

SHOPPING TOWNS EUROPE

Commercial Collectivity and the Architecture of the Shopping Centre

1945-1975



Edited by Janina Gosseye and Tom Avermaete

B L O O M S B U R Y

SHOPPING TOWNS EUROPE

Shopping Towns Europe is the first book to explore the introduction and dissemination of the shopping centre in post-war Europe. European shopping centres are often assumed to be no more than carbon copies of their American precursors – however, the wide-ranging case studies featured in this book reveal a very different story. Drawing connections between architectural history, political economy and commerce, together these studies tell us much about the status and role of modernist design, the history of consumption, and the rapid-changing social, urban and national contexts of post-war Europe.

The book's sixteen chapters explore case studies in eleven different countries spanning various social and economic contexts across the continent, from Finland to Spain and from Britain to the Iron Curtain and beyond. The focus is on the three decades following the first introduction of the new typology in 1945, tracing the variety of typological manifestations that occurred in widely different contexts, from Keynesianism to communism to military dictatorship. The book also explores the role of the shopping centre in urban reconstruction, and examines how new shopping centres were designed to elicit specifically modern behaviour and introduce new conceptions of collectivity into citizens' everyday lives.

Janina Gosseye is a postdoctoral research fellow at TU Delft, the Netherlands and at the University of Queensland, Australia. She has co-edited several books, including *Water Urbanisms* (2008), *Reclaiming (the Urbanism of) Mumbai* (2009), *The Specific and the Singular: Architecture in Flanders* (2010) and *Hot Modernism: Queensland Architecture 1945–1975* (2015).

Tom Avermaete is Professor of Architecture at TU Delft, the Netherlands. He is the author of *Another Modern: The Post-War Architecture and Urbanism of Candilis-Josic-Woods* (2005), and co-editor of *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past, Rebellions for the Future* (2010) and *Structuralism Reloaded: Rule-Based Design in Architecture and Urbanism* (2011).

'This valuable collection shows how civic and commercial agendas converged in the urban planning and architecture of new shopping centers throughout Europe in the decades after World War II. It makes a compelling case that these places helped shape a "pervasive modernity," albeit one that could not, in itself, reconcile the values of collective societies with the juggernaut of consumer culture.'

Joan Ockman, Senior Distinguished Fellow at the University of Pennsylvania School of Design, and Visiting Professor at Cornell University School of Architecture, USA

'*Shopping Towns Europe* is a tour de force of pan-European research collaboration. It draws together scholarship from all over Europe to overturn the usual story of the American origins of the shopping mall, completely changing our understanding of this new urban building type.'

Adrian Forty, Professor Emeritus of Architectural History at the Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL, UK

'The book fills a remarkable gap in the historiography of post-war European architecture . . . A valuable book that enriches our understanding of a crucial period.'

Hilde Heynen, Professor of Architectural Theory at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium

ARCHITECTURE

www.bloomsbury.com

Cover design by Sanne Dijkstra | Cover image: Shopping mall located in the housing estate Frederic et Irene JOLIOT-CURIE in Argenteuil in the suburbs of Paris, France, 1967. Photo © Keystone-France/Gamma-Keystone via Getty Images

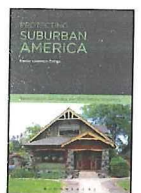
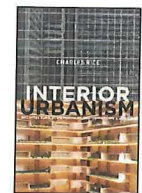
ISBN 978-1-4742-6737-3



9 781474 267373



Also available
from Bloomsbury



Shopping Towns Europe

Commercial Collectivity
and the Architecture
of the Shopping Centre,
1945–1975

Edited by Janina Gosseye and
Tom Avermaete

Bloomsbury Academic

An imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

B L O O M S B U R Y
LONDON • OXFORD • NEW YORK • NEW DELHI • SYDNEY

Bloomsbury Academic
An imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc
50 Bedford Square 1385 Broadway
London New York
WC1B 3DP NY 10018
UK USA

www.bloomsbury.com

BLOOMSBURY and the **Diana logo** are trademarks of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

First published 2017

© Selection and Editorial Material: Janina Gosseye and Tom Avermaete

© Individual Chapters: Their Authors, 2017

Janina Gosseye and Tom Avermaete have asserted their right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as Authors of this work.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publishers.

No responsibility for loss caused to any individual or organization acting on or refraining from action as a result of the material in this publication can be accepted by Bloomsbury or the author.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN: HB: 978-1-4742-6737-3
ePDF: 978-1-4742-6738-0
ePub: 978-1-4742-6740-3

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Gosseye, Janina, editor. | Avermaete, Tom, editor.

Title: Shopping towns Europe : commercial collectivity and the architecture of the shopping centre, 1945-1975 / edited by Janina Gosseye and Tom Avermaete.

Description: New York : Bloomsbury Academic, 2016.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016029738 | ISBN 9781474267373 (hardback) | ISBN 9781474267380 (epdf)

Subjects: LCSH: Shopping centers--Europe--History--20th century. | Architecture and society--Europe--History--20th century. | Europe--Civilization--20th century. |

BISAC: ARCHITECTURE / History / General. | ARCHITECTURE / Criticism. |

ARCHITECTURE / Urban & Land Use Planning. | HISTORY / Modern / 20th Century. |

SOCIAL SCIENCE / Human Geography.

Classification: LCC NA6218 .S58 2016 | DDC 711/.5522094--dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2016029738>

Typeset by Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.

Printed and bound in Great Britain

Contents

Notes on contributors	vii
Shopping towns Europe, 1945–1975 <i>Janina Gosseye and Tom Avermaete</i>	1
Part 1 Urbanism harnessing the consumption-juggernaut: Shopping centres and urban (re)development	
1 Shopping à l'américaine <i>Kenny Cupers</i>	25
2 The 1960s shopping centre grid of Helsinki: A framework for future development <i>Juhana Lahti</i>	38
3 Shopping centres as catalysts for new multifunctional urban centralities: The case of two shopping centres around Brussels <i>Yannick Vanhaelen and Géry Leloutre</i>	51
4 The Lijnbaan in Rotterdam: A sound urban form against city disruption <i>Dirk van den Heuvel</i>	65
5 Displays of modernity: The urban restructuring of post-1963 Skopje <i>Jasna Mariotti</i>	78
Part 2 Constructing consumer-citizens: Shopping centres shaping commercial collectivity	
6 Miracles and ruins, citizens and shoppers: Frankfurt 1963 <i>Inderbir Singh Riar</i>	95
7 Collectivity in the prison of plenty: The French commercial centres by Claude Parent, 1967–1971 <i>Tom Avermaete</i>	110

8	Hello, consumer! Skärholmen Centre from the Million Programme to the mall <i>Jennifer Mack</i>	122
9	Milton Keynes' Centre: The apotheosis of the British post-war consensus or, the apostle of neo-liberalism? <i>Janina Gosseye</i>	138
10	Shopping as a part of a political agenda: The emergence and development of the shopping centre in socialist Croatia, 1960–1980 <i>Sanja Matijević Barčot and Ana Grgić</i>	155
11	Unico Prezzo Italiano: Corporate consumption and retail architecture in post-war Italy <i>Daniele Vadala</i>	168
Part 3 Shifting forms of shopping: Between dense and tall and the low-slung (suburban) shopping mall		
12	The creation of civic identity in post-war corporate architecture: Marcel Breuer's Bijenkorf in Rotterdam, 1953–1957 <i>Evangelia Tsilika</i>	183
13	The shopping centre comes to Germany: Frankfurt's Main-Taunus-Zentrum at the crossroads of mass-motorization and retail economics <i>Steffen de Rudder</i>	196
14	Built for mass consumption: Shopping centres in West Germany's boom years <i>Olaf Gisbertz</i>	210
15	The drive to modernize: Remodelling Birmingham city centre, 1945–1965 <i>Jo Lintonbon</i>	222
16	Malls and commercial planning policies in a compact city: The case of Barcelona <i>Nadia Fava and Manuel Guàrdia</i>	238
	Index	251

Notes on contributors

Tom Avermaete is Professor of Architecture at TUDelft (The Netherlands). He has a special research interest in the post-war public realm and the architecture of the city in Western and non-Western contexts. He is the author of *Another Modern: The Post-War Architecture and Urbanism of Candilis-Josic-Woods* (2005) and *Casablanca, Chandigarh: A Report on Modernization* (2014, with Maristella Casciato). Professor Avermaete has also edited numerous books, including: *Architectural Positions: On Architecture, Modernity and the Public Sphere* (2009), and is a member of the editorial team of *OASE Architectural Journal* and *The Nordic Journal of Architecture*.

Kenny Cupers is Associate Professor in the History and Theory of Architecture and Urbanism at the University of Basel. His research projects centre on questions of human and material agency, the epistemology and geopolitics of modernism, and design as a technique of social intervention. Cupers is the author of *The Social Project: Housing Postwar France* (2014), winner of the SAH Spiro Kostof Award amongst other prizes. Other publications include *Use Matters: An Alternative History of Architecture* (2013) and *Spaces of Uncertainty* (2002, with Markus Miessen).

