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The logic of movement: Consumption logistics on the Las Vegas Strip

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THE LOGIC OF MOVEMENT: CONSUMPTION LOGISTICS ON THE LAS VEGAS STRIP

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ABSTRACT

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The omnipresence of consumption in advanced societies is indisputable; spaces designed to facilitate consumption (or means of consumption) are one aspect of that presence. On the surface, these spaces appear to be quite harmless *dreamworlds* full of possibilities, but at another level they are highly instrumental, composed of various mechanisms that work to sell commodities through the manipulation of consumer behavior. I argue that consumption spaces express a logic of movement, and a consumption logistics, that is based on the commodity form and relatable to warfare that works to domesticate consumers into the commodity system. I engage in an exploratory study of these logistics on the Las Vegas Strip using the related concepts of *network* and *flow*. Logistics becomes an activity and consumption space a *field of activity* in which consumers submit to the logistical demands of designers. I argue, finally, that consumers need to re-discover *fluidity* and take a more active role in consumption space.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND CONCEPTUALIZATIONS

Perhaps the most important social development in the last one hundred years or so is the rise of consumer society. Baudrillard ([1970] 1998) has described this development as "a fundamental mutation in the ecology of the human species." (25) In the contemporary moment, the commodity system, its technologies, structures and techniques, its associated activities, and the ideology that supports it has become quite possibly the most important factor influencing the development of human life. As Steven Miles (1998) has argued:

> How we consume, why we consume, and *the parameters laid down for us within which we consume* [emphasis added] have become increasingly significant influences on how we construct our everyday lives. (1)

The development of the productive apparatuses of our society, the pervasiveness of commodities, all the spectacular productive output, has spawned both spatial and socio-psychological changes in the entire commodity system to the point that some argue capitalism has reached a new developmental stage (see Featherstone 1991and Bocock 1993). A consequence of this development is that we see the emergence of apparatuses that work to produce consumption (see Ritzer 2005). One of the ways through which

consumption is produced is through what I will call a *logic of movement*, a logistical and physical connecting (even a collision) of consumer with commodity.

This thesis is an exploratory study into the *logic of movement* in consumption space. Although I will define it more fully below, consumption space is the space in which commodities are exchanged for money, the space in which commodities circulate, and the space concerned with the production of consumption. The logic of movement, as I define it, involves a conception of *flow* (essentially directed mobility) (see Urry 2000a) and a conception of *consumption logistics.* Logistics, being the process or activity of managing and controlling flows, is also a science of control, coordination and integration of complex kinetic systems; consumption logistics, then, refers to the science of the control of flows in consumption space.

The exploration involves a participant observation of flows in consumption space on the Las Vegas Strip. My method of exploration is a triangulation of participant and naturalistic observation methods informed by psychogeography and dérive (I will fully explain these terms in the methods section). This combination allows for a mobile technique of observation, making it a moving *exploration* rather than a static *observation*. The exploration is also supplemented with photographic data and an analysis of maps that focuses on functionality in terms of flows within and through various structures on the Las Vegas Strip.

What follows are important conceptualizations used to explore consumption space; these concepts encompass my initial theoretical understanding of that space and the logic of movement in general, and my theoretical approach to the

field. In the first section, drawing from Augé (1995), Castells (1996), and Urry (2000a; 2000b), I explore the concept of flow and define it as an interaction between fluidity and structure. Then I conceptualize and describe the network-like character of social space and consider a number of ways through which the study of social space can be approached using these concepts. In the next section, drawing from Virilio ([1977] 1986; [1984] 2006) and Lefebvre (1991), I develop a war model of consumption space where I show that consumption and the commodity form are both related to a logic of warfare, that consumption space can be related to the idea of territory, and that consumeristic training in consumption space suggests a logic of warfare in the form of domestication (see Virilio [1977] 1986; [1984] 2006). I use these ideas to justify a tactical exploration of consumption space that understands logistics as a military science applied to consumption space.

Structure, Agency and Flow

John Urry (2000a) argues, essentially, that sociologists should dismantle the idea of *society* (even though it seems to be the ultimate sociological concept). Instead, he conceives of a sociology that focuses on *flows*, *mobilities*, and *movements* of people, objects (of all types), capital, images, information, etc., a sociology "organized around [the study of] networks, and horizontal fluidities," one that moves beyond the static conception of bounded societies. All of these concepts, but especially *flow* and *network*, are argued to transcend the common

idea of *society*.[1] For instance, the sun never sets on Disney. By this I mean that the Disney Corporation and its associated *scape* (see Urry 2000a) is a worldwide phenomenon (see Fjellman 1992 and Bryman 2004). Global conglomerates like Disney tend to extend beyond borders and beyond certain limits that have traditionally been associated with the study of societies as bounded entities.

Not only do these ideas complicate that of the bounded society but also, arguably, that of agency. For instance, Urry (2000a) conceives of humans as active only in and through interactions with objects in space; as such actors are hybridic entities and can only act *as hybrids*:

> Because of the significance of inhuman hybrids I do not deploy conceptions of agency that specifically focus upon the capacities of humans to attribute meaning or sense to follow a social rule. This is not to suggest that humans do not do such things, not to suggest that humans do not exert agency. But they only do so in circumstances which are not of their own making; and it is those circumstances—the enduring and increasingly intimate relationship of subjects *and* objects—that are of paramount importance. This means that the human and the physical worlds are elaborately intertwined and cannot be analyzed separately from each other, as society and nature, or humans and objects. (Urry 2000a:14)

If we accept that agency can only come about through interactions with objects, that these objects constitute circumstances, even constraints, within and through

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[1] Most of these concepts do transcend the idea of bounded societies but they do not go so far as to transcend that of social structure as we shall see.

which actors must act, then we can assume that agency is subject to a measure of control through objects, their positions or their *arrangement*, in space.

Networks

The concept of network is pervasive in the literature on flows and this is because networks are conceived of as the spatio-material forms, or the infrastructure, along which flows move. For instance, *the* unit of sociology, and the basic shape of the social, for Castells (1996), is the network. In the simplest terms a network is a connection (or people, institutions, corporations, machines, etc.), all of which can be conceived of as networks themselves depending on the level of abstraction. For example, Castells (1996) defines a network as a set of interconnected *nodes*, and Lynch (1960) defines nodes as junctions, concentrations or convergences of paths and various other elements of a city, essentially spaces *within a city* where objects and flows intersect or come together, but Castells (1996) is referring to larger networks in which *cities themselves* are considered nodes. Furthermore, Urry (2000a, 200b) puts forward the idea of *scape* perhaps to deal with this complexity:

> *Scapes* are the networks of machines, technologies, organizations, texts and actors that constitute various interconnected nodes along which *flows* can be relayed. (35, 193)

The idea of scape is suggestive of higher order macro networks or networks *of* networks while at the same time allowing for more nuanced descriptions of nodes at a micro scale. As a result, the concept of scape allows us to analyze the full range of this new conception of social space in the network, from the smallest

nodes (a telephone for example) to the largest scape (the world-wide telephone system) in their integrated complexity.

Flow

Flows are completely integral to the idea of networks. Networks do not make much sense, except as completely pulseless things, without flows as networks are the material elements that support flows and along which flows move (Castells 1996). Flow, as defined here, is the result of directed *fluidity*. A fluid is defined as a substance that has no fixed shape but that tends to conform to external forces. Fluidity, then, is pure potential for movement or a type of potential energy. Pure fluidity without external force is a completely static concept. Flow, then, is the result of an interaction between this potential energy and external force, in other words, fluidity is shaped into flows (Figure 1.). In a more sociological sense we have Urry's (2000a) concept of mobility which is a potential for social movements or potential social energy. Social flows (of capital, information, symbols, signals, images, objects, commodities, people, and so on) not only affect the social but are, according to Castells (1996) and Urry (2000), manifestations of the social itself and the outcome of *dominant* social processes; flows as well as networks are shaped and shaping entities engaged in a constant and convoluted interaction.

It would appear that flow is a very simple idea, but as Urry (2000) admits, conceptualizing flow is neither easy nor straightforward. To use Lefebvre's (1991) terminology, flows are hyper-complex. Every object moves at some level; we live in an environment of more or less constant movement. The most static object, a

rock for instance, does move both at the level of its atomic structure and also as it is worn down and eroded over time and as it is generally moved about by more mobile entities. These ideas take us full scale into problems of relativity, inertia, and into other problems with conceptualizing movements and flows that are beyond the scope of this paper. But, a simple way to think of it all is in terms of movement and its fundamental relation to stasis:

> Around the living organism, both those energies which it captures and those which threaten it are mobile: they are 'currents' or 'flows'. By contrast, in order to capture available energies the organism must have at its disposal apparatuses which are stable. (Lefebvre 1991:206)

Organisms must be able to affect flows in their environment in order to collect energies and in order to survive, but they also must engage in counter-flows, movements that result in interactions with other objects and flows. In this way they must first organize internal flows, and direct or organize a series of motions and energies towards exteriority. Flow is, in this way intimately tied to notions of control especially from a biological and social perspective.

Figure 1. *Model of Flow*

For Castells (1996) the social is structured around a "space of flows", a medium through which actors act and interact. And this conception of the social can be related to Lefebvre's (1991) conception of social space as being composed of fixed points, movements, and flows, also connections, pathways, networks, and conduits over which objects, energies, signals and information move. There are three integral levels or layers of the space of flows: The first is the network, the material infrastructure, "the ensemble of elements supporting...flows"; the second refers to the *places* of the space of flows, (the nodes, hubs, exchangers, etc.) these places are the loci of strategically important functions and activities while at the same time being important connections and connectors that work to coordinate, integrate and direct flows; the third level of the space of flows involves successive networks of managerial and technocratic elites that hope to manipulate the shape of the space of flows in order to realize their various interests in social reality (Castells 1996:412-415). Even in its relation to structure, the social is understood as a field of constant activity. In Castells' (1996) conceptualization of the space of flows, not only do we have a theory that artfully combines, in a accessible way, the main concepts in the study of flow, but we also find the important idea that structures are structured by social actors, meaning that structures are moved and arranged in order to affect flow and, by extension, social reality.[2]

[2] This idea becomes important when we begin to conceptualize logistics as the art and science, essentially the *activity* of controlling flows.

The Network City

The theorists of flow (see Virilio [1977] 1986, Augé 1995, Castells 1996 and Urry 2000), always describe the city as a network-like space of constant movement and circulation. For Kaika and Swyngedouw (2000), who draw from Deluze and Guattari, the city is a space in flux, a "nexus" composed of circuits and conduits, in short, a network. And to go further, the city as network is only definable through movements:

> ...[the city] exists only as a function of circulation...[it] imposes a frequency. It effects a polarization of matter, inert, living or human; it causes the phylum, the flow, to pass through specific places, along horizontal lines. It is a phenomenon of transconsistency, a network... (Deluze and Guattari 1997: 313)

Castells (1996) argues that the "informational city" is not a static structure, not a *form* at all, but a dynamic *process* structured through and organized around the logic of networks in the space of flows (398). For Herwig and Holzherr (2006) the evolution of the city throughout the modern era, its expansion into the metropolis, and its development as a technocratic dream-world, was intimately tied to the effects of increased mobility, circulation and flows. Finally, for Virilio ([1977] 1986) the city is an "agglomeration" organized around and penetrated by material and informational conduits (rivers, roads, railways, electronic circuits), a space of what he calls "*habitable circulation*" (6), and a space of constant movement (Kellner N.d.:2). As a cluster of conduits (both natural and artificial) the city is also a *strategic node* in larger networks of flows; in fact it is this strategic aspect

of particular spaces (the existence of rivers, estuaries, valleys, etc) that leads to the establishment of cities in the first place as they are always "important knot[s] of communication..." (Virilio [1977] 1986)

Analyzing Networks and Flows

Keeping the logic of networks in mind, It is possible, as Baudrillard ([1981] 2006) does, to interrogate the city in terms of its nodes. Baudrillard ([1981] 2006) argues that the emergence of hypermarkets (large hybridized shopping centers, essentially consumption nodes) have had a major effect on the structure of the city; they have been integral in what might be called a disintegration of the city center or even *networkization* of the city itself.

> ...new cities are *satelized* by the hypermarket or the *shopping center*, serviced by a programmed traffic network, and cease being cities to become metropolitan areas. A new morphogenesis has appeared that comes from the cybernetic kind...and whose form is nuclear and satellitic. The hypermarket as *nucleus*. (Baudrillard [1981] 2006)

At least as major shopping nodes, the hypermarkets force a particular flow, "an immense to-and-fro movement totally similar to that of suburban commuters..." (Baudrillard [1981] 2006) And the hypermarket, much like the city, is intimately connected to the road, and is a function of circulation; shopping malls, for instance, are known to spring up around important transportation hubs, traffic flow being a very real factor influencing where they are built (see Shields 1992). Furthermore, hypermarkets can only operate in relation to the already functional network of the city even at the same time as they work to tear it apart and

organize it under a new logic. As a node, the hypermarket is inseparable from the larger urban network; an advantage of this is that it constitutes a site from which to observe aspects of that network. Or as Baudrillard ([1981] 2006) notes:

> The hypermarket cannot be separated from the highways that surround and feed it, from the parking lots blanketed in automobiles, from the computer terminal—further still in concentric circles—from the whole town as a total functional screen of activities. (76)

Thus, as conjunctions of *various* flows, the hypermarkets do not only form transportational nodes, but also important informational, symbolic (consumerist) and economic (distribution, exchange, consumption) nodes.

The city, during what Augé ([1992] 1995) has called the contemporary era of *supermodernity*, is completely occupied by transitional spaces of ejection, circulation and pure mobility. These are the *non-places* of supermodernity, meaning that there is no "organic society", only a purely transitory one that is, at best, completely fleeting (Augé [1992] 1995).[3] Augé manages to interrogate supermodernity in terms connections and transitional spaces; as a result even the nodes of larger networks are described as network-like. These non-places include all "the installations needed for accelerated circulation of passengers and goods...," the networks and conduits of transportation (land, sea, and air) and their associated spaces such as cockpits, cabins, and stations, hotels (especially motels), resorts, sites of retail and shopping (especially shopping centers and

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[3] It is not exactly clear what Augé means by organic society; there are many examples of nomadic societies that can be considered organic. For instance Constant ([1974] 1996) conceives of just such a society in constant movement.

malls), and even the expanse of electronic connections and digital networks (Augé [1992] 1995). The paradigmatic non-places of supermodernity are airports and train stations, As Virilio ([1984] 2005) notes:

> The airport is nothing but a projector, a site of accelerated ejection... In fact, between the automobile, the escalator, the plane cabin, we pass from one technological vehicle to another without any significant transition... Already, the distance between the lift, the underground, or the train is bridged by the moving walkway...tomorrow, from one machine to another, there will be nothing but vast vaguely inhabited terrains.

The War Model of Consumption

The technological critic Paul Virilio ([1977] 1986) argues that the social has developed in an environment of speed and warfare, through the means of transportation, destruction and defense; this has been termed a "war model of growth", or arguably, the "military conception of history" in which the shift into full scale capitalism "was not an economic transformation but a military, spatial, political, and technological metamorphosis." (Armitage 2000:3) Kellner (N.d.) argues that, in Virilio's war model, Marxian economic determinism is replaced with "a form of military-technological determinism." (6) Virilio (1994) explains, however, that the two vectors of social development (military and economic) are not divergent but rather parallel and complementary.[4] Along these same lines,

[4] Marx was actually well aware of the importance of warfare for the development of industrial capitalism as Lefebvre (1991) notes: "...wage labour, machinery etc. develop earlier, owing to war and in the armies etc., than in the

Lefebvre (1991) notes that "the centuries-old space of wars...became the rich and thickly populated space that incubated capitalism", and that warfare, especially during the very beginning of the industrial revolution, was an activity of accumulation, colonization and expansion (276). This connection can perhaps also be evidenced by the argument that capitalism had somehow changed after World War II, a metamorphosis (from industrial to consumer capitalism) linked to the increased productive output that had been spawned by the war itself (see Featherstone 1991; Bocock 1993; Ritzer 1998; Miles 1998; Patterson 2006).

These two spheres of social life are inextricably linked in their central logics, technical control and manipulation. For instance, as Virilio (1994) argues, war always strives to re-create forces of nature at ever larger, more powerful, directed and controllable scales; war is essentially an art of simulating and redirecting nature's energies. "Nowhere else is there evidence of a more violent Promethean will...", he writes, "the warmachine as the archetype of the industrial machine." (Virilio 1994:43) In terms of logistics, warfare seems to be the proving ground through which techniques are developed not only to control the movements of the population but also various economic flows.[5] Distribution of commodities, and advertisements can be linked to the distribution of raw materials, fuel and projectiles (in terms of advertising, the consumer is defined in terms of "target populations").

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interior of bourgeois society. The relation of production force and relation of exchange also especially vivid in the army." (Marx [1939] 1978: 244)

[5] Leong (2001e) notes that Sears, Roebuck & Company managed to hire William "Gus" Pagonis (deputy commanding general for logistics at the time of the Persian Gulf war) to oversee their logistical operations.

A logic of war also seems to exist in the commodity form itself. The commodity, as soon as it is produced as a commodity, as Marx ([1932] 1964) argues, begins to appear as a *force opposed to humans*; this alienation that arises in the production process finds its full expression through its circulations in the exchange nexus:

> ...*alienation* of the worker in his product means not only that his labor becomes and object, an *external* existence, but that it exists *outside him*, independently, as something alien to him, and that it becomes a power on its own confronting him. (108)

Baudrillard ([1970] 1998) had expressed the same sentiment when discussing the apparent dynamism of commodities:

> Objects are neither a flora or a fauna. And yet they do indeed give the impression of a proliferating vegetation, a jungle...which man has produced and which come[s] back to encircle and invade him. (25)

And, commodities oppose each other in the market as they are essentially materialized competition:

> ...its body come alive..., it stands up and addresses itself to others, first of all to other commodities, its fellow beings in phantomality, it faces them or opposes them, for the specter is social, it is even engaged in competition or in a war as soon as it makes its first apparition. (Derrida 1994:4)

In light of this, Derrida (1994) conceives of the exchange nexus as a front, "a front among fronts, a confrontation," (7) where not only do people confront

objects, but where objects confront other objects, and people confront people.[6] In all of these ways, it should come as no surprise that contemporary spaces of consumption, the spaces of exchange and of the commodity, appear to be very much like, and understandable as extensions of, the space of war.

Space, Consumption Space and Territory

The concept of space is hypercomplex, as Lefebvre (1991) writes. It is first and foremost a "field of action" and a "basis of action"; as a field of action it is a medium within and through which actors act, and as a basis of action it is the origin and object of socially significant actions and physical energies (Lefebvre 1991:191). The concept of *space* conjures up visions of an empty void, or some type of formless volume. Social space, on the other hand always implies some activity that gives it a social meaning. For instance, Leong (2001b) conceives of *shopping* as an activity through which market forces (and consumers themselves) are able to give shape to *shopping spaces*. Social space proper is actually a hyperintegrated collection of disparate types of space oriented to or defined by various activities that tend to flow with, against, and in-between one another (cyber-space, shopping space, production space, etc.); social spaces are combined, delineated, and superimposed upon one another as those associated activities interrelate (Lefebvre 1991). As a result we can begin to define (or at least distinguish) different types of social spaces in terms of the activities that take place in them.

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[6] We can simply think of the almost warlike scenes that can be observed all over consumption space on black Friday.

There are two related types of social space that Lefebvre (1991) discusses: *abstract* and *dominated* space. For Lefebvre (1991) power manifests in space through violence that is directed at space, and this violence entails and brings with it a particular brand of rationality; "that of accumulation, that of bureaucracy and the army—a unitary, logistical, operational and quantifying rationality..." (280) This is abstract space or what I would call systematized and/or rationalized space as it is fractured, delineated, and partitioned into sections and sectors, systems and subsystems, divided and fragmented then reorganized under new laws of technical rationality and control. The violence that shapes abstract space "manifests itself from the moment any action introduces the rational to the real, from the outside, by means of tools which strike, slice and cut..." (Lefebvre 1991:289) As "space transformed—and mediated—by technology" and re-organized through the violence of rationalization, abstract space is also dominated space (Lefebvre 1991: 164). Dominated space is the result of *a total colonization* of space to the point that it is completely controlled and choreographed. "In order to dominate space, technology introduces a new form [networks] into pre-existing space..." (Lefebvre 1991:165)

Consumption space. Abstract and dominated space is the space of capitalism. It is not only that capitalism has colonized social space but that it has produced its own space by transforming it in terms of its own logic, or as Lefebvre (1991) writes:

> Capitalism and neocapitalism have produced abstract space, which includes the 'world of commodities', its 'logic' and its worldwide strategies as well as the power of money... (53)

Abstract space is the space of the commodity, completely intertwined with the logic of the commodity, a space in which desire and biological need are separated and reorganized, "crudely cobbled back together", under the laws of commodity exchange (Lefebvre 1991: 309).

An important concept in critical theory is commodification, which suggests that social relations mutate into exchange relations and that more and more areas of everyday social life become dominated by the logic of the commodity (Miles 1998; see also Marx and Engels [1883] 1978). Commodification is important because it suggests colonization as it seems to be the result of the *spread* of commodity logic into uncommodified areas of social life. Commodification is a phenomenon that is evident in all phases of capitalism. Horkheimer and Adorno (2002), in their discussion of the culture industries, show how commodity logic, instrumental rationality, and technical control, as fundamental features of production, are also detectable in areas of social life that are oriented towards consumption (Featherstone 1991; see also Adorno [1967] 1989). This spread is to the point that, as Miles (1998) indicates, "everyday life in the developed world appears...to be dominated by our relationships with consumer goods." (1)

In Debord's ([1967] 1994) conceptualization of the spectacle, it is the commodity form itself that colonizes the spaces of everyday life. The spectacle is

the result of a *total colonization*, and the historical moment in which the spectacle appears is that same moment "at which the commodity completes its colonization of social life." (Debord [1967] 1994:29) Our world transforms into a world of commodities; in advanced capitalist societies, social space becomes covered in layer upon layer of commodities (Debord [1967] 1994). This colonization is directly tied to the expansion of productive forces during the industrial revolution (as we shall see).

The logic of the commodity is able to colonize everyday life through various consumption oriented activities; by that I mean that social space is actively constructed and shaped *as* consumption space (see Lefebvre 1991). For instance, Leong (2001a) conceives of *shopping* as a type of medium, and it is through that medium that market forces are able to colonize social space. We can say that shopping is the activity that integrates the commodity, and its associated logic, into social life. This colonization is really not a result of consumers demanding that shopping be implemented in more and more areas of social life (the opposite may be the case); it is more accurate to say that shopping is implemented strategically from above, an activity that is encouraged from somewhere else through the shaping of space, and that it colonizes because it is physically and actively built into particular spaces.

Consumption space can be conceptualized as space in which commodities are exchanged for money. As a result they tend to be the spaces of and for commodities, apparatuses or consumption oriented extensions of the commodity system. For Lefebvre (1991) consumption space is directly linked to and an

extension of production space, the space of work, and the space of the total market economy; commodity production *and* consumption (as the result of exchange) share the same space, the space in which money circulates and commodities move. But the hypercomplexity of social space, the ways in which spaces and their associated activities interpenetrate, complicates a precise conceptualization of any particular *type* of space. In fact, it is very easy to describe practically any other space as consumption space. This complexity leads Sack (1992) to conceive of consumption space as existing in a completely "open context", and as a result, consumption spaces cannot be truly defined in any exacting way: "places of consumption...are rarely pure cases. Even a shopping mall or a Disneyland, though dedicated to creating a consumer's landscape, has to reckon with other processes and functions that become part of that place." (21) And this complexity leads Styhre and Engberg to note that "the notion of spaces of consumption is not intended to serve as a fixed ready-made construct but rather to serve as an ideal type model..." (116)

Territory. In Virilio's war model, social space becomes *territory*, "the space across which speed, technology, politics, economics, and urban and everyday life flow across vectors [trajectories or conduits for movement] of transportation, commerce, war, social interaction, communication, and information." (Kellner N.d.: 2), but essentially social space dominated by a logic of technical rationality and control. The important point to make about territory, under the war model, is that it becomes defensible, securable, invadeable, and colonizeable space (Kellner N.d.: 2). Territory is not simply a field of activities, but a field of strategy,

a space of conflict, and essentially logistical: "[p]ossession of territory is not primarily about laws and contracts, but first and foremost a matter of movement and circulation." (Virilio in Armitage 2000:4)

For Lefebvre (1991), "[m]ilitary architecture, fortifications and ramparts, [and even] dams, irrigation systems—all offer many fine examples of dominated space"; these are essentially spaces that control and direct flows, of water, or tactical and strategic flows of military personnel, but it could just as easily be a control of the flows of information (see Castells 1996), or the flows of automobiles, commodities, money, etc (see Urry 2000). The important point to make here is that dominated space can be directly related to Virilio's war model and the conceptualization of territory as Kellner (N.d.) notes:

> For Virilio, war involved the organization of space, through preparing and undertaking the conquering of territory, and thus in terms of logistics, offensive tactics, strategy, and defense, there was a unique spatial organization for war. Defense required slowing down the enemies' military assault and cities provided walls, ramparts, fortresses, and enclosed areas that could repel invasion... (3)

As the possibilities for movement and the speeds at which space can be traversed expands, so do the requirements of spatial control. Movement is, of course, fundamentally linked to space as it is an activity that takes place across space, as a result, it is clear that the control of movements suggests the control of space. For an example of this logistical control on a urban scale, we can turn to the work, or the strategic surgery (also termed strategic beatification), of Baron

Haussmann who, in the nineteenth century, engaged in a militaristic spatial vivisection of the city of Paris by constructing broad boulevards and open spaces, an urban glacis, that allowed for the quick and direct movement of troops to the working class sectors and that also facilitated the effective deployment and use of artillery, limiting, or so it was hoped, the possibility of civil disobedience and, as a result, completely reshaping the city of Paris under a "totalitarian aesthetics" (see Buck-Morss [1989] 1993:89-90; Debord [1955] 1981; Benjamin [1982] 1999).

Consumption and Logistics

In *The Grundrisse*, Marx ([1939] 1978) conceived of consumption as a basic biological interaction. For Marx, production and consumption were two *moments* in a single totality, two integral processes in a single interaction through which organisms produce and reproduce their material existence. It seems that as humans interact with materiality they tend to develop and cultivate a technological apparatus that is made to occupy more and more of an intermediate position between them and nature, in other words, this basic biological interaction tends to mutate, grow more complex and expand over time. For Debord ([1967] 1994), "[t]he development of the forces of production is the *real unconscious history* that has built and modified the conditions of existence of human groups (understood as the conditions of *survival* and their extension): this development has been the basis of all human enterprise." (27)

Marx ([1939] 1978) argued that consumption, in this biological sense, actually exists outside of economics altogether, but the way that we speak of

consumption today places it firmly within an economic circuit. So, let me say here that I conceive of capitalism as an economic system that is *fundamentally based on the movements of commodities.* The system seeks to generate profits by moving commodities through a circuit, the moments of the circuit being production, distribution, exchange and consumption (see Marx [1867] 1978). A commodity, in a basic sense (although there is nothing "basic" about one at all), is "an object outside us..." (Marx [1867] 1978: 303) As *the* particle of the system, the object that moves between the moments of the circuit, the commodity is the object that appears to generate profits via its exchange and consumption. Miles (1998) and Bocock (1993) argue that the role of the commodity is different in the context of capitalism; it is an object that has been produced ultimately to be *sold* to the consumer, not an object to be *used* in a biological sense per se. The systemic role of the commodity is expressed in terms of its exchange value rather than in its use value (Miles 1998). Because of this, consumption is now defined in systemic terms, inseparable from its place in the mode of production (Bocock 1993:35), as the result of the moment of exchange (having no meaning outside of exchange), that point in which the circuit of capital is completed, and as the completion and "last finish" in the movements of the commodity (Marx [1939] 1978: 229), in short, an extension of production.

The development of the system as a mode of *consumption* (at the moment of consumption) is directly related to its development as a mode of *production* (at the moment of production), and this is only indicative of the development of the economic system as a whole. For Sut Jhally (N.d.) there has been no other

economic system in history that has been able to rival the colossal productivity of industrial capitalism. The "problem" at the moment of production has obviously been solved, but for the system to truly operate at peak performance, the system must solve the "problem of consumption."(1) And, drawing from the economist John Galbraith, Baudrillard ([1970] 1998) wrote of this same problem as a new contradiction between "potentially unlimited productivity" and "the need to dispose of the product..." which *necessitates a heightened systemic control at the moment of consumption* (71).

> Modern consumption could be seen as a development of what Marx had called 'commodity production' but at a qualitatively higher level than Marx had ever envisaged. Indeed, the amount and variety of commodities being sold and consumed is now so great that it is possible to say that capitalism has undergone a *qualitative* change, that is a change in kind...it would imply that there is now a new and distinct form of capitalism in the world, based on the ever increasing production of new commodities for consumption. This new type may be termed 'consumer capitalism'. (Bocock 1993:35)

This is not the result of some change in the *core* of capitalism itself (in its economic profit oriented rationalized logic), but is rather a development in the parts of the system that are more oriented to stimulating the moment of consumption. Thus, for Baudrillard ([1970] 1998), "[w]e have here quite simply the same thing and something else..." (82), a metamorphosis.

The means of consumption. We begin to see the emergence of certain apparatuses towards the moment of consumption; these are essentially mechanisms that work to produce consumption. The best example of this type of development is that of the culture industries (specifically advertising), and these apparatuses tend to inject a measure of technical control, or an economic logic, into everyday life (see Horkheimer and Adorno [1987] 2002) Drawing largely from Baudrillard, Ritzer (1998; 2000; 2005) has noted what he calls an expansion in the "the new means of consumption." According to Ritzer (2005) the means of consumption are physical settings that work to facilitate and stimulate consumption; conceiving of them as *new* speaks to their accelerated development in the later half of the twentieth century. The means of consumption are analogous, both metaphorically and technically, to the means of production: "just as the means of production [factories and machinery] are necessary to, and facilitate, production, means of consumption perform the same roles in the sphere of consumption..." (Ritzer 1998:119). All of this clearly compels us to make certain comparisons between producers and consumers and, by extension, work and shopping. To go further, the systemic position of the means of consumption highlights them as being inextricably intertwined with the means of production, if not extensions of the productive apparatus itself, as they are precisely machines designed to *produce* consumption.

An underlying logic of the means of consumption is their logistical design. As settings, even machines, designed to facilitate consumption and the activity of shopping they are also logistical mechanisms that must effectively work to

connect consumers to commodities in a physical way before they can stimulate any type of exchange. We catch a glimpse of this logic through the ways in which Baudrillard ([1970] 1978; [1981] 2006) discusses both the drugstore and the hypermarket. The conceptualization of the new means of consumption was specifically developed in relation to Baudrillard's ([1970] 1998) discussion of the Parisian drugstore; Ritzer (2005) argues that "[t]he Parisian 'drugstore' is clearly a means of consumption in that it is a social and economic structure that enables consumers to acquire an array of commodities..." (29). But, Baudrillard's discussion entails much more than this. For Baudrillard ([1970] 1998) the drugstore is an integrator and the locus of a new type of social order based on arrangements and circulations of objects. It is here, in the space of the commodity, that consumers circulate *with* objects, and engage in social activities based on objects: "[t]he drugstore (or the new shopping center) achieves a synthesis of consumer activities, not the least of which are shopping, flirting with objects, playful wandering and all the permutational possibilities." (Baudrillard [1970] 1998: 27)

If the drugstore is the ultimate example of the new means of consumption as mechanisms of total re-socialization through objects and consumer activities then the hypermarket may well be its more contemporary expression:

> The hypermarket is already, beyond the factory and traditional institutions of capital, the model of all future forms of controlled socialization...; space-time of a whole operational simulation of social life, of a whole structure of living and traffic. (Baudrillard [1981] 2006:76)

The hypermarket is "the hyperspace of the commodity" and it is there that "a whole new sociality is elaborated." (Baudrillard [1981] 2006:75) The hypermarket, is the proving ground for "the future model of social relations"; it is there that relations between people truly come to resemble, and float along with the spectacular circulations, collisions and relations between things. "The same homogeneous space, without mediation, brings together men and things—a space of direct manipulation. But who manipulates whom?" (Baudrillard [1981] 2006:76)

Logistics. It becomes necessary at this point to define logistics as it is an important feature of the means of consumption. Logistics was conceived in and through warfare and is, to that effect, a military science. Administrative functionaries, *Logistes*, of the Roman army were employed to organize marches and retrenchments (cost cutting), but the term *logistics* surfaced only as early as the eighteenth century (Virilio [1984] 2005). Contemporary use of the term is most salient in economics where it refers to the science of corporate supply and distribution chain management (among other things).

Jones (1987) argues that the art of warfare can be divided into problems of tactics, logistics and strategy; tactics is associated with combat, battlefield maneuvers, weapons, and strategic deployment of the means of destruction, Logistics refers to supply (of weapons, food, clothing, fuel, etc.) and support of troops on the battlefield, the tactical infrastructure of warfare, and strategy suggests the calculated integration of tactics and logistics in order to realize military objectives.

