

## Retail Value: Culture, Consumerism and the Architectural Diagram

JASON E. NGUYEN  
Drexel University

The deepest problems of modern life flow from the attempt of the individual to maintain the independence and individuality of his existence against the sovereign powers of society, against the weight of the historical heritage and the external culture and technique of life...When one inquires about the products of the specifically modern aspects of contemporary life with reference to their inner meaning...the answer will require the investigation of the relationship which such a social structure promotes between the individual aspects of life and those which transcend the existence of the single individuals. It will require the investigation of the adaptations by the personality in its adjustments to the forces that lie outside of it.

Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life"<sup>1</sup>

So stands the architectural construct, situated at the confluence of culture, the metropolis and the individuals who populate it. It has been over one hundred years since Simmel's seminal decry regarding the over-stimulated, commodified metropolis at the turn of the century, and yet, today, we find ourselves pondering many of these same, irreconcilable issues.

Perhaps no contemporary issue borne of Simmel's Modernity has had greater impact on the development of architecture, as an equally cultural and economic enterprise, than commodity-driven consumption. And while it is easy to castigate this consumption, especially the rampant consumption of today, for all of its societal detriments, it is through the process of it, through its dynamic and diagrammatical act as facilitated by the architectural construct, that signs of cultural values—values typically considered outside the bounds of consumption—begin to express themselves.

An exploration into the architecture of retail institutions, if fact, reveals the magnitude to which the *operations* of buildings, and not the *formal qualities* of them, consistently provide the most cogent expressions of an era's cultural values. For retail, as an autotelic enterprise, concerns itself not with the culturally symbolic attributes of its physical structures but with the maximized and immediate efficacy of its operations.<sup>2</sup> Further, the cultural values as propagated through these architectural operations, through the architectural diagram, find themselves independent from—and often in dialectical opposition to—the self-serving promotions of consumerism itself. Such realizations expose the tense and often reciprocal relationship between culture, consumerism and the architectural diagram.<sup>3</sup>

The rise of modern mass consumerism in Western culture was rooted in the formation of a newly emergent middle class produced by the Industrial Revolution in the nineteenth century. With this rise, along with the proliferation of advanced technologies—mechanical production, steel construction, elevators and ventilation systems among them—came the establishment of several new building types, responding to the purchasing power of this growing unprecedented population. It is during this era that Paris gave birth to the first department store, Au Bon Marché (1852), replacing the now infamous arcades with newly minted palaces of retail. Socially, this new paradigm effectively replaced the Benjaminian *flâneur*—that conscious, critical and distanced Parisian stroller—with an actively engaged consumer, embracing a new participatory life of leisure and consumption.<sup>4</sup> It took little time for this model to reach the shores of the United States, culminating in the early twentieth century's downtown

department store boom in the industrial centers of New York, Chicago and Philadelphia.

Architecturally, the ramifications of this new supply-side consumerism resulted in a new architectural diagram, a temporally dynamic framework, enabling the social and economic operations of this new type of retail institution. Within this framework emerged architectural elements, each signaling subject-based “events” within the act of consumption.<sup>5</sup> These elements, and their associative events, considered comprehensively, expose the continuously active engagement of the consumer (philosophically, the subject) with both the retail institution and the merchandise that it contains. In retailing, these architectural elements, as well as their subject-based “events,” are as follows:

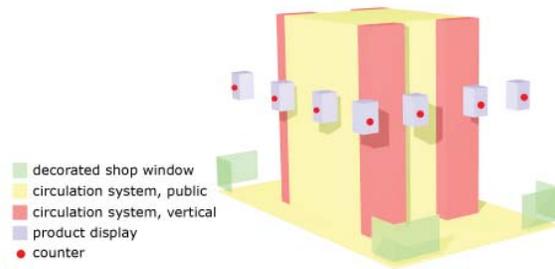
1. *The decorated shop window*, signaling the relationship between the projected identity of the retail institution and the consumer,
2. *The circulation system*, signaling the relationship between the consumer and the retail institution,
3. *The product display*, signaling the relationship between the projected image of merchandise and the consumer and
4. *The counter*, signaling the consumer’s acquisition of merchandise from the retail institution.

