ELEMENTS AND EFFECTS
OF COMMERCE

Elze Kurtinaityte

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Koninklijke Academie van Beeldende Kunsten (KABK)

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Bibliography

“Retail has become a game of seduction.” [1]

PREFACE

During my study exchange in Helsinki, I became fascinated with the built environment and its effect on people in a time of consumerism and retail culture. I was first introduced to the term during architecture classes at Aalto University. The built environment was heavily highlighted in every theory class, referring to the surroundings created for humans by humans.

The same autumn, I was walking in the Helsinki Stockmann department store. My eyes caught a Louis Vuitton store that had a unique sense of exclusivity to it, from the red velvet railing and a security guard dressed in a black suit to the massive reserved space area only for the LV store. The shop was situated in an open-concept layout mall. Yet, only the LV store had separate decorative walls, showcasing that there is a clear division between people shopping in the LV store to the in the rest of the department store.

The luxury French store reeked of poshness. I felt an immediate desire to see what was going on behind the semi-translucent walls. Yet, I knew that it was just a cleverly designed space that piqued my curiosity for seeing what was further behind the facade. Everything from spatial composition, materials, lights, and spatial elements fitted so well into the Louis Vuitton identity aesthetics. I knew that it was an illusion of design, nonetheless, it was drawing my attention. And I could not point out what it was exactly. Little did I know, the idea of the LV store being separated from the rest of the shops in the department stores was not only present in the Nordic Stockmann chain but also in most Bijenkorf department stores in the Netherlands.

Nevertheless, I started to question why a shopping space evoked such deep interest in me. Why did the simple layout and visual appearance of the French store situated in Stockmann have such an impact and influence my sense of exclusion from the VL experience? This raised a more significant question: what spatial elements in retail commercial architecture are commonly present, and how do they affect the space users? This thesis examines the early beginnings of consumerism in retail spaces, the socialisation culture developed based on commerce, and key material insights.

This thesis is separated into four chapters and delves deep into:

I. What are the origins of commercial architecture, starting from retail Galerias in Europe and Industrial Revolution times that set the start for department stores; Consumerism settling in the Western part of the globe, and finding its breeding ground in America, setting off the dismantlement of vulnerable old neighborhoods in the benefits of car culture. Place-making concept by Jon Jerde and the *more recent* examples of what are the current “immersive journeys of consumerism” nowadays.
II. Social ‘culture’ of retail architecture. How did we evolve to bond and mingle in retail, and how does it accommodate us to socialise and relax?

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[1] V. Camblin, ‘Retail Has Become a Game of Seduction: OMA's ELLEN VAN LOON on the new KaDeWe Experience’

III. The main key spatial elements present in the retail spaces are glass, light, polished materials, textures, and glass. Their analysis is in the context of the Bijenkorf department stores. How do these elements affect customers?
IV. To see Beyond. Manifestation of thesis and a personal take on the commerce culture.

INTRODUCTION

The Industrial Revolution saw a rise in the early beginnings of consumerist architecture [2] During this time, architecture served as a stepping stone for societal aspirations and individual needs. Retail purpose has shifted towards individualism and a sense of 'uniqueness'. Through the late 19th and early 20th century, commercial culture spaces have evolved from utilitarian-based functions to experience and entertainment facilitators, introducing a new perspective on how we can utilize spatial design in changing human behavior [3]. Due to the fast-paced nature of 21st-century culture, the connection between modern-evolved forms of consumerism and the built environment has become increasingly dominant in the urban landscape[4]. Architecture has inevitably changed consumption patterns in its users, growing profits as desired, and keeping users locked in and searching for societal escape. This interplay between people and commerce in the built environment is ever-shaping our livelihoods, manifesting and forever readapting to the modern needs of its customers and keeping its user base addicted to its urban development all over the globe. The field of research on the retail built environment and the existence of consumerism touches on the topics of economy, biases, and cognitive material associations.

This thesis paper is a multi-layered exploration of what retail architecture was and is nowadays. Mainly focusing on mall and department store cultures, it aims to examine the contextual history from the early start of the Industrial Revolution, till the modern times of the 21st century, as well as the frameworks of Western architectural concepts. This thesis analyses the retail culture, social context, placemaking, and materialization of such spaces.

The thesis paper is a position where the 'seductive' design of consumerism architecture is given a different kind of perspective. Looking at the history, I employ a contextually critical look at consumerism. Looking for a better cultural and spatial understanding, where society could benefit from the knowledge of how space affects us mentally, and pushes us to act in certain ways.

The visible and hidden spatial elements push us unconsciously to wander around and consume the spaces that we find ourselves in. It showcases a deeper insight into how architecture was formed and shaped by the forces of consumption in a brief time. Commerce architecture has evolved and adapted to the capitalization of the modern desires of individuality and has survived the instability of global wars and recessions. The power of commercial retail is much more complex than mere design and sales, it correlates to the emotional response to shopping. Thus, there is a need to better understand the bigger picture of how it evolved and at last, how it affects the end of the chain, us. The deep dive into consumerism in architecture has forever changed the way we experience architecture today.

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[2]Kerryn Higgs, 'A brief history of consumer culture'
[3]No author, 'History of consumerism'
[4]L.V. Zeilinger, 'Architecture of Consumerism as Public Space'

PART I

THE BEGINNING OF CONSUMERISM

The early start of consumerism in commercial architecture can be found in the times of the Industrial Revolution [5]. Initiated by the 'Machine Age' that started in the 19th century, the Industrial Revolution, as we know it today, is a period of global economic, technological, and social transformation. Once faster ways of manufacturing techniques, acquiring skilled workers, and more significant exports of machinery started to rise, Western economies grew exponentially. The vast and fast abundance of new material gains, through imperialism, further boosted the economies of Great Britain, Belgium, and France, leading to the spread of the Industrial Revolution in the rest of Europe and the USA. The material abundance during the Industrial Revolution gave a start to the first stepping stone to what we now know as consumerism and commercial culture in Western societies. The perception of retail started to shift, and economic growth allowed retail to develop. It transformed the commercial built environment from a transactional process to elevating it towards an experience-based journey, which will be further explored later on.

In the early 19th century, department stores first started to emerge in Europe. During the documentation of early commerce architecture, French writer Émile Zola, in his novel "Au Bonheur des Dames" (1883), described his experience in the Parisian department store as a "Cathedral of Commerce". Zola analyzed the Parisian store Bon Marché, which opened up in 1869. In Zola's "Cathedrals of commerce", the modern church takes the shape of retail architecture, God is the shop owner, and the act of shopping is the new 'ritual'. His writings reflected the growing importance of the built environment in facilitating the consumerist culture. Such spaces introduced the early beginnings of the bond between consumption and modern society, reflecting on how societal aspirations, cultural and economic, mirrored the built environment [6]. In the 'City Journal' publication (1996), writer Rita Kramer describes department stores as much more than an economic phenomenon; they were an "intersection of culture and commerce, a social force that helped mold the modern city dweller's sense of identity by providing a shared experience, a vision common to all kinds of participants" [7]. This was the start of the built environment as a social and workshop-like space. It enabled people to meet and mingle in commercial spaces for the first time and in the years to come. Commerce spaces were a predecessor for the start of a new cultural identity and modern social culture.

The economic and territorial size of the United States allowed it to pick up the speed of consumerism, establishing itself as a firm ground for commerce culture for decades to come. During the 20th century, economic globalization and technological advancements in the West emerged from the new wave of consumerism in architecture [8]. As malls and shopping culture were a manifestation of consumerism, it was urban city planning that was interfering with the growth of commerce. However, car culture, highways, and malls soon became more centralized in urban planning [9]. While sustaining car culture, the old and 'unnecessary' communities and public land spaces started to slowly be destroyed to accommodate the highways. Jane Jacobs and William H. Whyte, American theorists and pioneers in studying the effect of urban architecture on social and economic

[5]Wikipedia contributors, 'Consumerism'
[6]N. Cullen, 'Worshipping at the 'cathedral of modern commerce: going shopping in the nineteenth century'
[7]R. Kramer, 'Cathedrals of Commerce'
[8]K. Higgs, 'A Brief History of Consumer Culture'
[9] J. Dempsey, 'Evolution and Re-Calibration of the Typical Suburban Retail Environment'

behaviours, responded to this with public protests and community-based acts. They were predecessors in studying how urban architecture influences social and economic behaviors. In her book, “The Death and Life of Great American Cities,” Jacobs hypothesized that instead of destroying old communities, urban spaces could help communities accommodate the economy, allowing city planning to challenge the dominance of consumerism and commerce [10]. Jacobs emphasized the need for human-centric spaces amidst fast commercialization in retail spaces. She was highly critical of large-scale commercial projects, such as shopping centers and highways. Emphasizing how such places are designed for profit rather than benefiting society. Her concept of “eyes on the street” [11] highlighted the importance of human safety and vitality as by-products of an active pedestrian life. Active sidewalks and pavements are often closely located with the shops, thus enabling human ‘surveillance’ on the street, fostering security and economic dynamics. The fast commercialization of cities like New York affected vulnerable and disadvantaged neighborhoods like the Bronx, which faced the eradication of buildings and pedestrian life to accommodate new roads and highways, such as the Expressway[12]. Neighborhoods were divided, and vulnerable populations were separated from essential services. In my perception, car-centered America failed to hear its cities' and local communities' voices and preferences. Thus, Jacobs’s work was an essential key in stopping mindless urbanization for profit. Her participation has impacted the urban landscape of New York in a big way, she held a strong and vital perspective on pedestrian life and human-centered spaces that led to the decline of further demolition of public spaces. What J. Jacobs did was an amazing push for America. She distorted the demolition plans of many places like the Greenwich Village, helping shape the modern New York we see today[13]. This critical thinking was a great push to step back from the car scale towards human-oriented perception, driving the focus on the human perspective, more often implemented in European cities.

Due to the local economic climate, American architecture was gravitating toward ever-growing consumption. The American post-war climate of economic boom and reduced frugality also increased spending on leisure activities[14]. William H. Whyte, in his book “The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces” (1980), focused on the way users interact with the well-built environment and the space in which users are conditioned for greater consumption [15]. He analyzed that attractive public spaces, such as purposely designed open-air benches and plazas, encourage people to linger, effectively contributing to the tremendous economic success of the malls. Whyte was critical of inauthentic public spaces, stating that an overly controlled or limited urban environment prioritizes consumption rather than natural human interaction. He discussed that *the Gruen Effect* (Gruen Effect - a concept where once users enter a retail space, they are surrounded by an intentionally difficult layout, lose sense of time or track of their original intentions, perpetuating users to consumer more by impulse buying[16]) is proof of spacial manipulation that eliminates genuine behavior [17]. Nevertheless, some of his work related to the Gruen concept. Both Victor Gruen and Whyte advocated for city planning to enable people to linger in commercial spaces, seeking comfort and believing in designing for people, rather than commerce. Although it is quite debatable whether the Gruen effect focused on people rather than sales, his concept perpetuated further consumerism, pushing users to walk in fixed paths and be affected by all the exposed stimuli. However, Whyte was more focused on human behavior in the built environment and its’ design. He analyzed how small designs like discreetly placed benches, wide sidewalks, or green elements are forming human behaviors and indirectly impact retail wealth. At last, he helped to redefine the way we view public

[10]J. Jacobs, ‘The Death and Life of Great American Cities’
[11]Stormy, ‘Eyes on the Street’
[12]J. Jacobs, ‘The Death and Life of Great American Cities’
[13]M. Weingarten, 'Jane Jacobs, the writer who changed the face of the modern city'
[14]Fiveable, ‘Post-War Boom and Consumer Culture | Growth of the American Economy class notes’
[15]W. Whyte Jr., ‘The Social Life of Small Urban Space’
[16]Wikipedia contributors, ‘Gruen Effect’
[17]J. Clinehens, 'The Gruen Effect: How IKEA’s Store Design Makes You Buy More'

spaces, reevaluating the "privately owned public spaces" (POPS)[18] to be more functional and accessible to all. Whyte helped New York City to begin to demand public plazas and amenities in exchange for zoning benefits of more public spaces for the general public.

Besides Whyte's pioneering contribution, Danish architect Jan Gehl and his work followed a similar set of principles. His works, covering the 20th and early 21st century decades, mirror what Whyte was writing about in the 70's. In *Public Spaces, Public Life,* Gehl focuses on the improvement of human urban life in the process of city planning, orienting spaces towards pedestrians, and rejecting the car culture. He insists that public spaces should be adapted to benefit everyone, by offering a variety of opportunities and activities for inhabitants[19]. Gehl advocated the concept: first life, then spaces, then architecture. He analyzed the old ways of urban spaces, emphasizing the importance of building based on a human scale rather than looking at architecture from a bird's-eye perspective. The leading theory was that public spaces are facilitators of human life quality. The 'usual' way of city planning relied on traffic and buildings. Gehl rejected this view, stating the following: "In most cases, the beginning of the creation is a vision of beautiful objects, which creates the 'overshadowing factor,' around which is free space. There remains hope that the rest of the space will come to life"[20]. This framework marked what is most important: a dynamic city that is safe and attractive. Gehl believed that urban spaces form from the linear paths, people's destinations, and user behavior. Thus, the areas should be built according to it, encouraging walking. What we live in is designed based on the visions someone had of public life. Facilitating the pedestrian life in the cultivation of values and vision is the backbone of what consumes the architect. Gehl identified four factors a city should facilitate: liveliness, safety, sustainability, and health. Focusing on these elements, the architect analyses big cities from a human viewpoint. By building upon the work of Whyte, Gehl arguably developed the now familiar post-modern European-focused values of a completely human-centered approach. Without prior knowledge in urban development, it is difficult to define whether what Whyte and Gehl started were the 'best' outcomes in urban landscape. I strongly believe that portraying the pedestrian as the main protagonist in urban sprawl was and still is a way to successfully continue establishing a better human life quality.