To some extent the separate components of the science of warfare bleed into one another. For instance Virilio ([1984] 2005) notes that logistics not only suggests the circulation of the means of destruction but also "the circulation of munitions and projectiles" meaning that it begins to compete with strategy as "a sort of greater ballistics, managing all movements." (72) Logistics also has an inherently tactical importance as the management of all sorts of movements of the means of destruction on the battlefield. As defined here, logistics refers to the *activity* of managing and controlling movements that involves the *strategic arrangement of logistical techniques*; it is a *science* of control, coordination and integration of complex kinetic systems, and it is the *art* of managing and controlling flows.

To further relate the science of logistics to the means of consumption we can consider the architectural form of the fortress. Fortresses are essentially logistical mechanisms, their fundamental logic is that of control, of internal and external movements, through various methods of spatial organization (Armitage 1999). In terms of external control fortresses function as the gatekeepers of territory by guarding and controlling movements through and around entry/exit points and by "dominating major routes..." (Lynn 1993:147) Virilio ([1984] 2005) uses the example of the port citadel in order to draw out the idea of external control as always based on the control of external space; just as the port is separated and protected from the turbulence of the open sea, the walled city as a "dry port" is separated from the wilderness, surrounded by a glacis "where the topography [the very shape of the port] has been leveled off, worn down..." to control the

fluidity of the masses likened to disobedient waves (51). The fortress also works to facilitate beneficial movements, or as Virilio ([1977] 1986) writes, drawing from Vauban, fortress building involves "constructing a topological universe made of 'a totality of mechanisms able to receive a defined form of energy..., *to transform it and finally to return it in a more appropriate form.*'" (10) Lynn (1993), who also draws from Vauban, notes that as forts block enemy movements they also work to facilitate those of friendly forces. In this way the fort not only works to block and separate, but also to regulate and coordinate. The full power of the fortress, according to Virilio ([1977] 1986) is realized in this complex logistical combination, and only in movement; for the fortress, "stasis is death" the key to its survival being the creation of "habitable circulation" (68).

> If the fortified town is an immobile machine, the military engineer's specific task is to fight against its inertia. 'The goal of fortification is not to stop armies, to contain them, *but to dominate, even facilitate their movements.*'" (12)

The fortress' external logistics, as projected outside the walls towards the enemy become directly linked to its internal organization (Bottomley and Moore 2007). This can be explained by returning to the discussion of the ways in which organisms must engage in counter-movements and flows in order to affect external energies; the more that internal energies are directed and organized the more that exteriority can be effected. This is essentially a matter of the interplay of forces, of actions and opposite reactions.

The logic of control and domination that is manifested along with the fortress is what we might refer to as a basic potential of all architecture. For Bottomley

and Moore (2007) architecture is essentially a matter of forces; they conceive of architecture in terms of deflection and absorption, a central feature of architecture being the logic of shelter (from weather or neighbors). Jewell (2001) specifically relates these ideas to the architectural form of the shopping mall and describes shopper's interactions with the mall form as a type of violence:

> Violence...implies a contamination of the purity of the built form by the fluid and unpredictable movement of the human body, a violence that is reciprocated by the controlled order of architecture. The two may exist in a harmonious relationship, but equally one may overpower the other and exercise, as a consequence, a dominant control. The tension that we are concerned with in connection with shopping centers is that which exists when a building exerts a 'programmatic violence' over it users... (371)

Mall space becomes the result of a conflict or tension not only between shoppers and the physicality of the mall itself, but also between mall users and those that have designed the space. Both groups act and re-act to each other through the medium of mall space, creating it physically and socially. This *conflict model* to mall space is analogous to Castells' (1996) conceptualization of the space of flows in which agents in positions of power manipulate both physical and non-physical elements into particular arrangements that work to shape various flows. The way that Jewell (2001) conceives of human movement as "fluid and unpredictable", as essentially fluidity and mobility, maintains the idea that human movements cannot be totally controlled. Mall designers implement a strategy of

technical control, a sort of violence, on mall users that in-turn may react with various strategies of resistance.

Speed Power (Consumption Power)

Commodities and the commodity system appear as autonomous apparatuses only in so far as they are able to contain human actions and objectified human life, only in so far as they are able to contain human energy. Even the most technologically sophisticated systems are only "autonomous" to the degree that they are conglomerations of actors and objects, socio-technical complexes. Even machinery that appears to move *totally* on its own can only do so in as much as it is the result of labor-power stored and crystallized in matter, objectified human energy, condensed, re-formulated, rearranged, and improved upon through successive waves of innovation. And it is at this point that we can begin to consider *consumption power* as the physical force of the consumer, energy, not only in terms of money (the mere image of labor power) but in movement, kinetic energy and speed (Virilio [1977] 1986). "The consumer is...*mobilized* [emphasis added] as *worker* at this level too (perhaps as much today as he is at the level of 'production')." (Baudrillard [1970] 1998:84) These ideas shed an interesting light on some of Debord's ([1967] 1994) words:

> The self movement of the spectacle [consumer capitalism] consists in this: it arrogates to itself everything that in human activity exists in a fluid state so as to possess it in a congealed form. (26)

Consumers are particles with vectors, agitated and compressed, possessed in a gaseous state, as if in some sort of combustion engine[7]; the mechanical heart of a consumption vehicle, a complex mobile hybrid (see Urry 2000a), traveling at top speed towards the last finish of the commodity. It is here that these means of consumption are the most like engines of consumption. If there is any parallel between the means of consumption and the means of production it is that they both produce what they produce in an alienated form. This consumption power of the shopper, being relatively identical to the labor power of the worker, is taken and possessed. Marx ([1932] 1964 made it clear that within the system of capitalism, especially as a result of the system of (estranged) wage labor, "the worker sinks to the level of the commodity and becomes the most wretched of commodities." (106) But at the moment of consumption it is a little different because we are not even paid to be consumers; as a simple form of energy the consumer is less than a laborer, a type of fuel (a beast of burden), only another particle moving through the circuit of capitalism:

> Just as the wolf-child became a wolf by living among wolves, so we too are slowly becoming functional. We live by object time: by this I mean that we live at the pace of objects..." (Baudrillard [1970] 1998:25)

Under Virilio's ([1977] 1986) war model speed is not a simple matter of distance divided by time or the rate at which some object traverses a space, rather speed is *energy*, analogous to labor power. The proletariat in the street is

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[7] Also, see the Situationists' ([1966] 1996) *The Decline and Fall of the Spectacle-Commodity Economy* that suggests, among other things that this energy can build in commodity driven social explosions (the main example being the Watts riots of Los Angeles in 1965).

transformed into "a motor (machine of attack), in other words a *producer of speed*..." (Virilio [1977] 1986) that must be controlled in the street just as labor power and movement is controlled at the moment of production. The proletariat are the owners of speed and motion, and through various spatial and mechanical mechanisms their energy is focused and organized in order to realize particular social ends. In this way, for Virilio, the economy based on the accumulation of capital (labor power) is analogous to the economy of speed based on acceleration (in Armitage 1993):

> ...the elite of movement represents a misunderstood and underestimated order without which accumulation would not have been possible. The accumulation of energy and of speed in the vectors of transport (horse-drawn or seagoing) is indispensable for the capitalization of goods and riches..., (Virilio [1984] 2005)

Furthermore, for Virilio, "[t]he wealth pyramid is the replica of the velocity pyramid...," meaning that those with the most influence in the economy of speed are those with the most access to the means of speed; "the highest speeds belong to the upper reaches of society, the slower to the bottom." (in Armitage 1999:35) This economy of speed is based on the logistical control of movement, and in this way the elite of speed ride upon the backs of "the (s)lower classes." (Armitage 2000:12).

Consumerism and Domestication

For Baudrillard ([1970] 1998) consumption entails a "total organization of everyday life..." (29), an enforced collective behavior, a morality, a system of values, and an institution all at the same time (81). All of this implies, in one way or another, the existence of an ideology that integrates the society under the logic of consumption. This ideology is consumerism, and it plays a central role in legitimating the system of capitalism and stimulating consumption (Bocock 1993:50). "The consumer society is...the society of learning to consume, of social training in consumption...there is a new and specific mode of socialization related to the emergence of new productive forces..." (Baudrillard [1970] 1998:81) The ways in which we consume in the present have transcended any natural meaning of consumption in its biological sense, to some extent it defies good sense; consumption now must be learned, acquired, and people must be socialized to accept its logic (Bocock 1993). In short, consumption must be produced. The contemporary proletarianized consumer is "encouraged", through advertising, packaging, etc., through various means of consumption, to buy back the products that they had been "encouraged" to produce within the means of production; they are *told* to produce and then they are *told* to consume the products that they are, once again, *told* they need (Ritzer 2005, Plant 1992:23, Bocock 1993). And if consumption appears as an inherently enjoyable activity, then all we need to dispel such an illusion is to remember that it is now the institutionalized "*duty* of the citizen." (Baudrillard [1970] 1998:80)

Steven Miles (1998) offers the best conceptualization of consumerism as "the cultural manifestation of the apparently ubiquitous act of consumption." (4) From his perspective it is the direct *result* of the mass production, circulation, and basic overwhelming presence of commodities. Not only is consumerism the result of direct technical manipulation from the culture industries, but it is also something that we buy into and reinforce ourselves by participating in the realm of consumption. In this way particular dimensions of consumerism may be the result of interactions with the means of consumption, and the "psycho-social expression" of those interactions (Miles 1998:5). This is analogous to the discussion of flows (here we are considering flows of shoppers) as the result, the physical expression, of interactions with physical forms in space; consumer flows may be a dimension of consumerism.

Ideologies are highly associated with spaces, and every ideology has a space through which it is expressed and reinforced in material reality. Lefebvre (1991) notes that "what we call ideology only achieves consistency by intervening in social space and its production..." (44) The way that spaces are organized and the way that objects are organized in space, the placement of chairs or altars, the positions of doors or walls, directly affect the behavior and indirectly affect the psychology and cultural practices of individuals in space (Shields 1992). But, the type of control through spatial arrangements that manifests in dominated space moves well beyond ideological control in its technical effectiveness.

> Dominated space realizes military and political (strategic) 'models' in the flesh... It does not merely express power—it proceeds to repress in the

> name of power... As a body of constraints, stipulations and rules to be followed, social space acquires a normative and repressive efficacy—linked instrumentally to its objectality—that makes the efficacy of mere ideologies and representations pale in comparison. (Lefebvre 1991:358)

The goal of such a space is to first establish a homogeneous *spatial* order and, through that, a homogeneous *social* order. For Zukin (2004) shopping spaces and retail stores can be compared to other "totalizing institutions" such as prisons, schools and the military in the way that they work to "discipline our bodies and our minds"; "[o]ur bodies internalize the discipline of stores from the time we are first taken shopping in strollers, and placed carefully in the top seat of the shopping cart, to our old age." (28)

Virilio directly relates this logistical control to violence, but what is more important in terms of consumerism is Virilio's ([1984] 2005) conceptualization of *domestication*, which is nothing more than practical warfare, controlled violence, in which domination replaces outright destruction:

> Domestication is the fulfillment and perfecting of predation. Outright bloodshed and direct slaughter are contrary to the unlimited use of violence, that is to say, its economy. From the confrontation ending in the carnage of the first ages, we witness an evolution that leads hunters to the point of gaining simple control of the movements of certain selected species, then with the help of the dog, the first 'domesticated' animal, we pass on to the sheep herding of semi-wild herds and finally to breeding. (Virilio [1984] 2005:40)

Domestication is an inchoate economy, "a form of *conservation of energy*", and from there human society, according to Virilio ([1984] 2005), achieves yet another level of logistical control through the mount, "the *rider* [a parasitic control] is linked up with the movement, orienting it and prompting its acceleration." (45) But this technical control of animals does not stop only with them as humans themselves can also be domesticated:

> Depending on the time and the latitude, the multitude of bodies with no soul, living dead, zombies, possessed, etc., is imposed all throughout history; a slow-motion destruction of the opponent, the prisoner, the slave; an economy of military violence likening the human cattle to the ancient stolen herd of the hunter raiders. (Virilio [1977] 1986:76)

Warfare, resulting in the initial economy of domestication (always seemingly analogous with slavery), develops in domestication into controlled warfare, a technique of logistical domination that seems to be a latent potential in social arrangements. For instance, Thomas Hobbes ([1651] 1996), in his search for the ur-moment of social cohesion conceived of the individual as a combination of *vital* and *animal motions*, the latter being psychological motions that, for our own good and for purposes of social cohesion, must be controlled either internally or externally; furthermore, Hobbes' conception of the social is based on a certain conception of inertia that is applied to social action. The idea is that people will act and continue to act unless acted upon by another force or some type of coordinating social entity. Scanlan (2004) argues that these motions are "...the

basis for social relationships, which first propel individual movement and then shunt it towards some rational convergence of interests." (387)

Conclusion

I began with a discussion of the related concepts of *network*, *fluidity*, and *flow*. The basic structure of the social is network-like; networks constitute the material infrastructure along which flows move. *Network*, then, is analogous to structure. Flow is directed fluidity, and fluidity is pure potential for movement. Flows are the result of interactions of fluidity with the network structure of the social. I compared fluidity to a type of agency, but also described how agency is impossible without structure; drawing from Urry (2000a), I explored humans as mobile hybrids who can only *act* as hybrids, that is, only through interactions with objects in their material environments.

The discussion of the network city exemplifies how these types of models (network, flow, etc.) have been applied to the study of the urban form in the past. The network city is a space of constant movement and circulation, a nexus, more of a *process* than a *form*. I have shown that networks can be interrogated in terms of transitional spaces (conduits, vortexes, "non-places", etc.) and in terms of nodes. Furthermore, I touched on the idea that consumeristic structures (specifically hypermarkets) constitute major nodes of these urban networks and points from which those networks can be analyzed.

Next, drawing largely from Virilio ([1977] 1986; [1984] 2005) and Lefebvre (1991), I attempted to outline a war model of consumption space. I showed how

the economic and militaristic spheres of social reality are intimately intertwined in a number of ways: I showed that both spheres share a central logic of technical manipulation and control; I showed how the commodity expresses a logic of warfare in various ways but especially in how it manages to present itself as a force opposed to humans; more importantly for my purposes, I showed how both spheres rely on a notion of logistics (the art and science of controlling flows). I showed how this notion of logistics arises from the commodity form itself: the commodity being essentially an object that seeks to contain and possess fluidity in a solid state. I showed how the total development of the commodity system led to the need for a heightened systemic control towards the moment of consumption, showed how one form of this control is logistical, and showed the importance of logistics in terms of the production of consumption. I compared spaces of consumption, conceived of as means of consumption (see Ritzer 2005), such as malls and department stores to military fortresses; both turn out to be essentially logistical. I explored Lefebvre's (1991) notion of dominated space (the space of the commodity) and compared it to Virilio's notion of territory (the space of war), and argued that they are essentially the same types of space and essentially logistical.

Finally, I explored other aspects of logistics and also the warlike characteristics of the commodity system through notions of speed, consumption power, and domestication. I showed how speed power is analogous to labor power, how similar shopping (at the moments of exchange and consumption) is to labor (at the moment of production) and, thus, how shopping can be seen as a

type of labor involving a potential kinetic and virtual energy (consumption power) that can be likened to fluidity. Drawing from Virilio ([1984] 2005), I explored domestication both as a more efficient type of warfare and as a dimension of consumerism; domestication implies the control of movement, the directing of movement towards some rational goal, and also notions of training in some type of order (social or otherwise). Domestication, in the means of consumption, involves the productive use of the speed energy (the consumption power) of the shopping masses; rather than being destroyed and stopped the shopping masses are logistically dominated, controlled and trained.

In the next chapter I will draw out the specific methods that I use and that I combine in a triangulation to interrogate and explore consumption space in terms of the logic of movement. That method is essentially a tactical process of exploration that I designed to link up with the conceptualization of flow and also the war model of consumption space.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY AND METHOD(S)

> Every particular approach...will be ultimately inadequate. You will reach a point where it will fail to do justice to the complexity of the phenomena. What is really required is a nimble way to move from one mode of analysis to another without expecting them to necessarily cohere in a definitive way.
>
> (Martin Jay, interview in *Journal of Consumer Culture*)

In order to stay true to the subject of investigation, the logic of movement, I have tried to formulate my entire methodological approach in relation to the general idea of movement. The method can best be described as a *process of exploration*. More specifically, it is intended to link up with the conceptualization of *flow* as outlined in the last chapter (see Castells 1996; Shields 1997; Urry 2000a;). As such it is designed to facilitate interactions not only with flows but also with the materiality and logistical techniques of social spaces. Through a combination of dérive and participant observation, it becomes a moving observation, a method that is intended to flow with and in the field. In these ways

it is an attempt to realize (physically and methodologically) the nimble movement that Martin Jay suggests.

I draw from Alford (1998) who candidly argues that inquiry is a craft, a dynamic and *rolling* process of exploration that moves between theoretical and empirical "tracks of analysis" (8). Rather than following a direct path from data to theory, or vice versa, investigation should circulate through inductive *and* deductive paths. In this way research is what Fielding and Fielding (1986) advocate: "a ceaselessly repeated cycle of observation, classification, analysis, and theory." (14) As such, the method has always been a *work in progress*. It began as unsystematic observations[1], and unstructured explorations of consumption spaces; it has since evolved through trial and error, false starts, and confusion, and through back and forth movements between data and theory, but above all it has been shaped through my interactions with the complexity of the field.

The Triangulation

The exploration is essentially a triangulation involving the systematic combination of multiple data collection techniques (methodological triangulation), and types of data (data triangulation) that work together to provide a fuller and more comprehensive picture of the field (Fielding and Fielding 1986; Denzin

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[1] In *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*, Goffman (1971) describes his entire method as essentially unsystematic naturalistic observation. Drawing from ethology he compares his method to observations of animal behavior. He notes that ethologists "have developed the ability to cut into the flow of apparently haphazard animal activity at its articulation and to isolate natural patterns." (*xvii*)

1989; Angrosino 2007), but it also involves different theoretical perspectives that work to shape the entire exploration. Triangulation is not simply a combination of different kinds of data or methods that magically add up to a complete conception of the field; the procedure rather entails a *systematic* combination of data or methods that should be made to work together to counteract validity threats (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983; Fielding and Fielding 1986; Webb, Campbell, Schwarts and Sechrest 2000). The general idea is to have different (even competing) data, data sources, data collection methods, and theories strategically converge on the units of analysis.

The combination that I use here includes both naturalistic and participant observation (observation being the core method of data collection); I supplement this observation with visual methods (photography and the use of photographs as a source of data), psychogeography and related methods (specifically dérive), and an analysis of maps where I focus on the form and functions of particular spatial arrangements in terms of flows and logistics. Additionally, I use two systems typologies (shopping ecology and city imageability) that facilitate descriptions of forms and functions of spatial arrangements and logistical techniques in space. I will explain each of these methods and also draw out how I combined them and also how I put them to use in the exploration.

Observation(s) and Role-Play

The core of the triangulation is observation, as it is the method that ties all of the others together. Observation lends itself to the study of public space particularly well because it allows for the study of large groups of people and

crowds in large public spaces (Adler and Adler 1994; Angrosino 2007). For observation to be acceptable as a sociological "method" it must be systematized and also supplemented with other methods; because of the tendency for observation to be unsystematic (see Goffman 1971) it is the method that is most likely to be combined with others. Furthermore, Gold (1958) describes observations (especially in the complete observer role) as a type of reconnaissance that prepares the researcher for more focused study in another field role or with more appropriate methods.

There are two modes of observation that I shift between (naturalistic and participant observation); each type taps into different aspects of the field in different ways and provides a unique perspective. I am also able to collect totally different types of data by shifting between the modes. For instance, my mode of participant observation focuses on more general characteristics of the field but also allows for the observation of larger spaces or sections of space because it is a moving participant observation; on the other hand, my mode of naturalistic observation is more static as it allows me to focus on more specific spaces in detail. The exploration itself makes this shift, in a similar way, as I move from general to more specific types of data and modes of data collection and as my relationship to the field evolves. Gold's (1958) description of research *roles* is helpful in explaining this ability to shift and its practicability. For him the roles of the researcher range between complete participant and complete observer. Essentially, the complete participant interacts with informants and participates in the activities of the field while the complete observer does not. The adoption of

any particular role places limits on the type of data that can be collected which, in turn, influences how the data can be analyzed later (Angrosino 2007). To solve this problem, as Gold (1958) argues, researchers can "maximize their take of information by selecting a field role which permits them to adjust their own role-repertories to research objectives." (222)

Both the complete participant and the complete observer roles entail a covert stance in different ways, and this dynamic was very useful during the exploration as I attempted to stay under the radar of gatekeepers. The complete observer allows the researcher to infiltrate a field and observe in such a way that individuals in the field (especially gatekeepers) do not take the researcher into account and do not even know that they are informants (Gold 1958), the role is completely covert. Adler and Adler (1994) argue that researchers in this role are not seen or noticed, but it is more accurate to note that they are not noticed as researchers. The ability for the researcher to hide in the open, to appear as just another consumer or spectator in consumption space, makes it possible to achieve a level of observation and data collection that would be next to impossible with other means (surveys or interviews). In this way social researchers can avoid the technocratic gatekeepers (i.e. security) of dominated spaces. The dynamic between these two roles allows the researcher to *emerge* (taking photographs or field notes) and then to disappear back into the flow of social life. This interesting idea of the covert is also achievable in the role of complete participant. the identity of the researcher, as researcher, is not known to respondents or gatekeepers although the researcher is participating in their

world, acting as if s/he were part of the population (Gold 1958). Angrosino (2007) calls this type of observation "disguised" observation: "[d]isquised observers must be able to blend into the study population so thoroughly that they cannot be readily spotted as outsiders who are present for purposes other than simply doing whatever it is that everyone else is doing." (32)

Psychogeography and Dérive

As a theory and a method psychogeography exists somewhere between sociology, architecture, geography and psychology. As defined by Guy Debord ([1955] 1981) it is "the study of the precise laws and specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organized or not, on the emotions and behavior of individuals." (5) The term itself is a compound word combining the prefix *psycho* (meaning of the mind) and *geography* (meaning, more or less, the physical arrangements of matter in space). For Debord ([1955] 1981), *geography* is the study of "determinant action of general natural forces...on the economic structures of society...," (5) and thus on the socio-psychological superstructure of society. Psychogeography, then, is the study of how physical forces and the physical arrangement of space affect the human mind and human behavior. Debord ([1955] 1981) has noted that the word has a sort of "pleasing vagueness." (5) The term can be applied to the findings of psychogeographic investigations, to the investigations themselves, to spatial influences on human minds, descriptions of those influences, and finally "to any situation or conduct that seems to reflect the same spirit of discovery." (Debord ([1955] 1981) In other discussions, Debord ([1956] 1981; [1955] 1981) notes sudden changes of

ambiance, "zones of distinct psychic atmospheres," what he referred to as "unities of ambiance," their components, their location, their "axes of passage, their exits and their defenses," paths of least resistance, conduits and vortexes within these places, and the general idea that certain places seem to attract and to repel individuals and have a hand in shaping their behavior. (53 and 6-7) All of this is psychogeographic.

Psychogeography has much in common with Lynch's (1960) *Image of the City*, (a seminal study on urban space and movement in the city) to the point that we can refer to that study as psychogeographic; he starts with the assumption that...

> Structuring and identifying the environment is a vital ability among all mobile animals. Many kinds of cues are used: the visual sensations of color, shape, motion, or polarization of light, as well as other senses such as smell, sound, touch, kinesthesia, sense of gravity, and perhaps of electric and magnetic fields. (3)

Jenks and Neves (2000) liken psychogeography to a cartography of the mind which is reminiscent of what Lynch (1960) has described as a city's order of *imageability*, a quality of space that allows for its reconstruction in the mind of the spectator. For Lynch (1960) there is a perpetual mapping and organization within the human mind of sensory cues collected from the environment, and this mapping is "fundamental to the efficiency and to the very survival of free-moving life." (3)

To better understand psychogeography we can look to how it has been incorporated into the commodity system as what Goss (1999) has referred to as a vulgar psychogeography, the instrumental design of consumption spaces to affect consumers on a physical and psychological level in order to produce systemically significant consumption acts (Patterson 2006). This type of thinking has been the subject of some seminal papers in market research. For example Kotler (1973) coined the term *atmospherics* which refers to the "effort to design buying environments to produce specific emotional effects in the buyer that enhance the purchase probability." (50) For Kotler (1973), the assumptions of psychogeography serve as a basis for a behaviorist approach to the study of consumption where the focus is on the control of the consumer. Donovan and Rossiter (1982) study consumers as if they were objects, or some type of charged particle, that reacts to spatial arrangements through avoidance and approach behaviors. Bitner (1992) refers to the ability of the built environment to affect individuals through various informational cues (smells, sound, lighting, etc.). He refers to consumption space and the effects it has on the consumer as the "servicescape".

The term *psychogeography* becomes most clear in conjunction with *dérive*, which was a particular technique of psychogeographic investigation developed by Guy Debord and the Situationists. Jenks and Neves (2000) explain that the act of psychogeography, or the production of psychogeographies, requires being "drawn into events, situations and images by abandonment to wholly unanticipated attraction...," (7) and this activity of being drawn into events is

fundamentally the technique of *dérive*. Its essence is movement; as the psychogeographer drifts with the features of the built terrain s/he slowly gains an understanding as to *how* movements are habituated, inured to, conditioned and even controlled by spatial arrangements and features of the terrain. Plant (1992) explains that psychogeography "was intended to cultivate an awareness of the ways in which everyday life is presently conditioned and controlled." (58) Debord ([1956] 1981) himself defines dérive as...

> ...a technique of transient passage through varied ambiances. The dérive entails playful-constructive behavior and awareness of psychogeographical effects; which completely distinguishes it from the classical notions of the journey and the stroll. In the dérive one or more persons during a certain period drop their usual motives for movement and action..., and let themselves be drawn by the attractions of the terrain and the encounters they find there." (50)

There are important themes in this definition: (1) it is a moving and ambulatory practice that can best be described as a walking observation that flows with the contours of built spaces, (2) it is a playful-constructive behavior, a game of exploration out of which develops a useful verstehen of the urban environment, and (3) it entails paying attention to the effects that the terrain has on one's behavior and emotions, an awareness of the psychogeography of space.

Dérive is literally translated as drifting (as of a ship drifting off course), but Jenks (1995) notes that the translation ignores the concept's potential; "[t]o simply drift implies a passivity that 'blows with the wind' whereas dérive entails a

response to inducement, albeit unplanned and unstructured." (154) The dérive is a systematic (yet not overly systematic) wandering in which the researcher follows or goes along with the psychogeographic exigencies of the environment, allowing the environment to determine his/her movements. It is in this way not a stroll (which implies walking for the sake of walking with a distinct lack of focus) or a journey (which implies a definite destination or self determined path between predetermined points in space).

The dérive, from a methodological standpoint, is interesting because it has both ethnographic and critical-ethnographic dimensions. An underlying assumption of the theory of the dérive is that cities are like networks consisting of fixed points, vortexes, conduits, zones and atmospheres, points of passage, entrances, exits, and defenses.[2] From a critical standpoint the dérive is a game through which individuals can learn about these features of space and come to inhabit space on their own terms by finding modes of movement that contradict instrumental design (thus the dériver drifts off course) (Plant 1992; Ritzer 2001). On the other hand, the ethnographic dimension of dérive entails, first, an exploration as well as a mapping of psychogeographical exigencies. The point of this exercise is to achieve a certain level of understanding of how the space works psychogeographically, how it is able to manipulate human behavior, in hopes that this knowledge will lead to an understanding of how the space can be used in alternative ways (Plant 1992). And this knowledge is facilitated by and often combined with the psychogeographic study of maps:

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[2] This is an understanding of the city as essentially network-like that is shared by the various theorists of flow as discussed in the previous chapter.

> The exploration of a fixed spatial field thus presupposes the determining of bases and calculation of directions of penetration. It is here that the study of maps comes in—ordinary ones as well as ecological and psychogeographical ones—along with their rectification and improvement. (Debord [1956] 1981:52)

McDonough (1994) argues that the dérive is tactical in the military sense as it takes place in strategic space (also abstract space) dominated by and organized in terms of foreign powers; it is a maneuver in the enemy's space. For Coverly (2006) the dériveur is an advanced tactical scout charged with the task of going out into the field in order to map it strategically, geographically, and also psychogeographically in order to develop a logistical understanding and possibly a measure of logistical control.

Some examples of psychogeographical explorations and observations of the built environment that appear in the literature take the form of what Sherry (1998) has called the walking tour:

> I...undertake a sort of 'walking tour' of the interior of the store, discussing the ambient surroundings and exploring reactions to them. I employ the pontifical we and address the reader rhetorically, as a fellow traveler. (177)

The way in which Sherry uses dérive as both a method of data collection and a mode of presentation is interesting and effective in his ethnography of Nike Town. Another example is Chung and Leong's (2001:600-605) visual essay depicting a continuous walk on the Las Vegas Strip through various modes of representation (photographic montage, maps, and aerial photographs). The

reader is able to follow the authors' path, and is able to visually experience the Strip. The representation is not perfect but what is produced is a vivid description that words alone could not easily capture. By depicting the walk in a montage they show that "it [the Strip] is configured for collective forms of movement, with moving sidewalks, monorails sidewalks, and skywalks connecting the casinos into a continuous, smooth experience." (Chung and Leong 2001:604) The photographs contrast with each other in their feel (the representation of the ambiance of the different spaces) but are connected together through the montage; in the depiction of continuous streams of events, they are able to capture the Strip's spectacular *and* network-like characteristics.

Shopping Ecology and Imageability

I use two similar typologies of elements, or *components*, throughout the analysis of consumption space. We could also describe these typologies as systems theories as they allow the dissection of social spaces (namely cities and shopping environments) into their component (yet integral) parts. The first typology is shopping ecology which is an extension of some of the terms in landscape ecology to the social spaces of shopping (Table 1). For Cha (2001) the principles of landscape ecology can help in analyzing the systemic functionality and the spatial patterns of shopping and is also useful in making comparisons between different areas of consumption space; "[v]iewed in this way, shopping can be seen in its true light, as an ecological network of exchange for the retail industry and its consumer participants." (321) The concept of *function* in shopping ecology can be compared to my conceptualization of flow; it

is the "the movement and flow of shoppers, goods, information, capital, and energy through the structure." (334)

The typology suggested by the study of shopping as an ecology has three basic parts (patch, corridor, and matrix) these elements combine into a larger system called a mosaic (the ecosystem, or shopping system as a whole) (Cha 2001). The patch is the most basic component of the shopping ecology; a patch is a "habitat for the shopping species" (shoppers, vendors, commodities, information, etc.) that can be defined and described in terms of size, shape, edges, and biodiversity; anything that can be defined as shopping can be described as a shopping patch (Cha 2001:324). A corridor is the element that most relates to movement and flow, "the pathways channeling the activities of shopping...," the elements that connect shopping patches into larger systems (to other patches and to other flows such as highways and information networks); corridors are "the main arteries of the shopping organ..." (Cha 2001:328) Corridors can be further separated into four functional attributes: (1) as conduits they are the paths the facilitate the movements of objects and shoppers, (2) as filters they direct or shape the flow of objects, and they are driven by (3) sources which are areas in which output (outgoing flow) exceeds input (incoming flow), and (4) sinks where input exceeds output (Cha 2001:328) Matrix is a definable shopping ecology consisting of multiple patches interconnected into a network-like structure by conduits into a definable system of control, the larger cybernetic and physical structure of the shopping ecology (i.e. the Las Vegas Resort Corridor).

Table 1

Components of Shopping Ecologies

Component	Explanation	Examples
Patch	Any definable non-linear area in which shopping takes place	From department stores to kiosks.
Edge	The edge of a shopping patch where the environment changes significantly	Entrances and exits, shifts in atmosphere
Corridor	Pathways that channel the activity of shopping and facilitate flows	Mall promenades, escalators, travelators
Sink	An aspect of a corridor where shopping flow input exceeds output	Mall anchors, attractions, spectacles
Source	An aspect of a corridor where shopping flow output exceeds input	Parking lots, exits from attractions, etc.
Matrix	The total cybernetic or network structure of the specific shopping ecology	Consumption space, Disney space, etc.

Adapted from Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping: 2001

Another useful typology is Lynch's (1960) elements of the system of imageability (table 2). There are five elements: (1) paths, like conduits in shopping ecologies are "channels along which the observer customarily, occasionally, and potentially moves...", (2) edges are "linear breaks in continuity", boundaries of various types, (3) districts are large sections of a city into which the city dweller can enter, defined spatially by boundaries and accessed through paths, (4) nodes are conjunctions of the various other elements (especially paths), significant areas where other elements come together in a strategic, functional, or memorable way, and (5) landmarks are points of reference, usually some type of definitive physical object or structure

through which the city dweller can organize their movements and orient themselves in space.

Table 2

Components of City Image

Component	Explanation	Examples
Path	Channels along which people or objects move	Transportation flows (monorail), walkways, etc
Edge	Boundaries, and breaks in continuity	Walls, entrances and exits, shifts in atmosphere
Districts	Various sections of a city	Downtown, the "Strip"
Nodes	Strategic intersections, or conjunctions of the above components	Street or mall intersections, casino pathwork intersections, main casino entrances
Landmarks	External points of reference	Buildings, structures and monuments (Luxor light, David)

Adapted from The Image of the City: 1960

Lynch (1960) notes that none of these elements exist in a vacuum, nor can they be disconnected from one another; their specific combination, arrangement, and integration constitutes the order of imageability of a city.

