

MALLOCALYPSE

the loss of great space

by

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author's declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

abstract

The contemporary North American believes that you can purchase happiness. We search in boxes labeled new and improved, looking for products that are forever bigger, stronger, and faster. We want these things because they will make our lives easier, make us look prettier, and bring us social acceptance. It is our social insecurities that blindly drive this lifestyle. Happiness cannot be sold, and we have become mindless in our consumption.

It is in the heart of the suburban world where you can find the beginning of the end. It is the North American shopping mall. We created it as means to meet our demands for more convenient access to stores and services. Its design was manipulated, unapologetically perfected, and rigorously overproduced. The mall has replaced our town squares and main streets with fields of asphalt, yields of the same giant signs, neon lights and brand names. The public realm has been privatized and commercialised.

The zombie apocalypse is upon us. The shopping mall stands among us as the reanimated corpse of the dead downtown and represents the loss of great space. Through horror films and personal inflection, a biography of the mall, and a literary dissection of its contemporaries, this thesis examines the misconceptions of North American public spaces through the shopping mall and branded culture. This thesis rediscovers the practise of creating great space through an architectural discourse of the Humbertown Shopping Centre. We desperately need spaces for the living. I argue for public spaces that serve no commercial intent, but rather nourish our desires for authentic human interaction.

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for my parents.

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preface

I was raised with modesty and humility in a hamlet of just over 600 people in the Pretty River Valley. Our backyard was full of baby toads and croquet matches. The time spent indoors playing with Legos, GI Joes, video games, and watching the WWE. My summers were spent at Wasaga Beach and playing baseball, and my winters on the slopes of Blue Mountain. We would take day trips around the country side, watching the leaves change colours. We would often take trips to the city of Barrie to do our shopping. With three shopping malls in town, the prices at those brand name stores could not be beat. We came with lists of groceries and treats, new gym shoes, binders and pencil crayons. The toy stores had the newest video games waiting to be played, and bikes just lying around begging for us to ride them and. The *IT* store was filled with rude jokes and dirty gifts, and occupied a lot of my time. There were excursions to the video arcade and dining at the food court. These long days would end at a chain of family bar and grille restaurants, or picnics in the park, or down on the beach with buckets of chicken.

We were still trying to settle in to our new home, when my father had lost his job. Now less seldom were those trips to military and naval bases, and those historic train rides though the countryside. Our family was then forced to live on a tight budget, and we learned to appreciate the smaller things in life. I was too young to understand, but those trips to the mall happened so often, that they had become our vacation. Our family would come to the big city to be entertained and to spend our day together. The shopping mall had become our escape.

*We have spawned our own savagery. Soon it will consume us all.
It is horrible, hauntingly accurate vision of the mindless excesses
of a society gone mad.*

- theatrical trailer for
Dawn of the Dead

introductions



above 1.01 - 1.08: the infection begins, and it bleeds us of all our money. we spend it on hats, toys, games, and foods we don't need. we learn to consume so that we may escape our fears, insecurities, and our problems. we try to forget, but the end result is always the same.

It was supposed to be a simple job. Their materialist utopia was exposed and we were left unprotected. We had three trucks to move. Get in, and get out. But Roger was growing careless. He was mindless and cocky. He wanted to kill them all. They kept coming and soon there were too many. The first sunk in its teeth, ripping the flesh from his arm. Then another tore into his leg. Peter sat across the parking lot, helpless to save his friend. He had seen the wounds many times before. Roger was not going to survive.

The film *Dawn of the Dead* (1978) is a cult classic. Its director, George Romero, has become famous for the excessive use of gore and graphic violence in his films. In his second offering of the living dead series, he exposed North Americans to something more terrifying than the horrors of the zombie. It was ourselves. He felt that consumerism had infected society, that this lifestyle was turning us all into mindless zombies. We were no longer thinking for ourselves, and consumption had become our only purpose. There was no better setting for his critical view on the excesses of our culture, than the North American shopping mall.

The film throws the viewer in the midst of unspeakable horrors. The dead are rising from their graves and now walk the earth. The causes for this phenomenon cannot be explained. Reports from across the globe are documenting more and more instances of the undead. The city of Philadelphia, and the nation, is in a state of mass panic and fear.

We meet our four protagonists one by one, as they band together to face the end of days. In a helicopter, they scour the landscape, eventually finding refuge in one those big indoor malls. The shopping centre has electricity, running water, and boxes of emergency

military rations. It is the perfect shelter from the undead hordes which roam the land.

The weeks pass by. We watch as these survivors grow weary and restless. The undead live on. The shopping mall is stocked with food, clothing, liquor, and guns. There is no reason to leave this stronghold. The materialist utopia was slowly becoming a prison.

During an attempt to create a blockade around the shopping mall, one of the four is fatally bitten. Knowing that he will not live much longer, the four decide to finally indulge in the pleasures of the mall. Their consumption begins with money. With no one to stop them, they hot-wire a car, drive it through the mall to the bank, and walk out with all the cash. They use their new found wealth, on fancy meats and cheeses, Jack Daniels, breads, olives, and pounds of candy. They go ice skating, raid the sports departments, and spend hours at the video arcade becoming hunters, cowboys, and racecar drivers. They use consumerism as an escape from the thought of losing their dear friend. Exhausted from their spending and splurging, they stand adorned in lavish fur coats, gazing across the mall. Their reality hauntingly returns. The masses of the undead are still there out, feasting upon their fellow man. That realization finally sets in. They're us. That's all. They were all becoming just like them.

I began these graduate studies hoping to be inspired. The film *Dawn of the Dead* provided me with a key idea. The image of the consumer as the zombie, and the zombies as the consumer is profound. If you look to the suburban environment of North America, there is something decaying in this landscape. The mall was created to replace the downtown. It no longer resembles its former



above 1.09 - 1.12: the consumerist lifestyle will leave our desires unfulfilled. money cannot buy everything.

below 1.13 : this mindless over consumption can infect anyone, turning each one of us into an undead zombie.



self. It stands today with falsified streets, branded storefronts, plastic trees, and lacking of public space. There are no citizens anymore. The mall is only full of consumers. There are no neighbours to wave to, and no places to run into friends. Though it is full of thousands of people, somehow this space lacks vitality. It is not the shopper that has died. The proud images of traditional North American urban cores have died, only to spread across the earth once more as re-animated corpses, which we call the mall. Its rotten stench fills the air.

The purpose of this thesis is to educate you on the North American shopping mall and the consumerist lifestyle that it has created. The shopping mall is fundamentally flawed. Public space has been left to decompose, and I want to rid North American communities of their undead nightmare.

The places of past where I have grown up eating pancake breakfasts with Santa Claus and miniature golfing with my grandmother, no longer exists. These amenities, and more forms of public spaces, are being destroyed to make way for more stores, more brands, and more mall.

This thesis is about zombies, shopping malls, consumerism, architecture, and me. This is not meant to be a grim tale of despair but one of hope. The research and development of this document build toward an idea. This thesis is an architectural discourse to rethink the mall. It will reveal the responsibility I hold as a student of architecture, a proud Canadian, and a empathetic human being. It is a vision I hold for the future of North America town spaces.



above 5.03 - 5.04; some miniature golfing at Masonville Place was a Brady family pastime until its demolition.

Victor Gruen may well have been the most influential architect of the twentieth century. He invented the mall.

- Malcolm Gladwell in
The Annals of Commerce: The Terrazzo Jungle

i. reanimation of the republic



above 2.01: the Southdale Centre (1956) in Edina, Minnesota is the first modern shopping centre, and patient zero in this zombie apocalypse.

The modern mall was created in a cold suburb of the twin cities. It was a seemingly benign two storeys of shops and services, fountains and tropical plants, decorative lighting and fake main streets, all found under a single roof. It was the perfect shopping experience. It would stand on the forefront of an emerging convenience culture. This simple concept would become grossly exploited. We were powerless to stop its infection. Now look around you. Over 100,000 shopping centres have now been documented across North America. The shopping mall is everywhere.

The history of the North American shopping mall is pivotal to the larger understanding of this thesis. The concept of shopping for pleasure existed before the shopping mall came to be, and their existence is not unprecedented. The influences of its architecture can be traced to the bazaars of the Middle East, and the galleries and arcades of Russia, Europe, and within the USA. The conditions which have yielded this blight were set long ago in the industrial revolution.

Our downtowns were full of slaughterhouses, glue factories, and oil refineries, that could be built just down the street and right outside your window. This resulted in deafening noise pollution and poisonous discharges around the clock throughout our cities. People were unhappy, sick, and they were dying. The railroad had been introduced into the hearts of cities, and the inspiration for an escape. Then something strange emerged upon the horizon. It was a quaint pattern of streets, dotted with gardens, trees, and luxurious private homes. It was only two hour carriage ride west of New York City. It was called Llewelyn Park (1853), and it was the first community to exist beyond the formal reaches of our downtowns. Soon there were

dozens of these wealthy communities dotted along the rail lines. Despite stunning views and endless fresh air, complaints arose that carriage rides to town were far too long, and that trains ran infrequently, meaning that groceries, supplies, and mistresses often had to wait. If people could be brought to the city, then perhaps the city could be brought to the people. In a community an hour's ride north of Baltimore something new was created. It was two storeys tall. There were six ground level stores and services, and space for apartments and offices on the second level. The residents called this new typology the Roland Park Shopping Centre (1896). It was first time that retail space had been discovered outside of traditional urban cores.

Decades would pass before another case would be documented, but soon enough they were proliferating. There were rows of pharmacies, cafés, hardware stores, and grocers. There were spaces for doctors and dentists and residences above. You could see influences of European architecture, and each design was unique. There were benches along tree-lined streets, and public spaces decorated with statues and benches. There were multi-storied buildings dedicated to store idle automobiles, and parcels of asphalt called parking lots. The shops had turned their back on their context to focus on a central space. These concepts were becoming self-contained. The stores were showing signs of strategic placement. It appeared as if these spaces were consciously influencing how we all shopped.

Over the next 50 years, the rate at which this typology was increasing in size and number of stores, and improving in design was remarkable, though the rate of its infection remained quite low.



above 2.02: this rotting horse carcass on the streets New York City during the 1800s, paints a portrait of our unhealthy cities during this era.

below 2.03: Llewellyn Park (1853) in West Orange, New Jersey was the first expansion into the vast North American suburban environment.





above 2.04: the Roland Park Shopping Centre (1896) in Roland Park, Maryland is documented as the first shopping centre in North America.

below 2.05: the Market Square (1917) built in Lake Forest, Illinois is regarded as the first planned community shopping centre.





above 2.06: the Dundalk Village Shopping Centre (1919) in Dundalk, Maryland included shops, a post office, and later a fire hall and police station.

below 2.07: the Country Club Plaza (1922) in Kansas City, Missouri was the first to include public amenities and accommodate automobiles.

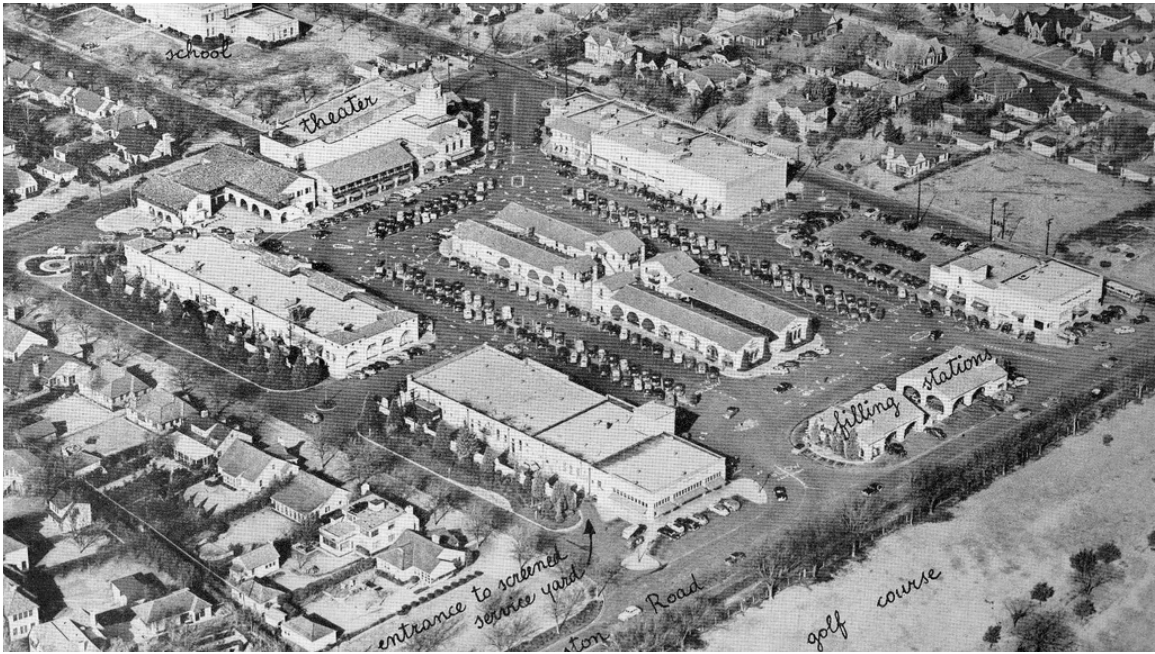




above 2.08: the Grandview Avenue Community Shopping Centre (1928) in Columbus, Ohio included over 30 shops and parking for 400 cars.

below 2.09: the Park and Shop Shopping Centre (1930) in Washington, DC was built in another streetcar suburb, and included 15 stores.

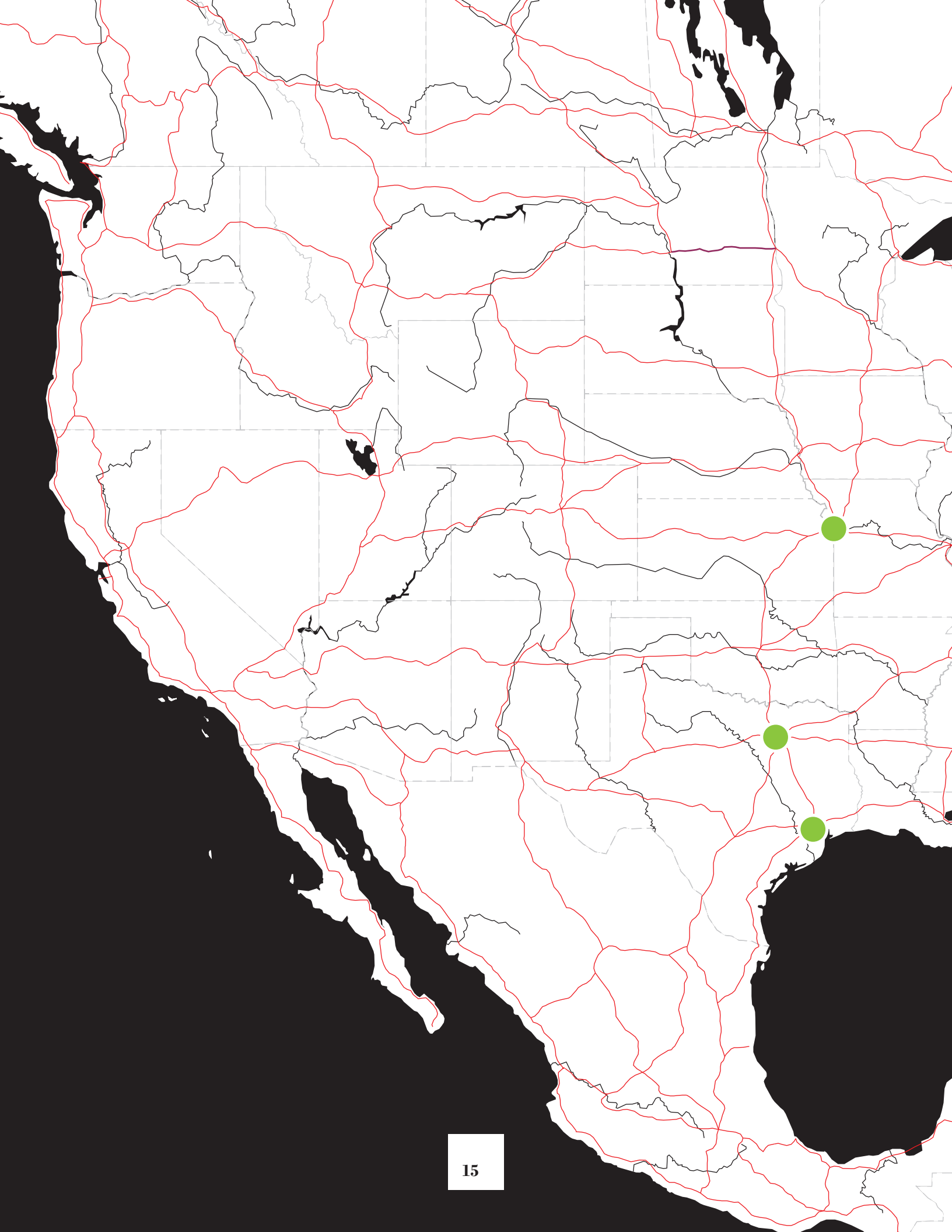


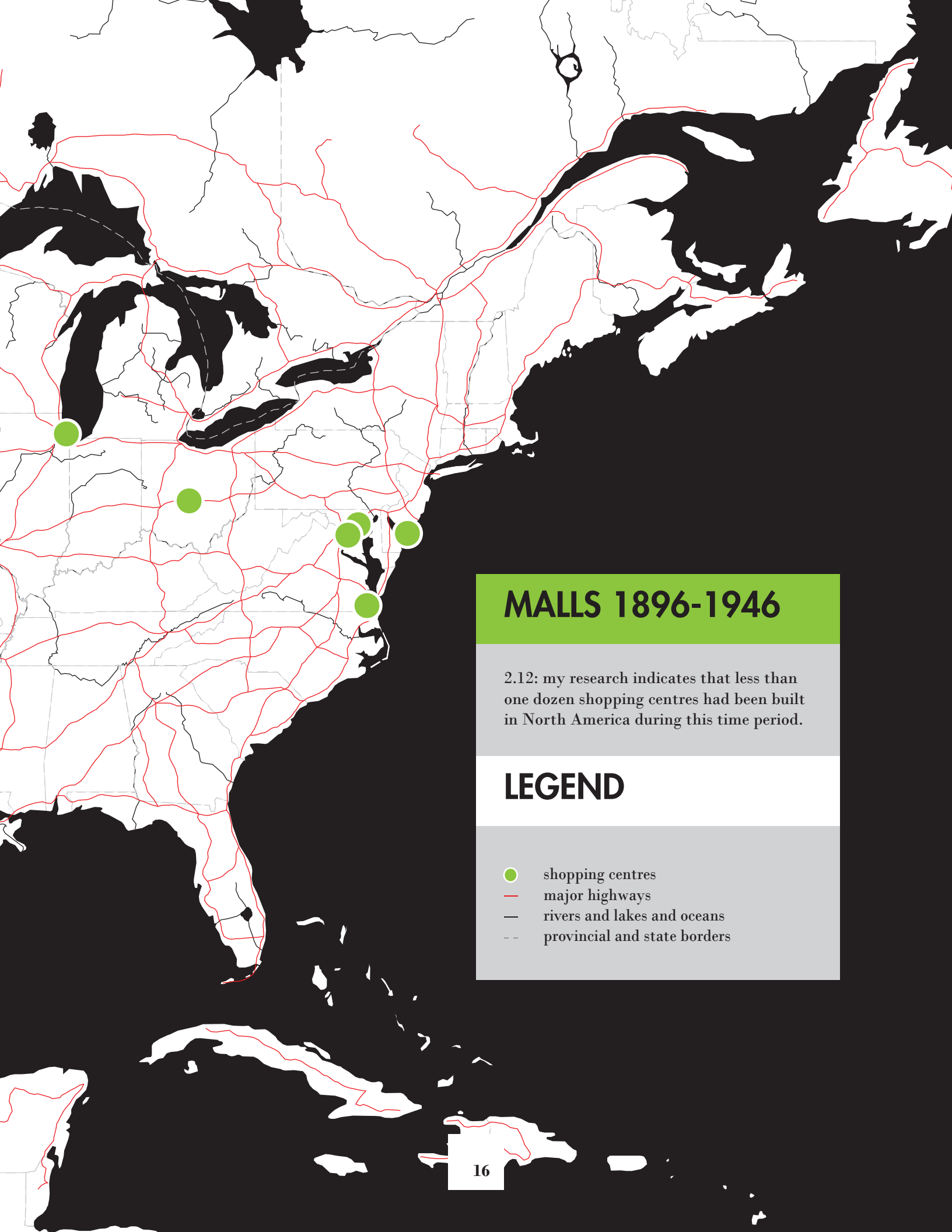


above 2.10: the Highland Park Shopping Village (1931) in Highland, Texas is regarded as the first 'self-contained' shopping centre in the US.

below 2.11: the River Oaks Shopping Centre (1937) in Houston, Texas broke linear design and was the first to include (two) gas stations.







MALLS 1896-1946

2.12: my research indicates that less than one dozen shopping centres had been built in North America during this time period.

LEGEND

- shopping centres
- major highways
- rivers and lakes and oceans
- provincial and state borders

It was 1945, World War II had just ended. Thousands of North Americans were returning home from extended tours overseas into open arms. The result was a baby-boom, and demands for affordable housing, more schools and churches, and convenient access to goods and services heard from thousands.

We frantically expanded this sub-urban world, building thousands of homes and hundreds of shopping centres. These new designs had retail hours extending well into the night, providing evening entertainment to attract shoppers. The shopping centre had grown beyond their former limits, increasing dramatically in size, and were built to extend their reach, and appeal, into the next neighbourhood, and even the next town. The inclusion of supermarkets and department stores in these new designs proved that numerous small shops alone could no longer meet consumer demand. These designs now included public washrooms and entertainment in the form of movie theatres and bowling alleys. The new sub-urban communities had been design with the car in mind and were generally unwalkable. The use of parking lots in shopping centre design became a necessity and soon growing to accommodate thousands of parked cars.

The shopping centre had quickly become a keystone in the construction of the sub-urban world. By 1950 there were an astonishing 2000 shopping centres in the United States. In the greater city of Toronto, the neighbourhood of Don Mills (1953) demonstrated just how strong this bond actually was. The design of the community was self-repetitive, consisting of four quadrants. Each quadrant was divided by long and winding streets, programmed with a church, a school, a park, and hundreds of private homes. In the heart of this neighbourhood

was a shopping centre. The suburb had been born. This neighbourhood was praised for its success. The Don Mills neighbourhood had perfected the model of North American sprawl. Its design would be reproduced across North America, and later the world. The suburb continued its spread. These neighbourhoods grew tasteless and bland. There were no parks in these communities, no main streets. There was little else to see and do outside of the shopping centre. We had no proper places to gather and to socialize. We quickly grew lonely. Our last resort was to decorate our big empty homes with kitchen appliances, power tools, and electronics devices. We spent and splurged on these material toys, hoping to cure our depressions. Shopping for consumer purposes was unconsciously becoming our only focus.

Victor Lebow was a marketing consultant and economist. In an article entitled *Pricing Competition in 1955* from the spring issue of the *Journal of Retailing*, Lebow had identified the lifestyle of North American consumption. He broke down the distribution, merchandising, advertising, promotion, and the selling of a product. He described how to affect customer habits by targeting ethnic, social, and geographical aspirations through the influences of branding and television. This article has become somewhat famous in the last decade, being featured in documentaries, online newspapers, and personal rants. There is some debate as to what Lebow's intention was with this article. One quote in particular is stirring this controversy, and is the most pertinent to this developing discussion:

Our enormously productive economy demands that we make consumption our way of life, that we convert the buying and use of goods into rituals, that we seek our spiritual satisfac-

tions, our ego satisfactions, in consumption. The measure of social status, of social acceptance, of prestige, is now to be found in our consumptive patterns. The very meaning and significance of our lives today expressed in consumptive terms. The greater the pressures upon the individual to conform to safe and accepted social standards, the more does he tend to express his aspirations and his individuality in terms of what he wears, drives, eats - his home, his car, his pattern of food serving, his hobbies.

These commodities and services must be offered to the consumer with a special urgency. We require not only 'forced draft' consumption, but 'expensive' consumption as well. We need things consumed, burned up, worn out, replaced, and discarded at an ever increasing pace. We need to have people eat, drink, dress, ride, live, with ever more complicated and, therefore, constantly more expensive consumption. The home power tools and the whole 'do-it-yourself' movement are excellent examples of 'expensive' consumption.

Was he writing an action plan for North American businesses? Was this a critical approach to modern capitalism? I argue for neither. When read in taken context, his words read as an assortment of analytical and astute observations. He had simplified these concepts for the rest of us to understand. In the wake of a declining post-war economy, the economic success of our countries had grown dependant on our lusts for material goods. North Americans were no longer being considered as citizens, we had been reduced to consumers. Victor Lebow had just made it obvious.

In longing for the romantic streets of his native Vienna, Victor Gruen envisioned an atmosphere of leisure, excitement, and intimacy within the suburban environment

he so utterly loathed. Gruen had arrived in the Americas with eight dollars and an architectural degree in his pocket. In less than twenty years he had become the most sought after architect in North America.

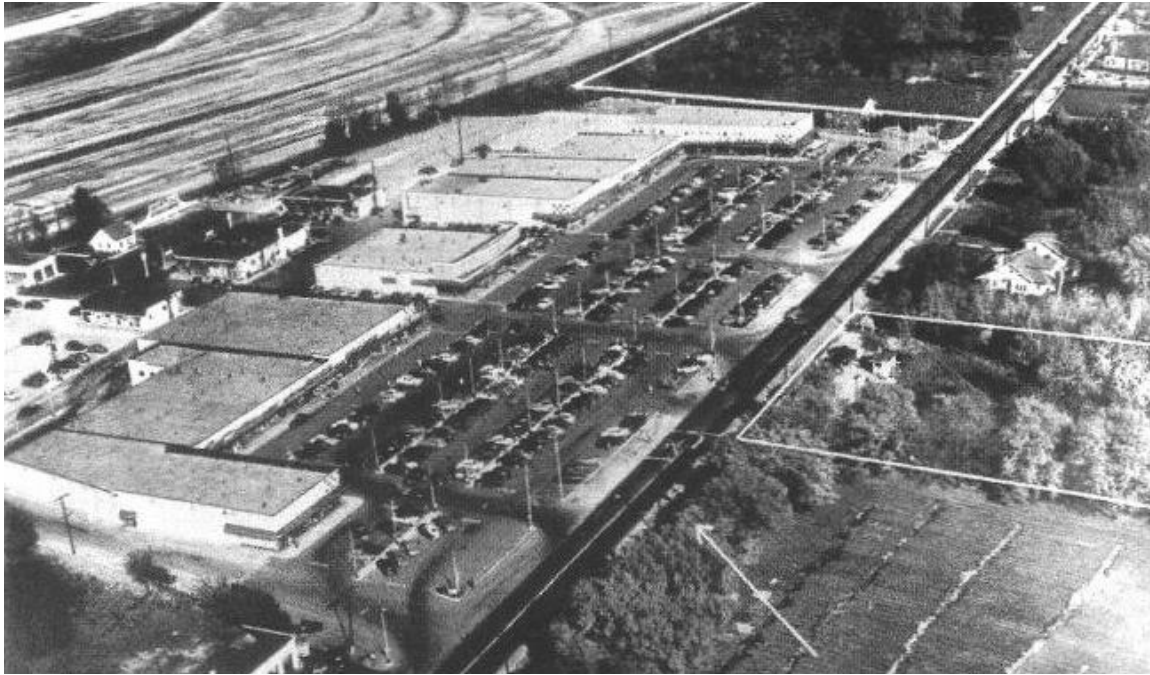
Gruen had been hired to design the Southdale Shopping Centre. He understood the shopping centre to be the new town square, and believed their purpose was to promote civic, cultural, and social, community activities.ⁱ He wanted to see medical centres, academic institutions, cinemas, libraries, cafes, and restaurants, banks, posts-offices, and fitness centres incorporated into these designs, with shared apartments and private homes surrounding lakes and public parks. Gruen believed that it was through a coexistence of consumerist typologies with cultural enrichment and relaxation, that merchandising would become ever more successful.ⁱⁱ

Thousands of citizens stood in awe, waiting for the day it would open its doors. Nothing like it had ever been seen before. Massive displays of steel and concrete shot forth from the ground above everything else. It sat alone in the asphalt amongst of thousands of parked automobile. Inside were 72 stores and services and 74,000 square metres of gross leasable area of retail space. These shops ran in opposing rows, forming streets of large glass and neon lights. These were streets decorated with trees and tropical plants, water features and custom lighting fixtures. It was all to be found under a single roof. The interior could now be completely climate controlled every day of the year.

We perfected the model for sprawl, and now consumption, beginning our own undoing.

i Fishman, *Sprawl and Public Space*, 9

ii Crawford, *Sprawl and Public Space*, 24.



above 2.13: the Town & Country Shopping Centre (1948) in Whitehall, Ohio offered evening entertainment in the form of a woman diving from 27 metres above into a small flaming pool of water.

below 2.14: the Northgate Centre (1950) in Seattle, Washington included public washrooms, cinemas, and a bowling alley, and is considered the first pedestrianized shopping centre.





above 2.15: the Don Mills neighbourhood (1952) in North York, Ontario is the first modern suburban neighbourhood in North America.

below 2.16: the Don Mills Centre (1955) in North York, Ontario in the heart of the modern suburban, helped to catalyse the rate of infection.



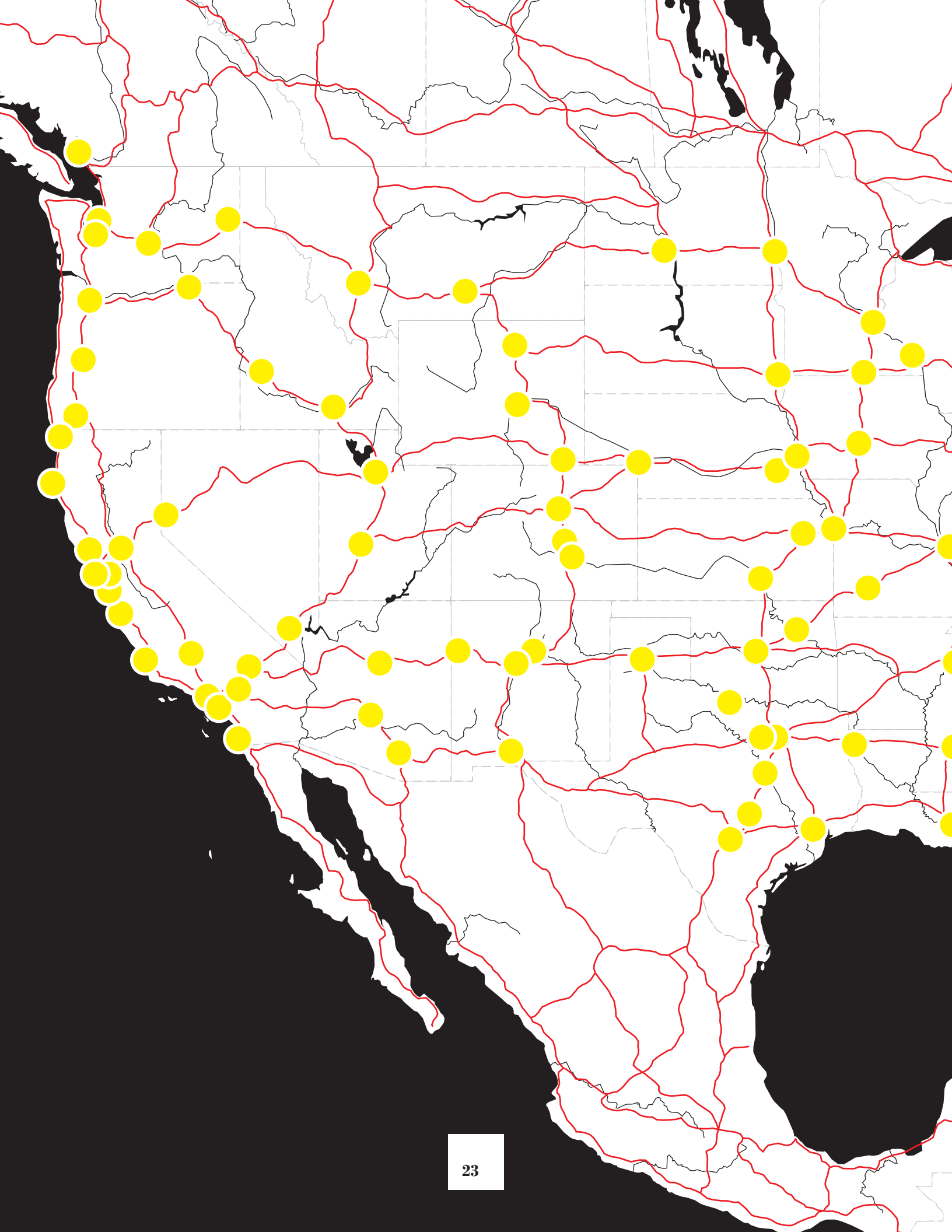


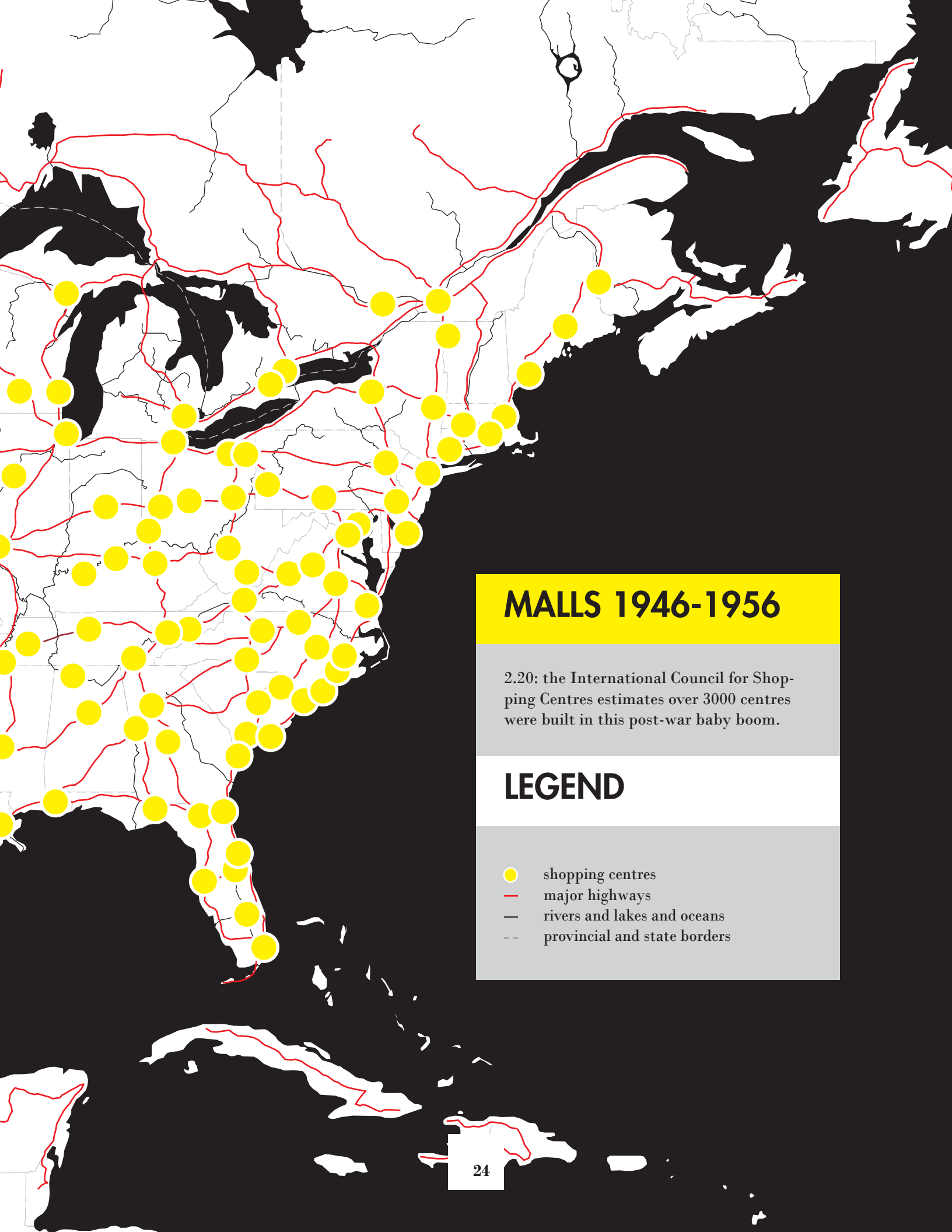
above 2.17: the master architect Victor Gruen sits silently, pondering an unknown thought, with the Southdale Centre displayed in the background.

right above 2.18: the enclosed Garden Court provided a gathering space for all non-retail activity.

right below 2.19: the bustling sidewalk café offered lively spaces for coffee and people watching.







MALLS 1946-1956

2.20: the International Council for Shopping Centres estimates over 3000 centres were built in this post-war baby boom.

LEGEND

- shopping centres
- major highways
- rivers and lakes and oceans
- - provincial and state borders

The infection of consumerism had become too obvious to ignore. Taking the word for tree-lined walks and promenade, already mutated by the English from pallamaglio (translated roughly as ‘ball and mallet’) to describe the grassy lanes on which this Italian game was played, this disease was given its modern name. Thought for from the first incident, the Bergen Mall (1957) was the first case definitively labelled. By 1960, there were over 4000 shopping malls in existence, and by 1964 that number was now 7500. The shopping mall was being documented in Canada, and then soon the infection had spread to Latin America and the Caribbean. By 1970 there were now over 12,000 shopping malls. With Paramus Park (1974), the first successfully marketed food court had begun to feed us branded meals.