"The road to creating successful spaces
begins with putting people first."[21]

As modernism and flat roof aesthetics were taking root in the 20th century, the world was introduced to the beauty of Bauhaus and pure functionality [22]. As architecture was leaning towards function-driven values, architects Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown opposed it in their own work. In the 1970s, Venturi and Brown became influential for hypothesizing a new form of consumerism in architecture [23]. They celebrated the emergence of architecture as a symbol of aesthetics, asserting that commercial spaces are related to cultural narratives. Their work solidified a dynamic commercial landscape we see in Las Vegas, for example. Brown and Venturi helped to commercialize urban landscape and recognize the necessity of decorative signs in shaping the societal perception and experience of space, and the need for architectural legibility (the visibility of

[18]J. S. Kayden, 'WHAT ARE POPS?'
[19]J. Gehl, 'In Search of the Human Scale | Jan Gehl | TEDxKEA'
[20]V. Jelovac, 'Work Methodology according to the principles of Jan Gehl'
[21]V. Jelovac, 'Work Methodology according to the principles of Jan Gehl'
[22]J. Nazmiyal, 'The German Bauhaus Architecture Style'
[23]K. Theunissen, 'Urban analyses by Robert Venturi and denise scott brown. The topicality of Postmodernism'

architectural components and elements, helping people to navigate a space) in spaces. In "*Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form,"* Venturi and Brown analyzed and helped to develop the modern Las Vegas Strip we see nowadays. Their analysis revealed how modernist architectural spaces communicate desires and everyday values via visual cues, shaping urban expression by the same people [24]. It explained how commercial symbols and ornamentation (term "decorated sheds"), local architecture, urban layout, and buildings alongside the highway, reflect societal aspirations that challenged the old notions of architectural theories and aesthetics. Thus, Las Vegas was its ultimate manifestation. Venturi and Brown bashed modernist architecture for its rejection of ornamentation, stating that buildings must express their function and cultural relevance to relate to society. They criticized the rigidness of cold and unappealing modernist architecture, highlighting its disconnect with everyday people. Their work focused on the Las Vegas Strip urban design. The city used massive symbols and ornaments to communicate its primary purpose, emphasizing the role of signage as visual communication that later shaped Las Vegas[25]. The strong and overpowering signs took over the buildings, reflecting that such advertisements are an identity and economic intent of society.

> "Las Vegas's designers would be hindered, just like Disneyland's, by the demands of a single client, resulting in blandness." [26]

This approach was in contrast to 'generic' architecture, as modernist architecture has previously failed to connect with its users, discarding the sterile and unrelatable spaces that push people away. Las Vegas' design rejected the architectural aesthetics of the 20th century, prioritizing mere attraction. The writers criticized the elitism of architecture, advocating for the importance of commercial spaces. They justified their analysis of American commerce spaces by pushing architects to learn efficiency and directness in communication with the public. This was further showcased by the landscape of Vegas, centered on serving car culture. The writers didn't countersign urban sprawl, they focused on highlighting its functional aspects. As for relevance, Venturi and Brown's works played a significant role in commercializing and shaping modern-day America with their massive commerce-driven approach. Since the growth of the Las Vegas Strip and the rise of capitalism in commerce, the works of Venturi and Brown have managed to even exceed their initial acclaim. Their ideology is transmitted through globalization, helping cities like New York and Miami to form their own identity through signs, allowing us to experience spaces like Times Square or Miami's South Beach.

During the process of writing this thesis, I visited New York in late March. During this time, I changed my opinion on the way I view the commerce of architecture in America. After my New York trip, I could see what Venturi and Brown had in mind. As I earlier described the idolization of unnecessary commercialization of America, I still do not agree with the values that the writers had for the European context, however, I consider, for instance, the over-sexualization of the Las Vegas Strip to fit perfectly with the mentality, culture, and aesthetics of the USA. Without the old, heritage-protected culture of Europe, and at the same time obtaining vast lands, it was only obvious for America to take such a direction of commerce in competition with the other commercial vendors. However, when looking at retail power, not only does the geographic location of the USA make it extremely powerful,

[24]R. Venturi, D. Scott Brown, Steven Izenour, 'Learning from Las Vegas'
[25]R. Venturi, Denise S. Brown, Steven Izenour, 'Learning from Las Vegas'
[26]C. Marshall, 'Learning from Las Vegas: what the Strip can teach us about urban planning'

but also a different set of values and a personal-to-work life balance culture. The Strip we know today, with its heavy signs and flashy architecture, served as a temple of commerce in the 20th-century USA and conveyed the city's aesthetics for years to come. At the time of its construction, it catered to the needs and ‘attractive’ designs of the local trends and desires. Rejecting modernist architecture for the fast and global commercialization of the built environment brought out the ‘cheap’ aesthetics and values of buying and acquiring more than necessary. Nonetheless, the aggressive branding direction brought out the Las Vegas Strip identity for what we know and value it today for, the archetype of the American dream and commerce.

> “While cars flow in and out of the property smoothly, pedestrians are made to do this dance, primarily to entice them into the shopping mall, restaurants, casino, and hotel.”[27]

In recent times, the connection between the built environment and consumerism has been shaped by the digitalization of media, greater globalization, and a push for sustainable values. The architecture of any kind of commercial activity is exposed to a broad viewership through technological advancements. Thus, it can be seen and ‘experienced’ by everyone. The social media effect shifted the urban landscape paradigm to enable digital socialization between individuals. The functional 20th-century architecture has become outdated in the eyes of the younger generation. The economic boom allowed us to obtain any sort of goods quickly online. Therefore, the commercial spaces searched for new ways to attract a new customer base. The rise in experience-driven commercial activities pushed brands like IKEA or Apple to demonstrate how architecture has been shaped by/to implement the ‘immersive consumer journeys’ by creating a desire for users to visit their physical store [28]. In 2007, German architect Anna Klingmann stated that architecture is a tool of storytelling, as spaces are designed to reveal and evoke emotions and strengthen consumers’ brand loyalty[29]. The architecture exploits branding and marketing concepts for strategic economic growth, as well as the cultivation of cultural relevance. Klingmann refers to cities like Shanghai and New York to showcase their utilization of such branding material to enhance their image and relevance, thus making a stronger global standing [30]. This viewpoint of urban environments showcases that a built environment can embody desired aspirations. As for the economy, her examination of urban spaces reveals how branding intersects with architecture, thus creating a “*contemporary experience economy” [31].* In the 21st-century context, the German architect explains the shift from simple consumption to experience, sensation, or lifestyle shopping. She refers to the Las Vegas Strip, Disneyland, and other commercialized places to explain such places and cities of branding in today's architecture. These commercial places are designed to give us an immersive experience that aligns with our values or our idealized identities of ourselves. Thus, we experience commodifying emotions and spaces, while co-existing in homogenized global landscapes [32]. The architect states that urban spaces transcend traditional structures and work as tools of identity and experience for both enterprises and cities. Klingmann pushes the concept of optimized branding to reflect new values of cultural and economic transformation and foster a built environment that could reflect and contribute to better consumer identification (a.k.a. how architecture and built branded spaces form communities and the identities of individuals)[33].

This analysis shows an actual shift of perspective in the way we consume. As we live in material abundance, and things can be manufactured and bought as cheaply as ever before, obtaining things

[27]C. Marshall, ‘Learning from Las Vegas: what the Strip can teach us about urban planning’
[28]A. Klingmann, ‘Brandscapes: Architecture in the Experience Economy’
[29]A. Klingmann, ‘Brandscapes: Architecture in the Experience Economy’
[30]A. Klingmann, ‘Brandscapes: Architecture in the Experience Economy’
[31]A. Klingmann, ‘Brandscapes: Architecture in the Experience Economy’
[32]A. Klingmann, ‘Brandscapes: Architecture in the Experience Economy’
[33]A. Klingmann, ‘Brandscapes: Architecture in the Experience Economy’

has lost its value. The social comparison of financial wealth shifted towards destinations and experiences within the spaces rather than the objects themselves. Owning became part of the experience. Such implementations of spatial design can be seen as being integrated from ball pits in museums that are specifically designed for mere aesthetics to the economic success of services in retail spaces. It emphasizes a crucial need for integrating inhabitants' well-being as a value into urban spaces to help communities thrive. As architecture is a significant weight of human interactions and socialisation, buildings ideally should be a catalyst to foster greater cultural and economic shifts, helping the built environment enhance the identity of its inhabitants.

In today's Western society, shopping malls and department stores stand as a new form of religion, a God of overconsumption and unnecessary accumulation of goods. From the early rise of the "cathedral of commerce", malls reflect the socio-economic and cultural shifts that mirror the desires of society. Establishing itself best in America, and later on becoming a global phenomenon, mall culture has capitalized on every possible way, spending power is the main driver. Nowadays, retail architecture facilitates rapid solutions to every desire and every false sense of individualism, and further re-adapts itself into socialization culture, which will be explored more in PART II. Over the years, technology and global perception of shopping have changed these aspects; the modern mindset and culture have shifted shopping to a different kind of perspective. Cult-like mentality and now data have allowed us to easily predict customer behaviors [34]. The concept of *Servicescape* has allowed designers to capitalise on mental effects and stimuli, exploiting consumerism [35]. If you live in a developed country, the chances are high that commerce has seeped into every possible industry. Therefore, it is crucial to get a hold of what and how it affects humanity.

MALL CULTURE

RISE OF THE MALL CULTURE

The first modern shopping mall arose in the 19th century [36]. However, as stated by Rem Koolhaas: "The compatibility between shopping and the city has a firmly established historical lineage that stretches back to the ancient Greek Angora, where the notion of Western public life emerged alongside the marketplace. In nineteenth-century Paris, the arcade redefined the experience of the city by creating a level of connectivity - a characteristic embedded in the French term passage" [37]. It functioned as an elevated version of an enclosed street, the arcade, a passageway that previously connected two separate parts of the city, with an evolved shopping experience [38]. An early prominent example of this is the *Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II*, in Milan, which opened in 1867 [39]. The French *Passage* or Italian *Galleria* buildings were designed to have a controlled environment for socialization and the purchase of goods. It was the first project of its time to commercialize necessity with leisure. The space served as a hub for human interaction. The location of the Galleria was discreetly built as a pathway between the Duomo and the Teatro Alla Scala. The Passage signified the union of church and state, which ensued after the 1848 nationalist revolutions in the Italian states [40]. Functioning also functions as a shelter from the chaos and pollution of the streets.

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[34]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[35]Wikipedia contributors, 'Servicescape'
[36]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[37]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[38]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[39] Wikipedia contributors, 'Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II'
[40]C. Abernethy, 'Galleria Vittorio Emanuele – Milano Architecture & Shopping.'

Giuseppe Mengoni's work gave rise to a new role of society: mass consumption in the modern city. Due to its popularity, the gallery became a socialization point in the city center. As asserted in the Harvard Guide to Shopping book: "The particular qualities of this street-like organization in describing the urban would allow shopping to assert itself, after the intervening development of the mall, as the de facto model of city planning. [41]. The arcade was fully embraced as a linking instrument of the urban spaces with the experiences of retail shopping. Through the years, the department stores and malls lost the direct link between the urban city and shopping. Moreover, malls have become self-contained and autonomous [42]. Shopping crystallized itself in the primary desires of consumption, turning it into a new potent and succinct form. In years of retail development process, leading to the isolation of suburbs, shopping enabled itself to be an independent organ in the context of urbanism [43].

As Western economies began to rebuild after WW2, existing industries moved to the production of consumer goods. The economic boom also significantly enhanced the middle class's disposable income. The industrial shift flooded the market with affordable products, from automobiles to household goods. This was a stepping stone for greater consumerism. Driven by suburbanisation and the emergence of car culture in the United States. The urban landscape was reshaped by the "Ethos of consumerism" [44]. It was a new direction of prioritizing consumption as a centered aspect of one's identity. It was encapsulated by societal processes, prosperity, and the new modernity. It pushed users to become identified by the items they have collected, leading to consumer-centric environments. It was a direct definition of demographics, one's social status, well-being, and social order.

Important to note here, the USA, in particular, had an excellent pathway for consumerist culture, such as undeveloped land, abundance in scalability, and the *American Dream* ethos. New land enabled the suburbanization process. As department stores were built mainly in already established communities and old European cities, the USA primarily built malls; therefore, it became the most dominant form of commercial architecture typology in the West [45]. The greatest commerce culture developed there and slowly spread to Europe. As house loans in the USA became cheaper, people were more drawn to move away from the city centers, leading to suburbanization. This pushed for a new urban development outside the city sprawl. Combined with the emerging car culture, people were able to commute larger distances. Highways started to be constructed to accommodate the car culture and the distant neighborhoods, as opposed to smaller communities. As the American suburbs grew, traditional urban districts became less accessible. The strategically placed malls in proximity to the suburbs became a place of convenience for the residents. 'Unfit' malls were adapted to the rising car culture, hence the massive parking lots close by. Modern malls became a part of the new rising culture, often attracting families and teenagers as a social hub for a variety of activities [46]. It led to a new social culture wave, which will be covered in more detail in PART II.