Data and Analysis

I have noted that Urry (2000a) has argued for a sociology beyond societies, but he also adds that this new focus for sociology requires a "sociology of objects" as it is flows of objects, and also mobile hybrid combinations of humans an objects, that make up major parts of the social. This study is partly an attempt

to do just that as it is highly focused on the materiality of consumption space. In that way the exploration is analogous to a *functional* analysis of consumption space, not in the Parsonian or Mertonian sense, but in the material culture sense: this entails the study of objects (especially in terms of their production and use), arrangements of objects in space, and social and physical interactions through, about, and with objects (Wells 2007). Socio-material forms in space have a form (shape into which they are formed and a specific material out of which they are formed) and a function (the use to which the object is put, the rationale for the existence of the object, and the object's systemic relation to other objects) (Preston 2000). Tilly (2006) argues that there is too much focus placed on the *meanings* that people impart to the urban phenomenon, and that by focusing on people researchers ignore the full complexity of the social world by reducing it to a system of interactions between people in which objects either do not exist or constitute only a context for those interactions. Interactions through, about and with significant objects, and behaviors that may be conditioned by objects are largely ignored. These ideas lead Wells (2007) to argue that a focus on objects can be as useful, if not more so, than asking people to describe what objects or physical forms in space mean to them, so I did not focus on the meanings that individuals might impart to consumption space. This is a result of my assumption that the psychogeographic effects are largely subconscious; I assume that consumers do not usually critically evaluate all of their emotions or for that matter the reasons for their movements in consumption space. Behavior, in terms of the physical movements of individuals in space, is also quite straightforward. This

focus is not a result of some overly mechanistic conception of consumption space (although that space is highly mechanistic) rather it is the result of the ways in which consumers are defined and treated in consumption space (see Goss 1993 and Gottdiener 1995) This sort of focus is the basis of Ritzer's (2001) analysis of the new means of consumption. He argues that these spaces are "literally machines" and ultimately physical structures in space which leads him to a critical analysis of their *materiality* and *functionality* (145); he does not want to understand the motives or perspective of the consumer (not that these things are unimportant) but rather the motives and objectives of the means of consumption. Sandiki and Holt (1998) take the same approach by documenting and describing how activity is structured within mall space (actually a particular mall); they use these descriptions to explore how the mall functions.

Photographs and field notes that I collected throughout all phases of the exploration make up the majority of the data. In terms of physical logistical techniques, photographs were the main source of data as they captured the materiality of spatial arrangements best. It is generally understood that pictures "speak a thousand words," but to go even further, pictures are able to capture aspects of materiality in a ways that words simply cannot. One mode, although there are others such as touch, through which we experience materiality is the visual; this visual experience of materiality is simply presented better through photography than through description even if any mode of representation has its flaws. Flow patterns, consumer behaviors, and descriptions of psychogeographic exigencies and events were captured best in field notes. Casino and mall

property maps were the third and final type of data. I recreate significant sites, depicted in these property maps, throughout the analysis. The combination of maps and photographs provides for both an analytically distanced bird's-eye-view and a situated mole's-eye-view of significant spaces.

I of course observed the *behavior* of individuals in consumption spaces, but I focused on articulating this behavior with the placement and arrangement of significant objects in space in order to understand that particular space's logistical functionality. In order to articulate particular flow patterns and behaviors in consumption space with the form of the built environment and the logistical design of the space, I collected property maps of all of the casinos and malls that I visited, retraced and documented my movements through the space, and articulated my field notes and photographs with the design of the space. The result was something that we can call an experiential map of the space; a combination of the different types of data: personal experiences (memories), photographs, field notes, arranged in relation to a map of the space. More concretely, this activity involved arranging and re-arranging all of these types of data on the floor. This analysis of maps also involved the dissection of spaces in terms of "ecological" and "imaginary" components (see Lynch 1960 and Cha 2001); those entry and exits, conduits, vortexes, edges, sinks, sources, filters, landmarks, nodes, paths, etc.; and later the conceptual re-assembly of those components and spaces into logistical systems of flow. In terms of logistics, this activity provides for a *functional understanding* of the space, an understanding of the design intent of the space or the way the space is most logically designed to

be used, and also an understanding of its functional relations to other spaces and/or logistical systems.

Procedure

As I have stated before, the method that I use to interrogate the logic of movement can best be described as a process of exploration. This idea of *process* and *exploration* should actually be totally contrasted to the idea of a methodical procedure; as such, it is designed to move (actually and methodologically), to change, to be adaptable to the situation, to embrace a certain subjectivity, and to be improved through actual interactions with any particular field. For me, It began as a wandering through the Las Vegas Strip, an unsystematic ambulatory *moving* observation that evolved into a systematic wandering, a psychogeographic exploration in every sense of the word, in every sense of the term's "pleasing vagueness," and, in every sense, parallel to that particular "spirit of discovery." (see Debord [1954] 1981)

I stayed within the confines of what is known as the Las Vegas resort corridor. The central feature of the exploration was the Las Vegas Strip which has been described by various commentators as the four-and-a-half-mile stretch of Las Vegas Boulevard from Mandalay Bay to the Stratosphere. But because the "Strip" actually refers to Las Vegas Boulevard proper, other terms are used such as "resort corridor" which includes the Strip and a limited surrounding area. The sequence of casinos on the west side of the strip is flanked by Las Vegas Boulevard and the I-15; the casinos on the east side of the Strip are bound by the

monorail (the monorail also stretches to the Las Vegas Hilton). These spatial characteristics show that the Strip, or the Las Vegas Resort Corridor, constitutes an elongated cluster, integrated by various modes of transportation, rather than a "strip". It is a space held together by networks of various modes of transportation. Towards the southern end of the Strip casinos are closely packed together and are better integrated for pedestrian travel, while, towards the northern end, they are somewhat dispersed and can only be accessed by automobile or via very long stretches of sidewalk. The actual Strip however is the central feature of the resort corridor in that it constitutes its inter-transportational core and the major source of pedestrian traffic.

The strip cannot be adequately explored in one day. The size of the transportation network of the Strip is vast in and of itself, not to mention the interiors of the super-casinos and the geographical area of the various malls that are on the Strip. It quickly became necessary to explore the Strip with what I call a fragmented exploration. This consisted of a series, or a collection, of dérives in and through different parts of the Strip which allowed me to get a general yet practical logistical understanding of the territory. The collection of dérives, one after another, each individually only suggesting a span of unsystematic wandering, grew into a collection of experiences of the space and in that way the fragments slowly began to add up to a very useful verstehen; I simply became familiar with the space by being in it for extended periods of time.

During any particular dérive, I allow myself to be drawn by the attractions of the terrain and I try to follow my initial impulses as to the directions that I move.

Particular *urges* to take one path over another seem to come to mind, and I simply follow those urges which results in an (un)structured movement through various spaces. This activity is, at best, an extremely subjective and personal exploration of ones own feelings along the lines of auto-ethnography. In the moment, and in the dérive, we are dealing with mostly pre-conscious processes and possibly even totally subconscious process that cannot be wholly accounted for. The object, at least at this point, is to keep moving within the field and to simply allow for unanticipated movements while at the same time maintaining a sort of hyper-awareness.

It becomes obvious very quickly that consumption space on the Las Vegas Strip is hyper-complex, to use Lefebvre's terminology, as it consists of an almost countless array of interconnections, conduits, different types of spaces, zones, etc., to the point that it can only be described as network-like. The dérive allows for a type of random/systematic movement along this urban network that can best be described as a playful wandering. I have found it more practical and quicker (and for that matter more interesting and fulfilling) to explore consumption space in this way rather than trying to analyze it, from the beginning, one segment at a time which would involve the artificial partitioning of the space into particular zones and then the systematic exploration of those zones. Through dérive I was able to quickly zero in on significant areas for more sustained and systematic observations. This playful wandering of the dérive turns out to be not only more practical (as we traverse space, and focus the observations more quickly) but also more true to the field as the researcher is required, from the

beginning, to immerse themselves in actual reality and the phenomenological flow of the field.

Debord ([1956] 1981) has noted that the spatial field of the dérive depends on the point of departure (usually the solo dériver's home or a meeting place of some sort). With this in mind, I decided to begin any particular dérive, in the first stages of the exploration, from some central point within one of the major casino-resorts on the Strip. The idea was to create a census of starting points; after some time, I had started dérives from all of the major casinos on the Las Vegas Strip. During this initial phase of the research I derived from six to eight hours from each initial starting point and, by extension, from each major casino. Of course, later dérives tended to bleed into earlier ones as I started to become aware of patterns in my own movements. From any new starting point, it was not at all unusual to "end up" close to other starting points from previous dérives. I began to notice that I would end up in the same spaces or in the same types of spaces; all of this constitutes the discovery of patterns in my own movements through the macro-logistical structure of the Strip. An obvious result of this was that I began to find myself in particular spaces (i.e. the Forum Shops, Via Bellagio, etc.) quite often. I translated these patterns into a collection of significant psychogeographic spaces, significant spaces of flow, and particularly strategic or highly logistical spaces, etc; the only criteria was that the space be notable in some way that was relatable to the subject of this study.

With a mental (and even sometimes an actual) list of these significant spaces I found myself in a position to move on to a different phase of the exploration that

involved more strategic, focused and directed dérives in these specific spaces. These spaces were always particular malls or super-casinos, or groups of super-casinos, particular modes of transportation, or particular transportation networks. These dérives were very similar to those in the first phase of the exploration but also different as I was more focused on finding specific logistical techniques in well defined spaces. Although I had been taking photographs from the very beginning of the exploration it was during this phase that I began to take photographs of specific objects or of specific spaces from specific vantage points.

At this stage in the exploration, dérive entailed following the paths of least resistance, which I understood as the shortest, most direct, most obvious paths (and at times also the opposite, as I attempted to go against these same paths). For instance, there were times when I would explore a particular space by trying to get out of it, or into it, as quickly as possible. I thought of these dérives as a special mode of participant observation in which the goal was not to participate with flows of consumers per se, but rather with the logistical features of the space, to use obvious entrances and exits or obvious modes of transportation. So, at this stage I would also dérive in order to come to some understanding of what I call the design intent of the space; this is related to the discussion of functional analysis and involves the search for the ways in which designers most logically intended the space to be used. I let the space direct my movement (consciously and pre-consciously), I followed signs, patterns on the floor and the ceiling, and other psychogeographic exigencies; I stopped from time to time to

produce field notes (usually every hour or so), and, later, I would analyze how that movement articulated with the space through the creation of the experiential maps that I discussed above. This involved retracing dérives in relation to property maps and analyzing how the space may have affected my movements. In this way, dérive provided a method to measure how much my movement was controlled by the logistics of the space and also a way to discover what those logistics were in the first place. Thus, if I tended to always turn right in a particular space, or if I always chose one path over another, I would obviously want to know why this was the case and I would also want to document particular features of that particular space photographically. Dérive, at this stage, also involved following crowds, or flows, of shoppers and tourists through consumption spaces, going with the flow so to speak. This of course lead to the need to find the origin and/or dispersal points of these flows. I would takes notes based on my observations of these flows and also try to articulate them with the rest of the data by way of the experiential maps. This procedure fit with the idea of rolling processes of exploration as I analyzed the data on a continuous basis, usually directly after any psychogeographic stint in the field.

After following the above procedure for some time I had amassed quite a bit of data in the form of photographs, field notes, and experiential maps. This allowed for a phase of the exploration that involved traditional analytic induction in a basic search for patterns and archetypes in the data. I zeroed in on exemplars for each of these patterns and/or archetypes (that is patterns of flows or archetypes of spaces and arrangements of objects). This *zeroing in*

constituted a type of theoretical sampling of specific sites for even more focused observation; selection of any particular site was based on the type of consumption space (casino space, mall space, transitional space, etc.), the potential of the site to provide a specific type of data, and the potential for the site to serve as an exemplar of particular flow patterns, types of spatial arrangements, logistical strategies, or remarkable psychogeography. These exemplars formed the majority of the data that I present in the next two chapters. It is at these sites that I began a round of systematic naturalistic observation. I would observe the specific sites from one two hours at a time (security permitting). The idea was to subject these sites to even more intense, and arguably more objective, rounds of observation. In this phase I focused on movements of crowds and groups of people (consumer flows) through these spaces. I used both time-spot sampling and also theoretical sampling in order to randomize the times that I observed these sites and also to observe these sites when they were most likely to provide specific types of data. For instance, I observed any particular space randomly and at both times of potentially high and low consumer flows. The main goal was to re-explore the most remarkable sites under various conditions.

Conclusion

The methodology that I use to interrogate consumption space in terms of the logic of movement can best be described as a *process of exploration*; it is designed in relation to the general idea of movement in that it is it is designed to

move (actually and methodologically), to change, to be adaptable to the situation, to embrace a certain subjectivity, and to be improved through actual interactions with any particular field. It began as a wandering and unsystematic observation but has evolved into a systematic wandering, a psychogeographic method of exploration informed by the concept and practice of the dérive.

I explained how and what methods were triangulated and how observation tied all of the other methods together. I explored the practicability of shifting between participant and naturalistic modes of observation and the idea of the covert. I discussed, at length, psychogeography and the activity of the dérive. I explored the dérive as a walking observation, as a critical and tactical game of exploration, as a highly subjective and personal activity, and as an activity that allows the researcher to participate with social flows and mobilities and also the very design of space. (If anything, I hope I have highlighted its openness, its fundamental malleability and its "pleasing vagueness".) I also introduced two systems typologies of possible components of consumption spaces and urban networks that facilitate the description of logistical consumption systems.

In terms of data and analysis I discussed the importance of studying objects and also that of collecting data in regards to the physical features of consumption spaces. This focus on the physical dimensions of the logic of movement can be compared to a functional analysis of consumption space in the material cultural sense. I explained what types of data I collected (photographs, fields notes, property maps, and personal experiences) and also how I combined them, for purposes of analysis, into experiential maps in order to explore consumption

spaces as logistical systems. In the procedure section I outlined the three basic phases of the exploration: (1) fragmented exploration, (2) focused explorations of significant spaces, and (3) highly focused naturalistic observations of flows in theoretically specific spaces.

In the next chapter I will explore the logistics of mall space. I will discuss the mall form in general, its ur-forms such as the arcade and the bazaar, the return of the arcade in the form of the predatory mall, and the return of the bazaar in the form of the kinetic labyrinth. I will also explore the notion of logistical systems in a walking tour of the Forum Shops at Caesars Palace.

CHAPTER 3

MALL LOGISTICS

The shopping mall is *the* structure of contemporary consumption space. The mall's functional position as means of consumption combined with the fact that it serves that function so efficiently, at high speeds and at such considerable scales sets it apart as a core technology of consumer capitalism. An important part of the mall is its logistical functionality, as it is specifically engineered to maximize, organize and direct the flow of foot traffic towards commodities (Herwig and Holzherr 2006). For instance, Gottdiener (1995) argues that "[t]he purpose of mall design is solely instrumental—the control of crowds to facilitate consumption, and Herwig and Holzherr (2006) argue that "[a] mega-mall is like a huge machine that connects people and materials at top speed..." (132) In mall space, shoppers are drawn and attracted, literally moved between levels and across ambiances, "carried away by escalators and elevators" (Goss 1995:52), channeled through paths of least resistance, attracted and lured by decoys, directed and redirected by obstacles, prodded, pushed, and pulled, etc. down promenades, into shops, and towards commodities. The material design of mall space instrumentally opens paths of least resistance, a passive control of consumer flow and an illusion of free movement. Along this same line the mall

also works by providing the possibility of unstructured and random movements, relying, to some extent, on the free movement of consumers, but this is a calculated randomness, as there is little that is actually left to real chance (Goss 1993; Gottdiener 1995).

The flows of shoppers are ultimately informed by the arrangement and positioning of commodities, but the ultimate goal (connecting consumers to commodities as fast as possible) is realized through a *variety* of logistical tools and techniques within the mall itself (Herwig and Holzherr 2006); through these logistical arrangements the mall becomes a kinetic machine. The mall can be described as a relation of basic "components" of mall design (Herman 2001), and this fact is important for purposes of analysis because it allows for the conceptual disassembly of mall forms into logistical components.

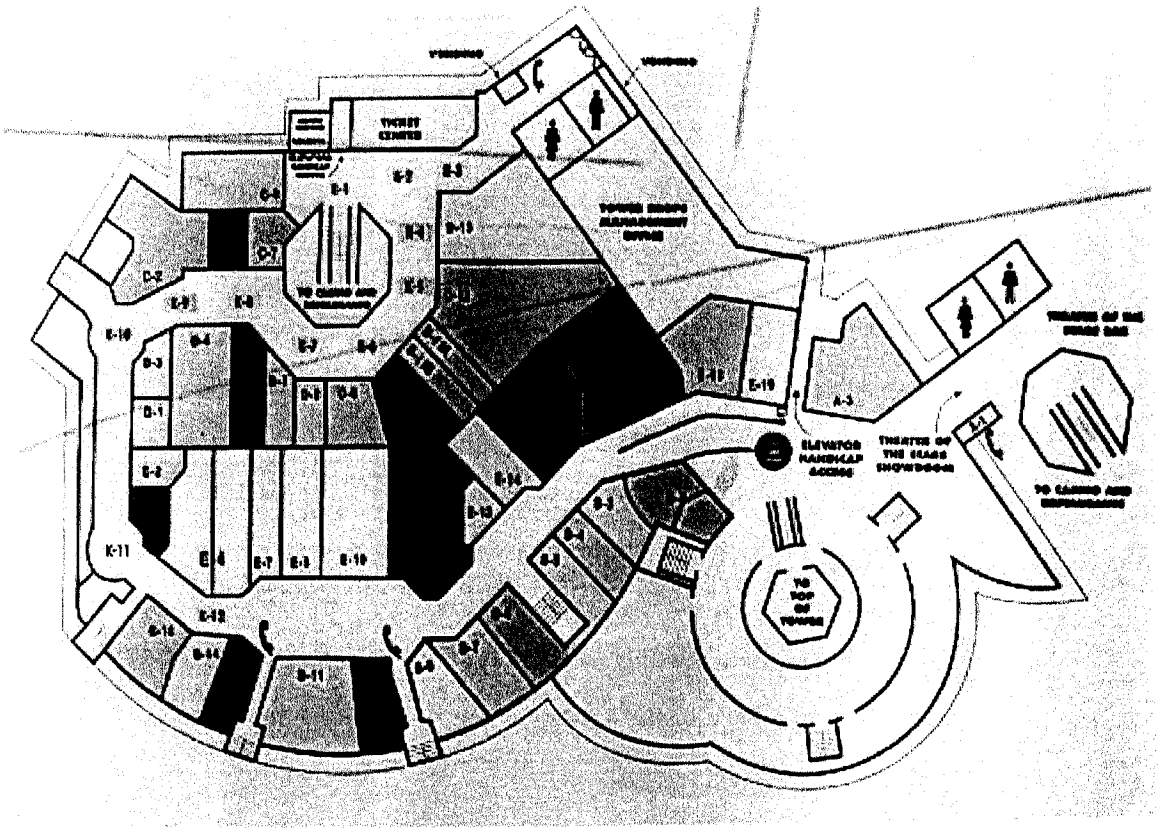
For Goss (1993), consumption logisticians make use of certain "behaviorist principles" (33), a fact which highlights a complexity in the notion of consumption logistics. The logistical techniques that are implemented in consumption space work at both a psychological and a physical level. At the psychological level, they are directed towards or are designed to play upon the mind of the consumer, are designed to produce feelings, thoughts, or mental connections that in-turn *result* in consumer flows. At the physical level, logistical techniques are directed at the body of the consumer. The material space of the mall is designed to be more or less permeable to physical movements (Goss 1993); on this level, flow is the result of an interaction of material bodies and objects in material space.

The shopping mall is a calculated descendent of its ur-forms, those being the Greek Agora (linked to the architectural form of the colonnade), and Middle Eastern bazaars (Geist 1983; Leong 2001a; 2001b). But, perhaps the quintessential ur-form of the contemporary shopping mall, especially in terms of movement (see Geist 1983), are the arcades (passages) of the nineteenth century (Shields 1992; Jewell 2001; Leong 2001a; Patterson 2006); as Shields (1989) argues, "[i]t was Benjamin who first characterized the arcade or mall as a concretization of the commodity trade...in space." (157) It is to the arcades that most researchers refer when they discuss the historical development of the shopping mall, but in the malls on the Las Vegas Strip we tend to find aspects of all of the ur-forms, especially the bazaar. Just as we are able to interrogate the shopping mall from a logistical standpoint by breaking it up into its components, we can do the same by analyzing the different forms that it takes in terms of its ur-forms.

Return of the Arcade (Predatory Malls)

A good example of what we might call a *predatory* mall is the Tower Shops at the Stratosphere casino. The central features of the predatory mall are strategic placement within (and in relation to) other systems of flow (near entry/exit points or between major sinks and sources), and the ability to absorb, exploit and/or hijack other flows. These features are related to their ability to distract or side-track visitors on their way to somewhere else.

Figure 2. *Tower Shops Map*



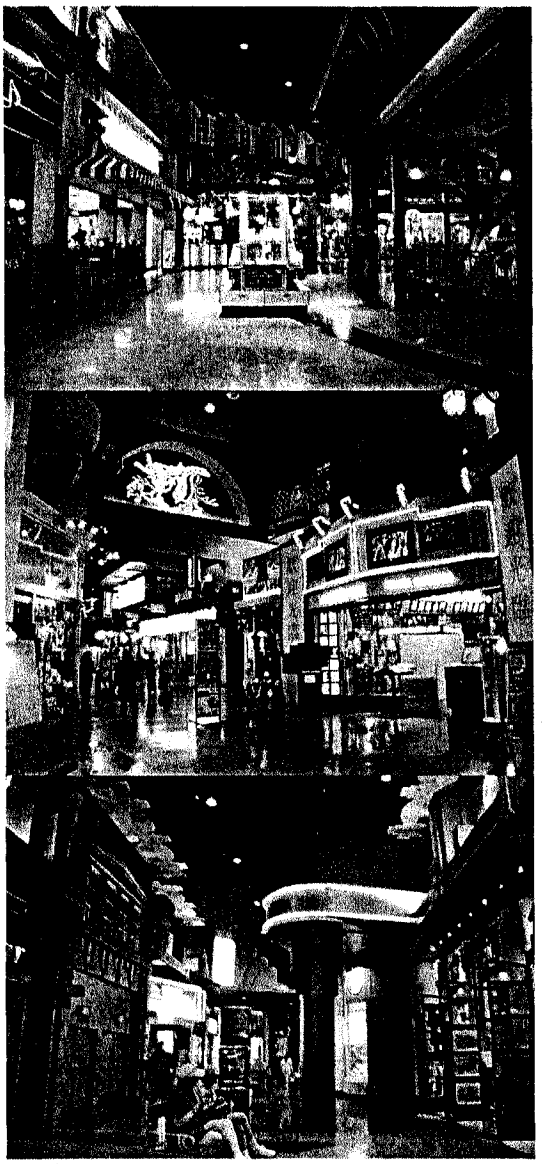
At 1,149 feet, the Stratosphere tower is a Las Vegas icon that marks the extreme northern edge of the resort corridor.[1] What is more, the Stratosphere tower has what is referred to in casino design jargon as *curb appeal*. As such it is a major visual draw. As a powerful sink it is able to generate a fair amount of touristic and consumer flow. As a result, the Tower Shops also enjoy high levels of flows as the mall essentially functions as the main corridor or connection to the tower:

[1] It was the intention of Bob Stupak to extend the Las Vegas Strip north with the construction of the Stratosphere tower. There is some debate as to whether it can be considered as part of the resort corridor, but I have included it because the tower is such an obvious attraction and landmark.

The Tower Shops Mall is conveniently located on the second level at the top of the escalator near the property's main entrance. (stratosphere.com)

The trek to the tower is less than direct and anything but convenient; the Tower Shops Mall rather absorbs flows, taking visitors and spectators on a serpentine trip through mall space before releasing them near the entrance to the tower.

Figure 3. *Tower Shops Interior*



This mall is probably the best example of how predatory malls are always overly laden with obstacles and visual stimulation (visually keyed up, or hyper-visual). The predatory mall must continually work to distract, re-direct, and disorient physically and visually. Gottdiener (1995) notes that smooth uniform consumer flows are scattered and direct paths blocked and "broken up" by a whole array of logistical obstacles in consumption space (planters, trash cans, fountains, benches and walls that "jut out into traffic") (299). Kiosks serve a double function as they work to draw shoppers down the promenade and

also to redirect their movements towards commodities (Goss 1993, Gottdiener 1995). They are a permanent feature of the Tower Shops (especially prevalent at the main entrance near the escalator), and here, as elsewhere, they work to disrupt flow and direct it towards shop fronts. Its twisting layout does not allow for clear views up and down the promenade; predatory malls (and many other malls for that matter) make use of 45° angles (zigzag layouts) and long sweeping curves to hide the space ahead and to disorient shoppers physically. The zigzag layout disrupts movement and shoppers are made to flow now in relation to the design of the promenade, not their own. The zigzag technique also disrupts the meandering shopper's line of sight, hijacking their attention, and re-directing it towards their more immediate surroundings: "[t]he consumer's attention is diverted away from a specific destination by the very fact that it is now rendered 'invisible', and exists only as a 'promise' at the end of our journey." (Jewell 2001: 362) Furthermore, the Tower Shops mall is visually keyed up in terms of its arrangement of motifs[2], or to use Debord's ([1967] 1994) term, different shifts in unities of atmosphere; it is separated in and designed in terms of three different cityscapes (Paris, Hong Kong, and New York) that combine into a compressed and convoluted ambiance:

> "[*k*]*eep it elusive, so that you're always having to keep your eyes open to make sure you don't miss anything. It's really important to keep your*

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[2] The mall is illusionary because it seeks to create what Goss (1993) calls a "fantasized disassociation from the act of shopping." (19) The main purpose of a shopping mall is to sell commodities, and the ultimate goal of mall design is to camouflage that instrumental purpose, and this camouflage, or the mall's disguise is its motif, its particular decorative elements, its spectacle (Gottdiener 1995).

perceptions off balance so they're always keyed up…at the highest level of perceptual potentiality." (Herman 2001:406)

By manipulating visuality, these malls are said to play upon the innate human desire to explore.

The breaking up of mall promenades into fragments, or what I will call sequential shopping worlds is a somewhat common logistical strategy in malls on the Strip. Rather than present shoppers with a daunting promenade that disappears into some distant vanishing point, they are given a sequence of smaller and more traversable shopping worlds; in other words, instead of an intimidating shopping *space*, we have a sequence of pleasant shopping *places*.[3] The logic is the same however and arguably more manipulative; it is a logistical tactic designed to draw shoppers into the depths of mall space and to create seemingly detached worlds that facilitate a maximum exposure to commodities.

The Star Lane at the MGM is another good example of the keyed up, confusing, and illusive nature of predatory malls. As depicted in the MGM property map, the Star Lane seems to be quite straightforward, but it is far less than direct in actual experience. The floor is not level which tends to position large marquees directly in our line of sight; furthermore, these marquees protrude out over the promenade and their associated columns work to disrupt flows. The shop fronts are less than uniform; they are quite jagged and jut out into the promenade themselves.

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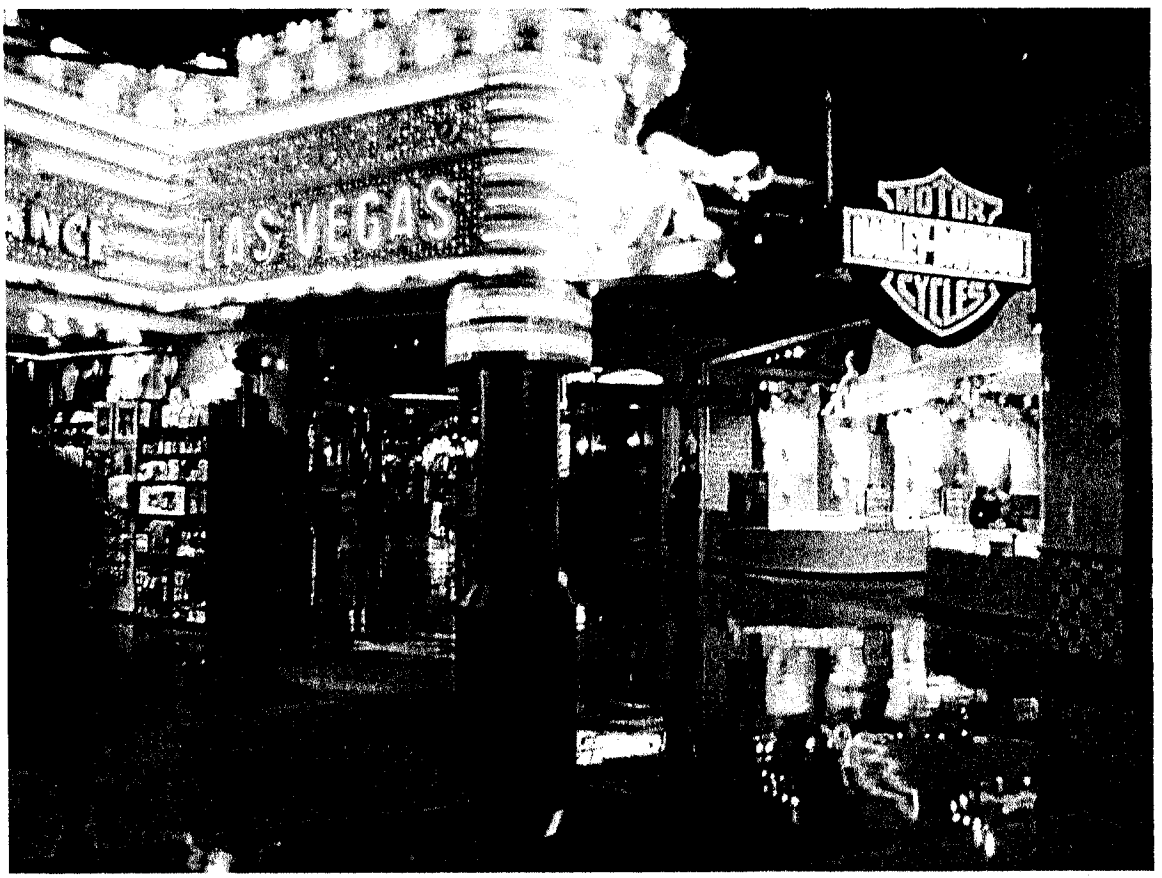
[3] I draw from the casino design consultant Bill Friedman (2000) who has argued that casino floors should be separated into "intimate gambling environments." The existence of these shopping worlds may be an extension of this idea into mall space.

Figure 4. *Star Lane Shops*



The Star Lane is essentially a transitional space that connects the MGM monorail station and the parking garage to the lobby of the MGM; its positioning in terms of these two major transportation sources highlights it as a space of potentially intense touristic flows on most occasions, but it is during peak hours (near check in/check out time on the weekends) that the Star Lane reaches a zenith of functionality. Tourists that traverse the space usually with suitcases in tow (a sort of hybrid vehicular unit[4]) seem to be on direct trajectories towards the

[4] Goffman (1971) explored what he called "vehicular units", or individuals in the midst of a "pedestrian traffic system." (5-18) In consumption space we might call

hotel lobby, but any direct path is obstructed. The combination of speed and the crooked design of the Star Lane produces an erratic flow as individuals and groups attempt to avoid not only obstacles in the space but each other as well. Additionally, it is not all that uncommon to see tourists shift, in an instant, and undergo something like the Gruen transfer which is a characteristic of a mall concerning the amount of time it takes for a determined goal oriented shopper to be transformed into a meandering browser (it also refers to this shift itself). Displays of commodities in particular shops (a demonstration by a magician/salesperson in front of Houdini's Magic Shop, a mechanical chicken doing back flips) seem to disrupt the pace of tourists, something catches their eye and they stop to circle back towards commodities, their original destination apparently forgotten in the welter:

> We are animated into agitated motion by the commodities and architecture of the mall. No longer quite in control, one becomes a drifting 'mall-walker', one's body is drawn by nonverbalized desires and attracted by curiosity as much as directed by a rational goal. (Shields 1994:207)

Groups seem to disintegrate as particular individuals are attracted to shop fronts while others in the group are not; individuals or even whole sections of larger groups fall out of formation and strain group integrity; those who have not made the transfer are left to circulate in mall space, holding the bags so to speak, and more often not *they* are eventually overcome by the exigencies of the commodities on display. It is not at all uncommon to see groups in shifting states

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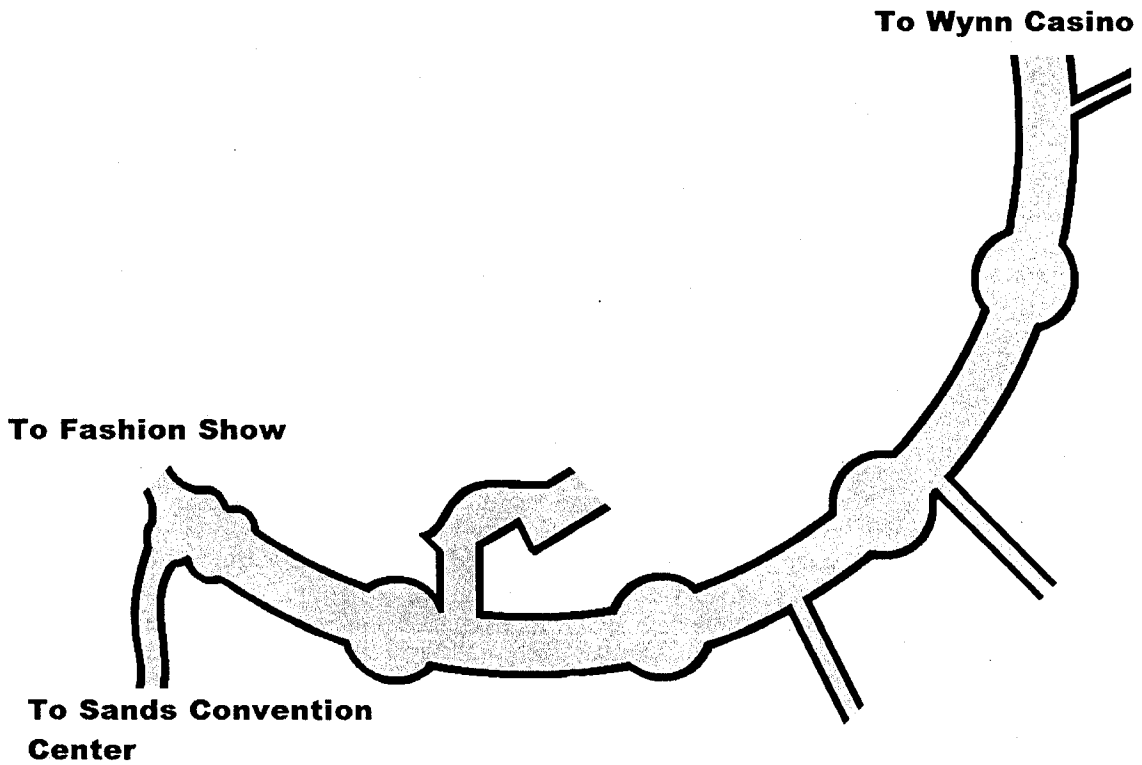
shoppers vehicular units, people in the midst of flows organized and directed by logistical systems in consumption space.

of integration, perpetually on the verge of flying apart, and with seemingly confused trajectories as different members are attracted in different directions and into different sections of mall space.