Steffen de Rudder is Professor at the Bauhaus University in Weimar, where he teaches urban design and history. He was Guest Professor of Urban History at Anhalt University in Dessau, Adjunct Professor for Urban and Architectural History at University Erfurt, DAAD Fellow at the Academy of Architecture in Amsterdam, Assistant Professor at Bauhaus University Weimar and Adjunct Professor at Humboldt University in Berlin. Before starting his academic career, Professor de Rudder worked as an architect and urban planner in Berlin. He received his PhD from Bauhaus University Weimar and graduated from the Technical University Berlin. His research focuses on the history of post-war modern architecture and urbanism.

Nadia Fava holds a doctorate in architecture from the Polytechnic University of Catalonia, and is currently a Lecturer in Urban Planning at the University of Girona. Her research focuses on urban history and planning, mainly on urban evolution, tourism and city retailing in the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries. Her work has been published in international peer-reviewed journals, including the *Journal of Urban History* (2016) and *Town Planning Review* (2015).

Olaf Gisbertz is Assistant Professor at the Institute for Building History at TU Braunschweig. Professor Gisbertz has curated several exhibitions and organised a number of conferences and roundtables on

post-war architecture. He has also authored and edited numerous publications on this subject, including *Bauen für die Massenkultur: Stadt- und Kongresshallen der 1960er und 1970er Jahre* (2015). Since 2014, Professor Gisbertz has been the Director of the Building Research + Communication + Conservation Centre at TU Braunschweig.

Janina Gosseye is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at both the Delft University of Technology and at the University of Queensland. Her research focuses on the notion of collectivity in the post-war period and is situated at the nexus of architectural and urban theory and social and political history. Her work has been published in leading journals, including the *Journal of Architecture*, the *Journal of Urban History* and *Fabrications*. Gosseye has also authored and edited several books and is currently preparing an edited volume on the global acculturation of the shopping centre.

Ana Grgić completed her PhD at the University of Zagreb's Faculty of Architecture in 2011. After working in an architectural office she started her academic career with a research project on the 'Architecture of Split 1945-2000' at the Faculty of Civil Engineering, Architecture and Geodesy in Split, Croatia. Currently an Assistant Professor, Grgić teaches architecture and urban design courses and also organises international workshops. Grgić has edited several publications, taken part in architectural and urban design competitions, and participated in international scientific conferences related to her research interest in spatial and landscape planning and public space.

Manuel Guàrdia holds a doctorate in architecture and is a Lecturer in Architectural History, Urban History and Urban Planning at the Polytechnic University of Catalonia. His research focuses on urban history and urban planning; mainly on the long-term evolution of space structures and city supply. He has edited several books, including: *Atlas Histórico de Ciudades Europeas* (1994-1996), *La Revolución del Agua en Barcelona. De la Ciudad Preindustrial a la Metrópoli Moderna, 1867-1967* (2011), and *Making Cities through Market Halls. Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries* (2015).

Juhana Lahti is an Art Historian and holds a PhD from the University of Helsinki (2006). Lahti is currently the Head of Research/Director of Collections at the Museum of Finnish Architecture (MFA) in Helsinki. His research and publications focus on the history of modern architecture and planning, especially in the post-Second World War period; he is also interested in questions related to digital paradigm shifts in culture. Lahti previously worked in different positions at the MFA, the University of Helsinki and the Finnish Foundation for the Visual Arts in New York City.

Géry Leloutre holds a degree in Architecture from ISA Victor Horta in Brussels and in Urban Planning and Design from KULeuven. He recently completed his doctoral thesis, jointly with the Free University of Brussels and the IUAV in Venice, on the modus operandi of city building in Brussels in the mid-20th century. From 2006 to 2008, Leloutre was Editor in Chief of the *Brussels Review of Urbanism BrU* and in 2007, he founded his own practice, 'Karbon, Architecture et Urbanisme'. Through his teaching at the ULB Architecture Faculty and his design practice, Leloutre continues to expand his research on Brussels and urban planning.

Jo Lintonbon is an architect and a Lecturer at Sheffield School of Architecture, the University of Sheffield, UK. She studied architecture at Cambridge and Sheffield and completed her PhD in 2002 on the historical development of shop typologies and the role of commercial architecture in transforming the high street. Her ongoing research interests are focused on the cultural and economic processes that continue to shape the built environment and address social practices and everyday architecture, heritage and identity, and the architectural transformation of existing buildings and spaces through conservation-led regeneration.

Jennifer Mack is a Postdoctoral Fellow at Uppsala University and researcher at KTH Royal Institute of Technology. She combines ethnography, history, and formal analysis to study social change and the built environment, with current projects on the design of large-scale mosques and churches, the politics of landscape in allotment gardens, and the Swedish town centre (*centrum*). Her forthcoming book investigates the 'segregated' Swedish town of Södertälje since the 1960s through her notion of 'urban design from below'.

Jasna Mariotti studied Architecture at the Faculty of Architecture in Skopje and obtained a Masters Degree in Architecture, Urbanism and Building Sciences from TU Delft in 2007. In 2014 she completed a PhD on post-socialist cities and their urban transformations at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Ljubljana. She currently works at the School of Planning, Architecture and Civil Engineering at Queen's University Belfast. Before moving to Belfast, Mariotti was Assistant Professor in Urban Design at the Faculty of Architecture in Skopje and worked as an architect and urban designer at West 8 in Rotterdam.

Sanja Matijević Barčot is an architect and Postdoctoral Research Assistant at the University of Split, Faculty of Civil Engineering, Architecture and Geodesy. She received her PhD in History and Theory of Architecture and Historic Preservation from the University of Zagreb in 2014. For her doctoral dissertation she investigated how socialist housing strategies determined the conditions of architectural production and shaped the architecture of Split in the period between 1945 and 1968. Her research interests include modern architecture and culture in Croatia, the legacy of socialist housing strategies and politics of urban planning after the Second World War.

Evangelia Tsilika is an architect and independent researcher. She studied architecture at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (1997), did her postgraduate studies at the Harvard Graduate School of Design (1999) and completed her doctorate at the National Technical University of Athens in 2008. She has lectured on architectural design and theory at several universities and institutions. She has worked both in New York and Athens, where she is currently involved in public projects as Head of the Department of Ports' Building Infrastructure at the Ministry of Mercantile Marine. The chapter that she has authored in this book is part of her comprehensive study of Marcel Breuer's architecture.

Inderbir Singh Riar is Associate Professor in the Azrieli School of Architecture & Urbanism at Carleton University (Canada). His research currently explores how the post-war metropolis was imagined as producing ideal citizenries. This work includes a study on Toulouse-Le Mirail, the French new town,

undertaken in collaboration with the Paris-based photographer Mark Lyon and supported by the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts. In 2013, he was selected for the Japan Foundation Invitation Program for Curators. Trained as an architect, Riar completed his PhD at Columbia University with the dissertation 'Expo 67, or the Architecture of Late Modernity' (2014).

Daniele Vadala obtained his Masters in Architecture from the University Mediterranea of Reggio Calabria (2001) and a PhD in Building Engineering and Renovation Projects at University of Messina (2010). He is currently a Lecturer in Contemporary Architectural History at the University of Catania, and has previously collaborated with the Pontifical University San Bonaventura in Rome for work in the field of environmental and landscape protection. His research interests lay at the crossroads between contemporary practice and architectural history, with a specific focus on cultural landscapes and adaptive infrastructures.

Dirk van den Heuvel is Associate Professor at TU Delft and Head of the Jaap Bakema Study Centre at Het Nieuwe Instituut, Rotterdam. Van den Heuvel curated various exhibitions, including the Dutch national pavilion at the Venice Biennale 2014, 'Open: A Bakema Celebration'. His book publications include: *Jaap Bakema and the Open Society* (2016), *Architecture and the Welfare State* (2015, with Mark Swenarton and Tom Avermaete), *Team 10: In Search of a Utopia of the Present 1953-1981* (2005, with Max Risselada) and *Alison and Peter Smithson: From the House of the Future to a House of Today* (2004, with Max Risselada).

Yannick Vanhaelen graduated in architecture from the Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB). After his studies, he worked in the architectural practices of NL Architects in the Netherlands and 51N4E in Belgium, where he was project leader for the elaboration of a territorial vision for the Brussels Capital Region in 2040. In 2013 he co-founded the office DEV-space. Vanhaelen is currently a PhD researcher at the Laboratory on Urbanism, Infrastructure and Ecologies (LoUIsE) of the ULB Architecture Faculty. His PhD, for which he obtained a grant from the Belgian National Fund for Scientific Research, focuses on the urban and mobility impacts of large cultural infrastructures in the metropolitan area of Brussels.

Shopping towns Europe, 1945–1975

Janina Gosseye and Tom Avermaete

The shopping center is one of the few new building types created in our time Because shopping centers represent groupings of structures and because of the underlying cooperative spirit involved, the need for environmental planning for this building type is obvious. Where this need has been fully understood shopping centers have taken on the characteristics of urban organisms serving a multitude of human needs and activities, thus justifying the designation: shopping towns.¹

With these words, Viennese émigré architect Victor Gruen and American economist Larry Smith opened their 1960 landmark publication *Shopping Towns USA: The Planning of Shopping Centers*, which aimed to 'further the understanding and use of good planning principles [in shopping centre design]'. Of the eight shopping centres shown in the book's introduction, three were located in Europe: the Lijnbaan in Rotterdam, Vällingby Centrum near Stockholm and Harlow's New Town Centre near London. Gruen and Smith, however, did not discuss these European examples in great detail, limiting themselves '... to a discussion of shopping centers in the United States' in spite of being 'fully aware of the significant contributions towards the planning of shopping facilities ... which are being made today in shopping centers in other parts of the world'. *Shopping Towns Europe* is thus a foil to *Shopping Towns USA*, differing from it in two key ways. Firstly, while *Shopping Towns USA* did '... not attempt to be a history of shopping center development',² *Shopping Towns Europe* – published more than half a century later – does offer a historical account of shopping centres in the three decades following the Second World War. Secondly, and more importantly, contrary to Gruen and Smith's work, the focus of this publication is on Europe, not the United States.

