# Castlecourt: Beyond the Theatre of Consumption



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"Everything that is, must appear, and nothing can appear without a shape of its own; hence there is in fact no thing that does not in some way transcend its functional use, and its transcendence, its beauty or ugliness, is identical with appearing publicly and being seen."

Hannah Arendt, The Human Condition

# Beyond the Theatre of Consumption

The shopping centre is a spatial form of a consumerist logic. Although it is in crisis, displaying its vacant spaces, it tries to adapt to the consumer, wants to make the consumer act. Though, in the theatre of consumption, the actor was always a consumer, strolling aimlessly past a backdrop of shop displays, in a once exciting but now bland space. Should we redevelop it? Demolish it? Preserve it as a relic? Put it on display? Beyond the theatre of consumption people can be present in other ways.

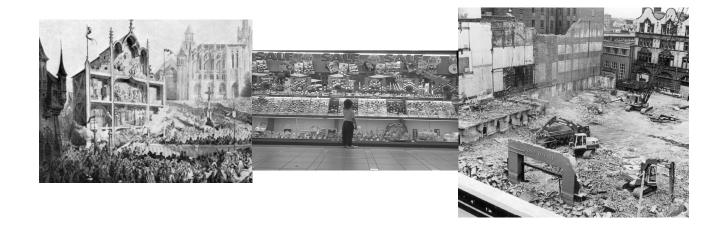


Fig. 1-3. From left:

Vertical theatre. Mystery play in Metz, Middle Ages.

Shop display in Castlecourt, 1990.

Post office entrance. Demolition in 1988 before construction of Castlecourt.

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Fig. 4. Colour-edited aerial photograph of Castlecourt.

#### Intention

What does friction in a consumerist space look like?

Castlecourt: Beyond the Theatre of Consumption aims to explore possible futures of Castlecourt Shopping Centre in Belfast, Northern Ireland. Through a metaphorical understanding of the theatre, a field of future scenarios are explored. Through these scenarios the proposal of a theatre will in turn unfold within the shopping centre.

The scenarios consist of, but are not restricted to, following functional programmes: stage, parcel shop, marketplace, greenhouse, apartments, bus stop, theatre.

Based on an understanding of spatial and experiential relations in consumerist spaces as one of display relations, the project will seek to work with a *display thinking*. Introducing other display forms and relations through the scenarios, the theatre will challenge the dominant and monocultural consumerist display relations existing in Castlecourt in order to work with plurality in a spatial exploration.

In light of the historical context of the building, the project also asks: How can Castlecourt resituate itself architecturally, politically and socially in Belfast?

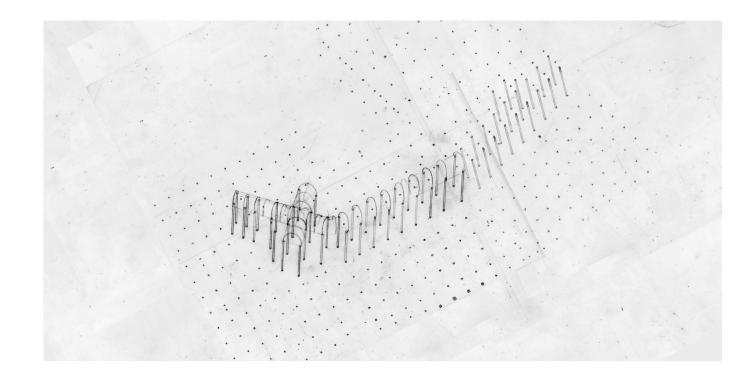


Fig. 5. Axonometric drawing of the arcade and grid of columns in Castlecourt.

## Background: Consumerist spaces

Consumerism is embedded in various forms and strategies. Since the earliest consumerist spaces, technological progression and changing social trends have forced capitalist entities to renew themselves in order to meet and create the consumer. There has always been an inevitable relation between the product, how it is displayed and the effect of it to the potential consumer.

The fast pace in which new products trend and ways to consume appear means that consumerism leaves behind vast traces of outdated things and spaces. "Here, for the first time, the recent past becomes distant past," 1 Walter Benjamin wrote about the 19th century Parisian arcades when the glamorous department stores were introduced. Bon Marché was one of these new theatres of consumption:

"The display strategy [...] consisted of the interplay between the architectural space, the [exhibited] commodities and the consumer in the centre. Balconies offered panoramic views of the commodities-in-space and of other consumers by staging them [...] ascending the grand staircases [...] immersed in their 'voyeuristic yearnings.'"