Figure 5. *Wynn Esplanade*



The pedestrian entrance to the Wynn is an elaborate curving arcade-like mall promenade, Wynn Esplanade. If not the only pedestrian entrance into the casino, it is by far the safest, making it the main pedestrian entrance, and the path of least resistance. Entering the Wynn from either the main or south gate areas takes great skill. The entrances are extremely confusing network-like spaces primarily designed for automobiles. One runs the risk of being run over by all

manner of motorized vehicles ranging from shuttle busses to taxicabs. Pedestrian paths weave in and out of this network as if designed specifically to provide access to automobiles and nothing else. Although the mall does not hijack the sidewalk as other casinos, it does work by way of a spectacle draw,[5] a water attraction that works to pull pedestrians from the sidewalk. Rather than enveloping the sidewalk, Wynn Esplanade draws a flow from the sidewalk into itself. In this way it is much less predatory than other malls on the strip. The gentle curve of the Esplanade creates a constant unveiling of products and shop fronts; in this way it works to disorient shoppers and break up the length of the mall much like the Tower Shops at the Stratosphere. As Lynch (1960) argues, curves (especially on an urban scale) can have the effect of gradual disorientation, in that the shift in direction is so slow as to be essentially unnoticeable. In the Esplanade, it seems that we are consecutively, over the length of the curve, denied a destination or an end to the space until the hyperspace of the casino finally comes into view. Curved promenades also work to increase the speed of circulation and are argued to "foster a sense of anticipation" in a continuous and sequential appearance of shop façades, signs, kiosks, commodities, and displays (Goss 1993:33).

We find that the Esplanade is completely intertwined with the commodity form. Display cases are set into walls throughout, commodities themselves and their exigencies spill out of the shops and onto the promenade, but this is a pattern of all malls. There is a more interesting example of the phenomenon

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[5] This refers to *spectacle* in the sense of a Disney style artistic draw (weenie).

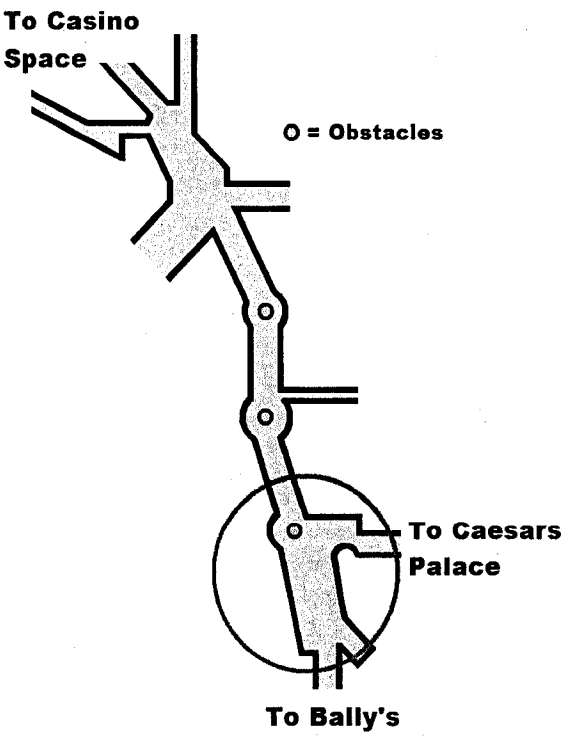
towards the end of the Esplanade at the transition into casino space. Here the intertwinement of the commodity and its associated space is complete in a fetishization of space.

Figure 6. *Wynn Esplanade, Dior Ad, and Motif*

Through the entire Esplanade there is a particular motif, a multi colored floral pattern (based on purple, orange and red). In the transitional space between the mall and the casino floor, the pattern changes or we could say fades into tile mosaics, a shift in ambiance, but the same general motif is followed. The mosaic appears, on the floor, near an advertisement for Dior rings. It is as if the motif is

growing either into or out of the advertisement. These rings are made of gemstones, in floral designs, that match the motif of the entire space. Although it is unclear as to which came first, the commodity or the motif, it is clear that the space and its products are interconnected in that they visually and also physically associate to each other through the same general pattern and through a colonization of the same space. We could speculate that the motif of the space constitutes a path (psychological as well as physical) that leads to the advertisement and by extension to the associated commodity and ultimately to the store in which it can be purchased. It appears as if this was the most natural setting for this commodity, the commodity and the space perfectly matched, a single entity.

Figure 7. *Via Bellagio and Node*



The way into Bellagio from the intersection of Flamingo Road and Las Vegas Boulevard proceeds through an arcade-like predatory mall similar to the Wynn Esplanade: it is Via Bellagio. *Via*, much like *arcade*, suggests transition, a conduit, or a space of passing. Via Bellagio constitutes one of two major pedestrian entrances into Bellagio casino, the other is a long travelator on the

south end of the property. As a predatory mall, it seeks to draw the pedestrian through mall space on their way to Bellagio. But, the part of Via Bellagio that is the most remarkable is the node at its entrance which works to connect Bellagio to both Bally's and Caesars Palace via pedestrian walkways. The node constitutes the most strategic feature of Via Bellagio as it effectively infiltrates, internalizes and absorbs, the sidewalk; it begins to take on the function of the sidewalk itself. This colonization of the major source of the Strip is nothing short of an architectural invasion into that system of flow, almost less of a colonization than a total replacement or hijacking. The functionality of the node is only possible through direct connections to the two pedestrian walkways, but it is as if these walkways only exist, now, to service Bellagio. In other areas, these raised walkways eventually re-connect to the sidewalk below, but here the re-connection takes place only within the node itself. The whole system is less a system for the public good than a logistical system controlled by the casino resort.

As it absorbs the sidewalk, any pedestrian wishing to cross the street here is subjected to mall space to some degree. Inside of this node the path of least resistance becomes clear in a spectacular arcade-like glass-roofed corridor that leads us into the depths of casino space. It is a sanctuary to which one can escape from the confusion of circulation induced by the twists and turns and the different levels and modes of movement within the node. The logistical tactic becomes clear as flows are directed into a line of fire, commodity exigencies as

projectiles, a spectacular ambush. This is a point in space where flows are directed through a Bellagio controlled consumption checkpoint.

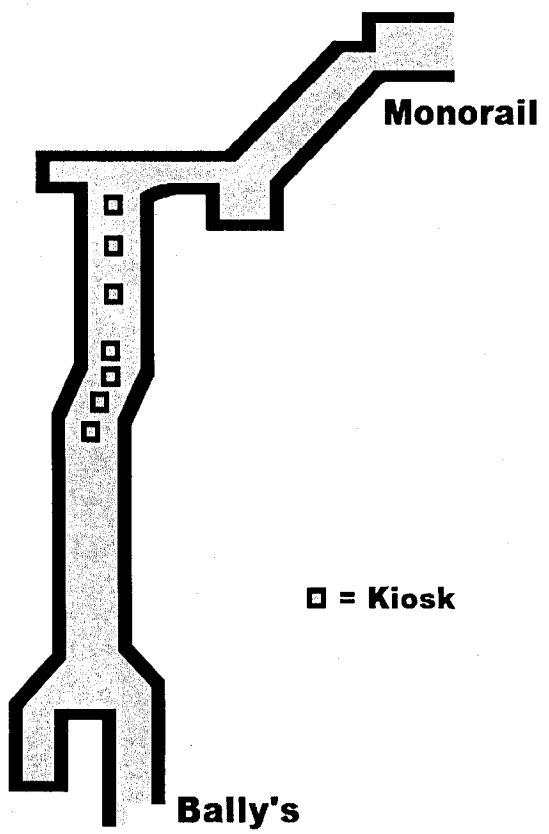
Figure 8. *Via Bellagio Node Interior*

Nodes are always spaces of movement and connection. For Lynch (1960) nodes are junctions of paths as well as clusters of various other elements of city imageability (landmarks, edges, and districts, but also, in terms of shopping ecology, patches and corridors). Nodes are essentially knots in which flows and structures intertwine. In most consumption spaces there always seems to be at least one area that is definable as a node, and in most malls there seems to be some section than can be defined as a central node, but we find particular malls

on the strip that serve as nodes in larger consumption systems or shopping mosaics.

Towards the back of Bally's we find a predatory mall that seems to be set up more as a transitional space or conduit rather than a mall. What we have here is a true hybrid of mall and conduit. It appears to be straightforward at first, but as we near its center from the monorail its is clear that several kiosks have been strategically placed to disrupt flow and block our line of sight; it is difficult to understand how far the space extends in either direction, so if one wants to eventually get to the monorail, they only have to trust that the station is just up ahead, a promises that seems to be strategically denied. From the other direction, that is, from the casino, it is difficult to tell if this *is* actually the way to the monorail. The whole mall serves as the only connection from Bally's casino floor to the monorail station, another transition space between major sinks and sources. It is a space that has been colonized by the commodity form, to some extent, but not totally as there are

Figure 9. Bally's Conduit



significant uncommodified sections making it more of a mall-like hybrid rather than a mall in and of itself; it serves a dual purpose and speaks to a certain potential or tension between movement and the commodity (or commodification) that is inherent in the architectural form of the mall. And, we find the same tension in the Convention Center Walkway at Mandalay Bay.

Figure 10. *Convention Center Walkway*

The space could be described as either a hyper-space or perhaps a non-place (see Augé 1995) or a space that seems to demand an unusual amount of travel. It becomes an almost empty trek. It can be described as a very sparse mall. Stores appear and disappear in little clusters, separated from each other through an immense space of transience. The sink of the space is the Shark Reef and we are drawn through the long and relatively bare conduit by advertisements only on occasion do we see groups of shops, a food court, etc., the rest is a spatial expanse.

A mall is essentially a transitional space that is lined with shops and anchored down on its peripheries by department stores. In this basic idea of movement, in the idea of the promenade and the passage, we see the influence and the logic of one aspect of the arcade (Wyman 2001). Benjamin ([1935] 1999) quotes from an *Illustrated Guide to Paris* in which arcades are described as "...corridors extending through whole blocks of buildings...,"(3). And Geist ([1979] 1983) develops a conceptual definition of an arcade: "...a glass covered passageway which connects two busy streets and is lined on both sides with shops." (4) In terms of the meaning of "arcade":

> The root is *pasus*, the Latin word for step, conveying the element of movement, of passage through a space. It has numerous meanings in common linguistic usage: street, roadway, thoroughfare, alley, transit, crossing...they express transition, threshold, passing...(Geist 1983:3)

Additionally, the arcade, for Geist ([1979] 1983), is an "organizing force of the retail trade." (4) The arcade is thus a space of integration *and* flow that is intertwined with the commodity form. But it is not only that as this integration is achieved through the transitional space between the shops, the promenade that directs and combines an internal flow of consumers and connects to external flows (external street systems). Furthermore, "[t]he transitional character of the passageway, exploited for commercial purposes, determines the building type" (Geist [1979] 1983:55). It is the logistical quality of the arcade, integration and control of movement, and the connection to commodities, that defines it, so there is this inherent tension or a double potential that is expressed in different ways.

In the kinetic labyrinth (which we will explore later) both potentials are pushed to the extreme, but we can find mall spaces that lie somewhere between a range in terms of these two potentials.

Leong (2001b) notes that "[n]ot only is shopping melting into everything, but everything is melting into shopping." (129) The vast majority of malls on the Las Vegas Strip (as we have already explored) are transitional spaces or simply conduits from one thing to another (attractions, entrances, hotel lobbies, the casino itself, and even other casinos). They become logistical mechanisms that are integrated into, but also that integrate, larger hybrid consumption systems through flows.

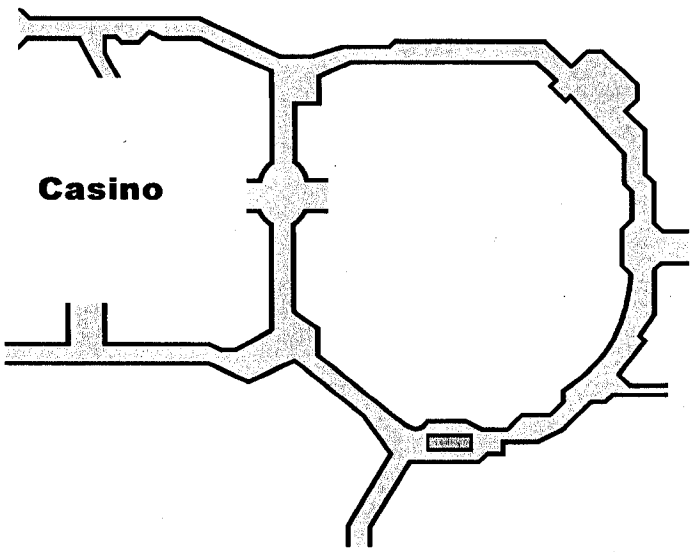
> Shopping's effectiveness in generating constant activity has made it an indispensable medium through which movement in the city is enacted. Not only has shopping become the basic building block of the city, it has, moreover, become one of the best tools for providing urban connectivity, accessibility, and cohesion. (Leong 2001d: 477)

The malls of the twentieth century were essentially arcades contained between anchor stores and over the years the ways that the promenades were made to intertwine in mall spaces became more and more complex, but the arcade-like promenade with its fundamental knack for conveying consumer flow was always a central characteristic. In larger consumption mosaics such as the Las Vegas Strip, the mall takes on more of a supporting role. But even in the promenades of the twentieth century, and, before that, the arcades of the nineteenth, as Geist (1983) notes, were always too dependent on connections to other structures and

systems of flow, to the point that we can say that the arcade has always been a quite useful method for constructing urban networks and reconfiguring flows in the city (Benjamin [1935] 1999, Leong 2001d). But, in the predatory mall we have here a sort of return of the repressed as the arcade manages to escape from its entrapment between department store anchors, from behind blank gray fortress walls at the periphery of urban networks, and once again flourishes out and about in the city itself; we find the return of the arcade in a hyper-rational and fragmented yet highly effective form. What Geist (1983) has called the "atomization of the arcade" involves its absorption and growing dependence on other structures to the point that it disintegrated as a distinct form in the beginning of the twentieth century (83). But we find, especially on the Las Vegas Strip, that its ghostly image has always existed in consumption space, in one form or another, as if in hibernation, and now resurfaces, establishes a new and more robust sort of niche in large scale consumption mosaics and in the urban fabric itself (see Cha 2001).

As the name, Miracle Mile, might suggest, the promenade here is quite a trek. In its overall structure we find what is essentially a large circular predatory mall connecting to various sinks and sources (parking garage, sidewalk, the casino, and a large theatre), but what is most interesting is that the mall surrounds the resort (the casino and the theatre) like some sort of consumption moat. Two promenades stretch out as tentacles to capture flows of pedestrians from the Strip. The mall appears to rival the casino as it encircles it and generally takes up the majority of the space, but the relationship is completely symbiotic as each

Figure 11. Miracle Mile Shops Promenade



constitutes sink and source for one another. It is here that the predatory mall comes into its own, so to speak, as a definite player in a larger consumption system working in terms of its fundamental functions as both logistical mechanism and means of consumption.

Return of the Bazaar (the Kinetic Labyrinth)

A less often cited ur-form of the contemporary shopping mall is the bazaar, and it shares an architectural and social genealogy with the arcade even though they are relatively distinct forms. Both arcades and bazaars can be linked to the classical *colonnade* architecturally and socially. The basic design of the arcade, as transitional space, is directly derived from the colonnade, and the bazaar, as a social phenomenon, is said to have developed within these column-lined passages (Geist [1979] 1983). The bazaar is different in a number of ways. Geist ([1979] 1983) notes that its main feature was the vending stand (like kiosks of today) as opposed to the glass fronted shops of the arcade; furthermore, the bazaar, rather than being a collection of shops is more of a single extended shop with different retail divisions (more like a hypermarket than an arcade), but, the

most important difference is the fact that bazaars, rather than simply *connecting* to external street systems, were highly integrated with and formed part of the street system itself. The bazaar, as a physical form, is an *open space* that integrates with or perhaps overlays existing systems of flow, as such, it works, in part, through *circulations* (see Williams 1991 and Ferguson 1992).

Additionally, bazaars tended to spring up around trade routes which indicates a connective quality that is shared with the arcade (only at a larger scale) and the contemporary shopping mall (only at different speeds). To this day, shopping malls are highly integrated with systems of transportation and flows of both consumers and commodities; they are usually constructed near large knots of transportation infrastructure, and seem to form node-like interchanges of the various flows essential to the commodity system (Shields 1992). In this way, drawing from the bazaar, the contemporary shopping mall establishes these important connections to the commodity system but also makes use of open space in order organize within that space a system of crisscrossing promenades, essentially a flow system of arcades. The most basic mall design, the dumbbell design, first conceived of by the architect and urban planner Victor Gruen, involves a single linear promenade strategically placed between two flow magnets (anchor stores). Two anchors allow for a single promenade, three anchors allow for a triangular promenade, four anchors for a cruciform construction; multiple stories allow for vertical intersections, bridges and complex grade separations suggesting possibilities of vertical and well as horizontal movement (Goss 1993). The contemporary mega-malls with multiple anchors on

multiple levels allow for vast networks and complex combinations of consumer flows and create almost labyrinthine consumption spaces. The arcade is used, here, as a smaller component in larger consumption networks. In this way, the contemporary shopping mall becomes an *integrated kinetic network.*

The labyrinthine character of mall space is important because it points to the developing tactical characteristics of contemporary mall space. Lefebvre (1991) argues that "the labyrinth...was originally a military and political structure designed to trap enemies inextricably in a maze..." (233) But the form of the labyrinth in the garden maze points to a strange technological tension that is analogous to the tension that Kellner (2003) finds in the idea of the "plastic funhouse" as opposed to Weber's iron cage.

> It must be granted that there is some value in mystification, labyrinth, or surprise in an environment. Many of us enjoy the House of Mirrors... This is so, however, only under two conditions. First, there must be no danger of losing basic form or orientation, of never coming out... Furthermore, the labyrinth or mystery must in itself have some form that can be explored... Complete chaos without hint of connection is never pleasurable. (Lynch 1960: 5-6)

Simon (1992) notes that the hedge maze was a preferred *amusement* of renaissance gardens, but he finds that labyrinths are now instrumentally designed into consumption spaces in which they draw from both their logistical and amusing potentials in order to achieve economically significant actions. The contemporary mall form has managed to recuperate the maze as tactical

technique while maintaining a *aura* of fun, as such the kinetic labyrinth can be described as *phantasma(go)ria*.

The best way to interrogate kinetic labyrinths is to focus on their nodes. Nodes usually work to organize flows in terms of some logic or rationale. Large highway interchanges and junctions, for instance, are nodes that work to organize flows in order to stimulate movement itself. There is a logic and rationale of efficient movement. Nodes in consumption space, however, seem to have a different logic as they seek to organize efficient movements only towards commodities. The goal, it seems, is always to maximize the shopper's exposure to commodities and shop fronts, not to get them through the space quickly. Nodes in consumption space, as logistical tactics, are essentially examples of organized confusion, but they reach their ultimate functionality in the kinetic labyrinth.

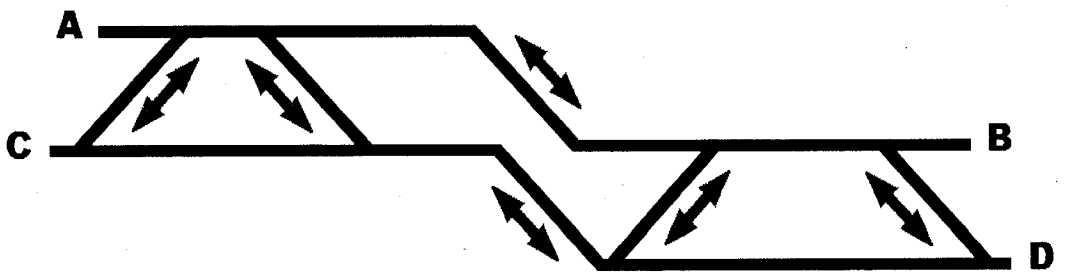
The best example of this logistical kinetic labyrinth can be found in the Fashion show Mall. It is a complete system of commodity driven circulations. Its mezzo-logistical structure can be described as a node of nodes. As such, there appears to be an overabundance of connections and possible routes that shoppers can take which make it difficult to stay on any pre-determine path. Trying to organize a route that would take us to every section, in front of every shop front, in the quickest most efficient way possible is almost an exercise in total futility. As Jameson (1991) has explained in his analysis of the Bonaventure Hotel: "...this latest mutation in space—postmodern hyperspace—has finally succeeded in transcending the capacities of the individual human body to locate

itself, to organize its immediate surroundings perceptually...," (44)[6] And, as he also mentions, the perplexity of the Bonaventure is relatable to the arrangement of escalators and travelators within the space. Something strange happens amidst all the possibilities for movement and that is the disappearance of any logical way to traverse the space. It is here that we find another level of control:

> The idea that a profession once dictated, or at least presumed to predict, people's movements, now seems laughable, or worse: unthinkable, Instead of design, there is calculation: the more erratic the path, eccentric the loops, hidden the blueprint, the more efficient the exposure, inevitable the transaction. (Koolhass 2001:414)

Amidst all of these possibilities there is only one, the possibility of circulation, as the shopper is directed on a series of loops. In fact, the best way to explore the space appears to be to simply wander, to circulate almost aimlessly, and the production of this type of wandering is more than likely a primary logistical goal.

Figure 12. *Escalator Placement in Fashion Show Mall (Profile)*



[6] Jameson also notes that the shops in the Bonaventure are nearly impossible to find, but at the Fashion Show the only possible trajectory seems to be towards shops which is all in line with the main purpose of the mall form.

Figure 13. *Central Node in Fashion Show Mall*

The design however is completely rational. The mall only has an upper and lower level although there appears to be four separate ones, all connected by escalators but essentially disconnected. The top floor is open in the middle which allows shoppers to survey shops and commodities on both levels at once, from the bottom up and from the top down. Add this to the fact that the only way to walk the entire mall, as if we were to make sure not to miss anything, is to complete two full revolutions in the space (one on the upper and one on the lower level) which is the way the mall is usually explored by shoppers. This would allow for commodities and shops to be passed twice. In light of this, it seems that

the best way to use the space would be to pick a level and make tactical incursions into the other via escalators.

At either end of the mall are nodes connecting the upper and lower levels as well as a secondary node that connects section A to section C (see Figure 12). (these nodes also connect to the parking structure underneath the complex). There is a centralized node that includes no less than seven escalators, and it is here that the logistics of the space are the most interesting. It would first appear, depending on our vantage point, that all levels are connected fluidly, but there is only an illusion of connections. From D it appears that we can access B when in fact this would only lead us to C. It would also appear that there is a direct connection from B to C, but this is yet another illusion, as we would soon find that that there is only an escalator connection to A. To get from B to C we have to first make our way to D, essentially going down only in order to go forward. Where it would appear that we could explore the space in a zigzag pattern, we are only directed into a sequence of loops, exposure to commodities and store fronts is maximized in a system of circulations and logistical loops. These systems of loops that mall space works to produce appear in one form or another throughout consumption space on the Las Vegas Strip. Other prime examples include the atrium entrance at the Forum Shops (we will explore this whole mall in another section), the Canal Shoppes at the Venetian, and the Miracle Mile at Planet Hollywood which makes use of a particularly long loop.

In the Canal Shoppes at the Venetian we find a particularly complex kinetic labyrinth. It is a space where we can easily see a combination of the bazaar and

arcade forms in the collection of open spaces (food court, St. Marks Square) connected by a network of promenades. The labyrinthine character of the Canal Shoppes is relatable to the behavior of shoppers as they try to poke their heads around corners perhaps to see how far it is that they have to go, but this mall is specifically designed to disrupt this activity through the utter sameness of the décor, the whiteness, and the sheer amount of corners themselves created by shop fronts that come out into the promenade at precarious and disruptive angles.

Figure 14. *Canal Shoppes Labyrinthine Promenade*

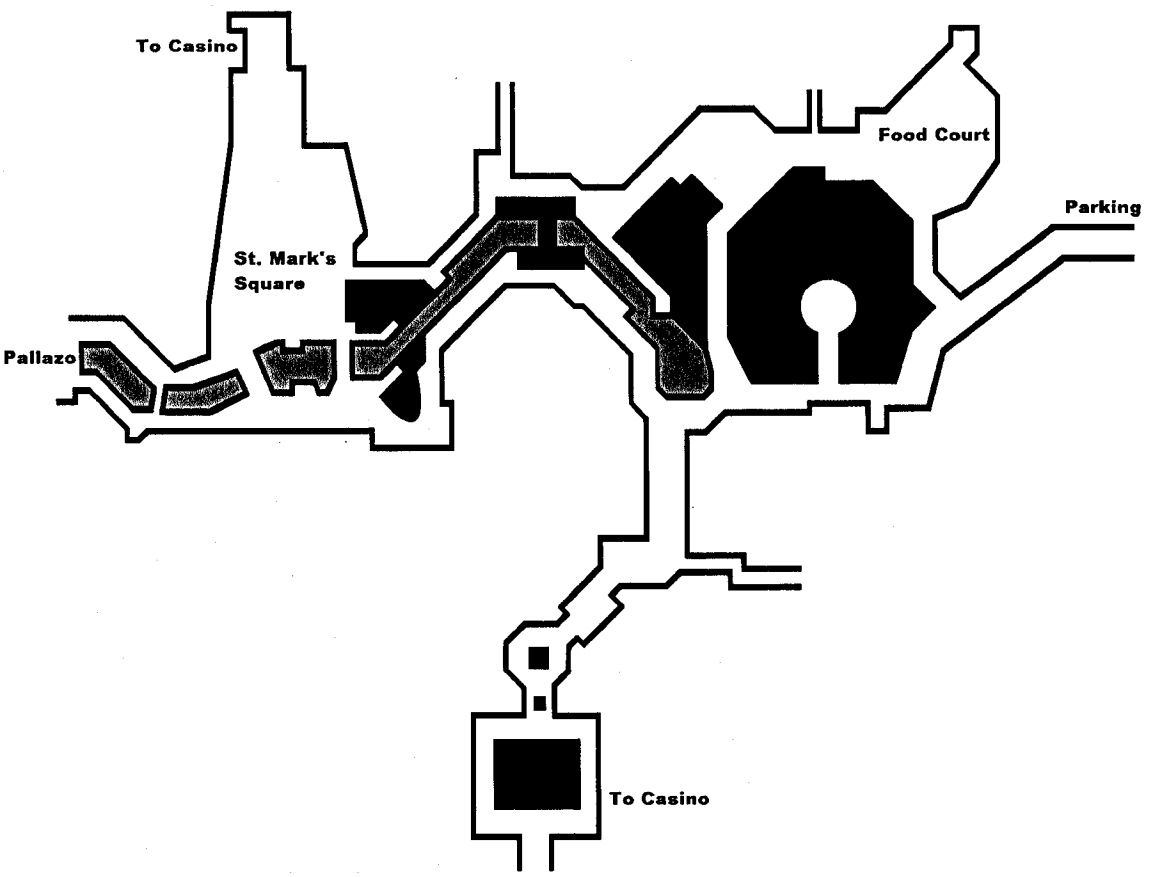
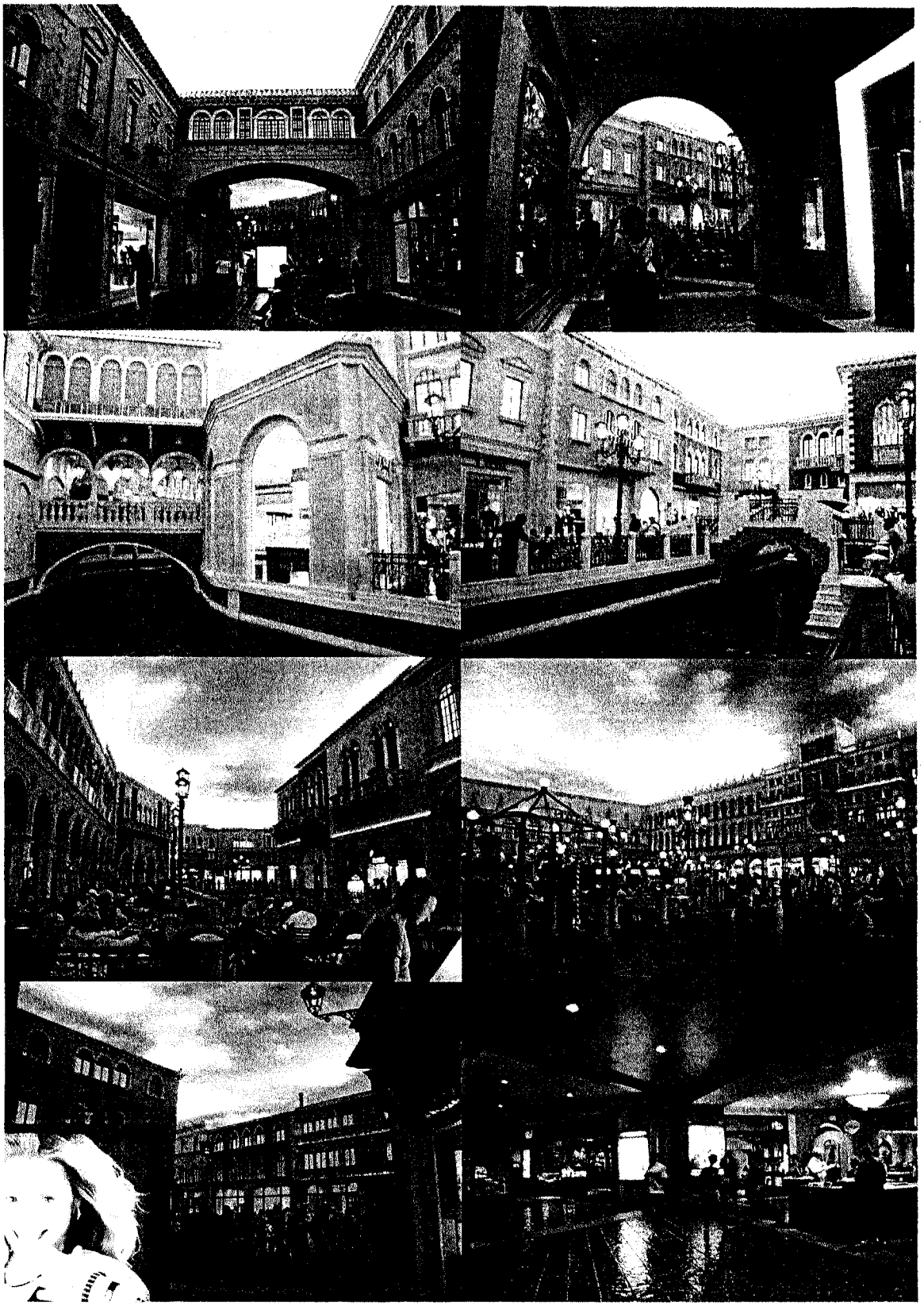


Figure 15. Labyrinthine Space inside the Canal Shoppes



A spectacle flows through the space in the form of an indoor river. The river is perhaps the main attraction and landmark here and generally works to tie the space together as shoppers are able to follow it, allowing it to orient even determine their path. But, the river and the promenade seem to twist together, and are related to each other in they way that they work in tandem to block visuality and spatial continuity; the combination produces precarious transitions, corners and puzzling paths in space. The river disappears and reappears as we follow its general trajectory through the network of mall promenades, and in this way it serves as a sort of serpentine landmark that can lead us through the space. The river acts as an un-traversable space, a liquid wall, that splits part of the promenade down the middle and generates a circulation reminiscent of the multiple levels in the Fashion Show; to walk both edges of the river is to see the mall twice. On a trek in relation to the river we will undoubtedly encounter a number of bridges, and although it would appear that they simply provide access to the other side of the river and to the other promenade, if we make use of them we run the risk of disrupting our plan and losing our bearings in the space. The bridges create a number of loops, like wormholes in the promenade that take us long distances in our overarching circulation in short jumps. The mall is a complex of these loops, each disorienting and confusing the promenade in its turn. We get the feeling that we have been here before but not sure as to exactly how we got there. We have here a system of circulations produced, successive and nearly unlimited possibilities for circulations around commodities.