In Europe, shopping centres emerged and became an everyday phenomenon roughly between the early 1950s and the mid-1970s. In this period the incomes of large sections of the population increased, class differences and social conflict decreased and new forms of cultural differentiation emerged. It was the heyday of the European welfare state. Since the late 1990s, the European welfare state has gained increasing recognition in architectural history, albeit mainly through the lens of state-driven

¹Victor Gruen and Larry Smith, *Shopping Towns USA: The Planning of Shopping Centers* (New York/Amsterdam/London: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1960), 11.

²Ibid., 11–12.

initiatives in the realm of housing and 'community building'. This has resulted in the production of a particular set of histories that portray the emergence of post-war 'modernity' as intimately entangled with state-driven action.³ Although highly relevant, these accounts only partially explain the modernity that people experienced on an everyday basis in post-war Europe. As the work of the Regulation School has demonstrated,⁴ the European welfare state was a contract between the public sector, the private sector and civic society. Apart from the state (and often in close cooperation with it), civic society and the private sector contributed greatly to the introduction of the modern in the built environment. Civic organizations, for instance, instructed citizens in 'good' design for their homes,⁵ while the private sector developed a vast range of new household products,⁶ created 'modern' spaces for production, such as offices, factories and distribution centres, and also articulated novel spaces for consumption, including the shopping centre. Although the private sector was an important actor in establishing new relations between modernity and the built environment, the role that corporate and commercial modernism played in reforming post-war Europe is still astonishingly understudied. While some research has been conducted into the expansion of supermarkets and offices,⁷ the typology of the

³Tom Avermaete, *Another Modern: The Postwar Architecture and Urbanism of Candilis-Josic-Woods* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2005); Elke Beyer, Anke Hagemann and Michael Zinganel (eds.), *Holidays after the Fall: Seaside Architecture and Urbanism in Bulgaria and Croatia* (Berlin: Jovis, 2013); Nicholas Bullock, *Building the Post-war World: Modern Architecture and Reconstruction in Britain* (London/New York: Routledge, 2002); Kenny Cupers, *The Social Project: Housing Post-war France* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014); Janina Gosseye, Hilde Heynen (eds.), André Loeckx and Leen Van Molle, *Architectuur voor Vrijtijdsduur* (Leuven: LannooCampus, 2011); Christoph Grawe, *People's Palaces: Architecture, Culture and Democracy in Post-war Western Europe* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura, 2014); Helena Mattsson and Sven-Olov Wallenstein (eds.), *Swedish Modernism: Architecture, Consumption and the Welfare State* (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2010); Gérard Monnier and Richard Klein (eds.), *Les Années Zup: Architectures de la Croissance (1960-1973)* (Paris: Picard, 2002); Michael Ryckewaert, *Building the Economic Backbone of the Belgian Welfare State: Infrastructure, Planning and Architecture 1945-1973* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2011); Andrew Saint, *Towards a Social Architecture: The Role of School-building in Post-war England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1987); Greg Stevenson, *Palaces for the People: Prefabs in Post-war Britain* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 2003); Karina Van Herck and Tom Avermaete (eds.), *Wonen in Welvaart: Woningbouw en Wooncultuur in Vlaanderen, 1948-1973* (Rotterdam: 010/Antwerp: VAI & CVAA, 2006); Cor Wagenaar (ed.), *Happy: Cities and Public Happiness in Post-war Europe* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2004).

⁴The Regulation School is a group of writers in political economy and economics whose origins can be traced to France in the early 1970s. Their work focuses on how historically specific systems of capital accumulation are 'regularized' or stabilized, often with the aid of state intervention.

⁵This has been well documented in Belgium by Fredie Floré, *Lessen in Goed Wonen: Woonvoorzichting in België, 1945-1958* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2010) and Els De Vos, *Hoe zouden we graag wonen? Woonvertoegen in Vlaanderen tijdens de jaren zestig en zeventig* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2012).

⁶While Beatriz Colomina, Annemarie Brennan and Jeannie Kim – through the history of the ballpoint pen, TV dinners, ... – document how technological innovation permeated American life in every aspect and at every scale in their edited book *Cold War Hothouses: Inventing Postwar Culture, from Cockpit to Playboy* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004), Victoria De Grazia eloquently demonstrates how these novel products contributed to the formation of an American consumption society, which took Europe's bourgeois civilization by storm in the twentieth century: *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through 20th Century Europe* (Cambridge, MA/London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005).

⁷See Sibylle Brändli, *Der Supermarkt im Kopf: Konsumkultur und Wohlstand in der Schweiz nach 1945* (Wien: Böhlau, 2000); Emanuela Scarpellini, 'Shopping American-Style: The Arrival of the Supermarket in Postwar Italy', *Enterprise & Society* 5, no. 4 (2004): 625-668; Babette Sluijter, *Kijken is grijpen: Zelfbedieningswinkels, Technische Dynamiek en Boodschappen doen in Nederland na 1945*, doctoral thesis (Eindhoven, 2007); Gideon Haigh, *The Office: A Hardworking History* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2012); Jürriaan Meel, *The European Office: Office Design and National Context* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2000); Dennis Doxtater, *Architecture, Ritual Practice and Co-Determination in the Swedish Office* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1994); Siri Blakstad, *The Scandinavian Office Building 1900-1980* (Trondheim: Trondheim University, 1997); Gert Staal, *Between Dictate and Design: The Architecture of Office Buildings* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1987).

shopping centre has remained largely and conspicuously absent from European architectural history. This historiographical dearth has skewed our understanding of the relation between architecture and modernity. As canonical accounts of post-war architecture and urban planning in Europe commonly depict modernity as a condition that emerged mainly (or even solely) from state initiatives underpinned by strong ideological motivations, for many modernity has become synonymous to emancipatory initiatives in the realm of public housing and government-funded architecture for health, education and leisure. This however only shows one side of the coin. Apart from public authorities, a suite of private actors (sometimes in close collaboration with public stakeholders) defined a different sort of modernity; a modernity that was not experienced through novel dwelling practices or government-funded spaces for health, education or leisure, but rather through spaces imbued with the tantalizing logic of mass consumption. It is this multiplicity of actors and simultaneity of processes of modernization, along with the coexistence of various notions of the modern, that established the very condition of modernity in post-war Europe.

Shopping Towns Europe thus sets out to redress the historiographical imbalance as it widens the perspective beyond state-driven initiatives and engages with commercial modernity. Complementing European accounts on welfare state architecture and American scholarship on the post-war spaces of consumption,⁸ this book demonstrates the profound impact that the shopping centre has had on everyday life in post-war Europe, focusing particularly on how this typology's omnipresent 'other' modernity was paired with an alternative definition of the collective realm, both rhetorically and spatially. In contrast to state-led modernization, which often idealized the collective realm and defined it as a weighty contract between society and the individual, the collectivity of the shopping centre was described in terms of necessity, and (above all) in terms of leisureliness. This alternative definition of the collective realm is also legible in the novel spaces that were created within the shopping centre: from parking lots and plazas to malls and arcades.

Spanning the continent from Finland to Spain and Belgium to Croatia, also including the UK, the sixteen chapters included in *Shopping Towns Europe* are subdivided into three parts. Part 1, 'Urbanism harnessing the consumption-juggernaut: Shopping centres and urban (re)development', connects the emergence of shopping centres in post-war Europe to urban reconstruction efforts and highlights their (often) pivotal role in urban expansion schemes. Part 2, 'Constructing consumer-citizens: Shopping centres shaping commercial collectivity', iterates how shopping centres' novel modern environments were designed to elicit specific (desirable) modern behaviours. They not only enticed visitors to consume, but also encouraged human association, civic education and even cultural formation. Part 3, 'Shifting forms of shopping: Between dense and tall and the low-slung (suburban) shopping

⁸David Smiley, *Pedestrian Modern: Shopping and American Architecture, 1925-1956* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013); Richard Longstreth, *City Center to Regional Mall: Architecture, the Automobile, and Retailing in Los Angeles, 1920-1950* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997); Richard Longstreth, *The Drive-In, the Supermarket, and the Transformation of Commercial Space in Los Angeles, 1914-1941* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999); Richard Longstreth, *The American Department Store Transformed, 1920-1960* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Vicki Howard, *From Main Street to Mall: The Rise and Fall of the American Department Store* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015); Jeffrey Hardwick, *Mall Maker: Victor Gruen, Architect of an American Dream* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

mall', explores the typological variations that emerged and coexisted in post-war Europe as a result of continuing urban versus ex-urban shopping debates.