After the economy started to flourish continuously, one specific spatial mall design emerged above all. Developed by Victor Gruen, the so-called *Enclosed mall* concept has managed to shape the modern mall we can still see around the world [47]. From De Bijenkorf in the Netherlands to Stockmann in Scandinavian countries, the enclosed mall design has firmly established itself in the world of modern consumerism. Stemming from Gruen Transfer (the Gruen Concept), a concept named after Austrian-American architect Victor Gruen, it has revolutionized the way we experience

[41]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[42]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[43]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[44]Wikipedia contributors, 'Consumerism'
[45]Eliassen, Meredith, 'American Dream (ethos)'
[46]H. Richter, 'Victor Gruen'
[47]S. Admin, 'Victor Gruen, a pioneer of mall architecture across North America'

malls to this day. In his early life, Gruen wandered the cafes and public squares of Vienna. Later, when the architect moved to America, he wanted to recreate the social atmosphere of these public spaces in the USA. In 1956, the architect, who is referred to as the "father of the shopping mall" [48], designed the first enclosed mall in the world, named *Southdale Center*. Victor Gruen is often credited with pioneering the modern discourse of consumerism in architecture, fostering community while serving the retail needs of its users. The vision extended beyond simple commerce. Gruen's idea pushed the idea of combining shopping, human socialization, and mere leisure. His solution to suburban isolation resulted in sales growth, leading people to buy more. The architect noticed that once entering the store, the space overwhelms customers with physical stimuli, leading to a change in rising consumption patterns. In many cases, people would often forget the reasons they came to the store and become lost in the enjoyment of the store's experience. This led to higher sales and more significant consumption than intended. The concept has pushed many under scrutiny for perpetuating unrestrained consumerism.

The stimulus-response model has since been further developed. Overwhelming users with environmental stimuli, otherwise known as the SOR model (stimulus→organism→response model), architectural spaces encapsulate all human desires, such as tactility, light, way-finding, and an individual's emotional state, and behavior is manipulated by the interior. "Emotional responses to environmental stimuli fall into three dimensions: pleasure, arousal, and dominance. The individual's emotional state is thought to mediate the behavioral response, namely, approach or avoidance behavior towards the environment. Architects and designers can use insights from environmental psychology to design environments that promote desired emotional or behavioral outcomes" [49]. This meant that the built environment could influence, predict, or push any human behavioral instinct. The *Gruen effect* and the SOR model have enabled the manipulation of the human psyche in shaping consumption patterns.

In the case of Victor Gruen's effect, layouts were intensely effective in enabling customers to navigate space according to the architect's desire and exposure to all purchasable goods. According to Zeithaml et al., there are mainly two aspects of layouts, spatial layout and functionality. "Functionality refers to the extent to which the equipment and layout meet the customer's goals, while spatial layout refers to how physical elements are arranged, the size of those objects, and the spatial arrangements between them" [50]. If the functionality aspect is not embarked on, architects focus on human-flow patterns, otherwise known as *circulation*, to encourage users to traverse the whole retail space. The second is *coordination*, a spatial combination between the space and sold products; the last one is *convenience*, to maximize the greatest comfort for the user, being as convenient for both the retail store workers and the customers [51].

These elements were compulsory parts of layout thinking. As spatial planning became closely analyzed, Gruen's architecture continued to progress. One by one, malls started to be constructed based on the Gruen Effect [52]. Jon Jerde was an American architect who, in his work, built upon Gruen's ideas. While Gruen focused on the enclosed, commercially driven shopping mall, Jerde was among the first to understand the "interdependence between the act of walking and the construction of a sense of place"[53]. He took on Gruen's teachings and expanded on the idea of having a mall as a destination of its own. He prioritized the immersiveness of way-finding, engagement, and experience. The architect attempted to construct a city for "shopper flâneurs.[54]" The idea of a town

[48]O. Wainwright, 'Those bastard developments' – why the inventor of the shopping mall denounced his dream'
[49]Wikipedia contributors, 'Servicescape'
[50]Wikipedia contributors, 'Servicescape'
[51]Wikipedia contributors, 'Servicescape'
[52]A. Pahwa, 'What Is Gruen Transfer? How Does It Work?'
[53]A. Pavia, 'Walking as a Luxury Activity? A Lesson in Urban Design from the Late Jon Jerde'
[54]A. Pavia, 'Walking as a Luxury Activity? A Lesson in Urban Design from the Late Jon Jerde'

where people could wander around the commerce areas, get lost safely, and, in the end, find a way out once satisfied. Jerde's philosophy sought to evoke emotional responses while wandering. He believed that spaces should create memorable and engaging entertainment. For developers throughout the globe, Jerde's projects were a sign of "successful privately-owned implementation of pedestrian-friendly developments, centered on commerce and entertainment for ordinary people" [55]. Jerde and Ray Bradbury wrote an essay, "The aesthetics of lostness." The essay was a touchstone for Jerde's most famous work, the Horton Plaza Mall. The project opened in 1985. It revamped San Diego's downtown into a vibrant open-air mall, an unlifted version of an urban business district, attracting 25 million visitors annually [56]. Since the establishment of suburban malls, created by Victor Gruen, the Horton Plaza mall was among the first profitable downtown retail. It was a new bold direction from the standard concept of mall typology. A similar model was applied in Los Angeles, such as *The Americana at Brand or Victoria Gardens*. Which have turned out to be the new pedestrian centralities within the polycentric region [57].

Jerde called himself a place-maker, a byproduct of his 1960 design discipline [58]. Unlike Jane Jacobs and William Whyte, Jerde's approach was to mimic the private spaces, luring people back to the commercial spaces. His work focused on attracting people from the suburban spaces back to the city centers [59]. Thus, he believed that the only way to do it is through shopping. "Consumption is the addiction of the American" [60]. Thus, Jerde was a fabricator of 'authenticity', mixing private and public spaces. The architect was a pioneer in his teachings of place-making practices in commercial spaces. He showcased the retail industry's ability to respond to the context of existing market demands, as well as the needs for spatial community and identity[61]. Horton Plaza was an example of experimental architecture that was able to engage the local community and entertainment in one space. However, Jerde's work was also criticized. These urban spaces were highly controlled and often socially exclusive to those who 'fit' in. Nevertheless, Jerde, unlike Gruen, is an excellent example of the importance of context within the urban landscape, enabling the local community's needs through architecture. While Gruen aimed to establish and recreate the communal atmosphere of European city centers, his ideas were socially driven as shopping malls acted like civil hubs. Jerde focused on the local urban place contextualization and entertainment of the retail aspects. Utilizing the urban context and rising consumerism culture of the late 20th century. Rather than emulating Gruen's deference to car culture, Jerde enabled the malls to be a destination of their own for both locals and tourists. His vision of the mall encapsulated everything, all the stimuli, from getting lost, to feeling a sense of belonging, going to dine, and relaxing.

> "Jerde wants to make a minicity. He wants shoppers to have a "communal experience". So he adds different programmatic elements to the mix. This usually translates as movies, theme restaurants, light shows, water features." [62]

[55]A. Pavia, 'Walking as a Luxury Activity? A Lesson in Urban Design from the Late Jon Jerde'
[56]K. Jacobs, 'Remembering Jon Jerde.'
[57]A. Pavia, 'Walking as a Luxury Activity? A Lesson in Urban Design from the Late Jon Jerde'
[58]K. Jacobs, 'Remembering Jon Jerde'
[59]K. Jacobs, 'Remembering Jon Jerde'
[60]K. Jacobs, 'Remembering Jon Jerde'
[61]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[62]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'

However, the plans to make a ‘mini-city’ often fail in the long run [63]. For this reason, I am not a fan in any way. If the Horton Plaza mall had been an iconic symbol not only for the downtown but the whole of San Diego, the possibilities of its survival would have been greater. In my eyes, for an isolated, retail-driven mall, it is difficult to adapt through changing times, leading to its rapid extinction. In my analytical opinion, Horton Plaza was too rigid in its purpose, being completely distinct from anything else in its appearance, challenging possible readaptations.

By the late 1980s and 1990s, malls had become a global architectural symbol. The spatial mall design evolved to fulfill all human desires. The discreetly designed spaces create an optimized spending experience. Retail interiors are adapted to have a pattern of wide corridors, driving people to explore more stores, strategically placed amenities, such as relaxation on the benches, stops for food and refreshment, and colorful, attractive displays for further exploration. Different from any other businesses that have a natural placement of their own, a mall is an isolated space that has interwoven functions in itself at all times, yet still not an urban center [64]. Unfortunately, the same reason for separating shopping away from the lively urban life would often become its precursor to death.

The early 2000s have become a world of digitalization, where consumerism started to shift to e-commerce. The traditional retail market became digitalized, and consumption adjusted to the home. For this reason, many malls that lost their cultural or capital relevance have closed down, and only a minority have been repurposed as residential homes or co-working offices. Rem Koolhaas, in his book “Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping” (2000), closely examined the early signs and predetermined factors of malls going extinct. Malls have not only failed to meet sustainability requirements but also were too rigid in their purpose, being designed to exist in a controlled, self-sustained environment. As user habits shifted, the leading function of a mall became questionable, becoming obsolete in the face of virtual shopping. As physical in-person commerce was centralized in one space, online shopping allowed people to sense personal self-control and individuality. Malls, as Koolhaas calls it, became Junkspace, seeming too irrelevant, further failing to meet the cultural and intellectual space applicability. “As malls, these buildings never became true city centers. Retailers simply picked up and moved out, leaving a corpse behind” [65].

The culture of the late 20th century and the early start of the 2000s shifted. Shopping culture in urban landscapes has changed into social spaces and gatherings. This broad transformation emphasized the shift in urban life. As retail spaces started to function as semi-public spaces, they served as meeting locations and community spots. Such spaces offer ultimately controlled environments, prioritizing user activity over free engagement. Rem Koolhaas explored this phenomenon. In the same book, he and his co-authors explored the narrative that malls become a destination for social interactions. As retail-oriented spaces transformed into centralized spaces for cultural and social activities. Malls have surpassed traditional meeting points of public spaces like squares or parks. These artificial spaces serve as new civic spaces. It enables social interactions and embeds consumerism, design, and leisure. As shopping has become an experiential activity, it blurs the lines between consumption and relaxation. “The shopping center consciously pampers the shopper” [66]. Interior elements such as escalators and glass facades, in combination with controlled temperature and lighting, capitalize on enhancing all sensory experiences, making you feel welcome and immersed. Consumers weren’t affected by rain, humidity, or sun heat. Therefore, malls made it comfortable to never leave retail [67]. As enclosed commerce spaces facilitated a better,

[63]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, ‘Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping’
[64]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, ‘Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping’
[65]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, ‘Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping’
[66]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, ‘Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping’
[67]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, ‘Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping’

environmentally conditioned space, there was less push to ever escape, thus slowly forming social activities in retail shopping spaces.

Through the late 90's a new trend in the urbanisation of retail shopping has spread. It is the widespread "suburban urbanization of the city to the suburbs"[68]. Desperately seeking to profit from the economic growth that the hybrid city-retail shopping type has implemented previously, suburbs are seeking to urbanize the land according to the model of the urbanized city. As malls are declining, urban spaces are attempting to look for new ways to offer a fresh shopping experience to their users, while providing an efficient and convenient way of suburban shopping. "Many cities that built enclosed malls in the hopes of reviving downtown retail have discovered they made a mistake. Projects that worked economically drained life from the surrounding streets, creating a kind of ghost town in their wake. … Today's developers strive for a more Main Street effect, building smaller infill projects, … or breaking larger projects into a series of smaller components" [69]. Looking at the context, this was unavoidable even in the famous Horton Plaza Mall built by Jon Jerde. Facing a rather sad closing of its historical past, the Horton Plaza Mall failed to revive the downtown in the long run. From being a tourist attraction once it opened up, it missed its match in the new needs and context.

As television and media came into place, in the West, countries and new foreign identities started to form. As shown in movies, television, and being portrayed in shopping venues, new identities started to emerge. The technological access globally created simultaneous inequality and accessibility. Advertisers started to modernize for more precious, fresh, and prestigious looks. Thus identities with 'added values' started to emerge and take place [70]. From copyrights, brands, and trademarks, the elements started to act as safeguards for added value in the sold goods. Trademark laws started to co-exist internationally. In increasingly over-saturated markets, brands started to use the increased value of symbolism, and symbol making - Psychogramming [71]. Leo Burnett, an advertising agency, spoke out that the "personality" of the brand's "functions" and "source of authority" became the new brand statement and the true essence of one's image. Selling the image became as important as selling the goods themselves. Thus, brands needed the correct venues to unleash such potential. New 'mini-temples' became a source of "brand-deities' to replace more secular environments like the department store that celebrated the availability of products and the marvels of modernization [72]. As the first luxury stores started to open in the early 20th century, it was not until the late 20th century did the market saw a rise in globally based merchandising concept stores in the luxury departments. LV stores ranked up 87 percent of products are sold in exclusive stores with a precisely controlled appearance [73]. Luxury stores turned into a 'global image appearance' concept. This was a predecessor to update older stores for a homogenous appearance. "Brand stores aggregate into brand zones, mutually reinforcing each other's value while competing ferociously for customers" [74]. Areas like Bond Street in the UK, Madison Avenue in New York, the Rodeo Drive in Las Vegas became solely devoted to shopping as a natural activity. This led to the idea that branding and shopping become an added value to the city. The memory of shopping sprees, fascination with retail upscale brands, endless consumption, and the geolocation of consumerism happening in the tourist-trapping, brand-driven areas, ended up endowing these zones with the brand image as their sense of place. Therefore, Brand zones became the added value of the built environment itself [75].

