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## A TOUR OF THE NEW MEANS OF CONSUMPTION



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Consumption plays an ever-expanding role in the lives of individuals around the world. To some, consumption defines contemporary American society, as well as much of the rest of the developed world. We

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consume many obvious things—fast food, T-shirts, a day at Walt Disney World—and many others that are not so obvious—a lecture, medical service, a day at the ballpark. We consume many goods and services that we must have in order to live and many more that we simply have come to want, or think we need. Often we must go to particular settings to obtain these goods and services (although, as we will see, more and more of them are coming to us). This book is concerned with those settings: home-shopping television, shopping malls, cybermalls, fast food restaurants, theme parks, and cruise ships, to name a few. We will be concerned with the issue of why we go to some places rather than others, and we will also deal with the ways in which these settings contribute to the high and increasing level of consumption that characterizes society today.

Unlike many treatments of the subject of consumption, this is *not* a book about the consumer<sup>1</sup> or the increasing profusion of goods and services.<sup>2</sup> Rather, it is about the almost dizzying proliferation of settings<sup>3</sup> that allow, encourage, and even compel us to consume so many of those goods and services. The settings of interest will be termed the *new means of consumption*. These are, in the main, locales that have come into existence or taken new forms since the end of World War II and that, building on but going beyond earlier settings, have dramatically transformed the nature of consumption. Because of important continuities, it is not always easy to distinguish clearly between new and older means of consumption,<sup>4</sup> but it is the more contemporary versions, singly and collectively, that will concern us.<sup>5</sup>

To get a better sense of the new means of consumption, let us first look at Walt Disney World and the larger Disney operation of which it is part. Disney's worlds and lands are important not only in themselves but also because they have served—through a process that has been labeled “Disneyization.”<sup>6</sup>—as a model for other amusement parks, as well as many other new means of consumption.

### DISNEY'S WORLD

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Building on late-19th- and early-20th-century efforts, including world exhibitions (and fairs) and Coney Island in New York, Walt Disney and his company created a revolutionary new type of amusement park, the theme park, defined by areas, or even an entire park, devoted to a given motif (e.g., the various lands at Disney World to be discussed below). The first of its theme parks, Disneyland, opened in southern California in 1955 (a second, adjacent theme park, Disney's California Adventure was added in recent years).<sup>7</sup> It was followed by Disney World in Florida in 1971, Tokyo Disneyland in 1983 (the adjoining DisneySea opened in 2001),<sup>8</sup> and Disneyland Resort

Paris in 1992 (Walt Disney Studios Paris will soon join it). In addition, the Hong Kong Disneyland is scheduled to open in 2005. The Disney theme parks (even the initially financially troubled Paris Disney) have, of course, been enormous successes, in great part because they built on, and greatly expanded on, the bases of the success of the early amusement parks. This includes entertainment for the masses, great spectacles, use of advanced technology for consumption rather than production, the commercialization of “fun,” and the offer of a safety valve where people can expend their energies without threatening society. In addition, Disney systematically eliminated the “seedy” and risqué elements that characterized and played a major role in the decline of many amusement parks in the first half of the 20th century. Although visitors arriving at earlier amusement parks felt a sense of looseness, even danger, tourists arriving at Disney World know and take comfort in the fact that inside the gates lies a tightly regulated world.

Disney transformed the world of amusement parks by, among other things, cleaning them up, creating far more “moral” order than most of the early parks ever had, and making the amusement park acceptable as family entertainment.<sup>9</sup> Disney offered a self-contained, controlled environment free from the kinds of problems that had undermined earlier parks. It pioneered the order and constraint that is characteristic of virtually all contemporary theme parks.<sup>10</sup> Although the primary appeal of early amusement parks such as Coney Island was that they offered visitors “a respite from . . . formal, highly regulated social situations,”<sup>11</sup> the main attraction at Disney World is just such tight regulation.<sup>12</sup> To put it another way, although parks such as Coney Island provided “a moral holiday,”<sup>13</sup> Disney World created a new morality emphasizing conformity to external demands.

Disney World is highly predictable. For example, there are no midway scam artists to bilk the visitor. There are teams of workers who, among their other cleaning chores, follow the nightly parades cleaning up debris—including animal droppings—so that an errant step should not bring with it an unpleasant surprise. There is no sexual titillation of the kind that characterized many early amusement parks. The park is continually cleaned, repaired, and repainted; there is nothing tacky about Disney World. The steep admission charge, the high cost of eating, shopping, hotels (especially many of those on park premises) and so forth, as well as the costs involved in getting there, have succeeded in keeping “undesirables” out. A Disney executive said, “Think of Disney World as a medium-sized city with a crime rate of zero.”<sup>14</sup> As a result of this sanitation of the park experience, Disney parks have become a favorite destination for middle-class families and many other people as well.