Urbanism harnessing the consumption-juggernaut: Shopping centres and urban (re)development

Victor Gruen is often called the father of the shopping centre.⁹ An immigrant from Austria who fled the Nazis in 1938, Gruen arrived in the United States just in time to witness the onset of drastic urban transformations. Starting from the 1940s, the construction of hundreds of thousands of new houses, many of which were underwritten by federally financed mortgage insurance, along with the rapid increase in car ownership and federally funded highway construction facilitated the American 'white flight'. For the first time, a powerful interaction between segregation laws and race differences, which were expressed in socioeconomic terms, enabled the white middle classes to abandon inner cities in favour of suburban living. This resulted in an explosive expansion of outlying areas, which were almost exclusively residential and lacking in collective amenity.

Gruen conceived of the shopping centre as a means to redress America's unfettered sprawl. He envisaged the shopping centre to become a 'suburban crystallization' point or 'satellite downtown' that – once several were realized – could develop into a network of nodes, which would not only structure decentralization but also safeguard the commercial viability of the (traditional) city centre.¹⁰ These regional centres, he wrote, '... will by no means decrease the importance of the downtown business district but they will alleviate the unbearable traffic and parking conditions in the downtown area, thus improving shopping conditions'.¹¹

Gruen's most famous shopping centre was Southdale. Built in 1956, it was the first enclosed shopping centre in America – a prototype of the suburban shopping centre type that in twenty short years would come to dominate American retailing. Gathering seventy-two shops and two anchor department stores under one roof, with air conditioning for the summer and heating for the winter, Southdale shopping centre was a sensation – hailed by consumers and exalted by reporters.¹² The early plans for Southdale shopping centre, however, differed significantly from the solitary, climate-controlled commercial container plunked down in Edina, just outside of Minneapolis. Gruen had originally placed the shopping centre at the heart of a tidy 463-acre development, complete with apartment buildings, houses, schools, a medical centre, a park and a lake. He saw Southdale shopping centre as a vehicle to build collectivity in the suburb – a means to foster a shared sense of community. Gruen's grand plans for Southdale were however never realized. No parks or schools or apartments were built, only a big box

⁹Alex Wall, *Victor Gruen: From Urban Shop to New City* (Barcelona: Actar, 2005); Hardwick, *Mall Maker*.

¹⁰Timothy Mennel, 'Victor Gruen and the Construction of Cold War Utopias', *Journal of Planning History* 3, no. 2 (May 2004): 116–150.

¹¹Smiley, *Pedestrian Modern*, 191; Mennel, 'Victor Gruen and the Construction of Cold War Utopias', 137.

¹²Hardwick, *Mall Maker*, 145–147.

in a sea of parking. His nearly utopian socialist dream was built by American capitalists who, with the aid of the American Congress, turned it into a paradise of the liberal economy.¹³

Gruen soon became painfully aware that his dream was slipping away and in 1968, left the United States, gravely disillusioned. He retired from Victor Gruen Associates, the practice he had set up in Los Angeles seventeen years earlier, and returned to Vienna. That same year, he was invited to give a talk in Brussels for the occasion of the Congress on Commerce and Urban Planning. There he noted: 'To me it seems unnecessary, illogical and tragic, that Europe and other regions should repeat the mistakes made in the United States rather than to make use of the new concepts which have arisen from our own shortcomings and our search for better methods.'¹⁴ Gruen's criticism resonated with European proponents of the shopping centre, many of whom had travelled to the United States by the scores on study tours that were organized by federal and local administrations as well as by retailing, planning and design expert organizations. One of the key lessons that these European experts took away from observing declining downtowns in the United States was the need to include the city centres in their reflection. However, not only did North America serve as a source for inspiration, certain European countries also became shopping centre destinations, most notably Sweden.¹⁵

Consumerism found its way to Sweden earlier than to most other European countries. While most parts of the continent only transitioned from crisis to golden age after the Second World War, the economic boom in Sweden started in the mid-1930s and overlapped with the Keynesian politics formulated by the Social Democratic finance minister Ernst Wigforss. He saw consumption as a driving force in society and attributed it a key role in the country's development. As a result, the logic of consumption became firmly embedded in Swedish mid-century architecture and planning.¹⁶ It is then not surprising that one of Europe's pioneering shopping centres was built in Sweden in 1955. Designed by British émigré architect Ralph Erskine, 'Shopping' in Luleå was to create an enjoyable environment for everyone all year round, irrespective of weather conditions, which were very harsh at times, given its location in the northernmost part of Sweden. It offered not only bountiful merchandise and goods, but also entertainment and social spaces, making the shopping centre a natural meeting point for everyone in the city – a city within a city.¹⁷ Opening one year prior to Gruen's Southdale, 'Shopping' in Luleå lays

¹³In 1954, Congress – in an attempt to stimulate investment in manufacturing – made a radical change in the tax rules governing depreciation. It launched a programme called 'accelerated depreciation', which allowed developers to rapidly write off construction of new business buildings and even claim losses against unrelated income. The depreciation deductions were so large that in the first few years after a shopping centre was built, it was almost certainly losing money, at least on paper, as it ensured enormous tax benefits and allowed shopping centre developers to recoup the cost of the investment in a fraction of time. Shopping centres thus became lucrative tax shelters for investors, leading to a 'bonanza' for developers. See Malcolm Gladwell, 'The Terrazzo Jungle', *New Yorker*, 15 March 2004, <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2004/03/15/the-terrazzo-jungle>, accessed 21 April 2016.

¹⁴Cited in Günter Schütze, 'Internationaler Kongress "Handel und Städtebau" in Brüssel', *Der Aufbau* 21, no. 2 (May 1967): 10–12.

¹⁵In 'The Janus-Faced Shopping Center: The Low Countries in Search of a Fitting Shopping Paradigm', published in the *Journal of Urban History* (2016), Janina Gosseye describes the various 'shopping centre excursions' (to both North America and Europe) undertaken by architects, planners and politicians from the Low Countries in an attempt to successfully integrate (or translate) the suburban shopping centre paradigm in (to) Belgium and the Netherlands.

¹⁶Mattsson and Olov-Wallenstein, *Swedish Modernism*.

¹⁷Helena Mattsson, 'Where the Motorways Meet: Architecture and Corporatism in Sweden 1968', in *Architecture and the Welfare State*, eds. Mark Swenarton, Tom Avermaete and Dirk van den Heuvel (London: Routledge, 2014), 159.

claim to being 'the world's first interior shopping center ever built'.¹⁸ However, Sweden's best-known shopping centre, which Gruen and Smith also featured in their 1960 publication *Shopping Towns USA*, had opened one year earlier, in 1954. Vällingby Centrum was a large all-pedestrian open-air shopping centre composed of a collection of low-slung rectangular buildings, one or two storeys high. Apart from shops, these buildings housed the town hall, library, youth centre and also a cinema. Vällingby Centrum was situated at the heart of Vällingby, a new town located fifteen kilometres northwest of Stockholm. Its combination of commercial spaces with administrative, cultural and social venues was believed to add to the appeal of the new town by recreating an imaginary of urban centrality and conviviality, similar to (and prefiguring) Gruen's plans for Southdale.

The aptitude of shopping centres to function as the heart of new towns became generally accepted among politicians and urban planners. It significantly aided the typology's advance through post-war



Figure 1.1 Interior of Luleå shopping centre in Sweden, designed by Ralph Erskine, 1955.
Source: Photograph by Sune Sundahl, Wikimedia Commons.

¹⁸Christopher, 'A Mid-Century Shopping Centre in Northern Sweden', *Ultraswank*, 16 January 2012, <http://www.ultraswank.net/stores/a-mid-century-shopping-centre-in-northern-sweden/>, accessed 21 April 2016.



Figure 1.2 Vällingby Centrum in Sweden, 1957.
Source: Lennart af Petersens, Stockholm City Museum.

Europe. During the war, many buildings had been damaged or destroyed¹⁹ which, combined with depression era slowdowns, led to overcrowding and congestion. New towns were to take the pressure away from congested centres by rehousing people in new, freshly built, fully planned towns that were self-sufficient and provided for the community. Kenny Cupers' chapter 'Shopping à l'américaine' chronicles the story of France, where in 1965 Charles de Gaulle launched the *villes nouvelles* (or 'new towns') programme. Designed to decentralize Paris and entice regional economic development, it relied on shopping centres to imbue these *villes nouvelles* with a much-needed sense of centrality. By forging new relationships between private commercial development and centralized state planning,

¹⁹Jeffrey M. Diefendorf, 'Urban Reconstruction in Europe after World War II', *Urban Studies* 26 (1989): 128–143; John R. Pendlebury, Erdem Erten and P.J. Larkham, *Alternative Visions of Post-war Reconstruction: Creating the Modern Townscape* (London: Routledge, 2015).