What created the early consumerist space was the industrial revolution which "made it possible for the bourgeois to possess the same commodities that before were reserved for the aristocrats. 'Urban brilliance and luxury were not new in history, but secular public access to them was,' as Susan Buck-Morss writes in her book

on Benjamin and The Arcades Project. The commodity displays blurred the class relations as 'it reflected the 4, 5 image of people as consumers rather than producers.'"

As consumers have changed, display forms have too, meaning that the stages and scenography in which the consumer and the product meet are constantly reinventing these relations in order to create relevance and to sell. "The paradox of seduction is that it induces consumers to enjoy things they did not intend to enjoy."

When shopping became a leisure activity, it resulted in a consumerist culture culture of over-consumption rather than a consumption of necessity.

The shopping centre as an architectural typology is the epitome of early modern consumerist form. A space designed with a capitalist strategy of making people consume as much as possible. Consumption is often seen and used as a tool to generate economic growth in social- and neoliberal systems which is why shopping centres since the late 1950s have been copied, optimised and implemented globally.

Although physcial retail spaces are still present, ways of consuming have shifted in an era of experience economy. This is a term developed by two economists in the 1990s describing the transition from a service oriented to an experience based economy. As they write, "In a world saturated with largely undifferentiated goods and services, the greatest opportunity for value creation resides in staging experiences." Although experience based marketing and strategy has always been part of consumerist culture, it is still a growing trend and

condition today. This is also apparent in the case of Castlecourt.

The future relevance of shopping centres is questionable. Today, many are forced to close or redevelop. In the UK, years affecting both high streets and shopping centres. In addition, the effects of the covid-19 pandemic and online shopping have resulted in a decline of the retail sector and the phenomenon of dead malls. Consumerist spaces are continuously in the act of decaying.

83% of department stores have closed during the last ten 9

















Display balconies, Galeries Lafayette, Paris 18--.

# Site: Castlecourt Shopping Centre

Although shopping centres share the same consumerist logic, they have different local impact and relevance. Castlecourt Shopping Centre on Royal Avenue in Belfast, Northern Ireland is a generic spatial typology of consumerist architecture that is situated in and thus conditioned by a very specific context. It represents and houses a consumerist ideology placed in Belfast for political and economical reasons (and with spatial and social implications). Castlecourt contains offices and a car park as well, but focus in this project will be on the shopping space.

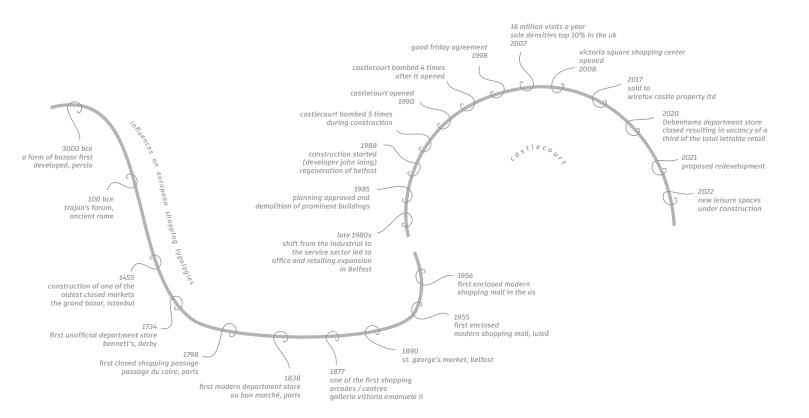
Currently, the privately-owned building is undergoing a partial redevelopment on a £10,8 million investment in an attempt to overcome financial struggles following increasing vacancy rates and falling visitor numbers. The redevelopment offers other forms of consumerist activities in the same spatial envelope; an entertainment venue, a cinema and a new Starbucks Coffee flagship store, all of which will be designed to fit the spatial logic of a consumerist ideology.

How can a vacant shop unit be instrumentalised as an active space rather than an isolated container for commercial activities?





