching values of followers of the most popular platform, Facebook, ranging from Sylvia Park's 16.000 to Botany Town Centre's 6,337, as of August 2015. Concerning Westfield malls, it is very difficult to estimate the number of followers of each centre, since they are all merged in a single account.

Sylvia Park's for 'Mums with Bubs' and 'Mall Fit' walking squads. [23] The initiative of the Asian style night markets deserves special mention. The phenomenon started in 2009 and provides an extraordinary re-doubling of the mall introversion: it is a genuine and independent grassroots event series migrating every night of the week to a different shopping site (e.g. Wednesday Botany Town Centre, Saturday Pakuranga Plaza and Sunday Westfield Glenfield) that very successfully transforms the empty carparks from desolate and deserted tarmacs into the most vibrant gathering places on the periphery (ANM, 2015). Nevertheless, the places with high heterotopic conditions exacerbate the criticalities of their constitutive contradiction between their being formally instituted as civic poles, but lacking in adequate social infrastructure and political life. The epitome of this are the urbanely disengaged and commodified spaces of the Botany Town Centre square and Albany Civic Plaza, and conversely the missing link between the public Manukau Plaza and its abutting mall. Yet, if the shift from goods and services to experiential realms seems to accomplish the complete commodification of large swaths of the public dimension of social life, as envisioned by some severe critics of the society of spectacle (Debord, 1994; Harvey, 2006; Zukin, 2010), it also deepens the responsibility of the conceiving actors (developers, authorities, planners and designers) in dealing with the physical structures and codes of meaning of these spaces which take on growing social and cultural roles, as this research aims to show. Taking this responsibility requires a fundamental re-thinking of the way we plan and manage these "eruptions of the extraordinary into the everyday" (Classen, 1996: 52), bringing "normality in the (atopic) network space" (Dehaene & De Cauter, 2008: 5), feeding our contemporary anxieties of choice and attenuating the power of actuality (Crewe, 2003: 353; Jansson, 2002; Slater & Tonkiss, 2001: 191). Only through this it will be possible to guarantee that the democratising agency liberated with the advent of the new communication technologies could lead to a proper enactment of the Foucauldian illusionary model that comprises the exceptional dimension of imagination and pleasure also in enclavic new places "where lifestyle meets the latest style."[24] Indeed this motto, an allegory and emblem of the permanent dimension of becoming, ratifies the message proposed by the Auckland's public administration that, accordingly, has included the leading malls under the category 'Experience' in the list of desirable places to visit in the city,[25] and proposed Botany Town Centre as a 'major attraction' for the large Howick Local Board area (Council & Board).

5. References

Amin, A., & Thrift, N. (2002). Cities: Reimagining the urban. Cambridge: Polity.

[23] "Mums with Bubs" and "Mall Fit" are community programmes designed respectively "to create a central hub for parents with children to [...] enjoy coffee and make new friends" (Kiwi Property, 2015b), and "to encourage customers to use the Centre as a fun way of getting fit" (Kiwi Property, 2015a).

[24] This large scale statement is located on the freestanding gate at the main carpark entrance to the St Lukes mall.

[25] The lived emotional and esthetic component of a mall visit is also recognised by the ATEED, the economic Council-controlled growth agency for the Auckland region, with the introduction of 4 mall destinations (Sylvia Park, Botany Town Centre, the Westfield centres, and the DressSmart fashion outlet) in the list of desirable place to visit in Auckland, under the category "Experience." See http://www.aucklandnz.com/things-to-do

ANM. (2015). Auckland Night Markets: Food, fashion, family-fun.   Retrieved 2015, from http://www.aucklandnightmarket.co.nz/locations/

Arnold, M. J., & Reynolds, K. E. (2003). Hedonic shopping motivations. Journal of Retailing, 79(2), 77-95.

Arnold, M. J., & Reynolds, K. E. (2009). Affect and retail shopping behavior: Understanding the role of mood regulation and regulatory focus. Journal of Retailing, 85(3), 308-320.