Cupers argues that these French new-town shopping centres offered an unparalleled terrain of experimentation, which encouraged architects to not only look at examples from across the Atlantic, but also at 'local', national patterns of consumption. Recounting the case of Évry, a new town approximately twenty-five kilometres south of Paris, Cupers illustrates how these opposing (public versus private) demands and varying references resulted in a true form of transculturation. Apart from examples in the United States, Juhana Lahti similarly cites various European points of reference (including Vällinbgö Centrum in Sweden) for the development of shopping centres in Finland in his chapter 'The 1960s shopping centre grid of Helsinki'. Focusing on three key examples – Munkkivuori, Puotinharju (Puhos) and Tapiola – he demonstrates how post-war Finnish shopping centres, much like the examples from France and Sweden, aspired to become the 'urban' heart of new housing settlements around the Finnish capital. Commonly arranged around a pedestrian street or inner court and surrounded by parking areas and bus stations, each of them was located close to housing areas where a stop along a 'fast tramline', connecting the new settlement to Helsinki's city centre, was envisioned. Munkkivuori, Puotinharju (Puhos) and Tapiola were among the thirty-eight shopping centres that were opened in greater Helsinki between 1959 and 1968. The majority of these had been designated in a shopping centre grid produced by the Helsinki's Regional Planning Association in 1961, the same year that the Ministry of the Interior commissioned a regional plan for Helsinki and its surrounding municipalities. The development of shopping centres in and around the Finnish capital was thus closely tied to the planning of the city's urban growth.

This was also the case in Brussels, as the chapter 'Shopping centres as catalyst for new multifunctional urban centralities' illustrates. Yannick Vanhaelen and Géry Leloutre refute the common assumption that the post-war development of shopping centres around Brussels was the result of a liberal *laissez-faire* policy. Instead, they put forward the hypothesis that even though – contrary to the example of Helsinki – no overall regional plan was produced, shopping centres constructed in the Belgian Capital Region during the 1960s and 1970s served as catalysts for the development of new multifunctional centralities aimed at structuring suburbanization around Brussels. Unravelling the histories of Woluwe shopping centre and Westland shopping centre, Vanhaelen and Leloutre demonstrate how these commercial entities were designed as components of large, mixed-use suburban cores – one to the east of Brussels and one to the west – which apart from retail included housing, offices and a range of public spaces. Similarly to the example of the new town of Évry in the Paris periphery, these mixed-use urban cores around Brussels were co-produced by both public and private actors. As a core element of new urban development, the European shopping centre appears not as a figure of non-interventionist policy, but rather as the site of intentional collaborations, where the contract between the three partners of the European welfare state – government, civic society and the private sector – was continuously negotiated and renegotiated.

Apart from urban expansion and decentralization the shopping centre also became a tool for urban regeneration. Numerous European cities were heavily damaged during the Second World War. The case of Rotterdam is particularly poignant, albeit with a silver lining. To force the Netherlands into early capitulation, the German forces launched an airstrike on Rotterdam on 14 May 1940, destroying more than 11,000 buildings, killing more than 1,000 people and rendering 80,000 homeless. The architectural office of Jo van den Broek and Jaap Bakema was commissioned to design a new centrality on the

wreckage of this fragmented urbanity. It conceived of a linear open-air shopping typology with a department store on either end, which Dirk van den Heuvel analyses in his chapter 'The Lijnbaan in Rotterdam'. Opening in 1953, the construction of the Lijnbaan paralleled that of numerous open-air shopping malls across the United States that were bookended by department stores – a type that became known as the 'dumb-bell mall', referring to the shape of handheld weights.²⁰ However, contrary to the American examples, the Lijnbaan was not a suburban but a decisively urban figure which, van den Heuvel explains, was designed as part of a large, mixed-use urban project that apart from commercial, public and cultural spaces also included a series of high-rise housing slabs along its western edge. Qualified by Lewis Mumford as a 'sound urban form that could be adapted anywhere',²¹ the Lijnbaan became a canonical figure in the history of modern architecture and exemplary for numerous urban regeneration projects in which the shopping centre played a key role.

One of these projects was the reconstruction of the city of Skopje, which is the subject of Jasna Mariotti's chapter 'Displays of modernity'. On 26 July 1963, Skopje was struck by a devastating earthquake, which reduced the majority of its urban fabric to rubble. The office of van den Broek and Bakema was both directly and indirectly involved in the city's reconstruction. In 1964, it was among the eight teams invited to submit a proposal for the city's redevelopment. Although their bid was not successful – Kenzo Tange from Japan together with the team of Miscevic and Wenzler from Zagreb were given the commission – the concepts and ideas that they expressed in their earlier Lijnbaan project did permeate parts of the subsequent design. Following the guidelines set out in the 'Ninth Project', as the master plan by Tange, Miscevic and Wenzler was called, a series of large-scale competitions was organized for different sites in the city, including one for a new City Trade Centre in 1967. This competition was won by Živko Popovski, a young Macedonian architect who had previously worked in the office of van den Broek and Bakema in Rotterdam. His design, a horizontal linear structure, which apart from commercial units also included various public and administrative functions and a series of vertical housing towers, clearly drew upon his experience garnered in the Netherlands. Like the Lijnbaan, it stitched the fragmented urban tissue of the central part of Skopje together through an internal network of streets that connected adjacent public spaces. Both van den Heuvel and Mariotti point out how the shopping centre as a reconstruction project was believed to spatially and symbolically insert the civic values of an open society in the confines of an existing urban condition.

Constructing consumer-citizens: Shopping centres shaping commercial collectivity

In her acclaimed book *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through 20th Century Europe*, Victoria de Grazia chronicles the journey many European countries took after the end of the Second World War '... from the ruins of the bourgeois regime of consumption to the jerry-built foundations of what ... [became]

²⁰Cynthia Overbeck Bix, *Spending Spree: The History of American Shopping* (Minneapolis: Twenty-First Century Books, 2014), 49.

²¹Lewis Mumford, 'The Sky Line. A Walk through Rotterdam', *The New Yorker*, 12 October 1957, 174, cited in Dirk van den Heuvel's chapter in this book.

known as "the mass consumer society".²² Unravelling this journey, de Grazia highlights how in post-war years the European vision of the social citizen became entangled with the American notion of the sovereign consumer as European nations attempted to harness the behemoth of consumerism to forge a new, classless society. The result: the emergence of the 'consumer-citizen'. In Italy, for instance, article 2 of the new constitution that was put into effect on 1 January 1948 asserted: 'it is the duty of the Republic to remove all economic and social obstacles that, by limiting the freedom and equality of citizens, prevent the full development of the individual and the participation of all workers in the political, economic and social organisation of the country'.²³ That same year the Christian Democrat Ludwig Erhard, who was on his way of becoming the German Federal Republic's first minister of economic affairs, reasoned that the 'modern day economy' would be 'neither a free-market system of liberalized buccaneering' nor a 'free interplay of forces', but 'a socially committed market economy conferring the deserved rewards on achievement'.²⁴ This 'socially committed market economy' or *Soziale Marktwirtschaft* was to chart a third way between capitalism and a planned economy; the design of shopping centres in West Germany – as elsewhere in Europe – was to embody it. Given that individual consumers were a force inimical to totalitarianism, shopping centres were deemed the ideal locales to redefine the relationship between the individual and the collective. Here, many believed, a modern community would rise from the rubble of the war like a phoenix from the ashes, while eschewing the all-too extreme versions that such a community could adopt. In his chapter 'Miracles and ruins, citizens and shoppers: Frankfurt 1963', Inderbir Singh Riar details how these aspirations were incorporated in the Frankfurt-Römerberg design by the office of Candilis-Josic-Woods. In 1963 the city of Frankfurt organized an architecture competition to regenerate the mediaeval Römerberg district, which had been levelled by Allied bombing on 22 March 1944. Meandering between the cathedral, the town hall and the Old St Nicholas Church, Candilis-Josic-Woods proposed a 'web' consisting of three stacked decks that contained a mix of functions, including offices, socio-cultural venues, housing, generous car-parking (on two underground levels) and, importantly, shops. This 'web' not only sought to reconstruct a piece of historical urban tissue, but also responded to new urban realities and practices characteristic of the post-war period, including mass retail and automotive mobility.²⁵ It was expected, as Riar illustrates in his chapter, that this 'web' would help citizens emerge from the dark shadows of the past; acclimatize them to the good fortune of the present and, by crafting 'consumer-citizens' who were both socially committed and culturally educated, build a new consumer society for the future.

Also in France consumer-citizens, famously labelled 'the children of Marx and Coca-Cola' by Jean Luc Godard, were given a paramount role in the modernization of society.²⁶ Shopping centres became one of their main arenas and opened up a vast new field of creative experimentation for architects. In 1963, one year prior to entering the Frankfurt-Römerberg competition, the partnership

²²de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire*, 337.

²³Ibid., 339.

²⁴Erhard to Christian Democratic Union Party Congress, 28 August 1948, cited in de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire*, 339–340.

²⁵Avermaete, *Another Modern*, 306–315.

²⁶Rebecca Pulju, *Women and Mass Consumer Society in Postwar France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

of Candilis-Josic-Woods was, for instance, commissioned to design an enormous shopping centre for the new town of Toulouse-Le Mirail in the south of France.²⁷ Presaging their Frankfurt-Römerberg bid, they responded to this programme with a 'web' that wove together different practices and programmes into a continuous patch of urban tissue. Raised on a platform, the complex was based on a five-by-five metre structural grid with technical cores and open spaces regulating the pattern of the design. This resulted in an intricate complex of retail spaces with different heights and sizes. Permeated with the time-logic of mass consumption and tailored to both pedestrian and vehicular traffic – cleverly keeping both separate through grade separation – it created a new public domain for the consumer society. Similar aspirations can be identified in the *centres commerciaux* that Claude Parent designed in France in the late 1960s. In his chapter 'Collectivity in the prison of the plenty', Tom Avermaete describes how Parent, when commissioned to design four shopping centres for the retail chain Goulet-Turpin, proposed an alternative spatial conception which he believed to be more in tune with the new reality of mass consumption and mass production: the *fonction oblique*. It dispensed of the idea that architecture was composed of horizontal and vertical planes, instead introducing the



Figure 1.3 Toulouse-le-Mirail shopping centre, 1970.