Fig. 12. Redevelopment. Visualisations of propositional functions.

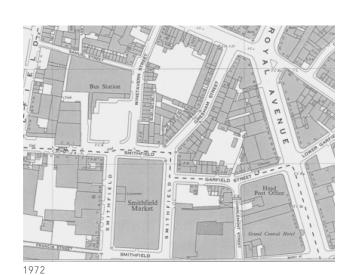


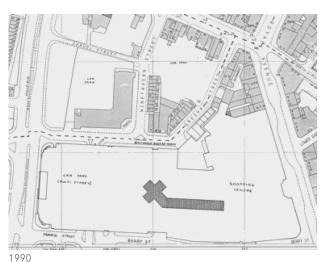
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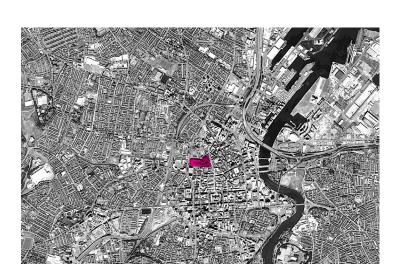
Fig. 13. Timeline of spaces of consumption and Castlecourt.

Bottom from left:

Fig. 14. Maps. Site of Castlecourt in 1972 and 1990. Fig. 15. Aerial photograph of Castlecourt (pink) and Belfast.







# History of place: Belfast

The particularity of Castlecourt is reflected in its history. The shopping centre opened in 1990 during the Troubles and was a political project planned by the British since the early 1980s. Several prominent buildings 10 were demolished in order to pave the way for the new construction which is located in Belfast city centre on Royal Avenue. At the time, this part of the city had been a warzone for a decade, and its commercial life, retail and entertainment, was non-existing. 300 establishments were bombed in the first half of the 70s, and iron gates 11 and fences named "the ring of steel" were implemented to protect the city centre. Public space was violent, political and unsafe as "any building connected to the economic life of the city became a potential target." 12 Castlecourt was even bombed during construction and after it opened to the public.

The role of the shopping centre in the 90s was social, ideological, economic and political. Constructed as a political symbol and part of an economic regeneration scheme, designed as a fortress displaying resilience and modernity, Castlecourt introduced the shopping centre experience to the troubled city of Belfast. As a resistent, enclosed space it offered citizens a sense of normality and a safer space than the streets.

On one hand, it was a social space unlike other places in the city - a cultural cathedral hosting events and exhibitions. On the other hand, it was a political vision 13 and construction realised through a private investment linking consumerism to so-called political neutrality.









rom top:

Fig. 16. Castlecourt under construction.
Fig. 17. Belfast city centre entrance check-point.

Fig. 18-19. Castlecourt opening, 1990.

"Hocking underlines the political act of the 1989 Belfast
Urban Area Plan "to cast the city centre and its shopping

venues as 'a symbol for a normal Northern Ireland' which
presented the idea and apparent reality that 'consumption
[was] inextricably linked to the construction of a post
conflict society.'" Furthermore, the political project was

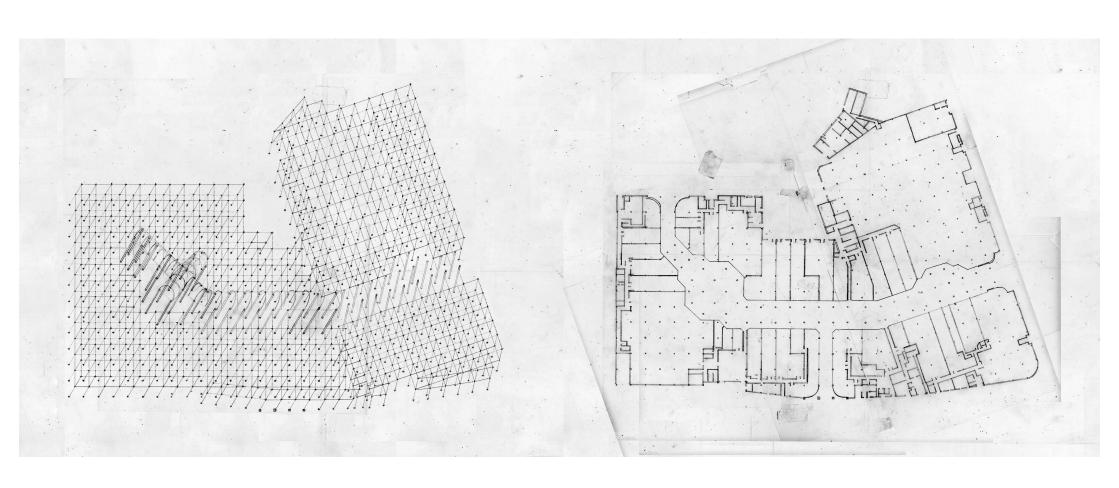
driven without democratic influence.

