

MALLING:

A Postmodern landscape

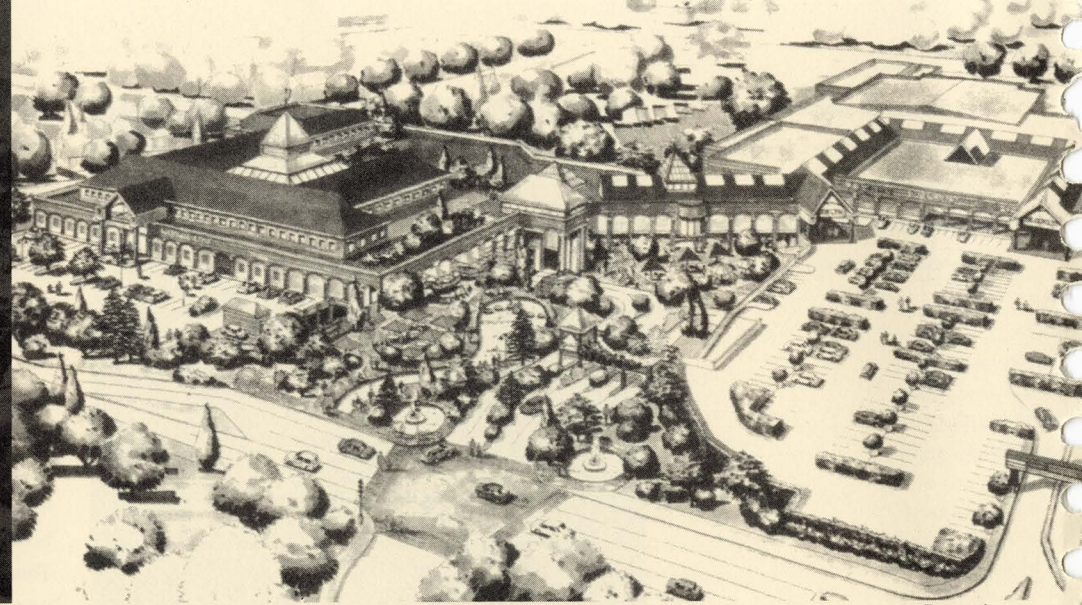


Figure 1

Jeanne van Eeden

The recent development of the Brooklyn Mall in Pretoria is typical and indeed symptomatic of the diversification of the shopping, entertainment and leisure industry in South Africa. Changes in the political arena have led to an expansion of the hospitality industry with more choices being offered to sophisticated consumers. As Magliolo (1998:31) points out 'leisure and information [are] becoming the fastest-growing markets in the world today'. It is significant that shopping malls, as combined sites of leisure and commerce, increasingly operate as tourist attractions, and this may partly explain the refurbishment or extension of the malls at Sunnypark, Barclay Square, Arcadia Centre, Menlyn Park and Hatfield Plaza in Pretoria. This article contextualises the suburban mall as an example of Postmodern post-industrial capitalism, which has been influenced by the Disney prototype of themed entertainment. To illustrate the occurrence of *mall*ing, specific reference is made to the new Brooklyn Mall (1997, figure 1), although the arguments can equally be applied to other new malls in Pretoria.¹ This article demonstrates that Postmodern malls have changed the face of the contemporary landscape: not only do they contribute to the creation of class and economic identity, they also impart the notion of shopping as a social activity. In conclusion, the article intimates the future of the shopping mall, bearing in mind the impending increase of electronic shopping on the Internet, which many see as a threat to the traditional mall and its role in contemporary popular culture.²

LANDSCAPES OF IDEOLOGY:

THE MALL AS POSTMODERN TEXT

The academic discourses generated by Postmodernism, as influenced by a resolutely politicised strain of Cultural Studies, tend to focus on the domains in which popular culture is enacted and validated. Urban spaces of entertainment in particular have become popular research topics.

Zukin (1991:16) expands the (traditional) concept *landscape* as 'physical surroundings' to include

an ensemble of material and social practices and their symbolic representation ... it connotes the entire panorama that we see: both the landscape of the powerful - cathedrals, factories, and skyscrapers - and the subordinate, resistant, or expressive vernacular of the powerless - village chapels, shantytowns, and tenements. A landscape mediates, both symbolically and materially, between the socio-spatial differentiation of capital implied by market and the socio-spatial homogeneity of labor suggested by place.