Atkinson, J., Salmond, C., & Crampton, P. (2014). NZDep2013 Index of deprivation. New Zealand, Ministry of Health

Auckland Council. (2014). Introduction to the Downtown Framework.   Retrieved

Pakuranga Town Centre Masterplan (2015).

Benjamin, W. (2002 [1935]). “Paris, the Capital of the Nineteenth Century” The Arcades Project. Cambridge Massachusetts, and London, England: Harvard University Press.

Bloch, P. H., Ridgway, N. M., & Dawson, S. A. (1994). The shopping mall as consumer habitat. Journal of Retailing, 70(1), 23-42.

BNZ. (2015). Online Retail Sales Report Monthly Update.   Retrieved 18.06.2015, from http://www.statista.com/search/?q=BNZ%2C%20Online%20Retail%20Sales%20Report%20Monthly%20Update%2C%2025%20June%202015%2C

Böhme, G. (2012). Flanieren in der Shoppingmall: das Nordwestzentrum in Frankfurt. In C. Heibach (Ed.), Atmosphären: Dimensionen eines diffusen Phänomens (pp. 249-258). Munich: Fink

Bryman, A. (2004). The Disneyization of society. London: Sage.

Chung, C. J., Inaba, J., Koolhaas, R., Leong, S. T., Chang, B., & Harvard University, G. S. o. D. (2001). Great leap forward. Cologne: Taschen ; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Design School.

Classen, C. (1996). Sugar cane, Coca-Cola and hypermarkets: consumption and surrealism in the Argentine north-west. In D. Howes (Ed.), Cross-cultural consumption: global markets: local realities (pp. 20–38). London: Routledge.

Colliers, I. (2014). Retail adept at adapting, New Zealand Retail 2014, Highlights. Retrieved from http://www.colliers.co.nz/find%20research/retail/nz%20retail%20report%202014/

Colliers, I. (2015). New Zealand Retail 2015, Retail Reality Check. Auckland: Collers International.

Council, A. (2012). The Auckland Plan. Retrieved from http://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/EN/planspoliciesprojects/plansstrategies/theaucklandplan/Documents/aucklandplanenglish.pdf

Council, A., & Board, H. L. About the Howick area. Retrieved 27.09.15,

Crawford, M. (1992). The world in a shopping mall Variations on a theme park: The new American city and the end of public space (pp. 3-30). New York: Hill and Wang.

Crewe, L. (2003). Geographies of retailing and consumption: markets in motion. Progress in Human Geography, 27(3), 352-362.

Crossley, J. (2009). Westfield wins council approval for Newmarket expansion National Business Review (Tuesday June 16).

Debord, G. (1994). The Society of the Spectacle. New York: Zone Books.

Dehaene, M., & De Cauter, L. (2008). Heterotopia in a postcivil society. In M. Dehaene & L. De Cauter (Eds.), Heterotopia and the city: public space in a postcivil society (pp. 3-9). New York: Routledge.

Dovey, K. (1999). Framing Places: Mediating power in built form. New York: Routledge.

Dunham-Jones, E. a. J. W. (2011). Retrofitting Suburbia: Urban Design Solutions for Redesigning Suburbs: John Wiley & Sons.

Economist [The], D. T. (2015). The world's most 'lievable' cities.

El Hedhli, K., Chebat, J.-C., & Sirgy, M. J. (2013). Shopping well-being at the mall: Construct, antecedents, and consequences. Journal of Business Research, 66(7 July), 856–863.

eMarketer. (2015). Worldwide Retail Ecommerce Sales: eMarketer's Estimates and Forecast, 2013-2018.

Fairgray, S. (2013). Auckland Retail Economic Evidence Base. Retrieved from www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/.../tr2013046aucklandretaileconomicevidencebase

Feinberg, R. A., & Meoli, J. (1991). A brief history of the mall. Advances in consumer research, 18(1), 426–427.