The debate on the new Castlecourt consisted of stances against consumerist ideology in Belfast opposing those that were for visible change and modernity in the city; in this case in the form of a shopping centre. The initially proposed facade of Castlecourt was of neo-victorian style, but was not regarded as an effective political statement compared to the realised one of glass and steel. The question that arose back then is still relevant today: What should the role of consumerism be in the (re) vitalisation of our cities?

The consumerist Castlecourt positioned the citizens of a conflicted and political reality as neutral consumers (notably if they could afford being a consumer) in a very specific and unilaterial display relation with the shopping space. Since it opened three decades ago, its political and social role has ceased to exist.

In this project, the theatre will explore the future(s) of Castlecourt through an ecology of functions and scenarios that spatially relate to and navigate commercial, political and social conditions.

What is the role of the citizen in the theatre?



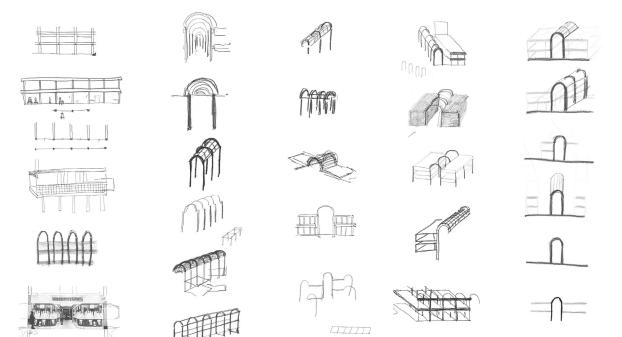
Castlecourt. From left:

Fig. 20. Axonometric drawing of the steel structure.

Fig. 21. Plan drawing of spatial organisation of shops and main passage.

## Analysis: Castlecourt

Designed as a classic mall typology, Castlecourt consists of shop displays arranged along a church-like nave staging the central arcade space. Organised in a grid-structure, many of the shop units are narrow and deep. The shop displays frame a main space on the ground floor which is filled with free standing shops. Escalators ensure frictionless movement of the body between the two floors. The most busy area seems to be the food court, otherwise the space appears diluted and bland. In the photographs from Castlecourt (fig. 23-26), elements with colour indicate different parts or functions of the shopping centre, all of which can be thought of in terms of staging and display.



Castlecourt displays an inner and an outer facade. The inner facade consisting of shop windows display a generic consumerist space that could have been situated anywhere in the world, hence becoming an interchangeable backdrop. The most striking shop units are the vacant and the ones under construction because they communicate the state of Castlecourt in particular and that of retail spaces in general. The empty shop units can be perceived as empty commercial containers, displaying the decline of physical retail while the ones under construction display the transition from retail to experience based consumption.

The outer facade is the one meeting the city. It consists of a front of glass and steel, a back of brick walls, logistical gates and a large carpark. With its dominant presence in the city fabric, its current form and function result in an alienating scenery.

How can display relations work actively in resituating Castlecourt?

Fig. 22. Sketches of the Castlecourt typology.















Fig.23. Inside Castlecourt i.
Top, from left:
Element of amusement.
Freestanding print service.
Atrium space, balcony view
of consumer activity.

Fig. 24. Inside Castlecourt ii.

Bottom, from left:
Arcade space, spatial display.
Shop displays, backdrop.
Escalator, frictionless movement of body.
Corridor space.



















Fig 25. Facades.
Top, from left:
Public entrance, the fortress
and black box offices.
Private entrances and circulation tower.
Carpark entrance.
Warehouse, delivery entrance.

Fig. 26. Shop displays.

Bottom, from left:

Construction display.