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[68]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[69]R. A. Beauregard, 'Building Up Downtown: A History of the American Downtown Development Association'
[70]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[71]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[72]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[73]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[74]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[75]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'

As modern technology enabled worldwide globalization, homogeneous spatial design rose in fake narratives of spaces being unique to their geolocations, however, it was not. The symbiosis of commerce spaces was too similar in multiple cities around the globe, therefore, generic and centralized consumerism architecture was referred to as the Junkspace [76]. The interiors became too generic and lost a sense of diversity. They were tone deaf to local cultures and perpetuated the disconnect between people and the buildings. To better understand the shopping limits, their counterbalance must be noted. Shopping's connection to action without form is embodied in a festical-like mindset. Thus, it creates a sort of sense of unreality and false fantasy. Places like the Hard Rock Cafe and Disneyland are like artificial lands of one's dreams, they feed into the pronounced versions of stimuli. "If shopping is the realm that defines the consuming individual, the store is a place where the abstract becomes, if not real, then tangible." [77]. As the consumer tries to differentiate and identify a complete singular built environment and the brand. However, the store redefines your perception of the world. "Instead of bringing the world to you, the store redefines your concept of the world. Tourists regularly travel to any city and return with suitcases filled with Gap clothes just like those they could buy at home" [78]. Variety is a false sense of reality. As the same clothes can be bought in the same retail shop, it is the interior decor aspect that makes customers separate local and tourist shops in their minds.

CHURCHES OF WORSHIP

As retail lost its mere sense of functionality and started to function as the 'Cathedrals of commerce' [79]. As the economy was booming and consumerism patterns increased, this direction was further incentivized with the Servicescape concept, which will be covered in PART III. Nonetheless, the mentality of worship was enabled by architects. "The whole store is about modernity, sensuality, drama. The tactility of it, the comfort of it", said Donna Karan in 1997, as she described her flagship store in Bond Street. "I wanted to create an experience that is not just clothes. The store is an expression of who I am personally and creatively" [80]. The created identity of the designer transfers itself into the brand zones. It is seen as a mythical source of authenticity. However, completely false: "Here, synthesis becomes empathy - to decipher a personality; shopping becomes ritual- to visit an oeuvre"[81]. As these spaces establish and paint a portrait of the aristocracy of an individual, where some can achieve such status based on purchases, now the myth is not based on the public perception but rather on an individual, as modern-day shopping allows us to be one. The authenticity of a modern creator or writer has been exchanged in the 'life system' supported by media, labels, and brand identity biases. These brand zones extend one's individuality and creativity beyond a person, towards the cities. Retail architecture has made its purpose to serves individuals, whereas branding caters to people. "Firmness, utility, and delight become the concepts of brand management: the management of an enduring image, the establishment of brand equity, and the creation of desirability" [81]. Therefore, the retail goes beyond the limits of space. It transcends all the forms of religion, becoming a prayer house for customers. A place to come and shop religiously.

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[76]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[77]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[78]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[79]R. Kramer, 'Cathedrals of Commerce'
[80]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[81]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'

HOSTILE ARCHITECTURE

> “Modern forms of hostile architecture can be traced to a design philosophy called crime prevention through environmental design.”[82]

It is important to mention a sub-chapter of commercial architecture- hostile design. As commerce started to see a rise in expansive growth, a new form of architecture typology emerged, called ‘Hostile architecture’. As the 20th century approached, movements such as Bauhaus took place. Functionality over form pushed for a rise in clean and minimalist design [83]. Combined with rapidly growing consumerism, new urban sprawl projects pushed clean and function-driven aesthetics, and the poor suffered in return. Thus, this was a precursor to modern hostile architecture in urban commercial spaces. Stemming from the rise of consumerism, hostile architecture has become an exclusionary defensive design that can be traced back to ideas of urban designers trying to control public behavior. Therefore, ‘lower’ communities were pushed away from commercial developments, to discourage activities of the ‘unwanted’ [84]. Hostile architecture has evolved to prioritize the interests of commerce. It has centered on the exclusivity and aesthetics of urban spaces. Public space interventions pushed the societal narratives of class division even further. To this very day, urban retail spaces often favor elitist areas, keeping the marketable look. By curating the desired appeal, architects aim to create gravitation for affluent customers, tapping into the mental biases, such as a bandwagon effect, identity bias, and halo effect, and conducting an exclusive experience [85]. Spaces made for the public, such as cafes, malls, and social spots, have been implemented in a more controlled environment to increase further consumption.

They have been formally divided into key points of control, such as aesthetics, commercial efficiency, and exclusionary practices. The urban environment is designed to minimize the non-users by creating discomfort for those who are not spending. The furniture is often uncomfortable, discouraging prolonged stay. Public spaces employ benches that have multiple armrests, dividing the seat into small separate parts, preventing the possibility of lying down or resting. Otherwise, a common typology, the seats have no backrests, ensuring that such rest spots are meant for a quick and short stop. This enables a steady flow of users roaming retail and urban spaces. However, it goes much deeper than just the shape. Funny enough, the hostile architecture furniture has similar origins and visual attraction to the materials seen in posh spaces. Hostile, polished stainless steel benches in New York have a similar attraction to the chromed rotating doors in the Bijenkorf. Since both are in public spaces, the hostile architecture uses a similar appeal of seamlessness, often being produced by high-end manufacturers. Catering to different social ends of society, hostility enables it to stay appealing in the context of standing near commercial spaces.

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[82] J. Rosenfeld, 'Hostile architecture'
[83] Wikipedia contributors, ‘Hostile architecture’
[84] R. York, 'Hostile By Design — The Inhumanity of Homeless Architecture'
[85] Z. Nussbaum, 'Hostile Architecture: The Ethical Problem of Design as a Means of Exclusion’

COMMERCE IN OTHER SITES

AIRPORT SPACE

While focusing on shopping malls and department stores, it is easy to forget about the retail location of more ‘functional’ spaces such as airports and train stations. The shopping culture of airports has long exploded and reached globalized standards. It has taken the traditional role of a complex ecosystem, facilitating work and leisure, reflecting the significant influence of consumerism in the built environment. The spatial design of airports has been linked to economic drives, focusing on maximizing retail profits. It has transformed the built environment from function-driven spaces to commercially successful enterprises. The evolution of airports is a clear example of how consumerism has shaped these spaces, turning them into destinations in their own right [86]. Compared to the mall culture, airports such as Schiphol are commonly referred to as ‘shopping centers with plane parking’[87].

There are multiple key factors that ‘successful’ airports use to maximize the enhanced customer experience. Zoning spaces for the highest profit is a common practice in airport buildings. ‘Post-passport control imprisonment’ [88], that's how the airport culture of commerce is referred to nowadays. The airport security not only provides a check-up on your well-being in the building, but also assigns zones from which people cannot seem to escape, where, once you find yourself bored, you are the perfect subject to be exploited by the commerce of the airport. Airports have adopted such architectural typology from the mall concept, integrating dining, shopping, and entertainment into the passengers’ experiences. The blend of retail and entertainment captivates users to linger in the commerce spaces, prolonging the dwelling time and thus increasing spending.

Subjects are being bombarded with advertisements, duty-free false sense of deals and discounts, and the most ‘cruel’ of it all, are the ‘intuitive’ paths one takes through the shops. It is an intelligent strategy of wayfinding, as through the floorplans, before reaching the gates, the passengers are taken through the high-value retail areas, such as Gucci or Burberry. As before, the key element of an airport was the efficiency with which the traveler reached the gates; now, the airports use a labyrinth-like path, slowing passengers down, and dragging them through the most circuitous manner past the shop showcase facades, ensuring to maximize every square meter [89].

Schiphol Airport in Amsterdam features a "See Buy Fly", an offer for the ‘last minute must-haves’. It’s a designated zone after the security checkpoint, encouraging impulse purchases in a stress-free environment. The airport provides the most modern and essential facilities, such as showers, meditation centers, prayer rooms, baby care rooms, massage facilities, and children's playrooms. It is a sort of almost self-sufficient building that encapsulates all possible needs and desires of any age. At the Amsterdam airport, the Consumer Department established facilities that combined shopping and cultural entertainment under one roof, providing experiences such as Holland Casino, a Rijksmuseum exhibit, a Holland Excursions travel agency desk, and, most recently, a Library [90].

As architects facilitate the visual atmosphere for their space, airports are highly adapted to *User Experience* and *Service Design* elements. A British writer specializing in design and architecture and a former director of the Design Museum, Deyan Sudjic, in his book, “The Language of Things”, writes about his impulsive experiences at airports. Due to the nature and space of the airport, Sudjic

[86]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, ‘Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping’
[87]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, ‘Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping’
[88]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, ‘Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping’
[89]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, ‘Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping’
[90]Y. J. Sojinu, ‘Airport shopping: The success story of See Buy fly at Amsterdam/Schiphol Airport’

explains that individuals' airport purchase decisions are more influenced by the spatial design and context than the objects themselves. Thus, the act of purchasing becomes relatively quicker than conscious. Firstly, the layouts push people to the seductive retail store. The writer needed a laptop; however, in the context of fear of missing out on his flight running in the back of his mind (FOMO), Deyan described that his quick purchase of an expensive Apple laptop was influenced by the built environment. The cleverly designed stimuli, such as space perception, the seductive appeal of discount opportunities in the airports, and conveniently laid out retail spaces close to the gates, made the man falsely identify the value of his purchase [91].

"It was a purchase based on a set of seductions and manipulations that were taking place entirely in my head, rather than in physical space. Moreover, to understand how the laptop succeeded in making me want it enough to pay to take it away is to understand something about myself, and maybe also a little about the part that design has to play in the modern world." D. Sudjic simplified the intertwined role of spaces affecting our decisions, highlighting the importance of one's critical spatial awareness when moving in the built environment [92].

"In an airport, there is not the space or the time to be charmed or hypnotized by nuances or irony. Transactions here are of the most brutal kind. There are no window displays. No respectful men in Nehru jackets and electronic ear prosthetics open doors for you. There are no layers of tissue paper wrapping for your purchases or crisp, unused new banknotes for your change. There is just the inescapable din of a mountain of objects piled high and sold not that cheaply to divert you" [93].

What Sudjic experienced was a mere Servicescape concept, where the physical stimuli overtake all the conscious perceptions of oneself in the space. He thought that everything was a simple mind game at his own expense; however, at the moment, he failed to realize that the built environment overpowered him in all of his senses to perceive a space without being triggered.

Malls are destined to become the next major realm of shopping development, mainly because "all the malls have been built and all the best locations are gone" [94]. In the meantime, airport retail shopping, as lucrative and perfect as it may be, is inherently limited by the confined space, beginning to exhaust retail opportunities, as the only opportunity is to retail elsewhere at other airports. At Heathrow, the situation has even reached the point where the management cannot carry out much-needed expansions for facilities such as customs because "the value of real estate of shopping areas makes that impossible" [95].

TRAIN STATIONS

Another function-driven space that has transformed its purpose in the past centuries is the transportation stations, such as a train station. Train stations around the globe have played an

[91]D. Sudjic, 'The Language of Things. Understanding The World of Desirable Objects'
[92]D. Sudjic, 'The Language of Things. Understanding The World of Desirable Objects'
[93]D. Sudjic, 'The Language of Things. Understanding The World of Desirable Objects'
[94]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[95]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'

essential part in commercial architecture [96]. In the 19th Century, as Europe started to see a rise in train station developments, their mere utilitarian function of transportation started to shift [97]. These transit hubs became centers of commerce and a reflection of local identity. The train stations in urban architecture symbolized industrial progress and economic growth, which integrated transit, retail, and entertainment [98]. Down the line, the architecture of train stations shifted towards public commercialisation. While the new stations adapted to the growing societal needs, the old ones, like Den Haag HS, started to adapt the best way they could, implementing retail-like Kiosk 'boxes' within the historic architecture.

The early beginnings can be traced back to the Industrial Revolution. During the 19th century, the cities started to grow, thus creating a need for greater-scale, centralized train stations as a means of managing the flow of travelers and goods [99]. Early European and American train stations were focal points in urban development. They facilitated the economic growth and the further development of nearby areas. The 19th-century stations were built as monumental structures, full of decorations and detailed elements [100]. They were reflective of that period's architecture. Similar to the "cathedral of commerce," train stations were referred to as "cathedrals of the industrial age" [101]. These spaces mirrored the national capital's progress and commercial activities.

Over time, train stations integrated commercial signs and elements, like ticket offices, dining, markets, and hotels. They catered to the passengers and were an attraction hub for both travelers and locals, transforming stations into early examples of mixed-use commercial spaces. Because of the expansion of commercialism, train stations connect urban centers, like regional markets [102]. It enabled the transit of goods and produce. Rail infrastructure supported industries like coal, agriculture, and textiles. Such facilities integrated commerce into urban planning.

Due to the popularity of car culture, the mid-20th century started to see the decline of train station popularity. Automobiles and planes impacted the growth of stations, which impacted their role in our society, leading to the decline of neglect in stations. This pushed city developers to repurpose and rethink the role and commercialization of stations. Many of them were transformed into social hubs that helped to facilitate human interaction for leisure. To this day, stations accommodate locals as multi-functional spaces [103].

They capitalize on the high passenger traffic, intellectually integrating advertisements and signs in stations' interiors. As I have seen in Helsinki, corporate giants often cover the old and elegant architecture with their massive advertisement signs. This leads to showcasing the shifted perspective on consumption, where historic train station spaces still stand for their cultural relevancy and local identity. Yet, marketing and advertising took over the aesthetics of architecture and its beauty. Much like airports and malls, train stations reflect the local identity and become the city's landmark.