Source: Centre d'archives d'architecture du XXe siècle, Fonds Georges Candilis, 236 lfa.

²⁷Avermaete, *Another Modern*, 271–279.

inclined surface to generate a new-fangled experience of space. By dislocating the traditional spatial definitions of the horizontal and the vertical, this oblique architecture, Avermaete suggests, provoked the possibility for a new articulation of the social realm, which could accommodate a new collective of consumer-citizens.

The interaction between the collective and the individual – both in political and in commercial terms – became a key concern in the design of post-war shopping centres that often functioned as physical testing grounds of Europe's third way. The question 'how to create "consumer-citizens"' – a perfect blend of 'socialist' and 'capitalist' concepts of man – was often placed at the centre of the debate. These consumer-citizens, many believed, held the key to the formation of a new, modern post-war society that was devoid of totalitarian overtones. Some critics were quite optimistic and saw the consumer first and foremost as a citizen 'to the extent that he was autonomous and self-determined, and that his autonomy depended on his rational capacities, on his ability firstly to know and define his own needs ... and secondly to pursue them rationally'.²⁸ Others, however, challenged the very possibility of a consumer-citizen and predicated that consumer capitalism created false needs that lulled citizens into complacency. These leftist writers, including Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, saw consumption as a tool of 'mass deception',²⁹ wielded by capitalists consolidating their reigns. The consumer, they argued, was nothing more than a dupe in the hands of capitalist markets – a slave to his own desires.³⁰ Simply put, these debates revolved around what some saw as the inherent opposition between the active, rational citizen who was both socially and politically engaged, and the passive, witless consumer – a needy ninny – unable to distinguish his 'true' needs from his 'false' wants. It is precisely this antagonism that Jennifer Mack challenges in 'Hello, consumer! Skärholmen Centre from the Million Programme to the mall'. Mack's chapter focuses on Skärholmen Centre, the nucleus of a new town on the outskirts of Stockholm, which was festively opened on 8 September 1968. Built on an alliance between commerce and civic functions – a pact that had been embedded in Swedish architecture and urbanism since the mid-1930s – it developed overtly and proudly as both a centrum and a shopping centre. Its inauguration, however, unleashed a debate over the apparent conflict between Social Democratic agendas and the economic variables that shaped Swedish town centres, as Skärholmen's planners were accused of replacing citizens with apathetic consumers. Unravelling its history, Mack's chapter documents how Skärholmen Centre, a space that was depicted by many as overly commercial, paradoxically (even ironically) became a locus of political action. Not the broad offer of consumables but rather the abrupt encounter with the logics of mass consumption provoked autonomous reactions from the inhabitants of Skärholmen and produced a generation of 'critical consumers' – true 'consumer-citizens'.

The architects, planners and politicians involved in the development of the Centre, a large new shopping centre to be built at the heart of the new town of Milton Keynes, were equally hopeful that this

²⁸Don Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), 54.

²⁹Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno formulated the notion of mass consumption as 'mass deception' as early as 1944 in their book *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (The Dialectic of Enlightenment).

³⁰Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity*, 61. See also: Donica Belisle, *Retail Nation: Department Stores and the Making of Modern Canada* (Vancouver/Toronto: UBC Press, 2011), 5.

massive commercial complex would double as a civic centre. Officially opened on 25 September 1979, it was one in a long line of shopping centres located at the heart of new towns that were developed in the UK following the 1946 New Towns Act. In many of these new towns, the concept of the 'town centre' (or 'civic centre') was conflated with that of the 'shopping centre', thus intimately intertwining the public sphere with private interests. Early examples in Britain included Cumbernauld in Scotland (1955), located approximately twenty-five kilometres north-east of Glasgow, and Harlow (1955) and Stevenage (1958), both to the north of London. Similarly to their contemporary Swedish counterparts such as Vällingby and Farsta, these early hybrid centres at the heart of British new towns were often hailed as successful examples of post-war urban planning. In 1959 *Town and Country Planning*, for instance, commended 'the new all-pedestrian town centre of Stevenage' as '... one of the boldest planning and architectural experiments of recent years', stating that 'it is indeed already more than an experiment; it is an achievement'.³¹ One year later, *The Builder* confirmed: '... the town centre [of Stevenage] ... has existed long enough to prove the undoubted success of an all-pedestrian centre and shopping precinct'.³² However, much like it had happened in Sweden, striking the right balance between 'shopping centre' and 'civic centre' became a more precarious exercise in later decades. Just like Skärholmen Centre, Milton Keynes' Centre also accrued significant criticism. Constructed at a turning point from modernism to post-modernism, at a time when Margaret Thatcher's neo-liberal regime was busily undermining (what it saw as) profligate government spending, the Centre's ambiguous position in-between became a point of contention. In her chapter on 'Milton Keynes' Centre', Janina Gosseye unstitches the threads of this dissension. She illustrates how its architects aspired to craft elevated consumer-citizens through the shopping centre's design – its lusciously green arcades, its generous 'public' squares, its inspiring artworks and so on – but were ultimately criticized for failing to do so, or for relying on bygone architectural concepts in their endeavour. However, by wrapping the building in a post-modern jacket of mirror glazing, Gosseye suggests that the architects did hint at the glazed superficiality of Milton Keynes' commodified urban life and ultimately confessed to the civic-centre simulacrum that Milton Keynes' (shopping) Centre offered its new town residents.

As a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement striking the right balance between 'consumer' and 'citizen', 'shopping centre' and 'civic centre' was an even more precarious exercise for post-war Yugoslavia – one that its President, Josip Broz Tito, navigated with aplomb. Acknowledging the power of consumerism as a new opiate for the people, but simultaneously denouncing capitalism, he issued a State Decree in the early 1960s, stipulating that a national retail network was to be established with the financial support of socially owned trading companies and public funds. In their chapter 'Shopping as part of a political agenda', Sanja Matijević Barčot and Ana Grgić study how this Decree played out in Croatia – a country that up until 1991 was an integral part of Yugoslavia. Here, two commercial models popularized between the early 1960s and the late 1970s: the department store on the one hand and the 'peri-urban' shopping centre, which was often located at the heart of new state-financed housing developments, on the other. As part of a governmental agenda and freed from the dictate of profitability,

³¹T. Hampson, 'The Stevenage Town Centre', *Town and Country Planning* 27 (1959): 13.

³²'Stevenage Town Centre', *The Builder* 198 (15 January 1960): 127.



Figure 1.4 Stevenage Town Centre, 1966.
Source: Collectie Het Nieuwe Instituut/Van Eesteren archive/EEST 10.8.

Barčot and Grgić describe how these shopping facilities were to define a novel type of public space in post-war Yugoslavia, the popularity of which was to express the superiority of the country's non-aligned path to modernity.

Contrary to Barčot and Grgić's story, Daniele Vadala's chapter discusses the de-politicization of a commercial model that had emerged under (and had strong ties to) Italy's fascist regime: the downtown department store. Responding to the new constitution that was put into effect on 1 January 1948, the Italian department store was reinvented (and thereby slightly 're-politicized') in post-war years to create democratic spaces of consumption where the collective of consumer-citizens – Italy's emerging

middle-classes – could meet. Tracing the history of La Rinascente-Upim, Vadala's chapter evidences the lead role that this private company played in introducing this novel type of commercial collectivity to Italy. It opened stores not only in major Italian city centres, but also at the heart of smaller towns, where these buildings performed a civic function which, Vadala' claims, was underscored by their architectural design. Blending urban and rural motifs, the neorealist architecture of the La Rinascente-Upim department stores walked a fine line between tradition and modernity, and succeeded in combining mass consumption with a sense of place – commercial values and civic culture. Vadala's chapter underscores, once again, the strong complicity between private and public actors, between market and state, in the definition of new collective spaces for the European city. In the post-war period, the swift modernization that many European countries were experiencing, which rapidly transformed traditional and rural societies into industrialized and urban ones came with the need to redefine notions of collectivity and individuality. The shopping centre and its programme of mass consumption offered not only a contact zone for the negotiation between different societal actors (market, state, civic society) but also a real-life testing ground for new definitions of the collective and the citizen.

Shifting forms of shopping: Between dense and tall and the low-slung (suburban) shopping mall

The term 'shopping centre' is frequently used rather loosely. Since the mid-twentieth century, a long list of definitions has been proffered by a wide variety of authors, including architects, geographers, planners, developers and economists, to qualify precisely what constitutes a 'shopping centre'. In 1951, Geoffrey Baker and Bruno Funaro, for instance, described the shopping centre as: '... a compound of the department store, the rural general store, the downtown shopping block and a traditional street market... usually... under single ownership, a dominating fact which... show[s] itself through a certain architectural unity which ties the stores together'.³³ In 1960 Gruen and Smith, in turn, offered a more free characterization in the opening pages of *Shopping Towns USA*. 'The shopping centre', they wrote, '... represents one of the rare instances in which a number of individual enterprises, in banding together, are ready to submit to certain overall rules in order to further their common welfare.'³⁴ The definition offered by the Urban Land Institute in 1977 aptly combined Baker and Funaro and Gruen and Smith's suggestions, defining the shopping centre as '[a] group of architecturally unified commercial establishments built on a site which is planned, developed, owned and managed as an operating unit related in its location, size, and type of shops to the trade area that the unit serves.'³⁵

The plasticity of these definitions of course allowed great variation, and in post-war Europe the shopping centre concept accordingly assumed many forms, which were often strongly informed by its location: urban versus peri-urban. Contrary to the United States, where between 1945 and 1975

³³Geoffrey Baker and Bruno Funaro, *Shopping Centres: Design and Operation* (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1951), 4.