Vacant display, interchangeable space.

Diorama display, blue sky scene.

Goods and service shops.

Display entrance, desire on display.



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Fig. 27. Drawing of Castlecourt footprint.

The points mark the shopping centre columns.

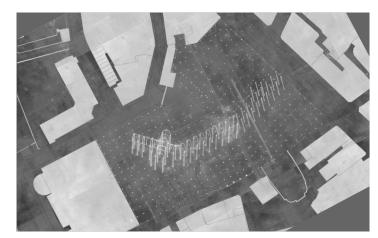
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Fig. 28. Speculative drawings.

Arcade as only remaining element of Castlecourt.

Passage and currently vacant spaces as public space.

Shop partition walls and backstage as remaining elements.







# Display thinking

Display thinking is an evolving concept, and my understanding of what it covers will also by expanded throughout this project. The initial display lens in the project grew from physical shop displays. To display something is to place something or act so as to attract attention. A display can be a physical object such as a vitrine, or an act of expression as in a performance. If something is displayed it is also perceived - display exists in relations. Through a series of diagrams (p.32), I have sought to expand my understanding of display as a tool to analyse spatial relations and experiences in the context of Castlecourt and other consumerist spaces. The first diagrams explore display and consumption relations. The diagrams can be reworked to include display relations that are not consumption related.

The Latin "displicare" (derivation) means to scatter or unfold. An object that displays itself or something has an intention of communicating. Thus, in a display relation something is exposed or revealed. In Hannah Arendt's work on aesthetics and politics, she uses the theatre as a metaphor in describing the appearance of life on "the world stage". Things are sensed in a "mutual provocation 17 between actors and spectators," Kimberley Curtis writes 18 on Arendt's philosophy. That something is revealed means on the other hand that other aspects are concealed. This means that we can only sense what is revealed to us. A common world is dependent on multiple spectators having different perceptions of the same thing - this is only possible "in the plural."















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In what she defines as a human urge to self-display, we can actively choose how to respond to the world and how to appear. As actors, she explains, we rely on the responsiveness of specators to confirm our presence. In the same actor-spectator relation, in which articulated voices are reacted upon, the political space exists: plural perspectives and actions are unfolded in a shared public space.

What this project can draw from these ideas is the intentionality of display, the plurality of display relations, and the mutual provocation relying on responsiveness. The consumerist space of Castlecourt is political in its dominant apperance as it only gives space to a single voice, that of consumerist ideology. If the visitor does not consume, they are not welcomed or allowed to show their presence. The metaphor of the theatre enables an idea of the plural in the aim of creating friction and challenging the appearance and intention of the shopping centre.

The theatre is a method to study how different scenarios (functions) can challenge the realm of the shopping centre regarding what is displayed and what is concealed (or not yet existing). It has the potential to provoke social, political and explorative spaces in contrast to that of the current streamlined space. The physical appearance of the theatre may also explore how a physical form or stage derived of the concept of the plural can exist.

How can the project materialise through mutual provocations?

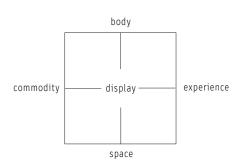
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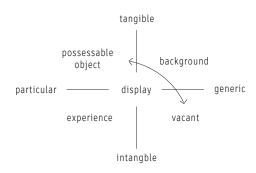
Fig. 29. Sketches of physical display forms.

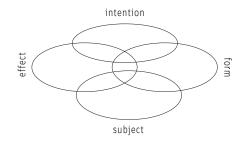
Vitrine, diorama, cyclorama, cupola, magic lantern, staircases, shop displays.

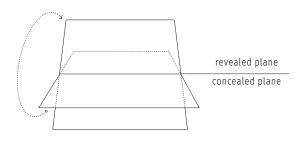
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Fig. 30. Display diagrams.









The first diagram displaces the body from center and makes display the centerpoint. An immersive architectural space would be positioned in the bottom right corner whereas a mannequin in a shop windows in the left top corner.

This diagram shows the relation between generic and particular entities. Depending on the observer's perspective, entities become interchangeable. In this instance, the vacant shop display becomes more particular than a possessable object.

Four parameters of an appearance or an act of display.

A simple visualisation of the concealed plane flipping to become revealed - the appearance of the acting entity, though, is depending on a spectator to sense it.