It is through these collective elements and events—understood as the architectural diagram of the retail institution—that the cultural values of an era find their clearest expression. At its best, this framework, as conceived by the architect, allows for a clear expression not of the values of consumerism itself but of the overarching cultural values of the era.

This inquiry seeks an historical and theoretical understanding of the relationship between cultural values, consumerism and the architectural diagram. By analyzing the architectural framework (as well as the operations allowed by it) of three architecturally prolific retail institutions, representing the three dominant consumer culture paradigms of the past one hundred years, this essay hopes to reveal how the expression and cultivation of socially significant cultural values, and not economically-

driven consumerist values, can paradoxically manifest themselves through the act of consumption.

### JOHN WANAMAKER’S BY DANIEL BURNHAM, PHILADELPHIA 1902-1911



The nineteenth century naissance of the downtown department store signaled the beginning of a Modern consumer cultural paradigm in the West. New construction and production technologies, along with a new consumer society, fused in the creation of this new building type. With this fusion, and through the operations of these new structures, emerged a new social reality, a new lifestyle placing value on leisure and engagement as expressed by cultural sociologist Roberta Sassatelli:

It was thanks to the development of places which made a large quantity of goods visible to the whole population that the connection between personal identity, commerce and objects became central to a growing number of people, and it was thanks to a thematization of consumption as a meaningful social activity that the changing patterns of consumption gave way to consumer society as such...This should not surprise us, as shopping in the department store was indeed often portrayed as the quintessentially urban and civilized leisure activity.<sup>6</sup>

Perhaps no structure better embodied this new paradigm than Philadelphia’s John Wanamaker store of 1911 by Daniel Burnham. Burnham, having recently completed Chicago’s impressive Marshall Field store (1902-1911), combined this new spirit of urbane leisured shopping with the very Modern value of social construction to create this cosmopolitan retail emporium. Beyond Burnham’s talent, the Wanamaker store remains a prime example of this outlook because of its established ethos, as formally published by founder John Wanamaker. The ethos reads:

1. That a store should not be a trap to catch something from each who enters it.
2. That advertising must say exactly what the store is and what it does.
3. That all goods sold are called back again if the buyer is not pleased to retain them.
4. Fair prices for everything to everybody alike, without hidden reservations or concessions.
5. That justice and honor require the exclusion of baits or even trifling deceptions; that customers whose confidences is invited and given are entitled to have their confidence respected and protected at every point.
6. That patient and persistent training must be given to all the employees, to undo the education in the old long-time prevailing methods, to grow a new crop of businessmen and women to administer a new broad, more enlightened and equitable system.<sup>7</sup>

Along with this institutional ethos, the physical location and sheer size of the Wanamaker store must be noted. Located adjacent to Philadelphia's iconic City Hall in the commercial heart of one of the nation's thriving industrial cities, the store served as a veritable civic institution, symbolizing the public buying power of this new society.<sup>8</sup> Further, its location at the confluence of rail and public transit lines further evinced its valued function as a machine of social construction. Its size, too, deserves notice. For the first time, the size of retail institutions eclipsed that of many governmental buildings. With twelve floors and two million square feet of space dedicated to retail (the largest building of its kind upon completion), shopping at the Wanamaker store truly became a civically significant activity.

The establishment of advertising and public relations as formalized industries coincided with the nineteenth century development of the downtown department store. It should be of no surprise, then, that the concept of the decorated shop window, too, was borne of this era. It took little time for this concept to emerge as a vital component of the retail institution's architectural diagram.