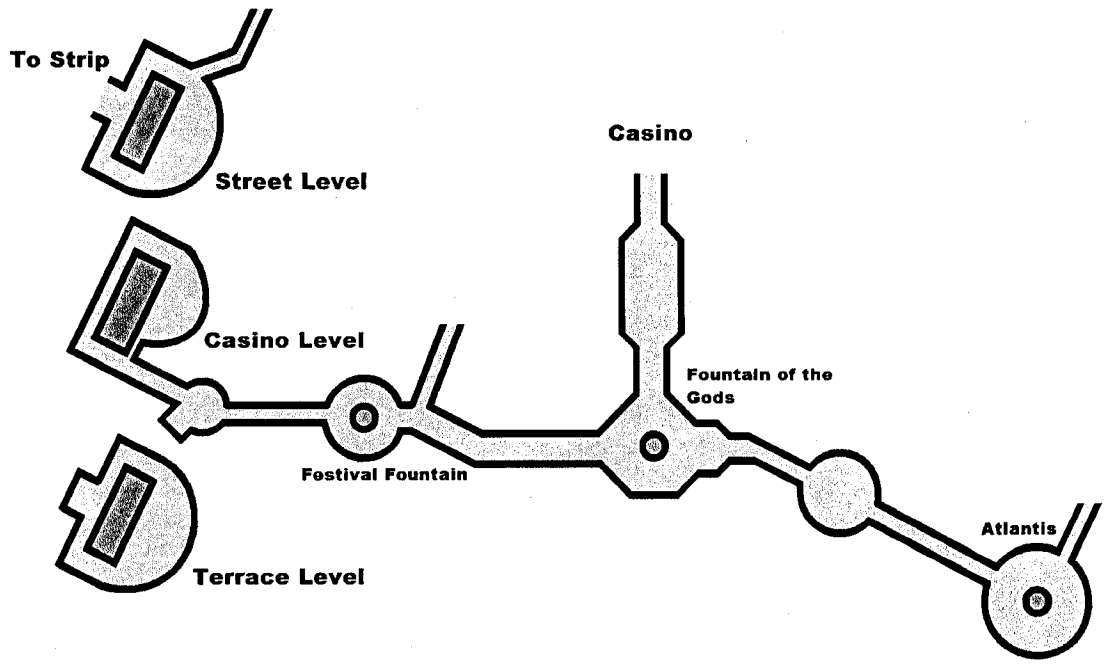
The basic structure of the kinetic labyrinth works through an overabundance of connections and reconnections and through an over stimulation of movement itself. The location of exits and even the next trajectory that we might take become less and less clear, what is clear is that the disoriented space seems to always suggest that there is something that we have missed (a spectacle or a particular shop) and that there is always more to be seen just up ahead and around the next corner. I try to feel the Jerde transfer here and I begin to realize that it is less of feeling and more of an experience tied up with one's interaction with physical space. The Jerde transfer is produced through an overabundance of physical matter in space, through a sort of hyper-arrangement and over-articulation of material design elements; complex and almost anti-functional (yet hyper-functional) networks of pathways placed in suspect positions, precarious yet curious, a "carefully calculated confusion" that is a *physical* dislocation of the shopper from a definable "location". (Herman 2001, Herwig and Holzherr 2006).

A Trek through the Forum Shops

The Forum Shops is a logistical marvel, a highly functional combination of various micro-logistical techniques situated within an overarching mezzo-logistical structure. The best way to explore this mezzo-logistical structure (which is its most remarkable quality) is to follow its design intent, meaning that we interrogate it on its own terms and explore it in the way in which it is most logically intended to be used. The mall occupies an intermediate position between the Strip and the Forum Casino at Caesars Palace, and in this respect

serves as a transition or a conduit into casino space. The Strip entry/exit point appears to be the most logical entrance as it draws from *the* key source, the Las Vegas Strip. The Forum Shops is only one of many entrances into Caesars Palace, but what sets it apart is that it first leads us through mall space.

Figure 16. *Forum Shops Promenade, Atrium, and Spectacles*



Immediately inside the main entrance from the Strip is a spectacular atrium that acts as both attractor and node. As node, it forms an essential connection to the Las Vegas Strip. The atrium is a complete system of consumer flow in and of itself (producing confusing circulations which we will explore later), but in terms of the mezzo-logistical structure, it is a space that works simply to attract pedestrians from the street and as an interchange that disperses them into the interior of the mall.

Figure 17. *Exterior Spectacle*

The attractive quality of the atrium, its spectacular draw, actually begins outside of the doors (with its curb-side appeal) where a series of fountains, commodity displays, television screens, advertisements, large windows, and a decorative façade, completed and held together at night with shifting hues of pink, blue and green projected from landscape lighting, work to move pedestrians towards the front entrance. And this use of spectacle to sequentially and continually draw flow is a pattern that continues inside of the mall and over its entire length (not to mention that it is a general technique that is pervasive along the entire resort corridor). But the atrium is spectacular in itself, and as the newest wing of the Forum Shops (completed in 2004) it tends to be a destination that works to attract tourists. But it is its ability to attract wandering *flâneurs*, those not already set on some path towards any particular destination that is a function of the logistical spectacle. Some individuals pass right by, their eyes seem to be fixed on some destination, and others go directly inside as if they had been planning to enter the atrium before they had even arrived, but more often then not, individuals and groups will

appear on the sidewalk in some sort of trance-like state. They seem to wander. Their eyes and heads move around from display to display (an element of décor, an electronic screen, an advertisement, etc.). They seem to notice the entry point, the large inviting glass doors. After making some sort of group or individual decision, they shift into a direct and quicker course towards the entrance, a definite direction.

The overall interior promenade of the Forum Shops also works in terms of a series of spectacles (animatronics, laser-light shows, and fountains, as well as combinations of the three). There are four major spectacles: the atrium, Festival Fountain, Fountain of the Gods, and Atlantis.[7] From the atrium we move past the Festival Fountain (a highly *robotic* and nearly unintelligible production based on outdated laser effects and pre-

Figure 18. *Fountain of the Gods*

[7] Actually, to be true to the space we would have to say that it *is* essentially the spectacle, the front line, and, as a result spectacle through and through. Malls are already spaces of successive commodities, promenades of maximum exposure to commodities, but the deliberate logistical use of spectacle in the Forum Shops appears to be quite different.

recorded joviality of various Roman gods that rarely keeps the attention of the spectator), and we make our way towards the Fountain of the Gods which forms the central feature of the other major node of the mall. The space is the central interchange connecting three promenades, one of which serves as the entry into casino space. The fountain is, in many ways, strategic; not only is it a sort of landmark that gives the mall a center, and a visual lure integrating the three promenades, but it is visually strategic meaning that it is placed in such a way as to block views in particular directions. The path of least resistance, that is the most obvious path as we move this way, appears to only veer to the right and down the remainder of the mall towards the Atlantis spectacle. The entrance into casino space, which is around to the left almost 180 degrees, is completely obscured (and I think the reasoning for this will become clear later); furthermore a more direct route into casino space is blocked by the seating area of a restaurant that stretches from the perimeter all the way to the edge of the fountain. All of this blocking (physical and visual) works to produce a general flow around the right side of the fountain and down the other promenade. At the end of that promenade is the Atlantis spectacle (a major driver of the Forum Shops). This space is a large circular domed room; the flow of shoppers revolves around a central point (an aquarium and an animatronic fountain which transforms into the Atlantis spectacle hourly), only to be directed near shop fronts and then redirected back down the same promenade in the opposite direction.

So we continue, entering the Fountain of the Gods node from the other direction, and it becomes clear that the fountain, once again, blocks the view

down the remainder of the mall. But, from this direction, the path of least resistance flows directly into casino space. From the street, to the furthest spectacle, through the same node at the Fountain of the Gods, another path opens up and becomes obvious. The whole logic of the mezzo-logistical structure of the Forum Shops becomes obvious only when it is complete. The stage has been set, and it is not at all illogical to speculate on the possibility that the shopper, after the spatial and sensory assault that the Forum Shops' long promenade imposes, over-stimulated and tired, after all that walking, shopping and looking, is now fully primed for what awaits them in casino space. As a complete mezzo-logistical system, the mall is a machine that works to siphon individuals from the street, direct and re-direct them through mall space, and then dump them off, "prepared" and processed, into the casino.

Figure 19. *Promenade to Atlantis*

The Atrium

The atrium that serves as the entryway to the Forum Shops from the Las Vegas Strip deserves its own separate analysis. As I had mentioned before, it is a system of flow in and of itself. Its basic function is as a spectacular node that

works to draw pedestrians from the street and then to disperse them into the Forum Shops, but this is only the beginning of the remarkable logistics of the space. Moving into this atrium from the entrance, immediately ahead is a pool of water and, beyond that, a Mitsubishi spiral escalator, which is the most prominent feature in the space, suggesting its use as mechanical access to the upper reaches of the atrium. Any position in the atrium provides a full view of the flows of shoppers circulating on all levels. The atrium is a space of intense combinations of circulations, the twisting flow of the helix shaped escalator, the flows of shoppers on the different levels forming successive rings of flow, which all together form something like a hierarchy of flows. But, this circulation is structured in terms of the design of the space and also the spatial positioning of the commodities on display as they surround the space and the shoppers inside. However, there is an interesting effect. The combination of the escalator and the rings of flow above appears as a rotating display case, but here it is the shopper that is surrounded by the commodity, almost as if the commodity itself is making the choice, and it seems to be shoppers (especially on this escalator) that revolve, that are moved about and manipulated, the shoppers here seem to be on display. The experience of riding the escalator itself is a little different, but there is this same general display-case effect, an inverse display; on it the shopper serves as the axis around which the spectacle rotates, and this would appear like a position of power, the shopper taking the central position, but they are also objects being moved on what is essentially a conveyor belt.

Figure 20. *Atrium Levels and Spiral Escalator*

Commodities, as Debord ([1967] 1994) and Baudrillard ([1970] 1998) argue, constitute essential but missing components, and the spectacle of advertising tells us that in order to become a complete person we must integrate these components into our selves (and we must make a purchase). On the escalator, not only is the shopper on display but they are also being assembled. But, what is more, they are asked to assemble themselves; here they are the laborers *and* the product. Where it would first appear that they are hardly working they are only *working hardly* at consumption. And Goss (1993) notes a similar effect produced by the emergence of carousels in many North American malls:

> The carousel itself is inevitably located at a focal point of the shopping center, and consumers are drawn into the aura of unworldliness and artlessness of its orbit as the whole merry-go-round world of [the] commodity appears to revolve around its axis. (37)

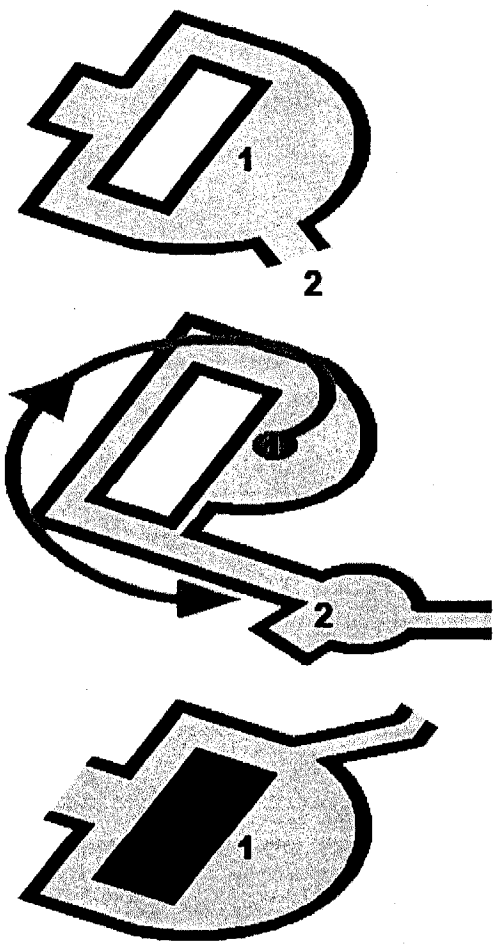
The manipulation, the revolving consumer, their commodity determined yet mechanically based movement, is all hidden within a relative whirlpool, an illusion of circulating commodities, a *phantasma(go)ria*.

The space can be effectively described as a logistical trap, and this function of the space is best experienced when trying to exit the Forum Shops; in this respect it works effectively to keep the shopper at the act of consumption for as long as possible. The atrium works, as I have noted, to produce various circulations but these circulations are produced in such a way that shoppers are made to flow near shop fronts. This strategy is similar on all three levels of the atrium. Direct routes are always blocked by some obstacle, unless they are direct

routes to some commodity. The path of least resistance is always within reach of some commodity.

After traversing the main promenade, shoppers will find themselves on the second level of the atrium. The exit to the Strip is on the first level, so, exiting the building appears to be a simple matter of taking the escalator to the first level, and then leaving mall space. But, from the promenade, the most direct path to the escalator on the second floor is blocked, and also guarded; furthermore there is a sign indicating that this small path is for employees only. The shopper is, for all due purposes, physically forced to take a less direct path around the inside perimeter of atrium which is, of course, lined with shops. What this small path and its associated traffic laws exemplify is how mall designers are completely able, yet unwilling, to create more direct paths for consumers' free movement. A forced circulation begins here, and is based on disrupting any quick retreat from the space. The atrium is essentially a

Figure 21. *Atrium Circulations and Levels*



labyrinth, but its labyrinthine character is fully expressed only through the combination of its multiple levels. On the surface, it appears that all levels are connected as it gives the appearance of a smooth exit. But this illusion of a smooth exit is consistently shaped into circulations near shop fronts, and directed in range of the exigencies of commodities, a very old yet effective military tactic:

> One skilled at moving the enemy...Forms and the enemy must follow...Offers and the enemy must take...Move them by this and await them with troops. (Sun Tzu in Denma 2001:18)

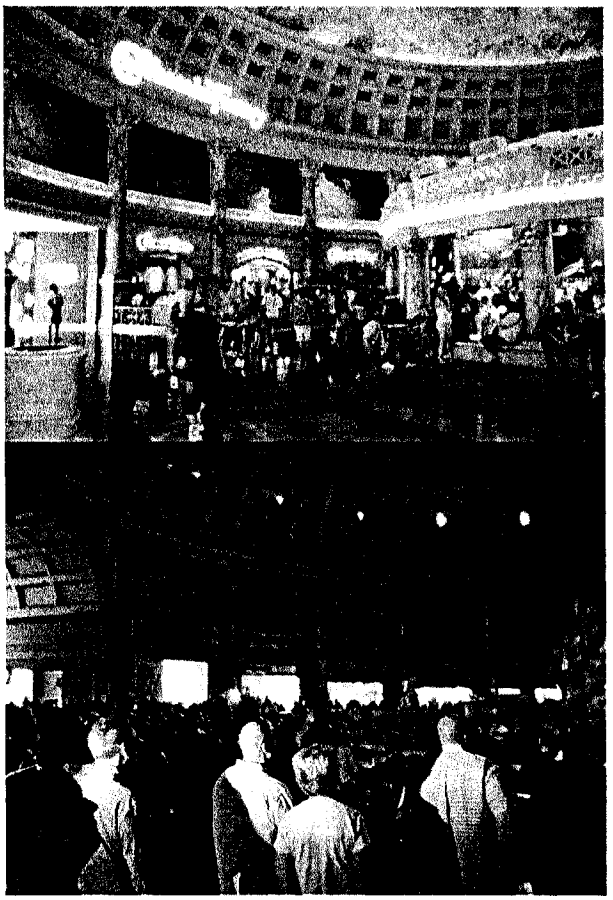
These circulations, on the two upper levels, are made to rotate around a central hollow area, and on the bottom level a fountain blocks any direct exit. Further down the primary promenade, a secondary escalator (2) connects the third level of the atrium directly to the promenade. There is no other logical functionality to the placement of this escalator except as a tactical redirection as it serves no other purpose, from either direction, except to pull the shopper deeper into mall space. Using this escalator from its connection to the main promenade, we are moved to the third level of the atrium, which is a slightly more open area, allowing for more free movements. We can enter the spiral escalator and ride it down to the second level, etc. But this secondary escalator, in combination with the connection to the main promenade on the second level, serves also as a secondary connection, the combination forming a double connection to the main promenade, a perpetual shopping loop.

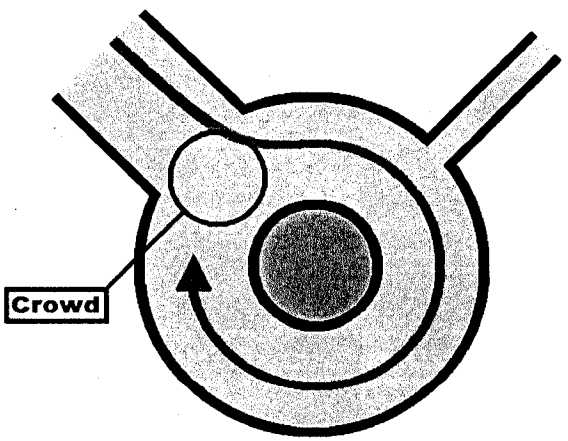
The Fall of Atlantis

In the mezzo-logistical structure of the Forum Shops the Fall of Atlantis works to attract spectators and shoppers into the depths of mall space, but upon further inspection it seems to have a much more mechanistic functionality. Essentially it is spectacle that appears and disappears hourly from a fountain, an animatronic battle for King Atlas' throne waged between siblings that ends with the "destruction" of Atlantis. The fountain, also integrated with an aquarium, takes a central position in a massive domed and circular room lined with shops.

The spectacle begins to attract a crowd usually from 10-20 minutes before show time and this crowd eventually grows to fill the room. At times the crowd will spill out of this room and into the main promenade. On most occasions there is a small corridor set up to the side of the spectacle to allow for other shoppers to enter the space and bypass the crowd, and although this would seem to allow access towards and away from the spectacle it actually works as part of an intricate logistical trap. The entry into the room serves as a squeeze point that disrupts flow, slowing it to a standstill. There is no matching access corridor on the other side of the crowd that would work as an exit and this allows the crowd to build continuously for the duration of the show. The spectacle works so well in fact that it tends to draw shoppers from the inside of the shops that line the space; on occasion, they can be seen running out of retail space in order the watch the spectacle as if the gravity of it overpowered the point of purchase. After some time, the spectacle will come to a conclusion with the emergence of a 20-foot fire-breathing dragon and the disappearance of all animatronics back into

Figure 22. *Atlantis Spectacle, Crowd and Logistical Diagram*





the fountain. This space that had up until now been dominated by spectacle is now suddenly transformed. The spectators shift, almost instantly, into a mass of shoppers. And at that moment the logistical logic of the spectacle becomes most evident, it is a point of ignition. The spectacle and the shape of the room has essentially produced a mass, a globule, a crowd, of spectators, and by removing the spectacle, the force that has up until now attracted and held the throng together and in place is also suddenly removed. There is an abrupt explosion of movements; the shoppers appear as agitated particles that shoot off towards the shops that line the interior of the space. One half of the crowd, pressurized into some

sort of consumption wave, flows back down the main promenade. The space begins to take on the character of the interior of a consumption engine; the promenade as intake valve, the energized mob, the fuel, compressed and then ignited by the disappearance of the dragon, the spark plug, the force allowed to fill the interior of the domed room, the piston, an explosion towards shop fronts and a wave of consumption energy flowing down the promenade producing collisions with commodities. Every hour it is the same, a compression and a release, a pumping of waves of consumption energy throughout the day, a rhythmic throb; we seem to be in the mechanical heart of the Forum Shops.

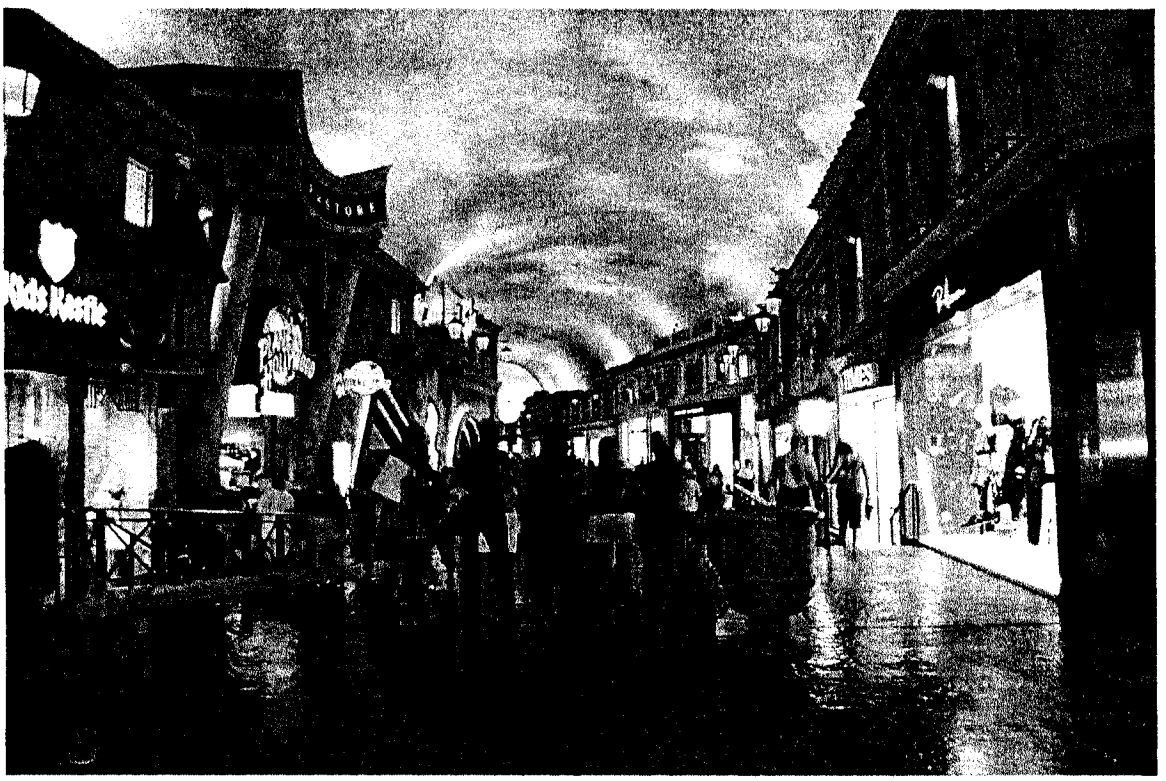
The Disintegration of Anchors?

The Forum Shops works through the arrangement of its anchors (as other malls), but here they are not department stores, rather spectacles and groups of shops work as attractors. The spectacles are integrated together in an overarching theme, and the shops exist in a synergy. Where in a typical mall department stores work to overpower the smaller shops along the promenade, those smaller shops reduced to a parasitic existence, living off of the flow between anchor stores, the Forum Shops maintain a certain equity that adds to the whole. When the shopper visiting a traditional mall may totally avoid the promenade and enter only the anchor stores, in the Forum Shops, this is not wholly possible. Rather the anchors are conglomerations of smaller shops, none of which totally overpower the others. The smaller shops are allowed to flourish out from under the shadow of large anchors. In place of an obviously organized space with clear areas and paths from point to point we have a more uniform and

equalized space that allows for less directed flows that appear to be more open to be influenced by the attractive forces of commodities.

> The traffic [in the arcades] is rudimentary...a street of lavacious commerce only; it is wholly adapted to arousing desires. Because in this street the juices slow to a standstill, the commodity proliferates along the margins and enters into fantastic combinations, like the tissues in tumors... (Benjamin [1935] 1999:42)

Figure 23. *Deep in the Forum Shops*



Commodities, rather than being forced together and integrated into large department stores, are allowed to coagulate. Feeding from the entire juxtaposition, the commodity reaches something closer to its full potential as its

exigencies combine and flow out with all the others. The entire mall becomes the attraction, not the individual stores; rather than a space to enter, make a specific purchase, and then leave, it is a space in which to become lost.

Conclusion

The contemporary shopping mall is *the* structure of consumption space and perhaps the most important architectural technology of consumer capitalism. Drawing from the very well developed literature on shopping malls, I discussed the mall's ur-forms (the arcade and the bazaar) and showed how those ur-forms re-surface in contemporary consumption space. I discussed two types of malls. I argued that the return of the arcade coincides with the emergence of what I have defined as the predatory mall; the most important feature of which is the logistical function of hijacking flows of shoppers and consumers on their way to somewhere else. I showed how these predatory malls are also hyper visual, or "visually keyed up", and full of physical and visual obstacles; I argued that the point is to distract and to be distracting in order to trap the visitor and expose them to commodities. I discussed the dual potentials of the mall promenade, movement and commodification. Second, I argued that the ur-form of the bazaar returns in the form of the kinetic labyrinth; the most important characteristic of which is the over-abundance of possibilities for movement. Instead of a single logical path, there is a type of labyrinth that works not to block movements but to stimulate movement to the point that it breaks down and becomes incoherent.

I ended the chapter with a walkthrough and exploration of the Forum Shops that worked to illustrate the idea of mezzo-logistical consumption systems as being collections of logistical components. (I also hoped to draw out the very mechanistic logic of the Forum Shops.) The next chapter moves right along on this same line; in it we will explore the hybridity and integration of large scale logistical consumption systems exemplified by the mega resorts on the Las Vegas Strip. The goal will be to explore the many logistical components of casino space and also to draw out a logistics of integration that is based on internal and external connections and interconnections.

CHAPTER 4

LOGISTICS OF INTEGRATION

An exploration into the logic of movement on the Las Vegas Strip will undoubtedly lead us to casino space and deep into the mega resorts as these are the main architectural forms on the Strip. We find that beyond expressing what we might call a casino logistics, which could be a subject in and of itself, the mega resorts express a logistics of integration that is fundamentally linked to their hybridity. The goal of this chapter is to come to an understanding of the mega resorts as higher order logistical systems that make up major parts (nodes) in the total logistical system of the Strip.

The mega resort is no-longer just a casino but a hybrid form. This trend which is usually linked to the construction of the first mega resort, Steve Wynn's Mirage, in 1989, was actually noted as early as the late 70s. In the landmark study *Learning from Las Vegas* Venturi, Brown and Isenour ([1977] 1989) referred to Caesars Palace as a "combination form," not simply a casino, but a "complex program" that combined all sorts of entertainment and consumption opportunities under one roof (50-51). Jameson (1991) has noted the existence of a similar hybrid form in the Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles which "aspires to being a total space, a complete world, a kind of miniature city." In one of the most

notable studies of human behavior in public places Whyte (1980) describes the emergence of the mega structure (he also calls them urban fortresses), "huge, multipurpose complexes combining offices, hotels, and shops... Their distinguishing characteristic is self containment." (85) No longer do casinos revolve around the activity of gambling alone, rather they seek to fuse gambling, to entertainment, to dining, to shopping, etc. The basic logic of these hybrid forms is to present themselves as complete and total destinations through complex combinations of consumption, entertainment, touristic, etc., possibilities (Bryman 2004), but the underlying logic is to contain visitors in a space that provides for all of their needs so as to remove their desire to leave. (Ötsch 2003a).

Whyte's (1980) description of these types of structures as urban fortresses is quite apt; he notes the amazing system of surveillance that the spaces employ, and the fact that they seek to create secure and safe domains by blocking out, beyond some guarded edge, the unpredictability (both imagined and real) of the urban environment. But there are other similarities as well. The fortresses of the past and these new urban conglomerations both share the logic of containment. As I have noted before, drawing from Virilio ([1977] 1986), the fortresses of the past seek not only to stop movements and energy but to condense, contain, and re-direct those energies in order to achieve strategically significant goals. The similarities are metaphoric as well. In terms of Las Vegas in particular, Hal Rothman (2003) describes the cluster of mega resorts along the strip as "little city states, interrelated little kingdoms, entirely self-contained and at war for

customers." (52)[1] Furthermore Gottdiener, Collins and Dickens (1999) cite a number of specific examples of mega resorts involved in legal and political battles over the placement of access roads and pedestrian walkways, basically over the control of flows and territory, on the Las Vegas Strip.

Internal Logistics

A good place to begin to interrogate the mega resort is through an exploration of its internal logistical system. We find the same basic collection of *components* in the majority of mega resorts, most of which are organized around the casino floor: casino drivers (see Friedman 2000) or amenities that attract visitors throughout the space, what I will call the *pathwork* the collection of conduits or paths designed into the space, and nodes, the confluence or intersections of paths. The reader will notice that these three components are analogous to components in Cha's (2001) shopping ecology, Lynch's (1960) system of imageability, and Castells' (1996) space of flows, but using any one of these systems leaves particular components out of the picture. For instance, considering them only in terms of shopping ecology speaks a lot to their functionality, especially through the concepts of sinks and sources as these are mechanisms that seem to stimulate movements over conduits, but there is no conception of nodes when they are essential parts of these internal logistical systems. The system of imageability and the conceptualization of the space of

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[1] The phrase "interrelated little kingdoms," I think hides a fundamental complexity; there is the idea of a tension between competition and cooperation that has ecological undercurrents.

flows however provide for an understanding of nodes, even if they are slightly different understandings. Neither shopping ecology nor imageability seem to consider how flows are actively shaped through the arrangements and organization of space. In the system of imageability the walker is in complete control as they work from and try to build a mental map of the space and shopping ecology seems to be at the other extreme by not considering any type of agency at all. As a result of these difficulties (and others) it becomes necessary to use all three schemes to one degree or another, where and when they are the most useful.

Drivers

For Friedman (2000)[2], the main goal of any casino traffic pattern should be to maximize the visitor's exposure to the gambling environment; to some extent this is still very true, but even Friedman admits that casinos have changed. The main goal is no longer gambling revenue alone but profits produced through combinations of consumption possibilities.[3] Therefore, the casino floor, although it still takes up a central position in these spaces, is rather one consumption possibility among many; it becomes more of a central feature in a larger system

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[2] Bill Friedman has written *the* seminal work on casino design: *Designing Casinos to Dominate the Competition*, which is a penetrating study of the affect of casino design on gambling behavior that draws from ethnographic data collected in nearly every casino in Nevada. As a behaviorist, Friedman conceives of the gambler as an entity to be manipulated by the design of casino spaces at both a psychological and physical level.

[3] Bryman (2004) has noted this trend of "hybrid consumption" especially in reference to the Disney theme parks. But Baudrillard ([1970] 1998; [1981] 2004) had already noted a similar trend in the drugstore and the hypermarket only on a much smaller scale.

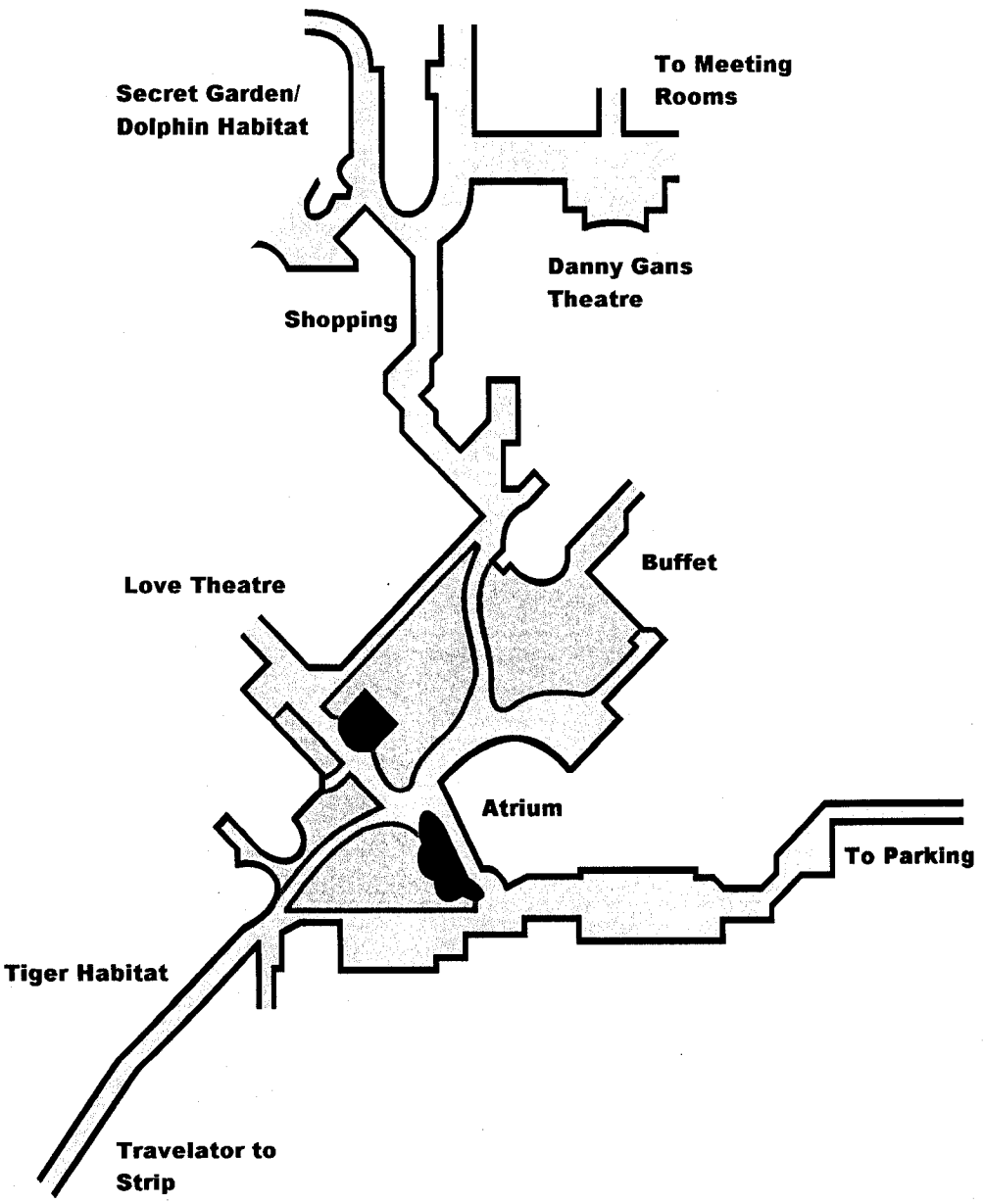
of sinks and sources (drivers or amenities) that amounts to the total hybridity of the space. Amenities enhance the functionality of the space (i.e. meeting rooms, banquet halls, parking structures, hotel towers, restaurants, theme parks, theaters, etc.), but they also work as sinks and sources in relation to the casino floor as they are usually placed on the edges and work to draw visitors through the casino floor.