In 1978, George Romero released the film *Dawn of the Dead*. He used the image of the zombie as a metaphor to expose the shopping mall and mindless consumerist lifestyle it promoted. It was in his belief “*the idea of the mall itself... the moment we come in and see what it is, I think it is going to become obvious in terms of what we’re saying about the false security of consumerist society.*”ⁱⁱⁱ Despite profits exceeding 55,000,000 USD and attendances of over 20,000,000 movie goers, these warnings of his were ignored. The mall could not be stopped. Our cities and towns were no longer safe, and by 1980, over 22,000 malls had been documented.

The exploitation of consumerism would arrive swiftly and decisively from the Great White North. The West Edmonton Mall (1981) opened its doors to unveil 220 stores and services spanning 102,000 square metres

of gross leasable area (GLA is the term used to describe the amount of floor space dedicated to accessible retail). In two years, and the second phase complete, the mall had doubled in area and stores. It had also added an amusement park, and an Olympic sized skating rink. In yet another two years, with the third phase complete, the mall was doubled again to include a water park and wave pool, an indoor lake and oceanarium, and miniature golf course. We called this monstrosity the megamall. It derived from the ancient Greek word *meGas* meaning great, large, and mighty and of course the word mall. The West Edmonton Mall had grown to be the largest shopping mall in the world. After more phases of near constant expansion, the mall stands today at an impressive 1,000,000 square metre overall footprint and accommodates over 20,000 parked automobiles. Though it has lost the title of the largest in the world, if you were brave enough to visit each of the 850 shops spread across this 350,000 square metres of GLA, you would need to set aside a full business week. This was consumerism at its absolute finest. The shopping mall has been taken to its pen ultimate. The West Edmonton Mall was everything we wanted in a mall, yet it offered nothing new.

For the first time in the 100 years of its existence, the growth rate of malls had begun to decline. We wanted new ideas, new stores, and more products. The lifestyle centre was the first to be named. Its designs were reminiscent of early shopping centres. It was defined by its open-air concept, tree lined streets, with lounge spaces, and beautiful water features. These spaces were dedicated to the upper classes, and its shops sold products of a much higher end. These other spawns were bigger, stronger, and faster than all malls before it. The *power centre* design

iii Romero, Document of the Dead

was a collection of three or more standalone stores. Each of these stores rivaled the size of younger malls, and yet only focused on a limited market of products, such as children's clothing, automotive supplies, or consumer electronics. The *hypermarket* was the next evolution of the supermarket. In addition to selling groceries, it sold all of the listed above and more, all under a single store banner. The success of these new malls depended even greater on the branding of their stores to promote sales, and less on architecture than ever before. In his book *the Geography of Nowhere: the Rise and Decline of America's Man-made Landscape*, James Howard Kunstler discusses the effects of suburban sprawl, and why we continue to construct environments that are no longer suitable for our habitation. He notes that "the mall commercialized the public realm... what had existed before in an organic state as Main Street, downtown shopping districts, town squares, hotel lobbies, public gardens, saloons, museums, churches, was now standardized, simplified, sanitized, packaged, and relocated on the suburban fringe in the form of a mall." ^{iv} These malls were massive boxes of concrete and steel, with blank walls covered with paint and neon-billboards, all surrounded by asphalt plains. The same names, products, and giant signs could be found in most designs. The rights to North American public spaces had been sold to the highest bidder, and it was becoming clearer who the winners were. There was no longer any room for competition. There were no benches or lounges, and displays of art. There was no vegetation and no water features to be seen. There was nothing left but parking lots. The little that remained of our public spaces had been eradicated.

iv Kunstler, *Geography of Nowhere*, 119

Beyond our homes and our work, the only place we were offered to gather and meet, was the mall. We had unknowingly sacrificed these third places for the latest fashions and handfuls of new toys. In his book *The Good Great Place*, Ray Oldenburg discusses the concept of third places in our culture such as pubs, cafés, laundromats, and main streets, and how they have been ignored in the design of twentieth century communities. It is his belief that "*the problem of place in America manifests itself in a sorely deficient informal public life. The structure of shared experience beyond that offered by the family, job, and passive consumerism is small and dwindling. The essential group experience is being replaced by the exaggerated self-consciousness of individuals. American life-styles, for all the material acquisition and the seeking after comforts and pleasures, are plagued by boredom, and loneliness, alienation, and a high-price tag.*" ^v

The mallocalypse is now upon us. There are currently over one hundred thousand malls in the United States, and tens of thousands more scattered across North America and the world. The mall has become the social and economic centre for an emerging culture, and we North Americans have witnessed firsthand the loss of great space.

The following chapter is a qualitative study to seek out and define the mall, to explore its fundamental concepts, and to understand how the shopping mall defines this idea of public space. This search is focused in the Greater Toronto Area. It begins with the shopping mall, evolves into something much greater. I would hesitantly open my wallet, and prepared myself to join the undead.

v Oldenburg, *The Good Great Place*, 12



above 2.21: the Bergen Mall (1957) in Paramus, New Jersey gave rise to the term shopping 'mall'.

below 2.22: the Paramus Park (1974) in Paramus, New Jersey opened the first successful food court.





above 2.23: George Romero, considered the ‘God-father of Zombie’ calmly minding himself amidst an undead horde of terrifying, mindless zombies.

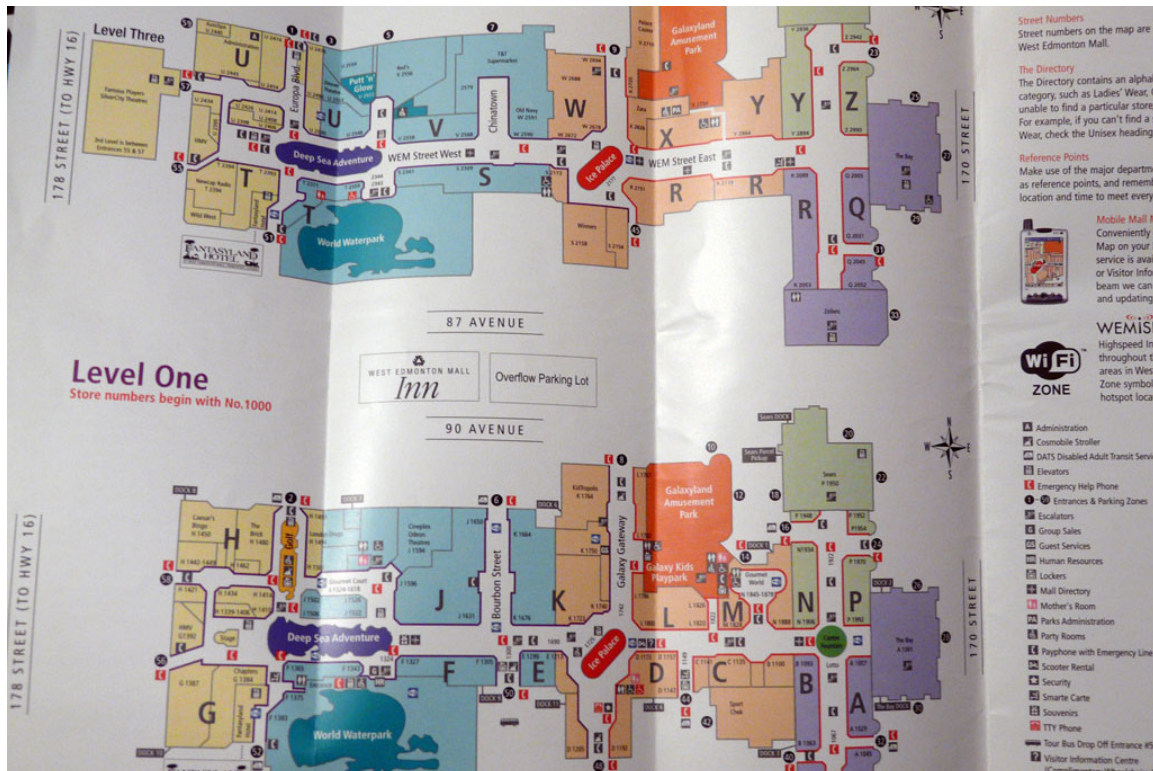
below 2.24: the Monroeville Mall (1969) in Monroeville, Pennsylvania, the site of the film Dawn of the Dead, now hosts annual zombies walks.





above 2.25: the West Edmonton Mall (1981) in Edmonton, Alberta is the twelfth largest mall in the world with a footprint of 570,000 m².

below 2.26: the scale of the WEM is deceiving in the map provided, it would take over 72 hours to explore all of the sights and shops of the mall.





above 2.27: at the Galaxyland amusement park there are 24 rides, including the largest indoor triple loop indoor roller coaster in the world.

below 2.28: the World Waterpark includes 17 water slides, and the largest indoor wave pool and tallest indoor bungee tower in the world.





above 2.29: the Old Hyde Park Village (1985) in Tampa, Florida with fountains and outdoor leather lounges, is the first fancy lifestyle centre.

below 2.30: the 280 Metro Mall (1986) in Colma, California with its big-box stores and massive parking lots is the first brutish power centre.





above 2.31: the Wal-Mart Supercenter (1988) in Washington, Missouri introduced itself as the first in chain of successful hypermarkets.

below 2.32 - 2.35: these big-box malls in Laval, Cambridge, Regina, and Kamloops display their uniqueness in design all across the country.



2.36: the various shopping mall typologies of the mallocalypse, comparatively represented in overall size and in total numbers.

strip centre

average size: 1,240 square metres
consumer radius: < 1.5 km
numbers in USA: 64,229



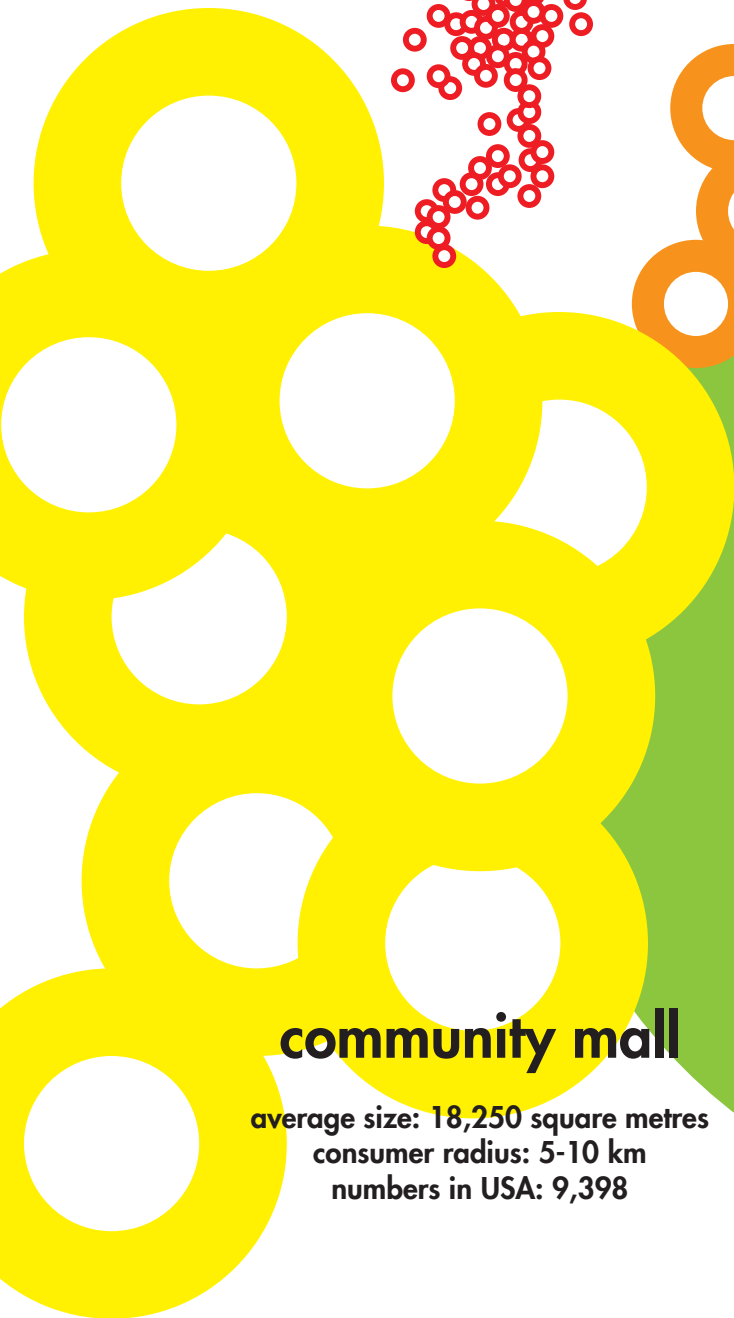
neighbourhood centre

average size: 6,680 square metres
consumer radius: 5 km
numbers in USA: 32,003



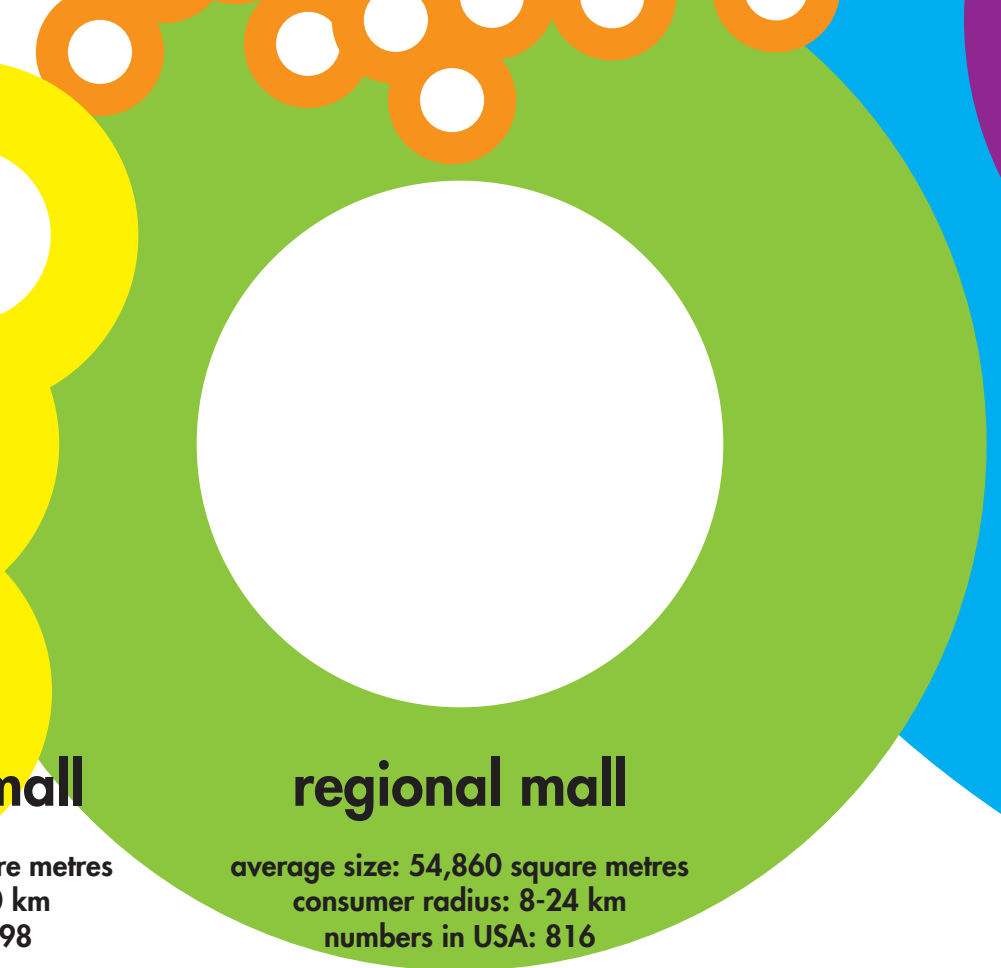
community mall

average size: 18,250 square metres
consumer radius: 5-10 km
numbers in USA: 9,398



regional mall

average size: 54,860 square metres
consumer radius: 8-24 km
numbers in USA: 816



the megamall

average size: 113,130 square metres
consumer radius: 8-40 km
numbers in USA: 689

lifestyle centre

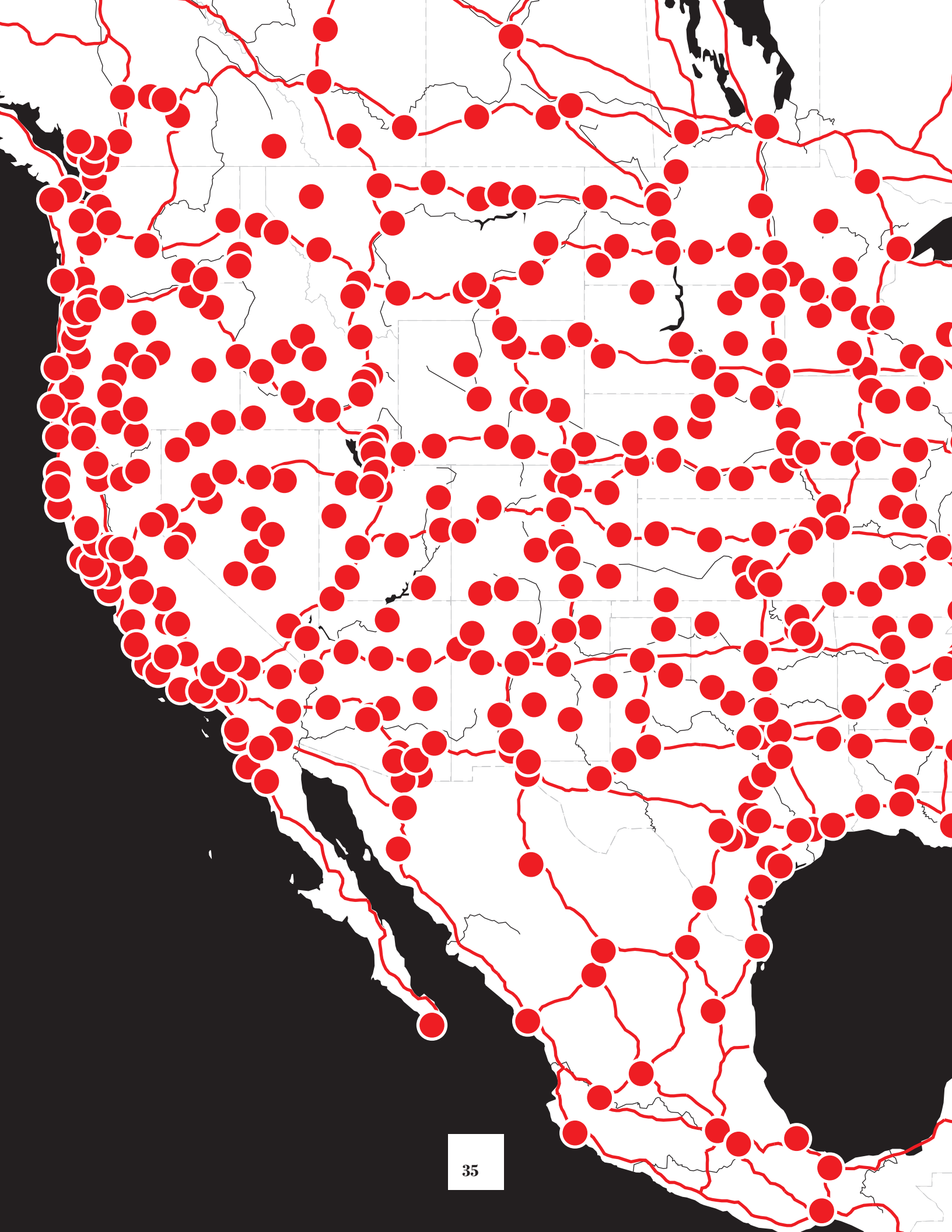
average size: 29,630 square metres
consumer radius: 12-20 km
numbers in USA: 396

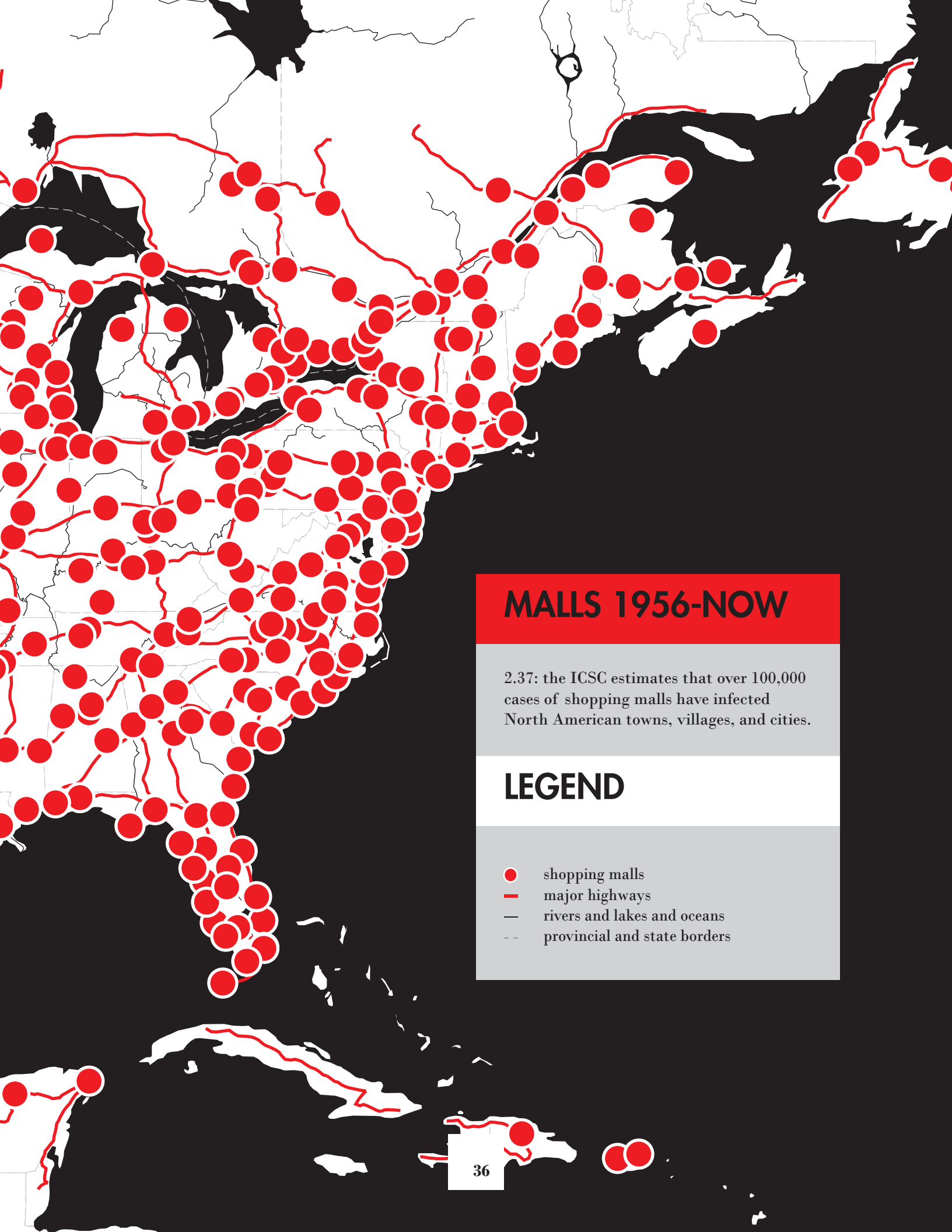
power centre

average size: 37,750 square metres
consumer radius: 8-16 km
numbers in USA: 2,023

hypermarket

average size: 16,910 square metres
consumer radius: 8-32 km
numbers in USA: 3,029





MALLS 1956-NOW

2.37: the ICSC estimates that over 100,000 cases of shopping malls have infected North American towns, villages, and cities.

LEGEND

- shopping malls
- major highways
- rivers and lakes and oceans
- - provincial and state borders

A summary of objections and investigations shows that people and human activity are the greatest object of attention and interest. Even the modest form of contact of merely seeing and hearing or being near to others is apparently more rewarding and more in demand than the majority of other attractions offered in the public space of cities and residential.

- Jan Gehl in
Life Between Buildings

ii. zombiology of malls and space



above 3.01: in HTO park, and all other public parks and beaches in Ontario, it is frowned upon to behave yourself and enjoy some casual beers.

LEGEND

3:02: this a conservative representation of Greater Toronto Area shopping centres, as dozens remain undocumented and hidden.

- indoor shopping malls
- big box-stores and power centres
- six shopping destinations of this thesis
- the humbertown shopping centre

SCALE 1:200000



905 AREA CODE

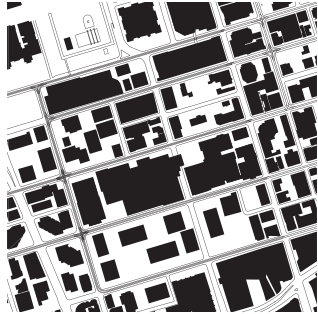
consisting of Ajax, Aurora, Beaverton, Brampton, Brock, Burlington, Clarington, Halton Hills, Hampton, Markham, Milton, Mississauga, Newmarket, Pickering, Richmond Hill, Vaughan, and many more.

416 AREA CODE

this city centre consists of Etobicoke, North York, Toronto, and Scarborough.

CASE STUDIES

SCALE 1:10000



1 THE PATH NETWORK



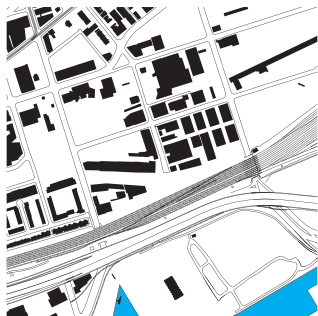
2 VAUGHAN MILLS



3 LEASIDE MALL



4 SHOPS AT DON MILLS



5 DISTILLERY DISTRICT



6 KENSINGTON MARKET

2



SCALE 1:100000



LEGEND

3.03: the study of these six unique strains of commercial spaces, express a figurative evolution of the zombie and public space.

- # six shopping destinations of this thesis
- the humbertown shopping centre

the subterranean city

If you look beneath the congested streets of downtown Toronto, you will discover a complex labyrinth of tunnels and corridors. The earliest forms of these paths were developed to provide service routes between department stores, and safe passage between train stations and historic hotels. In the 1960s the city was rapidly expanding upwards. The new construction of high-rise office towers was removing businesses and storefronts from the city streets. The city council then convinced these developers to construct underground retail spaces, with the intention of linking them via tunnels. The Toronto PATH system was then established as the conscious effort between city planners and private developers. Soon more and more tunnels were built, and more and more pedestrians were forced underground. This network soon connected four dozen office towers to nine hotels, to subways and bus stations, to major tourist and entertainment attractions. There are now over 28 kilometres of underground walkways linking the CBC broadcast centre, Roy Thomson Hall, the Hockey Hall of Fame to the Air Canada Centre, and the Eaton Centre with everything in between.

The PATH offers an alternative to braving the inclement weather of Canadian seasons. It is a system that was not designed to be traversed in a single day, and finds success when used in short instances. In the basements of these mixed-use towers, you will discover a series of short streets which connect parking garages to food courts to lobbies, and to the subway. These streets are composed of similar groupings of stores and services. There are flower shops, dry-cleaners, tailors,

travel agencies, coffee shops, newsstands, banks, and shops selling formal attire. These streets then connect via more tunnels and more shops to adjacent office towers, and the pattern continues to repeat. Whether you stepped off the train or out from your parked car, you must walk by these same shops, to and from work each day.

If you look close enough, the Toronto PATH System is really a large collection of shopping malls. The greater PATH includes 1200 stores and services spread across 371,600 square metres of GLA, making it the largest shopping mall in the greater city of Toronto.

These underground retail-based streets and gathering spaces are privately owned. The owners of the PATH recognise the hectic pace of its demographic, and cater to meet their daily necessities. There are no frills, only functions in the underground. There are twists and turns, dead ends and dark corners all complicating your navigation. The underground passages begin to feel repetitive, and because of a poor way finding system combined with a lack of natural light in these passages, you can easily lose your bearings. The streets offer limited places to rest, keeping you moving past, and in, more shops, or forcing you sit in the food court.

The non-retail based gathering spaces incorporated into this system are found above ground, and feel rather disconnected. The galleries and outdoor spaces that these mixed-use towers offer are often found vacant. Once the business day ends, the shops in these tunnels close for the day, and these tunnels are deserted. This PATH is not a place where you come to experience the vibrancy of people and public space.



above 3.04: this map navigates your safe passage through the underground of the Toronto PATH.



above 3.05: the Toronto Eaton Centre (1977) has replaced the first underground paths, dating back to 1900, connecting Eaton's to its warehouses.

below 3.06: the Royal York Hotel (1929) was built by the Canadian Pacific Railway, and connected via underground path to Union Station.





above 3.07 - 3.10: the PATH system was established with the construction of numerous underground malls in the basements of bank towers.

below 3.11 - 3.14: the TTC metro, private parking garages, the bus terminal, and railway station all are connect via the PATH.





above 3.15 - 3.18: the various streets that can be found in the PATH system show repetitive pattern in the types of stores and services offered.

below 3.19 - 3.22: the various food courts that can be found in the PATH system show repetitive patterns in the types of fast foods available.





above 3.23 - 3.26: when the business day ends, and on weekends, the shops are closed, and the PATH, though accessible, is relatively deserted.

below 3.27: it is surprising, but not uncommon, to find these outdoor spaces deserted during the lunch hour rain or shine.



the megamall

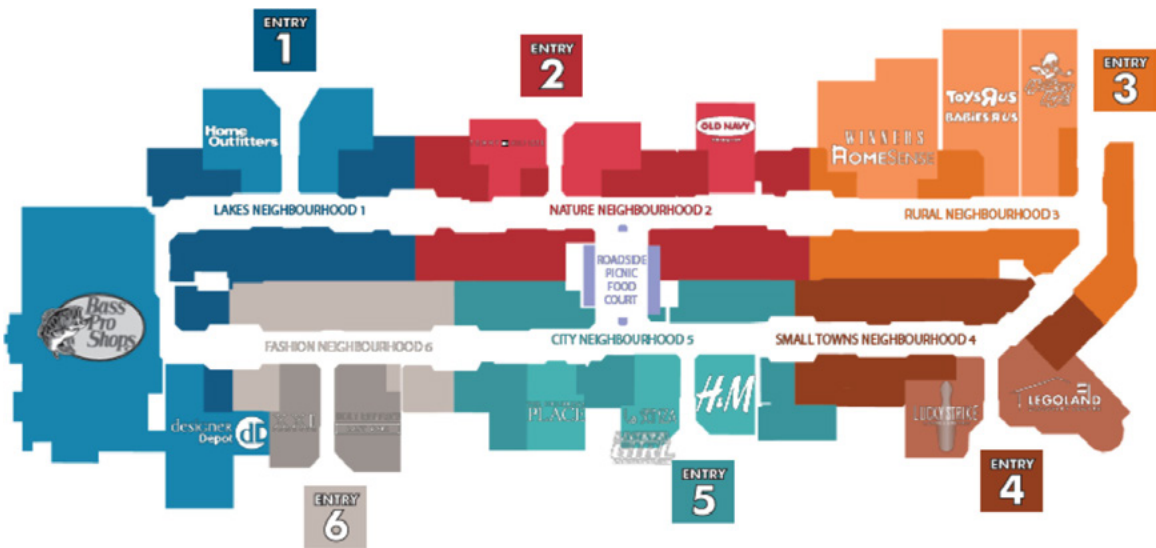
There have been only three enclosed shopping malls built in Canada since 1996, Vaughan Mills was the second. It ranks in the top 15 largest malls in the country with a GLA of 104,150 square metres. Its 189 stores and services sit removed from its surrounding context, centred among parking for 6,300 automobiles. Vaughan Mills is situated next to a 400-series highway, as the mall was built for our dominating car culture. The mall contains a bowling alley, a go-kart track (since removed), exclusive Canadian retailers, and branded names everywhere. This mall is a designated tourist attraction, remaining open on most holidays. If you came to Vaughan Mills, you came here to shop.

I hired a friend as a driver, and as a second set of eyes and ears for the day. We lost ourselves in an oversized parking lot and began to walk around the mall's perimeter. Our society's high demand for consumption has left the exterior of this mall covered in loading bays, service routes, and emergency exits. My friend hastily remarked that he could no longer stare at the backs of things, and he needed to get inside. There are 6 main entrances to Vaughan Mills. Each represents a gateway into a different aspect of Canadian culture. However, once inside the bustling interior, under all of the lights and store signage, you can hardly take notice to this gesture. In walking the mall, we walked past numerous stores, and then more stores, only to find ourselves at the food court. We continued our exploration, past store after store, only to find ourselves again at the food court. Vaughan Mills is a unique figure-8 plan. The intention is to keep customers walking on endless cycles of consumption,

this looping increases the amount of exposure to each store, ensuring that no corner of the mall goes unexposed and no store remains undiscovered. These mall neighbourhoods offer little in scenery and little in amenities. The benches and chairs provided feel more like rest areas, where consumers can recharge just shop a little longer. The more comfortable places to collect are in the themed restaurants and come attached with a price. The only sizeable area to collect is in the central food court. It is filled with fast food and delicious names you already know. It is the power of the brand that attracts the consumers to Vaughan Mills. We know which stores to look for and what products we will find. We know exactly what to expect.

The mall is owned by Ivanhoé Cambridge out of Québec. It is a property management and development company who owns and operates over 100 shopping centres worldwide. To protect their legitimate business interests, and to ensure the security and safety of their customers, each mall has an established code of conduct. This list rationally prohibits physical and verbal abuse, destruction of property, and the use of firearms and weapons within the space. However, this same list prohibits household pets, screaming and singing, sitting on floors and flower boxes, and loitering and meandering. These are not the standard laws of the land we adhere to, but these are specific rules that apply to a specific place. These rules are not enforced by police, rather by private security. Vaughan Mills, its designated streets, and parking lots are in fact private space.

The idea of true public space cannot exist under these conditions and ownership, and this search must continue.



above top 3.28: an aerial photograph of Vaughan Mills reveals the mall in its natural habitat.

above bottom 3.29: the mall plan resembles a Möbius strip, encouraging infinite loops of shopping.



above 3.30 - 3.33: just of the 400, streets and signs will eventually navigate you to the mall, though to find a parking spot is a greater task.

below 3.34 - 3.37: the exterior of the mall is dominated with service bays, permission in is granted through stores and numbered entrances.





above 3.38 - 3.41: there are six unique and numbered neighborhood in Vaughan Mills, each with icons and images reflective on Canadian culture.

below 3.42: the aptly named roadside picnic food court is provided for you take a break, and recharge to power through you day of shopping.





above 3.43- 3.46: these six neighborhoods, when viewed alongside one another, lose their identity among a wash of brands and stores.

below 3.47 - 3.50: the transition courts are found along sections of the looping plan, offering limited and (un)comfortable places to rest.





above 3.51 - 3.58: Vaughan Mills offers branding in place of proper public space. we do not come to these malls to socialise, we come only to shop.

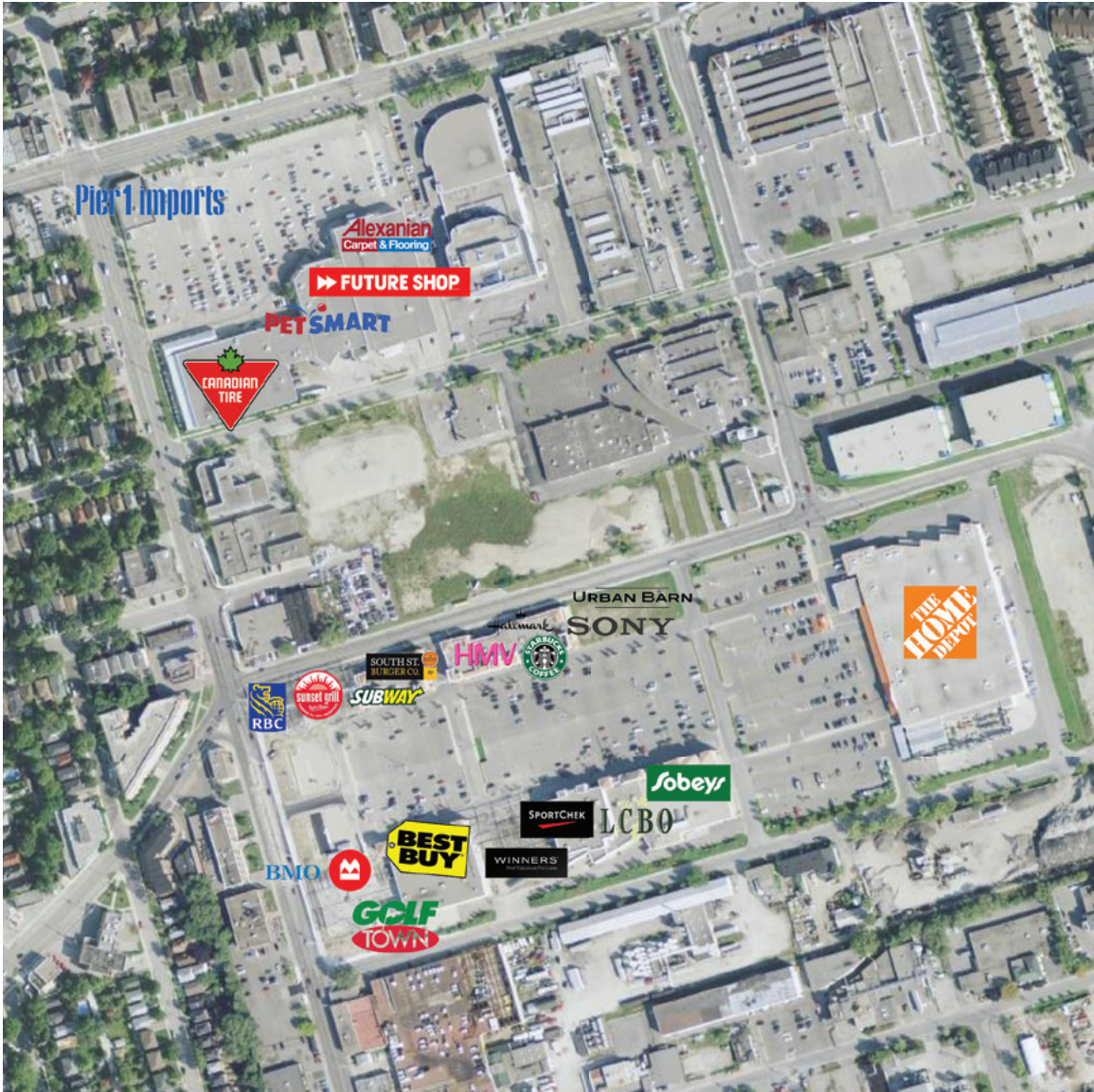
the big-box malls

The street light changed, the cars were tearing by, and I was moving with them. There is a single store which obscures my view. Behind it lies a massive parking lot and four big-box stores. Just three of them comprise eighty percent of the 12,360 square metres of GLA of this new form of the mall. The strategy of this mall is simple and dated. It is situated on a busy intersection with five famous storefronts, each large enough to read as you drive by. This is the power centre, and its likeness is found in most cities.