Through this component, as first established in the late nineteenth century, a dynamic relationship is thus forged between an identifying "image" and a consuming "observer."<sup>9</sup>

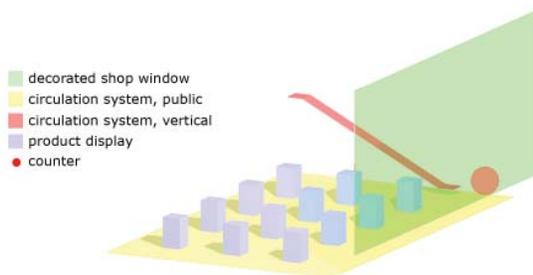
The *decorated shop window* functioned less as a method of product advertisement and more as a valuable, "interactive" method of social engineering. The window displays offered the potential consumer an idealized life, a purchasable Utopia. These luscious and carefully crafted vignettes, draped in velvet, promised freedom—a socially engineered freedom—from the bustling industrial metropolis. At the Wanamaker store, in particular, stately, attractive and well-considered displays were consciously developed over congested ones concerned with individual product advertisement.<sup>10</sup> It must be noted that these windows served this sole function only; they did not admit daylight in the interior, nor did they allow the potential consumer a view into the store. They were social apparatuses, expressing the Modern value of comprehensive social construction.

The store's *circulation system* is what facilitated the acquisition of Utopia as advertised by the decorated shop window. Wide, grand entrances were situated along the perimeter of the store, filtering potential customers from the bustling Philadelphia street into Burnham and Wanamaker's retail emporium. A perceptible threshold, in fact, hardly existed. With wide, inset entrances, no entry stairs whatsoever and a grand double-height interior space immediately greeting the potential consumer, the circulation system reads as an extension of the public sphere. On the store's ground floor, sumptuously ornate rooms lead, eventually, to the Grand Court: a full height, sky-lighted atrium located at the center of the massive building. The Grand Court served as a civic center for the city's citizens, holding concerts and performances throughout the year; it was an engineered public sphere, where members of society joined for the amelioration of an optimistic culture.

Flanking the Grand Court were the elevator bays for transporting the consumers into the retailing heart of the store. Eleven floors stood above the Grand Court, offering not simply goods but constructions, this time manifested in *product displays*. The store displayed their furniture, for example, as comprehensive and idealized rooms, serving as visions of

a new lifestyle. In fact, many of the nation's early- and mid-twentieth century department stores, Wanamaker's among them, commissioned visionary architects, from Buckminster Fuller (Dymaxion House) to Frederick Kiesler (Space House) to Robert McLaughlin ("Motohome"), to exhibit their futurist homes within the stores.<sup>11</sup> In the clothing sections, dressed mannequin displays were employed, further offering promises of glamour and eloquence. Regardless of department, though, the important aspect of the product displays was their promotion of a culturally constructed lifestyle, not necessarily an advertisement of an individual product. Moreover, the inclusion of an individual *counter* within each department further emphasized the comprehensiveness of this construct. An ideal life could be purchased, linearly, though this process.

#### BEST PRODUCTS SHOWROOMS BY VARIOUS ARCHITECTS, SUBURBAN USA 1970S



The downtown department store model, and thus, the values that were expressed through its operations, thrived for the first half of the twentieth century. However, in the years following World War II, with the emerging mass cultural industries of film, radio and magazines, the powerful values as expressed through the architectural operations of the department store began to lose their vigor. As markets grew, department stores, and later suburban shopping malls, began asserting the benefits not of societal betterment through social engineering but the benefits of actual commodities themselves.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the marketing, media and consumption industries, the "culture industries" as termed by Max Hornkeimer and Theodor Adorno, were viewed with heightened suspicion; their dominance, many believed, would produce a world of banal sameness void of idiosyncrasies.<sup>13</sup>

With the diminished cultural efficacy of the downtown department store, new models—new diagrams—surfaced. Paradoxically, it was the Post-modern, counter-cultural movements of the 1960s which helped spur the creation of a new consumption-based cultural paradigm. This new paradigm, which placed value on the very "American" ideas of individuality and sovereignty, effectively discarded the models of collective social construction as exemplified at the Wanamaker store. This sentiment is perhaps most clearly noted in Roland Barthes' 1968 essay, "The End of the Author," in which he dispels the idea that a literature's value is rooted in its authoritarian point of view. Instead, meanings and values are borne from the reader's active reception. Although the statement pertains to literature, it transcends the discipline in its epochal relevance:

Thus is revealed the total existence of writing: a text is made of multiple writings, drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relations of dialogue, parody, contestation, but there is one place where this multiplicity is focused and that place is the reader, not, as was hitherto said, the author. The reader is the space on which all the quotations that make up a writing are inscribed without any of them being lost; a text's unity lies not in its origin but in its destination.<sup>14</sup>

With this newfound value placed on the individual, so too emerged new retailing models. One of these, the catalog showroom, and in particular the BEST Products Showroom chain, emerged with extreme relevance. Established in 1957, BEST Products introduced a unique concept of retailing, one tailored directly to the desires of the individual consumer. Instead of displaying purchasable goods in downtown stores, as done previously, the company published a catalog containing photographs of its merchandise. Recipients of the catalog, whose "readership" reached over 350,000 by the mid-1970s, were then invited to visit and wander the showroom floor, where unadorned displays of unboxed items were presented, and subsequently purchase the goods via an order form at a separate location within the store. Where the Wanamaker store expressed a value in comprehensive social construction through its operations, most clearly noticed in its idyllic displays and "public," human-filled circulation systems, BEST Products emitted a much-desired air of individual freedom through the emancipating isolation it offered its customers. The showrooms' locations in the far-flung suburbs further reinforced this.

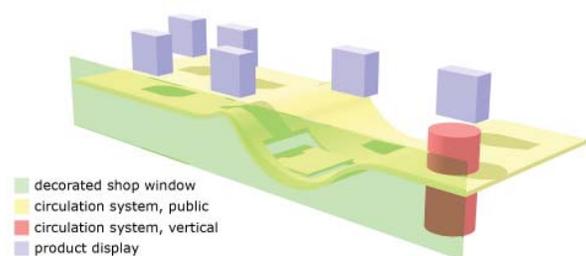
BEST Products finds further relevance for the architectural community in the company's commissioning of several high-profile architects to design its various showroom façades in the 1970s. SITE remains the firm most associated with the company, though Venturi and Rauch and Hardy Holzman Pfeiffer also completed projects for it. At the end of the decade, upon the suggestion of Philip Johnson, BEST Products, further, asked six additional architects—Stanley Tigerman, Robert A.M. Stern, Charles Moore, Anthony Lumsden, Allan Greenberg and Michael Graves—to design fictitious showroom façades to be exhibited at the Museum of Modern Art.<sup>15</sup>

The fact that one company could employ such a collection of architects to design façades for an already systemized structure further signals the extreme fragmentation of society which had come to define Postmodern existence. These designers did not construct the architectural diagram, as Burnham had done at the Wanamaker store, but merely the facades, merely the *decorated shop windows*. Where the catalog served as a nonbiased guidebook for merchandise (*product display and circulation system*), and the order forms served as the method by which individual selection and acquisition was made (*counter*), the windowless, decorated facade served as an isolated, independent identity—an identity free from any fixed, authoritarian expression of function or of the institution itself. This seemingly contradictory conundrum is most lucidly expressed by Robert Venturi, "But we like emphasizing shelter in architecture, thereby including function in our definition; and we like admitting symbolic rhetoric in our definition which is not integral with shelter, thereby expanding the content of architecture beyond itself and freeing function to take care of itself."<sup>16</sup>

Venturi and Rauch's 1978 BEST Products façade in Langhorne, Pennsylvania signals the pinnacle of this architectural situation. Here, the façade, a systematized grid of flat porcelain enamel panels, was given over to a two-dimensional display of abstracted flowers, contextual symbols of the pastoral landscape lost to suburban development. Juxtaposed against a sea of automobiles, these decorative flowers were scaled not to the static human body, for these flowers were nearly ten feet in diameter, but to the moving, driving individuals on the highway. As the driving customer approached the showroom,