The Mirage, being the original mega resort,[4] is a perfect example of a logistical system based on the arrangements of amenities and attractions (the Mirage is set up very much like a Disney theme park). The most often cited logistical strategy of the Disney theme parks is the *weenie*. Weenies are highly visual attractions (e.x. Cinderella's Castle at the Magic Kingdom, the Matterhorne or Space Mountain at Disneyland, Spaceship Earth at EPCOT) that organize the imageability of the park and lure disneyites from attraction to attraction, between and within themed lands, and through programmatic sequences of movement (Fjellman 1992; Bryman 1995; Chung 2001; Ritzer 2005). Attractions also obviously constitute other drivers of the theme parks. At the Mirage there is a large central atrium that works as the main logistical draw and landmark of the space. Attractions that are situated on the edges of the casino floor include the Love and Danny Gans Theatres, the Tiger Habitat situated near one of the main pedestrian entrances, a large tropical fish aquarium near the check-in counter, and a cluster of attractions in the back of the casino that includes the Dolphin

[4] The construction of the Mirage in 1989 is said to have officially set off what is referred to as the mega resort or super casino era on the Las Vegas Strip (see Hess 1993 and Early 2000).

Habitat, the Secret Garden, and the swimming pools (including a nude pool called Bare). This cluster of attractions is strategic in that it is placed at the other end of a mall promenade.

Figure 24. *Mirage Casino Floor Layout and Drivers*



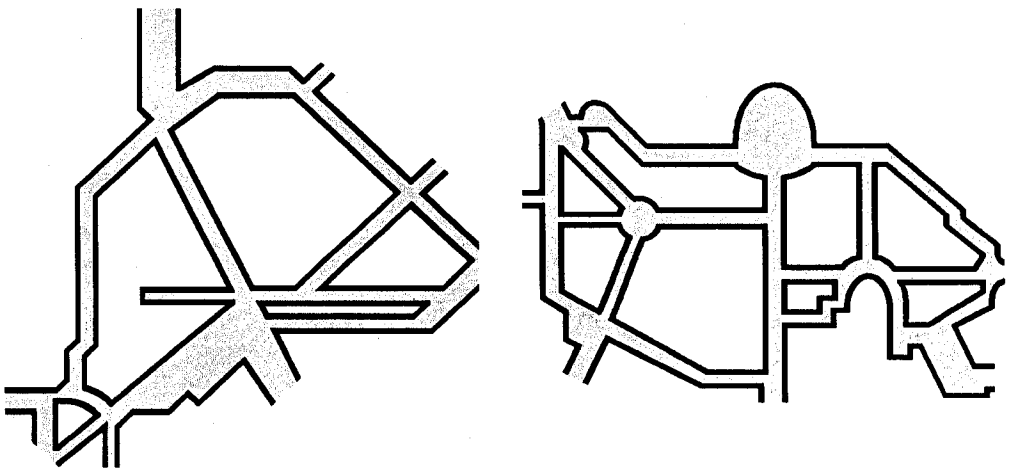
Based on all of this it is not difficult to envision the space as a sort of machine that works to pull flows of visitors in different directions (but nearly always either through the casino floor itself, or through consumption space). The Shopping Promenade works to break the space in two, in other words it acts as a squeeze point. The cluster of amenities (meeting rooms, parking) and attractions situated towards the back of the casino act as a very powerful and diverse hybrid sink stimulating or producing a great deal of flow through mall space. The atrium in combination with the Tiger Habitat (as attractions) and the trajectory of the travelator (a mechanical ejection) works as a powerful conduit drawing the majority of visitors to the center of the space. In this way the initial logistics of the space seem to work to condense flows towards a central node. But from that node and in the midst of the total logistical system the logic seems to be one of a containment of flows through a constant circulation and two-and-fro movements between the various drivers. From the edges of the casino floor the space opens like a large inverted funnel which first concentrates and then disperses. We are once again concentrated towards the back of the casino just before we enter a mall promenade. Pushed and pulled, compressed and then scattered, we find that we are in a machine that seeks to produce a constant throb.

The Pathwork (Function and Flows)

All of the largest casinos on the Strip (except Caesars Palace) have a system of paths, of either carpet, tile, or combinations of both, that extend throughout the space; they are essentially networks of trails that visitors can follow. I will refer to these flow networks as *pathwork*. The pathwork essentially, and very effectively,

facilitates the movements of visitors within and through the space and works to organize those movements into predictable flows (Friedman 2000; Ötsch 2003c). The pathwork, then, is essentially logistical. It is also related to visions of control as it is an expression of the way in which designers want visitors to move about and experience the space.

Figure 25. *ti and Bellagio Pathwork*



In relation to casino drivers at the edges of the space the pathwork can be considered as a network of conduits that integrates the space in a web of possible trajectories, but we can also consider the entire pathwork as a particular type of corridor from the perspective of shopping ecology: a filter. In that respect it works to expose visitors to the casino pit and the slot mix. Friedman (2000), who criticizes almost every aspect of the design of the newer mega resorts,

refers to the pathwork as the *yellow brick road*.[5] The argument against using pathwork is that it organizes flows too well as visitors are said to follow the path right out the exit of the casino without ever stepping off onto the casino floor (Friedman 2000). To some extent this is true. It seems that if the path is significantly different from the surrounding area, weather it be the result of contrasting colors or patterns or actual materials, then it tends to produce very smooth and controlled flows that move quickly *through* the space (Friedman 2000). But, for the pathwork to be considered a completely dysfunctional logistical mechanism we would have to maintain the idea that the ultimate goal (even an imperative) of casino design is to expose visitors to the casino floor:

> ...the only relevant considerations for casino design are these: What percentage of visitors gamble? What percentage returns to gamble? Nothing else matters. (Friedman 2003:70)

But, in these hybrid spaces it seems that gambling is not really all that matters, and certainly not the only aspect of a mega resort that can produce profits:

> Bellagio is like a symphony. It has movements. The secret to a great symphony is the texture, the variety, the depth of the movements of which it is made. Each of the movements has its own personality and wonderful moments within the framework of the symphony. But even though there are differences in those movements, what makes it a symphony is that all of them are part of the same score (bellagio.com)

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[5] This term is perhaps related to the design of the original entrance into the MGM Grand which, as part of a Wizard of Oz theme, was an actual yellow brick road complete with an animatronic Dorothy.

We are no longer talking about machines designed to produce gambling but rather machines designed to produce consumption in general. Gambling is only part of a total hybridity. In this way the drivers work to constantly push and pull visitors over the pathwork and through the casino floor on their way to somewhere else; the gambling environment becomes a constant sidetrack, a perpetual potential. It is here that we can catch a glimpse of the hyper-functionality of the pathwork in that it is able to provide quick access to consumption possibilities on the edge of the casino floor while still, to some degree, exposing visitors to gambling opportunities as a filter. If we think of gambling and shopping as simply types of consumption in general, the mega resort is better understood as a smooth and continuous consumption space.

Paths. After Via Bellagio and through the center of the Bellagio casino floor flows move along a very wide and pronounced path. The path is nearly a continuation of the mall promenade of Via Bellagio as it follows the same trajectory. In terms of the path's size, length, position in the center of the space, and the material out of which it is made, which differs significantly from the surrounding area, it seems to induce an imperative to movement (this is partly related to the fact that it draws from the semiotics of the mall promenade). In short, it becomes an obvious path. It leads to a central node in the casino floor. Other paths shoot off of this node but they seem to be downplayed and visitors rarely deviate from the larger path. We could say that the path here is a perfect example of Friedman's (2000) yellow brick road if it were not for the effects of hyperspace.

Towards the center of Bellagio, the logic of the Jerde style[6] design becomes evident. Visitors undergo something similar to what Herman (2001) has termed the *Jerde Transfer*: "the moment when a shopper's movements break down under excessive spatial stimulation." (405) The only difference being that the transfer is induced on the casino floor and not on a mall promenade. As we go, exits disappear and we are surrounded by vanishing points. The vastness of the space and the utter sameness is a spatial bombardment. Towards the center, visitors seem to be in a walking trance, lost in pure movement, concentrating on the path and its promise to lead somewhere else. These types of non-places facilitate a zombie-like individual that interacts only with the materiality of transitory space and its signs (Augé [1992] 1995), a hypercrowd (Jameson 1991); we find ourselves in some sort of alternate reality of pure movement, taken away and deported (Virilio [1984] 2005). In a smaller space the path would create a definite flow *through* the space, but in this hyperspace (116,000 square feet) flows are pushed to the extremes only to break down. As Rem Koolhass (2001) remarks, "[w]here movement becomes synchronized, it curdles." (412) Movements become slowed and begin to fluctuate. Some visitors seem to give up and drift, or rather they are absorbed, into the casino floor, others stop and begin to look around but they are by now in the depths of Bellagio, most continue on to the edges towards other consumption possibilities.

Although the Bellagio is an extreme example, flows on the majority of pathworks *are* highly predictable, patterned, almost robotic, and largely

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[6] The Jerde Partnership designed the Bellagio resort.

determined by the general shape of the path. This is interesting because there is essentially no physical structure that orients these flows beyond décor. Rather than a physical control, such as a wall, the pathwork is informational, a constant sign, controlling flow at an almost subconscious level. Its functionality requires a measure of conformity to nothing more that visual cues:

> The *way* brings with it terrors of wandering... In the incalculable turnings and resolutions of the way, there is even today...a detectable trace of the power of ancient directives over wandering hordes. But the person who travels a street, it would seem, has no need of any waywise guiding hand. It is not in wandering that man takes to the street, but rather in submitting to the monotonous, fascinating, constantly unrolling band of asphalt. (Benjamin [1982] 1999:519)

The level to which these paths are automatically followed should be troubling to the sociologist. We are at the point of a self control of our own movement with no need of enforcement beyond color and texture. Something is missing here analogous to what is lost when a child begins to color within the lines.

This domestication in which the visitor is required to submit is perhaps a result of some desire for structure and control. This surrender to an almost illusionary set of constrains is oddly enough much like a historical escape from the Hobbesian state of war and into a colorful logistical control, but this is actually more of a surrender into a perfected war, into the controlled and controllable violence of the more practical warfare of domestication (Virilio [1984] 2005).

Now, for the last several months before the writing of this chapter, the Luxor has been in the midst of renovations in the layout of the casino floor that included the replacement of the pathwork. And it was here that this surrender to control became most evident. During the renovations, the pathwork, in places, was completely out of sync with the slot-mix and the layout of the pit (which was essentially non existent). Paths disappeared into walls, under tables and banks of machines. There was a general and distinct lack of logic in terms of possible vectors, a noise in the smooth transmission of the flow, a lack of orientation. Flows were erratic and without consistent form, a total fluidity. Individuals and groups were like particles on almost random trajectories, more like swarms than flows. I assumed that they go everywhere because nothing informs them where or how to go anywhere in particular. Towards the end of the renovations, new pathwork and carpet was installed in some locations. In the sections where the pathwork was still confused and unorganized, visitors seemed to wander. I found myself going in circles in relation to a new central bar. Where there was new pathwork, flows were once again determined and almost robotic. In terms of flows, the contrast between the organized and unorganized sections of the casino floor was striking. I observed the symptoms of this sort of relief. At points where the unorganized sections meet up with the organized sections, fluidity becomes flow, and visitors seem to re-double their pace towards the new paths. I am also, for some reason, relieved, almost re-energized, when I find this path. Unstructured movements in confusing environments become taxing and the path provides a measure of assurance that we will not become lost.

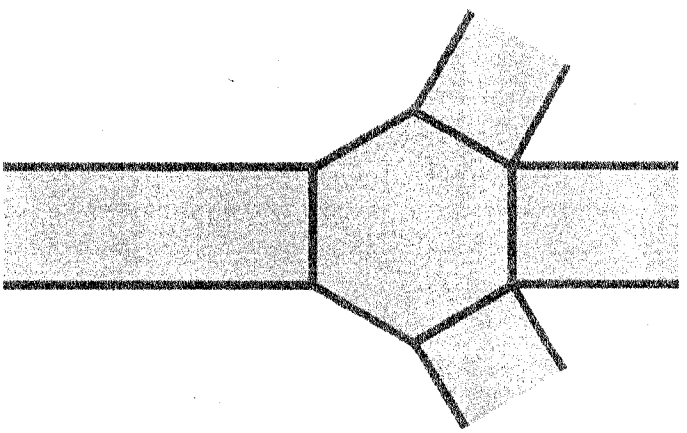
Nodes. Most casino floors that make use of a pathwork also contain some generally centralized node that seems to work to tie the entire space together at a single point. From these points, casinos open up in multiple trajectories and *suggestions* for movements within the space. Entering the casino floor from any point on its edge will, more often than not, lead us to one of these nodes. Nodes have a psychological/visual dimension as Lynch (1960) notes; "[b]ecause decisions must be made at junctions, people heighten their attention at such places and perceive nearby elements with more than normal clarity." (84) But nodes also have a mechanistic dimension or a mechanical functionality when they serve as the hubs or exchangers that work to organize, coordinate and direct flows (Castells 1996); nodes, in this way, take on the characteristics of flow motors in the casino floor, first working to condense flows and then allowing for a limited number of outlets towards areas in and beyond the casino floor.

Keeping these two logics in mind, what we essentially have in the casino node is another Disney logistical mechanism only at a smaller scale. The reader will remember the discussion of the Mirage casino floor and the matter of its central node (the atrium) drawing flows and then dispersing them into the casino floor. At Disney World, visitors move through Main Street USA after entering the park and are drawn by Cinderella's Castle which constitutes the central *weenie* of the park. Beyond the castle is fantasyland, but before disneyites reach the castle they enter a large node that provides access, through a number of determined paths, to the other themed lands of the park. In a related sense, Herwig and Holzer (2006) describe the entrance to EPCOT Center as "a huge engine that

shovels people in, speeds them up and spits them out again behind Spaceship Earth, leaving them to disperse into the pavilions..." (80) The spaces first work to concentrate and then to scatter disneyites into the park on determined trajectories. At MGM, a central node works in a similar way as it constantly centralizes and then disperses flows from and then back into the casino floor. It does this by providing a limited selection of trajectories towards various casino drivers (analogous to separate themed lands). From the node we are visually assaulted by the range of possibilities, surrounded by the exigencies of the space: the Centrifuge bar, located in a rather spectacular domed hyperspace, the flashing lights in the distance of the slot mix, the huge array of televised sports and shifting screens of numbers at the sports book, the lion habitat, etc.

There are also smaller nodes scattered throughout the pathwork that work to tie it together at a smaller scale.

Figure 26. *Typical Pathwork Micro-Node*



Taken together, and in relation to the total pathwork, they are what seem to give it its particular shape and, by extension, what seems to give shape to the flows across the pathwork. Where these particular nodes seem to be the most functional is towards significant edges or near major transitions from one part of the mega resort to another. For instance, one of these nodes can be found at Mandalay Bay near a transition into Mandalay Place Mall and another on the other end of the casino floor at an edge where another mall-like setting and the casino floor meet. Moving in from the edges of the casino floor, then, these nodes work to disperse flows into the pathwork, and moving out from the casino floor they work to condense flows into malls.

Networks and Labyrinths (Kinetic Labyrinth cont.). There is an interesting tension in the logistics of the casino floor that designers play with; the idea seems to be to keep the casino visitor only *slightly* off balance within some sort of logistical golden mean between the logic of the labyrinth and that of the clear path. In this way the casino floor turns out to be a hybrid space in that it is half labyrinth and half network. A *labyrinth* is defined, in *The Oxford Concise English Dictionary*, as "a complicated irregular network of passages or paths," and a *network* as I have argued, implies connections, and the logic behind it is to facilitate flows between things (usually of information). A labyrinth *is* a type of network only with a vastly different, actually opposite, logic as it seeks to confuse flows. For Norman Klien the casino floor is a type of "Happy Imprisonment" (Cheng 2005), that is reminiscent of Kellner's (2003) conception of the plastic

funhouse (which is a term counterpoised to Weber's iron cage); one logic induces despair, the other, a type of euphoria, but both seek to contain.

> So: it would seem that we like mystery; we like surprise; but we want the assurance that—though a given place has hidden nooks and crannies—we will not get lost. *Above all*, we want a sense of orientation: of vantage, of prospect, of centeredness. The trick, then, of any large casino space is to provide 'explorable space'... (Kranes 1995)

Much like the mall promenade, flows on the casino floor are allowed to overflow. It works to induce flows but only in an alienated form; there is this controlled confusion created through an over-stimulation of movement, an over-abundance of possibilities for movement that is analogous to the over-abundance of commodities that make up only an image choice (Plant 1992), an over-circulation, and a forced dérive (see Koolhass 2001) within a kinetic labyrinth.

External Logistics

The most important connection that a mega resort seeks to make is to both the pedestrian and vehicular flows on the Las Vegas Strip (we have been referring to the Strip as the major source of the entire resort corridor). We have already explored some of the ways through which this is done in the discussion of mall space but there is a whole host of other methods that the mega resorts use to connect to flows on the Strip; their functionality ranges from the mechanical to the symbolic, but usually we find a mixture of both. For instance, Caesars Palace establishes at least three different pedestrian connections to the

Strip: a network-like space that connects to pedestrian walkways and establishes a definite presence on the north-west corner of Flamingo Road and Las Vegas Boulevard, the Forum Shops promenade and atrium, and a travelator.

Spectacular (and even downright weird) entrances are nothing new to the Las Vegas Strip:

> Sarno once again gave the Strip something it had never seen when he opened Circus Circus on October 17, 1968. Dressed as a big top ringmaster, he led two hundred invited celebrities and other VIPs through the entrance of a four story concrete tent into a mezzanine, where he paused in front of a giant metal slide. The only way for his guests to enter the gaming area was by slipping down the slide to the basement... (Early 2000:60)

These fantastic and dramatic entrances are also a staple of shopping malls; they work to create a feeling of "grand arrival," and like architectural carnival barkers they beckon the would-be shopper into the fabricated dream-world of mass consumption that lies inside (Goss 1993:32). Through the collection of these messages that line the Strip we have something that can be described as a symbolic firing line, a warfare of the spectacle:

> Las Vegas is probably the greatest example on the planet, including New York City of twenty-four hour, seven day a week, violent hand-to-hand commercial combat. Here in this city, the players are lined up along the rialto out there, teeth bared, lips curled back, fists clenched saying stay in my place don't go in that one. Look at what I've got for you, isn't it great. Carnival

midway, step right up. See the girl turn into a gorilla. See the chicken dance. Come in here. (Steve Wynn quoted in PBS 2005)

It is not *all* about spectacle. Spectacle does work to attract visitors but what is more important for my purposes are the various mechanisms that *physically* work to pull visitors into the mega resorts; we can refer to this as something like a logistical infrastructure to the spectacles on the Strip.

The Better Mousetrap

These logistical systems, integrated with spectacle, constitute what we might call better-mouse-traps; the metaphor is simple enough to understand as crowds are collected and condensed, lead into a vulnerable position with spectacle, from which point various logistical mechanisms work to draw or pull them into the mega resort:

Figure 27. *Bellagio Spectacle and Logistical connections*

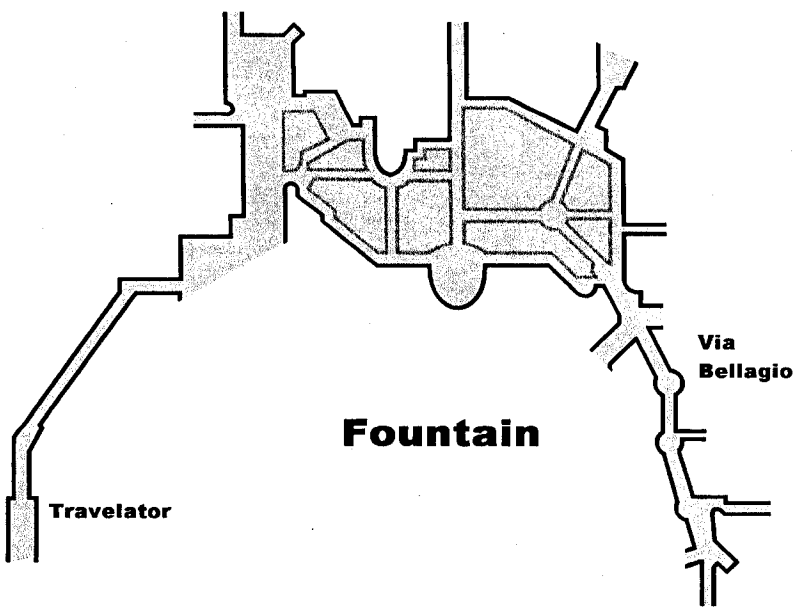
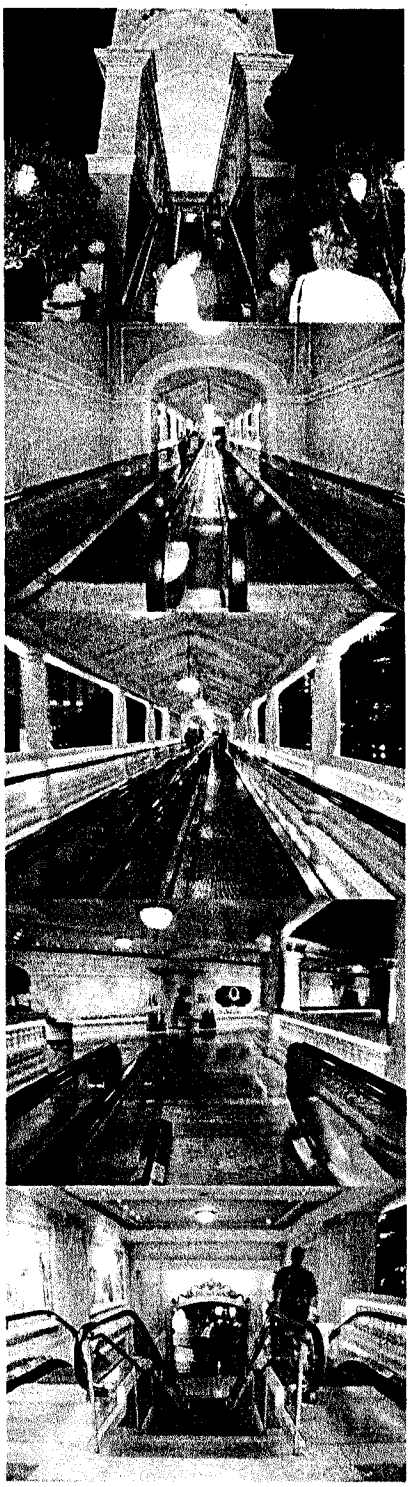


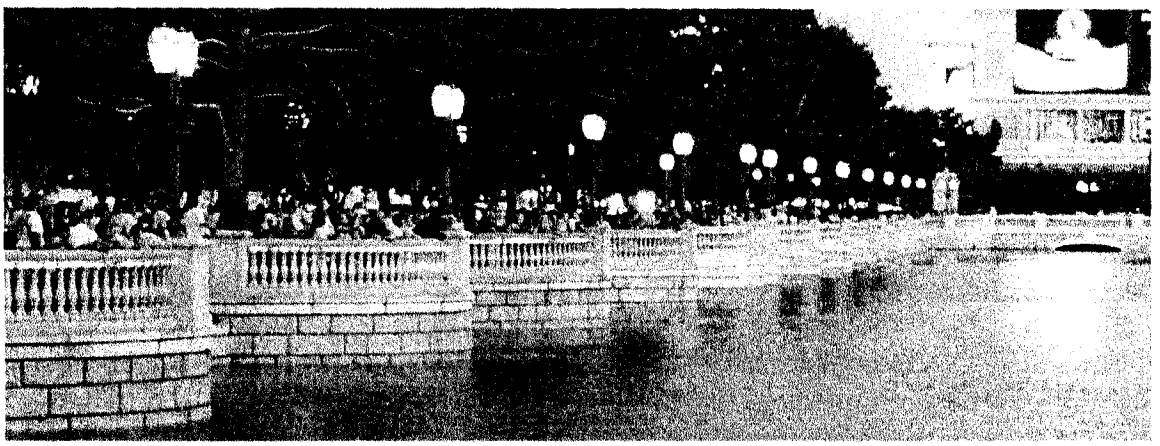
Figure 28. *Bellagio Travelator and Entrance*



Bellagio's logistical connections work to envelop and control a very large section of the Las Vegas Strip. Its two main pedestrian entrances stretch out to the street like tentacles. One entrance that we have already discussed, Via Bellagio, works to envelop the sidewalk itself (it cannot be avoided), but as a logistical mechanism in this larger system it works to pull pedestrian flows directly into the pathwork. The other entrance is a travelator that obviously works to induce flow into the main casino space mechanically. The two entrances connect to consumer flows as fast as possible, meaning that their entrances are placed at the extreme edges of the property in order to grab flows as soon as they enter the area controlled by the Bellagio. These logistical conduits also work to surround a large fountain situated outside of the casino in an architectural flanking maneuver. As a spectacle draw, the fountain works to collect a very large crowd in a large viewing area that spans the entire length of the Strip in front of

Bellagio; the spectacle is powerful enough to induce vehicular traffic jams on the Strip as well. When the crowd dissipates down either side of the strip after the fountain show they will more than likely walk near one of the two entrances, they are already effectively flanked by the two logistical arms.

Figure 29. *Bellagio Fountain Esplanade and Crowd*



Even in Bellagio's basic layout (see figure 26.) we can see that the space is designed to absorb flows. We can describe this logic of logistical absorption by exploring the notion of the inverted fortress.

> In the case of an element of the costal battery, the embrasure is in fact the main opening of the structure; it is a cannon, a 'mouth of fire,' a splaying through which the gun will spit its projectiles, it is the heart of the casemate, the architectonic feature in which the function of the bunker is expressed. (Virilio 1994:15)

Thus fortresses in general, and also the costal bunkers on the French coast that Virilio (1994) is referring to, have "offensive openings..." (15) But in the inverted

fortresses of consumption space this logic is reversed with attractive openings, or openings designed to absorb projectiles. Rather than having an overall shape and structure designed to divert or block movements and trajectories away from its perimeter, its overall exterior shape appears to achieve a type of openness. And on the other hand we can ad to that, as discussed before, the internal logistics of containment expressed in the interior of these spaces.[7]

Travelators

A very pervasive logistical mechanism used by the mega resort to connect to pedestrian flows on the Las Vegas Strip is the travelator. These are essentially conveyor belts that move pedestrians into casino space. The various travelators are essentially disguised conveniences, phantasma(go)rias that work to replace free movement with mechanically induced direct and determined flows (actually non-movements) into dreamworlds. And, travelators seem to always be intertwined with spectacle as Hess (1993) notes in a discussion of the Caesars Palace travelator:

> The pavilion and moving sidewalk are a brilliant improvisational use of theming and technology...[they] create a vivid public presence at the sidewalk...maintaining a sense of cohesions over great space through the use of themed elements and moving sidewalk technology. (108)

Travelators and like people moving technologies such as escalators essentially take people away. As Virilio ([1984] 2005) notes this is an aspect of all means of transportation that derives from the logic of the mount:

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[7] We could also of course compare this logic to that of a prison.

We mount horses, we 'mount' automobiles, we climb up...to be carried off..., stolen away by the prosthesis that extends our mobility; *this abduction is at the heart of accelerated travel*, travelers taken up by the violence of speed are 'displaced persons', literally deportees... (43)

Figure 30. *Excalibur Travelator*

And even as *we* are taken away something else, it would appear, is taken away from us; under a veneer of convenient travel our very volition is freely given up, traded in for a type of alienated movement so that we no longer really *move*, but rather we are *moved*. The phantasma(go)ria disguises the destination under a veneer of convenience while, at the same time it determines that destination.

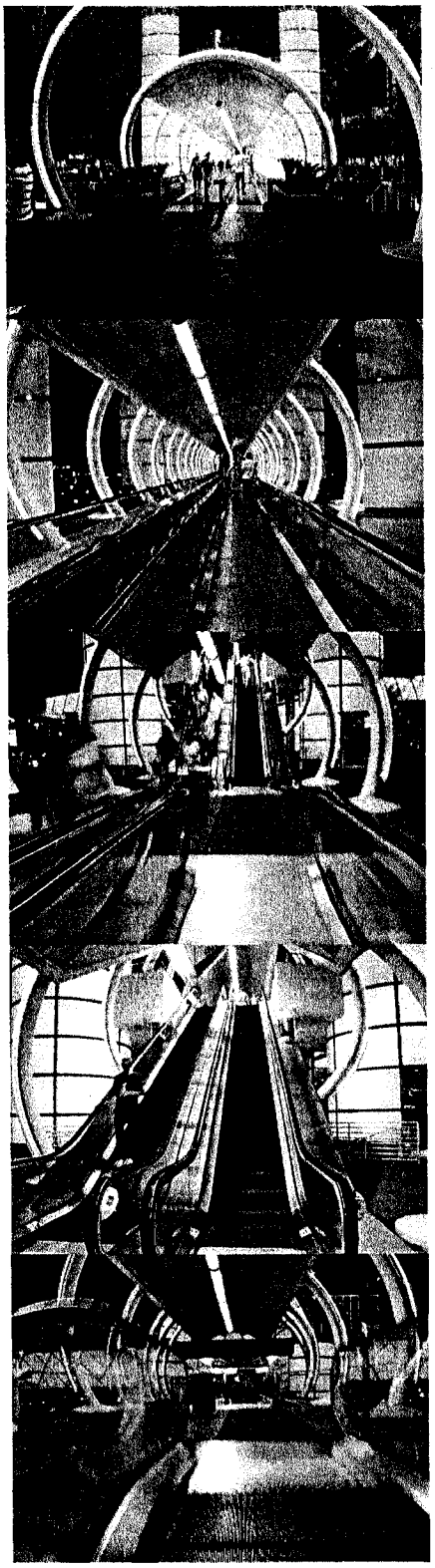
The travelator at the main pedestrian entrance to Excalibur is aptly known as the drawbridge. It starts at the south-west corner of Las Vegas Boulevard and Tropicana Avenue. It begins, as most travelators do (see figure 30.) with a spectacular entryway. A Medieval arch over the entrance matches the theme of the casino beyond. Two knights in a perpetual flank motion towards the entrance and welcome the visitor. As we move up further along the travelator we reach a node that provides access to two pedestrian walkways, a cable car that connects to Luxor and Mandalay Bay, and

of course the rest of the travelator that moves us down into Excalibur. We are moved past a series of double doors and into what might be described as a breezeway. The most interesting characteristic of this space is that it is lined with advertisements for shows and such at Excalibur. What we may have here is a model, still in its developmental stage, for a new mechanism of consumption space. If we imagine that the guardrails could be removed and the advertisements replaced with either shop fronts or even commodities themselves, it calls up visions of totally mechanical mall promenades that work to move shoppers towards and around commodities. As we are moved along, we are drawn into the main pedestrian entryway of the casino where we seem to find ourselves in a spectacular line of fire, suddenly ambushed by spectacular exigencies, but there is also this feeling of a grand arrival as we are moved into the spectacle on the ultimate red carpet.

These older travelators (one at Caesars Palace is another example) express a rather authoritarian logic as they only move one way. This makes these particular casinos, in relation to travelator connections, rather trap-like as they seek to conjoin easy entry with a difficult escape. The visitor is automated and streamlined in a smooth and non-taxing mechanical stroll into the casino but left to their own devices to exit.