Just down the street south of the Riocan Leaside Centre, is the Leaside SmartCentre. It is a little newer, and a little prettier. It was built in 2006 adjacent to a pre-existing hardware superstore. There are stretches of retail running perpendicular to this big-box, forming a broken quadrangle around two large parking lots. The main entrance to this mall is marked with flags and a gate. This entrance also provides trees, planters, and shaded seating for all pedestrians who might walk by. The long retail strips are divided into two blocks each. These blocks each have subtle differences in their respective façade treatment through colour and rhythm. One feature that is both surprising and considerate is the use of an exterior arcade. The pedestrian circulation on both sides of this mall exists as an escape from the sweltering heat and the frigid cold. It is quite rare, despite the Canadian climate to see such thoughtful features offered in retail spaces. This arcade has the potential to become rich and vibrant, but suffers from the blank walls and massive storefronts that are typical of these power centres. These spaces should be dominated by cafés, restaurants, and diners

with public patios and enough people to fill each of those seats. I once knew girl who lived within a 15 minute walk of these two big-box malls. Though despite the many day trips and time spent at these malls, we would only come for groceries and other daily and errands. Most of our memories associated with these types of malls are reflective of handfuls of bags and wallets full of receipts.

The older mall to the north is owned by Riocan Real Estate, and the newer mall to the south is owned by SmartCentres. These two companies are the largest owners and developers of unenclosed shopping centres in all of Canada. The success of their malls is determined on which brands and stores can be brought to each. These malls, like most, suffer socially because they lack a sense of place. We no longer identify our spaces with setting, architecture, or beauty. It is the names products that attract the consumers here, and nothing else. Despite improvements in design, the removal of its roof, and stores which offer more essential goods, these places are still just malls. To these developers malls are strictly a profitable business, and the concept of public space is continuously overlooked by the eyes of private ownership.



above 3.59: a satellite image shows the proximity of these power centres, forming the Leaside Mall.



above 3.60: with multiple big-boxes overlooking a massive parking lot, the Riocan Leaside Centre is just another typical power centre.

below 3.61 - 3.64: the perimeter of this place ignores the surrounding context, allowing the design to be repeating in any location.





above 3.65: these decorative turrets guard the main entrance of the Leaside SmartCentre.

below 3.66 - 3.69: two banks act as cornerstones in the design of a mall which has turned its attention inwards toward a central parking lot.





above 3.70 - 3.73: the exterior of this power centre features blank walls and loading bays, once again turning its back to the neighbourhood.

below 3.74: your view of this mall from Home Depot parking reveals the symmetry in its plan.





above 3.75 - 3.78: the arcades of this power centre suffer from the lack of restaurants and patios, and the false façades and massive storefronts.



the lifestyle centre

The heart of Canada's first planned community was no more. The strip-centre had long since disappeared, being replaced with an enclosed mall in 1978. The Don Mills Shopping Centre was demolished in 2007 only to one day be built again. It stands once more as an open-air concept mall, divided by named streets, small urban blocks, and a modest green space at its centre. The map shows this town square surrounded by shops, cafés, restaurants, and water features. The Shops at Don Mills, as it is now called, certainly appears unique.

















I stepped off the bus to no marked entrance or any clear signage, so I just walked right in. I discover vaguely familiar rows of single-storey shops, and streets lined with trees, planters, benches, decorative lighting, and rows of on-street parking. I wandered aimlessly around this place until I stumbled upon the centre square. There are stores to the north selling clothes and lingerie. There is an espresso bar, gelato and patisserie, and a tea house all decorated with flowers and patios filled with customers to the east. To the south, a bank and a large restaurant were located across the street. To the west, a bar and grille sits atop a waist-high concrete plinth, independent from the square. The water feature is tucked away, also sitting high next to this restaurant's entrance. Throughout the day and night, the square became more and more populated with people. They organized themselves in quirky patterns to meet the restrictions of the space. It was quite refreshing to see people outdoors, and witness the space being used, even after most of the stores had closed.

This new concept of a mall feels inspired by old downtowns and main streets, but something doesn't feel right. The lack of second and third storeys leaves these spaces feeling open and empty. These streets all look the same, and despite having an address, are difficult to navigate. It appears that the town square is working against itself in being enjoyed. It suffers through level changes and poor surface treatments, as seen on one day, when the greens had been fenced off for reseeded. I gained firsthand criticism late at night with a mindful of rum. Many of the waitresses began voicing their complaints about working the winter months. The employees of the Shops at Don Mills were all forced to park in the elevated garage, distanced from most places of work. The built-form of the mall offers no indoor spaces, no covered walkways or awnings, and combined with uniforms that aren't suited for the climate, these walks to work were left bitter and cold. The weather apparently had the same effect on customers, as the mall is left desolate for most of the year.

The result is a setting that ultimately looks and feels like any other shopping mall, only without a roof. These open-air malls thrive in the summer, but the neglect for the Canadian winters is a common mistake. There are stores and restaurants, and all the same brands we recognize. The Shops at Don Mills is owned and managed by Cadillac Fairview. This company owns, develops, and manages shopping malls, large office and retail spaces across Canada and the United States. This mall is their business, and not an offering of great space. The town square therefore exists in name only at the Shops at Don Mills, as public space has once again found ownership.



Directory Legend

-  Administration Offices
-  ATM
-  Bus Stop
-  Car Wash
-  Complimentary Parking
-  Elevator
-  Family Washroom
-  Guest Services
-  Nursing Room
-  Public Washroom
-  Restaurants
-  Security
-  Stairs
-  Taxi Stand
-  Valet Parking Pick Up / Drop Off
-  Wheel Trans Pick Up / Drop Off

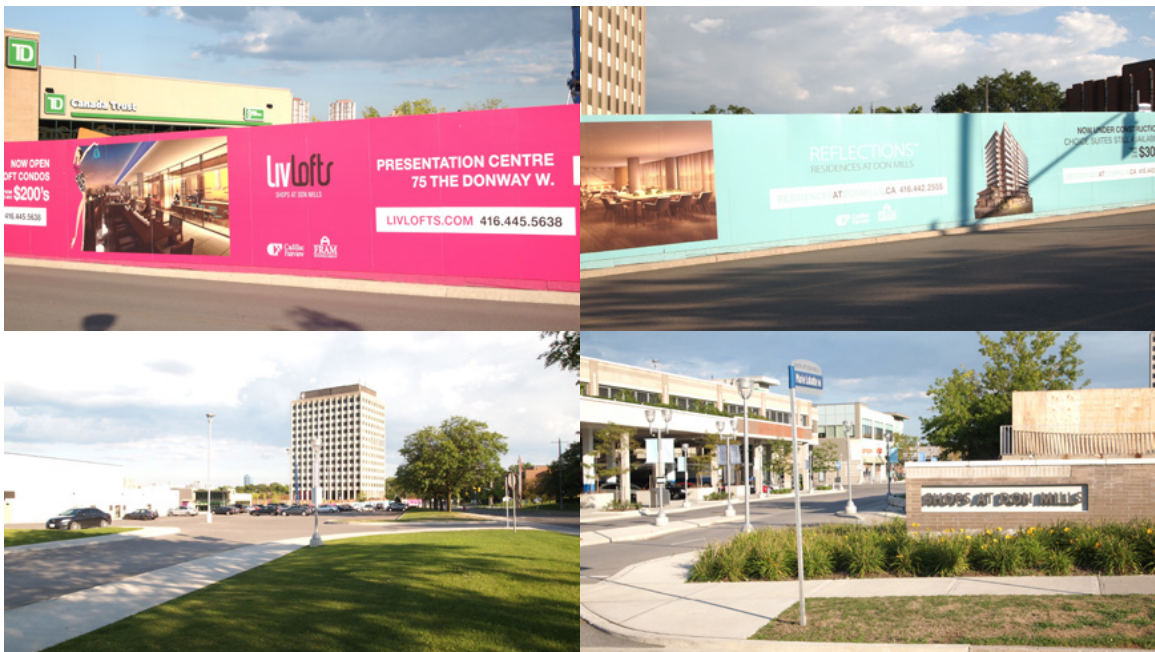


above 3.79: this map of the Shops at Don Mills has some character, as it looks like a little town.



above 3.80 - 3.83: the parking lots and loading bays found on the perimeter of this mall are typical of one ignoring its surrounding context.

below 3.84 - 3.87: high-rise condo towers will soon populate the outskirts of the site, and adding to the prestige of the Shops of Don Mills.





above 3.88 - 3.91: these streets lack intimacy, and would've greatly benefited from the addition of office and residential units above.

above 3.92 - 3.95: the elevated parking garage can be seen from across the site, offerings views of nothing but the barren rooftops below.





above 3.96 - 3.99: during the working day, the town square is often under populated.

below 3.100 - 3.103: in the evenings, the square livens, and the patios are filled with people.





above 3.104: you will always find mothers, children, and anyone one else with their pants rolled up, splashing and playing on hot sunny days.

below 3.105: the café and restaurants remain open well after the rest of the mall closes, and people are still wandering around past midnight.



the historical site

It took first form as a gristmill in the 1830s, and was then converted into a rye distillery. In less than 30 years, this small operation consisted of over 40 buildings, and was producing more than half the total spirits in Ontario. Over the next hundred years the distillery would survive prohibition, recessions, depressions, and changes of ownership. Eventually the distillery could no longer compete in the global market. The Gooderham and Worts Distillery closed its doors in the 1980s.

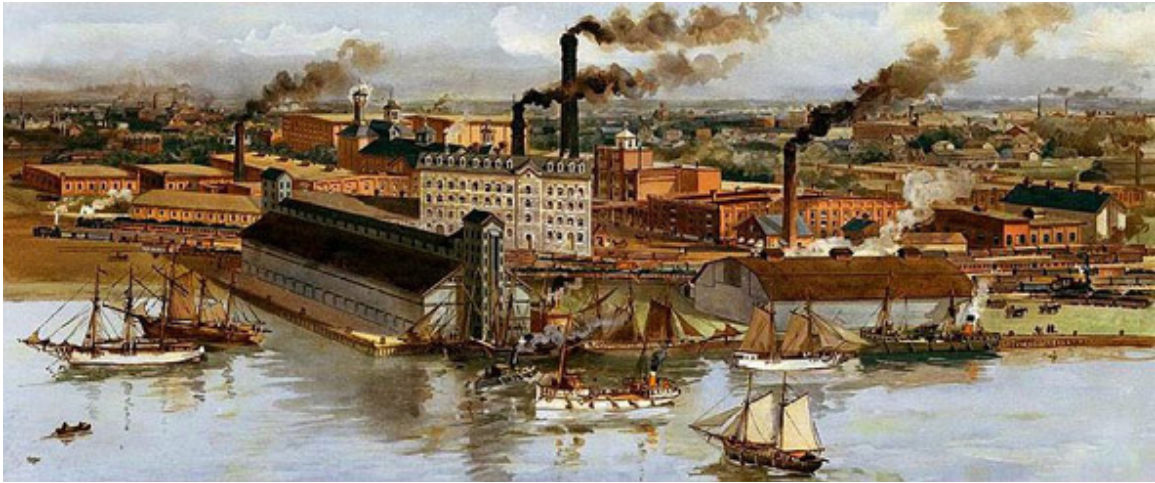
The site remained largely unoccupied over the next 20 years, with photography shoots and film production as the exceptions. Then conversation began with the intentions to restore the abandoned distillery into beautiful pedestrian environment dedicated to the arts, culture, and entertainment. Old service routes were to become intimate narrow streets livened with fresh flowers, coffee shops, breweries and chocolatiers. Old delivery roads were to be converted into long pedestrian spaces filled with art and public seating. In 2004 the Distillery District opened its doors to reveal a mix of cafés, restaurants, artist schools and studios, clothing and home-decor boutiques, and, surprisingly discreet towering condos.

In the streets I met an elderly couple, who personify the very success of this space. They live less than an hour away, and once or twice each month, they came to the district to mull about in jewelry stores and studios, take in some live music, or a play at the performing arts theatre. These days were seen as treats to themselves. They love this space, think it is beautiful, and want it to succeed.

It is rare to see buildings of great age in Canada, and the architecture of this space is one of its most attractive features. It stands as the finest collection of Victorian-era industrial architecture in North America. It has been designated a world UNESCO heritage site. There is unique character in each of the buildings. Their former purposes lead to variance in rhythm, material, and form. The setting here is beautiful and thriving. Industrial architecture has continuously proven itself in its adaptability over the years. The spacious heights, wide spans, and durable built-form of masonry construction has been converted into loft apartments, academic institutions, and retail space. We should take a lesson from the Distillery District. If we are not preserving these typologies, then we are losing parts of our history.

The stores and services of the Distillery District are all upscale and prestigious. Its appeal as a destination falters because it cannot be enjoyed by all. In promoting class segregation, this is an economic success, but not truly a social one. Underneath this grandeur beauty and rich history, the district is just another mall built for profit. The district is owned and managed by Cityscape Holdings, a company known for repurposing historical buildings in the city of Toronto. There are private security guards monitoring the site, shooing away loiterers, asking for permits, and taking cameras away from students. The Distillery District masquerades as public space, existing only as a novelty to those who can afford it.

The public realm does not seem to exist within this ownership of spaces. This search for true public space cannot continue with the shopping mall. We must look elsewhere, if we are to find what it is we seek.



above top 3.106: the Gooderham and Worts Distillery as imagined during the prosperous 1860s.

above bottom 3.107: each component of the former distillery has been uniquely repurposed.



above 3.108 - 3.111: the Distillery District, though integral in the city's history, feels removed quite from the urban fabric.

below 3.112: after passing through the district gates, you are presented with a beautiful walk and view down Trinity street.





above 3.113 - 3.116: the former services routes are now intimate pedestrian streets adorned with seating, flowers, and displays of public art.

below 3.117: the main gathering space in the Distillery District hosts craft and jewellery shows, and a Christmas market every December.





above 3.118: there are relics of the districts former glory scattered in and around the site.

below 3.119: the greatest display on site, is the pristine Victorian-era industrial architecture.





above 3.120 - 3.123: the Distillery District exists as a novelty to those who can afford it pleasures.

below 3.124: high-rise condo towers dominate most views, bringing prestige to the district, and much need profits to its owners.



the urban market

It was a beautiful summer morning, the kind of day where only the sun could demand your attention. We both needed fresh air and something to nourish our night out. There were bakeries and produce markets to provide us with two handfuls of brunch. There is a beautiful parkette asking us to lie down and kick off our shoes. This pretty girl and I felt comfortable to turn on, much to the dismay of no one. We closed our eyes to the sounds of a playground and splash pad, people playing, laughing, and enjoying great conversation. The space was filled with all sorts of people, just doing what they liked.

The atmosphere of Kensington Market is welcoming to every thought, every vice, and every attitude. There are but few spaces in the city where I am always eager to spend my day. Kensington Market is always the first on my mind. It is found in a neighbourhood that is rich in cultural diversity. Its deep Jewish roots stem from all across Europe. This accounted for a diverse amount of imported goods constantly passing hands through the space. It inherently became a centre for trade, and later commerce as furriers, tailors, bakers, and fish mongers would open up shop. Over the decades waves of immigrants, war dodgers, and students would call this neighbourhood their home. It is still a working class neighbourhood, and through its history, Kensington Market had remained independent from corporate interest. Its diversity of culture is reflected in its eclectic mix of produce markets, butchers, fish markets, cafés and bakeries, record stores, skateboard shops, army surplus stores, cannabis and coffee houses, used clothing stores selling hand-crafted jewellery, backpackers

hotels, bars and patios, take-away eateries, and two public parks. There a little something for everyone in Kensington Market.

This is a space where you come to meet close friends, common acquaintances, or that random person from that one time at that place. They might be writing poetry, playing foosball, on their way to the café to turn on, or having lonely beers late at night, but each one of them will stop to look up, and invite you to join in. Whoever these people are, they always seem happy to see you.

You will find no branding, no advertising, and no pressure in this place to spend or consume. There is no private ownership of streets, sidewalks, or public parks. There is no code of conduct, or list of rules that caters specifically to this neighbourhood. It is a place of free speech, freedom of choice, and open mindedness. It is a setting where you are encouraged to enjoy yourself in company of others. It is a place where you are free to act, and to do what you please. It is place to buy milk and eggs, get a new haircut, relax and read a book. Kensington Market vastly differs from the previous case studies, simply because it isn't a shopping mall. This market is true public space.



3.125: an artist's map to define the culture and unique sense of place of Kensington Market.



above 3.126 - 3.129: displays of art provide signage and way finding into Kensington Market.

below 3.130 - 3.133: there are many places to buy groceries, fresh produce, breads, meats, and other everyday items all throughout the market.





above 3.134 - 3.137: all along Augusta Avenue, cafés and patios are filled with quiet brunches, greasy meals, and comfort foods.

below 3.138 - 3.141: the diversity of Kensington Market is greatly reflected in the variety of unique shops that can be found through the site.





above 3.142 - 3.145: each street is brought to life with markets, patios, unique shops, and people.

below 3.146: the streets of Kensington Market become public spaces in their very own right.





above 3.147 - 3.150: Bellevue Square Park is filled with children, hipsters, puppies, guitars, and all sorts of characters every 24 hours and 7 days a week.

below 3.151: the mood here is relaxed. you can enjoy wine and a smoke with friends in comfort knowing that everyone around is doing the same.



results of study

The art of people watching is an undervalued form of entertainment in our culture. You can learn a lot about a space, simply by observing the actions of consumers. Noting where they walk, where they stop and sit, how they interact with one another, and even what they talk about can provide insight towards why some spaces succeed and others fail. I observed my friends and studied strangers, never quite sure what to expect, how they would react, or how the day would unfold. I asked questions and encouraged answers to get what I wanted. However, just watching would not be enough. I would need to take in all of the sights and sounds without hesitation. I needed to think like the consumer, and act just the same. This was not just a study of malls and space. It was a study of zombies versus the living.

In each new mall I encountered, I was presented with new excuses to spend. Once inside, you fail to notice that *“malls do not even pretend to sell necessities. No dry cleaner’s, no hardware store, no vegetable market, no laundry place to pick up eggs or milk or a bottle of sherry or a newspaper. Mall developers and their vendors prefer theme and speciality stores and ubiquitous boutiques... that sell you nothing you want until you get inside and realize you need everything they sell.”*ⁱ I soon felt uncomfortable walking through these spaces without my wallet open, and cash and cards in hand. I was consuming without question, and without thought. The experience had reduced me to the state of a mindless zombie. It seemed as if everyone else around me was just the same, and not one had taken notice.

i Barber, *Sprawl and Public Space*, 33

In his book *Zombie Politics and Culture: in the Age of Casino Capitalism*, Henry Giroux “utilizes the iconography of the living dead to signal a society that appears to have stopped questioning itself, that revels in its collusion with human suffering, and is awash in a culture of unbridled materialism and narcissism.”ⁱⁱ Giroux further states that “democratic ideas cannot exist without the public spheres that make them possible. Culture in the form of the Internet and mass media is the most powerful influence now used by the hyper-dead to promote their zombie politics. These spheres must be recovered. Intellectuals, parents, unions, workers, and other concerned citizens need to reclaim those places that give the voiceless a voice, allow those marginalized by class and race to speak, and offer everyone the opportunity to reclaim an America that currently offers them little hope in terms of a better and more just life.”ⁱⁱⁱ

Though it did always provide gathering spaces for the public, the mall was never conceived as ‘public space’. In most communities, the mall has become our only collective physical space, but through its privatization, it stops free and unbiased discourse short in its tracks. In her book entitled *No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies*, Naomi Klein believes that “the conflation of shopping and entertainment found at the superstores and theme-park malls has created a vast grey area of pseudo-public private space. Politicians, police, social workers and even religious leaders all recognize that malls have become the modern town square. But unlike the old town squares, which were and still are sites for community discussion, protests and political rallies, the only type of free speech that is welcome here is marketing and other consumer patter.”^{iv}

ii Giroux, *Zombie Politics and Culture*, 24

iii Giroux, *Zombie Politics and Culture*, 159

iv Klein, *No Logo*, 183

It is in those codes of conduct and list of rules which stipulate what we can and cannot do in these private spaces. These shopping mall owners are within to full rights to tell us to stop what we're doing, and ask us to leave. We are no longer creating spaces in which we permitted to freely act and speak.

Human agency is defined by our freedom to act. To exact the freedom of choice, we need to live in social spheres that do not constrain or limit our actions. The shopping mall and its disfigured image of public space do not provide us with these freedoms we so desperately need. This is an issue of agency versus ownership. To take back the public realm and our capacity for the freedom of choice, we desperately need the separation of shopping malls and public space. Shopping has become so engrained within our culture that the economic wellbeing of our nation depends primarily on our commercial spending. To speak out against consumer capitalism and the shopping mall seems almost counterproductive to national prosperity. In an address at the University of Kansas in 1968, presidential candidate Robert Francis Kennedy openly criticised this distorted view North Americans hold to measure success:

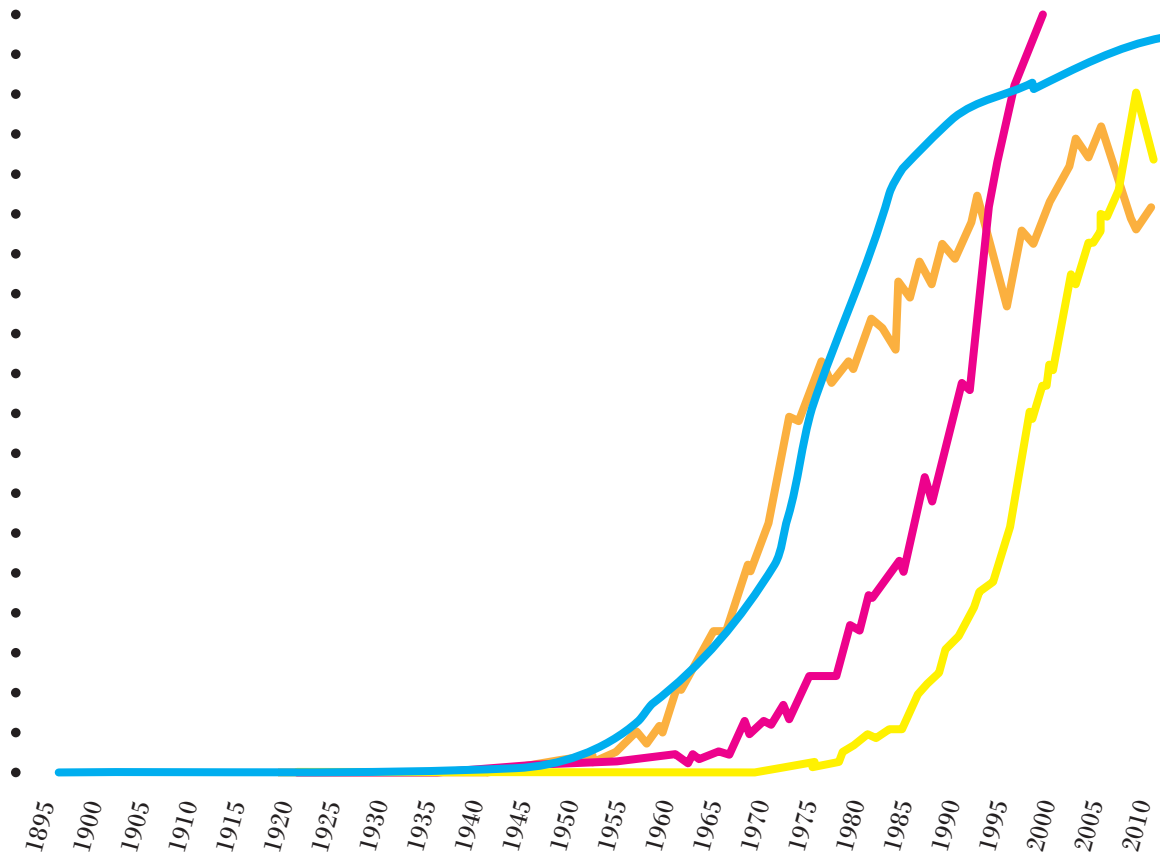
“Too much and for too long, we seemed to have surrendered personal excellence and community values in the mere accumulation of material things. Our Gross National Product, now, is over \$800 billion dollars a year, but that Gross National Product - if we judge the United States of America by that - that Gross National Product counts air pollution and cigarette advertising, and ambulances to clear our highways of carnage. It counts special locks for our doors and the jails for the people who break them. It counts the destruction of the redwood and the loss of our natural wonder in

chaotic sprawl. It counts napalm and counts nuclear warheads and armored cars for the police to fight the riots in our cities. It counts Whitman's rifle and Speck's knife, and the television programs which glorify violence in order to sell toys to our children. Yet the gross national product does not allow for the health of our children, the quality of their education or the joy of their play. It does not include the beauty of our poetry or the strength of our marriages, the intelligence of our public debate or the integrity of our public officials. It measures neither our wit nor our courage, neither our wisdom nor our learning, neither our compassion nor our devotion to our country, it measures everything in short, except that which makes life worthwhile. And it can tell us everything about America except why we are proud that we are Americans.”

The success of the shopping mall, and by extension, our pseudo-public spaces, is measured only in terms of dollars and cents. Perhaps the first step toward improving public space is to reapproach the measurement of success in North American society.

In 1972 a revolutionary concept was introduced to redefine the success of a nation and its citizens. The concept of Gross National Happiness was introduced by the fourth Dragon King of Bhutan to measure the quality of life and social progress of his people. It is based on four pillars of practice: sustainable and equitable socioeconomic developments, the conservation of the natural environment, the preservation and promotion of culture, and the importance of good governance. This concept of GNH is reflective of Buddhist ideals, suggesting the evolution of our society benefits everyone only when material and spiritual development occurs simultaneously and can encourage and strengthen one another.

for MALLS and COUNTRY



legend:

- all forms of the shopping centre
(● = Δ 5000 MALLS)
- average consumer debt
(● = Δ 500 USD)
- gross domestic product
(● = Δ 125 BILLION USD)
- gross national product
(● = Δ 125 BILLION USD)

consumption:

3.152: According to the United States Bureau of Economic Analysis, consumer spending accounts for approximately 70% of the Gross Domestic Product in USA and is the primary driver of the country's economic wellbeing.

Compare this to consumer in spending Canada, which accounts for approximately 55% of GDP.



above 3.153: Robert Francis Kennedy looks skeptically upon the defining success of our nations.

It is through an adaptation of GNH that we can achieve better public spaces. This means designing places for the benefit of the people, and not your pocket. It means creating neighbourhood spaces that give back to the community. It means the abolition of this self-centric society in favour of morals and social responsibility. The profits generated from residences, office spaces, and civic amenities are certainly not as high as those generated from retail-based space, but are still quite profitable. In her book *The Life and Death of Great American Cities*, author Jane Jacobs believes that “*the more successfully a city mingles everyday diversity of uses and users in its everyday streets, the more successfully, casually (and economically) its people thereby enliven and support well-located parks that can thus give back grace and delight to their neighborhoods instead of vacuity.*”^v

We need to reintroduce private developers and city officials, and encourage better conversation. We allow incentives for developers such as adding extra storeys on high-rise condos, in exchange for residual commercial spaces and more underground parking. Perhaps we could use this same mentality, and private developers could provide libraries, museums, and affordable housing in exchange for municipalities to take full control, maintenance, and ownership of streets, sidewalks, squares, parks, and all other forms of public space. We need to convince both parties that “*The shopping center is, of course, an economic entity as much as a physical one, but if public space is treated solely as icing on the cake in shopping environments, we run the risk of eroding or homogenizing the diversity such space presumes to foster.*”^{vi}

I have discovered the future of the North American shopping mall. It is not destined in repurposing a dead mall within a struggling community. Rather it is destined in the demolition of a prosperous mall in one of the wealthiest neighbourhoods in the greater Toronto area. It is on this site and in the following and final chapter, that I will test my will and courage against the mallocalypse. This thesis proposes the de-malling of the shopping mall, and what can be described as the construction of the anti-mall. It is the culmination of observations and data from my study on malls and space, an understanding of the history and evolution of the shopping mall, and will more greatly reflect my own personal character, ideals, and lifestyle. This is an architectural expression that is based in the principles I firmly believe are fundamental to ensure the success of any community, and the creation of public space.

v Jacobs, *Life and Death*, 111

vi Fishman, *Sprawl and Public Space*, 16

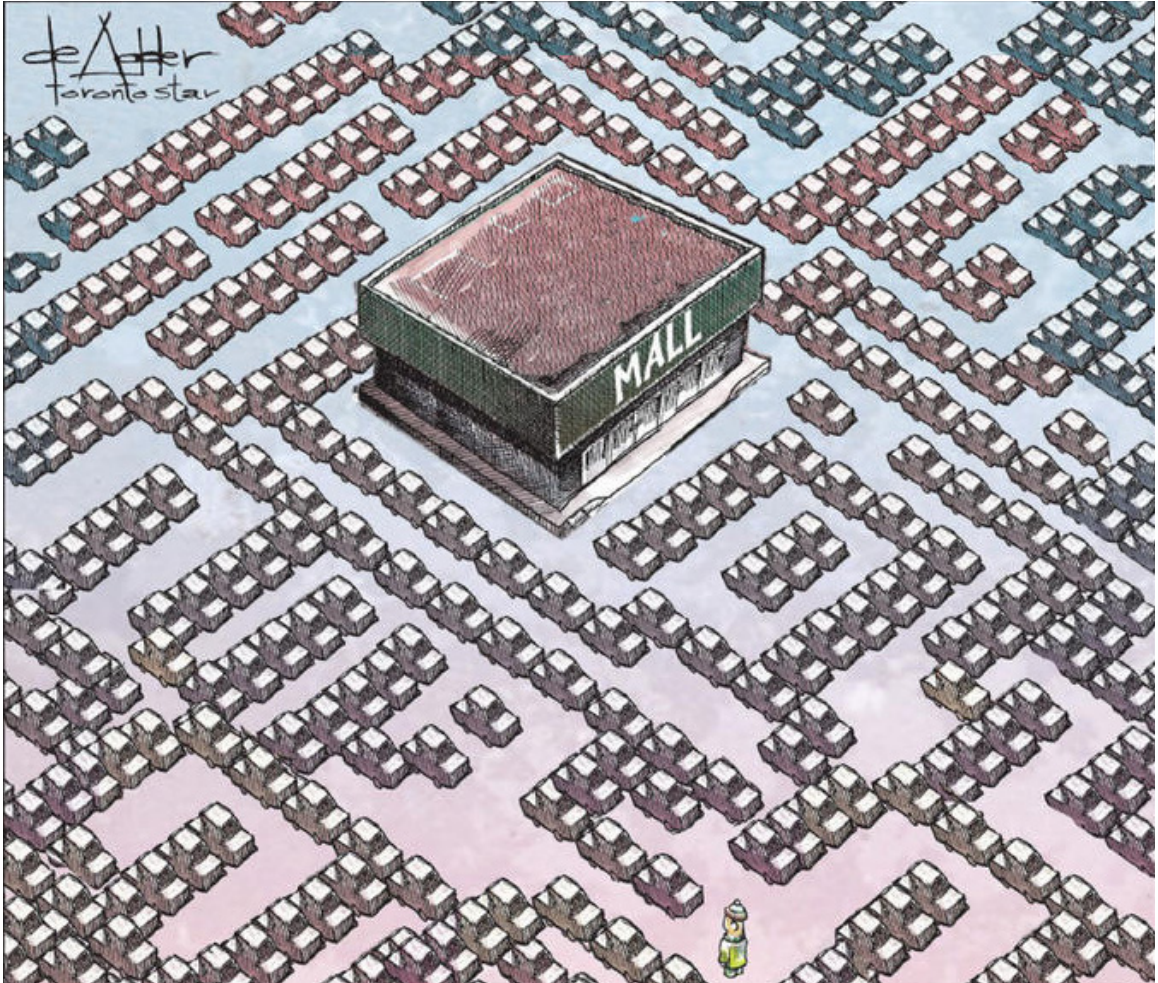


above 3.154: the fourth Dragon King of Bhutan, Jigme Singye Wangchuck, and founder of GNH.

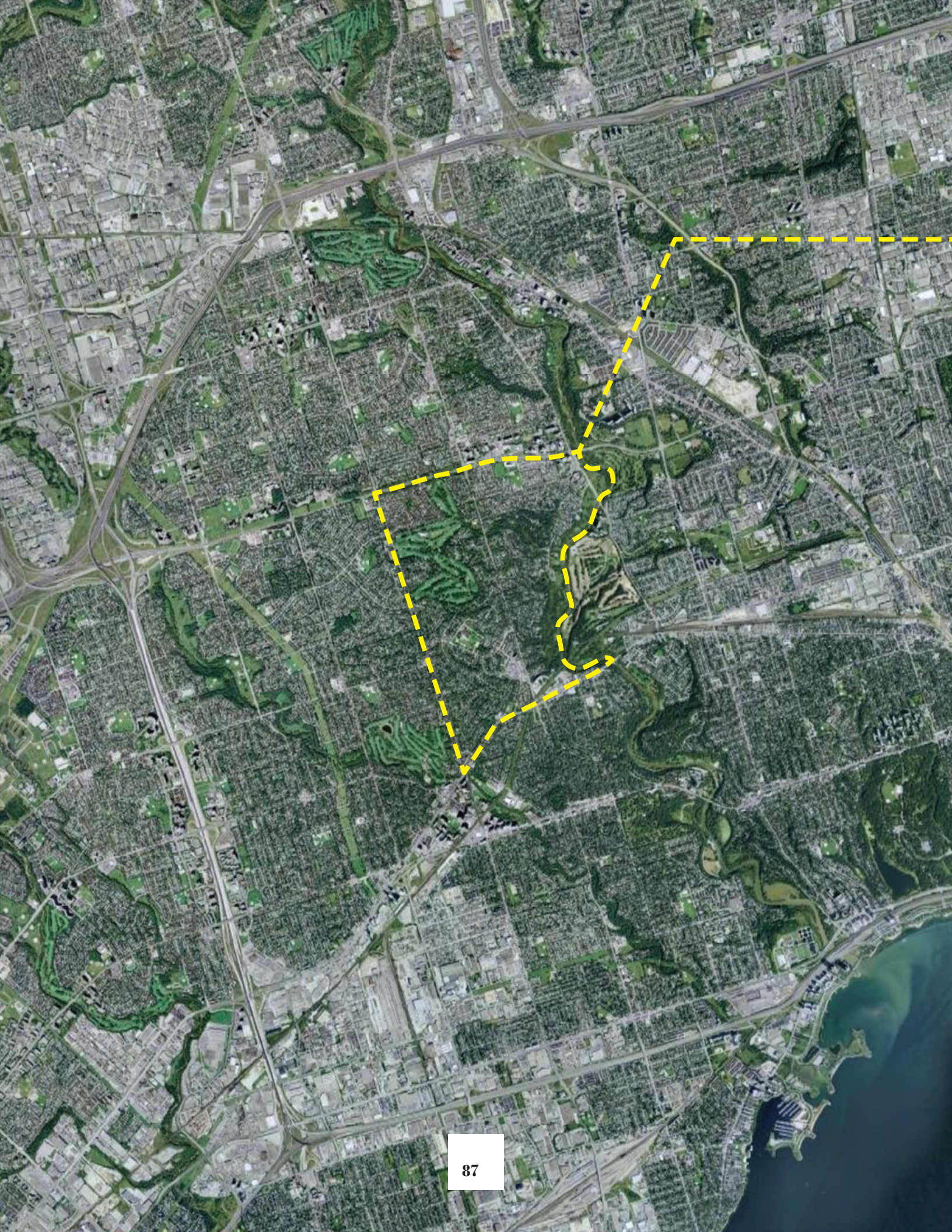
Eventually Americans will learn that the fast and hectic pace of urban life is not due to modernity but to bad urban planning. Life is so badly staged in our time that people are encourage to abandon the most basic kinds of commitments in order to cope with its resulting complexities.

- Ray Oldenburg in
The Good Great Place

iii. me versus the mallocalypse



above 4.01: we attempt to navigate this maze of parked cars everyday at the shopping mall.





THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

4.02: the site of infection is located in the former city of Etobicoke, now a part of the greater city of Toronto.

infection area: Humber Valley Village

population: 14,885

density: 2,692 residents/km²

data source: Statistics Canada, 2011 Census



SCALE 1:50000

the neighbourhood

The leading owner, developer, and operator of Canadian neighbourhood and community shopping centres, thought the direction of retail-based developments needed a new path. This company began inquiring amongst local architects for their opinions on the shopping mall, and soon enlisted the help of the University of Waterloo in preparing a design competition for this discourse. Word of this spread to yours truly, the shopping mall and I were formally introduced, thus beginning my investigation of the mall.

The presence of First Nations in this area dates back over thousands of years, as the site is found along the Toronto Carrying-Place Trail - an extensive portage route linking Lake Ontario to Lake Simcoe to Georgian Bay to Lake Huron to Lake Superior. In points through its history, the site was occupied by the Huron, the Wendat, and the Mississauga. In the discovery of the new world, the land was subsequently occupied by English and French fur traders, becoming farmland during the 1800s in the expansion of the city of York. Over 30 years, starting in the 1930s, the surrounding neighbourhood was developed with over 3,000 private homes. With piecemeal development up to the present, the Humber Valley Village is now home to elementary schools, churches, apartment blocks, condos, golf courses, and a stunning park system running along the Humber River. At the centre of this neighbourhood lies one of the first suburban shopping malls built in the greater Toronto area.