³⁴Gruen and Smith, *Shopping Towns USA*, 11.

³⁵Urban Land Institute, *Shopping Center Development Handbook* (Washington, DC: Urban Land Institute, 1977), 1.

most shopping centres were built in peri-urban contexts, some of the earliest commercial complexes developed in Europe after the Second World War were constructed at the heart of established, war-torn urban centres.³⁶ In an attempt to re-establish precincts that had been heavily damaged during the war, new, architecturally coherent commercial facilities (which were commonly pedestrianized) were built, which fit the definition of a 'shopping centre'.³⁷ The Frankfurt Römerberg plan developed by the architects trio Candilis–Josic–Woods, discussed in the chapter by Inderbir Singh Riar, offers an excellent example; as does the project proposed by the office of van den Broek and Bakema for the reconstruction of Rotterdam, which is the subject of Dirk van den Heuvel's contribution. Both designs are, however, radically different in form. While Candilis–Josic–Woods proposed a 'web' of three stacked decks, van den Broek and Bakema's Lijnbaan assumed the form of an inner-city dumb-bell mall, bookended by two department stores. One of these department stores, the Bijenkorf, is the subject of Evangelia Tsilika's chapter 'The creation of civic identity in post-war corporate architecture'. Designed by Marcel Breuer, the Bijenkorf (or 'beehive') combined commercial and business functions, with leisure facilities and cultural amenities to create an ever-busy nucleus of activity. It was, Tsilika contends, therefore not a 'typical' iteration of the department store, but a new interpretation of this nineteenth-century concept, adapted to inner-city post-war Rotterdam.

In post-war years, also two distinct peri-urban shopping-centre-types developed in Europe. The first is the shopping centre located at, and defining, the heart of satellite cities or new towns. Several such shopping centres, which were believed to introduce a sense of centrality and urbanity, are discussed in this book: Évry in France (chapter by Kenny Cupers), Munkkivuori, Puotinharju and Tapiola in Finland (chapter by Juhana Lahti), Skärholmen in Sweden (chapter by Jennifer Mack) and Milton Keynes in the UK (chapter by Janina Gosseye). The other peri-urban type that found its way to Europe was the *bona fide* American regional shopping centre: a lone big box with no urban aspirations, commonly built at the junction of major motorways and surrounded by abundant parking lots. The first such peri-urban shopping centre to open in Britain was Brent Cross in 1976. Located at a major traffic intersection, it not only followed the American planning pattern, but also adopted the typical dumb-bell plan formula, running east to west, parallel to the North Circular Road, with the two largest stores at either end. The first of this type to open on the continent was the Main Taunus Zentrum near Frankfurt, which is the subject of Steffen de Rudder's chapter 'The shopping centre comes to Germany'. Discussing various

³⁶By the mid-1950s, three main types of shopping centres had been identified: neighbourhood centres, community centres and regional centres. The distinction between these three types was informed by the size of the centre, together with related function, tenant mix and catchment area. Broadly speaking, neighbourhood and community centres served local residential populations and predominantly featured convenience stores, while regional centres provided a much wider range of goods and services and were generally located close to major road intersections in order to serve a larger catchment population. See Clifford M. Guy, 'Classifications of Retail Stores and Shopping Centres: Some Methodological Issues', *GeoJournal* 45 (1998): 255–264. More detailed descriptions of these three types can be found in John Dawson, *Shopping Centre Development* (London/New York: Longman, 1983), 17–26. In his book, Dawson argues for an extension of this traditional three-tier classification, arguing that due to the American shopping centre's 'movement towards the development of downtown centres', questions must be posed regarding the comprehensiveness of the existing taxonomy.

³⁷In Britain, examples of such post-war regeneration projects can be found in Coventry, Plymouth and Southampton. See R.L. Davies and D.J. Bennison, *British Town Centre Shopping Schemes: A Statistical Digest* (Reading: Unit for Retail Planning Information, 1979), 192.

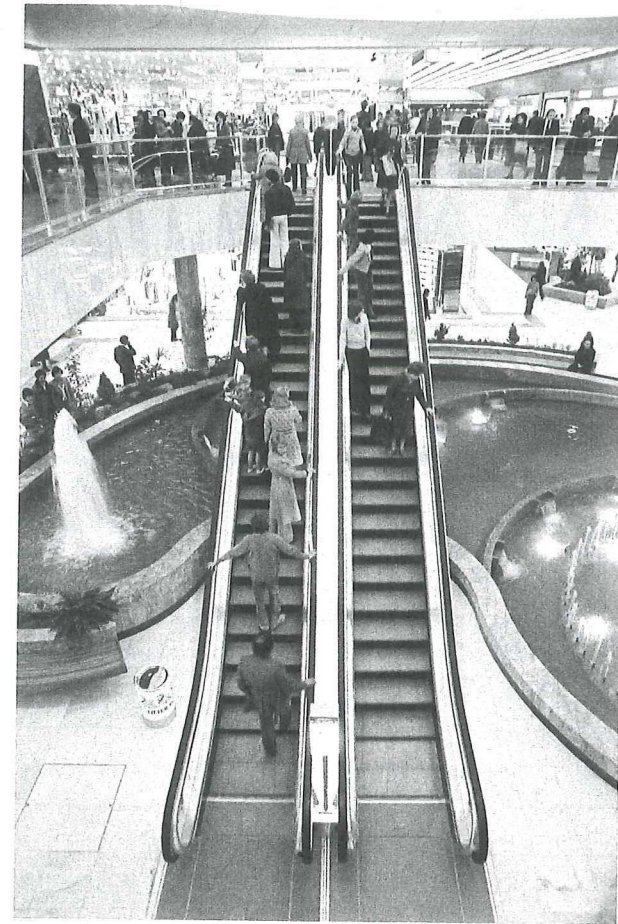


Figure 1.5 Brent Cross Shopping Centre in Britain, 1976.
Source: Graham Wood/Stringer, Hulton Archive.

aspects of its design, including location, accessibility, influences and architecture, de Rudder examines to what extent this shopping centre resembled its American ancestors and how (or if) it was adapted to West German society.

Ironically, even before the Main Taunus shopping centre opened on 2 May 1964, debates began on how the development of such peri-urban American-inspired commercial centres could be prevented in the future. In the mid-1960s, the scene in Germany seemed set for the rapid growth of big-box regional shopping centres. Only six months after the Main Taunus Zentrum opened, another free-standing, car-oriented consumer-leviathan landed in Bochum: the Ruhrpark Zentrum. These two developments led to proposals for a further eighty-one such shopping centres to be built in the country over the following ten years. However, in 1966 developers, faced with increasing opposition from regional planning authorities, quickly cancelled all such speculative plans. Nonetheless, despite the dramatic halt in the expansion of this type of out-of-town centres, peri-urban shopping centres that were integrated

in existing urban fabrics (of smaller towns) or used in city expansion plans did continue to grow and in 1972, sixteen were operational in Germany.³⁸ Olaf Gisbertz discusses several such cases in his chapter 'Built for mass consumption'. This German trend was representative of what happened in most parts of Europe. Given European land use planners' objections to American-style regional centres, developers sought alternative avenues and, as a result, many shopping centres were integrated in existing urban areas as part of a controlled provision of decentralized retailing within (growing) cities and towns. Also in Britain, the fact that only one of these 'American' big-box shopping centres (Brent Cross) was built in the period under investigation in this book – actually just beyond the period under investigation – was in a large measure due to negative attitudes towards such large-scale out-of-town retail developments.³⁹

Around the mid-1960s, like a pendulum, the shopping centre returned to the historic European downtown, where it became an important 'tool' for urban revitalization. In this period many European city centres experienced social and spatial decay owing to the suburban flight of (mostly) well-to-do families with children and to structural underinvestment in both the development and the maintenance of the historic urban fabric. Against this background, the shopping centre was called upon for its (assumed) capability to renew the city and re-establish urban vitality. Also, commonly set up as public-private partnerships, these inner-city shopping centre schemes attempted to lure private investors back to the city. In the UK this (re)turn to the city first manifested itself in Birmingham where the Bull Ring shopping centre, designed by architects Sydney Greenwood and T.J. Hirst, opened in 1964.⁴⁰ In 'The drive to modernise', Jo Lintonbon unravels the history of this commercial complex, which was 'complex' in every way. A pioneer in its field, the Bull Ring not only had to overcome the complexities of dealing with the existing urban fabric while ensuring optimal car accessibility to the centre, but – as a public-private enterprise – also had to balance the civic and commercial aspirations for the site while ensuring optimal returns for all retailers in the centre, which were incidentally spread across five levels.