We can find perhaps the best example of the amalgamation of spectacle and logistics on the Bally's travelator that dominates the main pedestrian entrance from the strip. Two rows of pillars made of white translucent plastic start from the distant entrance to Bally's. By the time these pillars reach the Strip they fan out in

Figure 31. *Bally's Travelator*



opposite directions to parallel the Strip which creates a sort of funnel. From under the translucent plastic, soft hues of blue, purple, green and red emanate from the pillars and flow out over a mock public space and a wide walkway moving north to south. The colors slowly meld into one another, a continuous shift in ambiance is created through the electrical shift of colored lighting, which has a sort of calming effect on the general area; a sanctuary, separated from the welter of the Strip, takes shape. The centerpiece of this sanctuary is a functional point, a node in which spectacle and mechanical technologies converge; the spectacle attracts and the travelator works to whisk us away. Beyond this node is a spectacular tunnel that disappears into a distant spiral of neon; the succession of lights and the shifting colors are designed to surround the spectator. They twist together and converge in a distant vanishing point, into some spectacular elsewhere. The spectator is doubly drawn by

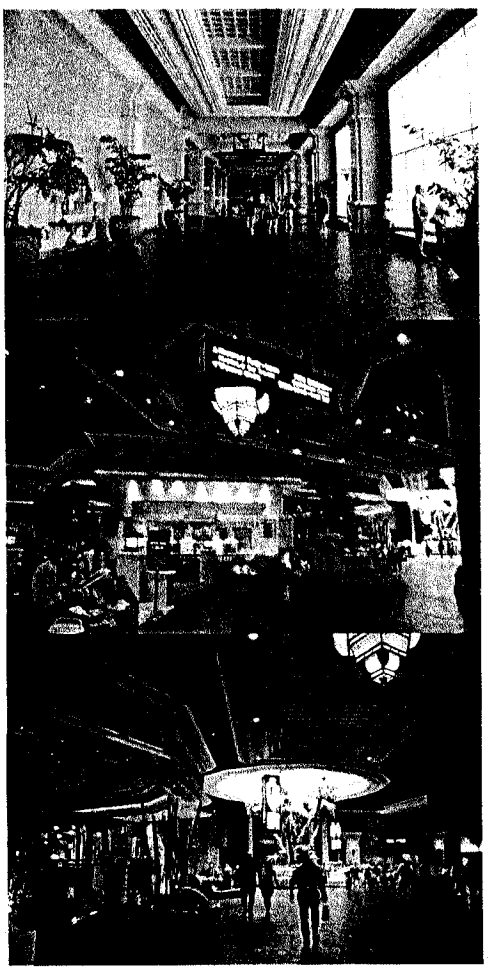
the amalgam; the shifting lights are moving in as much as emotional states shift with them and the mechanical travelator moves the spectator along into the interior of the casino. But, every twenty minutes the tunnel explodes into some sort of spectacular/technological expression of its own existence: "[e]xperience a brilliant light, water and sound extravaganza..." (harrahs.com) At these moments the spectacle seems to envelop the corner. Inside of the tunnel it is even more overwhelming. The lights move in rapid sequence creating the illusion that they are moving down the tunnel. There is a definite sense of anticipation. These shifting lights are sometimes random and at other times more reminiscent of flashing lights on an airport runway. Out of all the logistical mechanisms on this Strip this travelator is probably the most enjoyable and therein lies its phantasma(go)ric character. This fully determined mechanical trajectory, this machine that pulls us into casino space, this conveyor that moves us like some stunned particle into the dreamworld that must exist at its end, is obscured in a total spectacular distraction.

Inter-connections

On the Las Vegas Strip, especially in the newer casinos, we find a very pervasive logic of both internal and external interconnection, which, to some extent, negates the idea that these mega resorts rely on a logic of being *completely* self contained environments. Palazzo and Venetian are interconnected through malls and transitional spaces; in fact the Palazzo Shoppes and the Canal Shoppes at the Venetian form one continuous mall

space, and Bally's is connected to Paris via a mall-like setting known as Le Boulevard. We find these huge resorts interconnected with and through malls and other transitional spaces into smooth continuous hybrid consumption complexes. Another strange occurrence is the existence of bi-directional travelators that function as smooth connections to competing casinos. We find a general, almost ecological, logic of competition/cooperation in these interconnections as well.

Figure 32. *Walkthrough (Mandalay Bay)*



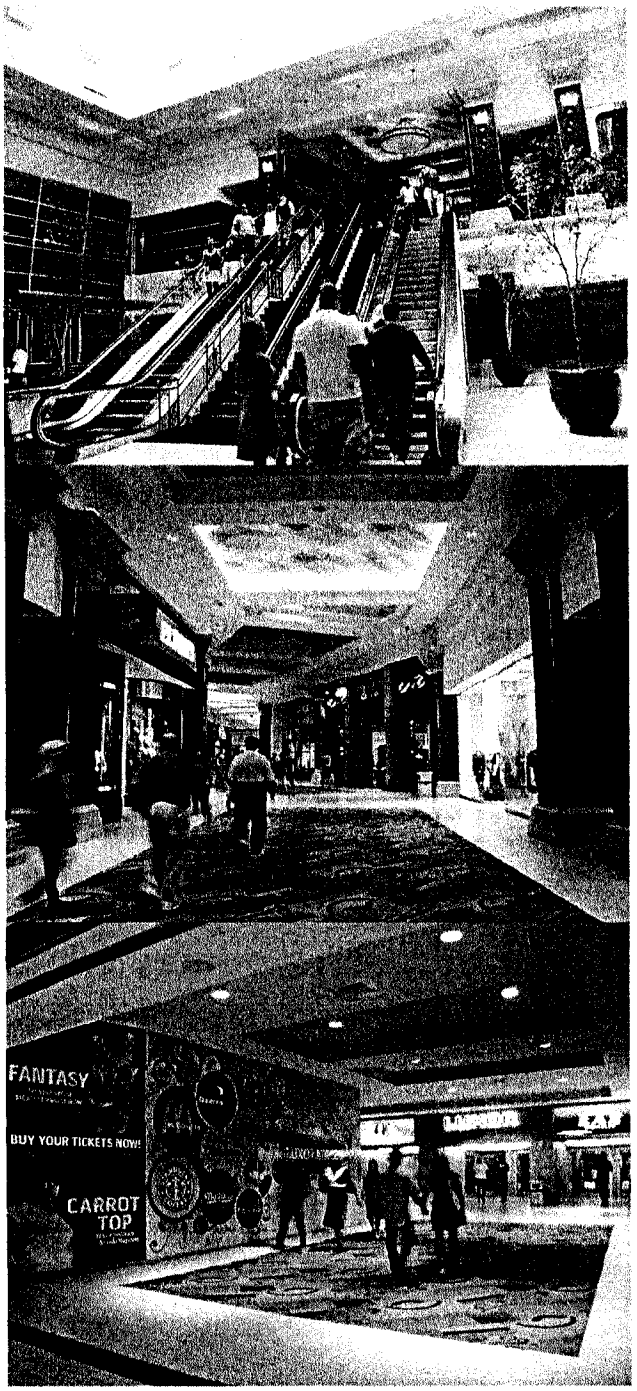
The best example of this internal connectivity can be found at what we can refer to as the Excalibur-Luxor-Mandalay Bay complex which is a whole mile of continuous consumption space connected by cable cars, travelators, and mall-like settings, a consumption behemoth that rivals even Disney World in terms of both size and consumption possibilities (Gottdiener, et al. 1999; Early 2000). It is here that we begin to see a trade and cooperation in terms of flows.

We can start an exploration of this complex towards the back of Mandalay Bay in the convention center walkway (we have already explored this space in order

to show the two potentials of the mall promenade but in this total system it seems to serve a different purpose). It can be considered as an example of hyperspace and at the same time a non-space, a space of pure transience. The key idea here is of course space and the spectacular overuse of space. Moving away from the Shark Reef we find a mall-like setting situated in between the convention center walkway and the Mandalay Bay casino floor. In this transition from one space to another we move from a very vapid and empty expanse of space into a hyper-visual keyed up predatory mall. It is almost as if we have been setup, our perceptions under-stimulated, by the space before only to be released into an environment that works to over-stimulate the senses. This space is opposite from the one before in nearly every way; stores and restaurants are tightly packed together, the ceiling (although it continues in a general pattern) is now augmented with colorful lights, the promenade is dark as opposed to an expanse of whiteness, and instead of a long relatively straight promenade we enter a world of zigzags and sharp angles. From here we move through the casino floor and follow the pathwork to its edge where we find another mall-like setting called Mandalay Place.

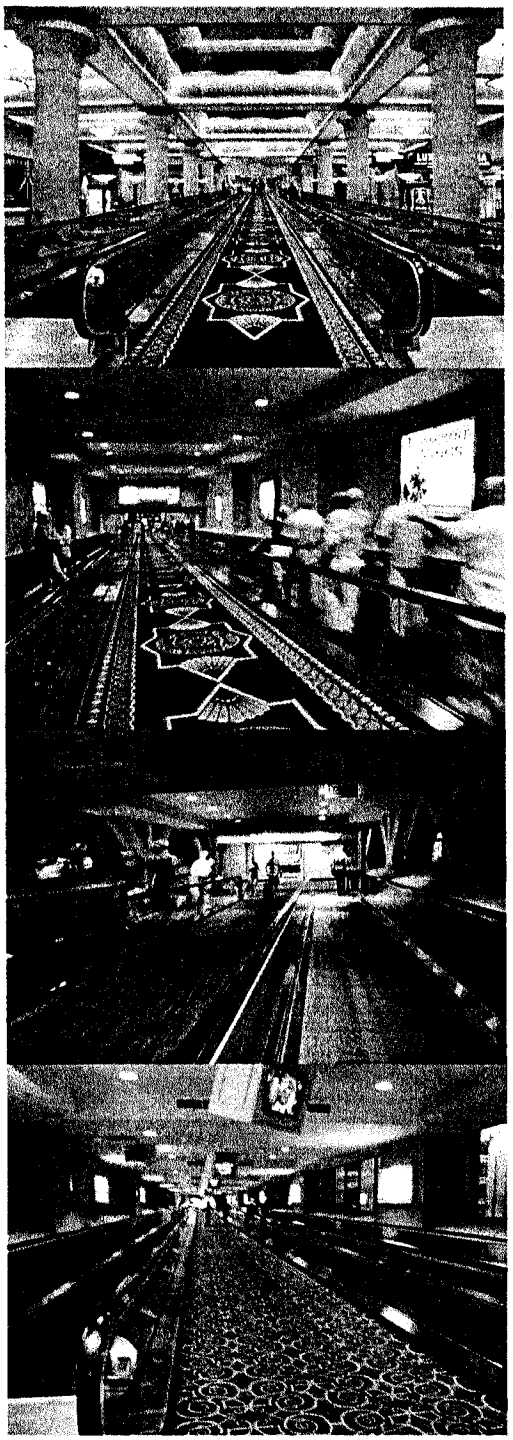
We first enter Mandalay Palace on an escalator situated under a large skylight. The motif totally changes here. We enter a more "typical" mall, a zigzagging, generally well lit, promenade lined with shops. Mandalay place serves as a connection to Luxor and is in this way expressing the logic of the arcade. Towards the end of Mandalay Place we have a transitionary space in which the motifs of the two spaces intertwine. It is at this threshold, where

Figure 33. Walkthrough (Mandalay Place)



Mandalay Place meets Luxor, that this spectacular atrium-like structure seems to take over control of the flow. We are now in the atrium level of Luxor which is a hybrid space somewhere between a mall and department store that houses such things as the IMAX theatre, La Salsa Cantina, a video game arcade and a small food court. This space seems to be more of a space to circulate than anything else. There are two escalators that take us down to the casino floor from here. These types of spaces (there is another at Excalibur) are situated above the casino floor while their associated entrances and exits are on the levels below. This forces

Figure 34. *Walkthrough (Luxor to Excalibur Transitional Space)*



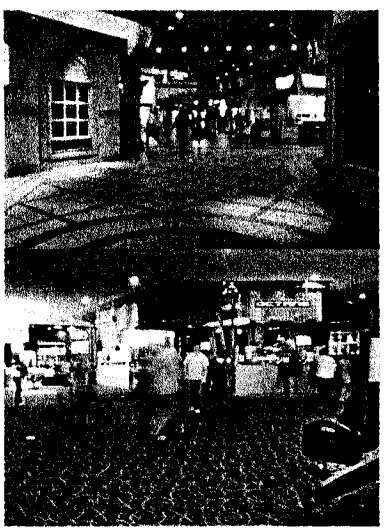
visitors to traverse the casino floor in order to access the next transitional space; only by moving through the Luxor casino floor can we access Excalibur.

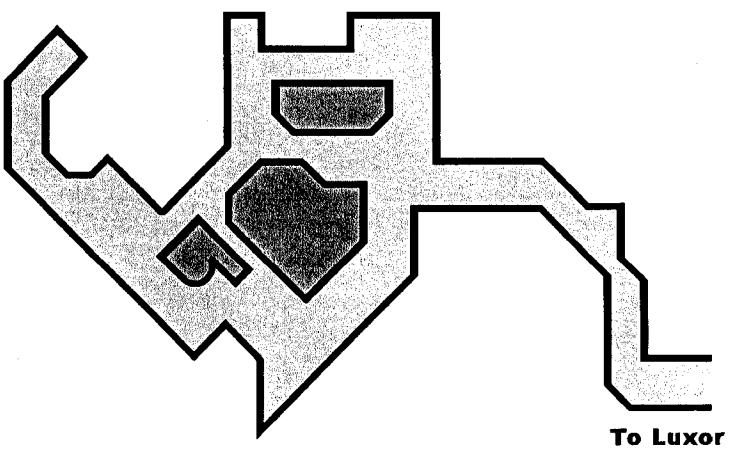
The transitional space between Luxor and Excalibur is a space of pure flow. It is a rather narrow corridor that houses a very long stretch of travelators. This particular space is littered with advertisements that are placed along the walls. One stretch of the corridor makes us of a line of five synchronized televisions that are pointed at the travelator, the electronic screens directed towards flows. It seems that these spaces of movement double as opportunities to advertise to a captive audience. Here we are truly pulled into an ambush of commodity exigencies and advertising images.

This transitional space leads us to Castle Walk which is a mall-like setting

on the second floor of Excalibur. It is a space that works as a node in this larger system of connections but also on its own terms as it brings together three different types of space; it is a confluence of ambiances and edges. The space houses a food court, a bar (Octane), and the Round Table Buffet, all within an overarching mall-like setting; shops are scattered throughout the space but are especially prevalent in the small conduit more towards Luxor. This is a space of hybridity and circulation where distinct social spheres (eating, entertainment, shopping) are intertwined in movement; the logistical loop induces circulations, from food court, to buffet, to other restaurants, to convenience store, to Octane, to midway games. This is apparently a very full space; on the surface it is full of these possibilities, but under the surface we find only the logic of consumption based circulations. From Castle Walk we can access the casino floor via an escalator which completes the exploration of the complex's system of internal interconnections.

Figure 35. *Castle Walk*





What we find in this complex is a total system of consumption logistics. We can describe the complex as a smooth and continuous space, a way to easily access one casino from another, but it is not as *smooth* as it might appear. The whole system is not set up to be traversed quickly. Instead, what we find is a series of transitional spaces that are either totally colonized by the commodity form or that work to direct us to and through consumption possibilities. It is a series of spaces that *appears* to be set up for easy and efficient movement but that actually turns out to be a constant distraction. Visitors, pulled into flows that set them up as a type of moving captive audience, are placed in a perfect position to be ambushed by the exigencies of the commodity and the gambling environments.

This logic of connections is evident in other areas of the strip as well and seems to be a phenomenon that transcends visions of total competition and may lead us to the benefits of an ecological approach to these logistics. For instance, there is an important aspect about the Bally's travelator as compared and contrasted with others on the Strip, it is bi-directional. We also find bi-directional travelators at Bellagio, Mirage, and Venetian. We can compare bi-directional travelators to the travelators at Caesars Palaces or Excalibur that are uni-directional, only moving pedestrians into, and not out of, the casino. The unidirectional travelator seems to express the old, more authoritarian, logic of entrapment, but the bi-directional travelators constitute something of a set of negative cases that challenge the logic of self containment that is related to the idea of the inverted fortress. As we have already seen, Bellagio and Bally's seek

very efficient connections to the Strip. In the case of Bellagio, this logic of connections points to the idea that if resorts are large/spectacular/glamorous/etc. enough then they are able to benefit from high levels of interconnectivity. They would work (as Bellagio does) to pull pedestrians towards themselves as very powerful sinks. We can say that the mega resorts seek to produce an economy of flows and to achieve flow profits (which according to the laws of retail would translate to actual profits). On the other hand, Bally's, being essentially dominated by Caesars Palace and Bellagio, both of which are only just across the street, it would seem that it strives to establish a particular ecologic niche in this system of flows. It seems to work as a hyper node that benefits from its collection of connections to other casinos nearby. Bally's happens to be located at perhaps the busiest intersection on the Strip, it connects to the Bellagio, and by extension to Caesars Palace via pedestrian walkways, it connects to the monorail through a transitional mall-like setting in back, and connects to Paris via Le Boulevard. Bally's seems to work to produce interest in itself by providing efficient connections to other spaces; it seems to become something that is more like a node than a self contained fortress.

The logic of logistical connections points to the idea of networks rather than to that of fortresses. But the two logics may not even be contradictory. Rothman (2003) imagines the resort corridor as a cluster of "interrelated little kingdoms..." (52) that are at the same time at war for customers. Conceived of as a network, the resort corridor is a huge conglomeration, a network of self contained spaces,

even an organization of fragments, based on interconnectivity. This is nothing new to the Las Vegas Strip:

> A city is a set of intertwined activities that form a pattern on the land. The Las Vegas Strip in not a chaotic sprawl but a set of activities whose pattern, as with other cities, depends on technologies of movement and communication... (Venturi et al. [1977] 1989:76)

These ideas, I think, uncover a fundamental contradiction in the structure of capitalism; a tension between outright bloody competition and synergy, where, for purposes of survival, entities must work together in some way for the benefit of the whole. Commodities can exist opposed to each other on the front lines of consumer warfare, or they can be made to cooperate, as they do in the retail store and as retail stores do within a mall so that the collection of commodities and opportunities for consumption creates a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts. Along this line we find casinos collaborating in a shaky alliance, an interconnected synergy of consumption space. Each resort must connect to the flow system of the rest of the resort corridor which produces an effect that rises above all of the competition. A more efficient control of the consuming masses is created in which controlling entities share power and exchange flows. Each resort, acting as a self contained destination, interconnected with other destinations, actually turns the resort corridor into (as the cliché goes) a *destination of destinations.* As a result it is able to engage in a competition with other touristic destinations within the global system of flows.

Conclusion

Casino space expresses a logistics of integration that is fundamentally linked to the hybridity of the mega resorts on the Las Vegas Strip. The goal of this chapter was to come to some understanding of these mega resorts as higher order logistical systems, "complex combinations," that interrelate and are integrated into large scale macro-logistical consumption landscapes.

We explored the internal logistics of the super casino, focusing on their basic logistical components (i.e. the pathwork, nodes, and drivers). I showed how these logistical systems express the logic of Disney theme parks and also how they resemble machines that work first to condense and then to distribute flows of visitors throughout the space and towards casino drivers (amenities) on the edges of the space. We explored the duel functionality of the pathwork as network and as filter, and explored the extent of domestication along the pathwork. I showed how the combination of pathways, nodes, and drivers work as a type of kinetic network to over-stimulate flows and also how the effects of hyperspace enhance this effect. We then explored the external connections that casinos make to the Las Vegas Strip as the main flow source of the resort corridor. We explored the uses of spectacle, and also of mechanical transportation technologies (specifically travelators) in use on the Strip and also their combination into what I have defined as better mouse traps. We then explored how these mega resorts are interconnected into large scale casino complexes and, through that, the idea that the Las Vegas Strip is able to produce

a type of synergy (a consumption landscape) that allows it to become, truly, the destination of destinations as it competes in the global system of flows.

The next chapter will conclude this study. In it I re-explore the notion of logistical systems and consider what I call the logistiscape as a way to think about logistical systems in their full complexity, as fields of activity. I consider the Las Vegas Strip as a type of hyper-bazaar, a conglomeration, a new hybrid urban form where consumption and urban life bleed into other another becoming almost indistinguishable. I then consider fluidity as the most essential logistical component of consumption space, domestication as a type of self controlled fluidity, and visions of resistance in consumption space. I argue that resistance (or fluidity) is always possible and that it is, in fact, built into the system itself as an essential component. I then explore the notion of wish images and phantasma(go)rias and argue that, within consumption space (along these travelators and escalators, in the kinetic labyrinths), all of the potentials exist for radically new modes of social life.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

Consumption logistics turns out to be an *activity* that involves the strategic design of logistical systems in consumption spaces. These logistical systems are, in themselves, *fields of activity*. This activity of strategic design entails not only the placement of particular objects in space but the *integration of logistical techniques and components* in space, the ultimate goal of which is to expose consumers to commodities in hopes of stimulating economically significant activity. If there is any logic to movement in consumption space then it is intertwined with the commodity form and is an extension of commodity logic. Consumption logistics is ultimately only a control of *space* and *territory*, so, by extension, consumption logistics is not necessarily a *control* of fluidity although logisticians obviously seek to control the mobility and fluidity of consumers through logistics. Additionally, we cannot really produce consumption with logistics, only exposure to commodities or opportunities for consumption. So, it is more of a *technique* of providing directions and suggestions to the fluidity and mobility of the shopping masses who must self direct their movements. Mall designers cannot produce this mobility (except in alienated forms). Analogous to the false choices projected into social space by the commodity system, these

logistical systems can be only suggestions that rely on the natural fluidity (even the choices) of consumers. This reliance on fluidity tends to put a new spin on notions of consumption power; just as an engine cannot begin to operate without fuel, logistical consumption systems go nowhere without the mobility and fluidity of consumers. (This is why fluidity is maximized in certain logistical systems.) This logic is nothing new as it is the essential tension of the commodity system; at the same time, it stimulates and contains desires. In terms of the logic of movement, fluidity is stimulated and possessed in the same instant, (maintained) within consumption space; but fluidity is always a perpetual potential that is integral to the logic of movement, even if that logic appears as some type of convoluted trap.

Logistics

We find a whole range of logistical components and techniques throughout consumption space on the Las Vegas Strip, from predatory malls, to spectacles, to nodes, to drivers, sinks and sources, to the kinetic labyrinths, all at different levels of complexity and scale, all with specific purposes and functionalities. In the ways that these logistical systems are put together and developed, we find the logic of hybridity that Virilio (1994) describes in relation to the development of the means of warfare:

> As for arms per se, it is really a zoo grouping together truly multifarious species: from the guns of commissioned battleships, those of the Maginot line...all manner of odds and ends ranging from artillery on rails from the First

> World War to that most extraordinary piece of machinery—the Mimoyecques ram cannon... (28)

In this way the military war machine is not simply a collection of machines but a constant development and re-development and deployment of components and techniques, rather a collection of interchangeable parts. We find the same logic in the logistical systems of consumption space. The old logic of the arcade resurfaces in the predatory mall, that of the bazaar and the labyrinth in the kinetic labyrinth, spectacles are put to good use on mall promenades and even on the street. These logistical techniques become components in much larger logistical systems such as the mega resorts that combine malls, drivers, transitional spaces, and spectacles, etc., into total consumption systems.

> ...[Vauban] collected as wide as possible a file of potential fortification features, ranging from medieval designs to the most modern hornwork... In any given case he would deploy whichever mixture of these he felt was most appropriate to the particular problem he had. (Griffith 2006:25)

The contemporary consumption logisticians seem to do the same as the designers of contemporary fortresses of consumption they draw from the full range of logistical components of the past (we will explore this a little later). We have a new type of innovation, an integrative innovation, in how logisticians and designers combine these components into new systems that really only masquerade as innovations. We find here that consumption logistics is a sort of standardized procedure of assembling logistical components in and to social space, a type of rationalized pastiche. If there is any innovation it is only in the

scale, the complexity in terms of systemic arrangements, and the speed of these new systems.

There turns out to be ranges of consumption logistics. There is a micro-logistics in two senses; retail logistics, point-of-sale logistics, casino floor logistics, etc., are the logistical systems of smaller consumption spaces, but we can also refer to smaller logistical components or objects such as kiosks, benches, fountains, spectacles, trash cans, entrances and exits, directional signs, advertisements, escalators, travelators, carpeted paths, etc., as micro-logistical. Then, there is a mezzo-logistics which suggests the ways in which these smaller logistical systems or components are arranged into larger logistical systems and also specific mezzo-logistical techniques such as mall promenades, transitional spaces, travelators and escalators between spaces, which all work, essentially, to combine smaller logistical systems and components into larger logistical systems and consumption networks. All of this implies notions of nano-logistics which could involve very small scale interactions between individuals and logistical objects in space; semiotic features of spectacles, the feeling of materials underfoot, point of sale interactions with commodities and retail environments, basically those smallest of visceral and psychological interactions between situated shoppers and consumption spaces. And this leads to notions of macro-logistics as well involving the organization of very large scale logistical systems and consumption landscapes through various modes of city-wide or even global transportation.

This system-within-system-within-system way of thinking about logistics, however, does not really speak to the total integration of logistical systems from the micro to the macro, nor does it leave much room for agency on the part of the consumer as it focuses on only the *image* of agency in the idea of flow. Urry's (2000a) conception of *scape* can help with a better conceptualization as it seems to fit better with the integrated complexity of reality; we can conceive of a *logistiscape* as the *total network of logistical components*, technologies, systems, and the actors (designers *and* shoppers) that shape and that experience the logistiscape, the various nodes that direct flows across the logistiscape that can include any of the above components, and also the actual flows (information, people, and other objects) that travel across and interact with the logistiscape. This conceptualization is able to deal with the fact that some logistical components are multi-functional (especially nodes as exemplified by the pathwork which turns out to be both node and filter and also malls that double as transitional spaces and nodes themselves), and it does not seek to place bounds on logistical systems that fundamentally bleed into and overlay one another both in terms of their components and of course the flows that move across them, but most importantly it takes into account the idea that logistical systems are *fields of activity* where designers (technocrat elites) and consumers (shoppers, tourists, spectators) engage in interactions, even confrontations, within and through the logistiscape; this highlights the practicability of taking a conflict approach to consumption space (more on that later).

The Strip (Hyper-bazaar)

One reason that the Las Vegas Strip is so unique and a perfect laboratory to observe the logic of movement is the complexity, the scale, the speed and the energy, of the logistical systems that can be found there (almost four-and-a-half miles of pure logistical, rationalized, consumption space). This complexity highlights the skill of the designers and logisticians (at the same time the best of the best and the worst of the worst) that have shaped this particular space. A testament to and a concrete statement of the extreme power of consumer capitalism; the Las Vegas Strip is perhaps the ultimate expression of the commodity's hold on social life.

Although ur-forms exist and have existed in other consumption spaces (the parasitic gift shop, the arcade, the bazaar), the predatory mall reaches its full potential as a logistical mechanism on the Las Vegas Strip. As a logistical technique, predatory malls accomplish two important goals: at a mezzo-logistical level they serve as conduits that integrate retail stores and work to hijack flows, but at a macro-logistical level they become perhaps the most functional component of consumption based urban networks, logistical mechanisms that are integrated, but that also integrate, larger hybrid consumption systems and landscapes. In Las Vegas the arcade (in the new form of the predatory mall) manages to escape from its entrapment between department store anchors, from behind blank gray fortress walls at the periphery of urban networks, and once again flourishes out and about in the city itself where it makes up the very infrastructure of these new consumption based systems of flow. The ghostly

image of the arcade, as if it was in hibernation, now resurfaces and establishes a more robust niche in large scale consumption mosaics (see Cha 2001). This is to the point that in Las Vegas the boundary between the commodity and the city becomes blurred; at times it is unclear as to whether we are in a mall or a city (rather we are in a city of malls, an organized system of arcades, perhaps something like a hyper-bazaar). But, we have been neglecting the ur-form of the bazaar to some extent. In Las Vegas, as I have argued, we also find the return of the bazaar in the kinetic labyrinth, but, in terms of the strip as a whole, we also see something very similar to the Bazaar. Rather than simply forming the components of urban transportation networks, bazaars overlay and become those very networks. Movements of commodities and urban movement in general become inextricably intertwined.

Another urban trend that the Strip exemplifies is that of the emergence and proliferation of hybrid space. These mega resorts (super casinos) first express a logic and logistics of integration that is related to their hybridity. Casinos are not simply casinos, they are hybrid forms, Complex programs (see Venturi, Brown and Isenour [1977] 1989), symphonies with movements and interrelated parts (see Bellagio.com). They seek to fuse gambling, to entertainment, to dining, to shopping, into complex consumption systems. This trend is what Alan Bryman (2004) has called "hybrid consumption" which is a dimension of Disneyization (the spread of particular features of the Disney Corporation into the realm of everyday life). But even Bryman (and also Ritzer) admits that Las Vegas may be a better expression of disneyization than even the Disney theme parks. The

interior of super casinos is based on a Disney logic of pathways and nodes that direct visitors (guests) through the space in highly programmatic ways. However, a trend that Bryman does not talk much about is the scale and complexity of the integration in these disneyesque consumption systems; there is a particular interconnectedness. For example, Disneyland is connected to California Adventure via Downtown Disney (essentially a mall); each a distinct system forming a macro-logistical Disney synergy. Palazzo and Venetian are interconnected through malls and transitional spaces; in fact the Palazzo Shoppes and the Canal Shoppes form one continuous mall space. We find these huge resorts, hybrids in and of themselves, interconnected into smooth and continuous consumption complexes. Taken in its entirety, the Las Vegas Strip can be conceived of as a vast logistical network, a conglomeration of spaces, an organization of fragments, each resort acting as a self contained destination, interconnected with other destinations, integrated into a synergy, in short, a destination of destinations.

The Object of Consumption (Fluidity and Domestication)

The main logistical component, oddly enough, in consumption space, turns out to be the consumer because logistics involves the *production and shaping of flow* (not fluidity) that is already a *self-controlled fluidity*. The fact that it cannot create true organic fluidity is actually its most fundamental flaw. I have already compared the fluidity and mobility of the consumer to notions of consumption power and speed, essentially the fuel that powers the means of consumption.

The most important aspect of consumption space is this fluidity or mobility of active shoppers who choose to self direct their movements in relation to the space around them; the essential activity of the domesticated consumer. Even the most apparently active types of logistical techniques (travelators or escalators) first involve a choice by the consumer to use them. Any notion of control finds its locus in the consumer, not that it is directed at the consumer but that it is actually the consumer that creates or rather that moves into their own world of logistical control. We find that consumption logistics, as most other facets of the social realm of consumption, entails buying into the system, being "with it" so to speak. To be sure, these spaces are ones of direct manipulation but they also require us to participate in our own manipulation.

Contemporary shoppers in consumption space do appear to be domesticated in that they seem to have *already* internalized some notion of how to move about in such a space (the most obvious example being flows along the pathwork on the casino floor). As Baudrillard ([1981] 2006) notes, the hypermarket is a space in which "a whole new sociality is *elaborated* [emphasis added]." (75) In this way it is difficult to say where this domestication starts (socialization from an early age? the historical escape from the sate of war?) as it already exists; this is really not the issue. What is important is that we have, in these logistical systems, a self referential system of training in consumption. Consumerist ideology achieves a material form in consumption space as it is built into space; as consumers navigate these spaces, as they seek out signals from the environment that they can use to orient their mobility, they take part in that ideology in a physical way,

are trained and integrated into the world of commodities, and end up reproducing it all themselves (Shields 1992; Gottdiener 1995: Miles 1998). By interacting with consumption space, and even with other consumers that have already internalized particular consumption norms, individuals internalize notions of how to act in consumption space; it must be, to some extent, through these interactions that we learn how to be consumers or how exactly to shop. In this way consumption logistics is a technique that works to create this domestication, this ability to direct one's own fluidity in terms of the commodity form and its apparatuses that is nothing other than a behavioral dimension of consumerism. If logistics is the technique of integration of complex systems, then it can also be understood as a technique of integrating certain behavioral and physical dimensions of consumerism (a behavioral logistics if you will). But, in a most physical, direct, and concrete way, it teaches us that to get anywhere in this society, the correct *way*, so to speak, is through the commodity form and the commodity system.

Why do consumers seek out their own order and enter, upon their own volition, into their very own worlds of logistical control? It seems that we do not want to be confused. Maybe we are afraid of chance in our environment. If critical theory is to be useful to anyone then it must deal with this fundamental problem of a desire for self control, a desire for domestication, and the desire for structure. This surrender to the constraints of any type of system of social control, oddly enough, becomes an escape from a Hobbesian state of war and a movement into the perfected violence, the more practical warfare, of

domestication, which is the inevitable extension of the ancient hunt (Virilio [1977] 1986; [1984] 2006); it seems that we are never really able to escape this ancient state of war. In the logistics of the casino floor and also in that of the kinetic labyrinth designers seem to play with this tension; the idea, or the goal, is to keep the casino visitor only *slightly* off balance within some logistical golden mean between the logic of the labyrinth and that of the clear path, between complete chaos and total control. And, this is the essential dynamic of any social order, the balancing of freedom with control. It is perhaps the extent to which either extreme is strategically offered up to the consumer that is also interesting.