The mall in question is a typical strip shopping centre. Over a dozen small stores and services line an open-air court, and along

with a large grocery store, surround a large parking lot. Over the next 20 years, the Humbertown Mall (1954), like thousands of others, was overwhelmed in attempting to meet the demands of the surrounding population. The amount of retail space in each store needed to be increased and professional offices were placed on the second storeys. The pedestrian spaces were redesigned, adding vegetation and fountains to the southern court, and a modest fully enclosed interior was built to the north. By the end of construction, the entire shopping mall had been refinished and was renamed. After the passing of another 40 years, the Humbertown Shopping Centre (mid-1970s) had grown ripe for redevelopment once again.

After preliminary research, I produced a simple set of designs to expression my intentions, and crafted a list of questions to discuss communities, public space, and commercial development. I made some calls to an economist, an academic, an architectural critic, an architect, a developer, and a city planner who each agreed to one on one interviews. These discussions provided great conversation and were genuinely insightful. (In the appendix of this thesis, I have documented my findings on the happiness of communities, architecture adaptability, the frustrations revolving around parking, why spontaneous and free public spaces are needed to ensure success, and the limitations attached to private development.) However, these initial designs were too focused on the mall as an object. Drawn on the findings from these interviews, each parti was brash, naive, and disrespectful. It was then that I became inspired to study in the field of zombiology, and there was now but one last place to conduct my research.



above 4.03: the typical villages of the First Nations living in the Humber Valley.

below 4.04: an general store and trading psot constructed during the 1830s in the Humber Valley.





above 4.05 - 4.08: despite walkable rows of shops along Bloor Street and convenient public access, most choose to travel this neighbourhood in cars.

below 4.09 - 4.12: the neighbourhood is comprised of block apartments, a few condo towers, various schools and parks, and sects of churches.





above 4.13 - 4.16.: the Humber River is beautiful and underappreciated, it is quite easy to visit this neighbourhood and never see or feel its presence.

below 4.17: James Garden is over 100 years old, consisting of flower gardens, terraced paths, lawn bowl greens, and cross-country skiing trails.







above left 4.18: the parking lots of suburban shopping centres were much cooler in the 1960s.

below left 4.19: these were place to socialise, and places for mothers to gather on leisurely strolls.

above 4.20: the open-air promenades of these malls were supplied with fresh air and proved to be comfortable settings to shop all year round.



above 4.21: an aerial view of the Humbertown Shopping Centre in its current form.



above 4.22 - 4.24: there is now controlled access point to the (semi) open-air court, and towering pillars permit access to the enclosed portion.

below 4.25 - 4.28: the interiors of the Humber-town Centre were once considered cutting edge, but now are left feeling tired and dated.





above 4.29 - 4.32: there are residential backyards and front yards, churches, and apartment alleys which have largely been ignored by this mall.

below 4.33 - 4.36: there are towering condos and apartments, and single-family homes along Royal York Road which must equalled and respected.





above 4.37: all suburban shopping malls should be viewed within their neighbouring context.

spaces for the living

I approached the site with caution. I had encountered so many zombies in past travels, that I would not let myself be caught off guard. I had built so many preconceptions of the mall and public space, that I assumed I would find just another shopping mall.

I walked the site along Royal York Road. These streets were bustling with cars, trucks and buses, joggers, strollers, and wanderers. The boundaries of the site were lined with trees and backless benches along rows of modest storefronts. These perimeter shops and services provided the community with the basic needs foreign to most malls. There were pharmacies, grocery stores, banks, hardware stores, electronics, furniture stores, barbershops and salons, tailors and seamstresses, dry cleaners and laundromats, flower markets, postal offices, public transit agencies, and late night convenience stores.

From afar these buildings appeared much older than they were. Their design looked reminiscent of industrial architecture. These windows were large and many, and upon peering in, revealed interiors that were spacious in width and height. The façades of each building varied in colourful masonry and subtle unique characteristics. These buildings were quite tall, yet did not seem to overpower the surrounding neighbourhood.

There were no signs, no maps, no gates or doors. There was no struggle to access the site, and people appeared to be inherently drawn to it. The streets and sidewalks were extensions of existing city infrastructure, all leading toward the same central space.

As I moved into the heart of the site, the buildings grew taller, and the streets and sidewalks were more active. The automobile traffic had slowed and thinned, as access to some key streets and alleys were restricted by retractable bollards. While I had noticed on-street parking on most roads, I had seen no surface lots. But only after looking more carefully, did I find multiple entrances to an underground network, advertising thousands of public parking spaces. The broken paths of covered walkways, along Saint Georges Street and the Kingsway, faced the central square. The eastern arcade was filled with bakeries, delicatessens, fresh produce markets, butchers, and fish mongers. The western arcade was filled with taverns and restaurants, microbreweries, wineries, and family bar and grilles. From before dawn until after dusk, these arcades were filled with people laughing, eating, drinking, and running errands. These two main streets had become pedestrianized for the day, with crowds from these patios spilling out from under the arcade, across the street, and only held in check by a row of pines.

I crossed this threshold, beyond the trees and into the central plaza. There was another row of pines across the space creating a wind break. I saw people relaxing in the shade of a row of tall maples. To the north sat an empty band shell, and glimpses of concerts and demonstrations. I took a seat on the edge of the space, watching the ebb and flow of people filling it throughout the day. There were children playing games and elderly couples holding hands. There were teenagers skateboarding, loitering, and playing hacky sack. There were circles of people with bottles of wine and cans of beer by their sides. There were people wearing three piece suits crossing paths with parents pushing strollers. I could hear laughs and

screams, acoustic guitars and drums, and the lively hum of dozens of conversations. I turned to my neighbour, and asked her where we were. She called it the Humber Square, the heart of the Humber Town Centre. It was the new downtown for an old community. It hosted farmers markets, craft and trade shows, harvest festivals and winter fairs. In summer months, she described how this square turned into a splash pad, where children and adults would dance around miniature geysers. In the winter months, the square would freeze over, offering public skating and spontaneous pick-up hockey.

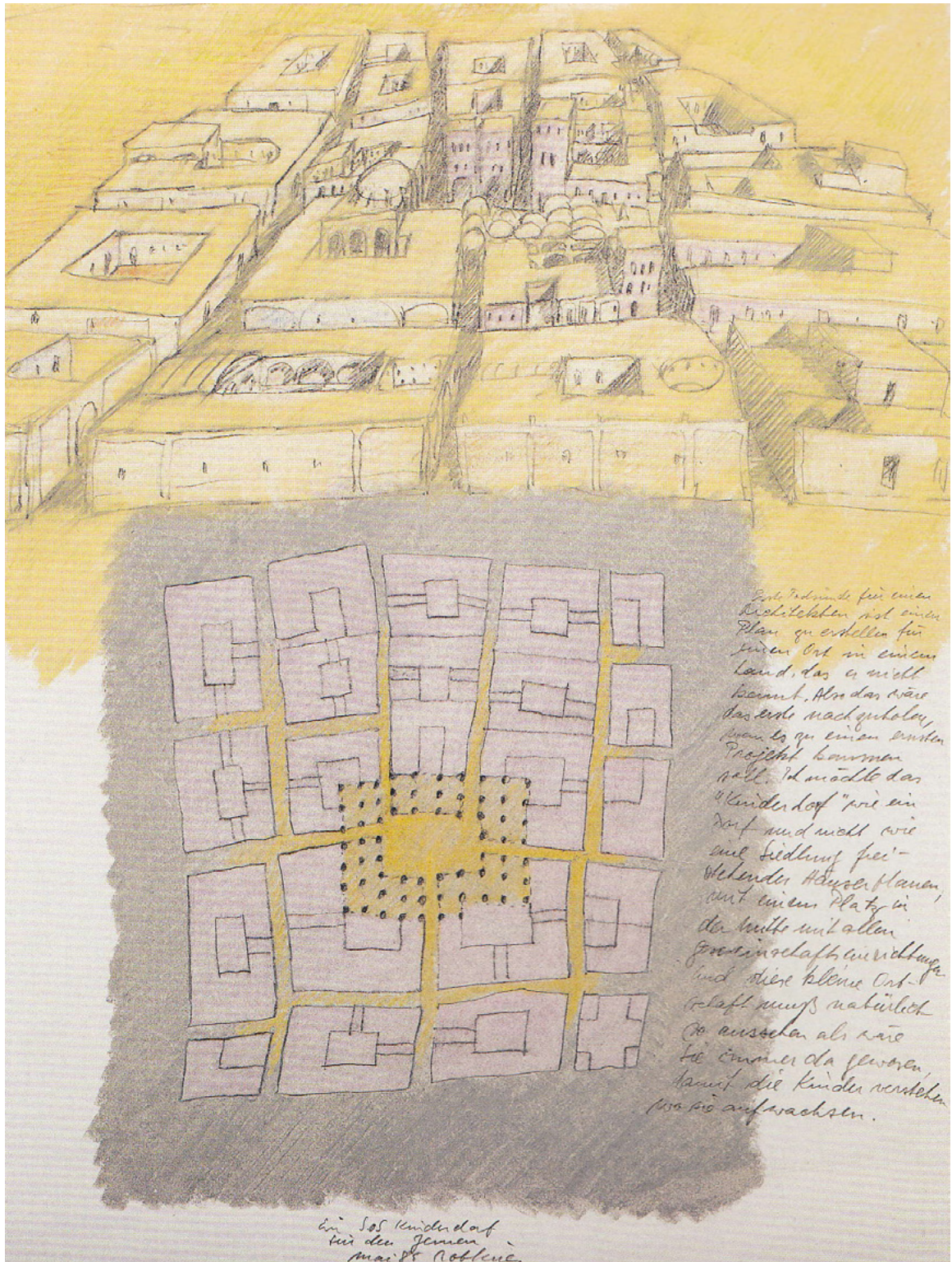
She took my hand and led me south of the square toward two white, pristine buildings. The smaller of the two was an extension of the public space, inviting us in through an open-air pavilion. This sheltered space provided an escape from the cold winds and hot sun. Inside were picnic tables, fire pits, and public washrooms, places to rent skates and ask for information, and concession stands selling hot eats and cool treats. There were stairs leading upward toward a raised leisure pool and public showers. This licenced patio and its two bars were left open to the sky above. The pool remained functional all year round as a summer wave pool and winter hot springs, with cannonball contests and polar bear swims. We walked another set of stairs downward into a massive underground lobby space. There were lights and sounds directing people toward cinemas, bowling alleys, video arcades, billiard halls, dive bars, and an auditorium for lectures and performances. She took me on a quick tour of the energy museum below, where I learned about geothermal and biomass systems, and all forms of sustainable practices utilized on the site.

Back on street level, we found ourselves standing in front of the larger of those two

white buildings. On the opposite ends of this building's long façade, were spacious interiors were filled with information on local flora and fauna, and artifacts of inhabitants and of cultures past. These two galleries served as the main interior public spaces, completely climate-controlled, and filled with tables and chairs encouraging people to come and watch games of badminton and dodge ball in the gymnasium below. In the two levels above we walked through a dozen multi-purpose classrooms, offering writing tutorials, cooking workshops, history classes, and piano lessons. From the hallways connecting these rooms, you could look onto indoor lane swimming and aqua-fit lessons. She described how the gymnasium and changing rooms had been lowered, and the swimming and therapy pools, and dry saunas had been raised to provide controlled access. These amenities were accessible through the underground lobby, via the open-air pavilion. Together these two buildings acted as one, extending the public realm, and to provide the community with a beautiful centre for education, culture, sport, and recreation.

We walked toward a grouping of trees sitting across from the local church. To my surprise the parkette was a small orchard. It was surrounded with cafés smelling of tea and coffee, sweets and cannabis, and shops selling used records, books, and antiques. However, once inside this grove, the smell of fresh peaches and echoes of crisp apples overwhelmed those extra aromas and adjacent sounds. The serene setting was an ideal place for afternoon naps and a good long book.

She took me to explore the spaces above all the rows of shops. There were office spaces for all sorts of professionals, from doctors to accountants to psychologists to naturopaths. Loft apartments on the floors above accom-



Erste Maßnahme für einen
 Realitätscheck ist einen
 Plan zu erstellen für
 einen Ort in einem
 Land, das es nicht
 kennt. Aber das wäre
 das erste machbarste,
 wenn es zu einem ersten
 Projekt kommen
 soll. Ich möchte das
 "Kinderdorf" wie ein
 Dorf und nicht wie
 eine Siedlung frei-
 stehender Häuser planen,
 mit einem Platz in
 der Mitte mit allen
 Gemeinschaftsaktivitäten
 und diese kleine Ort-
 schaft muss natürlich
 so aussehen, als wäre
 sie immer da gewesen,
 damit die Kinder verstehen
 was sie aufwachen.

im SOS Kinderdorf
 für den Jemen
 von R. Robles



left 4.38: this children's village by Rob Krier is meant to appear as if it had always been there, and not a collection of free-standing structures.

above and below 4.39 - 4.40: the arcades of Place Saint-Louis in Metz, provides a sheltered shopping experience, adding character to the façades.







left 4.41: this row housing development of Borneo/Sporenburg in Amsterdam is the urban plan of one with the architectural finesse of many.

above 4.42: this design for this motorway bypass by Léon Krier was interspersed with new urban living quarters and rooftop public gardens.



above 4.43: the apportez votre vin restaurants, cafés, patios, and pedestrian streets of Montréal remind us of how truly social we all can be.

below 4.44: Victoria Park in London encourages skateboarding on public property, and includes a bandshell promoting concerts and winter fests.





above 4.45: street festivals, like the Elvis Festival in Collingwood, brings crowds of thousands of people out on the streets and in local businesses.

below 4.46: the farmer's markets in Galt is regarded as one of the best seasonal markets in Canada, and is one of the oldest too.



modated over 400 people in single and double units. She then showed me the spaces above the arcades. There were studios and gallery spaces for sculptors, painters, musicians, dancers, and filmmakers. The loft apartments above these units accommodated 800 people in double, triple, and quadruple units.

There was a single building which stood higher than all the others. Its podium was a modest sized supermarket, lined with aisles of canned and packaged goods, and rows of market stalls. In its basement I discovered shelves of liquor from across the globe, cases of local craft beer and wine brewed on site. She led me to levels above, where I discovered a hostel filled with travelers hitchhiking across the province, and others in town for their meeting with the foreign investors. This space was connected to a community kitchen, which served both the hostel and the 250 units of affordable housing above. She then began describing what sounded like a co-op housing project. Each resident participated in work placement programs as cashiers, concierges, cleaning staff, and porters throughout the site to subsidise their living accommodations. The community kitchen was used to prepare jams, relishes, pies, and baked goods to be sold below in the market, and to further subsidise their expenses.

The rooftop of this tower had been converted into a community terrace. There were neighbourhood meetings, barbecues, and parties all up there. The most breathtaking feature was the view. She and I could see the entire site. Each rooftop of every building had been used as garden space. The office towers had flower gardens and small patio spaces. The community centre had beautiful botanical garden up top. The roofs of the shops, services, and arcades all had vegetable and berry gardens, and I could see apiaries

for producing honey and chicken roosts for collecting fresh eggs. This community was producing its own food to be used privately or sold in the weekend farmer's markets.

She had shown me what I frantically sought for years – a great space where you can eat, work, play, shop, and live. This was certainly not the shopping mall, the Humber Town Centre was something else entirely.

The ambience of this place reminded me of my Sunday afternoons in Montréal. It was an event that took place in Mont Royal Parc with picnic baskets, bottles of wine, and groups of friends. There were footballs, frisbees, and kites flying overhead. In the distance you could see foam swords and shields clashing, people walking tightropes, and practising yoga. If you listened, you could hear what had been bringing people to this place since the 1970s. From Spring until Autumn, hundreds of people formed a drum circle around the George-Étienne Cartier Monument, spilling throughout the park, each engrossed in their own activity, but contributing to the spirit of the place. The air grows thick here with drunken laughter and the smell of marijuana. The police make their presence known all day, but only to make sure the public was not abusing their rights. Everyone was tolerated, and every healthy activity encouraged. The tamtams allows the expression of individuality, and the appreciation for someone else's choice.

It is in this spirit that the Humber Town Centre and Humber Square exist. On any given day you will find people of all genders, all ages, all races, all religions, and all incomes coexisting. It is a free space without ownership, and is defined by the people who use it. This is public space, and it feels alive.



above 4.47: the uplifting beat and rhythm of the tamtams draws crowds of hundreds each Sunday.

below 4.48 - 4.51: how each person chooses to enjoy themselves should be of little concern.



HUMBER TOWN CENTRE

4.52: it has been renamed once again, for this is not a shopping destination, but the heart of a community.

plot area: 44435 m²

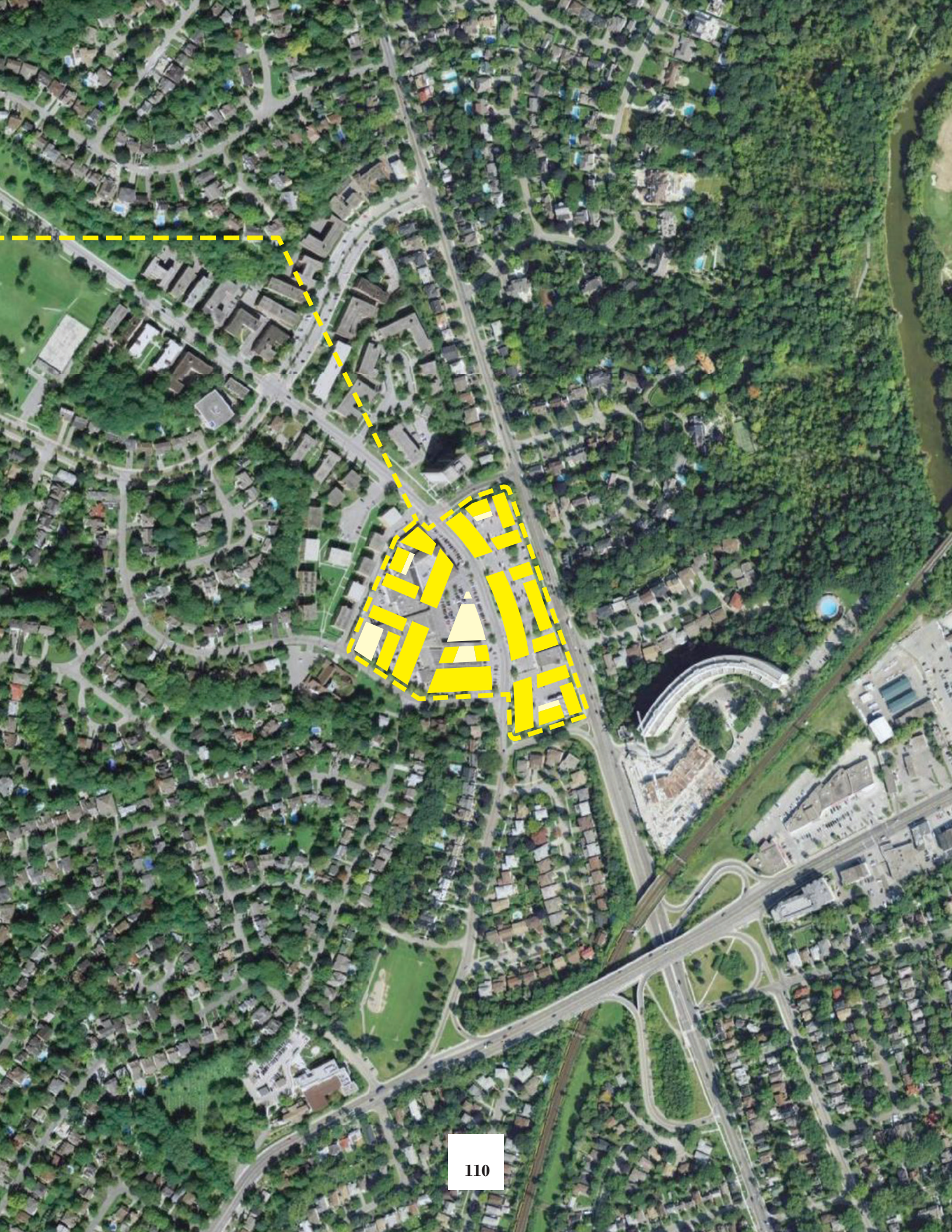
gross floor area: 186925 m²

floor area ratio: 4.20

covered area: 33.3 %



SCALE 1:5000



LEGEND

4.53: this traditional urban plan maintains the integrity of the surrounding context, by restablising street connections and restoring broken views and vistas.

- new construction
- existing context
- maples, pines, and fruit trees



SCALE 1:2000



THE KINGSWAY

ASHLEY ROAD

ROYAL YORK ROAD

ASHLEY ROAD

ASHLEY PARK ROAD

BASIN LANE

THE KINGSWAY

ROYAL YORK ROAD

LAMBETH ROAD

ST GEORGES ROAD

STRATH HUMBER COURT

LAMBETH ROAD

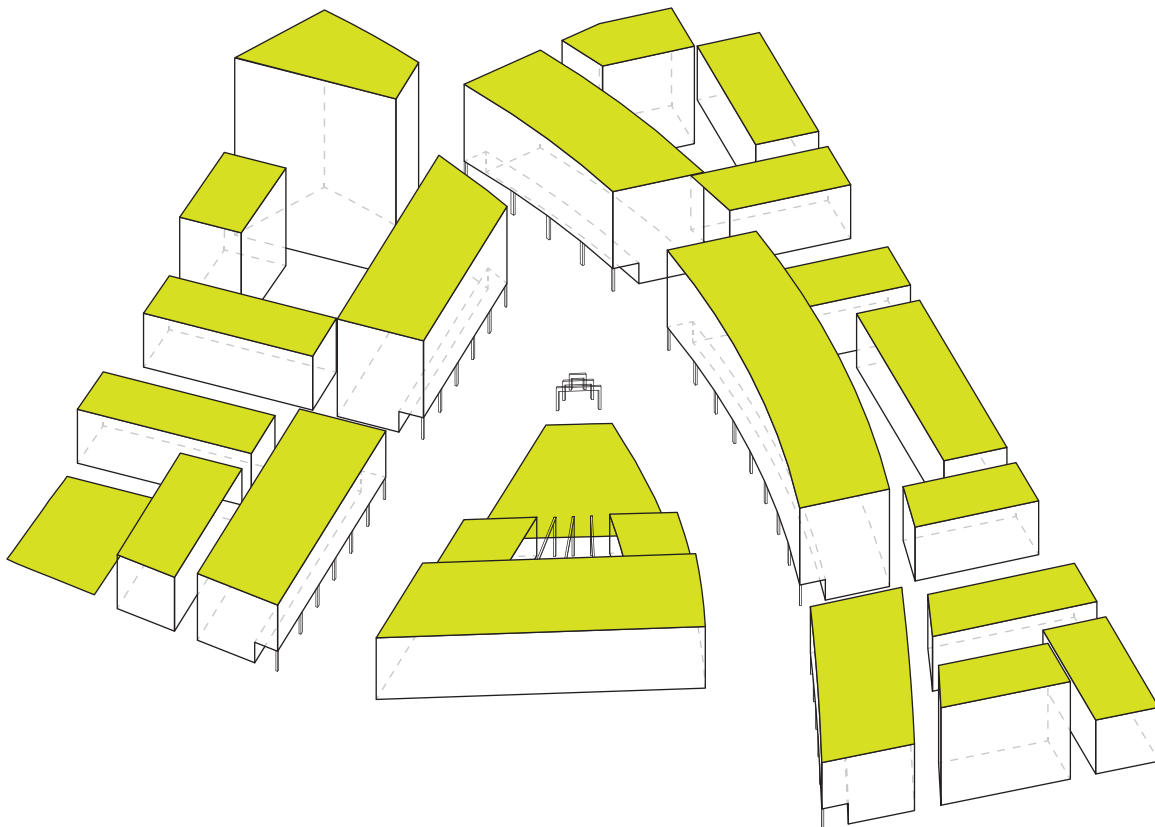
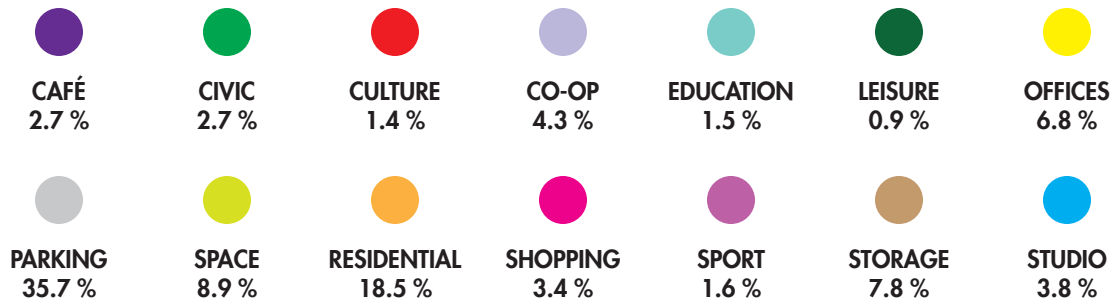
LAMBETH ROAD

THE KINGSWAY

ROYAL YORK ROAD

LEGEND

4.54: the shopping mall has long been considered a multi-use space. the next step in the evolution of these spaces is the hybrid form, a place to eat, work, play, shop, and live.



PRIVATE

the upper levels are private residences with controlled access provided via the back alleys. access to the affordable housing is less controlled, but safeguarded by the co-op.

SEMI-PUBLIC

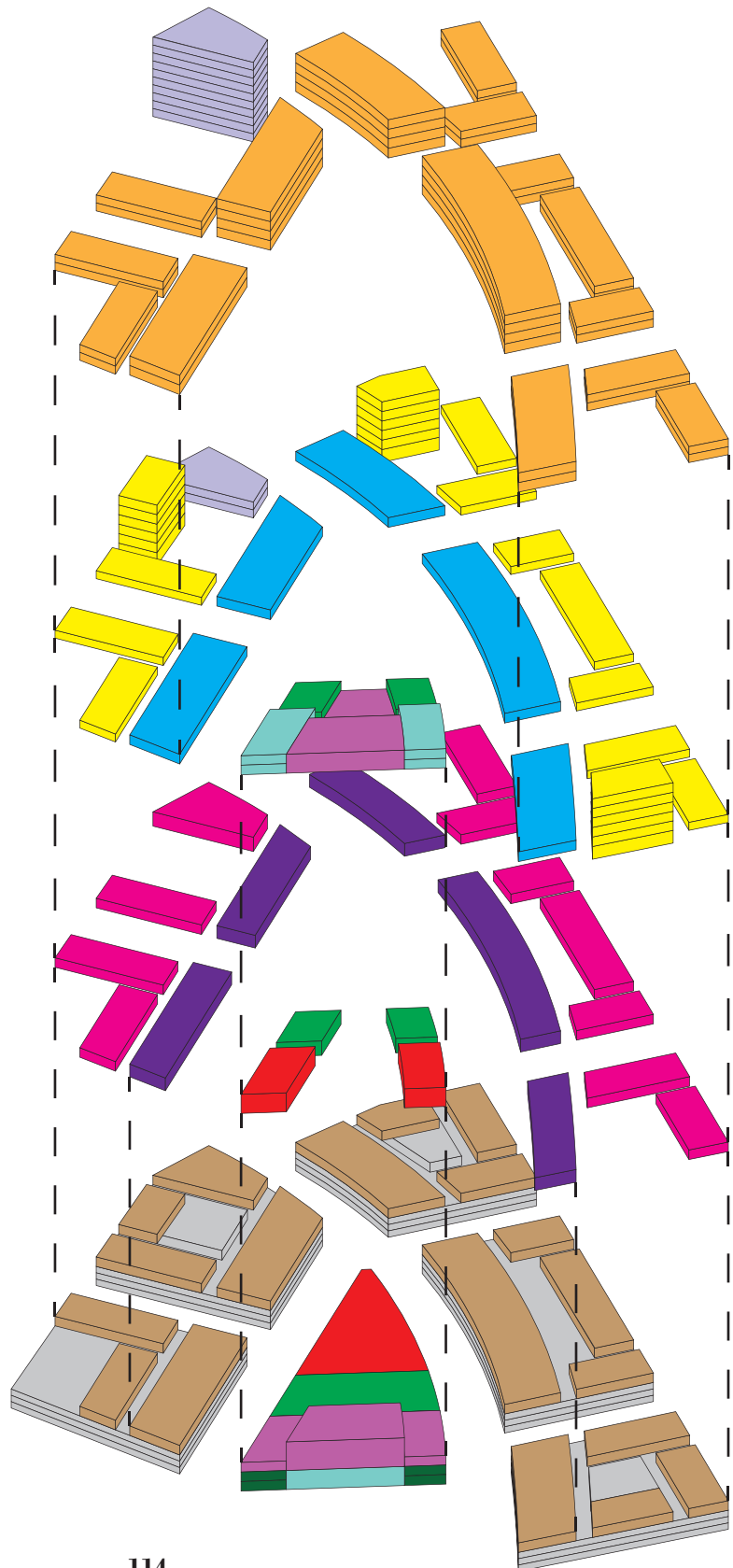
the mid-level studios, office lobbies, classrooms, the leisure pool, the hostel and kitchen are accessible to the public crowds. access to the raised lap is controlled.

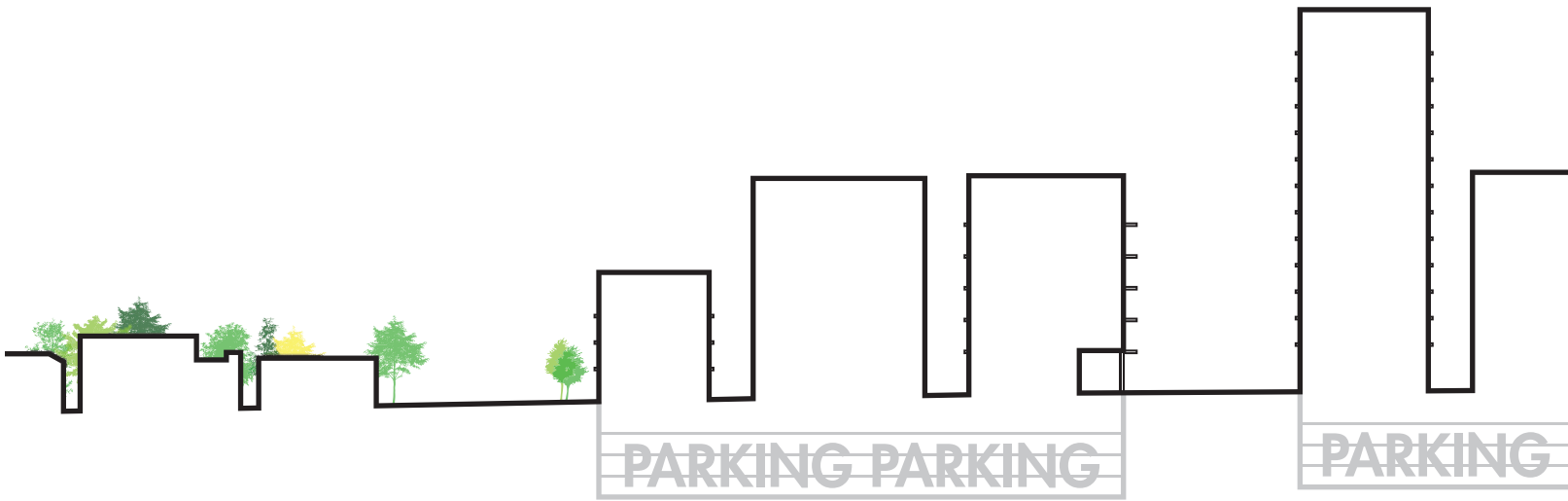
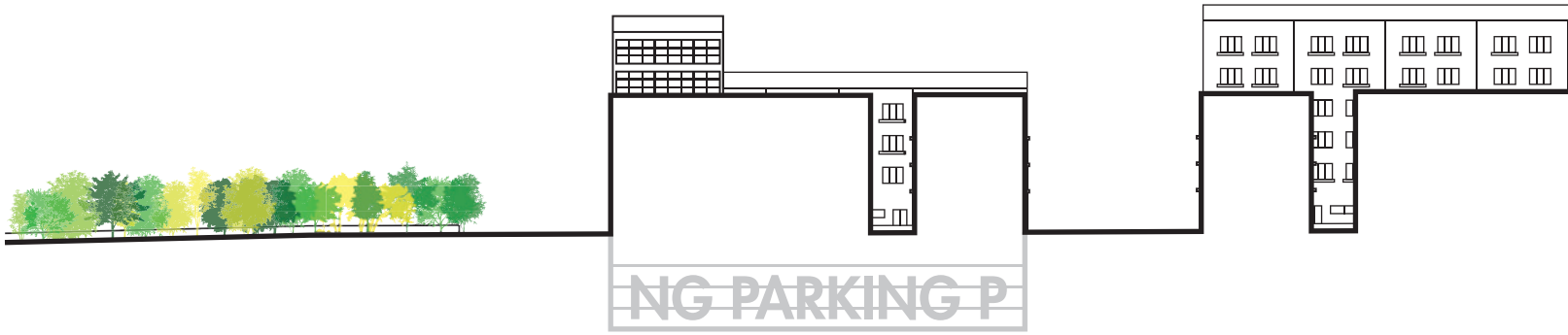
PUBLIC

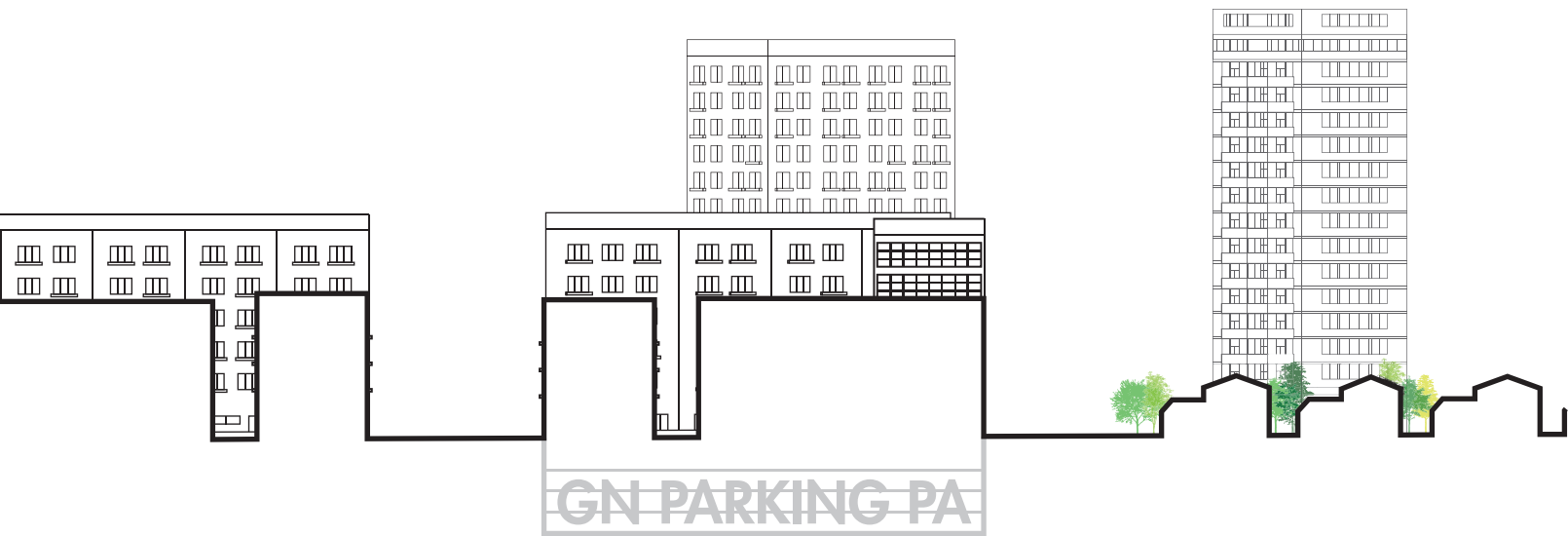
the street level stores, services, galleries, cafés, restaurants, and open-air pavilion openly welcome the public masses.

SEMI-PUBLIC

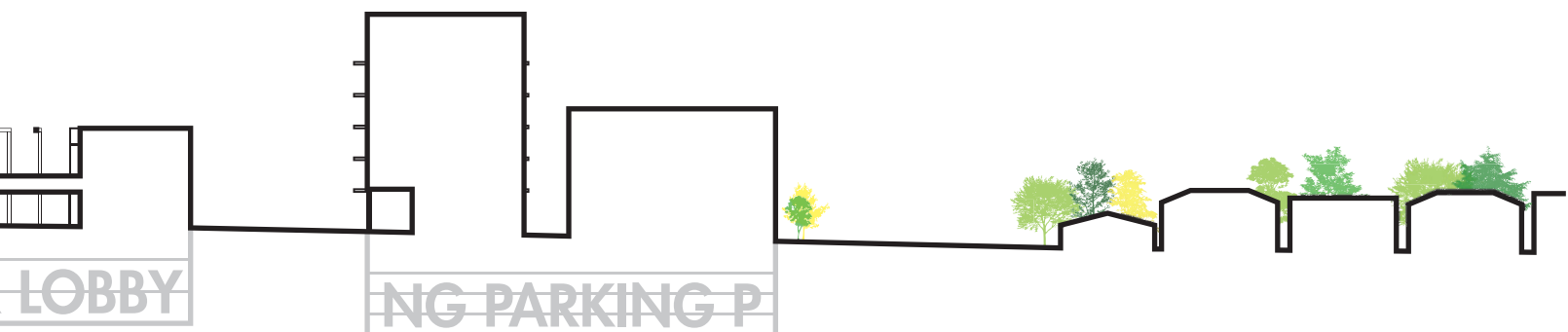
the lower level amenities and parking lots are accessible to the public. access to the lowered gymnasium, private parking lots, and storage spaces are all controlled.