The heart of Disney World is the Magic Kingdom (a telling name given, as you will see, our interest in this book in enchantment) and its seven themed “lands.” The trek through Disney World begins (and ends) in Main

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Street, U.S.A. (basically an outdoor shopping mall), which leads to the six other themed lands—Tomorrowland<sup>15</sup> with, among other things, a roller-coaster-like space adventure on “Space Mountain,” Fantasyland with “Snow White’s Scary Adventures,” Adventureland and its long-running “Jungle Cruise,” Frontierland anchored by such traditional favorites as “Country Bear Jamboree,” Liberty Square with the “Haunted Mansion,” and Mickey’s Toontown Fair with “Minnie’s and Mickey’s Country Houses.”

Epcot Center has Future World that includes “Mission Space” opened in late 2003. Reminiscent of world fairs, Epcot’s World Showcase has pavilions featuring a number of exhibits from several nations including China (“Wonders of China”), France (“Impressions de France”), and Mexico (“El Rio del Tempe”).

Another set of major attractions at Disney World is Disney-MGM Studios. The Hollywood Boulevard area has the “Great Movie Ride” and Echo Lake features “Star Tours,” a thrill ride inspired by the movie *Star Wars*. On Mickey Avenue one will find the “Disney-MGM Studios Backlot Tour.” The New York area features *Jim Henson’s Muppet Vision 3D* movie. Sunset Boulevard has as one of its attractions “Beauty and the Beast—Live on Stage.” One of Animation Courtyard’s two attractions is “Voyage of the Little Mermaid.”

In 1998 a new theme park, Animal Kingdom, was added to Disney World. It encompasses 500 acres, nearly five times the area of the Magic Kingdom. Visitors enter through the Oasis, a lush jungle-like setting that leads to the themed lands of Animal Kingdom and includes a branch of the chain of Rainforest Cafe theme restaurants. Discovery Island (Safari Village) offers the centerpiece of Animal Kingdom, the massive “Tree of Life.” Several hundred hand-carved animals seem to grow out of the tree inside of which is a multimedia theater. Dinoland USA attempts to depict life as it existed millions of years ago and includes the “Boneyard,” a children’s playground with equipment made out of what appear to be giant dinosaur bones. Africa includes the “Kilimanjaro Safari” involving a trip through the countryside and a high-speed automobile chase across, among other things, a collapsing bridge over a “crocodile-infested” river. Asia has the “Maharajah Jungle Trek” and there is also Rafiki’s Planet Watch as well as Camp Minnie Mouse, which includes “Festival of the Lion King.”

Beyond the four theme parks, there are two water parks (Typhoon Lagoon and Blizzard Beach); DisneyQuest (loaded with games of all sorts); a nighttime entertainment district (Downtown Disney); a shopping area (Downtown Disney Marketplace); an area that combines both (Downtown Disney West); the Boardwalk, which simulates a 1930s Atlantic Ocean village (also with shops, restaurants, and entertainment); 25 “resort” hotels

divided into four categories (deluxe, moderate, value, and home away from home, although almost half of the hotels are in the deluxe category); the town of Celebration,<sup>16</sup> the Disney Institute, and even a huge sports complex (Disney's Wide World of Sports)—all means of consumption in their own right.<sup>17</sup>

Disney has become a global presence not only through its many products (chairman and chief executive officer [CEO] Michael Eisner claimed that worldwide more than 1 billion people had used a Disney product in a given month<sup>18</sup>) and theme parks but also through its many other enterprises, such as its movies (Walt Disney Studios, among others), television shows (Disney Channel), and cable television network. Of greater relevance to the concerns of this book are the 201 Disney stores that are found in innumerable shopping malls and online; Radio Disney (a children's radio network); Disney Mobile (wireless phones, although not yet in United States); the Disney Cruise Line; Disney's ownership of ABC, ESPN (expanded now to include ESPN2, ESPN Classic, ESPNEWS), the Anaheim Angels Major League Baseball team and the Anaheim Mighty Ducks National Hockey League team; Disney publishing (the world's largest publisher of children's books); Disney theatrical producing live stage musicals in several locales throughout the world; the Disney Catalog; and even the Disney Credit Card. All of these are employed synergistically to sell one another in a tightly integrated system that ultimately sells the Disney brand name and yields huge profits. Disney in general, and its theme parks in particular, are revolutionary in many senses, but perhaps above all they are part of a "selling machine" capable of marketing Disney to an unprecedented degree.<sup>19</sup> And Disney is currently adding to this machine through the acquisition of Fox Family (U.S.) and Fox Kids (Europe, Latin America). Said Eisner, "It is virtually impossible to travel anywhere in the world and not see someone wearing a piece of clothing adorned with Mickey's smiling face."<sup>20</sup>