the personal responsibility laid within him/herself to mentally rescale the decorative flowers to their conceptual "size." Once inside (with a floor plan typical of other BEST Products showrooms), the customer found him/herself within a diagram divorced from the exterior. Distributed catalogs with photographs of the store's products served as the customer's personal guides for circulating through the showroom's de-hierarchized product displays. Here, choice and individual freedom were paramount.<sup>17</sup> Salespeople, furthermore, were employed not to offer expertise, for they had little if any, but to facilitate the needs of the catalog-carrying customer.<sup>18</sup> Upon product selection, acquisition was made not via a counter, in the traditional sense, but via an order form. When the customer finally collected his/her "order," s/he did so at a conveyor belt—the only hint of vertical circulation within the model—where the products were delivered from an "invisible" upstairs warehouse. Whereas the Modern customer actively constructed a cultural lifestyle, the Postmodern one simply selected it. Thus, in this system, customers were free to desire, select and acquire commodities without authoritarian cultivation, without architectural persuasion. Operationally, such maneuverings manifest the era's cultural values of subjective freedom and individuality, as propagated through this diagrammatic, Postmodern process of consumption.

#### PRADA EPICENTER NEW YORK BY THE OFFICE FOR METROPOLITAN ARCHITECTURE, SOHO, NEW YORK CITY 2001



Just as the Modern retail model reached its limit in the years following World War II, so too have the models indicative of Postmodernity. As greater freedom was offered to the individual consumer, as witnessed through the model of BEST Products (and other "big-box" stores developed during this era),

any authoritarianism once held by the architectural diagram was eventually lost. It was thus in this climate that the corporate “brand” emerged, breathing “meaning” and “value” into a product’s worth, albeit in a wholeheartedly Postmodern fashion. Nike’s subjectively reflexive “Just Do It” campaign stands as an archetype of this cultural situation. However, by the late 1990s, this, too, appeared to weaken. Fueled by a growing anti-brand movement—a movement which pointed explicitly to the hypocritical business practices of many corporations—a new paradigm has emerged. Subverting the values of personal “taste” and “lifestyle” as offered by the corporate brand, this new model has come to be defined by the value of self-immersed “experience.”<sup>19</sup>

In this shifting milieu surfaces the recent partnership between Rem Koolhaas, the Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMA) and the fashion house Prada. More than any other contemporary retail model, the Prada Epicenter concept exemplifies the notion of a full-fledged “experience” economy vivified through the operations of the architectural diagram. As OMA states, “Our ambition is to capture attention and then, once we have it, to hand it back to the consumer.”<sup>20</sup>

The first completed Prada Epicenter found its home in a converted Guggenheim store in the Soho neighborhood of New York City. The location of the first store is significant: Soho survives as a palimpsest of industrial Manhattan, currently thriving with a vigorous pulse; it is the international, energized and creative hotbed of America’s cultural capital. Yet, surprisingly, the Prada store, a symbol of international creativity itself, remains mysteriously veiled within this urban context.

From the street, the self-coined Epicenter appears surprisingly imperceptible, nearly invisible. With a translucent polycarbonate wall lining much of the interior surface of the existing structure, the store’s inner workings remain blurred. Its identity—its *decorated shop window*—exudes un-definability. Such a refusal to accept defined identity remains a central theme in Koolhaas’ work. In his essay, “The Generic City,” he forcefully asserts, “Identity is like a mouse-trap in which more and more mice have to share the original bait, and which, on closer inspection, may have been empty for centuries. The stronger the identity, the more it imprisons, the more it resists expansion, interpretation, renewal, contradiction.”<sup>21</sup>

While the subtle ambiguity of the exterior lacks visual intensity or identity, the interior offers, in contrast, an energetic explosion of highly visible images, varying in size, dimension and projection.<sup>22</sup> With changeable branded wallpapers, suspended metal cages enclosed fetishized mannequin displays, a glass elevator equipped with the season’s recent handbag collection and a the dramatic “Wave,” serving both as vertical circulation and merchandise exhibition, the image-laden operations of the *circulation system* and *product displays* become irreducibly intertwined.<sup>23</sup> Through the sheer process of circulating through the store, the customer becomes an active player in the displays. S/he is literally a part of the Prada experiment. With technologies such as RFID, semi-obscuring glass walls offering silhouetted views into the dressing rooms and “magic mirrors” with photographing capabilities within them, the customer further becomes a living, visible part of the Prada lifestyle. Expressed through these processes, thus, are the dual values of experience and of image. It is here that a clear distinction must be made between “identity” and “image.” While Prada lacks any definable “identity” (one notes this in its *decorated display windows*) it abounds in “image” (as noted in the dually dependent *circulation system* and *product displays* within the store).