Foucault, M. (2008). Of other spaces (1967). In M. Dehaene & L. De Cauter (Eds.), Heterotopia and the city (pp. 13-29). New York: Routledge.

Gibbs, R. J. (2012). Principles of Urban Retail Planning and Development: John Wiley & Sons.

Gibson, A. (2014, 22 July). Singapore buys into NZ malls, NZ Herald.

Gibson, A. (2015a). Auckland's Lynn Mall expansion gets under way, New Zealand Herald.

Gibson, A. (2015b). Australians to sell four NZ Westfield malls, NZ Herald. Retrieved from

Gibson, A. (2015c, Wednesday Oct 14, 2015). Sylvia Park $200m expansion unveiled, New Zealand Herald.

Giddens, A. (1991). Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age: Stanford University Press.

Goss, J. (1993). The “magic of the mall”: an analysis of form, function, and meaning in the contemporary retail built environment. Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 83(1), 18-47.

Group, S. (2015). 2014 Full Year Results. Retrieved from http://2amoob1qhep81coj5547cdmv.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/SCG-results-presentation-FINAL.pdf

Harvey, D. (2006). The political economy of public space. In N. Smith & S. Low (Eds.), The politics of public space (pp. 17-34). New York: Routledge.

Jameson, F. (1984). Postmodernism, or the cultural logic of late capitalism. New left review, 146 (July/August), 53-92.

Jansson, A. (2002). The mediatisation of consumption. Journal of Consumer Culture, 2(1), 5-31.

Johnson, L. (2014). This Innovation Lab Is Designing the Mall of the Future Food court delivery and shoppable screens. Adweek, November 20

Kang, J., & Cuff, D. (2005). Pervasive computing: embedding the public sphere. Wash. & Lee L. Rev., 62, 93-146.

Kiwi Property. (2015a,b). Mall Fit, Mums with Bubs. Retrieved 23/07/2015, from http://www.sylviapark.org/mall-fit

Koolhaas, R. (2001). 'Junkspace'. In C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong & B. Chang (Eds.), The Harvard Guide to Shopping (pp. 958–971). Cologne, Cambridge, Mass.: Taschen, Harvard Design School.

Ltd, M. E. (2008). Auckland City and Auckland Region's Emerging Retail Trends and Future Retail Needs Assessment. . In Knowledge Auckland. Retrieved from www.itsmybackyard.co.nz/resources/research-retailresearchreport.pdf

Manfredini, M., & Hills, A. (In print). Auckland public space and the evolution of the integrated enclosures of spectacle and consumption. In L. Bravo (Ed.), Intersections. Florence: The University of Florence Press.

Manfredini, M., Jenner, R., & Litterick, P. (2015). New technologies, social media and spatial representations: Auckland's public space of spectacle and consumption. Paper presented at the Applied Collaboration, 8th International Conference and Exhibition of the Association of Architecture Schools of Australasia, Christchurch.

Manfredini, M., Yuen, G., Fung, K., & Wu, S. (2012. The City of Phantasmagorias Spatial Issues in Macau's Urban Landscape of Spectacle and Consumption. Paper presented at the The Production of Place, University of East London, Docklands Campus. Retrieved from http://www.tpop2012.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/tpop2012_The-City-of-Phantasmagorias.pdf

Matt, L. (2015). Downtown Agreement sorted Transportblog.co.nz.

Mercer. (2015). 2015 Quality of living survey. Retrieved 4 April 2015, 2015, from http://www.uk.mercer.com/newsroom/2015-quality-of-living-survey.html

Miles, S. (2010). Spaces for consumption: pleasure and placelessness in the post-industrial city. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.

Moin, D. (2014). Digital kiosks fuse in-store and online shopping. WWD, Retail news, Marketing and consumer behavior

New Zealand Immigration. (2015). Balanced lifestyle. Retrieved from https://www.newzealandnow.govt.nz/why-choose-nz/balanced-lifestyle

Ng, C. F. (2003). Satisfying shoppers' psychological needs: from public market to cybermall. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 23 (4), 439–455.