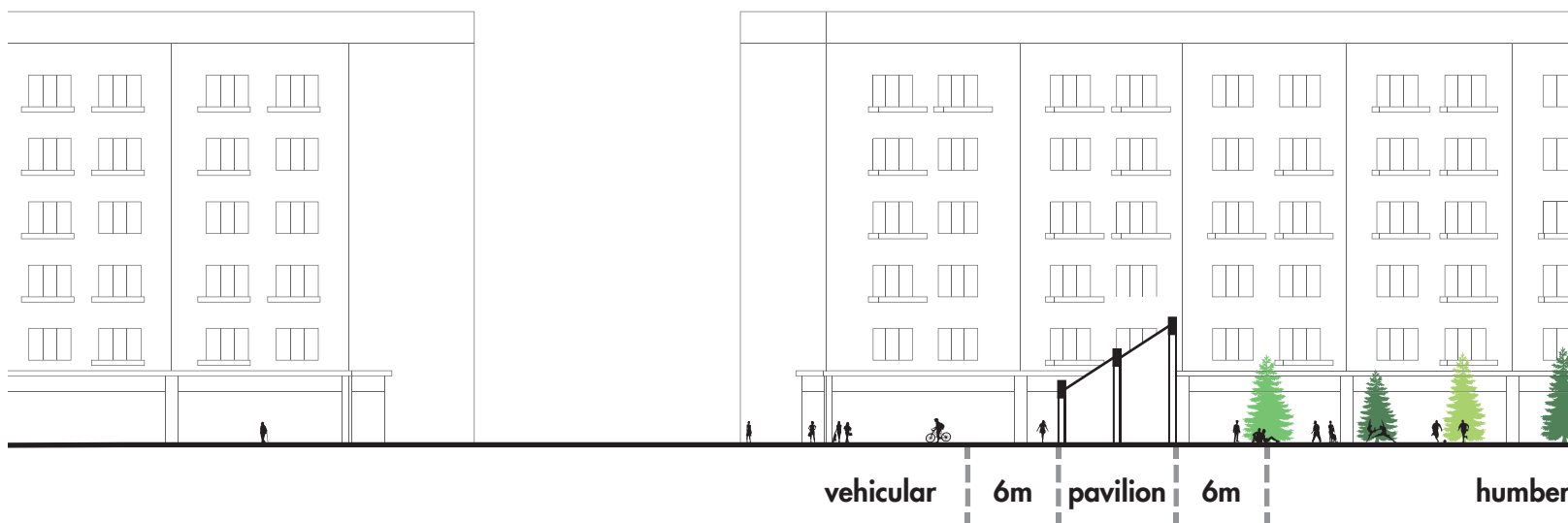
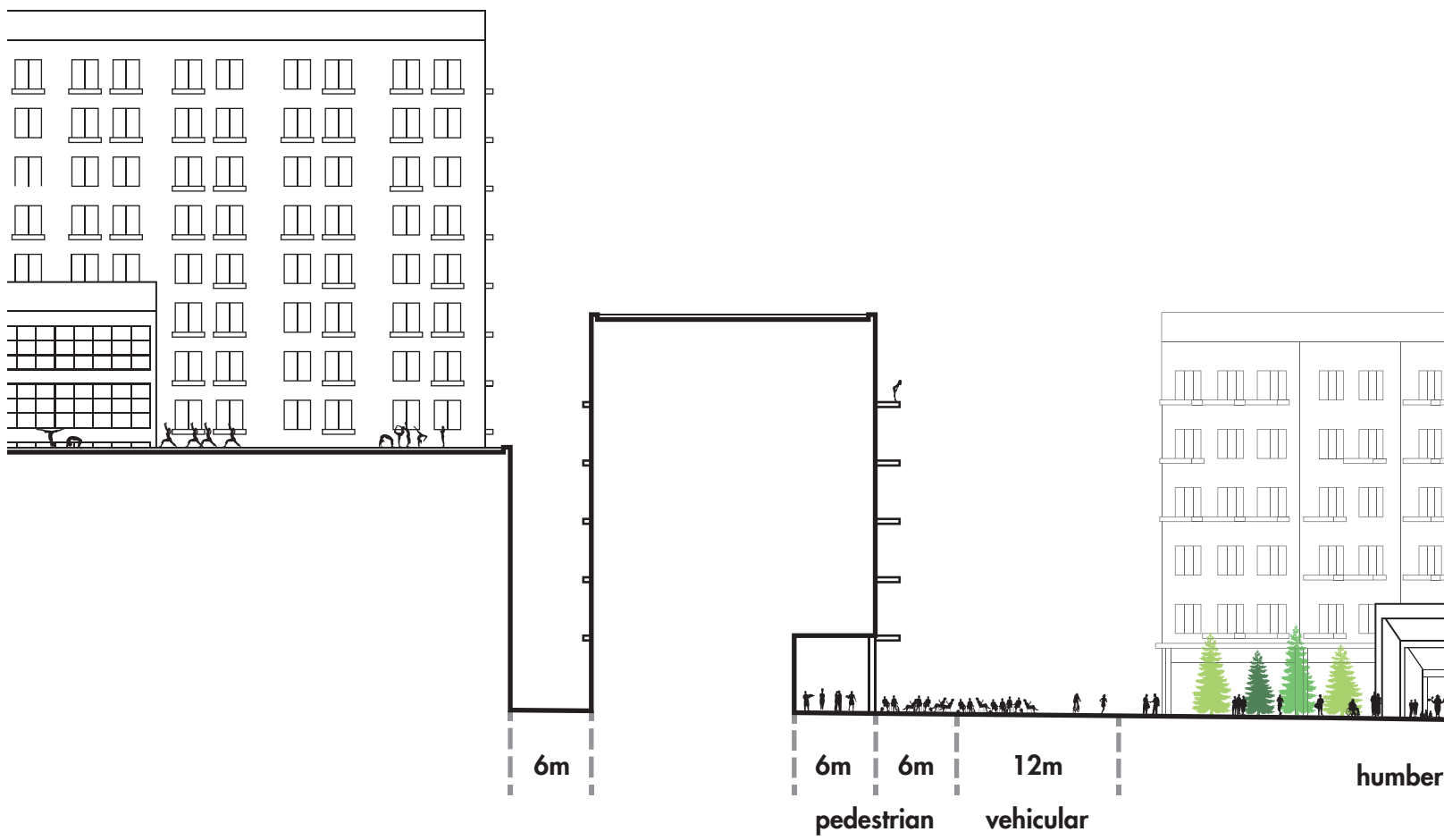




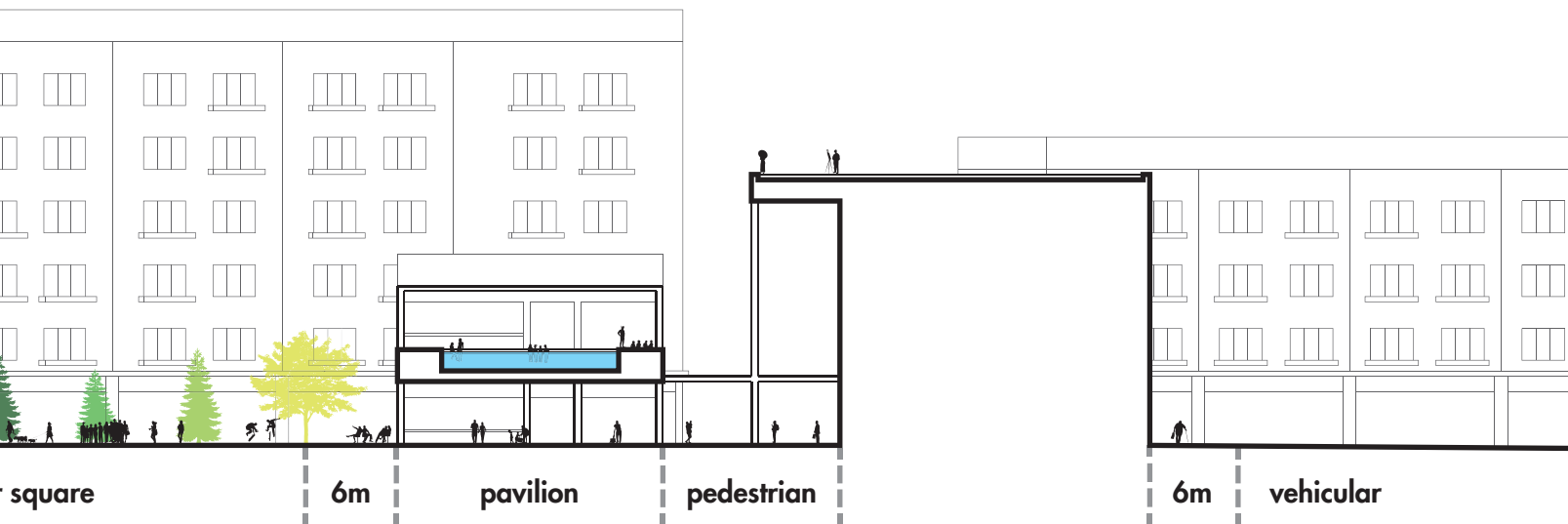
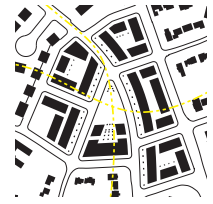


4.55: site sections showing the relationship of new construction in the Humber Town Centre to the existing neighborhood.



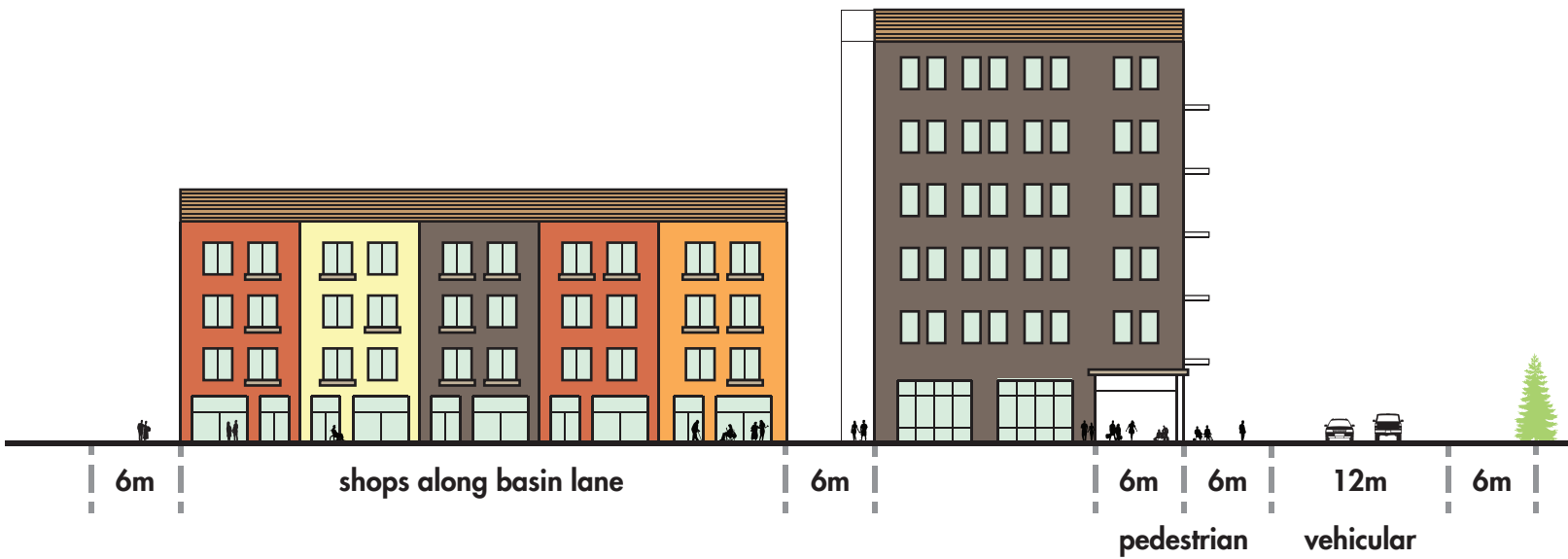


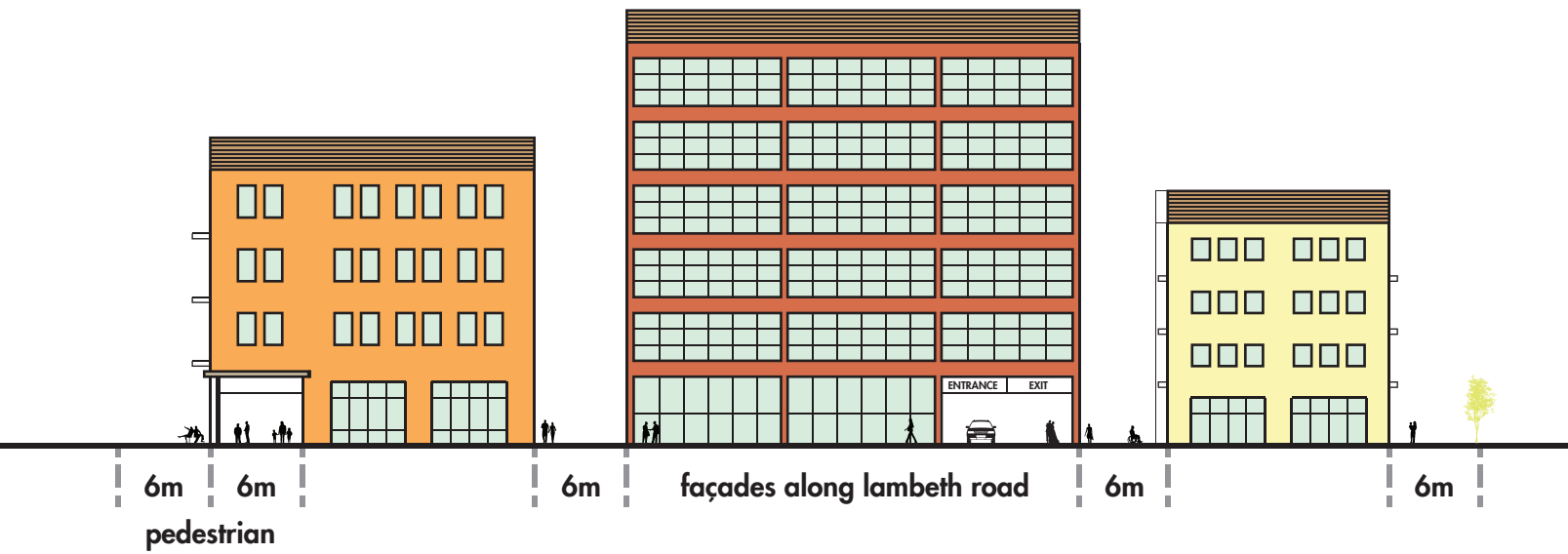
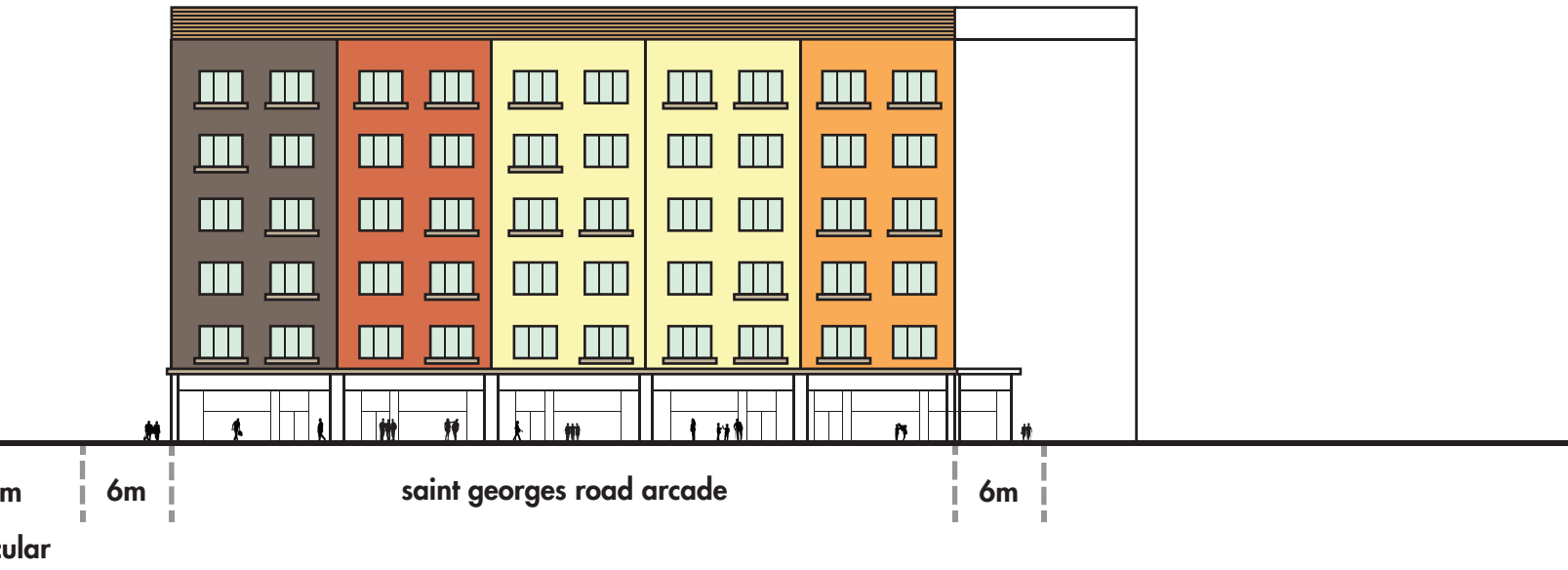
4.56: cross sections taken through the Humber Square showing relationship to new construction and intimacy of space.





4.57: typical elevations showing the streetscapes along Saint Georges Road, Basin Lane, and Lambeth Road.







materiality:

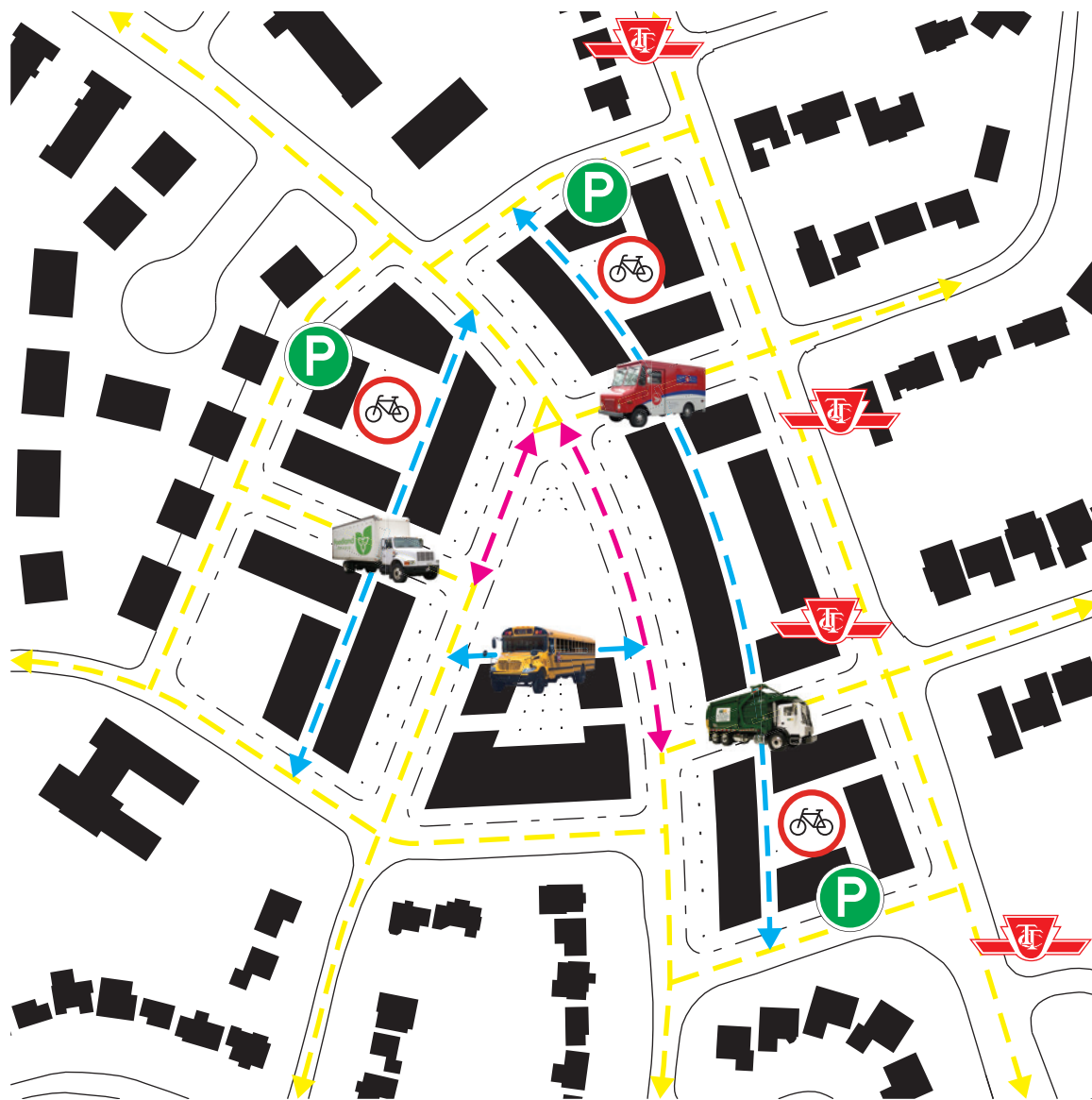
4.58: this select palette of colorful masonry, exposed aggregate, various timbers, and oxidized copper used in these six blocks reflect the contextual construction, and encourages the use of local materials and trades.



above 4.59: blocks of row housing and fine boutiques encourages pedestrian populations to contrast the vehicular traffic of Royal York Road.

below 4.60: the north Kingsway is marked by a large supermarket. this move deters heavy traffic loads from passing directly through main streets.








service routes:

4.61: the interstitial spaces created by the urban forms are used for services, deliveries, bicycle shelters, and goofing around. any or all vehicular traffic can be controlled with retractable bollards, creating pedestrian friendly streets when the mood feels right.

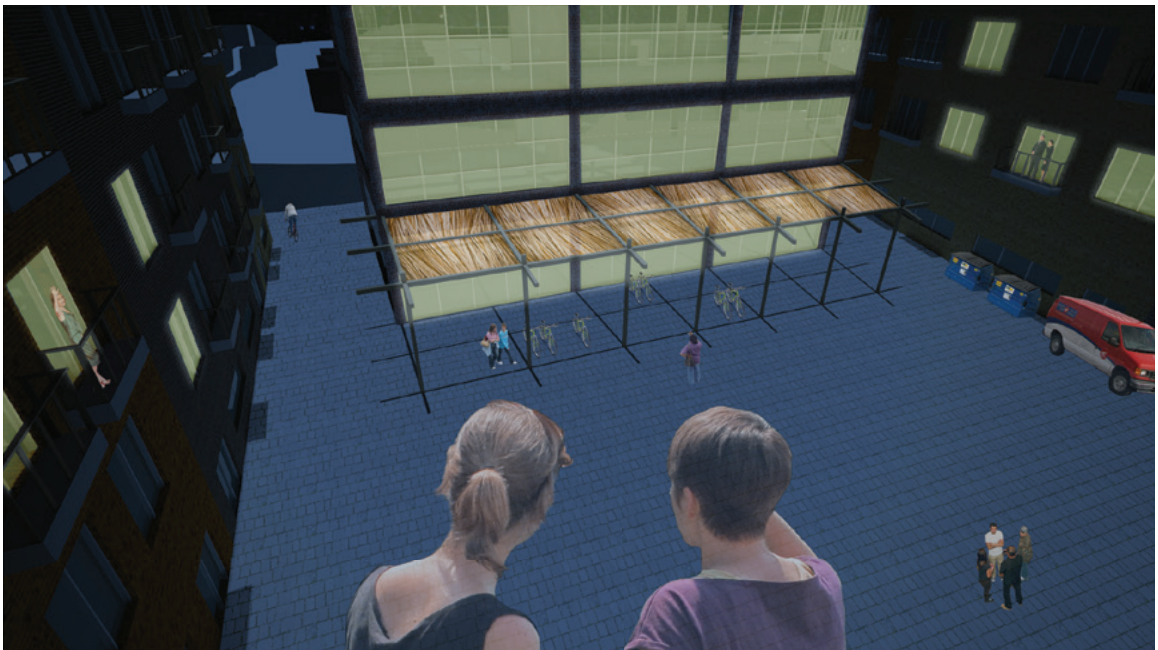
legend:

- delivery and service routes
- pedestrian paths
- vehicular paths
-  city of Toronto bus stops
-  parking access
-  bicycle parking shelter



above 4.62: the life between buildings are not dominated by services and deliveries. these spaces should feel intimate and pedestrian friendly.

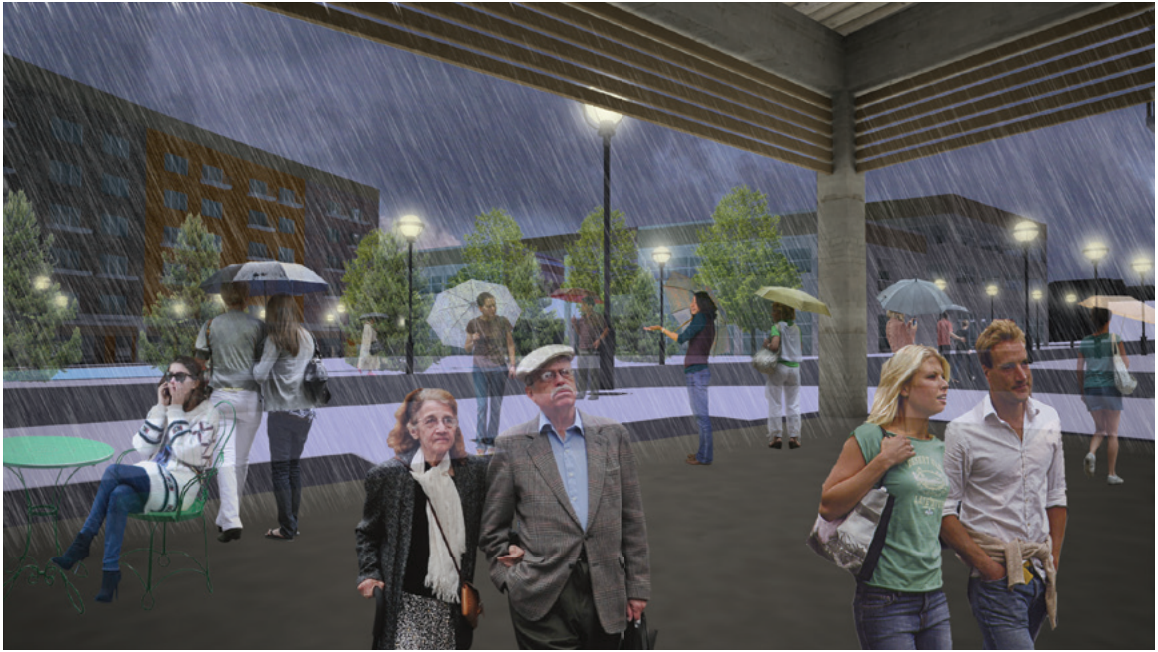
below 4.63: your children, your bicycle, and your late night walks home in these back alleys should be safe with the constant community presence.





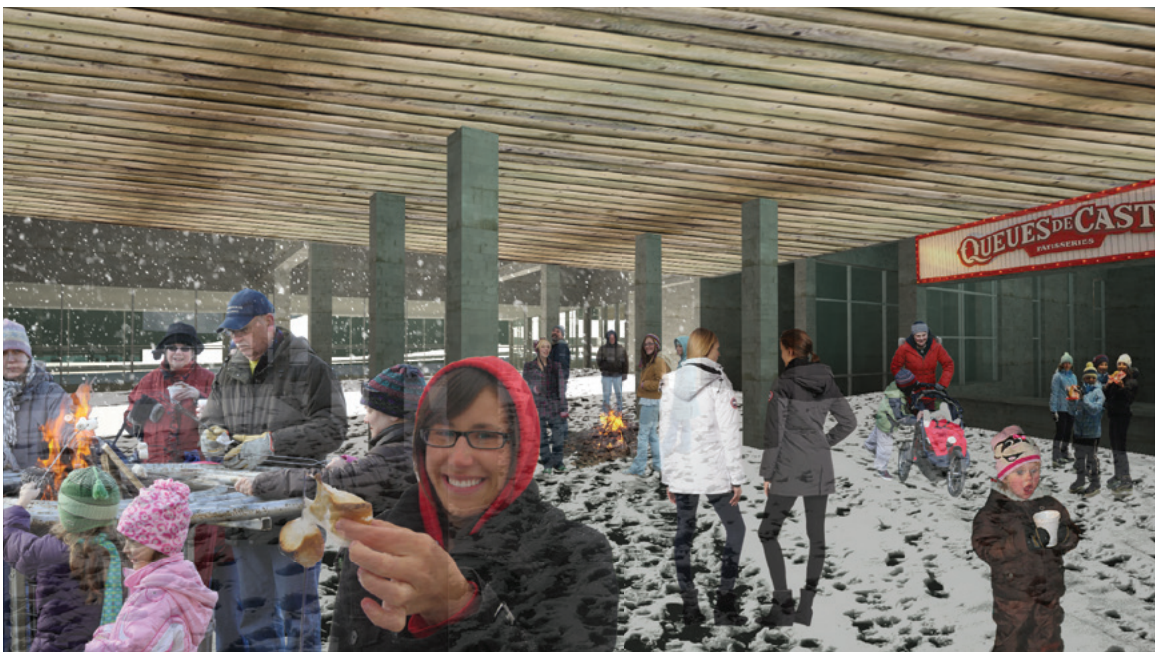
arcades/pavilions:

4.64: these covered spaces ease the transition from indoor to outdoor. whether is it the sweltering sun, bitter winter winds, or a torrential downpour, you can seek shelter in each of the arcades, the multiple bicycle shelters, and the open-air pavilion.



above 4.65: even on rainy days you will find the sidewalks bustling with people. the arcades ensure that you can shop and dine in comfort.

below 4.66: crowds will gather around the warmth of a crackling fire, roasting marshmallows and sipping cups of hot cider all winter.





events and activities:

4:67 the public realm is enhanced in the transition from the open square, the open-air pavilion, and enclosed gallerias. this allows the Humber Square to be programmed with a variety athletic, educational, leisure, and cultural events and activities all year round.



below 4.68: the balconies surrounding the square, provide residents with VIP passes to every concert without fighting the crowds below.

below 4.69: these galleries provides an indoor space to learn, meet, enjoy, and relax. it is open all year round, and best of all, it is always free.





water and ice:

4.70: it is the source of all life and unavoidable in our climate. water and ice are essential components to Canadian culture, and you will find a variety of pools, a skating rink, a splash pad, and reasons to remain outdoors in summer and all winter long.



above 4.71: early mornings are a busy time at the aquatic centre. there are swimming lessons, time trials, and many others just trying to stay active.

below 4.72: if you bring a hot toddy or Irish coffee into the hot springs, and the brisk cold can no longer be your excuse to stay indoors.





public gardens:

4.73: the integration of vegetation into these types of developments promotes a more natural beauty, in attracting wildlife, reducing stresses on mono-agriculture, and simply creating a much prettier urban environment.



above 4.74: each morning, early bird residents tend to their crops, their bees, and their chickens. their reward are fresh foods that taste of pride.

below 4.75: a beautiful and quiet setting to bring a dog or good book, and any fruit that disturbs the ground nearby, is yours to enjoy.





above 4.76: the arcades are livened and become overcrowded with daily business lunches, romantic dinners, and late night drinks.





above 4.77: we should learn to accept and better embrace the harsh Canadian winters through programmed events and cultural activities.





above 4.78: your typical day at the Humber Town Centre is occupied by daily errands, unexpected conversation, and spontaneous play.



... the activists who are leading this movement aren't austere Luddites who are against shopping on principle. Many of them are creative twenty-somethings designing ad jams on their Mac laptops who happen to believe that there should be some space left over the isn't trying to sell them something or cluttered with the debris of our consumer culture.

- Naomi Klein in
No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies

conclusions



above 5.01: the results of our mass consumption are generations of brand babies, who from birth, have been subjected and overexposed to these big names and their malicious advertisements.

I have witnessed the madness of the Black Friday and Boxing Day sales, and the images of mindless consumers fighting tooth and nail over the last Tickle-Me-Elmos, Furbies, and Cabbage Patch Dolls. I submitted the symbols and slogans that tell us what to eat, how to dress, what to think, what to say, and what to buy. This is the rise of the shopping mall, the birth of consumer capitalism, the dominance of the brand, and the loss of free will and the collapse of public space.

I have seen the other side, and learned to live like them. I have seen the same rows of shops, the same brands and names on big-boxes in the same desolate parking lots in every new town. I have grown frustrated with the shopping mall and this wash of global culture. I searched desperately and tirelessly for fresh ideas looking high and low, and in new and old. These fleeting encounters with true public spaces had become so rare in the Canadian frontier that I decided to create my own.

I wanted to create a model which would serve as the precedent for the future development of North America communities, shopping malls, and public spaces. I imagined a places without brands, without ownership, without private rules and regulations. I imagined living in more intimate neighbourhoods with greater reign of self-governance, with people who are eager to lend their assistance, and offer their genuine but gentle concern even if you don't. I imagined a community of people who grow their own food, brew their own wine, and go swimming and skating every day of the week. I wanted to create public space that focuses on social well-being, human agency, and overall happiness. I wanted to create a community that was designed not only for me, but for you and everyone else too.

There are millions of like-minded North Americans who share same these passions. They are out there fighting for equal rights, localised industry and agriculture, creating independent businesses, encouraging local cultures and promoting national heritage. In pockets of the continent, we are better managing our natural resources, and are investing in clean and renewable energy. To reduce dependence and to remove the stigma of addiction, communities have been encouraging drinking in public, opening cannabis cafés, and providing methadone clinics. We are learning to become more tolerant of one another, and welcome these expressions of individuality. We are slowly relearning to work together as communities to collectively reduce our costs and our consumption. It is then really such a radical thought to imagine a future where socially conscious citizens all work together towards a more progressive and peaceful coexistence?

In the twenty-first century the consumer capitalist model has proven its instability. The Occupy Movement first marched on Wall Street to question the growing disparity in economic wealth, the absence of legal ramifications for those responsible for the economic crisis, and the increasing influence from corporations on democracy. Within four weeks, tens of thousands of citizens were organising protests in over 900 cities across North America, Europe, and Oceania. The focus and future of our public spaces can no longer be determined by profits and wealth.

These are the never ending struggles of the zombie hunter, and these notes are only from my first foray into their territory. The mallo-calyse is still upon us, the zombies are still out there, and my story is not over.



above 5.02: this is a very familiar setting, these consumers must be looking for either a Nintendo Wii or brains. let me just ask one of them.

below 5.03: this is a very familiar setting, these zombies must be looking for either brains or a Nintendo Wii. let me just ask one of them.



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appendix: six discussions

This interviews were conducted between May and August of 2011. I met with Larry Smith, the economist, Pierre Fillion the academic, Alex Bozikovic the critic, Kevin Stelzer the architect, David Gibson, the developer, and Sharon Mittman the planner.

the economist

Me: How does one judge the success of a community?

LS: I can't imagine that a community isn't happy if the people in it aren't happy. That sounds like a cliché, but it actually isn't. You want a community that people are happy to live there, and that they would freely choose to live there. Communities are places to live. That is the first issue. Do you freely choose to come as a visitor? That is the second issue.

Me: Can you think of (and describe) a successful community that functions without a public space?

LS: No. Not in any way shape or form; there was always the square. Almost as soon as it became a trading space, it also became a debating space. People talked. People like talking. Now you have the great expression of communication, a public square. Now you can see just a little flicker of both an economy (trade) and civilization (conversation). Ideas got traded. Not just goods. The trading of the ideas might be in the great history of humanity, more important than trading goods. If humanity has done it this long it must really be important, it must be a way of doing this sanctioned by tradition (which isn't always the best way to do things). Now if this all starts with a public square, then how can you have community without one?

Me: How does one judge the success of any public space?

LS: If there are people in the public space. How many public spaces have been created by the planners, bureaucrats, and yes occasionally by the architects, in which there are no people? No people, therefore it is not a successful public space.

We could have an oversupply of public squares. That much is also the case. But some of them, whether there was competition or not, nobody goes into, because they are hostile places. They do not invite you to enter or stay. And a square that people walk across because they are trying to get to the other corner is not what we're talking about. They come to the square and stay awhile. Of course the more they are there, the most successful [the space]; if they are there morning, noon, and night, even better. Public squares don't of course have to be big. What is a comfortable and inspiring space to you might bore me out of my mind, or the other way around.

Me: How does one judge the success of any commercial development?

LS: Firstly, a commercial development cannot be successful if it is not making some exceptional rate of return. It doesn't have to succeed because it is commanding resources, and if it is commanding resources, it must offer a return to them. Secondly, presumably this all speaks to an interesting public-private social kind of interaction. Therefore, a successful commercial development is one that is successful long term. There is a long run obligation to those pensioners and insurance companies, so there is long run social need for rate of return. The buildings need

to not just be commercial successful today, they need to be commercial successful in to the indefinite future as well. Will people freely choose to continue to use them, to patronize them, to shop in them, the live in them, to work in them? Long term tenants can move, shoppers can flee, and success presumably means that there is long term investment. And then thirdly, to define success, it must surely be adaptable. As soon as you take a long term focus, it must be adaptable, because there is no way to know that what we do today, we will necessarily want to do tomorrow.