#### Theatre relations

If not products and experiences to consume what then should Castlecourt stage and display?

The theatre is a space of display relations, "a place of viewing" in the Greek meaning of the word théatron. In ancient Greece the amphitheatre was a cultural, eductional and political space. Spatially it organised people in a circular form and directed the attention of people towards a focal area. This particular spatial organisation (which this project is not bound to) is still used in educational auditoria, political assemblies and other situations of similar visual and audible display relations.

Regardless of what happens on stage, the display relations are more or less retained and predictable in a classic theatre. Although there exists a sense of democracy in this spatial organisation, it also establishes a hierarchy. Some forms of theatre challenge these relations. Throughout history, theatre performances have also taken place on movable stages and contemporary structres, often set up in market places or other public spaces, allowing other encounters and display relations (less controlled, more situated, more conflictual). A situated theatre performance makes use of a particular physical context independent of theatre structures.

Metaphorically, in litterature and arts, the theatre has been used to represent, explain and display the world - Theatrum Mundi is a metaphorical idea that perceives the world as a theatre - and as mnemonic devices and in categorisation of human knowledge - as in Theatre of Memory. Theatrum Mundi stems from a dualistic thinking but has later gained other cultural and political connotations. The 16th and 17th century phenomenon of cabinet of curiosities, which were collections of a variety of objects in a form of private museum, were signs of social status and had scientific purposes. This idea of displaying the world in a single space and the metaphor of Theatrum Mundi was also apparent in European theatres. In Arts of Inhabiting: Ancient Theatres of the World, Frédérique Aït-Touati describes the relation between theatre and worldview (nature).

In short, the Italian Baroque theatre based on the Renaissance perspective and the use of machinery worked through the creation of illusions. Depiction of natural landscapes would work as a backdrop in front of which the human actors would unfold heroic performances. In England, during the same period, the Elizabethan theatre revolved around symbolism and analogies. It did not try to hide the presence (or conditions) of the stage through realistic depiction of the macrocosm as in the Baroque, but relied on the imagination of the observer.

Frédérique Aït-Touati questions the need of representing and thus reducing the world, in this case through theatre, and asks how we choose to inhabit the Earth instead. That is, which relations of display do we build between us and the world, and how do we position us in (or with) the world? She continues to ask: "What theatrum must be invented that involves another type of comprehesion of the world?"

In Arendt's view, it would require the spectator to change position so as to be able to gain another persepective on the same thing, situation or condition. Aït-Touati raises questions about precarity, interdependency and entanglement as part of an ecological theatre thinking. In this way, the world-theatre relation moves from the world in the theatre to the theatre in a world of plurality. This reciprocal relation can be framed in different ways as she writes: "fill the stage with Earth." When displaying the world in one way, other aspects or existences fall out of sight. That is the case for homogeneous spaces as they impose controlled persepectives on the spectator. As is the case in Castlecourt where the theatre of consumption hides other possible relations and uses of the stage. Curtis' work on Arendt can be a key in understanding the political as "a kind of theater where freedom can appear." The public sphere(s) is the theatre where we display ourselves, and only here is our existence visible to others. It is here we are heard and seen through mutual provocations, and it is in this sphere that democratic practices take place.

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"[Arendt] promises, as we enter public life in speech and through deed, that our being in space and time will be confirmed with a potency only to be tendered there."

This project asks how architecture can be explored through a theatre thinking and vice versa. In addition, the theatre will be studied as a tool to challenge and form display relations. Rather than "a theatre of the world", this project will construct a situated theatre in Belfast through a field of scenarios. The theatre can question

the potentiality of the presence of multiple perspectives in public space. The notion of plurality opens up to an ecological theatre thinking that can be studied through the scenarios. An ecological thinking borrows its terminology from ecological studies, i.e. that of organisms and the relations to their surroundings. In this case, it also implies an understanding of existences being interrelated; political, spatial and social (etc.) conditions as interwoven; and actor-spectator relationships as being of engagements and mutual dependencies.

The theatre has the capability of creating openings and new relations to its surroundings. Simultaneously, it poses open-ended investigations rather than singular answers or solutions. It is plural and materialises over time, thereby becoming a reciprocal lens through which to form spatial relations. By being situated in a shopping centre, the theatre can challenge the predominancy of consumerist logics and the perspective of consumerism.