Nielsen. (2015). New Zealand Multi-screen Report.

NZH. (2010, Wednesday 17 November). St Lukes mall expansion approved, New Zealand Herald.

OECD. (2014). Education at a Glance 2014: OECD Indicators.

Richards, G., & Palmer, R. (2012). Eventful cities: Routledge.

Rigby, D. (2011). The future of shopping. Harvard Business Review, 89(12), 65-76.

Ritzer, G. (1999). Enchanting a Disenchanted World: Revolutionizing the Means of Consumption. London: Pine Forge Press.

Ritzer, G. (2013). Prosumption: Evolution, revolution, or eternal return of the same? Journal of Consumer Culture, 1469540513509641.

Ritzer, G., Dean, P., & Jurgenson, N. (2012). The coming of age of the prosumer. American Behavioral Scientist, 56(4), 379-398.

Rothman, H. (2002). Neon metropolis: How Las Vegas started the twenty-first century. New York: Routledge.

Sacco, P. L. (2011). Culture 3.0: A new perspective for the EU 2014-2020 structural funds programming.

Schwartz, R., & Hochman, N. (2014). The Social Media Life of Public Spaces: Reading Places Through the Lens of Geo-Tagged Data. In R. Wilken & G. Goggin (Eds.), Locative Media. New York: Routledge.

Sennett, R. (1977). The fall of the public man. New York : : Knopf.

Shane, D. G. (2005). Recombinant urbanism: conceptual modeling in architecture, urban design, and city theory: Wiley Chichester.

Simmel, G. (2002 [1903]). The Metropolis and Mental Life. In G. B. a. S. Watson (Ed.), The Blackwell City Reader. Oxford and Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Slater, D., & Tonkiss, F. (2001). Market society. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Social and Economic Research, I. a. M. U., Auckland Council. (2014). Auckland Profile - Initial results from the 2013 Census. Retrieved

Soukup, C. (2012). The Postmodern Ethnographic Flaneur and the Study of HyperMediated Everyday Life. Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 42(2), 226–254.

Southworth, M. (2005). Reinventing main street: From mall to townscape mall. Journal of Urban Design, 10(2), 151-170.

Spoonley, P., & Meares, C. L. (2011). Laissez-Faire Multiculturalism and Relational Embeddedness: Ethnic Precincts in Auckland. Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal, 3(1), 42-64.

Stikker, M. (2013). Public Domain 4.0. In D. Hemment, Thompson, B., de Vicente, J.L., Cooper, R (Ed.), Digital Public Space. Manchester: Future Everything.

Sullivan, F. a. (2012). Australian and New Zealand online shopping market and digital insights An executive overview Retrieved from https://www.yumpu.com/en/document/view/39018756/the-rapid-growth-of-online-shopping-is-driving-structural-pwc

Voyce, M. (2006). Shopping malls in Australia. The end of public space and the rise of ‘consumerist citizenship’? Journal of sociology, 42(3), 269-286.

Wakefield, C. (2015). Global cities retail-unitedstates. Retrieved from http://cwglobalretailguide.com/unitedstates/

Wakefield, K. L., & Baker, J. (1998). Excitement at the mall: determinants and effects on shopping response. Journal of Retailing, 74(4), 515-539.

Wedel, M., & Kamakura, W. A. (2000). Market Segmentation: Conceptual Methodological Foundations (Second Ed.). Boston: Kluwer Academic.

Westfield. (2015). Dine on Time.   Retrieved

Westfield Labs. (2015). Converging digital shoppers with physical retail.   Retrieved from http://www.westfieldlabs.com

Zukin, S. (1995). The Cultures of Cities. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Zukin, S. (2010). Naked city: the death and life of authentic urban places. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.