We find that logistics must maintain a certain amount of fluidity to be effective. This is one reason why fluidity is a perpetual potential in consumption space. This fact is evidenced mostly in the logic of the kinetic labyrinth which seeks to trap consumers in a web of their own fluidity, turning it against them. This idea, or this complex tension, between fluidity and control, that is so fundamental to consumption logistics is perhaps best explained by Miles' (1998) conception of the *consuming paradox*:

> ...on the one hand, consumerism appears to offer us as individuals all sorts of opportunities and experiences, on the other hand, as consumers we appear to be directed down certain pre-determined routes of consumption which ensure that consumerism is ultimately as constraining as it is enabling. (147)

This is the essential trap of consumption space and the commodity system: it only allows fluidity for an instant and in that instant it is immediately directed and condensed, "possessed in a congealed form" (Debord [1976] 1994:26), changed

into flow, and used as consumption power. By offering a limited selection of opportunities for movement (much like the false choice and phantasmagorias of the commodities on display) consumer capitalism produces its own brand of controllable freedom, controlled choice, controlled fluidity. There is only this image of fluidity in spaces such as the kinetic labyrinth or the mall promenade, and on technologies like travelators and escalators. Consumption space only produces, and can only produce, fluidity in an alienated form; just as the spectacle of consumer capitalism can only produce alienated satisfaction. But pure fluidity (in as much as it can be compared to freedom and choice), even if it is ultimately restrained in many ways, must still exist under the various layers of technical, social, and psychological control.

From a mechanistic perspective, these structures must totally rely on the fluidity of the shopping masses, on this consumption power, or it seems that they would stagnate: for the fortress, "stasis is death." (Virilio ([1977] 1986); for fortresses and related structures, such as particular versions of the means of consumption (hypermarkets and shopping malls), are not machines that can produce fluidity: they are only, according to Vauban, "...able to *receive* [emphasis added] a defined form of energy..., *to transform it and finally to return it in a more appropriate form.*" (Virilio [1977] 1986: 10) Architecture (and logistics for that matter), in the last analysis, involves only a very passive form of control that relies on the choices of the consumer.

The way that Jewell (2001) conceives of human movement as "fluid and unpredictable" in relation to the inertia of architecture maintains the idea that

human movements are ultimately uncontrollable, but what is even more interesting in Jewels discussion of human mobility is in the conception of shopping as a type of violence exerted against consumption space. In this way, logistics becomes only one aspect of a *field of activity*, only one part of a total interaction and confrontation between social groups in consumption space; this is nothing other than a conflict model of consumption.

> Violence...implies a contamination of the purity of the built form by the fluid and unpredictable movement of the human body, a violence that is reciprocated by the controlled order of architecture. *The two may exist in a harmonious relationship* [emphasis added], but equally one may overpower the other and exercise, as a consequence, a dominant control. The tension that we are concerned with in connection with shopping centers is that which exists when a building exerts a 'programmatic violence' over its users... (Jewell 2001:371)

I only disagree with Jewell on one point and that is the assumption that architecture can exert; I conceive of architecture, even social space itself, as a field of activity and a medium of confrontation, not an active agent in and of itself. We find that designers *act upon* space and that consumers *react to* the same space, so there is this imbalance of activity in relation to space that appears as a type of direct control, but rather is the result of an internal control (a domestication) on the part of the consumer. As I said before, the commodity system seeks to keep the consumer slightly off balance, but by changing the ways in which we, as consumers, interact with consumption space I think it is

possible to shift this balance and regain a measure of stability and, by extension, control for ourselves.

Resistance is possible but only in the midst of a radically different relation to space itself, a much more active relation. Humans can only exert agency in situations and in the midst of milieu that are beyond their complete control; furthermore, as Urry (2000a) argues, agency is only possible within structure and humans can only act as hybrids within and in relation to the objects, structures, and situations around them. This leads me to conclude that true organic fluidity is only possible within a structure that is itself fluid and malleable. This type of space, in my opinion, will be realized only when consumers are able to truly transcend domestication and begin to use consumption space in ways that are beyond its instrumental rationalized design; oddly enough, consumers cannot attain true organic fluidity until they remember (or realize) their own fluidity, when they realize that space is already fluid and already a result of their own activity.[1]

The Potential of Consumption Space (Wish Image)

It becomes clear that the potential of consumption space (as a truly human space) is hindered by the commodity system (see Jewell 2001). In terms of the mall form in particular it was Victor Gruen's dream that it be a central node for a new type of sociality that would take the place of the town center:

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[1] The reader may want to explore the *Sun Tzu*, not only for its alternative conception of logistics, but also for a much deeper philosophical discussion of the dynamics and complexity of our relationship to space.

> By affording opportunities for social life and recreation in a protected pedestrian environment, by incorporating civic and educational facilities, shopping centers can fill an existing void. They can provide the needed place and opportunity for participation in modern community life that the ancient Greek Agora, the Medieval Market Place and our own town squares provided in the past (Gruen and Smith 1960:24; quoted in Leong 2001c)

But we find the same argument, with an obviously much more cynical spin, in Baudrillard's ([1970] 1998) description of the hypermarket. The problem is that the main functional imperative of the mall (and consumption space in general) is to realize the profit motive, and nothing much else unless it leads to profits. The mall is a space in which two very different social values (sociality and profit) are brought together, but the sociality that manifests is always bounded by the profit motive (Gottdiener 1995; Sandikci and Holt 1998; Jewell 2001). This potential for sociality is used as a functional illusion that works to attract people into an inauthentic world; into the dreamworlds and the spectacles of consumerism; Gruen's dream is transformed into its opposite and the mall becomes a space of technical control.

From Mandalay Bay, through Luxor and then through Excalibur (and even beyond) we are never really able to stray far from the commodity form and commodified experience, over a mile of space bounded by commodity logics and associated apparatuses. We have already seen how consumption space is able to facilitate movement how it can make effective use of all types of modes and technologies of transportation. But, this potential for movement is used to create

and maintain a way of life that really has no relation to movement itself. Movement, where it takes the form of flows and where it is informed by logistics, is nothing more than a tool that is used to accomplish other goals; we might ask if it is possible to use consumption as a tool to stimulate movement (or some other more acceptable and rewarding type of social goal). As we have already discussed, the architectural form of the arcade expresses this potential best as it truly exist on a cusp between movement and commodity logics. And within the form of the kinetic labyrinth we have logistics that are most in line with the possibility of stimulating actual fluidity, in it we can imagine, or see the image of, a space of nearly pure fluidity where movement is stimulated on its own terms and for itself, a truly ludic space that realizes the ancient dream of the labyrinth.

I have been using the term phantasma(go)ria, which, I have argued, refers to the ways in which certain logistical systems and techniques express an illusion of fluidity while they work to replace that fluidity with its alienated image, with a flow towards the commodity form. In the same way that the phantasmagoria of the commodity system distills (and distorts) our desires and then offers them back to us as attainable illusions, the phantasma(go)rias take our dreams of fluidity, dangle them in front of our eyes, while they take us away into the dream worlds of the commodity system, but there is something to this image:

> ...replaced by a transportation machine which becomes the allegorical signifier of that older promenade we are no longer allowed to conduct on our own... (Jameson 1991:42)

In some logistical systems (the predatory mall, the travelator and the escalators, the kinetic labyrinth) it is possible to find a negative to the image of fluidity, within the very phantasmagoria that they project and in which they envelop the traveler.

Walter Benjamin ([1935] 1999) used the concept of the wish image to describe the social-psychological phenomena through which humans attempt to deal with technological change and the potentials that come with innovation.

> Benjamin was struck by an incontestable, empirical fact: consistently, when modern innovations appeared in modern history, they took the form of historical restitutions. New forms 'cited' the old ones out of context. (Buck-Morss 1989:110)

New innovations call up visions of a utopian social order that seems to be constantly forgotten, overshadowed by actual technological effects; at the point of innovation we tend to look into the future but only through the constantly unfulfilled wish of the past. The return of the arcade expresses something like this effect. The predatory mall is a reproduction in that it is related to the arcade, but in its return it has obtained a certain systemic functionality that is even more intertwined with commodity logic and that is able to produce even more alienated forms of movement; it seems to move us, as other phantasma(go)rias, further and further away from true fluidity. Within these systematized flows there appears to be a void, an absence, which is nothing other than the non-existence of true organic fluidity that we know must exist but that disappears as soon as flows take shape. What I am attempting to say is that these passages can show us the way back to a fluid nomadic existence that can transcend the boundaries

of the system in which we now find ourselves, at the same time, lost and trapped; in these passages, along these travelators and escalators, within these labyrinths are all the anti-images of what new (or rather old) types of movements would be possible in different systems.

This image of a new system has fortunately already been outlined by the Situationist Constant ([1974] 1996) in the essay entitled *New Babylon*:

> The space of New Babylon has all the characteristics of a labyrinthine space, within which movement no longer submits to the constraints of given spatial or temporal organization. (167)

Admittedly, New Babylon is a very far off concept as it first calls for a totally automated productive base that has already achieved the elimination of scarcity, and collective ownership of the land; thus, allowing the emergence of a *homo-ludens* that is altogether unfettered from the need for any type of productive work and is rather allowed to simply give free reign to pure creativity (Constant [1974] 1996); accordingly this would necessitate the completion of the Marxist project (obviously a major flaw in the scheme). However, the actual activities that New Babylonians engage in, their relation to space in particular, is much more useful. As I already argued, true fluidity is only possible within a structure that is itself fluid, and this is possible only through a radically different relation to space. Homo-ludens interacts with space in the most active way possible (they do not forego their fluidity in terms of some static structure as consumers do in consumption space), and the space that they interact with is fluid.

> Should a small group enter a space, then the ordering of that space can become something else. By articulating many small spaces one can create a space of more ample dimensions or vice versa. One can also change the form of a space with new entrances, or by blocking the old ones; by adding or removing stairs, bridges, ladders, ramps, etc. With a minimum of effort one can arrive at any desired modification. Moreover, one has to hand a varied range of partitions and different materials, textures and colors... (Constant [1974] 1996:168-169)

The technocratic elite that now give logistical shape to spaces of consumption actually have, more or less, a very similar relation to space (they *can* tear down walls, create new exits and entrances, install stairs, etc.); the problem being that their power to shape space is not matched by an equal power on the part of the consumer or shopper. I am not advocating some type of spatial neo-Luddism in which walls are smashed to bits and new exits made in consumption spaces on the fly. I am simply saying that true fluidity, as experienced by homo-ludens in New Babylon, involves a much more active interaction with space. Space must either actually be shaped as fluid or, even better, understood that it *already is rather fluid and shapeable.*

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APPENDIX

IRB FORMS

UNLV
CELEBRATING FIFTY YEARS
Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

IRB Received Date Stamp—Office Use Only

RECEIVED
DEC 10 2007
OFFICE FOR THE PROTECTION OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

IRB Protocol Number—Office Use Only

0712-2568

Exempt Research Application Form

Applicable Policy – 45 CFR 46.101 (b)

Instructions:

1. CITI certification (www.citiprogram.org) must be current at the time of protocol submission. Certification expires 2 years after completion.
2. Complete this application if you believe your study qualifies as exempt research based on the categories below. The UNLV IRB will make the final determination for approval of exempt research projects. The exemption approval must be granted in writing by the UNLV IRB before research can begin on the project.
3. Exempt research must adhere to the same ethical principles governing all research.
4. Exempt applications must include copies of informed consent/assent, questionnaires/surveys, advertisements, etc.
5. If the IRB determines the research to be non-exempt, the project must be resubmitted with the completed Research Protocol Proposal Form to again proceed through the IRB review process.

1. Duration of Study

Anticipated Start Date: 11 / 2007 Anticipated Termination Date: 5 / 2008

2. Research Protocol Title

The Logic of Movement on the Las Vegas "Strip"

3. Investigator(s) Contact Information

(The PI must be a UNLV faculty member in all cases involving studies carried out by students or fellows.)

A. **Principal Investigator** *(Name and Credentials)*: Simon Gottschalk Ph.D. – 05/17/07

☐ Faculty ☒ Faculty Advisor

Department: Sociology Mail Stop: 5033 Phone Number: 702-895-3322

E-Mail Address: karma@unlv.nevada.edu

B. **Student/Fellow Investigator** *(Name and Credentials)*: Robert Dean – 02/03/09

☐ Undergraduate ☒ Masters ☐ Doctoral ☐ Fellow

Department: Sociology Mail Stop: 5033 Phone Number: 661-342-6033

E-Mail Address: rfdean@hotmail.com

C. **Please complete (if applicable)**

Protocol Coordinator *(Name and Credentials)*: _____

Phone Number: _____ E-Mail Address: _____

Co-Principal Investigator *(Name and Credentials)*: _____

☐ Faculty

Department: _____ Mail Stop: _____ Phone Number: _____

E-Mail Address: _____

4. Research Team Members: *List all research team members (including PI) who will have contact with subjects, have contact with subjects' data or biological samples, or use subjects' personal information. If needed, see the Additional Research Team Member Form.*

NAME and DEPARTMENT	ROLE IN PROTOCOL	SPECIFIC EXPERIENCE WITH ROLE IN PROTOCOL	ROLE IN CONSENT PROCESS

EXAMPLE: Dr. Chris Researcher, Research Department	EXAMPLE: Developed protocol, collecting data, analyzing data, writing report	EXAMPLE: Has had 7 years of conducting and publishing human subjects research at a university	EXAMPLE: Recruiting subjects, writing the consent form, consenting subjects, answering questions
Robert Dean, Dept. of Sociology	Developed protocol, collecting and analyzing data, writing thesis.	none	N/A
Simon Gottschalk, Dept. of Sociology	Faculty advisor	15 years experiance as advisor	N/A

5. Project Details

A. Describe the purpose of the project and how you will conduct it. This will be an exploratory study into the logic of movement in consumption spaces on the Las Vegas "Strip". Consumption spaces are social spaces that are highly intertwined with the sytem of consumerism (i.e. shopping malls, department stores, casinos, etc.). The purpose of the thesis will be to explore the features of the built environment that work to direct flows of consumers through consumption spaces. My methodological approach involves a combination of participant and non-participant (naturalistic) observation of consumers in spaces that are open to the public. Both of these observational methods will be informed by psychogeography (the study of the effects of the material environment on the behavior of individuals) and the theory of the derive (a mode of observation that involves a combination of walking and observation); therefore, the method becomes, at times, a moving self-reflexive participant observation of consumer flows, and, at other times, a stationary and non-participant observation of these same flows. In other words, I will be walking through consumption spaces taking notes on where and how I am moved along by particular features of the built environment, and I will also be observing and taking notes on how other consumers move in these same spaces.

B. Maximum number of subjects: There is no maximum number of subjects.

C. Describe study population/specimens/data to be studied (e.g., healthy adults age 18-45). Flow is the result of an interaction between the movements of people and features of the material environment in consumption space. So, the population includes all people that enter public consumption spaces, all aspects of consumption spaces that work to produce flows of consumers, and flows of consumers themselves in as much as they are the result of that interaction. The main source of data will be my personal field notes of public behavior (flows) in consumption space. This data will be augmented with digital photographs of features in consumption space (coridors, facades, escalators, stairs, promenades, etc.)

D. Describe the consent process for enrolling subjects into this study. It is nearly impossible to inform all of the subjects in consumption space of my observations (this would entail obtaining consent from everyone in a mall for example). But, the public nature of the space limits a persons reasonable expatations for privacy, so I do not feel that informed consent should be an issue.

E. Describe how the data will be protected (include location, length of time and disposition of data). Data in the form of digital photographs will be stored, electronically, on compact disks which will themselves be stored in a secure office at UNLV. field notes and transcribed field notes will also be stored in a secure office at UNLV. All data will be stored electronically at UNLV until the completion of the study, after which time it will be destroyed. where? how long?

6. Financial Information

6.1 Will subjects be paid or otherwise compensated for research participation? ☐ Yes ☒ No

If yes, please respond to the following questions:

a) Describe the nature of any compensation to subjects. Include cash, gifts, research credit, etc. _____

b) Provide a dollar amount, if applicable, and indicate method of payment. _____

☐ Cash ☐ Check ☐ Research Credit ☐ Other: _____

c) When and how is the compensation provided to the subject? _____

d) What is the effect on compensation if a subject does not complete the study? _____

6.2 Is there any internal or external funding (e.g., grants, contracts, gifts, etc.) ☐ Yes ☒ No

If yes:

a) Name of Sponsor or UNLV Grant Program: _____

b) Attach a copy of the proposal and/or award document.

7. Exempt Research Category (Check the applicable category):

☐	1) Research conducted in established or commonly accepted educational settings, involving normal educational practices, such as (i) research on regular and special education instructional strategies, or (ii) research on the effectiveness of or the comparison among instructional techniques, curricula, or classroom management methods.
☒	2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless: (i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.
☐	3) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures, or observation of public behavior that is not exempt under paragraph (b)(2) of this section, if: (i) the human subjects are elected or appointed public officials or candidates for public office; or (ii) Federal statute(s) require(s) without exception that the confidentiality of the personally identifiable information will be maintained throughout the research and thereafter.
☐	4) Research involving the collection or study of existing data, documents, records, pathological specimens, or diagnostic specimens, if these sources are publicly available or if the information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects.
☐	5) Research and demonstration projects which are conducted by or subject to the approval of Department or Agency heads, and which are designed to study, evaluate, or otherwise examine: (i) Public benefit or service programs; (ii) procedures for obtaining benefits or services under those programs; (iii) possible changes in or alternatives to those programs or procedures; or (iv) possible changes in methods or levels of payment for benefits or services under those programs.
☐	6) Taste and food quality evaluation and consumer acceptance studies, (i) if wholesome foods without additives are consumed or (ii) if a food is consumed that contains a food ingredient at or below the level and for a use found to be safe, or agricultural chemical or environmental contaminant at or below the level found to be safe, by the Food and Drug Administration or approved by the Environmental Protection Agency or the Food Safety and Inspection Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

8. Signatures of Assurance

A. Investigator's Assurance:

I certify that the information provided in this application is complete and accurate. As Principal Investigator, I have ultimate responsibility for the conduct of this study, the ethical performance of the project, the protection of the rights and welfare of human subjects and strict adherence to any stipulations designated by the IRB. I agree to comply with all UNLV policies and procedures, as well as with all applicable Federal, State and local laws regarding the protection of human subjects in research including, but not limited to the following:

- Performing the project by qualified personnel according to the approved protocol.
- Not changing the approved protocol or consent form without prior IRB approval (except in an emergency, if necessary, to safeguard the well-being of human subjects).
- Obtaining proper informed consent from human subjects or their legally responsible representative, using only the currently approved, stamped consent form.
- Promptly reporting adverse events to OPRS in writing according to IRB guidelines.
- Arranging for a co-investigator to assume direct responsibility, if the PI will be unavailable to direct this research personally, as when on sabbatical leave or vacation.

***FACULTY ADVISOR (IF APPLICABLE): By my signature as Principal Investigator on this research application, I certify that the student/fellow investigator is knowledgeable about the regulations and policies governing research with human subjects and has sufficient training and experience to conduct this particular study in accordance with the approved protocol. In addition:

- I agree to act as the liaison between the IRB and the student/fellow investigator with all written and verbal communications.

- I agree to meet with the student/fellow investigator on a regular basis to monitor the progress of the study.
- I agree to be available and to personally supervise the student/fellow investigator in solving problems, as they arise.
- I assure that the student/fellow investigator will promptly report adverse events to OPRS according to IRB guidelines.
- I will arrange for an alternate faculty advisor to assume responsibility if I become unavailable, as when on sabbatical leave or vacation.
- I assure that the student/fellow investigator will follow through with the storage and destruction of data as outlined in the protocol.

R Gottschalk — Principal Investigator's Name (Print)
SIMON GOTTSCHALK

S Gottschalk — Principal Investigator's Signature

12/7/07 — Date

Co-Principal Investigator's Name (Print)

Co-Principal Investigator's Signature

Date

B. Student/Fellow Investigator Assurance: (if applicable)

By my signature as Student/Fellow Investigator on this research application, I certify that I am knowledgeable about the regulations and policies governing research with human subjects and agree to conduct this particular study in accordance with the approved protocol. In addition:

- I agree to meet with my faculty advisor on a regular basis to discuss the progress of the study.
- I agree to meet with my faculty advisor to solve protocol issues, as they arise.
- I will promptly report adverse events to OPRS and my faculty advisor according to IRB guidelines.
- I assure that I will follow through with the storage and destruction of data as outlined in the protocol.

Robert Dean — Student/Fellow Investigator Name (Print)

Student/Fellow Investigator Signature

11/19/07 — Date

UNLV
CELEBRATING FIFTY YEARS

Social/Behavioral IRB – Exempt Review
Revisions Request

DATE: December 21, 2007

TO: **Dr. Simon Gottschalk,** Sociology

FROM: Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

RE: Notification of IRB Action by Dr. Paul Jones, Co-Chair
Protocol Title: **The Logic of Movement on the Las Vegas "Strip"**
OPRS# 0712-2568

This memorandum is notification that the project referenced above has been reviewed by the UNLV Social/Behavioral Institutional Review Board (IRB) as indicated in Federal regulatory statutes 45CFR46.

Please complete the following revisions and resubmit to OPRS for review.

1. Exempt form, section 5C - Please note that pictures will not be taken of shoppers.
2. Exempt form, section 5E - Please include the length of time (3 years minimum) that data will be stored.

To continue the review of the protocol named above, please make the revisions requested above and submit all revised documents. Please indicate all changes by highlight, ALL CAPS, **bold** or use of color print.

If you have questions or require any assistance, please contact the Office for the Protection of Research Subjects at OPRSHumanSubjects@unlv.edu or call 895-2794.

UNLV
CELEBRATING FIFTY YEARS
Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

IRB Received Date Stamp—Office Use Only
RECEIVED
JAN 02 2008
OFFICE FOR THE PROTECTION OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

Protocol Number—Office Use Only
0712-2568

Exempt Research Application Form

Applicable Policy – 45 CFR 46.101 (b)

Instructions:

1. CITI certification (www.citiprogram.org) must be current at the time of protocol submission. Certification expires 2 years after completion.
2. Complete this application if you believe your study qualifies as exempt research based on the categories below. The UNLV IRB will make the final determination for approval of exempt research projects. The exemption approval must be granted in writing by the UNLV IRB before research can begin on the project.
3. Exempt research must adhere to the same ethical principles governing all research.
4. Exempt applications must include copies of informed consent/assent, questionnaires/surveys, advertisements, etc.
5. If the IRB determines the research to be non-exempt, the project must be resubmitted with the completed Research Protocol Proposal Form to again proceed through the IRB review process.

1. Duration of Study

Anticipated Start Date: 11 / 2007 Anticipated Termination Date: 5 / 2008

2. Research Protocol Title

The Logic of Movement on the Las Vegas "Strip"

3. Investigator(s) Contact Information

(The PI must be a UNLV faculty member in all cases involving studies carried out by students or fellows.)

A. **Principal Investigator** *(Name and Credentials)*: Simon Gottschalk Ph.D.

☐ Faculty ☒ Faculty Advisor

Department: Sociology Mail Stop: 5033 Phone Number: 702-895-3322

E-Mail Address: karma@unlv.nevada.edu

B. **Student/Fellow Investigator** *(Name and Credentials)*: Robert Dean

☐ Undergraduate ☒ Masters ☐ Doctoral ☐ Fellow

Department: Sociology Mail Stop: 5033 Phone Number: 661-342-6033

E-Mail Address: rfdean@hotmail.com

C. **Please complete (if applicable)**

Protocol Coordinator *(Name and Credentials)*: ____

Phone Number: ____ E-Mail Address: ____

Co-Principal Investigator *(Name and Credentials)*: ____

☐ Faculty

Department: ____ Mail Stop: ____ Phone Number: ____

E-Mail Address: ____

4. Research Team Members: *List all research team members (including PI) who will have contact with subjects, have contact with subjects' data or biological samples, or use subjects' personal information. If needed, see the Additional Research Team Member Form.*

NAME and DEPARTMENT	ROLE IN PROTOCOL	SPECIFIC EXPERIENCE WITH ROLE IN PROTOCOL	ROLE IN CONSENT PROCESS

3903

EXAMPLE: Dr. Chris Researcher, Research Department	EXAMPLE: Developed protocol, collecting data, analyzing data, writing report	EXAMPLE: Has had 7 years of conducting and publishing human subjects research at a university	EXAMPLE: Recruiting subjects, writing the consent form, consenting subjects, answering questions
Robert Dean, Dept. of Sociology	Developed protocol, collecting and analyzing data, writing thesis.	none	N/A
Simon Gottschalk, Dept. of Sociology	Faculty advisor	15 years experiance as advisor	N/A

5. Project Details

A. Describe the purpose of the project and how you will conduct it. This will be an exploratory study into the logic of movement in consumption spaces on the Las Vegas "Strip". Consumption spaces are social spaces that are highly intertwined with the sytem of consumerism (i.e. shopping malls, department stores, casinos, etc.). The purpose of the thesis will be to explore the features of the built environment that work to direct flows of consumers through consumption spaces. My methodological approach involves a combination of participant and non-participant (naturalistic) observation of consumers in spaces that are open to the public. Both of these observational methods will be informed by psychogeography (the study of the effects of the material environment on the behavior of individuals) and the theory of the derive (a mode of observation that involves a combination of walking and observation); therefore, the method becomes, at times, a moving self-reflexive participant observation of consumer flows, and, at other times, a stationary and non-participant observation of these same flows. In other words, I will be walking through consumption spaces taking notes on where and how I am moved along by particular features of the built environment, and I will also be observing and taking notes on how other consumers move in these same spaces.

B. Maximum number of subjects: There is no maximum number of subjects.

C. Describe study population/specimens/data to be studied (e.g., healthy adults age 18-45). Flow is the result of an interaction between the movements of people and features of the material environment in consumption space. So, the population includes all people that enter public consumption spaces, all aspects of consumption spaces that work to produce flows of consumers, and flows of consumers themselves in as much as they are the result of that interaction. The main source of data will be my personal field notes of public behavior (flows) in consumption space. This data will be augmented with digital photographs of features in consumption space (coridors, facades, escalators, stairs, promenades, etc.) IT IS NOT MY INTENTION TO TAKE PHOTOGRAPHS OF SHOPPERS, BUT IN THE EVENT THAT SHOPPERS APPEAR IN THE PHOTOGRAPHS, THEIR FACES WILL BE BLURED OUT SO THEY CANNOT BE IDENTIFIED.

D. Describe the consent process for enrolling subjects into this study. It is nearly impossible to inform all of the subjects in consumption space of my observations (this would entail obtaining consent from everyone in a mall for example). But, the public nature of the space limits a persons reasonable expatations for privacy, so I do not feel that informed consent should be an issue.

E. Describe how the data will be protected (include location, length of time and disposition of data). Data in the form of digital photographs will be stored, electronically, on compact disks which will themselves be stored in a secure office at UNLV. field notes and transcribed field notes will also be stored in a secure office at UNLV. All data will be stored electronically at UNLV FOR THREE YEARS AFTER THE completion of the study, after which time it will be destroyed.

6. Financial Information

6.1 Will subjects be paid or otherwise compensated for research participation? ☐ Yes ☒ No

If yes, please respond to the following questions:

a) Describe the nature of any compensation to subjects. Include cash, gifts, research credit, etc. _____

b) Provide a dollar amount, if applicable, and indicate method of payment. _____

☐ Cash ☐ Check ☐ Research Credit ☐ Other: _____

c) When and how is the compensation provided to the subject? _____

d) What is the effect on compensation if a subject does not complete the study? _____

6.2 Is there any internal or external funding (e.g., grants, contracts, gifts, etc.) ☐ Yes ☒ No

If yes:

a) Name of Sponsor or UNLV Grant Program: _____

b) Attach a copy of the proposal and/or award document.

7. Exempt Research Category (Check the applicable category):

☐	1) Research conducted in established or commonly accepted educational settings, involving normal educational practices, such as (i) research on regular and special education instructional strategies, or (ii) research on the effectiveness of or the comparison among instructional techniques, curricula, or classroom management methods.
☒	2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless: (i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.
☐	3) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures, or observation of public behavior that is not exempt under paragraph (b)(2) of this section, if: (i) the human subjects are elected or appointed public officials or candidates for public office; or (ii) Federal statute(s) require(s) without exception that the confidentiality of the personally identifiable information will be maintained throughout the research and thereafter.
☐	4) Research involving the collection or study of existing data, documents, records, pathological specimens, or diagnostic specimens, if these sources are publicly available or if the information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects.
☐	5) Research and demonstration projects which are conducted by or subject to the approval of Department or Agency heads, and which are designed to study, evaluate, or otherwise examine: (i) Public benefit or service programs; (ii) procedures for obtaining benefits or services under those programs; (iii) possible changes in or alternatives to those programs or procedures; or (iv) possible changes in methods or levels of payment for benefits or services under those programs.
☐	6) Taste and food quality evaluation and consumer acceptance studies, (i) if wholesome foods without additives are consumed or (ii) if a food is consumed that contains a food ingredient at or below the level and for a use found to be safe, or agricultural chemical or environmental contaminant at or below the level found to be safe, by the Food and Drug Administration or approved by the Environmental Protection Agency or the Food Safety and Inspection Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

8. Signatures of Assurance

A. Investigator's Assurance:

I certify that the information provided in this application is complete and accurate. As Principal Investigator, I have ultimate responsibility for the conduct of this study, the ethical performance of the project, the protection of the rights and welfare of human subjects and strict adherence to any stipulations designated by the IRB. I agree to comply with all UNLV policies and procedures, as well as with all applicable Federal, State and local laws regarding the protection of human subjects in research including, but not limited to the following:

- Performing the project by qualified personnel according to the approved protocol.
- Not changing the approved protocol or consent form without prior IRB approval (except in an emergency, if necessary, to safeguard the well-being of human subjects).
- Obtaining proper informed consent from human subjects or their legally responsible representative, using only the currently approved, stamped consent form.
- Promptly reporting adverse events to OPRS in writing according to IRB guidelines.
- Arranging for a co-investigator to assume direct responsibility, if the PI will be unavailable to direct this research personally, as when on sabbatical leave or vacation.

***FACULTY ADVISOR (IF APPLICABLE): By my signature as Principal Investigator on this research application, I certify that the student/fellow investigator is knowledgeable about the regulations and policies governing research with human subjects and has sufficient training and experience to conduct this particular study in accordance with the approved protocol. In addition:

- I agree to act as the liaison between the IRB and the student/fellow investigator with all written and verbal communications.
- I agree to meet with the student/fellow investigator on a regular basis to monitor the progress of the study.
- I agree to be available and to personally supervise the student/fellow investigator in solving problems, as they arise.
- I assure that the student/fellow investigator will promptly report adverse events to OPRS according to IRB guidelines.
- I will arrange for an alternate faculty advisor to assume responsibility if I become unavailable, as when on sabbatical leave or vacation.
- I assure that the student/fellow investigator will follow through with the storage and destruction of data as outlined in the protocol.

See email	1/2/08	
Principal Investigator's Name (Print)	Principal Investigator's Signature	Date
Co-Principal Investigator's Name (Print)	Co-Principal Investigator's Signature	Date

B. Student/Fellow Investigator Assurance: (if applicable)

By my signature as Student/Fellow Investigator on this research application, I certify that I am knowledgeable about the regulations and policies governing research with human subjects and agree to conduct this particular study in accordance with the approved protocol. In addition:

- I agree to meet with my faculty advisor on a regular basis to discuss the progress of the study.
- I agree to meet with my faculty advisor to solve protocol issues, as they arise.
- I will promptly report adverse events to OPRS and my faculty advisor according to IRB guidelines.
- I assure that I will follow through with the storage and destruction of data as outlined in the protocol.

Student/Fellow Investigator Name (Print)	Student/Fellow Investigator Signature	Date

UNLV
CELEBRATING FIFTY YEARS

Social/Behavioral IRB – Exempt Review
Approved as Exempt

DATE: January 8, 2008

TO: **Dr. Simon Gottschalk,** Sociology

FROM: Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

RE: Notification of IRB Action by Dr. Paul Jones, Co-Chair
Protocol Title: **The Logic of Movement on the Las Vegas "Strip"**
OPRS# 0712-2568

This memorandum is notification that the project referenced above has been reviewed by the UNLV Social/Behavioral Institutional Review Board (IRB) as indicated in Federal regulatory statutes 45CFR46.

The protocol has been reviewed and deemed exempt from IRB review. It is not in need of further review or approval by the IRB.

Any changes to the exempt protocol may cause this project to require a different level of IRB review. Should any changes need to be made, please submit a **Modification Form**.

If you have questions or require any assistance, please contact the Office for the Protection of Research Subjects at OPRSHumanSubjects@unlv.edu or call 895-2794.

VITA

Graduate College
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Robert Dean

Local Address:
3875 Cambridge St. #709
Las Vegas, NV 89119

Home Address:
4004 Goldwood Ct.
Bakersfield, CA 93306

Degrees:
Bachelor of Arts, Sociology 2004
California State University, Bakersfield

Thesis Title:
The Logic of Movement: Consumption Logistics on the Las Vegas Strip

Thesis Examination Committee:
Chairperson, Dr. Simon Gottschalk, Ph.D.
Committee Member, Dr. Kate Hausbeck, Ph. D.
Committee Member, Dr. David Dickens, Ph.D.
Graduate Faculty Representative, Dr. Gary Larson, Ph.D.