Zukin (1991) is interested in the configuration of landscapes of economic power, as sites of commodification and consumption which appropriate public space and serve the ideologies of class and capital. She stresses that the contemporary landscape, as modified by the demands of capitalism, has become 'the major cultural product of our time' (Zukin 1991:268).

A present-day landscape that has inspired considerable debate, and which may serve as an example of Zukin's theses, is the shopping mall. In 1983 Kowinski wrote a thought-provoking seminal article concerning the *mall*ing of America. According to Kowinski (1983:137) the expansion of 'the consumer culture's Eden, the post-urban cradle, the womb, the mall' dates from the 1960s in the United States. The mall rapidly became the emblem of late-twentieth-century consumer culture since it offered 'virtual one-stop culture, providing a cornucopia of products nestled in an ecology of community, entertainment and societal identity' (Kowinski 1983:137). What Kowinski identifies here is cardinal to understanding the mall environment, since it offers much more than just a space in which shopping takes place: it entices with romance, excitement, escapism, images of status, and promises of sophisticated experiences and social cohesion.

Although Fiske (1989:13) admits that the characterisation of malls as 'cathedrals of consumption ... [indicating a] metaphor on consumerism as a religion, in which commodities become the icons of worship' may be too simplistic, malls nonetheless generally function as new public spaces.³ The mall is popular because it creates a self-contained, hermetic and secure space wherein fantasies may be enacted. It offers a range of services and entertainment besides shopping. Although it is dedicated almost exclusively to the needs of merchandising, a mall can

simultaneously evoke the nostalgic image of community life of the ancient market-place (Geist & Nachbar 1983: 98). Kowinski (1983:144) alludes to the fact that malls fulfil consumer cravings for shopping-as-entertainment, creating a *never-never land* of fantasy and contemporary myth. Similarly, Zelinsky (1990:48) points out that whereas in the past most entertainment had been the domain of the wealthy aristocracy, consumer culture now creates make-believe, fanciful panoramas such as the mall in which access to the imaginary impulse is democratised in the landscape.

In referring to the need to create shared public landscapes of entertainment that are 'more real than the real thing', Zelinsky (1990:47) implicitly alludes to the Postmodern simulacrum that produces hyperreal, mythical spaces.⁴ The mall arouses the notion of a utopian space that is totally detached from the work environment (Yoshimoto 1994:189); it encourages escapist urges in 'fantasy-laden places that have been frankly commercial from the outset' (Zelinsky 1990:48). Malls excel in fabricating inner-directed environments that are constituted on the idea of timelessness by suspending belief in space, time and weather (Crawford 1992: 16). Many malls are *themed* simulacra, that is, they recreate an environment built around a fictional text, a historical location, or a futuristic setting (Crawford 1992:16). Kowinski (1983:143) indicates that malls can thus accommodate idealised images of the small-town street and embody nostalgic themes, or they can create hybrids that evoke the sophistication of European city plazas.⁵ Above all, the mall does not signify moderation: Andersen (1994:41) characterises malls as 'the fin-de-siècle scourge of genuine Main Streets ... preposterous Vegas extravaganzas ... themed, entertainment driven, all-inclusive, overwhelming'.

POSTMODERN CONSUMPTION AND ENTERTAINMENT

Western Postmodernism has been typified as a late stage of consumer capitalism, corresponding to a shift from industrial production to post-industrial consump-

tion. Postmodernism arose in response to the paradigm shift embodied by the post-World War II period, and established a way of life based on instant gratification, spectacle, entertainment and consumption. The needs of capital have induced shopping malls, museums, and the leisure and tourism industries to converge, making large areas of the built environment showcases for urban entertainment and display (Goudie, Kilian & Dodson 1995:28).