Disney is a potent force, and its power is reflected in the 2003 opening of the acclaimed Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles (with a startling design by legendary architect Frank Gehry) and the central role it played in the resuscitation of the area around Times Square and 42nd Street in New York City.<sup>21</sup> Prior to Disney's arrival, this area was all but dead as a commercial center, dominated by peep shows and street hustlers. In fact, *Rolling Stone* dubbed 42nd Street "the sleaziest block in America."<sup>22</sup> Many previous high-profile efforts to rebuild the area never got off the ground. But in 1993 Disney agreed to invest what is for them the paltry sum of \$8 million in the renovation of the New Amsterdam Theater to serve as a site for Broadway productions of Disney shows. In addition, a Disney Store was opened. Because of the luster of the Disney name, theme restaurants, a 25-screen movie theater, Madame Tussaud's wax museum, B.B. King Blues Club, a

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Virgin Mega-Store, Starbucks, and major hotels (Westin New York, Times Square Hilton), among others, have since opened in this area. The result is that Times Square has been revived as a consumption and business center, and it may well serve to revivify other areas of New York City. For its part, Disney gained more stature and a theater, yet another means of consumption and way of selling itself and its products.

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### THE NEW MEANS OF CONSUMPTION

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Disney World (and many other aspects of Disney's world) is of interest to us because it represents a model of a new *means of consumption*, or in other words the settings or structures<sup>23</sup> that enable us to consume all sorts of things. As a new means of consumption, Disney World has many continuities with older settings, as do many of the other new means of consumption. The predecessors to today's cruise lines were the legendary ocean liners of the past. Las Vegas casinos had precursors such as the great casino at Monte Carlo. Shopping malls can be traced back to the markets of ancient Greece and Rome and the arcades of 19th-century France. At the same time, these new means also exhibit a number of important and demonstrable differences from their predecessors.

The means of consumption are part of a broader set of phenomena related to goods and services: production, distribution, advertising,<sup>24</sup> marketing,<sup>25</sup> sales, individual taste,<sup>26</sup> style,<sup>27</sup> and fashion.<sup>28</sup> Our concern is with the process leading up to, and perhaps including, an exchange of money (or equivalents such as checks, electronic debits to bank or credit card accounts, etc.) for goods or services between buyers and sellers.<sup>29</sup> This is often dealt with under the rubric of shopping,<sup>30</sup> but our interests are broader than that and include the consumer's relationship with not only shops and malls but also theme parks, casinos, and cruise lines, and other settings including athletic stadiums,<sup>31</sup> universities, hospitals, and museums,<sup>32</sup> which surprisingly are coming to resemble the more obvious new means of consumption. In most cases an exchange occurs;<sup>33</sup> people do purchase and receive goods and services. This process may take place instantaneously or over a long period of time and may involve many steps—perception of a want, arousal of a desire by an advertisement, study of available literature (e.g., *Consumer Reports*), comparison of available options, and ultimately perhaps an actual purchase. Of course, the process need not stop there; it is not unusual for people to take things home, find them wanting, return them, and perhaps begin the process anew.

Many of the new settings have attracted a great deal of attention individually, but little has been said about them collectively. I undertake to analyze them not only because of their growing importance and inherent

interest but also because they are playing a central role in greatly increasing, and dramatically altering the nature of, consumption. Americans, especially, consume very differently and we consume on a larger scale, at least in part because of the new means of consumption. Furthermore, these settings are important beyond their role in the consumption process. Many of the settings considered here—for example, McDonald's, Wal-Mart, Disney—have become some of America's, and the world's, most powerful popular icons. My net is cast even more widely than the reach of Disney's extensive empire of means of consumption to include discount malls, superstores, warehouse stores, Las Vegas casinos (which are increasingly Disneyesque with their theming and goal of attracting families), and so on.