PART II

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[103] Nederlandse Spoorwegen, 'Station as a Hub'

THE NEW SOCIAL CULTURE

"Consumerism has become a winner in all human categories,
taking over consumption, culture, and a sense of community."[104]

Modern-day malls have become windowless, sealed, and isolated artificial environments, and retail spaces have become artificial bazaars with great autonomy from exterior conditions. With the modern technology of "ideal" temperature, air conditioning, and engineered comfort with escalators and lifts, such spaces are made to fit and act as the most comfortable environment to escape. Greater comfort with and an increased willingness to spend more time indoors, malls radically altered the way the public spends their time [105]. "Few activities unite us as human beings in the way shopping does. Apart from the housing and work, no other program compares in sheer quantity"[106]. In the showcased studies, it was noticed that shopping activities and shopping spaces attracted more people than attending churches, educational institutions, and museums. Not only does retail take up more physical space than any other nonresidential construction, retail claims a greater percentage of the workforce than any other field. "By the mere virtue of proportion, shopping has become inescapable"[107].

As shopping is an inescapable part of our daily life, it is still one of the most unstable and short-lived activities. Institutions like schools, churches, or universities play a historically important role in our cities and are much more stable in terms of long-term predictability. On the other hand, shopping is continuously reinvented and reshaped to keep up with societal changes. There is no other program that has seen so many shifts in cultural desires and urban patterns as retail. Through the years, due to shopping being premised on its survival and always facing the threat of obsolescence, retail activities have been seen as reborn in cycles, births, and declines. Because of these factors, shopping has found its own means to expand by closely monitoring and explaining the public's desires and fluctuations in its milieu. Shopping has reached its current potential [108].

Physical changes such as mobility, air conditioning, and escalators allowed the first stage of spatial expansion in the modern environment. With the new era of optimized living in the 19th century, changes in physical mechanisms and expansions enabled new scales of spaces to accommodate the multiplying numbers of goods. With time, the rapid modernization of consumer culture promoted the growth of retail. Shopping became relevant to the consumer because of the provided relevant enhanced environment. The spaces enabled unprecedented comforts and thus became irresistible to the majority. As the connection between the user and consumerism spaces became more convenient and had fewer frictions than ever frictions, and since its acceptance was relatively uncontested, the act of shopping started to influence the altered bond between the built environment and the target group, reframing the consumer activity [109].

With each new invention, such as air-conditioned spaces, skylights, and interiors of city blocks opened to the public pushed the retail feel became like a protected and nurtured environment. By

[104]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[105]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[106]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[107]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[108]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[109]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'

wrapping users in conditional comfort, it freed new depths of interior space for shopping. With increasing heights of floor numbers, escalators provided easy access to traverse, putting all levels on the same access point. However, even through the shopping activities, the Built Environment started to become short-lived, as old forms of architectural arcades, the principle of Western shopping architecture, started to see a decline, being overshadowed by the controlled environments and the seducing designs of malls and department stores. In comparison with the department stores, it took half of the time for malls to become the dominant form of consumer activity. It transformed itself into the dominant form of makeup of the urban spaces [110].

The recent rise in e-commerce and the physical limits of the architectural expansion in retail interiors have reached the final consumerism saturation point. Architectural mechanical enhancement has been exhausted, and its functions, such as air conditioning, faced limitations of the depths in interior spaces, and escalators have used up every possibility of connecting different levels into a continuous circulation. This started to stagnate the developmental progress of consumerism in architecture. To keep the measures of consumer activity, shopping had to find new directions to survive. One way, understanding that the 'old' shapes of commercial architecture have started to stagnate the possibilities retail could reach. "The unprecedented size of these new forms also made other forms of shopping obsolete, thus limiting the range of possibilities and creating a homogenous and undifferentiated field of shopping that was quickly exhausting the interest of the public" [111]. This sparked a new radical developmental transformation in ways we didn't know shopping could continue.

This resulted in the privatization of every possible institution and governmental project that has ever faced urban sprawl. Hospitals, libraries, education spaces, churches, you name it, became colonized by commerce [112]. With the government no longer being able to support the rapid need for changes in commerce, the financial support shifted from public to private. Leaving retail to support itself, the shopping business faced the market's instabilities and the threat of obsolescence. This reshaped institutions to become more like shopping, and shopping expanded on by colonizing all the institutions there are. Shopping started to offer a quick means to generate revenue and activity. It seemed susceptible to decline and started to anticipate overcoming the crisis. It became quick to change in terms of crisis, always looking out for new forms to present itself anew to users. In the face of uncertainty, it brought out the flexibility of the industry. In the book "Harvard Shopping Guide", the shopping institution as we know it was presented to be expanding itself into every program there is: airports, churches, train stations, museums, casinos, libraries, education institutions, and hospitals [112]. Airports started to be commercially driven and indistinguishable. The stores at the end of every museum experience started to correlate with department stores. And the cities started to be reconfigured into huge malls of themselves. Shopping has become the way we experience public life. Shopping has permeated and enveloped any human activity [112]. As we live in the current progress of this new social culture of 'forever shopping', we have yet to realize the effect this will bring upon society and the built environment. To keep this expansion and consumer activity, retail has developed an expansive network of technology designed to understand all the factors that push users to shop. Spatial realms that were considered safe spaces have been placed under commercial scrutiny, and our movements have become transactional. Now, everything from the educational system to the quality of the food has become a matter of credit card payments and increased purchase activity [113]. Such data is now enabled to continuously grow retail upon the knowledge of our activities. Through this wave of technological advancements and institutionalized commerce

[110]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[111]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[112]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'
[113]C. J. Chung, J. Inaba, R. Koolhaas, S. T. Leong, 'Project on the City II: The Harvard Guide to Shopping'

permeation, shopping has become the new social culture. Because of the ability to foresee changes rapidly, even in times of crisis, the retail culture is forever changing and readapting to the current needs of its users. As shops become limitless in size and overtake daily activities, commerce has become the new social culture and a place of daily socialization.

MALL OF THE NETHERLANDS

In my data documentation, often coming in pairs of two or three, the Mall of the Netherlands doesn’t fall far from any other modern mall typology. From Starbucks and Schmidt Optiek to McDonald's, catering to different lifestyle-based consumer experiences, it provides an outlet for users to bond through different shared activities. Therefore, human interaction and commerce go hand in hand. The mall not only facilitates every possible necessity of human desire but also provides experimental environments like the Kinepolis or the bowling spaces, and serves as a social hub where consumerism and social interactions coexist. Under one building, being able to go to a jewelry shop, eat, observe art, or watch a movie, consumers bond through the same variety of activities. The shared experience of drinking coffee while shopping always bonded my mom and me. The spatial analysis of the Leidschendam Mall and a previous trip to the USA, 5th Avenue, led me to understand that entertainment and commerce are manifestations of the modern world. Retail has become the new leisure and social engagement. We are attracted to these spaces because they completely fulfill all the emotional engagement we need, as well as encourage prolonged stays. In my analysis, people in the Leidschendam mall could have been categorized into key social/activity parts: lounging at food intake spots, walking between shops, and shopping. While cafes like Starbucks have been enabled to have physical shops with mugs and plastic cups of the same extent as any other commerce space, their main purpose hasn’t changed, however it was only normal for pasengers with shopping bags to stop by for the reasons of relaxation, leading me back to the main argument, that mall equals to the same entertainment and relaxation. While passageways in the Mall of the Netherlands have been designed to appeal bleak in contrast to the store merchandise. As shops have the highest light concentration density, it is only normal to be focused on the retail spaces. Falsifying nature, shops like Rituals designed full-scale trees and lights to trick the mind and attract users. We are attracted to the visual contrast, therefore, it's a human desire to come by and feel the tactility of clothes or their presentational pedestals, which will be covered in the following part of the paper. In the end, we live to earn, and spending is the highest expression of happiness, thus, we socialize in the same places. Therefore, to be entertained is to consume.

As we live in a modern society, and spending power can be gained through a variety of ways, the new capital is time. Therefore architects have been solving the puzzle of how can the consumer’s time and attention be captured and held through prolonged periods. The visual merchandise designs managed to trick the visual mind and appeal to cognitive biases through materialization. Brands have adapted to serve merchandise through the visually pleasing and aesthetic pursuits of decorative pedestals, booths, racks, etc. I wanted to delve deeper into the insights of materialization and surface effects on the mind. This leads me to the chapter of PART III.

PART III

"A visually strong material defines the atmosphere of the space in which the product is shown and, contrary to what some retailers might fear, it emphasizes the impact of the product." [114]

As one enters the space, the visual appeal and physical stimuli of it notify us of the space, as we can almost read the architecture and design unconsciously. Human biology learns how to associate and distinguish certain materials from one another, in other words, 'read the room' once entering the space. This allows us to tell the capital difference from the Bijenkorf or Mega Stores. Applied materials always tell a story. The research of surfaces and stimuli was conceptualized in the 20th century, during the most immense rise in commerce. The use of particular materials comes from a deeply narrated retail design selection concept, otherwise known as Servicescape, developed by American academics Mary Jo Bitner and Booms and Bitner[115] in 1990. It is a framework model that emphasizes the impact of the physical spaces in which a service takes place. The idea of Servicespace involves our physical surroundings in retail spaces, such as tactility, textures, and materials applied, thus affecting the user and their interactions in retail. Understanding such elements and their use informs us about how engaged the customer can/will be based on the space he or she is in. Thus, architects employ Servicescape to contribute to the atmosphere that enhances one's experience and will positively affect the users' behavior when purchasing [115].

Joseph Weishar, in his book "Design for Effective Customer Behavior", explains that store design and merchandise presentation influence customer behavior. "Through an understanding of sensory triggering mechanisms, seemingly random and chaotic customer patterns will have predetermined responses. The sensitivities of people in a controlled environment cause repetitive actions that are defined in this book. Their use sets a logical sequence in establishing selling space priorities"[116]. Weishar states that between the lines of behaviorism and popularised neuropsychology, "shoppers are amazingly similar to each other. Their psychological systems react in a highly predictable way to a variety of stimuli. These responses cause their bodies to move in a certain recognizable path, and when making decisions, their minds move along recognizing patterns"[117].

Human behavior in commercial retail spaces is much more predictable than we think. To better explain this, once entering a mall, strategically lit pathways direct the user to walk the most optimal desired route, being exposed to as many spatial goods and nuances as possible. This is highly calculated in that there is data that predicts the likelihood of the user to come up closer to a specific clothing rack and touch the shoes on the pedestal [118]. This, of course, works with other multiple key factors. One of those is the human stimuli. It goes into multiple body-based elements of smell, touch, movement, and sound. This way, through senses, the brand interactions can strengthen the user's bond to the sold goods and the overall consumer experience [119]. One of the most interesting parts is the materiality through touch. Surfaces can give out the signals of luxury or a sense of authority. We cognitively assign certain positive or negative attributes to tactility. Therefore, a colorful carpet in

[114]V. Camblin, 'Retail Has Become a Game of Seduction: OMA's ELLEN VAN LOON on the new KaDeWe Experience'
[115]Wikipedia contributors, 'Servicescape'
[116]J. Weishar, 'Design for effective selling space'
[117]J. Weishar, 'Design for effective selling space'
[118]J. Weishar, 'Design for effective selling space'
[119]L. Halka, 'Sensory Marketing: How to Attract Customers Through Sight, Sound, Touch, and More'

Bijenkforf (Amsterdam) in the book section could be associated with modern and playful appeal, as the glossy white bench a few levels below speaks out in a sense of sophistication. Being able to determine what positive or negative attributes materials give out allows us to put them in the right context. This leads to playing with spatial manipulation for visual appeal. Pushing the idea that once 'right' elements are put in the right space, our bodies can move towards them, in recognizable patterns, and make decisions according to them. Therefore, psychoprogramming can predict users' actions early on in their walk in the mall.

From my early works of helping people set up their personal spaces to current research on commercial spaces, it has brought out the most hypocritical and humorous idea of 'individuality'. As people, we are inclined to believe in our uniqueness and personal choice of actions. However, findings of User Experience design research and human behavior predictions in spatial design have brought out the fact that we are falsely believing in our narratives about ourselves. Once entering Bijenkorf, we believe that it was a personal choice to touch that particular jacket on the right because of our interest in denim, linen, etc. However, the drive of interest was based on the context in which the desired jacket was portrayed - psychoprogramming. Not knowing the background on spatial manipulation, like the use of spotlights, reflective surfaces, etc., it is easy to fall back on the idea of personal interest actions. However, people are extremely similar and even more predictable. This goes back to what Joseph Weishar has been saying about sensory trigger mechanisms. Therefore, as we are put in a heavily controlled environment, it completely demolishes the pursuit of one's uniqueness.

To further prove what psychoprogramming had been manifested in, I settled into the research of the Bijenkorf department stores.

DE BIJENKORF

"The department store is an extension of the city
and at the same time a city in itself" [114]

De Bijenkorf, a chain of multiple luxury department stores, was originally founded in 1870 in Amsterdam and has spread its commerce through the biggest cities in the country [120]. Emphasized by its explicit design and the use of luxurious materials and decorations, De Bijenkforf has been a local trendsetter for what an elevated department store looks like nowadays. Still keeping parts of its original buildings' structures and design, the department store has been a symbol of commerce. While researching the stores, I mainly focused on the Den Haag Bijenkorf, as it was the closest and most relevant store in my proximity to study cases. As written in the archives of Den Haag Bijenkorf, the store was described as follows- "The facades are richly decorated with natural stone sculpture"; "Commissions were given to seven sculptors, including some of the most famous from the Interwar period."; "Many of the sculptures have symbolic significance, underlining the importance of commerce and department stores. And the significance of the Beehive in particular." [121]. The architect Piet Kramer's work is considered to be a part of the avant-garde of the Amsterdam School.