How does the theatre position itself between being an instrumental thinking device and a spatial manifestation?



Fig. 31. Grand staircase of department store Galeries Lafayette, 1912.

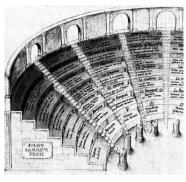


















Fig. 32- 40. Different theatres and displays.

#### Top left to right:

Theatre of memory, Giulio Camillo. Spectator-scene relation reversed.

Christian's Church, Copenhagen. Public seated on vertical plane. Priest moves backstage.

The Globe Theatre, London. Presence of the physical stage in Elizabethan theatre.

Andromède de Corneille, Giacomo Torelli. Nature as backdrop in Baroque theatre.

Wunderkammer, Ole Worm. Display relations in single room.

#### Bottom left to right:

Infobox, Potsdamer Platz, Berlin. Public viewpoint for monitoring construction site, 1995-2001. Scenery for Valenciennes' passion play, 1547. Some of the biblical plays would last 25 days. Church of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice, built 1610. Facade appearing as coulisse. Puppet theatre, Kgs. Have, Copenhagen. Relation between audible and visible appearance.

## Functional programmes: scenarios

The architectural functions unfolding as theatrical scenarios in the shopping centre can be regarded as stages, settings, stage sets, functions, display relations or buildings. They do not seek to adhere to the logic of a consumerist space. They rather enable other roles than the one of the consumer. Each scenario creates new relations of display - the stages appear inbetween, spatially and temporally.

A field of scenarios from a near future include, but is not restricted to, following:

a stage moves into a vacant shop
a parcel shop expands through the nave
a marketplace takes over the indoor street
a greenhouse explores the confined arcade
an apartment building finds it way
a bus stop appears somewhere inbetween.

Through these scenarios the theatre crystallises.

Theatre. Where all the physical and temporal relations along with mutual provocations inbetween and around the scenarios, acts, observations, stages and displays appear.

Bus stop. If you stand here, it is obvious that you are waiting and about to leave. The bus stop offers shelter in rainy weather and a place to sit and perceive the city. Observed from across the street, the bus stop frames and displays the people waiting until they get carried away.

Stage. An element that shifts the use and perception of what a vacant shop unit can be. With the stage follows a place to spectate from and an invitation to act.

ping has left Castlecourt empty, but parcels are accumulating. In the parcel shop, the content of the displayed parcels are concealed. Sender and receiver. The parcel shop evoke memories from the time of the demolished post office.

Parcel shop. Online shop-

Marketplace. Products sold here are usually not displayed in windows. Tables and other temporary (-looking) structures become imbedded over time. Stage sets growing permanent. Is consumption out of necessity or luxury?

Apartments. A private sphere that is part of the public realm. The home conceals its content besides what can be seen through the windows. What does the facade tell the observer?

Greenhouse. The arcade of Castlecourt creates associations to Crystal Palace. This dismantleable structure intended for exhibiting great works of the industrial age could also have been a greenhouse. Or an abandoned shopping arcade. Does nature become a backdrop or an inherent part of a post-shopping centre?

# Methodology

The chapters on display thinking, the two-folded theatre and the scenarios present both the theoretical and methodological framework of the project. To sum up:

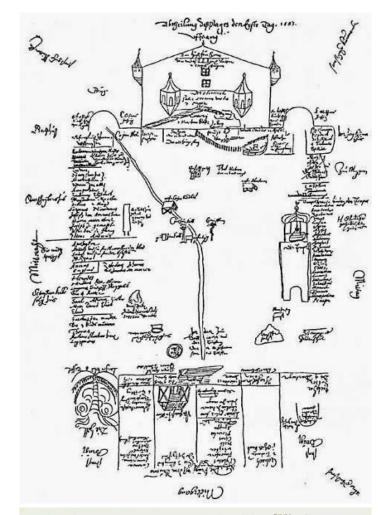
Display thinking provides a framework for a relational thinking that can be applied both in analysis and formgiving.