The Postmodern experience is still fundamentally a Western, first world phenomenon, and its validity in other regions of the world has been questioned by critics such as Sardar (1993). Root (1996:viii) suggests that Postmodernism, as the ideology of capitalism and cultural imperialism, furthermore serves to objectify and exploit the West's Others, since 'the museum collapses into the shopping mall [and] cultural difference becomes another commodity to be bought and sold'. Postmodernism is hence conventionally underpinned by the ideology of (white), patriarchal global capitalism and as such upholds its interests via sophisticated forms of social power and control.⁶ The correlations between shopping, leisure and entertainment have meant that even (Postmodern) multiculturalism has been appropriated in the service of capitalist ideology (Willis 1995b:43).

Zukin (1991:4) points out that capitalism is driven by the impulse of periodic innovation, creating new desires that engender 'dramatically different landscapes of economic power'. It has been demonstrated that whilst conveying the illusion of freedom, the Postmodern mall is in reality the site of constant electronic surveillance and controlled consumption (Urry 1990:149). The mall is the model of the commodification of both urban experience and entertainment, whereby architecture itself is used as a device to encourage consumption (Yoshimoto 1994: 189; Willis 1995a:181).⁷ The mall accordingly thrives in the urban landscape that is geared to the consumption of images as well as commodities (Zukin 1991:38).

Zukin (1991:254) argues persuasively that malls sustain a capitalist ideology:

the shopping mall, the department store, and the museum foster a liminality that removes the distinctions between mercantile display and public exhibition. The surrounding environment - the city, the corporate suburb, and the fantasy center - supports a liminality between nature and culture, market and pleasure, work and leisure, which hides the key role of centralized economic power.

This supports the view that malls function as sites of social control, although control is exerted over consumption instead of production. Malls bear the interests of the economically and ideologically dominant stratum, and consequently function hegemonically to entrench the capitalist status quo (Fiske 1989:2).⁸

The sociological and economic critique of capitalism has been underscored lately by the United Nations annual Human Development Report which emphasised the growing global chasm between the rich and the poor (Elliott 1998:26). Elliott (1998:26) points out that 'a billion people have been left out of the consumption boom of the past two decades', and particularly disturbing is the finding that '[w]ith consumption increasing sixfold in the past 20 years and doubling in the past 10, people in Europe and North America now spend \$37-billion a year on pet food, perfumes and cosmetics'. These patterns of frenzied Postmodern consumption may be likened to a consumptive disease, creating obsessive, cannibalistic desires that can only be satisfied by the demands of capitalism (Root 1996).

Urry (1990:149) argues that since malls are increasingly concerned with leisure, entertainment and tourism in addition to shopping, a new generation of 'post-shoppers' has been engendered. He defines post-shoppers as 'people who play at being consumers in complex, self-conscious mockery' (Urry 1990:149). This indicates the rise of new patterns of urban behaviour, analogous to *proletarian shopping* (a type of window shopping) whereby the sensuous consumption of images and mall space,

but not commodities, is suggested (Fiske 1989:16-17). Fiske (1989:19-25), leaning heavily on de Certeau's ideas, suggests that popular culture is regularly experienced by people as a site of struggle as it can simultaneously serve capitalist ideology and yet also resist it: *proletarian shopping* is a typical example of opposition to a dominant capitalist ideology. Moreover, it must be remembered that malls are not authentic public spaces, but rather the domain of private enterprise (Willis 1995a: 181).

DISNEYFIED SPACES AND THE MALL AS THEME PARK

Contemporary shopping malls owe much to the Disney approach to *themeing* or the narrativisation of space, so much so that critics maintain that it is 'becoming difficult to distinguish shopping malls from theme parks' (Yoshimoto 1994:188). Crawford (1992:16) suggests that theme parks and malls tend to converge since malls commonly entertain, and conversely theme parks function as disguised marketplaces. Both theme parks and malls produce spaces that are easy to access and self-contained, in which the creation of a uniform mood or ambience is the goal (King 1981:60). Popcorn's (1991:35) view that 'even shopping malls ... are taking on the aura of adult amusement parks' refers to the commodification of fantasy, spectacle and entertainment that serves to stimulate further consumption (Crawford 1992:15-16).