[120]Wikipedia contributors, 'De Bijenkorf'
[114]V. Camblin, 'Retail Has Become a Game of Seduction: OMA's ELLEN VAN LOON on the new KaDeWe Experience'
[121]J. van Nuenen, 'Bijenkorf Den Haag 1926 door Piet Kramer'

The building is praised for its high level of execution and the use of expensive materials, like the paneling made from Padauk wood and hardwood from Baroda, which were used in India to build temples [122]. As parts of the building were completely remodeled and have changed in their layout, the interior remodeling has met the modern standards of what the classic department store looks like today, changing the interior spaces over the decades, and sadly losing its monumental interior design, as seen in the archives. Therefore, it is important to note that the insides of the current Bijenkorf stores have become generic and homogenous to any other mall, while we celebrate these particular Dutch department stores for their historical value.

The given context and history of the department store led me to ground my materialisation research based on the three most famous Bijenkorfs: Rotterdam, The Hague, and Amsterdam. Stemming from the Psychoprogramming idea, I documented my personal experience of the walks in the stores, as well as the surfaces, and materials applied and used through the spaces. I analyzed what was catching my glimpse of interest and what was affecting me the most. With the knowledge of retail data, I have particularly been looking at contrast, colors, layouts, etc. After reviewing all the data, I have noticed that specific elements like polished, shiny surfaces were often presented in the context of the merchandise, being specifically applied in the proximity of the clothes, and visual eye-level items. Another key element was the use of unique textures, like the custom carpet in Amsterdam, or Indian Paduk wood applied on the walls of the staircase in the Hague; these materials brought out a sense of luxury and sophistication, a common trait of what the Bijenkorf positions itself to like. Both of these elements worked in close connection to the use of light. As artificial light is often layered to enrich the space, it also provides multiple viewpoints for the human eyes to focus on. Lastly, glass, more commonly used in interior spaces, in the Louis Vuitton preface story previously, the duality of glass has been an intriguing element in spatial design. It appeals to the desire and attraction to see things from up close, thus its transparency is sensual. It is important to recognize what and in what context these elements affect the user, increasing the stimuli and pushing them to linger further.

POLISHED SURFACES

People were always attracted to shiny things. Glossy magazines, gleaming cars, and jewelry make up the visuals of a good life. This attraction to polished surfaces can be traced back to daily objects. “Gelineau (1981) points out the powerful influence of a glossy surface finish in color preference” [123]. From consumer products to interior spaces, polished surfaces always showcase users’ likeliness for such surfaces in spaces. Research suggests that polished surfaces of displays in commerce spaces often give out a positive image of the product displayed on them [124]. This can be traced back to prehistoric times, where centuries ago a prehistoric man was documented to polish bone tools to achieve a shiny gleam [125]. “Paleolithic people also used ivory, mother of pearl, and soapstone to make shiny ornaments. Certain modern-day hunter-gatherer tribes, such as the Yolngu of northern Australia, equate the inner brilliance of such materials with a spiritual power” [126]. This indicates that likeness towards polished materials comes is a systematic bias or identified the mechanism underlying this preference for certain aesthetic elements, like “individual colors, color combinations,

[122]J. van Nuenen, ‘Bijenkorf Den Haag 1926 door Piet Kramer’
[123]K. Meert, M. Pandelaere, V. Patrick, 'Taking a Shine to It: How the Preference for Glossy stems from an Innate Need for Water’
[124]K. Meert, M. Pandelaere, V. Patrick, 'Taking a Shine to It: How the Preference for Glossy stems from an Innate Need for Water’
[125]Henshilwood, D’Errico, Marean, Milo, & Yates, ‘An early bone tool industry from the Middle Stone Age at Blombos Cave, South Africa: implications for the origins of modern human behaviour, symbolism and language’
[126]K. Meert, M. Pandelaere, Vanessa Patrick, 'Taking a Shine to It: How the Preference for Glossy stems from an Innate Need for Water’

form, texture, and spatial composition' [127]. Based on the "what is beautiful is good" hypothesis [128], it appears that the polished and shiny surfaces are directly related to visual desire and beauty appeal, the notion that glossy equals pretty. Based on these factors, aesthetically desirable items have been directly correlated to more favorable attitudes and increased sale intentions [129], and in the end, have greater chances to be bought [130], and garner increased prices [131]. This explains the fact that appealing shiny products are generally preferred by consumers, as research states that such items indicate a human perception of positive affect [132] and trigger greater emotional responses in comparison to any other objects [133].

To explain why people are attracted to polished surfaces in spaces, it's not enough to only rely on the positive outcomes of glossy surfaces, we have to look at the universal human attractiveness and the biological underpinnings [134]. Pushing the notion that the current research framework relies on human biology, and this is the main driver. Human preference for polished surfaces can be interpreted by the preference for shiny matter in socialization. "Individuals get socialized and learn to associate a glossy appearance with high-end goods and luxurious items". This explanation proposes that grown adults who have been exposed to polished material, do exhibit a preference for it, while young children who haven't been exposed to the positive associations with the glossy matter don't experience any connection to it. Perhaps the most obvious explanation for the preference for glossy is socialization. The "what is beautiful is good" theory proposes that shiny matter is more likely to be chosen due to its visual appeal. When one is making any decisions, people notice shiny objects faster and look at them longer [135]. In 2003, a study "discovered that this gaze bias is exaggerated and reinforced in decisions involving attractiveness, which they refer to as the gaze cascade effect" [135]. In particular, people who spend more time examining the space and stimuli prefer the options they tend to linger at and gaze at longer. Therefore, the preference one has for shiny materials can be traced back to the visually appealing look associated with polished surfaces. This refers to the fact that beautiful shiny objects would be rated as aesthetically pleasing when there is a visual process, not by touch but by eye gaze.

When referencing this to the commercial spaces, the provided data leads back to the fact that polished and seamless surfaces in commercial spaces bring out positive attributes and are more likely to be gazed at for longer. In a Journal of Consumer Psychology, 2013, it was noticed that users who have a preference for mainstream luxury goods prefer shiny and polished materiality, because of the association with luxury, "while consumers with lots of cultural capital tend to engage in inconspicuous consumption and prefer subtle brand logos and muted colors to differentiate them from the mainstream consumers"[136]. Materials like glass and chromed reflective surfaces are the most common signs of what we could define as wealth. While walking in the USA, often seen in the vestibules, as well as rotating doors in shopping malls, shiny surfaces are the mark of the 'higher' class, while the same materials wouldn't be found in the districts and spaces of the less well-off. However, due to the false narrative of uniqueness and desire for individuality, a small percentage of the extremely capitally well-off consumers, tend to get into the 'hide-out', which falls back on the less extreme and more simple signs of one's extravagant life, relying on muted tones and a lack of

[127]Palmer, Schloss, & Sammartino, 'Visual Aesthetics and Human Preference'
[128]Dion, K. K., Berscheid, E., & Walster, E., 'What is beautiful is good'
[129]Bloch, P. H., Brunel, F. F., & Arnold, T. J., 'Individual differences in the centrality of visual product aesthetics: Concept and measurement'
[130]Bayley, G., & Nancarrow, C., 'Impulse purchasing: a qualitative exploration of the phenomenon'
[131]Bloch, P. H., Brunel, F. F., & Arnold, T. J., 'Individual differences in the centrality of visual product aesthetics: Concept and measurement'
[132]Desmet, P., & Hekkert, P., 'Framework of product experience'
[133]D. Coates., 'Watches tell more than time'
[134]K. Meert, M. Pandelaere, V. Patrick, 'Taking a Shine to It: How the Preference for Glossy stems from an Innate Need for Water'
[135]K. Meert, M. Pandelaere, V. Patrick, 'Taking a Shine to It: How the Preference for Glossy stems from an Innate Need for Water'
[136]K. Meert, M. Pandelaere, V. Patrick, 'Taking a Shine to It: How the Preference for Glossy stems from an Innate Need for Water'

branding on the merchandise. This leads to the understanding that socialization, a recognition of one's appearance and status, is an aspect that drives such materiality in luxurious spaces. Therefore, old and expensive brands like Loro Piana can seem dull in their polished material appearance, but on the contrary, have extremely small consumer audiences. However, it is important to notice that the idea of individuality is a counter-reaction to distinguish themselves and differentiate from the masses [136], which could be common in all the social layers.

In my physical research of the Bijenkorf, I have noticed the use of polished surfaces in hierarchical order. More well-known luxury brands enabled the heightened use of such polished materials on their pedestals, while the less well-known brands had less contact with shiny surfaces. This leads us to believe that even in the Bijenkorf spaces, there is a preference for which brands can and have more potential in using seamless glossy material, and which don't. In this case, while all of the companies cannot employ the same heightened use of shiny surfaces, it is the interplay in how and where the brands place the chromed surfaces. While some mirror the whole wall, others place the material only on pedestals. Nevertheless, it is only normal for the interior designers to use such a tactic. Overbearing space with reflective surfaces will overpower the space's aesthetics and could seem tacky to begin with.

On a personal note, while roaming both high-end and lower status retail spaces, I have noticed that shiny surfaces are not only valued for their positive appeal on a cognitive level, but also seem fragile and sensitive in their response to the space. Being able to reflect all of the positive and negative details, it is the sensitivity that should be taken into account. In my reflections on the mirrored surfaces, the use of shiny materials in retail speaks volumes about the reflected quality of the materials and the design level. This is the most crucial aspect of polished surfaces. Can and does it reflect quality? If not, then it becomes too easy to see the lack of appeal and effort. Thus, while comparing spaces, the Bijenkorf has it so much easier to use multiple sources of reflection and polished texturisation than MegaStores or H&M.

To conclude, polished surfaces trick the mind and appeal visually to grasp the attention of their users. To counteract that, pedestals and display elements in all of the Bijenkorfs were merely an arousal and attraction effect. Standing as a heightened sign of luxury, polished and shiny surfaces enable all the emotional desires of users to come closer and interact with the goods. Polished display materials of Prada or Balenciaga displayed in Amsterdam represent the ability to make of mental connection with the cognitive biases of the brands. Associating yourself with what the company represents, whether it is the quiet luxury or the new money. Polished surfaces enable the possibility of users to admire and overvalue items, leading to further sales, and reinforcing the idea that everything works in the context of one another.

LIGHTNING

"Lighting is a powerful tool in creating an environment, an experience, and a mood."[137]

[137]House of Interiors, 'The UK's Largest Lifestyle Lighting Showroom'

From the first look at the Bijenkorf facades- visual merchandising booths to the end of the changing rooms and toilet mirrors, light is an effective tool that directs one's perception and mood of the space. Once entering, strategically designed lighting can create an inviting atmosphere, highlight key products, and guide users through the desired pathways. In retail spaces, lighting seeks to raise the profits of sales and seduce customers. Curated light touches upon many key factors of user experience, cognitive biases, and mental stimuli. Effective retail lighting design affects various factors to achieve multifaceted objectives, such as product identity and atmosphere, way-finding routes, sustainability in energy efficiency, and much more. Thus, architects can seamlessly guide the shopper through the spaces as they want.

Once walking into any retail space, a cohesive brand identity is a crucial storyline that lightning can shape in one's mind and follow continuously. Correct light helps to enable a memorable experience, highlights key products and their attributes, like a sense of wealth and sophistication, and engages users' desire [138]. Multiple key retail targets are affected by the presence of light, such as promoting and showing off the merchandise, enabling competition between the goods, creating an aesthetic shopping space, and attracting customers. This leads to the focus on how exactly lighting is used to seduce.

One of the main lighting techniques used in retail architecture is the use of layered lighting. It is the key principle of retail architecture. There is a simple answer as to why layered lighting works the best. The combination of ambient, task, and accent lighting allows designers to precisely curate the most desirable environment, ensuring that the space is comfortable and visually pleasant. "Similar to how a well-composed painting has layers that contribute to its depth, a well-lit retail space combines various layers of lighting to create a visually appealing and dynamic environment" [139]. Luxury brands like Chloe, Gucci or Louis Vuitton have used subtle, layered warm and cold-toned light, such as ambient or task lighting, thus making us perceive the collections with a sense of richness, while tech stores like Media Markt or Apple stores use more bright, direct and modern lighting solutions, to seek out the futuristic and sleek vibes. Both Media Markt as well as Bijenkorf use *'*product emphasis' or a.k.a. task light to allow users to approach the products, seeking to be touched and see them closer by the display. Accent/task lighting draws attention to specific products or the display to highlight the presented elements, textures, and colors, enhancing the visual appeal. It can draw attention to key features on the displays, creating drama and capturing the gaze [140].

In documenting the Bijenkforfs, task lighting was used on more luxurious items of display, like a unique clothing piece or details of jewelry. This way, properly lit products can have a precise color, shape, and reflection representation in their portrayal, focusing better on the detail than in any other uncontrolled *built environment.* The soft landing appeal of the products evokes emotional behavior based on lighting and atmosphere. In the case study about "The psychological effect of changing artificial light situations on people", it has been reported that motivation for shopping is inevitably linked, such that many people make purchases for emotional reasons [141]. Studies showcase that dimmer lighting can induce more pleasure [140], while others state that more appealing emotions are induced by higher light levels [141]. Nonetheless, in the same study, it was noticed that high-intensity contrast was better received than low-intensity contrast. Thus, shops and malls use contrasts of lighting color temperatures to heighten the shopper's excitement and attract attention and spatial complexity. As a result, emotional reactions often lead to different consumer behaviors.