Why should the readers of this book, most of them consumers, be concerned about the new means of consumption? In addition to the inherent interest of a major, often spectacular, social change in the realm of consumption, the new means of consumption are involved in a variety of developments that are designed to get more of us to spend ever-increasing amounts of time and money on consumption. Admittedly, most of us are eager to spend time and money in these settings. Others may feel that they are devoting too much of both to consuming in these settings.<sup>34</sup> In either case, it makes sense to understand the ways in which those in charge of the new means of consumption are structuring them in order to get us to consume, often to excess.

## CATHEDRALS OF CONSUMPTION

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The new means of consumption can be seen as “cathedrals of consumption”—that is, they are structured, often successfully, to have an enchanted, sometimes even sacred, religious character.<sup>35</sup> To attract ever-larger numbers of consumers, such cathedrals of consumption need to offer, or at least appear to offer, increasingly magical, fantastic, and enchanted settings in which to consume. Sometimes this magic is produced quite intentionally, whereas in other cases it is a result of a series of largely unforeseen developments. A worker involved in the opening of McDonald's in Moscow spoke of it “as if it were the Cathedral in Chartres . . . a place to experience ‘celestial joy.’”<sup>36</sup> A visit to Disney World has been depicted as “the middle-class hajj, the compulsory visit to the sunbaked city,”<sup>37</sup> and analogies have been drawn between a trip to Disney World and pilgrimages to religious sites such as Lourdes.<sup>38</sup> Book superstores such as Barnes & Noble and Borders have been called “cathedrals for the printed word.”<sup>39</sup>

Shopping malls have been described as places where people go to practice their “consumer religion.”<sup>40</sup> It has been contended that shopping malls

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are more than commercial and financial enterprises; they have much in common with the religious centers of traditional civilizations.<sup>41</sup> Like such religious centers, malls are seen as fulfilling people's need to connect with each other and with nature (trees, plants, flowers), as well as their need to participate in festivals. Malls provide the kind of centeredness traditionally provided by religious temples, and they are constructed to have similar balance, symmetry, and order. Their atriums usually offer connection to nature through water and vegetation.<sup>42</sup> People gain a sense of community as well as more specific community services. Play is almost universally part of religious practice, and malls provide a place for people to frolic. Similarly, malls offer a setting in which people can partake in ceremonial meals. Malls clearly qualify for the label of cathedrals of consumption.<sup>43</sup>

As is the case with religious cathedrals,<sup>44</sup> the cathedrals of consumption are not only enchanted, they are also highly rationalized. As they attract more and more consumers, their enchantment must be reproduced over and over on demand. Furthermore, branches of the successful enchanted settings are opened across the nation and even the world with the result that essentially the same magic must be reproduced in a wide range of locations. To accomplish this, the magic has to be systematized so that it can be easily re-created from one time or place to another. However, it is difficult to reduce magic to corporate formulas that can be routinely employed at any time, in any place, and by anybody.<sup>45</sup> Yet, if these corporations are to continue to attract increasing numbers of consumers who will spend more and more money on goods and services, that is just what they must be able to do. Although such rational, machine-like structures can have their enchanting qualities (food appears almost instantaneously, goods exist in unbelievable profusion), they are, in the main, disenchanting; they often end up *not* being very magical. There is a tendency for people to become bored and to be put off by too much machine-like efficiency in the settings in which they consume. The challenge for today's cathedrals of consumption (as for religious cathedrals) is how to maintain enchantment in the face of increasing rationalization.

Although the new means of consumption will be described in terms of rationalization and enchantment (as well as disenchantment), it is important to recognize that they are not all equally rationalized or enchanting. Some are able to operate in a more machine-like manner than others. Similarly, some are able to take on a more enchanted quality than others. Disney World, a Las Vegas casino, or a huge cruise ship seem far more enchanted than the local McDonald's, Wal-Mart, or strip mall. In addition, specific settings may enchant some consumers and not others. For example, fast food restaurants and theme parks may enchant children far more than adults, although adults may be led by their children or grandchildren to



participate—and to pay the bills. Furthermore, enchantment tends to be something that declines over time for consumers as the novelty wears off. After about a half century of existence in the United States and proliferation into seemingly every nook and cranny of the nation, modern fast food restaurants offer very little enchantment to most adult American consumers. However, we should not forget that many adults found such restaurants quite enchanting when they first opened in the United States and they still do in other nations and cultures to which fast food outlets are relatively new arrivals. In sum, although we will describe the new means of consumption in terms of rationalization and enchantment, there is considerable variation among them, and over time, in their degree of rationalization and enchantment.