Shortly after the Bull Ring opened, the Elephant and Castle scheme in London (1965), the Merrion shopping centre in Leeds (1965) and the first of the town centre Arndale schemes in Doncaster (1968) followed suit. Like the Bull Ring, these were the forerunners of a subsequent decade of plans preoccupied with town centre revitalization and environmental improvement.⁴¹ A famous example – or perhaps rather 'infamous' example, as large parts of the old city were demolished to enable its construction – of such a commercial revitalization project in the Netherlands is Hoog Catharijne in Utrecht. Officially opened on 24 September 1973, this shopping centre is generally considered a *magnum opus* of Dutch urban renewal. Apart from shopping, it included a large office complex and featured several elevated pedestrian walkways that connected various city functions, including the train station. As such, Hoog Catharijne was believed to create a completely novel urban core, befitting a modern (consumer) society. The lavish interior, which also accommodated roof gardens with an

³⁸G. Shaw, *Retail Development and Structural Change in West Germany* (Corbridge, Northumberland: Retail and Planning Associates, 1978), 37, cited in Dawson, *Shopping Centre Development*, 25–26.

³⁹Dawson, *Shopping Centre Development*, 26.

⁴⁰Davies and Bennison, *British Town Centre Shopping Schemes*, 192.

⁴¹Ibid.



Figure 1.6 The Clarentuin with olive trees in Hoog Catharijne, 1973.
Source: Collectie Het Nieuwe Instituut/Wiekart archive/WiekfL25.

aviary, an art gallery and even a small theatre, was believed to insert a sense of modern urbanity in the very heart of the historical city. As Dutch critic J. Petri noted: 'Whereas in most cases the exploding metropolis is accompanied by a relative decline of the city centre ... at present Utrecht stands a good chance of becoming ... the modern, expansive sub-city of the Randstad Holland.'⁴² Contrary to early post-war inner-city redevelopment schemes – such as the Frankfurt-Römerberg plan and the Lijnbaan in Rotterdam – which were open-air, largely horizontal and at times a bit diffuse, the 1960s and 1970s revitalization schemes, such as the Bull Ring and Hoog Catharijne, were predominantly enclosed, high-density and multi-level complexes. Their goal was not to reconstruct the city but to endow it with a new, modern urbanity from within.

⁴²H. Cammen, Len Klerk, Gerhard Dekker, P.P. Witsen and Michael O'Loughlin, *The Selfmade Land: Culture and Evolution of Urban and Regional Planning in the Netherlands* (Houten: Spectrum, 2012), 25.

In their chapter 'Malls and commercial planning policies in a compact city', Nadia Fava and Manel Guardia illustrate how also in post-Franco Spain the shopping centre became part and parcel of a programme for 'commercial renewal' of the historical city, albeit with a bit of delay. Fava and Guardia illustrate how the norms and forms of the shopping centres in the city of Barcelona resonated with the dominant modes and models of contemporary urban renewal. The design principles of shopping centres and the discourse on urban renewal went hand in hand, focusing alternatively on issues of public space, infrastructure and the 'compact city'. In Spain, just as in other parts of Europe, the shopping centre thus became entrusted with the challenging task of re-energizing the urban condition. Politicians, planners, architects and citizens all placed great faith in the capacity of the shopping centre to modernize the historical city.

Unravelling

The saga of the shopping centre that is relayed in the pages of this book strongly challenges the current canonical image of post-war European architecture, urbanism and planning. The various chapters illustrate that architectural modernity in Europe was not only a matter of state-led initiatives in the realm of housing, leisure and culture, but was also strongly indebted to joint public-private commercial developments. For many European citizens the shopping centre exemplified the quintessential everyday modern living environment. It was not restricted to particular sites but was ubiquitous – a pervasive modernity. In Europe, the shopping centre not only adopted the identity of the lone capitalist wolf that lurked at the intersection of major traffic corridors, but frequently also became the civic 'core' of suburban precincts, satellite cities and new towns, and often even assumed the appearance of the 'urban patch' as it ventured into the very heart of established historical cities. In all of these different loci, the shopping centre, in the various guises that it assumed, was not only part and parcel of urban development – engaging alternatively with practices and discourses of urban reconstruction, urban expansion, urban planning and urban renewal – but also introduced a modernity that would be intensely experienced and practised by large numbers of European citizens. The shopping centre thus offered Europeans a new reality that reshaped their values, perceptions and desires and, most importantly, set the stage for the radical redefinition of their collective and personal identities. In 1970, in his seminal study *La Société de Consommation: Ses Mythes, ses Structures*, French philosopher Jean Baudrillard critically pegged the shopping centre as 'a sort of summit of the urban process, a true social laboratory and melting pot where "the collectivity" reinforces its cohesion, as in feasts and performances'.⁴³ In this convergence between collective identity and consumption lies not only one of the main features of post-war culture, but also the importance of the architecture of the European shopping centre.

⁴³Jean Baudrillard, *La Société de Consommation: Ses Mythes, ses Structures* (Paris: Denoel, 1970), 265. The original text reads: 'une sorte de sommet de ce procès urbain, un véritable laboratoire et creuset social, où "la collectivité" (Durkheim, dans *Les Formes Élémentaires de la Vie Religieuse*) renforce sa cohésion, comme dans les fêtes et les spectacles.' The translation in *The Consumer Society* reads: 'a kind of pinnacle of this urban process, a positive laboratory and social testing ground, where, as Durkheim writes in *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, the collectivity reinforces its cohesion, as in feasts and spectacles.' Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society, Myths and Structures* (London: Sage Publications, 1998), 166.

However, the saga of the post-war European shopping centre was all but eternal. The foundations of the invigorating European welfare state regime, which had been instrumental in harnessing capitalism's consumption-juggernaut, started to shake in 1972 when the so-called Club of Rome published their influential book *The Limits to Growth* and finally began to crumble when Margaret Thatcher was elected British prime minister in 1979.⁴⁴ In 1975, in between these two defining events, the European Economic Community (the predecessor of the European Union) voted its first resolution for consumer protection.⁴⁵ As the power equilibrium between public sector, private sector and civic society began to shift, it became clear that citizens would no longer be capable of acting as autonomous consumers. Abandoned to the whims of corporate capitalism, they were increasingly seen as vulnerable subjects that needed to be protected. The salad days of welfare state ideals and commercial interests merrily going hand in hand were over. The ties were unravelled. Previously a prime physical manifestation of the welfare contract (or consensus) between state and market, the shopping centre now increasingly became the exclusive domain of private developers and its design was more often than not reduced to a formulaic collection of stores with little to no ambitions of influencing urban conditions and communal activities.

In some European countries the changing character of the shopping centre sparked criticism vis-à-vis both new and existing commercial developments. In the Swedish case of Skärholmen, which strongly expressed the ideology of individual liberation through consumption, architecture became a target in the general questioning of the Swedish model of the welfare state. Similarly, in the new town of Milton Keynes the built form of the shopping centre came to be considered as the ultimate expression of the failure of the British post-war welfare state. Also in the Dutch public debate the architecture of shopping centres like Hoog Catharijne was heavily criticized for its incapacity to engender the urbanity that its designers had promised. Writing about the Utrecht shopping centre in 1972, a Dutch journalist concluded: 'The heart of the city is dead.'⁴⁶ The final *coup de grâce* came from the father of the shopping centre himself. In 1978, less than two decades after his propagation of the shopping centre as an urban organism,⁴⁷ Victor Gruen gave a keynote address entitled 'Shopping Centres, Why, Where, How?' at the Annual European Conference of the International Council of Shopping Centers in London. In his talk, Gruen forever closed the chapter on the particular character of the post-war European shopping centre by typecasting its most recent manifestations as expressions 'of the effort of substituting naturally and organically grown mixtures of various urban expressions by an artificial and therefore sterile order'.⁴⁸ The three-decade saga of *Shopping Towns Europe* had reached its end.

⁴⁴Donella H. Meadows, et al., *The Limits to Growth: A Report for the Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind* (New York: Universe Books, 1972); Aditya Chakraborty, 'The Welfare State, 1942–2013, Obituary', *The Guardian*, 8 January 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jan/08/welfare-state-1942-2013-obituary>, accessed 7 May 2016.

⁴⁵The Council Resolution of 14 April 1975 on a preliminary programme of the European Economic Community for a consumer protection and information policy constituted the formal inauguration of consumer protection policy at EU level.

⁴⁶Hoog Catharijne: 'Modern Winkel – en Werk Hart (1973)', Het Utrechts Archief, <http://www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl/educatie/basis-onderwijs/onderwerpen/hoog-catharijne>, accessed 7 May 2016.

⁴⁷Victor Gruen, *The Heart of Our Cities, The Urban Crisis: Diagnosis and Cure* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964).

⁴⁸Victor Gruen, 'Shopping Centres, Why, Where, How?', Third Annual European Conference of the International Council of Shopping Centres, Hilton Hotel London, 28 February 1978: 1–18. VGC Box 32, Loose, 12, cited in: Paul Edwards, 'Reimagining the Shopping Mall: European Invention of the "American" Consumer Space', *U.S. Studies Online: The BAAS Postgraduate Journal* 7 (Spring 2005), <http://www.baas.ac.uk/issue-7-spring-2005-article-1/#65>, accessed 8 May 2016.