[138]LEDAPlus, 'Retail Lighting Design Guide'
[139]Prolight Design, 'The Ultimate Guide to Retail Lighting'
[140]Y. Lin, S. Yoon, 'Exploring the Effects of Lighting on Consumer Responses in a Retail Environment using 3D WalkThrough Animation'
[141]Y. Lin, S. Yoon, 'Exploring the Effects of Lighting on Consumer Responses in a Retail Environment using 3D WalkThrough Animation'

To explain better how emotions are influenced by the contrast, it is important to understand how it works and its varieties. Low-contrast describes brighter ambient light, while high-contrast is a combination of less ambient bright light and more accent light. When applied, lower lighting contrast space allows easy traffic and circulation. Obtaining higher contrast lighting is helpful when trying to produce attractive visual outcomes, a special atmosphere, increased stimuli, and excitement. Retail spaces with light contrast enable people's interest in merchandise and the surrounding space, while low-contrast light is known to have an effect on the influence of pleasures. To create a heavy light-to-darkness contrast, it is important to establish key surfaces and objects, highlighting them to receive lighting emphasis while leaving others in comparative darkness. By showcasing the products, such light composition can highlight allocated areas where customers engage in activities, such as changing rooms, reading, and socializing spaces. This strengthens the functionality aspects and helps users in their decision-making process [142].

The are two main lighting components, ambient and accent (task). 'Studies found that people in bright ambient lighting environments have higher levels of pleasure. High-contrast lighting tends to create strong visual images, leading to higher levels of arousal and approach intention in a retail space' [143]. The General Illumination, otherwise known as Ambient Lighting, is the base for illuminating and establishing the spatial borders of an area the visitor can roam in, giving specific boundaries one can explore with comfort. In spaces where the daylight is limited, the General Illumination stretches from the ceiling to the shadows on users' shoes. General Illumination is the base start of what we know as retail artificial lighting, which is followed by the 'richness' of layered lighting that gives the most impact on spatial perception following after. Ambient light in combination with the task light creates a spatial atmosphere that lights up all the merchandise and products displayed. The contrast between the interplay of these two lights draws the customer's attention and raises overall satisfaction [144]. In other words, the rich layering of lights enables space to gain depth and remove a 'flat' look, thus feel more unique and expensive. In the case of Prada (Bijenkorf Amsterdam), the store uses the most extreme examples of contrasting colors, off-white and black. In the context of a luxurious environment, the French stores appeal to a cool and distinct look.

When it comes to color, studies have found that it can have a direct impact on people's mood and energy shifts. CCT, otherwise known as Correlated Color Temperature, refers to the color of light emitted from a light source. In most cases, it signifies how cold or warm the light is showcased. It was noticed that the color temperature of an artificial light source can have a significant relationship to our emotional states[144]. In similar studies, it was noted that 'hot' or warm colors emit calm, relaxed, and pleasured states of mind.

> "In their experimental study, it was found that higher approach intention in a space with higher CCT (cool color) and higher CCT (5000K) lighting produces a higher level of arousal than lower CCT (3000K)" [145]

It is quite a technical process to have the artificial lighting work its way. As designers deal with the rise and fall of the day light at the same time, the 'newer' Bijenkorfs, like the one in Rotterdam,

[142]Prolight Design, 'The Ultimate Guide to Retail Lighting'
[143]Y. Lin, S. Yoon, 'Exploring the Effects of Lighting on Consumer Responses in a Retail Environment using 3D WalkThrough Animation'
[144]Y. Lin, S. Yoon, 'Exploring the Effects of Lighting on Consumer Responses in a Retail Environment using 3D WalkThrough Animation'
[145]Y. Lin, S. Yoon, Exploring the Effects of Lighting on Consumer Responses in a Retail Environment using 3D WalkThrough Animation'

rebuilt after the war, have decided to use a very limited amount of sunlight. Enabling the diffused skylight as the main key source of external lighting. This factor comes into play with the sunray effect of clothes, ‘bleaching’ them. As well as previously mentioning the fact that natural lighting is hard to control, and thus the power of sunlight becomes difficult to manage with the ‘undesired’ weather conditions.

After the interior analysis was completed in the Bijenkorf, in the context of the use of light, I have come to the idea that lighting is not the selling point of any luxurious spaces, but rather a tool to guide the eye gaze towards the goods. Artificial lighting enables us to be guided to take a look, whether it's a lit pathway, enabling us to find an escalator, or the glass stone on a Swarovski ring. The end appeal of illumination is the ability to manipulate where to look, therefore, the question is, do we choose what we look at, or is it chosen for us? Does the light help us to find the escalator fast and easy, or are we taken to the escalator by the use of lights? To each their own, however, this is the proposition for ending, how conscious and critical are we in the space for it to manipulate us? If chosen to roam the spaces easily, then let the lighting choose where you look.

TEXTURES

> “Textured walls, sculptural pieces, and rugs with interesting weaves contribute to the layered effect, creating an environment that is rich in sensory experiences.”[146]

The use of tactility and sensory modality is an ever-present brand experience in all retail environments. Sensory Branding is a marketing tactic that engages multiple senses, including physical touch and visuals, thus influencing consumer emotions and actions. The use of textures creates memorable experiences in these spaces. As touch is ‘discovered’ at birth, it is central to human social life experience and is being continuously developed throughout the lifetime[147]. Once interacting with the retail space, designers use tactility and textures to strengthen consumer perception/ experience. As designers enable brand identity to portray its values/in the spaces, it becomes easier for the users to connect with the space.

Architects and designers have long understood the strong visual and tactile impact of textures in spaces. The visual appeal of surfaces and materials signals users through tactile and visual feedback. The ‘material representation’, defined as perceived images, properties, meanings, and material values, contributes to how the customers perceive it. Therefore, users focus on the aesthetic and emotional response to an experience. “When consumers are faced with a product, they will formulate an initial perception of the product based on sensory properties, such as color, texture, sound, smell, taste, etc” [148]. Such sensorial experiences are realized through smart and innovative use of surfaces and textures; therefore, selecting materials can exponentially increase a product’s image and perceived value. In 2010, a case study was done where it was noted that 70 percent of customers were making buying decisions in the small domestic appliances market based on the point of sale [149]. Meaning that the visual merchandising booth materialisation heavily

[146]Fairgray.design, 'Tactile and tranquil'
[147]M. J. Hertenstein, 'Touch: Its Communicative Functions in Infancy'
[148]H. Zuo, M. Jones, T. Hope, R. Jones, 'Sensory Perception of Material Texture in Consumer Products'
[149]H. Zuo, M. Jones, T. Hope, Robin Jones, 'Sensory Perception of Material Texture in Consumer Products'

impacted their desirability to buy. Therefore, it is crucial to see that the interior is not only visually appealing and intriguing but also ensures that customers see and feel the quality of a surface.

> “In other words, the product should have suitable sensory properties to satisfy both consumers’ perceptual needs and emotional expectations via channels beyond vision. Designers use textures in most of their design practices and understand that texture and texture combination can have a strong visual and tactile impact.” [150]

Understanding aspects of texture perception and cognition, how to select and combine textures and surfaces more effectively to match both functional and experiential satisfaction, remains to be explored, but will be very effective for architects in practice. Moreover, for aesthetic purposes, the focus on textures lies on a greater emphasis. 1. “the subjective feeling of our responses to material textures” 2. “the relationship between subjective feeling and the underlying objective properties or parameters of materials” 3. “the context of use – i.e. how the information from the first two aspects may also be dependent on the context of the use of the product” [151].

As in Barnes et al study case, completed in 2004[152], the scientists researched the use of rough versus smooth surfaces through physical touch, tactility, and its effect on users, “sliding contact of a fingertip over rough glass surfaces, intended to be used for cosmetics packaging. They found that, when a surface is less rough than a fingertip it generates desirable feelings, but when it is rougher than a fingertip, it generates undesirable ones (all in the context of what is deemed to be desirable for cosmetics packaging)” [152]. To put it in the right light, the researchers tried to predetermine what the unconscious cause and effect of the materials and textures we perceive physically. Based on the received data, they could answer how exactly we desire or dislike materials based on touch. However, stemming from all human senses, texturisations heavily rely on the visual context first and foremost. In the context of posh and luxurious retail spaces, Bijenkorfs have a strong ground in the use of texturisation. Being able to have separate allocated spaces for almost all ‘big’ brands, they employ separate booths and displays, representing each brand in their own identity. With this, each company can represent its own material set palette and brand identity information. Like in the case of Swarovski (based in The Hague Bijenkorf), it comes with its’ homogeneous design identification globally. At the same time, showcasing the branding with baby blue velvet-esque aesthetics. The visual design is distinct from other brands and appeals to the visual tactility of users, employing the adaptation of textures.

As I documented the Bijenkorf in The Hague, the research shows that the display pedestals for clothing to be shown off, the designers have used a variety of visual and texture-based tricks to contrast the clothes displayed. In the Hague example of wood boxes, high contrasts of wood patterns are used in the display boxes, as a way to enrich the visual contrast between the goods and showcase boxes, thus altering the visual perception of the clothes in the built spaces. “Combining rough with smooth, matte with glossy, and hard with soft textures invites touch and adds visual interest. This contrast not only defines spaces but also encourages interaction with the environment”[153]. The elements invite you to come closer and touch the displayed objects. In the case

[150]H. Zuo, M. Jones,T. Hope, R. Jones, 'Sensory Perception of Material Texture in Consumer Products'
[151]H. Zuo, M. Jones, T. Hope, R. Jones, 'Sensory Perception of Material Texture in Consumer Products'
[152] Barnes, C. J., Childs, T. H. C., Henson, B. and Southee, C. H.,‘Surface finish and touch – A case study in a new human factors tribology’
[153]Fairgray.design, 'Tactile and tranqui’

of the women's section in The Hague's Bijenkorf, the display tables use smooth plastic surfaces to bring out the playfulness and contrast to the clothes lying on them. In such cases, this is a smart tactic to align one's brand identity that wants to be perceived as youthful and the modernity of plastic which often stands as a more childish-like material. As in the Burberry section in Rotterdam's Beijnkoft, the tones of patterns and textures are colder and muted down, evoking emotions of a more 'stable' luxury line of the brand. Such textures and materials facilitate a variety of senses that can be expressed through surfaces, temperatures of tones, light, form, and shapes, etc. It is important to know what these objects can mean in the mind. As users can positively respond to visual appeal and touch, this can be further utilized in combination with the Servicescape aspects[154].

Retail mall patterns, textures, and other commerce surfaces are most effective when they engage the customers in a meaningful way, attracting the user to come closer and explore the materiality better. While personal preferences and biases certainly influence material choices, data indicates that textures achieve their greatest impact when they are used appropriately within a given context. For instance, materials such as wood can evoke both inexpensive and luxurious qualities depending on their application and the broader design context. A prime example of this can be seen in the Bijenkorf pedestal made from veneer, which, though constructed with a relatively modest material, is presented in a refined and minimalist manner that enhances its perceived value. The simplicity of its design elevates the material, making it appear sophisticated. On the contrary, it is the shape and context of the pedestal that ultimately determine its effect on users. In my graduation work, I focus primarily on the interplay of materiality, texture, and tactility. Exploring how these elements combine to create a sense of elevated luxury and exclusivity in retail spaces.

GLASS

Produced for centuries, the ability to use glass in retail spaces has enabled commercial spaces to lure in people even more. Setting a scene of rich and upscale architecture, glass showcases and windows have allowed consumers to get a glimpse of the desired pieces from up close. Not like any other material, glass is transparent and still holds a physical barrier between. "Visual connection is the exact thing that clear glass allows, and provides, yet ambiguity results from the physical, hard barrier, transparency aside" [155]. The sense of transparency is seducing. Acting as a physical barrier, the presence of transparent clear glass in the interior spaces similarly creates dual and ambiguous emotions of connection and disconnection, inaccessibility and accessibility, inward-looking and silence 'in return', and the expectation of what can be seen through the glass [156]. It is a play between physical safety and danger, separation and connection, privacy and publicity [157]. Thus, the attraction lies in the fact that, because glass is never fully transparent, it isn't sufficient to offset the uncertainty in our minds. It is like we can almost touch what's behind the surface, but never really be there yet, that is manipulating and seducing at the same time. This was a predecessor of the *vitrine* typology in retail spaces. To be able to show the goods in full display and attract customers to come inside, to see what's behind the showcase.

While walking on 5th Avenue, USA, otherwise known as the main shopping district in New York, I documented the store showcases. While taking pictures and observing people standing in lines to be able to access the store, I noticed that the use of glass vitrines plays a key role in the sense of

[154]Wikipedia contributors, 'Servicescape'
[155]M. Ziff, 'The Role of Glass in Interior Architecture: Aesthetics, Community, and Privacy'
[156]M. Ziff, 'The Role of Glass in Interior Architecture: Aesthetics, Community, and Privacy'
[157]M. Ziff, 'The Role of Glass in Interior Architecture: Aesthetics, Community, and Privacy'

familiarity between the luxuriousness and oneself. Yet, it stands as an almost sensual barrier between the desired and the desired, evoking emotions of admiration. In such retail spaces, glass partitions and canopies bring sensual and dramatic roles into play. It is a simulation between us and the view inwards. In the case of 5th Avenue shops and the Bijenkorf showcases, it allows the lure of luxury, sensing like almost feeling it, yet not fully there.