Disney strategies of planning and crowd management have affected international mall, theatre, office, museum and office design, and various townscape are directly modelled on Disneyland's Main Street (King 1981:60; Crawford 1992:29). Many critics are concerned with the subsequent blurring of the distinction between entertainment and merchandising, underpinning 'the mutually reinforcing symbiosis of the Disneyland/world/mall and the implosive reality of television' (Bukatman 1991:67). This reading of the world-as-mall (or equally mall-as-world) reflects the desire of the Postmodern mall (and mega-mall) to create a centralised domain of shopping and entertainment. The world as a source of

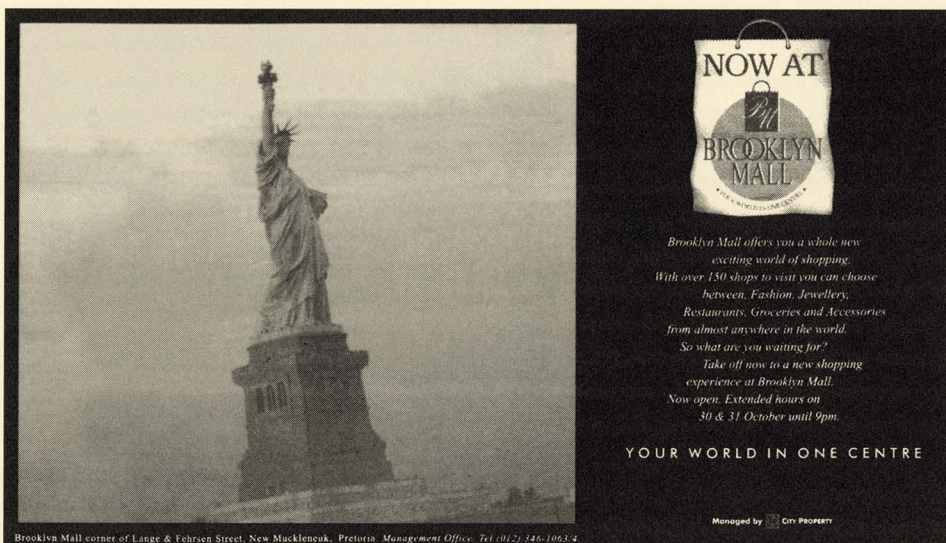


Figure 2 infinite fantasy is recreated under one roof, and 'barriers between real and fake, near and far, dissolve as history, nature, technology, are indifferently processed by the mall's fantasy machine' (Crawford 1992:4). The paradigm for the mall-as-world is the enormous West Edmonton Mall in Canada, the third most popular tourist attraction in North America, after the Disney theme parks (Urry 1990:147).

As competition between malls becomes fiercer, they are compelled to seek further forms of attraction for visitors. Most malls thus offer entertainments ranging from cinemas to theme rides and miniature golf courses, invoking connotations of Disney or Hollywood-style entertainment.⁹ World-wide, the mall is becoming a tourist trap, especially those malls in reconstructed waterfront developments, which create a communal dreamscape or landscape of fantasy that invariably fictionalises the past.¹⁰ Walsh (1992:114) points out that shopping tends to become more lucrative when it is transposed to settings from the past. Many critics have articulated their concern with the overwhelming convergence between commercial interests and culture as epitomised by the shopping mall (Walsh 1992:115). They argue that this leads to the uncomfortable commodification of history and culture, 'imposing an exchange of attributes between the museum and the shopping mall, between commerce and culture' (Crawford 1992:30). It has indeed become

common to decontextualise the past in order to create landscapes of consumption (Zukin 1991:20).

THE BROOKLYN MALL

The original Brooklyn Centre was opened in 1989 in the high density, affluent eastern suburbs of Pretoria. Proving to be popular and too small, it was upgraded, refurbished and extended, opening on 29 October 1997 as the new Brooklyn Mall. Guests at the opening included the Mayor of Pretoria and celebrities such as Mr South Africa, Michael Mol (*Pretoria News* 31 October 1997:9). The facelift and extension project, which increased the retail space to 47,000 square metres, cost R175-million (*Brooklyn Mall* promotional newspaper 1997:s.p.). The Brooklyn Mall now comprises 150 shops, services, restaurants and a nine-hole adventure golf course (*Pretoria News* 31 October 1997:9). At the time of writing, a *Cinema Nouveau* art film complex is under construction.