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this self-immersed “experience” model lies in the fact that actual act of “buying” has become unnecessary in the operational process of consumption. The “customer” needs not purchase Prada to be a member of its experienced lifestyle. S/he needs only visit it to be a part of the experience. Through the promises of digital technology, *the counter* effectively has become but a digital blip within the diagrammatic operations of consumption. RFID technologies, self-serving inventory databases and eventual “customer cards” will define the act of “buying,” or so OMA posits.

Thus we find ourselves today, surrounded by a retailed world of experiences promising cathartic escapes from reality. As previous models have shown, these temporal processes of consumption can express values, not of consumption itself, but of their cultural eras. And though recent architectural propositions suggest subversion of the corporate supply-side consumption process, expressing contemporary cultural values while devaluing the

actual act of “buying,” one wonders whether methods of experienced distraction are the most critical and convincing techniques of doing so. Perhaps at no other point in history has Walter Benjamin’s assessment of architecture appeared so apt,

Distraction and concentration form polar opposites which may be stated as follows: A man who concentrates before a work of art is absorbed by it...In contrast, the distracted mass absorbs the work of art. This is most obvious with regard to buildings. Architecture has always presented the prototype of a work of art the reception which is consummated by a collectivity in a state of distraction.<sup>24</sup>

The future of retail, its institutions, our commodity-driven culture and the architectural diagrams which assist in their cultivation remains vague. The recent forays into retailed “experiences,” as well as the values expressed through them, have shown us new realities, possible new futures. As we contemplate these prospects, we stand at a crossroads. Do we jump deeper into a world of themed distraction, or do we make a concerted step toward a more concentrated consciousness? Our future is free for the taking.

## ENDNOTES

1. See Georg Simmel’s “The Metropolis and Mental Life” in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Neil Leach (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 69-70.
2. This hardly suggests that the architecture of the retail institution cannot symbolically represent culture through its form (hylomorphism). Such an argument, however, falls beyond the scope of this inquiry.
3. An understanding of the architectural diagram as a culturally significant apparatus is paramount in the understanding of this proposition. Considering the architectural construct as such—as a possible apparatus of cultural constitution, as a diagrammatical, operative socio-cultural “machine”—has been implicitly adopted by several twentieth century cultural critics, among them Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, Michel de Certeau and Gilles Deleuze. To quote Deleuze in his reconsideration of the panoptic institutions as studied by Foucault: “[a diagram] is a machine that is almost blind and mute, even though it makes others see and speak.” See Gilles Deleuze’s *Foucault*, trans. Sean Hand (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), p. 34.
4. “There was the pedestrian who would let himself be jostled by the crowd, but there was also the *flâneur* who demanded elbow room and was unwilling to forgo the life of a gentleman of leisure. Let the many attend to their daily affairs; the man of leisure can indulge in the perambulations of the *flâneur* only if as such he is already out of place. He is as much out of place in an atmosphere of complete leisure as in the feverish turmoil
5. Any discussion of the “subject” and the “event” warrants a further examination of Alain Badiou’s *Being and Event*, trans. Oliver Feltham (London: Continuum, 2006).
6. See Roberta Sassatelli’s *Consumer Culture: History, Theory, Politics* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2007), p. 45.
7. See John Wanamaker’s *Golden Book of the Wanamaker Stores* (Philadelphia: John Wanamaker, 1911), pp. 137-138.
8. The early downtown department store established for the first time leisure shopping as an urbanized, constructive public activity in Western culture. See Sze Tsung Leong’s “...And Then There Was Shopping” in *Project on the City 2: Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping*, eds. Chuihua Judy Chung, Jeffrey Inaba, Rem Koolhaas and Sze Tsung Leong (Kohn: Taschen, 2001), p. 153.
9. The nineteenth century, in fact, witnessed the birth of this particular type of interactive, participatory observer. “Though obviously one who sees, an observer is more importantly one who sees within a prescribed set of possibilities, one who is embedded in a system of conventions and limitations.” See Jonathan Crary’s *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1992), p. 6.
10. See Jan Whitaker’s *Service and Style: How the American Department Store Fashioned the Middle Class* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2006), p. 122.
11. For more on the dissemination of the Modern house via the department store, see Beatriz Colomina’s “The Media House” in *Assemblage 27: The Tulane Papers* (August 1995), pp. 60-61.
12. A detailed historical analysis of consumer culture and its relationship with branded commodities can be found in Douglas B. Holt’s “Why Do Brands Cause Trouble? A Dialectical Theory of Consumer Culture and Branding” in *The Journal of Consumer Research* 29:1 (June 2002), pp. 70-90.
13. This cultural situation is ardently cataloged, first, in Max Hornkeimer and Theodor Adorno’s *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002) and, later, in Herbert Marcuse’s *One-Dimensional Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991).
14. See Roland Barthes’ “The Death of the Author” in *Participation*, ed. Claire Bishop (London and Cambridge: Whitechapel and The MIT Press, 2006), p. 45.
15. See The Museum of Modern Art’s *Buildings for BEST Products* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1979).
16. See Robert Venturi’s “A Definition of Architecture as Shelter with Decoration on It, and Another Plea for