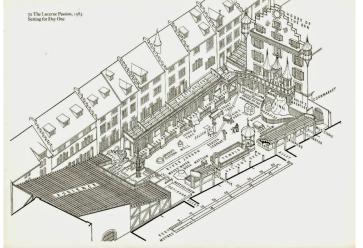
Theatre as metaphorical lens and actual proposition allows for an open-ended programmatical and architectural thinking. The theatre as a "tool" will be explored in the project.

Scenarios as multiple functional programmes enable friction and unpredictable relations to the existing situation and in the architectural expression.

As methods of translating and exploring spatial relations, I will work with model building and hand drawing. As alternating strands in mutual provocation I will investigate and form the scenarios individually, in relation to eachother and in friction with the context tied together by the theatre as the common ground and stage.

Fig. 41-42. Renward Cysat's play, Lucerne, Switzerland, 1583. Top: Sketched map of play; spatial and temporal relations. Bottom: Axonometric reconstruction of the same play.





### Deliverables

Model explorations of display relations, unknown scale Initial studies of display relations and spatial organisation.

Metaphorical theatre model (process), unknown scale Spatial considerations of a metaphorical theatre as a tool, collection, vocabulary, display relations or process work.

#### Field of scenario models, 1:50

Giving form to the mentioned scenarios and other scenarios that the project encounters.

#### Situated theatre model, 1:100

Model exploring the relation between the theatre unfolding between the scenarios and the shopping centre.

#### Situated theatre drawing, 1:100, 1:50, 1:20

Drawing visualising new relations across levels of detail, relating to the model work.

#### City relation drawing 1:250

The role of the proposition in the city.

#### Theatre collage

Sampling work produced to create other perspectives on the project and proposition. Potentially draws on the metaphorical theatre and display relations.

#### Sketches

Collection of sketches produced. Might be included in the other material.

The list is indicative and may change.

# Previous and further reading

Litterature that has informed or can inform the project.

Artistic Activism and Agonistic Space Chantal Mouffe

Subtraction
Keller Easterling

Theatre as Metaphor
Edited by Elena Penskaya and Joachim Küpper

Theatre of the World Frances A. Yates

Fictions of the Cosmos: Science and Literature in the Seventeenth Century Frédérique Aït-Touati

Hannah Arendt and the Meaning of Politics Edited by Craig Calhoun

Ecological Thinking: The Politics of Epistemic Location Lorraine Code

#### **SDGs**

This project seeks to comply with SDG goal #11 "Sustainable cities and communities" with the aim "Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable." The project will propose a more inclusive and sustainable space as it poses a vision of a different use and inhabitation of an existing building with a cultural and political focus.

## **Endnotes**

- Walter Benjamin, The Arcades Project, ed. Howard Eiland and Kevin MacLaughlin, First Harvard University, Press paperback edition (Cambridge, Massachusetts London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 912.
- 2 Bulut Tümer Bursali, 'Castlecourt Displays / A Living Relic', Writing Architecture, RDA, 2022, 18.
- Susan Buck-Morss, The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project, Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1989), 81.
- 4 Buck-Morss, 81
- 5 Tümer Bursali, 'Castlecourt Displays / A Living Relic', 18.
- 6 Needless to say is that consumerism and capitalist structures are unsustainable on many levels of environmental, social and economic matters.
- John Deighton and Kent Grayson. "Marketing and Seduction: Building Exchange Relationships by Managing Social Consensus." Journal of Consumer Research 21, no. 4 (1995): 660, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2489723.
- B. Joseph Pine and James H. Gilmore, 'The Experience Economy: Past, Present and Future', in Handbook on the Experience Economy, by Jon Sundbo and Flemming Sørensen (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2013), 26, https://doi.org/10.4337/9781781004227. 00007.
- 9 George Hammond and Chris Cook, 'The Rise, Fall and Rebirth of the Shopping Centre', Financial Times, 16 May 2022, https://www.ft.com/content/1f024fd8-ade5-4468-9cb0-0a73d2a66364.
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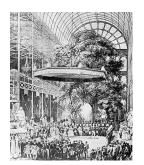


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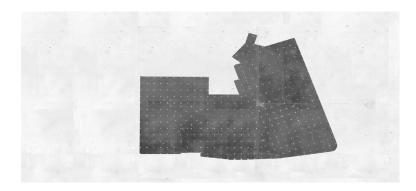


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