The printed advertisements (figure 2) for the Brooklyn Mall used the Statue of Liberty to announce its new identity, and proclaimed:

Brooklyn mall offers you a whole new exciting world of shopping. With over 150 shops to visit you can choose between, Fashion, Jewellery, Restaurants, Groceries and Accessories from almost anywhere in the world. So what are you waiting for? Take off now to a new shopping experience at Brooklyn Mall ...YOUR WORLD IN ONE CENTRE (*Pretoria News Interval* 31 October 1997:3).

This prospect, namely 'Your world in one centre' forms part of the Brooklyn Mall logo (figure 2), which consists of a dusky pink circle (obviously suggesting the world) with a stylised shopping bag. The Group Chairman of City Property and Richway Retail Properties further played on the idea of mall-as-world in his speech printed in the *Brooklyn Mall* promotional newspaper (1997:s.p.):

On the 30th October Brooklyn Mall will be The Venue in Pretoria, not only to shop but it will also be the place to meet friends and greet old acquaintances. Outstanding musical performances, flower shows, interesting exhibitions and other entertainment will ensure shopping and meeting at Brooklyn Mall to be an experience to remember. In addition, classical music piping through the ample,

secured, covered parking linked to Malls offering a large variety of exclusive stores catering to all your needs, will transform Brooklyn Mall into your world in one centre.¹¹

A major aspect at any shopping mall is the provision of secure and easily accessible parking, and the Brooklyn Mall now has 2700 parking bays with a pay-on-foot system. The much-advertised '[p]iped music in all car parks, which is intended to relax customers as they arrive at the Mall' (*Pretoria News* 27 February 1998:13; *Brooklyn Mall* promotional newspaper 1997:s.p.) has not been implemented at the time of writing. A number of new facilities, such as changing rooms for babies, have been added to increase the Mall's claim to convenience and 'consumer friendly shopping'.

From its inception the Brooklyn Mall focused on the idea of *entertainment and fun*. Events just after the opening included the Mr Brooklyn Action Challenge competition, an Art and Sculpture exhibition, and flower shows. Entertainment has become an important selling-point for the Mall: '[f]un and entertainment is an important part of Brooklyn Mall - a cinema complex, promotional area - one with its own grand piano with regular musical performances, adventure golf with 2 x 9 hole courses, fountains and waterfalls ensure exciting times' (*Brooklyn Mall* promotional newspaper 1997:s.p.). In addition, events such as the Brooklyn Mall Extravaganza (9 September 1998), comprising a fashion show, supper and entertainment by media personality Nataniël are offered. Nataniël also recently opened the new branch of Exclusive Books in the Brooklyn Mall, underscoring the confluence between shopping and entertainment, and the popular usage of celebrities to endorse commodities or events more than a year after its opening, however, it seems that the entertainment component of the Mall is usually expediently linked to marketing promotions, for example around Mother's Day. The atrium consequently serves mainly as a promotional area, and pure entertainment is confined to the cinemas and restaurants in the Mall.

The design of the exterior and interior of the Brooklyn Mall is predominantly non site-specific or ageographical, inclining towards typical Postmodernism in its eclectic mixing of indeterminate elements. It is less blatantly Eurocentric than, for exam-