Physically in the building, the kind of interaction, it doesn't matter at what level that you are looking at this; you want buildings to be adaptable. That is a point in which they often fail. Often when I ask an architect how we will be able to modify this building twenty years from now, sometimes I don't get a very good answer, sometimes it is very clear that he has never thought about that. I say "do you mean that you are going to design it, then move on, then die on me, then twenty years from now I or the client has to change this building? Or were you assuming that the moment that you finished the design, the evolution of humanity, technology, and commerce would halt?" Isn't that an obvious question? This still speaks to commercial success long term. At the most pragmatic level if I am trying to place debt from a building, or I am trying to deal with the financing issue (which is always job one), I want to be able to say that the building has been designed so that it will produce this rate of return. And as market conditions, as social conditions, as technological conditions all change, the building must be able evolve with those changes in order for it to always be filled. This becomes a commercially attractive argument. It also asks for great

creativity from the architect and it cannot be just satisfied to the current specifications coming from the client. It has to take a step beyond in terms of quality. Does that seem unreasonable?

QUESTIONS OMITTED: Please describe a positive and negative shopping experience. Define the cause of each experience (circumstance or the physical environment et cetera).

QUESTIONS OMITTED: Where do you regularly shop? Why do you shop there? What else do you do there?

the academic

Me: How does one judge the success of a community?

PF: The extent to which a community can be self-sufficient; the extent to which you can find the different things you need within the community itself. If you have that, this creates interactions between people within that community; they won't necessarily be friends, but at least they will see each other. You develop a sense that you know the people who live within your community, whereas when things are exploded, people don't know each other. When people buy their groceries at one place, go to the mall at another place, there is no one place where people can always meet.

Me: Can you think of (and describe) a successful community that functions without a public space?

PF: You see that in New York City. Where the community there is two or four blocks because the density is so high, a lot of

connections exist there, the shops are they there, people are they there; this creates a daily routine that takes place within that environment involving the same people. In a big shopping mall that has a really big draw from the area; you won't get that community dynamic, it's too big there; the scale doesn't lend itself to that kind of neighbourhood base interaction.

Me: How does one judge the success of any public space?

PF: There are many criteria to that answer: I think the most important part is the extent to which it is used. You can have a public space that it is beautiful but it is not used so much for the purpose of it. Despite its beauty and despite the fact that it might be the only open space within the neighbourhood, people may just choose not to go there.

Me: Can you think of (and describe) a successful commercial development that functions without a public space?

PF: Strangely enough, strip-mall developments are successful and commercial streets in a traditional neighbourhood would be exactly that. You don't necessarily have public space, yet they're successful and they're used.

Me: How does one judge the success of any commercial development?

PF: If it makes money, it is as simple as that. If people use it, then it is successful. Wal-Mart looks like shit, but it is successful.

Me: Please describe a positive and negative shopping experience. Define the cause of each experience (circumstance or the physical environment et cetera).

PF: I hate malls. I really hate malls. I nearly got a panic attack while in the Mall of America. I get in and I instantly can't figure out how to get out, the mall is just so big. I'm thinking this is it; I've got to get out of this place. That would be negative experience. Part of the reason I went there because I thought I've got to see it, and secondly whenever people now bug me to go see a mall, I can always say, I don't want to see it because I've seen the biggest in the world, so don't bug me. I've seen it all.

A positive experience is anything that is street orientated and that happens by chance. It is fortuitous; you're walking along and all of a sudden you discover something and it creates an unexpected experience. This experience is exactly the opposite of the mall, because in the mall everything is planned. There is nothing much to surprise you in a mall because of the very high formulaic nature of the mall. In my opinion, if you've seen one mall, you've seen them all. Whereas when you walk through a neighbourhood, all of a sudden, bang, you didn't expect there would be a coffee shop there, you didn't expect there would be a bar there, you didn't expect there would be an antique shop there, you didn't expect there would be that second-hand book shop there et cetera. You can't form that kind of surprise.

Me: Where do you regularly shop? Why do you shop there? What else do you do there?

PF: Uptown Waterloo. I walk there from home with my bags and a little trolley. It takes about twenty minutes to walk there; I will do my shopping and then I will walk back home. Sometimes, I shop at the Waterloo Market at the Shops at Waterloo Town Square; Vincenzo's sometimes on the way

back. That is basically it. I could go in the other direction, I could go to the meat market which would actually be closer, as it is on King Street across from Kitchener Collegiate Institute, but the walking environment is not as pleasant and that is a major factor. I have to walk to get there along King Street, there is too much traffic and it is not fun walking there. Whereas walking through Uptown Waterloo, I am walking through pleasant neighbourhoods with small streets, and it is much more fun.

the critic

Me: How does one judge the success of a community?

AB: I think the most important thing is essentially how people interact, how much interaction you get among community members and what quality of interaction you get. That takes a different form in a really obvious urban setting (like the one we're in now) than in the suburbs. I think a successfully designed community will in some form bring people together in ways that they find enjoyable or profitable. People mixing with their neighbours is seen as a benefit.

The issue of density doesn't necessarily affect the sense of community; I think the most important question is how effectively the public realm works in a dense area. How effectively the retail in any public institutions that draw people or attract people, how effectively they work and how effectively they are connected to the public realm. You can have a fairly dense neighbourhood in which there is a really vibrant public realm and which there is a lot of interaction between people in the community. This does is

not necessarily go away when you get high density; that depends on the urban form.

Places where people have a reason to gather, and that is designed in a way people will actually stay there and will enjoy the time that they spend there.

Me: Can you think of (and describe) a successful community that functions without a public space?

AB: There are a lot of very dense cities and very dense city neighbourhoods where there is not much of anything that you would really tag as public space.

In the opposite sense, you're getting into a question of values, if you're looking at suburban communities where people don't really spend a lot of time gathering in public space. But even there you wind up having stability, and consistency of people and the sense of amiability to get to know each other in some way. And if you're talking about a community, I think that you to interact even if it just at the mall and other public spaces.

Me: How does one judge the success of any public space?

AB: Is it busy and does it get a variety of uses. I think this is a pretty simple question. If people enjoy it, they go. I think this is a pretty simple kind of ethics. Is the space busy at different times of day? Different times of the week? Does it have more than one use? Do people enjoy it for more than one purpose? Do people use for more than one time of year more than one time of day?

Me: Can you think of (and describe) a successful privately-owned commercial development that functions without a public space?

AB: I think that any place where you have spaces used by the public but they're privately-owned. Successful examples are ones where people do feel free to behave as they like; where there isn't too obvious the hand of a land owner or a property manager restricting activity. Quasi-public space works better the more it feels essentially public and the more the people feel genuinely free to do what they want, which is not usually the case in a typical mall. Fake public or quasi-public space works when it feels like a real one, where people aren't limited in what they're able to do.

I think the other side of that, is that when you have either a mall or private space that pretends to be public space that can work in a context, where people don't have access to really a public space, even when it is represented through a lifestyle model with the fake main street can work well. Just because there is nothing better. Even when it feels really circumscribed; something that feels like a mall is only going to be people's primary choice or first choice when there is nothing better. People hang out in the mall when they have nowhere else to hang out, you can hang out on a fake main street when they don't have a real main street or a vibrant main street or an interesting main street to hang out on. People like to believe that there is a sense of spontaneity and a sense of freedom to do what they like to do.

Me: How does one judge the success of any private-owned commercial development?

AB: In urban terms, obviously the basic question is a financial question. Do the stores do well? Are people going there? Is it busy? A successful mall or a mall that is successful in city terms is one that creates a

lot of stuff that is not for its own bottom line. Does it give back to the community in some sense? Does it create gathering places or create forms of activity that do something other than sell stuff? Does it create a sense of community that are pleasant for people to enjoy? Does it claim to that? That is the question, does it contribute to the broader community in some sort of non-monetary sense.

Me: Please describe a positive and negative shopping experience. Define the cause of each experience (circumstance or the physical environment et cetera).

AB: I think my favourite kinds of shopping experiences are always the kind that you get in city districts that have interesting shops. Places where you have small stores, a variety of stores, some sort of interesting and attractive streetscape to walk through, some mix of restaurants and cafes which help liven things up, and a blend of other uses or other things like public spaces, like parks, residential churches, traditional cityscape, essentially shopping in an environment that feels like a city. I like browsing around the street of Queen Street West around Bathurst Street always partly for that reason, because there is an assortment of different types of stores, that including things that I am interested in, but also things that I am not. And then there are also things along that strip, that immediately around it that feel, that are different, that are variable.

I think it really depends on the time, but basically shopping in any really big mall. What I really don't like is the shopping environment in a conventional big mall when it is busy, because it feels like you're trapped. There is nothing to do but buy stuff, there is no sort of buffer from the displays, the

music, and the carefully controlled air temperature; it doesn't feel like there is anywhere to relax. The whole place is designed to not allow you to relax, and to me that psychologically really bugs me. It bothers me to feel that I have no choice, that I am trapped in a sense. A crowded indoor mall is so much worse than a crowded city street. There has to be places of rest or places to steer you away rather than one big combined cavity where everybody is not talking to each other all of the time. That is what I would like to see.

Me: Where do you regularly shop? Why do you shop there? What else do you do there?

AB: I have an unusual condition that I have two grocery stores within walking distance of my house, so I usually walk to those. I occasionally drive my car to stock up, but I will just walk around the corner to do food shopping. Other than that, it is usually a long varied retail strip, Bloor Street and the Annex are very close to me, so I will wind up there, or else down along here near where I work, along Spadina Avenue and along Queen Street West, or else sometimes further west along Bathurst Street, or else further west along Bloor Street (Bloor and Dufferin, Bloor and Lansdowne), All outdoor shopping streets essentially, all Toronto main streets, like you have here, stores of different sizes but mostly fairly small stores which are unique. That is where I really take pleasure out of shopping.

We have a toddler, whom I told you he was two, and we are really going into stores just to see things: different types of objects, displays, baskets et cetera. Part of the quality of what makes the places pleasant is the ability to linger. None of these spaces are sufficiently crowded that you have to always

move along, and none of them are precisely controlled that you have to feel that it is time to move on. You can linger, you can digress, and you can browse through the store without feeling too much pressure to immediately buy something. They all have that quality of being open and casual, and they feel a little bit uncommercial in some sense.

the architect

Me: How does one judge the success of a community?

KS: A priori, I don't think there is a way to accurately determine the success of a community. Design is a proposition - a look into the future. It is also a prototypical proposition - never the identical application in any two situations. Several reasons account for this. Primarily, no definitive criteria exist for the evaluation of success. Success is often a matter of interpretation - or if any more objective, can only be evaluated as a matter of history. This is not to say that many vibrant, vital, commercially viable communities can be envisioned and created; but it is a matter of substantial debate the exact nature of judging the success or failure of design as it applies to community success.

Great communities are often the product of historical, organic growth; where all the factors of great community living exist, or grow into existence, and bear down to produce great urban space. These factors, including commercial vitality are often not under the purview of the designer.

How does one rate vitality, vibrancy, or popularity? Do such factors lead to commercial success? They can certainly be evalu-

ated, but the measure is highly subjective.

We can use reference cases of very successful community spaces to make comparative analysis; but most commonly a sense of discovery and extrapolation based on reference cases allows the designer to tailor the design intentions to the specific project. Truly innovative design, design which departs radically from reference cases, is much more difficult to evaluate. Ultimately the design community does not share a strong common agreement on the methods of evaluation for these types of questions.

Me: Can you think of (and describe) a successful community that functions without a public space?

KS: Traditional Chinese urban design places less emphasis on public street space; and more emphasis on courtyards: creating a progression from publicity to privacy.

Me: How does one judge the success of any public space?

KS: Public space is a very generic term. Success of public space, per se, can be measured in many ways. Public space is often ceremonial and civic; but more often a place of vitality and direct social intercourse. Public spaces are overlaid with codes of conduct that indicate their placement in the range from majestic to intimate. Success can be a function of how appropriate the space accommodates the nature and exigency of such social codes of conduct. For example, a passionate kiss exchanged between lovers on the Avenue des Champs-Élysées versus the same performed in a church imposes a very different response on the users of either space. On the former, the act is novel or playful, but negligible; but in the latter, the

act transgresses many understood protocols. As described by Tschumi, in *Architecture and Disjunction*, the nature of public action changes depending on the nature of the space within which it is performed. We should consider, in this example, the notorious romantic reputation of Paris invests its own spaces with a liberty unexpected in other major city spaces. In any case, the success of public space is a layered and debatable question.

Me: Can you think of (and describe) a successful privately-owned commercial development that functions without a public space?

KS: Any commercial development, by nature, has some public space component. I would say that many commercial developments have very poor public spaces. The ubiquitous strip-mall with their perfunctory parking lots, mishandle the publicity of the space. They may be financially successful, but they do not offer a strong sense of place or utility beyond the most mundane: parking your automobile.

QUESTION OMITTED: *How does one judge the success of any private-owned commercial development?*

Me: Please describe a positive and negative shopping experience. Define the cause of each experience (circumstance or the physical environment et cetera).

KS: Paris Arcades: proto-malls. They consolidated the urban experience with the commercial intents of the landlords/leaseholders. I'm not completely sure of their exact commercial arrangement, but I would assume a landlord built (paid for) the arcade/skylight/roof to focus the living and urban elements around a highly amenable shopping

experience. Very positive experience.

Typical mid-scale, suburban shopping mall: undifferentiated semi-public space. Many of the retail outlets are common; and the type and scale of the space is ubiquitous. No sense of place is registered; and the whole development is predicated on access by the automobile. Negative experience.

Me: Where do you regularly shop? Why do you shop there? What else do you do there?

KS: For food I typically shop at local corner grocers, city markets (exempli gratia Kensington, St. Lawrence) occasionally the local No-Frills or Metro supermarket (id est urban scaled). For miscellaneous other items I typically shop on Queen Street or College Street. Christmas time takes me to the Eaton Centre (interestingly, an arcade variation).

the developer

Me: How does one judge the success of a community?

DG: A community that is successful integrates all aspects of life. It is not just about your work environment or your residential environment, but it is how they all relate to one another. It becomes a combination of the time we spend commuting, the amount of time we have to spend with our families, the environmental cost of travelling back and forth and the toll this is doing on our environment; these are all major issues. When looking at the ideal community, I would want to be able to live, work, and play within that community. The success of a community allows people to get almost everything they need to satisfy their lifestyle

within their own community. There is an obvious hierarchy of communities: a concert is not going to come to a little village community. There then is an element choice and a choice that is not arbitrary, this is what they want to do, by travelling to attend this concert they are forced into spending more of their money either on transportation or whatever.

And it is the same with shopping. Obviously you are not going to develop a fortress mall in a small community. Here again is a choice. Maybe once a month they say “Yay! We are going to go to the mall. We’ll just take our car and away we go.” They make a specific trip that is designed only for doing their shopping. When everything that you need for your daily requirement was all within the community helps to eliminate stress, reduce our costs significantly, and increases the amount of time we have to spend with our families and with ourselves for that matter. All of these things when you think about them add up to huge benefits; if you’re not travelling as far you’re saving a lot of money in fuel costs and you’re also saving environmentally. There are just so many benefits by trying to have a community that is somewhat all inclusive.

Me: Can you think of (and describe) a successful community that functions without a public space?

DG: I can’t think of any real successful community that is operating without a public space. Even the older communities within Toronto have small little parks which are part of those communities. If you go back to the places that I travelled in Britain and Europe, all of these areas operate with little parkettes, they may not be huge parks but at least they have something.

When they talk about the mall, they have always thought of them to be privately owned, but a lot of them are thought of as public space.

Me: How does one judge the success of any public space?

DG: I think public spaces by their very nature are public. There are places where people meet and greet and relax. This to me is a personal thing. I think good public spaces are spaces where there are spaces that allow for interaction, that there are public seating areas and opportunities to get shade, and opportunities for people to communicate.

Me: Can you think of (and describe) a successful privately-owned commercial development that functions without a public space?

DG: I think that most retail developments, strip centres or big box centres, have always been about having a small sidewalk area in front of the stores. The whole function of strip or neighbourhood centres is convenience. Most convenience centres relate to in-and-out shopping, there isn't a need to have passive areas or places to meet and greet.

Malls had tried to incorporate the so called common areas as the public spaces. They did this by having public seating, by having fountains, and by having trees in a lot of the malls. This is why food courts became very popular in the 70s and early 80s; because this again creates an opportunity for that meet and greet. Most of the major malls require a common area that is more than just a walking zone between stores; they all realise the benefit of having an attractive areas between the stores.

Me: How does one judge the success of any private-owned commercial development?

DG: If you are designing a higher end retail project, obviously you have done your studies and recognize that there is a demand for a higher order of merchandise. Often what happens, the developers get halfway through the exercise and discover that it is difficult getting some of the better quality retail tenants, and they take the path of least resistance and just put in anybody. What ends up happening is that, success for the first year or two, but then things start to fall apart because the leasing job was never executed properly. If they had simply taken the time and developed an understanding of what they know is going to work long term, it would have been much more successful.

If it is a mixed-use project obviously you have to then really be careful about the integration of the residential with the retail or office with the retail. The retail that you lease has to not only reflect the quality of the building that you are putting up, but should also curve the needs of the tenants within the complex. If you have a mixed-use building where you have retail at the base and office and residents above, you would be demeaning the value of those tenancies if you put in a lot of variety stores and cheaper usage; this lowers the quality of the look of the plaza but of the quality of the building as well. You then find that there would be tenants who went in with great expectations that they were going into a quality environment, only to find out that the developer in trying to take in the highest return by taking in the most amount of rent wasn't thinking about the long term benefit of the project.

It is all about the ability to do the things you don't see, but it is being very strict in terms of how you execute a project, not only in terms of the building and in terms of the leasing, but sticking very closely to the return calculations that you are trying to achieve.

Me: Please describe a positive and negative shopping experience. Define the cause of each experience (circumstance or the physical environment et cetera).

DG: When I go into a shopping environment that is exciting, the stores are well merchandised, and where there is a real attention to detail. This project is well done. This project is well maintained. This project is well put together. These are things that I appreciate.

When I see there is a lack of maintenance, where there is a lack of attention to detail, that I can see that the developer is just trying to put up a cheap building, without looking at the return of their investment. It is important to make money (criteria for a successful development), but you can be a successful developer and you can do a great job of architecture and design control. These things are important because they reflect on you as a developer.

Me: Where do you regularly shop? Why do you shop there? What else do you do there?

DG: I'm not your normal shopper because I shop all over the world. I meet my immediate shopping requirements primarily within my community, and my fashion requirements are met basically when I am travelling simply because I have time to shop then. There is no one specific area.

the planner

Me: How does one judge the success of a community?

SM: If it is an active community. I would consider certain parts of Mississauga to be quite successful, let's say Streetsville and Port Credit, areas that have already an infrastructure in place, a good mix of residential, a mix of office, a good mix of community infrastructure, it is economically viable and wants to change and wants to grow.

Me: Can you think of (and describe) a successful community that functions without a public space?

SM: I don't know if you can, because that is where people gather and meet and people interact. All successful places have open spaces that are really the gathering points. I mean even if you look at the interior of the mall, the food court is really their public space. You always see seniors in the middle sitting on the edge of a food court, people watching and having their coffee. The mall is really what the old former outdoor shopping areas used to be, they just enclosed them; they just need to supply all of the same amenities. That is what Mövenpick [Marché] used to be, it used to be a little restaurant that provided better food than a food court, spilling out their tables out invading the mall.

Me: How does one judge the success of any public space?

SM: If people are using it. If it is active. If it is programmed; a lot of spaces are very well programmed, even when it is not pro-

grammed, it should be active with families and children. If it is a good mix of people, you don't just have single people in there, you have a variety of individuals there during the entire day.

These spaces can have concerts, they can have a market square food area, they can have a splash pad et cetera. It has to have seating in it, it has to have some sort of activity that when you bring your kids, though it doesn't necessarily have to be a playground. For instance the park at the Port Credit Village Residences, is a very cute, very simple market square. It has residential around it, it has some office spaces, it has coffee shops and convenience stores, a very expensive grocery store, and it is probably one of the more urban squares in this area. This is actually not public space, it is privately-owned, and they program it themselves. This was developed as quite open and you would never know the difference between public and private space, I think everybody who walks along assumes that it is actually a public square.

Me: Can you think of (and describe) a successful privately-owned commercial development that functions without a public space?

SM: Every building in Mississauga pretty well doesn't have any open space. I don't know if they're all successful, but they all have smoking areas for their employees, and they all some sort of private amenity space on the ground floor. I don't know if I could say there is a successful one without, even if it is a front door with a vestibule so the employees can stand. I think this is an essential thing of any building.

Me: How does one judge the success of any private-owned commercial development?

SM: If you have lots of individuals that are planning to use it or walk by it or sit down, or have chairs on it. It is really the usability, it is not used there is no point in having it. That is why everyone is trying to create public squares or private squares, so that people will end up using them.

Me: Please describe a positive and negative shopping experience. Define the cause of each experience (circumstance or the physical environment et cetera).

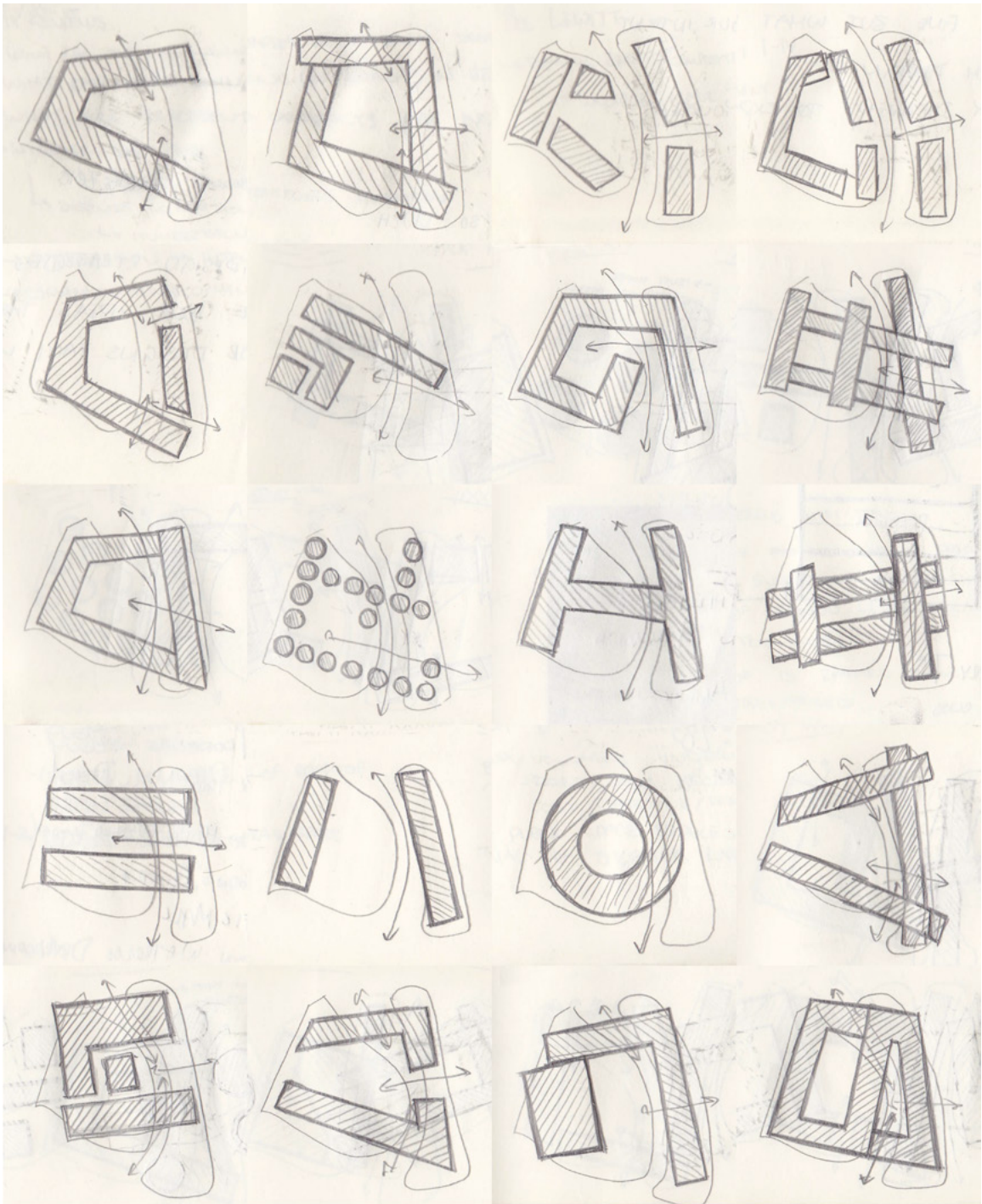
SM: Parking always kills me. I get frustrated driving around and watching everyone, especially at Christmas, scrambling for parking spaces. It is not that I can't find a spot, but everyone else is looking for the closest spot to the door so that they can walk around for two hours in a mall. It would be nice if they actually had either underground parking or some sort of parking structure, so they didn't use all of the land for surface parking. That is a very big frustration for me.

I never get rained on in a mall. I live in Bloor West Village, I shop outside ninety percent of the time, but I never get rained on in a mall, which is always positive.

Me: Where do you regularly shop? Why do you shop there? What else do you do there?

SM: I live, work and play in my neighbourhood, which is why that I bought a house there, so I usually shop on Bloor Street. You can see the transition when the rents become too high, because suddenly you get chains appearing, whereas before, we had the Mom and Pop shops along the street, and unless you owned your building you had to rent it out to a major corporation, because you simply could no longer afford the rent.

appendix: six mall partis



above 6.01: the early beginnings and thoughts toward the mall and the Humber town centre.

the quadrilateral

LS: This design has the advantage of being clearly interesting, and it feels new. This is an integrated whole. We have some circulation issues, but they can be addressed. You can't quite overpower the street; with some design details and other iterations that can be addressed as well.

That is a destination. I can put this image in my head easier than I can the others.

KS: Very simple. It has an intense urban delineation of the site boundaries that is very monolithic. The surrounding context is low density and dispersed; and so the urban relationship of this proposal is one of contradistinction.

DG: This is terrific for residential looking out onto the park, the same comment is made for the office looking out on both sides. This presents a challenge from a retail perspective; you have large areas to transgress to go from store to store. You have to walk this ring, yielding a one-sided retail corridor, which is never an ideal situation.

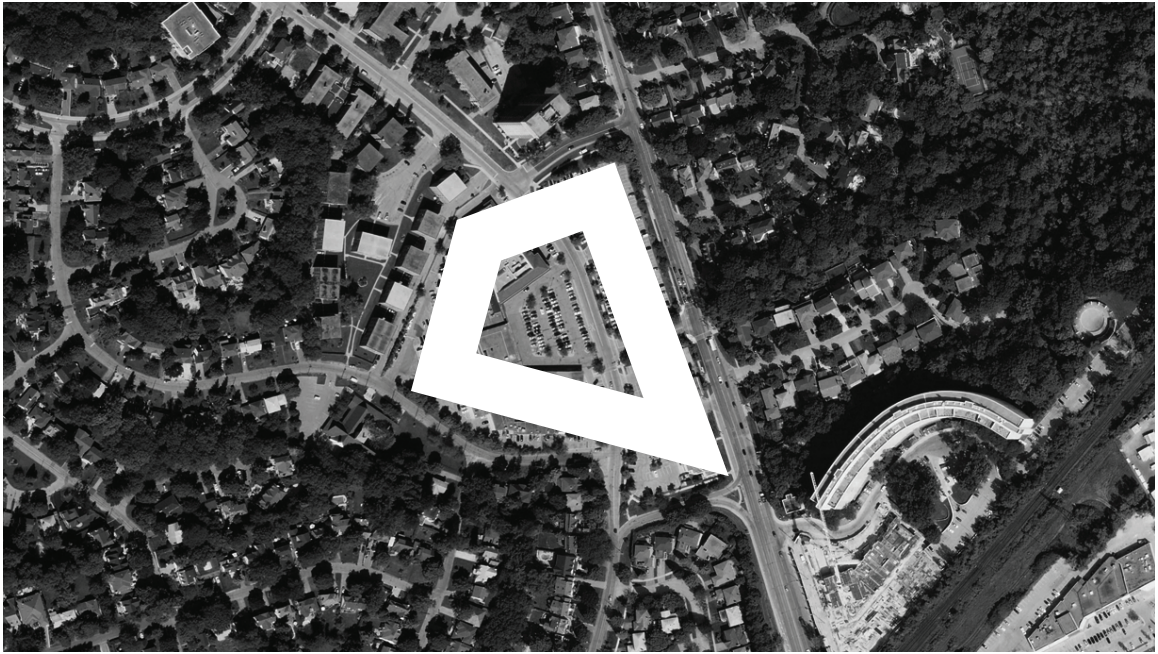
How do you load the retail? If it is front-end loaded then you need to find a way to get service trucks into your common area. If it is back-end loaded, the exterior that faces your neighbours becomes nothing but service doors and loading docks. This is a real issue that you're going to have to deal with.

SM: This is the exact Square One design. In the 70s and 80s, it had a full square in the centre that was a playground for children, it had a green space, but it wasn't economical in their eyes. At the time they wanted to

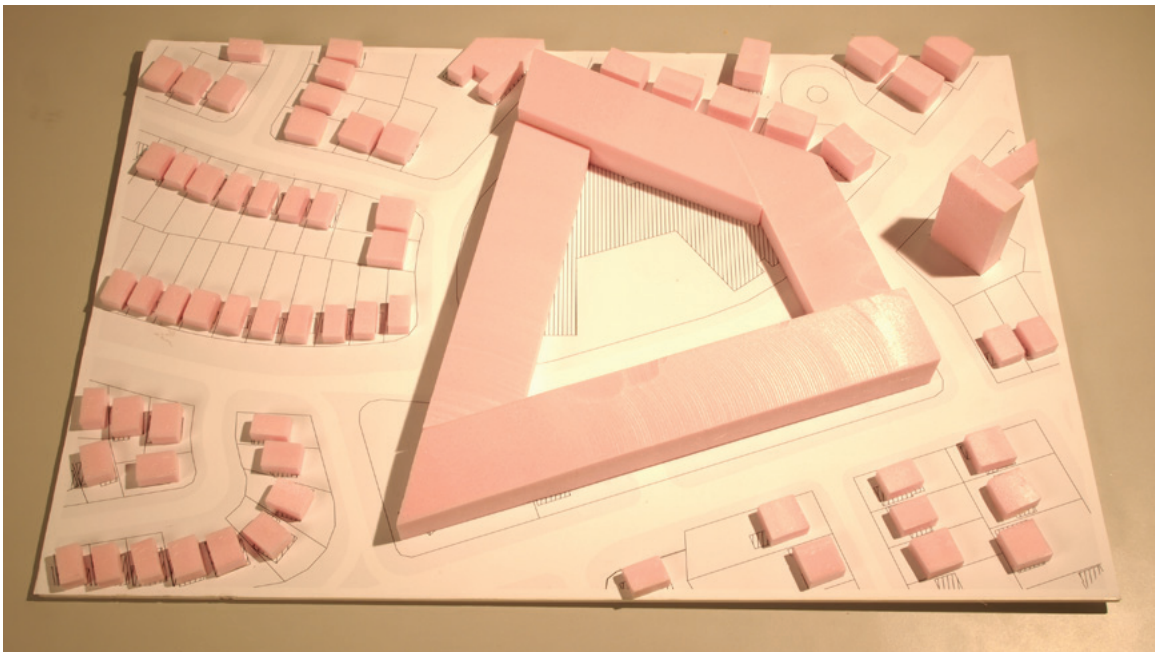
grow the mall, and they grew it internally, so they actually took that space out and added all of those little corridors, which is where the food court is now. They wanted to expand, they wanted to have space, and it was more economical to have stores than to actually have children in the centre square.

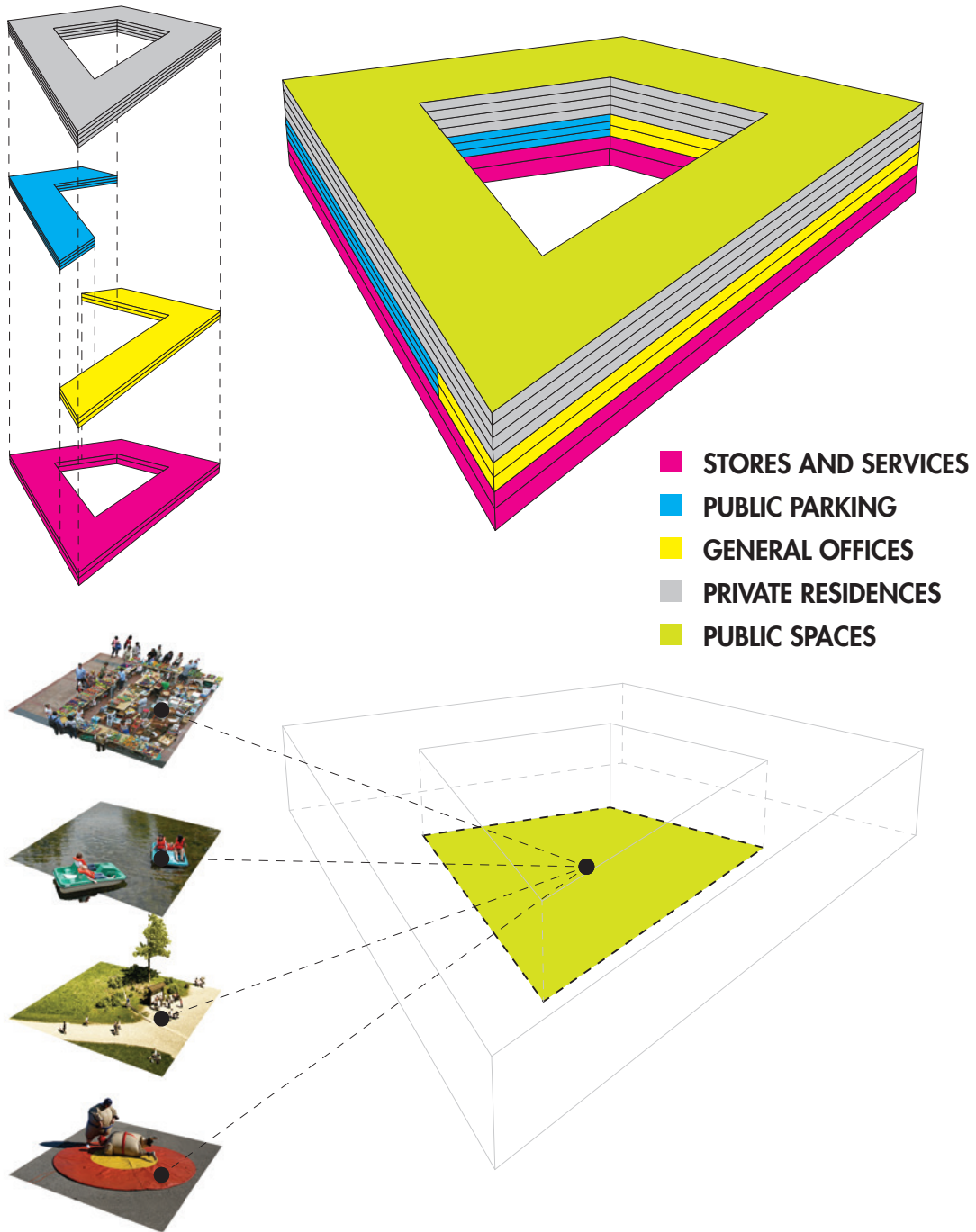
On the sides where you have these very expensive residential homes, I would make this you lowest possible building height. You'll have the most controversy on these streets. For the City of Toronto when they look at development, they have a forty-five degree angular plane from the property line to the height of the next building, and that determines a lot of the height, you may want to take that angle and just try it out and see how tall your building could be. It is just to provide the appropriate lighting, so you don't over shadow, and keep those sky views. That is a general rule that they use.

You need to make this a part of the community versus an inward development, you don't want to make it a development that sits on its own and really could be plopped anywhere in the world, and you actually want it to interface with the community.

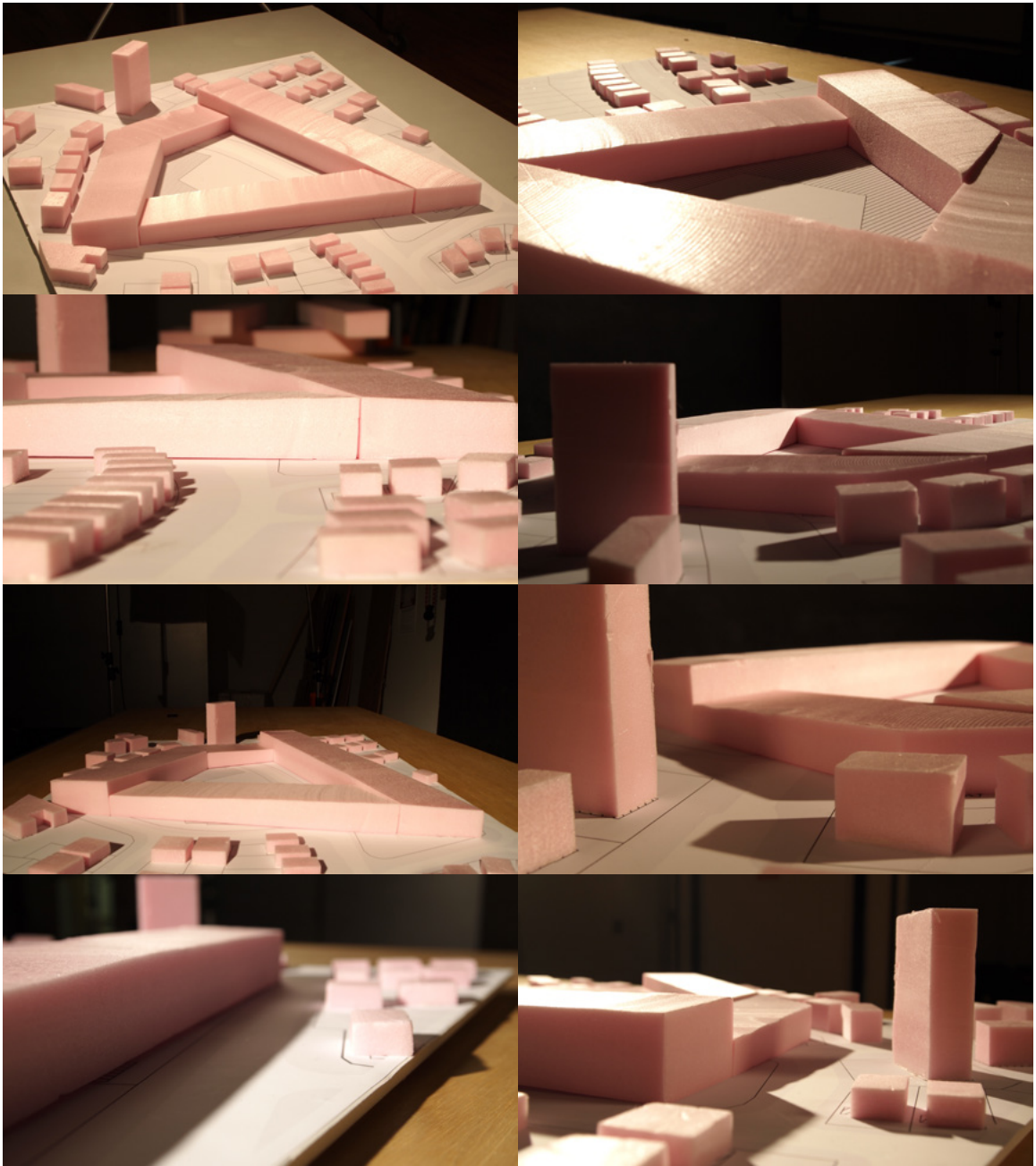


above 6.02: aerial of the quadrilateral in context. below 6.03: perspective of physical sketch model.





above 6.04: the distribution of site program, and public spaces which are activated with markets, aquatic sports, parkettes, and sumo wrestling.



above 6.05 - 6.12: perspective views highlighting design form and height, public spaces and relationships to Royal York Road and the Kingsway.

the explodrilateral

LS: This I can put one in my head more easily. A clean image. A strong image.