a Symbolism of the Ordinary in Architecture" in *A View from the Campidoglio: Selected Essays 1953-1984*, eds. Peter Arnell, Ted Bickford and Catherine Bergart (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1984), p. 62.

17. Beatriz Colomina has written extensively on the relationship between photography and architecture. Here, her assertion, "Photography makes everything accessible...choice rather than accumulation is its essence," is of particular relevance. See Beatriz Colomina's "Photography" in *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1996), p. 124.

18. See J.M. de Bernardi's *The Catalog Showroom Formula* (New York: Chain Store Publishing Corporation, 1974), p. 67.

19. This nomenclature finds its roots in B. Joseph Pine II and James H. Gilmore's influential article, "Welcome to the Experience Economy." They posit, "An experience is not an amorphous construct; it is as real an offering as any service, good or commodity. In today's service economy, many companies simply wrap experiences around their traditional offerings to sell them better. To realize the full benefit of staging experiences, however, businesses must deliberately design engaging experiences that command a fee. This transition from selling services to selling experiences will be no easier for established companies to undertake and weather than the last great economic shift, from the industrial to the service economy. Unless companies want to be in a commoditized business, however, they will be compelled to upgrade their offerings to the next stage of economic value." See B. Joseph Pine II and James H. Gilmore's "Welcome to the Experience Economy" in *Harvard Business Review* 76:4 (July-August 1998): pp. 97-98.

20. See Rem Koolhaas' (ed.) *Projects for Prada Part 1* (Milan: Fondazione Prada, 2001).

21. See Rem Koolhaas' "The Generic City" in *S,M,L,XL* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 1995), p. 1248.

22. The interior imagery of OMA's Prada New York store exemplifies what Anna Klingmann has called the "Inverted Decorated Shed." She explains, "In contrast to Venturi and Scott Brown's decorated shed, which acted as a two-dimensional billboard along the road, the inverted shed becomes a three-dimensional carrier of information...Whereas Venturi and Scott Brown declared the predominance of image over space, it could be argued that in contemporary...architecture the image has in fact become the space." See Anna Klingmann's *Brandscapes: Architecture in the Experience Economy* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2007), p. 194.

23. Aaron Betsky furthers, "Rem Koolhaas...the conscious collector, manipulator and projector of images." See Aaron Betsky's "Rem Koolhaas: The Fire of Manhattanism Inside the Iceberg of Modernism" in *What is OMA: Considering Rem Koolhaas and the Office for Metropolitan Architecture*, ed. Véronique Patteeuw (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2003), p. 27.

24. See Walter Benjamin's "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" in *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1968), p. 239.