Figure 3



Figure 4

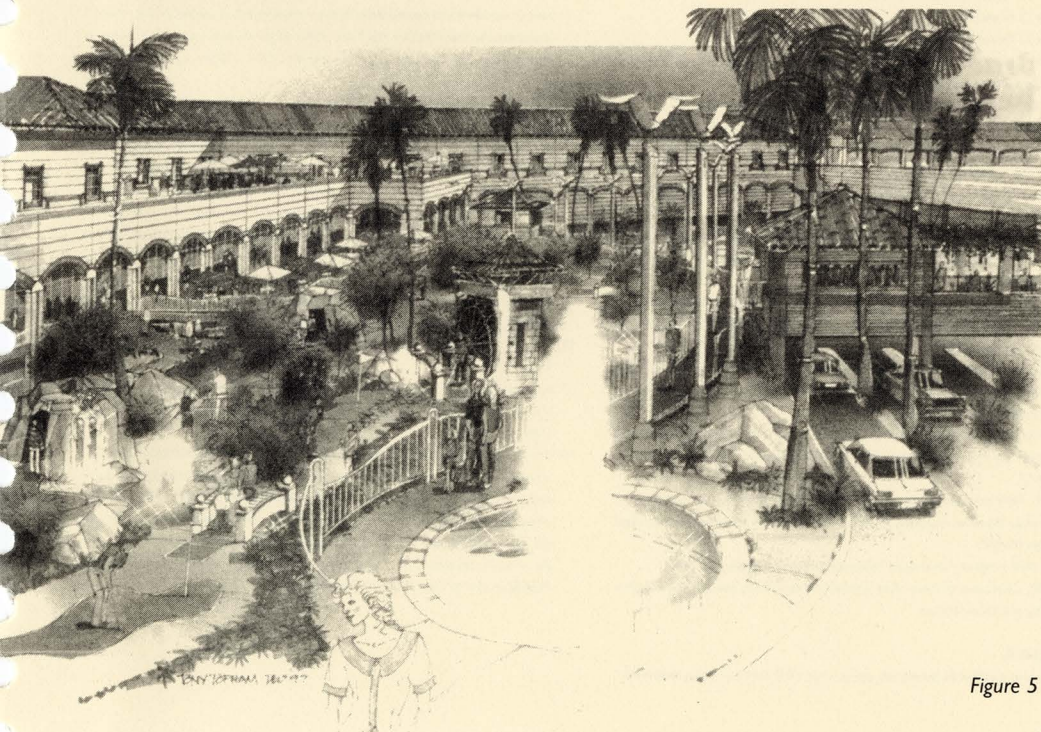


Figure 5

ple, Sandton Square in Johannesburg or Hatfield Square in Pretoria, which both try to evoke the image of European city squares. The Brooklyn Mall is in fact distinct since it does not rely on manifest nostalgia in its architecture or interior design, and it is furthermore atypical of international malls as it is not themed. There is therefore no fictional or nostalgic narrative that unfolds as a unifying constituent.

Variety on the exterior of the Brooklyn Mall is provided by rows of different coloured bricks, but as with most malls the architecture tends to be inner-directed. Indeed, only from the various restaurants overlooking the adventure golf course is it really possible to see outside for any length of time. Zukin (1991:25) points out that this type of *hyper-space* is created by many large, inward-looking architectural projects such as malls, but the scale of the Brooklyn Mall does not approach the magnitude of places such as the West Edmonton Mall. The interior has been decorated in a style reminiscent of Modernist aesthetics, with large expanses of glass and tiles, relieved by pot plants, and pitched glass

roofs that allow natural sunlight to permeate. The lines are clean, yet paradoxically the lack of quiet spaces with seats does not encourage undue lingering in the walkways (figures 3,4).

On the outside, the Brooklyn Mall prides itself on the incorporation of an existing green belt into the landscaping around the adventure golf course (figure 5), which is environmentally friendly with its constructed waterfalls, *faux* rocks and fishponds (*Pretoria News* 27 February 1998:13). Charl Scott, General Manager of the Brooklyn Mall claimed that 'the tranquil gardens surrounding the mall, make Brooklyn one of a kind in South Africa' (*Brooklyn Mall* promotional newspaper 1997:s.p.).

It is clear that the new Brooklyn Mall has tried to re-position itself in terms of its new, more consciously upmarket shops, and its potential target market has expanded since it can now try to entice those shoppers who would previously have visited Sandton City. The shopping complement certainly appears to the author to be more *yuppified*, and the socialising aspect of the Mall has indeed increased, confirming the idea that it is 'the place to meet friends and greet old acquaintances'. The Brooklyn Mall evidently accords with many, but not all of the characteristics of malls as pointed out by Kowinski, Crawford and Zukin in this article. In presenting itself as 'a vibrant new shopping experience' that will 'satisfy all your shopping and entertainment needs' (*Brooklyn Mall* promotional newspaper 1997:s.p.), it certainly subscribes to the notions of conspicuous consumption and instant gratification that underlie the Postmodern capitalist experience. For example, one of the illustrations advertising the Mall prominently displays the BMW logo in the atrium (*Brooklyn Mall* promotional newspaper 1997:s.p.), semiotically evoking connotations of class, money and good taste (figure 6).