The use of glass as a construction material, in both interiors and architecture, creates light passages, views, continuity of spaces, and a sense of diminished barriers between spaces. The use of glass sheets as walls had become predominantly popular in modernist times [158]. This substituted the use of another contraction material, such as gypsum board, while keeping the characteristics of a wall. The ability to see through the glass, plexiglass walls, and partitions allows us to receive light beyond solid enclosures, which shifts our perceptions of the space into the levels of unpredictability. Not fully visually perceiving the true sense and size space. “In such an environment, the variables used to understand human experience have been compounded to a point that it is not possible to analyze the effects that may be encountered in the space” [159]. You could say that the play of glass as an architectural tool creates an opportunity for consumers to take part in awareness activities around the spaces [160]. This is highly common in big open concept layout stores like the Bijenkorf, where each brand uses their own glass/ plexiglass partitions with different opaqueness levels. It offsets our spatial perception, making us surprised by the actual size of space, only once experiencing the way-finding.

In multiple study cases, it was noticed that glass play can be enabled not only in the usage of reflection or transparency but also as a response to emotional nature [161]. Glass appeals to visual perception because of its ability to be smooth, flawless. Thus, it speaks to our emotional cues, showcasing abilities to be sophisticated and elegant. However, as much as glass’ tactility is appealing, the material is highly manipulative in its shapes as well. “Both male and female participants found curved designs to be more nurturing and welcoming than angular shapes. Shapes of objects, patterns, and designs are important in creating an environmental emotional context” [159]. ”The simple synergy of space and its interaction with movement can tailor emotions and response”[159]. “Softening of hard surfaces and reduction of angularity becomes a solution.” [159]. The soft curvature of glass facades not only extends the possible showcase of the goods, but also often fits well into the architectural language and typology of the building. As seen in the old Dutch facade architecture, the window’s curvature diminishes harsh angles and softens the visual look and atmosphere.

“Glass can bring light, add clarity, provide color, and create atmosphere through contrast, pattern, and shape” [159]. Meaning that in any form, glass has the opportunity to stay almost see-through and be seducing in any context of retail. Its ability to enhance a space and perform as a safeguard in commerce makes glass an everlasting material for decades to come.

While on the stroll in Kringloop, it is easy to spot a variety of glasses being sold for similar prices. However, some look more expensive, and others seem dull. Thus, the question is whether it is the shape or the material? A similar riddle arises in retail. The use of glass in commerce is forever common and necessary to communicate, nevertheless, the bigger question is, if the sense of duality is so attractive, how can it be portrayed that makes it most luring to the user? This is the question I am trying to answer in my graduation work. As with any form, the shape of glass signals the emotional cues; angular forms could look harsh, and soft ones are feminine/childish. How can

[158]M. Ziff, ‘The Role of Glass in Interior Architecture: Aesthetics, Community, and Privacy’
[159]M. Ziff, ‘The Role of Glass in Interior Architecture: Aesthetics, Community, and Privacy’
[160]M. Ziff, ‘The Role of Glass in Interior Architecture: Aesthetics, Community, and Privacy’
[161]J. Gulnick, ‘GPD Glass Performance Days 2017 -2 - The Psychology of Perception, Threshold, and Emotion in Interior Glass Design’

the glass be portrayed in such a context where it attracts the customers in its ambiguity and yet connects with the storyline?

While analysing the Bijenkorf spaces, a common typology of clothing furniture is to have a glass casing on the pedestals. As glass itself can be an expensive and a cheap material, therefore, it is primarily the context in which the glass is put. In the case of a pedestal, a glass box guarding the sold goods immediately elevates the price of the item inside. Thus, one of the most important aspects of glass usage in retail is the context and the shape it is used. As the use of glass in commerce is forever common and necessary to communicate with customers. Nonetheless, based on previous research, material shapes and forms signal emotional cues; then the question arises, in what shape should the glass be represented? This is the question I am trying to answer in my graduation work. Having found out previously that the feeling of glass duality and ambiguity is extremely attractive, my work in glass focuses on the use of the material in sheer sheets and 3D glass blown forms altogether.

PART IV

TO SEE BEYOND

> “Humans tend to give over their decision-making power, logic, and reason to the control of a higher authority if put in certain authority/subordinate roles and provided with reinforcing environmental aesthetics, conditions, or situations” [162].

As the Industrial Revolution enabled the start and rise of commercialisation, it was difficult to tell how the world would adopt the culture of consumption. The ability to buy and obtain had become the first part of seduction. As the economic situation improved, the need to build more and build bigger affected all parts of society, with the most vulnerable communities bearing the greatest impact. The new shift was to demolish the old and inconvenient parts of cities. During the mid-20th century, American journalists Jane Jacobs and William Whyte were extremely forward-thinking. In the context of the cultural mindset to demolish and build anew, with the help of communal movements, Whyte and Jacobs played an important role in preserving old neighborhoods and historical buildings. To put it in the right context, while I was doing an exchange in Finland, the new architectural culture was taught to save the ‘undesired’ buildings and leave the historical environment. Therefore, it is impressive to see that Whyte and Jacob were so ahead of their time.

Prioritizing the human experience marked—and continues to mark—a groundbreaking shift in the world of design. Jan Gehl’s work carries forward this cultural transformation, building on the foundation laid by Whyte. Following Gehl's thinking, focusing on the human scale and building from the eye’s perspective would have saved many of the, in my opinion, atrocious-looking retail design works from ever being built.

[162] J. R. Gulnick, 'The Psychology of Perception, Threshold, and Emotion in Interior Glass Design’

Following Gehl's reasoning, the well-being of humanity in architecture was forgotten in the mall and retail context. What Venturi and Brown did to the design of the Las Vegas Strip became a clear indication of the direction architecture and design thinking were going in. As previously stated, the works of Venturi and Brown were monumental within the context of the US, establishing na ew visual direction. Nonetheless, despite the allure and seduction of signs and decoration, I remain critical towards the new aesthetics and the perpetuated push to consume. When considering the well-being of society, I question whether their approach of seducing users and encouraging them to linger truly benefits people. Nevertheless, given that their work developed alongside car culture in the U.S., it's understandable that highways served to bridge the vast distances of suburban areas, connecting communities to the retail industry.

As the mall culture developed, the advancement of the *Gruen effect* was evident. Fixed paths, inspired by old European towns and cities, have become a defining feature of contemporary mall culture. In combination with the booming economy, it was amazing to feel the sense of buying anything. However, the architectural concept of guiding visitors through fixed paths, introducing them to all the products while subjecting them to various stimuli, enabled the maximization of seduction. As a designer, I must confess that the idea of overtaking users' needs and stimuli intrigues me. However, psychologically, it's important to note that we tend to feel happier when we experience a sense of control; fixed paths, however, remove that control and dictate our movement for us. The employment of psychological spatial manipulation to change the trajectory of user behaviour is a powerful tool. The built environment became a highly controlled space where customers could lose track of time and experience elation while spending. The shift of malls facilitating the fulfillment of human desires and becoming a sort of mini city was a concept developed by Jon Jerde, a place-maker, that enabled the idea of being lost and finding a way out if so desired. This direction of malls has been implemented ever since.

As people live in the cities, malls have become a part of leisure and socialisation, it is only normal to spend time in retail. Taking a look at the Mall of the Netherlands, it is difficult to argue the building does not fulfill most human desires. For many years, our cultural values have shifted dramatically, and department stores have played a key role in encouraging prolonged stays within shopping environments—designed to fulfill desires while constantly appearing as seductive as possible, capturing and holding human attention.. As retail spaces increasingly integrate social activities, meeting friends for coffee or having dinner with family has become a cultural norm.

With the constant rise of consumerism, shopping vendors are inclined to seduce and compete with other retail shops, using visual appeal and the power of materialization in the merchandising booths. Using the most seductive and appealing materials has enabled a greater sense of competition and in-store design. And while all of this can be seen as manipulative toward the user, it's natural for a designer to have the desire to sell. Therefore, as an architect, there should be no blame in analyzing spaces and adapting them to attract and engage—the approach pioneered by Jon Jerde and Victor Gruen. Understanding the context of consumption drives artists and vendors to compete by presenting the most compelling appeal—after all, isn't the very essence of retail to sell?

Nonetheless, as a customer and a designer, I cannot help but see that retail spaces have become a place of manipulation and seduction to be sold to. Materials are carefully chosen to resonate with our emotional responses. Therefore, understanding the context and meaning of surfaces beyond their initial appearance is crucial. In my analysis, I examined the Bijenkorf department stores and identified the most commonly used elements—shiny finishes, strategic lighting, varied textures, and glass.

1. Glossy materials and shiny objects attract by implying the positive attributes of their surface. Mirrors and chromed objects are visually appealing and signal luxury, they are heavily used in retail architecture spaces.
2. Light can navigate to the ‘right’ spots. Highlighting the positive attributes of merchandise allows the space to create a welcoming and appealing atmosphere.
3. As for the textures, it is the visual and tactile stimuli that attract us. As humans respond to sensory properties, architects employ texturisation in architecture related to the spatial aesthetics, evoking an emotional response to the spatial experience.
4. The use of glass is appealing due to its duality. The physical barrier brings out ambiguous emotions of seeing within, but never really offsetting the false ability to touch what is behind. Retail loves to relate to luxury, thus, the glass is seducing in its capacity to let us come close, but never actually reach it.

The analysis of each of these elements used in retail spaces plays a role in helping users gain a deeper understanding of spatial manipulation, fostering both awareness and insight into how environments influence us. By considering the broader context, we begin to comprehend the subtle ways in which space shapes our experiences. What fascinates me is that, during the process of writing this thesis, my feelings towards retail architecture have remained contradictory or even paradoxical. On the one hand, there’s something inherently sinister and deceitful about being guided and manipulated through design in retail architecture. Especially since my research for this thesis, observing people on their shopping sprees in commercial spaces has given me a sense of uneasiness. A gloomy impression that retail architecture has arguably enabled the exploitation of humans to consume and keep on consuming, as if lab rats in a maze. In other words, the morality of it all remains controversial in my mind. However, a deep dive into the ethics of brands utilizing behavioural science against us for profit maximization is a question for a different thesis.

On the other hand, I still think it remains undeniably appealing and genuinely enjoyable to wander these commercial spaces. I am therefore not asserting that I fully reject these aspects in retail architecture. I believe the saying “hunger grows as one eats” applies here, modern retail is simply a reflection of evolving human needs. Despite our awareness, humans are also still driven by fundamental human desires and irrationality. Perhaps it is therefore inevitable that we find ourselves indulging in the spectacle of modern retail. Decades of Western consumerism have managed to normalize the pursuit of advanced possibilities in what can be sold and in what way. This evolution of human needs aligns perfectly with Anna Klingmann’s notion of *immersive customer journeys.* As stores have exhausted every glossy surface and humans have explored every conceivable desire, retail has shifted toward selling experiences—turning shopping into a curated journey. These ritualistic acts of consumption have elevated consumerism to an almost extreme level. Shopping has evolved into a form of delight, and retail architecture has become a form of entertainment. We crave environments that stimulate all our senses. This is what modern urban life has become: navigating spaces that guide and influence us. From curated pathways to seductive interiors, we gravitate toward what is aesthetically pleasing. We are drawn to luxurious, well-designed environments, even if we could buy the same items online with greater ease. Because despite its convenience, e-commerce cannot replicate the sensory and emotional experience offered in physical stores.

While reflecting on why I chose the topic of retail architecture, I realised my deep interest in commercial spaces. What drew me in was the duality of understanding how to manipulate space while simultaneously being manipulated as a user. My initial curiosity stemmed from wondering

why we are so easily lured into commerce, and why spending time consuming feels so enjoyable. Was it merely the act of spending, or was it something more about *how* we feel in these spaces? Through research, I came to a central conclusion: we are emotionally connected to, moved by, and motivated through spaces and objects. Retail has gained a powerful grasp of human behaviour, which is the most fascinating part to me. Brands create emotional bonds between spaces and feelings. Retail is no longer just a place of leisure, it has become an extension of our ideal selves. It reflects where our “idealised self” walks and how to feel in such environments. In this way, retail becomes an extension of our emotions. With the help of branding, the act of buying and simply spending time in these environments, brings excitement and happiness. We stay happy while consuming, and we feel fulfilled, at least temporarily, within these commercial experiences.

While most of us are bombarded with emotionally charged advertising, architecture also participates in this manipulation, particularly through materiality. It is human nature to attribute emotional and social value to the textures and finishes of objects. Retail surfaces are designed to trigger behavioural cues within our subconscious. For instance, the mirrored wall in Amsterdam’s Bijenkorf speaks to us of luxury because polished surfaces hold a positive, aspirational connotation in our minds. They are alluring and seductive, offering a reflection not just of ourselves, but of an idealised version of what we might become. Beyond materials, architecture manipulates us through spatial psychology. For example, architects and designers employ data analysis of human movement in commercial spaces, from predicting how a user enters a space to how long they stay.

Even though I better understand these manipulative mechanisms, I am still affected, just like any other customer. No matter how hard we try to become more enlightened or aware, in the end, we are human, and we *enjoy* being entertained, even in its most basic forms. Commercial architecture will likely always be attractive, pleasurable, and enjoyable. In the end, though, perhaps there is still a possibility of and benefit in an increased awareness. Maybe it is mostly a wishful hope: that the reader might walk away with a deeper understanding that spaces are actively guiding us. And in understanding that, one can begin to further cultivate awareness of their behaviour, and, with it, a sense of ownership over the self that provides more room for authentic choices.

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PART I
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