This design has the flavour of a theme. If you want a poetic statement or a theme, this is a break from the past. A continuous space is sometimes easier to work with if you want to have indoor-outdoor features.

AB: I also like this plan as it defines a space in the middle without it being completely cut off from the outside; you're establish view corridors and pedestrian corridors through the site. I think those are certainly three sort of winning qualities. Ultimately if you gather the buildings that are creating some sort of plaza in the middle, by the plaza with connections to that street and also connections to the outside, is definitely good.

KS: The proposal exhibits an intense urban perimeter edge, with deliberate connections (openings) to the surrounding fabric. This scheme seems to make strong gestures to the surrounding context, but these gestures are not strongly linked nor related to existing roads, alleys, existing spatial rifts or geometries. Nonetheless, the disruption of the monolithic nature of the block by these openings is appreciated.

DG: I think experience has said over the years is that it is very difficult to face both sides of a development. They tried to do it at the Eaton's Centre and they ran into a lot of problems. Everything previously faced into the mall, creating a blank exterior out onto Yonge Street; this had all of the people on Yonge crying the blues because they're

looking at a blank wall. Now they are trying to pull some of those stores back out to the street, allowing for more of an interaction with the street. But this has once again created problems related to what is going on in the mall. It is very difficult to pull that off.

I always like the notion that there is some kind of street traffic going through. Whenever you totally close something off, you don't get the visual interaction with passing pedestrians.

Looking at this from a perspective of office and residential tenancy, being able to phase these components is much better from a development perspective; most times the demand isn't there to do it all at once. This also favour the ability market to various office tenants who may want their own building. Each has an opportunity to create their own identity, and I like that opportunity. The design also doesn't look as much as a fortress; while the other looks like the Pentagon. The breaking down of the massing allows you to do some unique things, it opens it up to the neighbourhood a little bit better, and to me this is little more attractive and more inviting.

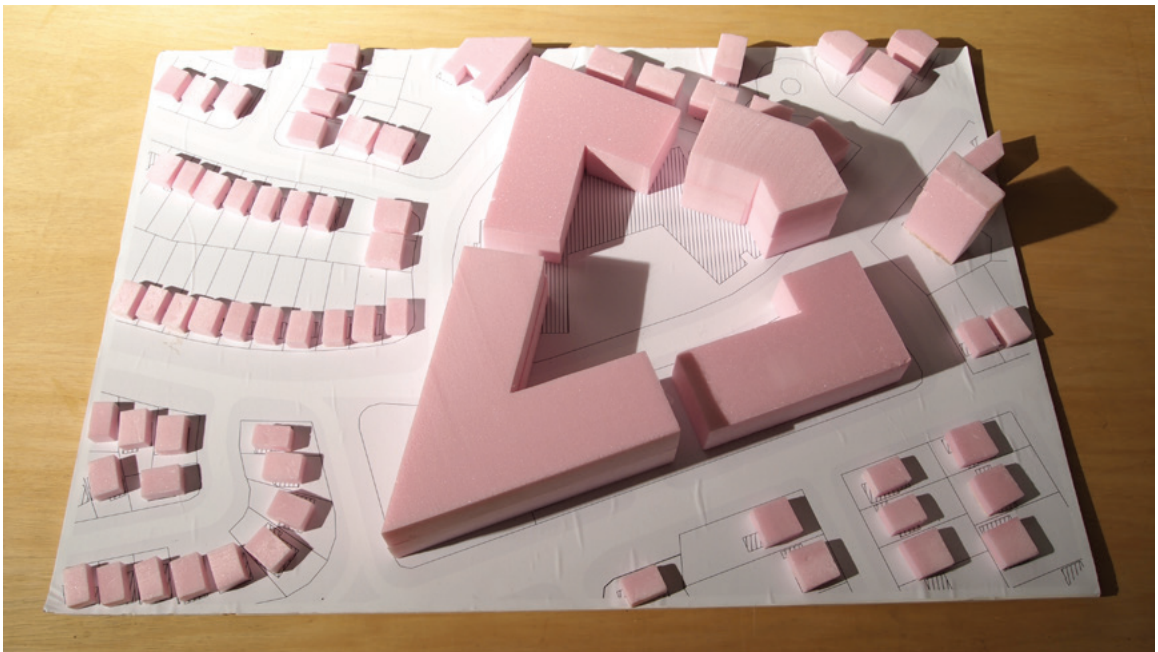
SM: Usually you would give your best views to the residential that is actually going to live there; you might want to consider flipping that, you don't want the office people going through the core of the residential.

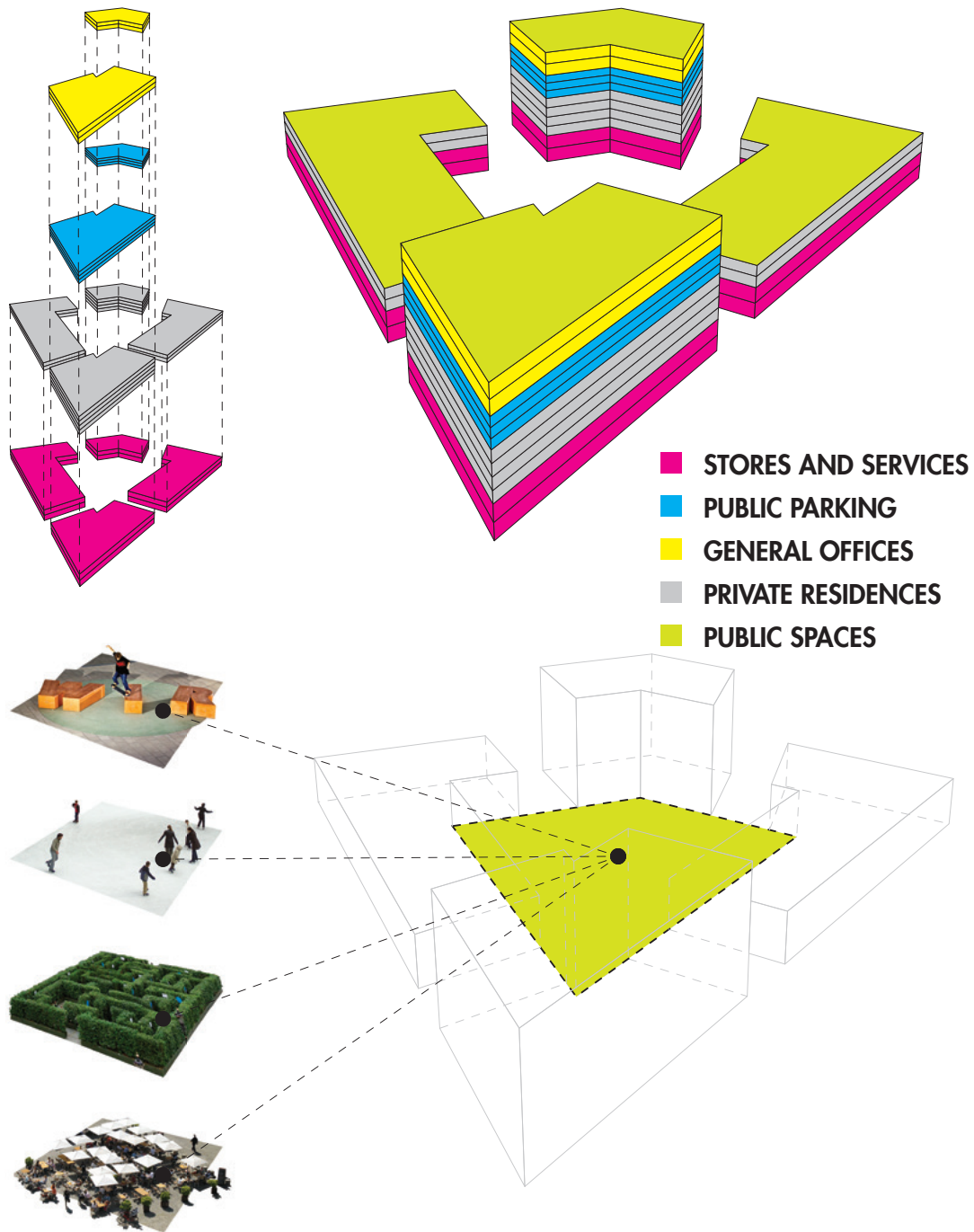
Are you creating an indoor mall or an outdoor mall? Maybe you have temporary structures that you can put up for [events and climate]. There is no point of taking a mall out and replacing it with an indoor mall. This to me says I'd like to have some outdoor space.



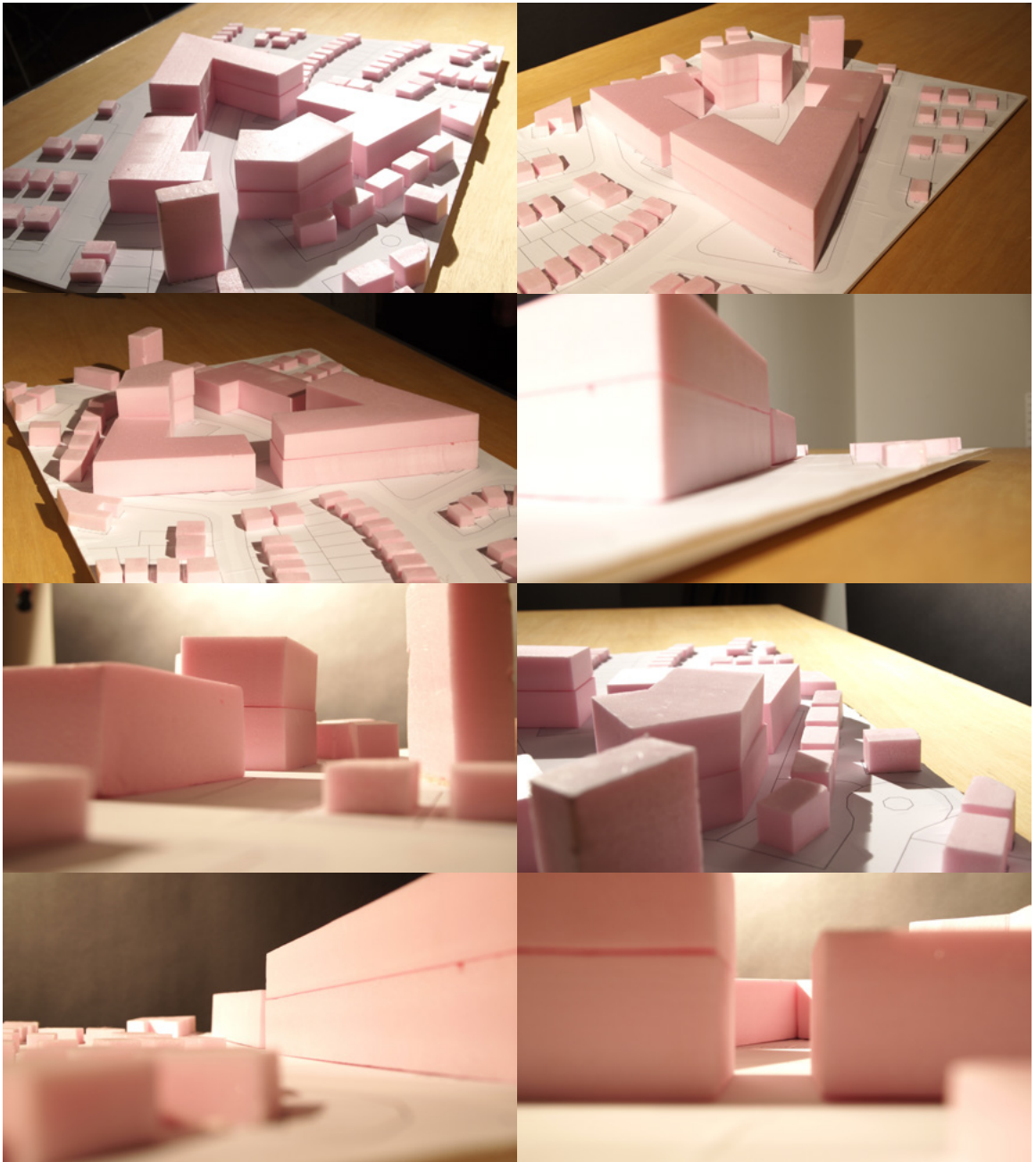
above 6.13: site aerial of the exploded lateral.

below 6.14: perspective of physical sketch model.





above 6.15: the distribution of site program, and public spaces which are activated with skateboarding, ice skating, hedge mazes, and patios.



above 6.16 - 6.23: perspective views highlighting design form and height, public spaces and relationships to Royal York Road and the Kingsway.

the open hash

LS: I would prefer rich north-south light and so would most people. That only makes this much more attractive.

AB: I don't think this the context for an OCAD sort of building anyway; it is a sort of suburban blah kind of context, not the place where you would want to make a really cool statement. Through Europe you might, you might be able to get away with it

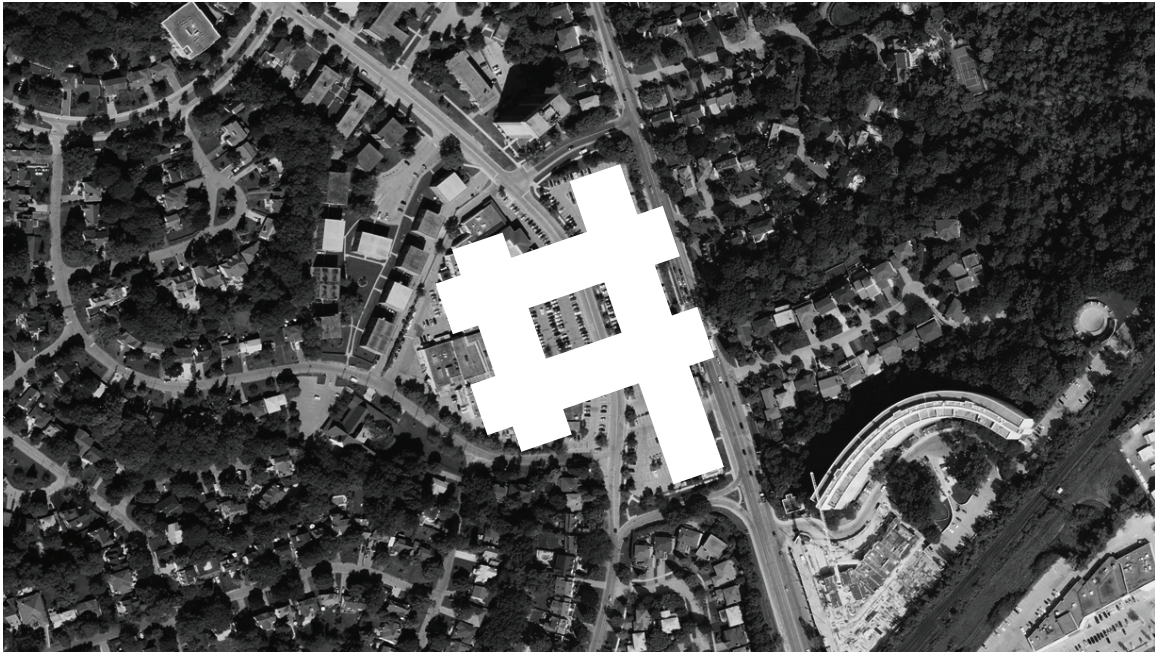
KS: [In referring to Promenade]. I feel this scheme is identical in manner, scale and impact as above. The change is a minor translation in geometry.

DG: I don't like this as well. If you wanted to cross over to the retail on the other side, there is not the ability to merchandise that now.

You have a balancing act, you need to look at each component. From a retail perspective this is better, from office and residential perspective not so much. You've got to understand which uses generate the most amount of income and what works better. If all of the retail creating store-frontage on Royal York which I don't think people would like, because you have no parking for that. You also carry building over the public right of way. Close the street off initially and build this one phase, but then if you don't build the other phase immediately then you have an issue of building over the public right of way, which will be a hassle in the future when you want to do a second phase.

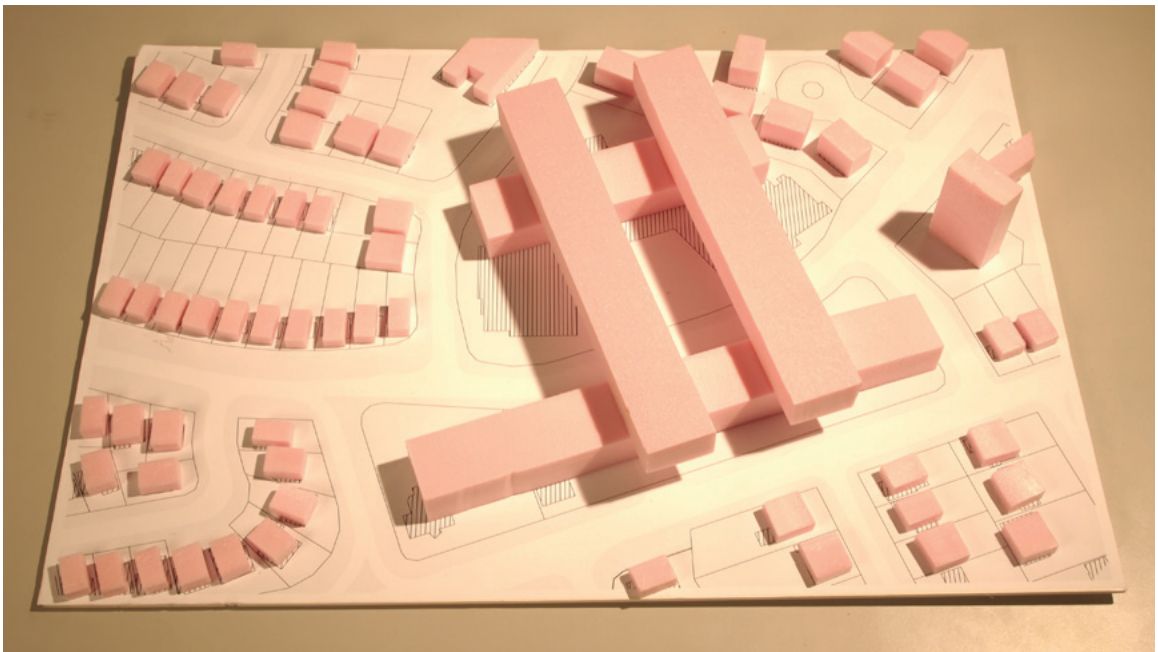
SM: It is hard, because parking is always your big thing. I know these people live with-

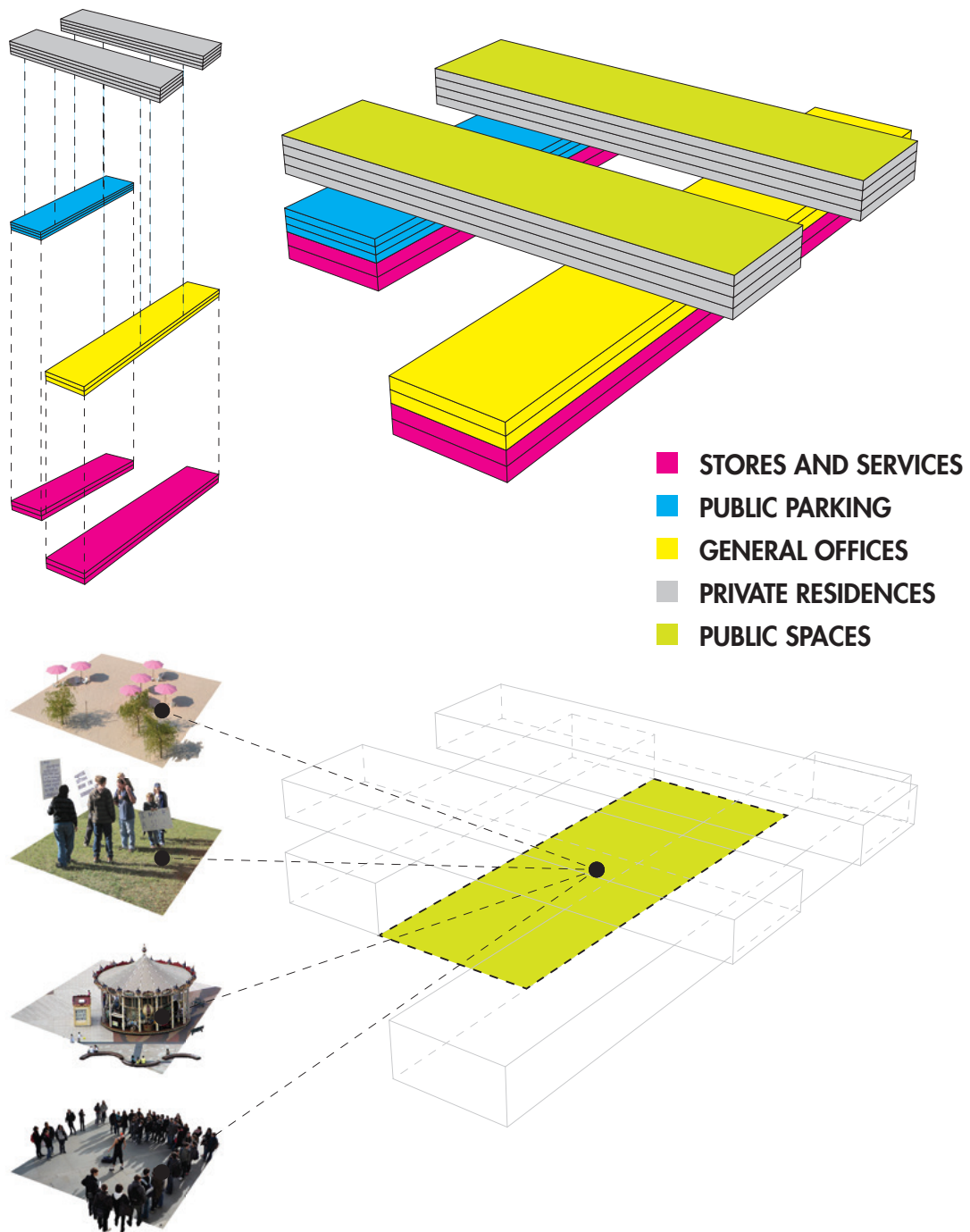
in walking distance, but they will all drive. You're going to need, I like the open space, the open square, but you'll still going to need to provide the minimum parking. I bet you the people in this neighbourhood, aren't they only ones using that mall.



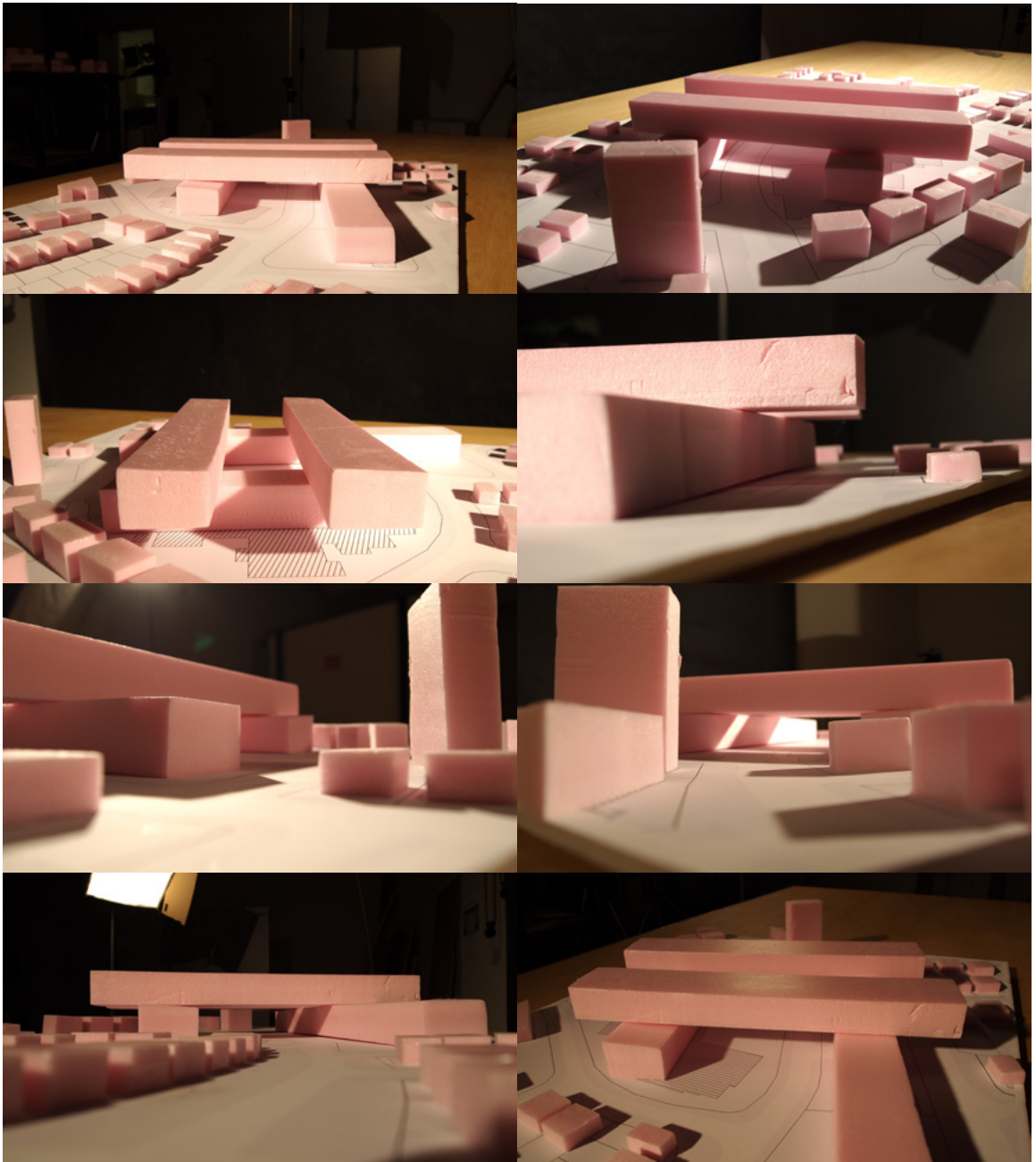
above 6.24: aerial of the open hash in context.

below 6.25: perspective of physical sketch model.





above 6.26: the distribution of site program, and public spaces which are activated with beaches, protests, carnivals, and street performances.



above 6.27 - 6.34: perspective views highlighting design form and height, public spaces and relationships to Royal York Road and the Kingsway.

the promenade

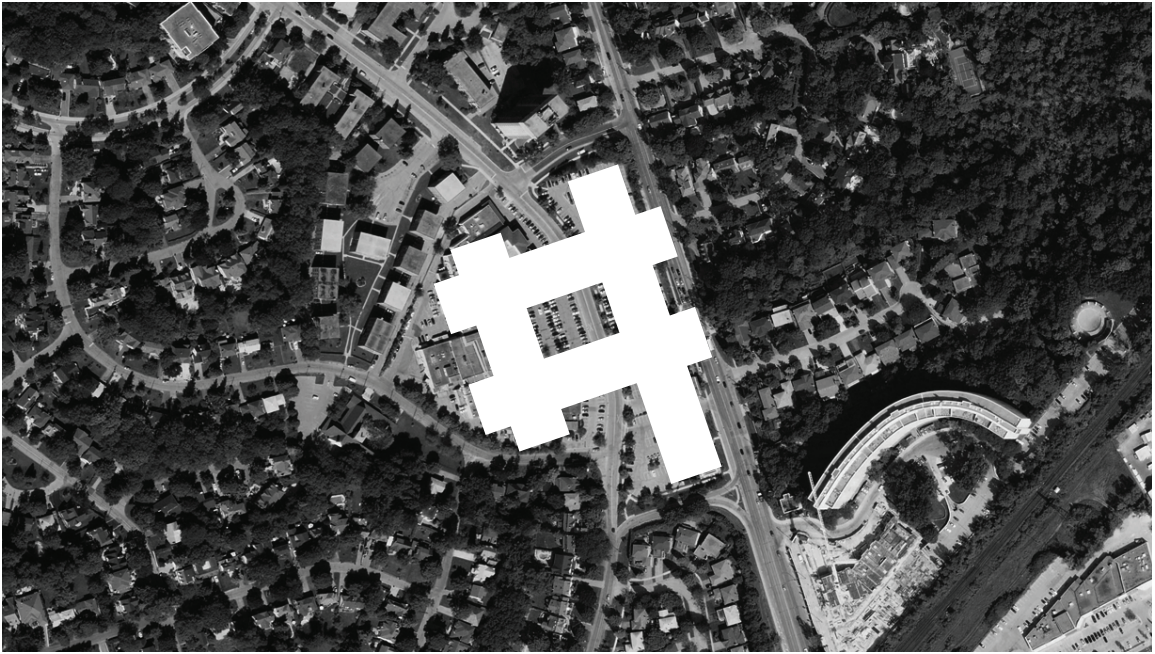
LS: This has all of the challenges of the other [referring to Open Hash]; you might as well give them the orientation that they need.

KS: Very bold and graphically strong. This scheme does not seem to respond to the scale or form of the surrounding fabric. Structurally it is very imposing. This scheme seems to encroach upon the surrounding fabric with very aggressive scales and forms. Large overhangs and soffits make for (typically) difficult urban spaces.

DG: This is cantilevered out? That is expensive.

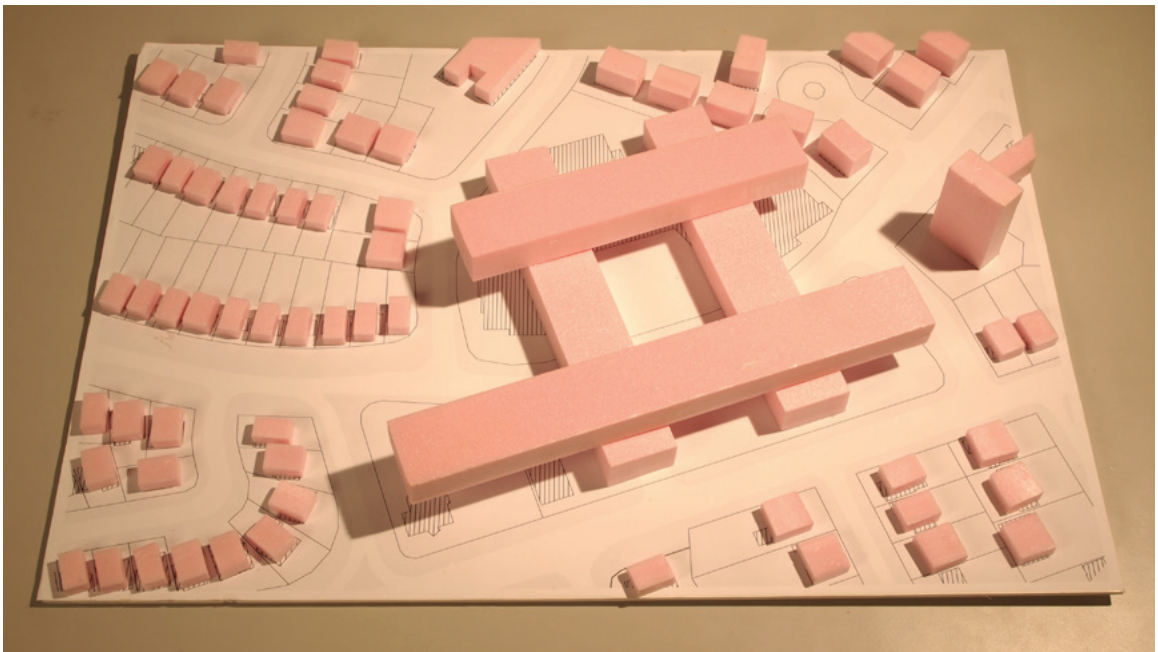
This design works a little bit better for retail. This makes a lot of sense, and backing your offices and residences above, I can understand that. This is all quite dramatic; the view from Royal York Road would be pretty exciting. This is very bold.

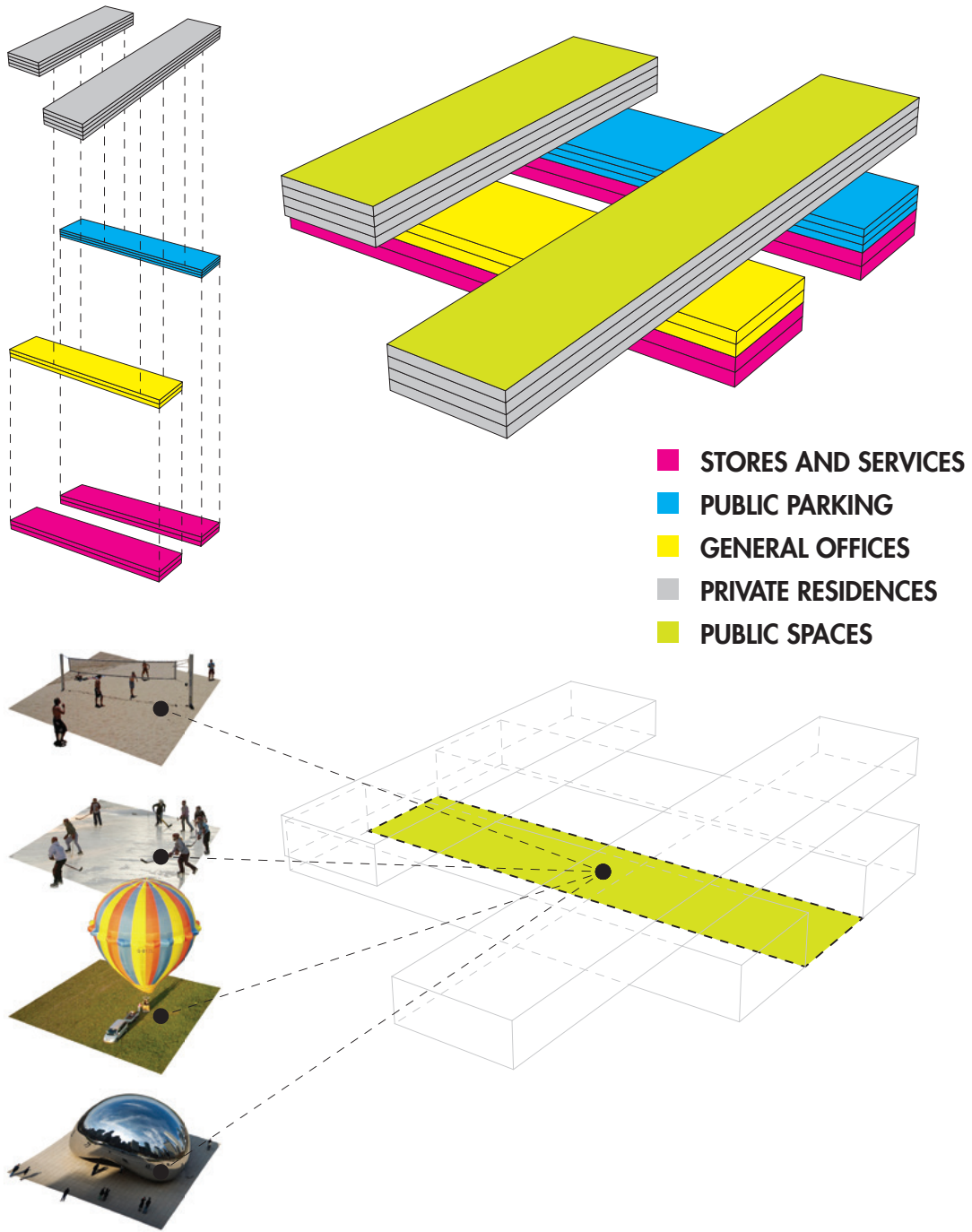
SM: I this, but I don't actually know where the sun angle actually comes in, because these will actually block any sun, because people actually like to sit in the sun. And especially in the winter climate, that is a pretty impressive thing to have on the street. Obviously the overhangs over the public road are going to your hugest problem. Height in any neighbour above their own house is always a big fight; you really want to make sure you've done a sensitive development.