The Brooklyn Mall is a Postmodern landscape since it persuades people that all their needs can be gratified there, and it clearly operates on the assumption that the more time people spend there, the more money they will expend. The creation of a sustained image of consumer fantasy approxi-

mates a typical Postmodern *more real than the real* hyper-reality, which is underscored by the hermetic, *world in one centre* nature of the Mall. However, it must be pointed out that in comparison with most international malls the Brooklyn Mall is relatively understated. Compare, for example, Andersen's (1994:41) derisive comments regarding contemporary American malls: 'decorated with phoney arches, phoney pediments, phoney columns ... the Vegas aesthetic, architecture as grandiose cartoon ... has become the American Establishment style' (Andersen 1994:41). Possibly because of financial constraints, South African malls have tended to be more modest, focusing on traditional shopping and less on entertainment.

The development of malls has not been limited to the traditionally more upmarket areas of Pretoria. The R100-million Northpark Mall was opened in Pretoria North recently, 'ready to provide the area's residents with a combined entertainment/shopping experience not previously available in Pretoria North' (*Pretoria News* 13 November 1997:16). The Zambezi Waterfront in Montana opened its doors for business in the middle of 1998, and comprehensive extensions are underway at the Kolonnade Centre in the same area. Several other waterfront projects for Pretoria are under consideration, including the City Lake Scheme in Sunnyside and the Bayside Waterfront, Erasmus Dam, an 'entertainment and leisure-oriented complex' (Cokayne 1997:2).

The expansion of malls is furthermore part of a country-wide development; about 105 are currently being planned for Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban alone (Muller 1997:30). New on the South African horizon are projected mega-shopping and entertainment centres such as Old Mutual's Zonk'izizwe Centre in Midrand, and Monex's Century City in Milnerton, already under construction (Muller 1997:30). Critics are sceptical whether developments on the proposed scale of Century City, which includes a Disney-style theme park called Ratanga Junction,¹² can be sustained in South Africa (Kruger 1997:72). The plans for the MoAfrica Mall of Africa in Midrand, for example, have been withdrawn because of doubts concerning the economic viability of the project (Shevel 1998:2).



Figure 6

E-SHOPPING

It is essential, in conclusion, to briefly intimate the conjectural future of shopping malls in the late Postmodern world, which is on the brink of a radical paradigm shift in terms of the information superhighway and the possibilities therein for the consumer. In a recent article in *Time*, Krantz (1998: 40) explored the future of virtual or electronic shopping (e-shopping or e-commerce) as 'the face of 21st century capitalism'. He wonders whether e-shopping will transform contemporary shopping habits much in the same way that malls transformed the suburban landscape from the 1960s onwards. According to Krantz (1998:41-42) '[t]hey defined not only how we bought stuff but also how we spent our time. The malls themselves became essential parts of a new suburban design, where castles of consumption shaped town layouts in the same way the Colosseum shaped Rome'. He points out that e-shopping is premised on the ideas of convenience and speed, but indicates that there is still much consumer resistance,¹³ in spite of the tantalising power and choice it offers (Krantz 1998:42). In a heart-felt response to Krantz, a 14 year old girl wrote:

The entire point of shopping is to spend leisure time with friends and do something needed at the same time. Finding the one right thing to purchase is not just a task to be completed as quickly as possible. It is an entire way of life (*Time* 31 August 1998:7).

This response sums up the success of shopping malls – namely, their ability to fulfil more than one need and to provide secure spaces in which social interaction may be enacted. As long as shopping is part of the broader capitalist scenario of image, status and the search for the extraordinary experience, there will be a need for malls.

CONCLUSION

This article has indicated that the Postmodern shopping mall has become an ubiquitous constituent of the contemporary urban landscape. The hermetic mall has the potential to influence patterns of human interaction, which may consequently tend to become increasingly predicated on the notion of economic power. At present, it does not appear that e-shopping will be able to compete with the diverse human needs embodied in the mall's promise of a remarkable and unified shopping, entertainment and social experience.¹⁴ The role of e-shopping and cybermalls furthermore reflects a Western, first world paradigm that does not find cultural resonance in the demographics and economic realities of contemporary South Africa. Shevel (1998:2) wonders whether the South African economy will be able to sustain mega-malls, but the issue is far more complex, as it hinges on the influence of global capitalism and its role in the creation of landscapes of economic power. Until the mall can function as a landscape of empowerment for a larger sector of the community, it will be a chimera that promises much, but delivers little in terms of meaningful social concerns.

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Illustrations

Unless otherwise specified all illustrations are from the 1997 Brooklyn Mall promotional newspaper.

Notes

- In particular the configuration of the new Menlyn Park complex, still under construction at the time of writing, deserves attention.
- The mall has become an integral part of popular culture, as indicated for example by the film *Mallrats* (1995) directed by Kevin Smith (of *Clerks* fame). This film is memorable mainly for lines such as 'get malled' and 'it's mall or nothing'.
- Bryan Appleyard's novel *The First Church of the New Millennium* (1994) tells the story of an architect who designs a monumental Gothic cathedral that is appropriated for use as a shopping mall and entertainment centre:
my cathedral had become an entirely respectable success. As soon as the first hole had been dug, the public meaning of this building had been transformed ... The first Church of the New Millennium became a policy. It was, it transpired, an exemplary intervention in the countryside, a triumphant flagship for the Rural Beauty zones, a magnet to draw people out of the rotting cities. In corridors and restaurants clever people explained to the slightly less clever what a good idea it was (Appleyard 1994: 256-257).
- The concept simulacrum has been explored by Eco in *Travels in Hyperreality* (1986) and Baudrillard in *Simulacra and Simulation* (1994). The experience of the simulacrum is not limited to the creation of spurious entertainment spaces such as Disneyland, it is also extremely popular in films, as demonstrated competently in *Wag the Dog* (1997, directed by Barry Levinson) and *The Truman Show* (1998, directed by Peter Weir).
- As for example at Sandton Square, Johannesburg.
- Naturally capitalism is not confined to a white elite audience. The burgeoning of shopping malls in Soweto and Lenasia attests to the entrepreneurship of people such as Richard Maponya. New shopping malls are being located away from traditionally white suburbs. A R170-million shopping mall is to be built in Soweto by the Maponya Group (Smith 1998:36). The commodification of history also manifests here: a House of Fame dedicated to famous figures from township history will form part of the entertainment complement of the mall, and a casino license is likely in the future.
- The idea of the mall as entertainment architecture derives from the type of architecture commissioned by the Disney Corporation from the 1980s onwards.
- The conventional capitalist correlation between women and shopping, marking women as the prime consumers, is being contested by the increasing incidence of men as consumers of commodities in the marketplace, as revealed by the research undertaken by Men's Studies. See Fiske (1989:18) for an explanation of gendering in the mall, and Solomon-Godeau's *Male Trouble: a Crisis in Representation* (1997) for views on the 'new man' as consumer.
- As will be demonstrated later, the Brooklyn Mall's adventure golf course conforms to the Postmodern idea of the mall as centralised entertainment. In addition, farm stalls which offer, for example, pony rides and family entertainment, are becoming popular in South Africa. The Spier wine estate in the Western Cape also seems to be typical of new ideas regarding entertainment, since it offers live concerts, restaurants, picnics, and accommodation over and above activities associated with wine tasting.
- See for example the study regarding the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront in Cape Town by Goudie, Kilian and Dodson (1995).
- It is interesting that the Brooklyn Square complex, which opened on 24 September 1998, used a similar advertising strategy by equating the Square with the world's shopping capitals London, Paris and New York.
- Ratanga Junction is a 20 hectare, R340-million fantasy theme park which opened on 11 December 1998.
- Interestingly, poorly designed sites account for 8 % of customers not buying on-line, and 15% of people do not like the fact that they cannot see the products (Krantz 1998:45).
- The contemporary guru of electronic culture, Douglas Rushkoff (1998:31) comments on research that shows that people who use the Internet regularly tend to feel alienated and depressed since presumably 'the Internet just doesn't provide the kinds of deep, emotionally supportive interaction afforded by the face-to-face encounters of real life'. He is of the opinion that the Internet's chat-lines and newsgroups conversely 'simply whet our appetite for the kind of community that so-called "real life" has been denying us for too long' (Rushkoff 1998:31).