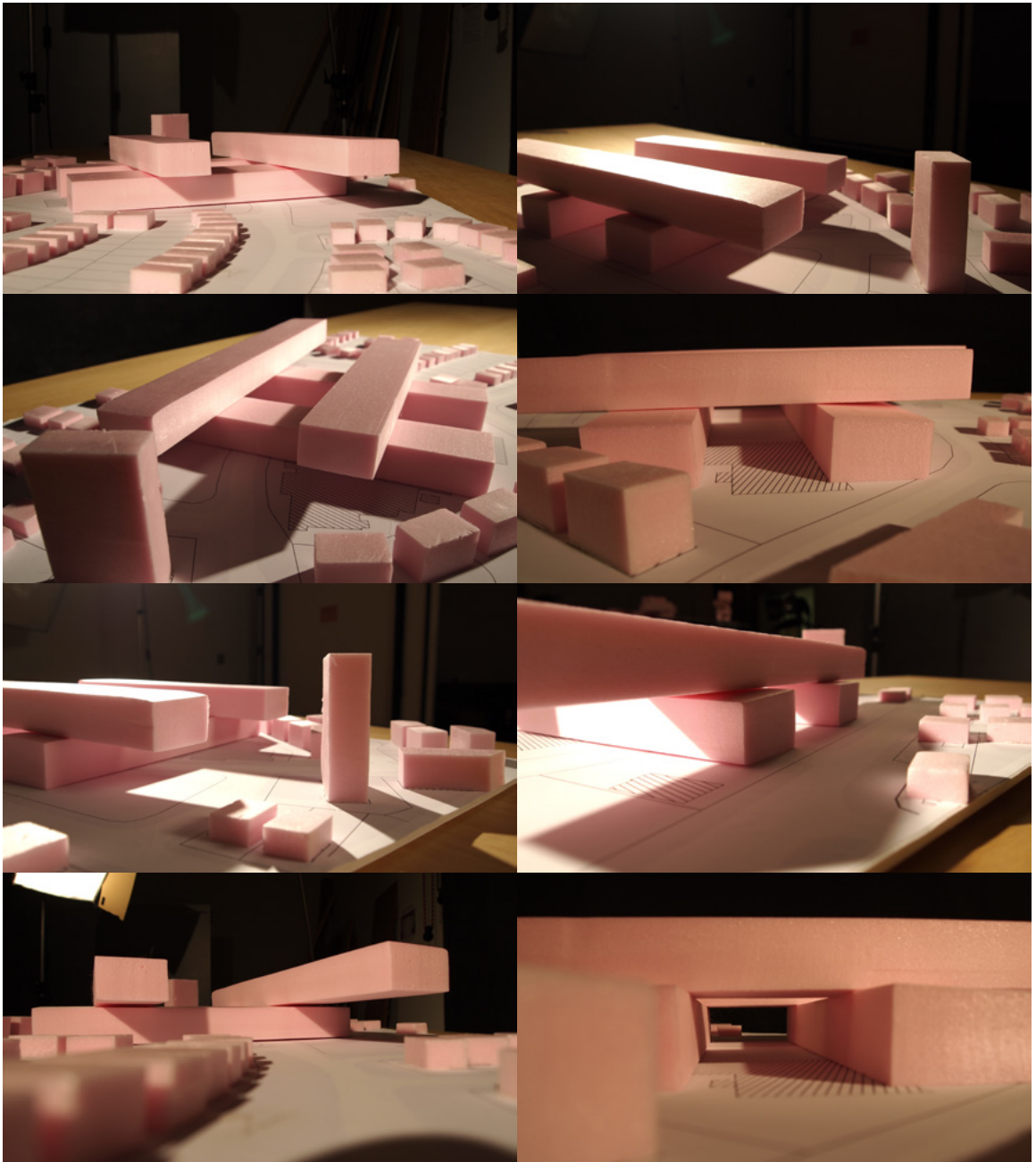
above 6.35: aerial of the promenade in context.

below 6.36: perspective of physical sketch model.





above 6.37: the distribution of site program, and public spaces which are activated with beach volleyball, games of shiny, festivals, and public art.



above 6.38 - 6.45: perspective views highlighting design form and height, public spaces and relationships to Royal York Road and the Kingsway.

the icosagon

LS: The observation here, being the only disadvantage, is that I am not going to hike in the dead of winter between these discrete shopping areas. Especially where I am at a mall, where largely speaking I shouldn't have too.

AB: I think the question is how do you deal with either the collection of volumes, whether is two and then three or four on this side with a plaza in the middle, or it is two here and two on that side, larger ones, with a plaza in the middle regardless of how the massing is broken up. I think the things that you carry forward are activating the street that goes through, and creating some sort of central plaza that things are linked too, and that you have some sort of plaza going and make sure that the plaza is connected in an active way to the outside, to the area around it.

KS: This scheme starts to break down the overall project massing scale to address the surrounding buildings, but the relationships are seemingly nebulous. It still incorporates major overhangs and large soffit areas, which are typically very imposing and dark.

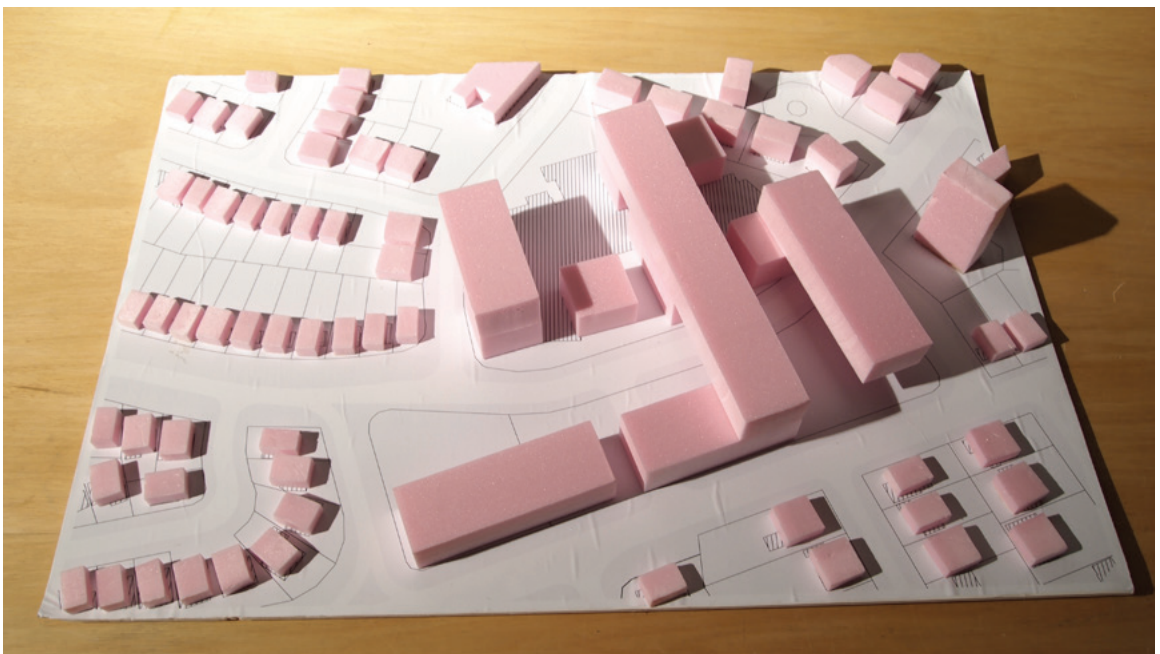
DG: That would be expensive to build.

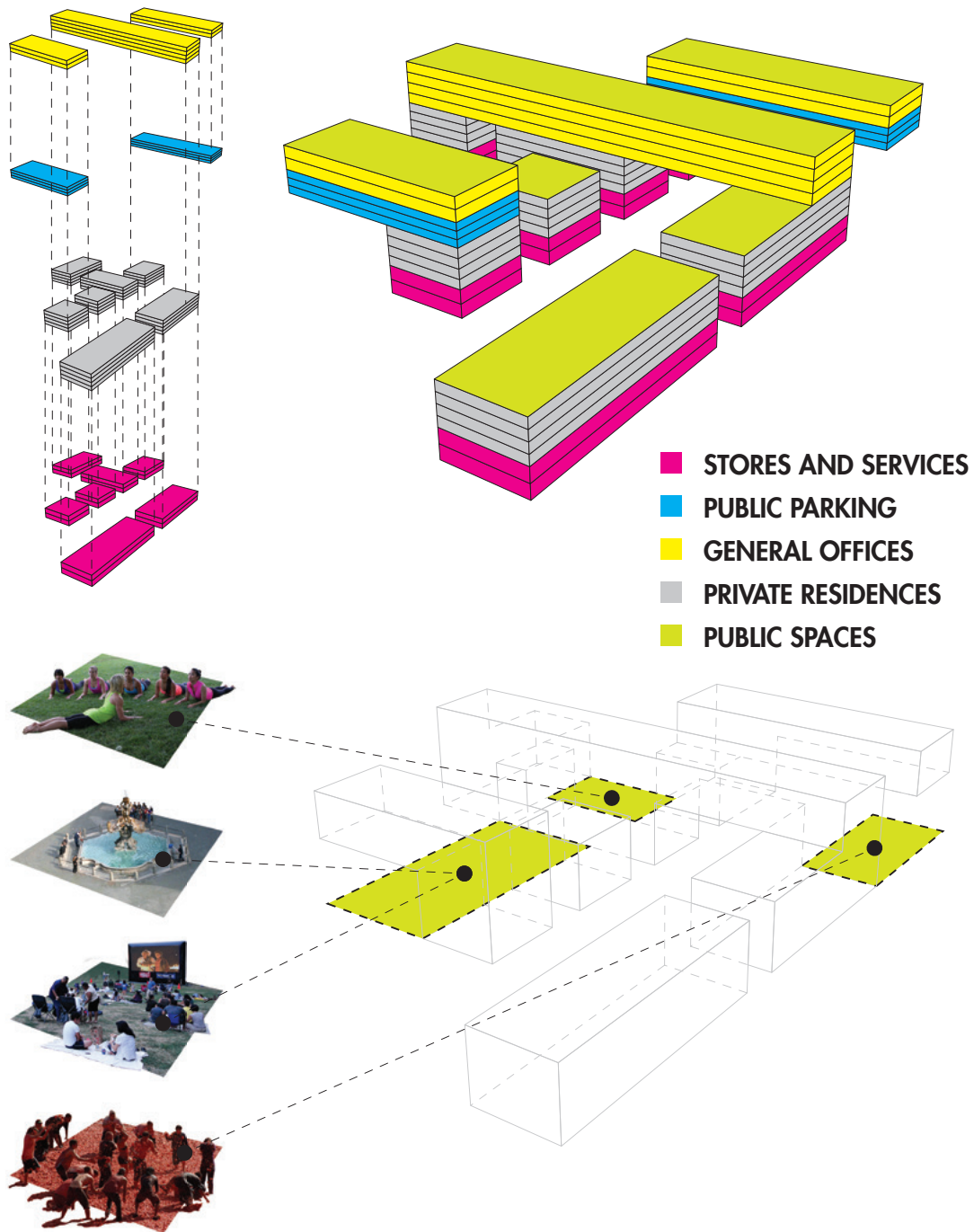
SM: Why wouldn't put those on the main arterial road? Your public spaces; to make more visible, create sort of an open space along the space, the public realm.



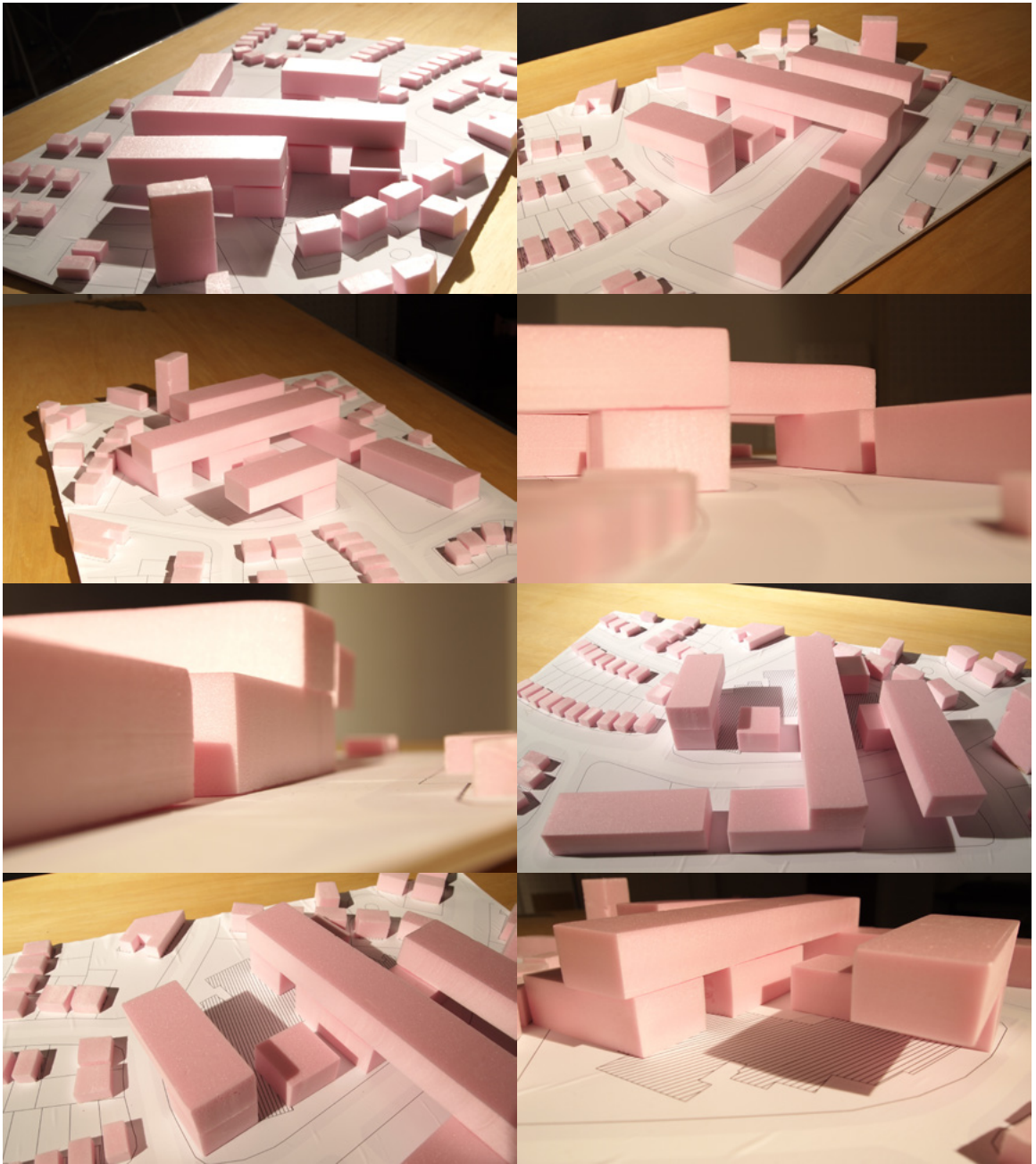
above 6.46: aerial of the icosagon in context.

below 6.47: perspective of physical sketch model.





above 6.48: the distribution of site program, and public spaces which are activated with yoga, fountains, outdoor cinemas, and more festivals.



above 6.49 - 6.56: perspective views highlighting design form and height, public spaces and relationships to Royal York Road and the Kingsway.

the little boxes

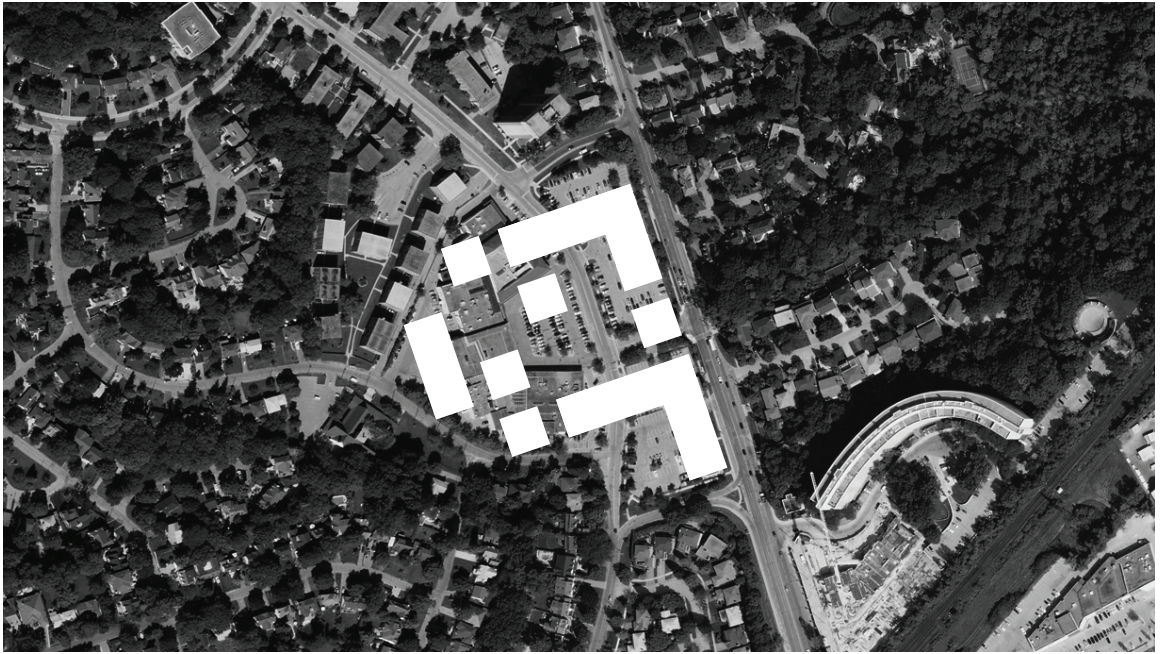
LS: The design has the flavour of bits and pieces, being the most cluttered.

PF: This design is my favourite one of the concepts, because it gives you the most option with respect to the different spaces. This design becomes more intimate. This is a total 'de-malling'.

KS: [In referring to Icosagon]. Despite minor geometry differences from the above scheme I feel the commentary is the same.

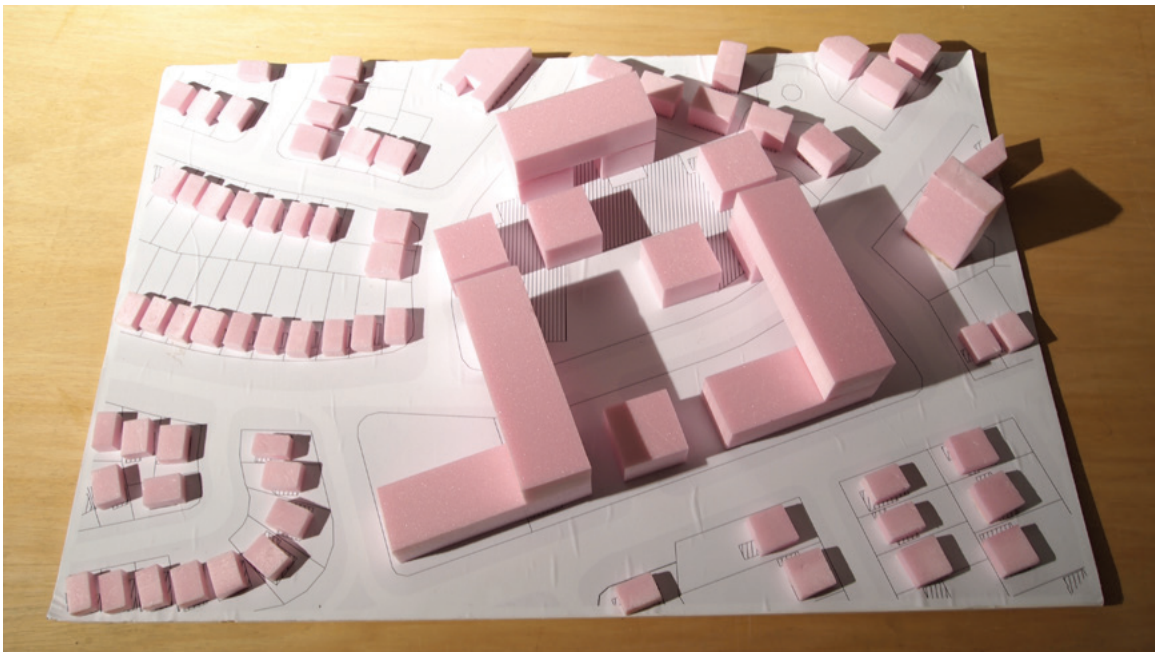
DG: It is my sense is that if you are going to do something of this nature you would probably want to make more of a statement. When you start doing it in pieces it looks more like a traditional development, I think doing something bold is exciting, as long as you can afford to do it.

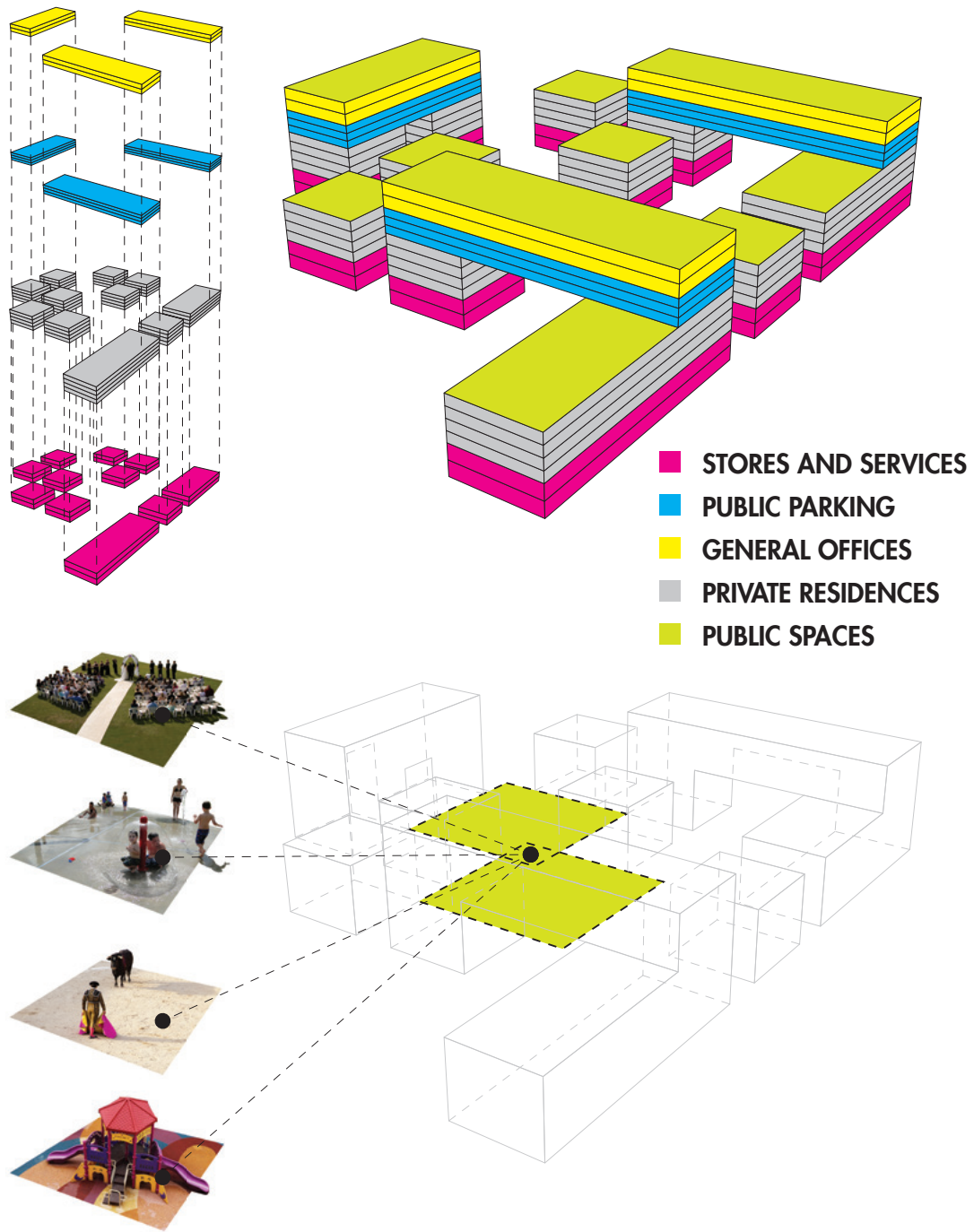
SM: You really need to make sure that you animate the street, in these cases, you have to put surface parking behind, you want to have very closely spaced streets, that is often where you have your public space is those little gaps, your informal public spaces, that is when the restaurants will pull their patios out or their seating out, so it is more of the informal spaces, if you're creating a square then you push all the buildings together and create a larger space. Unless you set it up like a grid pattern or a road and you put all of your stores along that.



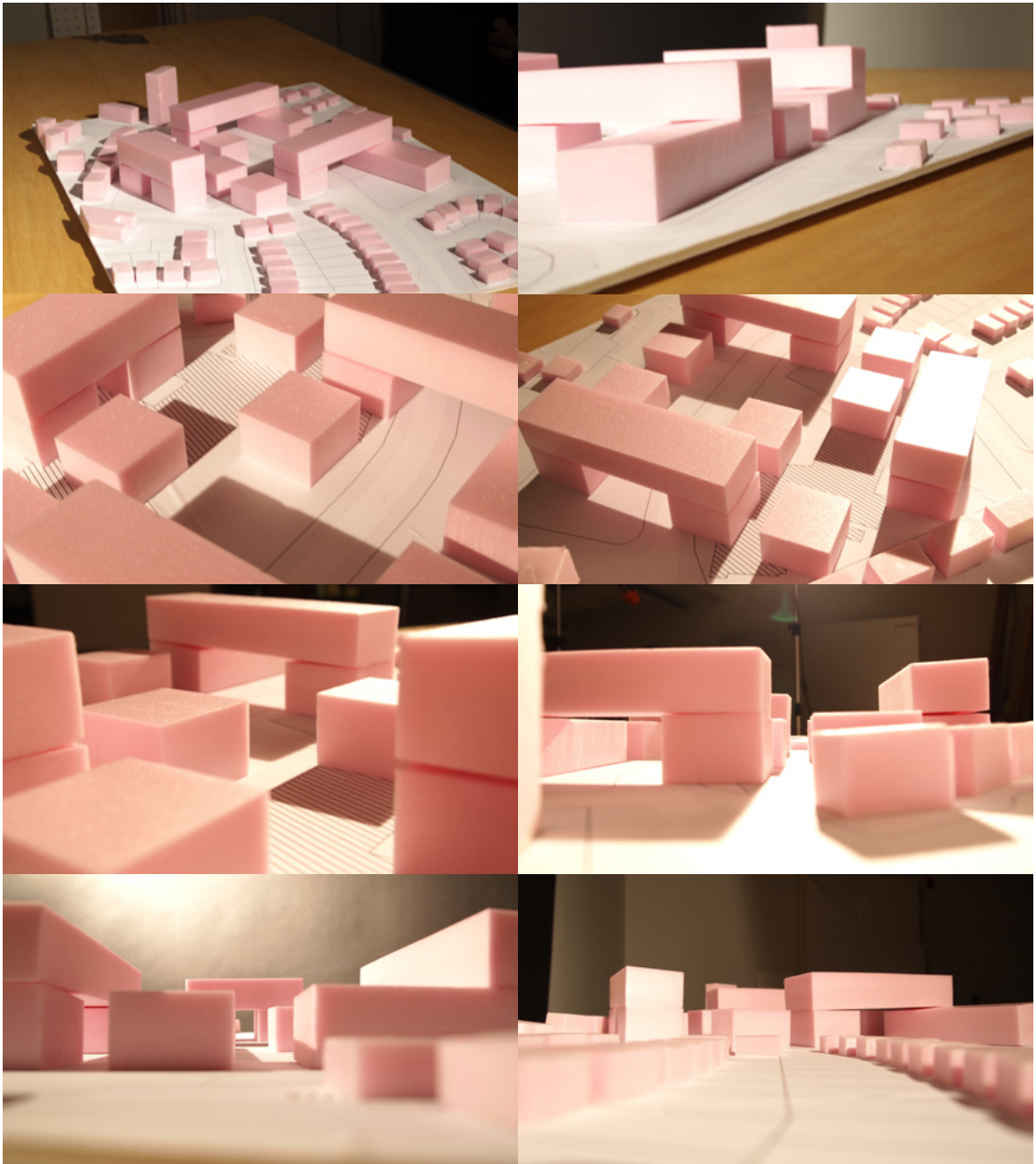
above 6.57: site aerial of the little boxes.

below 6.58: perspective of physical sketch model.





above 6.59: the distribution of site program, and public spaces which are activated with weddings, splash pads, cultural events, and playgrounds.



above 6.60 - 6.67: perspective views highlighting design form and height, public spaces and relationships to Royal York Road and the Kingsway

their final word

LS: It would seem to me just logically, that what we need in this country and in these kinds of projects is a of course a public space that is both indoor and outdoor. I am uneasy about anything that would be all indoor, because then you're ignoring summertime, which is as bad as ignoring winter. Sometimes you forget we live in Canada, because unless you're going to do academic design or bad design, we live in a country with seasons. This is a design mistake. You asked about successful public spaces, well a successful public space is available (and successful) twelve months of the year. Perhaps different activities, different parts of these spaces can actually run different events that suit the particular climate and suit the particular style of the event.

One of things that seems very important to me is the whole idea of adaptability. Not just adaptability over time, but the adaptability of the building itself. Climate is not the only concern, but certainly it should be adaptable to different kinds of functions. Also the adaptation of time, both of what you can predict (eg. temperature), to what you cannot predict (eg. precipitation).

I have continuously been mindful of the fact that to generate profit is to create reasons for people to stay longer. They longer they stay the more they spend. The more they spend the more you meet those other economic criteria. I want to know how you're going to do that, otherwise I'm taking you right off of my corporate brochure. Make it interesting enough that someone wants to come in off the street that has never been there before, and once they're in, without noticing it, find

continuous reasons to choose to stay. That is your challenge. That is the design challenge. And of course from my point of view, it is a win-win, because they're happy. If they're choosing to stay there, they're happy. And then you're creating a successful community space. And the longer they are there the more they will shop.

PF: You need to note the relationship to the street. It should be given more importance. I'm not saying you need to relate to the street, you don't need to, but either way, you need to justify what you're doing about the street.

I find that the weakness of all of your concepts is the parking. They may not want to park underground, but I don't think they'd like to park there either.

If I was doing it, I would just place the parking underground, this is the cheapest way of doing it and it does not interfere with anything else. Parking for the stores may need to be on the surface, I would try to find a way of doing this that encroaches as little as possible on the open space, but at the same time brings people close to where they want to shop. As long as it remains a mall you can put all of the parking together and people then disperse within the mall; when it stops being a mall, people expect to be able park close to the shop(s) that they are going to. I would establish or create little parking nodes or enclaves here and there. You would have to organise it in a way that the shops are visible from the street, and that the parking is as close as possible to and in between the shops and the streets. People don't like parking in structures. I would venture to say that this is one of the reasons why people prefer shopping in the suburbs than shopping in the inner city.

There is also the problem that when you start parking in structures and underground you have got to charge for parking, as it is too expensive to build and that is a deterrent for people. This is why adjacent to your supermarket, there needs to be free surface parking. You can't count on people using public transit. Your site is alright in terms of transit accessibility, but it is not great. It is not like it is beside a subway station.

AB: Let me ask you, are you interested here to talk about in what is actually real world feasible? How theoretical do you want to be? How realistic do you want to be about what is actually going to get built or what ideally could get built?

There are two moves that you have done throughout that I think are interesting and that I think are valuable. One is the idea of using the existing street that cuts through the site as something to activate that street in some way. By creating street related uses on the narrow strip where there is parking now, that turns it into something that feels more main street like and I think that is a really smart idea. I also like the thought of some sort of traffic calming experiment which could be activated at a particular time to turn the street into a pedestrian mall. I think politically speaking there is no way that is going to happen unless there is some sort of very clear public use to that area; even so that is highly unrealistic to begin, but it is a cool idea. Economically it is not difficult either.

The idea of building your office space facing outward is a really good idea, because the retail wise the back end is not really going to be viable economically. I would just imagine on a secondary street that it would only be

marginal uses that would actually be useful. Maybe you can activate that back end a little bit with not just office and residential but with professional offices; that would be a great place to tuck in the doctor's offices and dentist's offices that are there now. Those don't really need to have the street frontage in the same way, and they don't generate quite as much traffic either, so there is probably, you've got to do something trying to encourage some traffic along the back end, that would probably make sense to gather them, in some sort of professional court, or in a professional building that is oriented the other way maybe, or has entrances on both sides. I don't know if you thought of segregating the entrance to the parking garage or parking structure in that way that would let you do something with the back end of the site without it being strictly service or retail. Putting retail back there, no retail is going to want to locate back there, and the neighbours are not going to be as pleased with retail with the light and with the traffic.

I think that you have some good moves there, but I think what you need now is basically take the idea of the central plaza and build around it in the way which is formally interesting, but that really looks at the economic realities of what is going up there. You have to study the residential market, you're going to have some larger condos and a lot of one-bedroom condos, that is what people are buying. And have them a few levels from the street so that they can have views, so they're further up; in general the higher that residential goes the more expensive it can get, that is the way you get a premium from putting stuff on top. Whereas office space, it doesn't really matter.

I think that you're going to be bound by economics to do a separate parking structure

or parking garage, you'll want to figure out a good way to divide that up as to control the traffic and make it attractive. But ultimately this massing should be shaped by the economic realities: you're going to have retail, then you're going to have office and professional space, and then you're going to have residential on top, in that arrangement, with maybe some exceptions: street facing townhouse type units, second storey apartment type units, both as niche products.

If you are going to push for this unusual type of massing, which I think is good; I think architecturally I think it is responsible to wrap it in something more contextual. I just don't necessarily think it makes sense to try and push for a really radical statement in terms of the materials, and in terms of the particular details of the massing. If you manage to do something creative at the large scale, then you want it to do that with buildings, which in their details may be contemporary, but look unintimidating in a sense.

I think that you have got the basic moves in couple of these, think about what is the most buildable and what is going to make the most sense, and then I think you could really use a strong feature to make the public space in the centre feel important. Whether it is a fountain or ornamental pool and skating rink, there should be a strong design element to really give the thing identity, to define the place, which can give it a tool for marketing purposes, which is going to help. To have it be a really effective public space, there has got to be something that is a draw, something that is attractive, and something that is marketable. It has got to look good and distinctive, but also be cool. I think you are already moving towards a mixed-use kind of square which I think is good, but you have come up with some specific ideas

about what is exactly is going to animate that; look around to the immediate neighbourhood and see where do people come together and why? What sorts of things to people want to do? What are the sorts of local neighbourhood events that actually are popular? What kinds of restaurants or cafes or public services or institutions could be accommodated here? These could make this more of a draw and give people more of a reason to linger. I think once you're done all of this, there is another practical thing, how do you hide the parking in such a way that doesn't make it feel fairly oppressive.

KS: All schemes show above ground/elevated parking decks. I feel this is generally very difficult to detail in order to make attractive urban frontage. I would encourage the exploration of below grade parking. Very often excavation (despite high cost) is required for foundation construction. This excavation should be made advantageous by the use of some below grade decks for parking.

The schemes do not seem sensitive to the often divergent floor plate depths required for good residential versus good commercial design. They do not share the same global requirements or optimal dimensions. This could be analyzed at a later stage; but at an early stage the types of floor plates required for either programme could be more differentiated.

DG: Once you start to get into these major cantilevers, the beams are hugely expensive, in public projects they can afford to do those, in private projects not so much.

Part of the success of public space is attributed to the fact that they do have retail. Each of these proposals create a lot of opportunities, and could easily be developed in

phases. None of these spaces are meant to be overly passive. This is why I like them.

SM: From a city perspective that is a bit of a problem because it is a public road and you'd have to have an easement across your building here, and those are pretty hard to get over public roads. The Transportation and Works Department [of Mississauga] don't not like anything over public roads, I'm sure that [University of Toronto] sign downtown, took years I am sure of it.

The residential [tenants] would like to park their own cars, so wherever you put the residential, they're going to need access to their own parking and it has to be a dedicated area for them; they don't work to be mixed with the retail. So in a lot of developments that are mixed-use you'll have the bottom two floors as residential [parking], and the first floor the closest to the retail as the parking area which is then gated off.

I am not a big fan of above [ground parking]. It makes the building feel much more massive. Underground parking is way more expensive, so obviously they have gone that way because it is more economical to actually put the parking above grade. This is probably economical, but certainly it is not the preferred option.

They have some merit; there are still some positives in each one. I do like the public spaces, on the public street. The public spaces really want to transition from the public realm into the private realm and that is where you have your most activity. The private spaces back here, those could eventually become entrapment spaces, I would keep those more public, you can still make them private to the community in the programming, but I wouldn't put them in little

spaces. I would obviously look at the sun angles, like where the sun is going to shine the best.

I am surprised, and I am curious to know how come you didn't make a tower, or try to make a tower. For us there is no point of creating a skyline where there deserve to be one. That is always a huge thing for myself, and for the city, because we have a strict intensification area based on the province's new Smart Growth, so we really want to focus our intensification in those particular areas.

This is always the biggest problems with developments. We like having the services underground, but we're always told that it is not economical; the trucks are too hard to get down because they're higher than your standard parking heights. If you can figure out a way to do it, perfect, if you want to build it in, we certainly like that. Having all of the services underground, is much more acceptable, but we usually end up getting a lot of garbage enclosures, similar to what there is now, along the edge of the street. The grocery store has a lot of trucks, and those are high trucks, and they often bring trucks until eleven o'clock at night. Huge consideration. You don't want to make a development that people are already used too, you want to always make a development better because all of the problems that they have they will bring up and want you to improve. Any time that a new development we ask that you put in internal, we don't like outdoor garbage storage, especially in a residential areas; we have so many problems with rats, people's backyards and really garbage in all new developments is what we ask for. In a lot of the strip malls that we have, we have one garbage room at the end, and those units are all responsible for taking their units down to the end.