The terms *new means of consumption* and *cathedrals of consumption* will be used interchangeably in this book, both referring to the new settings in and through which we obtain goods and services. The idea of the new means of consumption emphasizes both that these settings are new and that they allow and encourage (and sometimes compel) us to consume. The idea of cathedrals of consumption emphasizes that these settings are characterized by the enchantment needed to lure consumers, although disenchantment is an ever-present possibility as a result of the process of rationalization.

Two theories (a third will be added later) lie at the base of these conceptualizations of the new means of consumption. The first is the work of Karl Marx and his extension of his ideas on the means of production to the lesser-known, but central to us, conceptualization of the “means of consumption.” The second is the theorizing of Max Weber, who gave us the ideas—rationalization, enchantment, and disenchantment—that are fundamental to the conceptualization of the “cathedrals of consumption.” I will offer a more detailed discussion of these and other theoretical ideas in Chapter 3, but before that I need to delineate more fully the major cathedrals of consumption.

## OVERVIEW OF THE CATHEDRALS OF CONSUMPTION

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We will review the cathedrals of consumption, beginning with fast food restaurants and other franchise systems.

### Franchises and Fast Food Restaurants

A large proportion of fast food restaurants are franchises. Franchising is a system in which “one large firm . . . grants or sells the right to distribute its products or use its trade name and processes to a number of smaller firms . . . franchise holders, although legally independent, must conform to detailed

standards of operation designed and enforced by the parent company.”<sup>46</sup> Franchising began in the mid-1800s,<sup>47</sup> and today, 1 out of 12 businesses in the United States is a franchise.<sup>48</sup> Nearly half of all retail sales come from franchises.<sup>49</sup> On business days a new franchise opens once every eight minutes; more than 8 million people work in the franchise industry.<sup>50</sup>

A&W was the first food service franchise, beginning operations in 1924; Dairy Queen opened in 1944 and by 1948 had a nationwide chain of 2,500 outlets. Bob’s Big Boy started in the late 1930s and Burger King (then InstaBurger) and Kentucky Fried Chicken (now called KFC) began in 1955. McDonald’s was a successful hamburger stand in San Bernardino, California, owned by Mac and Dick McDonald before it was discovered by Ray Kroc; the first of the McDonald’s chain opened in 1955. By the end of 2003, McDonald’s had in excess of 31,000 restaurants.<sup>51</sup> In addition to its expansion within the United States, McDonald’s has become much more of an international presence in recent years. The other big player in the fast food business is Yum! Brands, which owns three of the largest franchises—Pizza Hut, Taco Bell, and KFC, as well as A&W All-American Food Restaurants and Long John Silver’s. Overall, Yum! Brands has almost 33,000 restaurant units in more than 100 countries and operates the largest fast food system in the world.<sup>52</sup> There are, of course, other important players in the industry, including Subway, Hardee’s, Wendy’s, Domino’s Pizza, and the current star of the industry—Starbucks.<sup>53</sup>

It is worth noting that the fast food industry and franchises are not coterminous. On the one hand, even McDonald’s franchises represent only 70% of its restaurants, and Starbucks does not offer franchises; all of its coffee shops are company owned.

### Chain Stores

The chain store is closely related to the franchise. The main difference is that chain stores have a single owner (thus Starbucks is a chain), whereas individual franchises are owned by independent entrepreneurs. The first true chain store was the supermarket chain A&P (the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company), which by 1880 encompassed 95 stores. Others were J.C. Penney (began in 1902) in the dry goods area and among the variety stores the five-and-dime store opened by Frank Woolworth in 1879 in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Although many of these early chains have declined or disappeared, the chain store is still an important presence in American retailing. Examples include chains of supermarkets (Giant, Kroger, Safeway) and the multipurpose Wal-Mart (see below), which, among other things, is now the largest supermarket chain in the United States (as it is in Mexico), doing nearly twice the business (\$95 billion) of its nearest competitor, Kroger

(\$51 billion<sup>54</sup>); drug stores (Rite Aid, Walgreens, CVS); and department stores (J.C. Penney, Sears, Macy's) as well as elite shops such as Valentino, Ralph Lauren, Calvin Klein, and Dolce & Gabbana.<sup>55</sup>

### Catalogs

The roots of the modern catalog reach back to 1872 and its pioneer, Aaron Montgomery Ward. The catalogs of Ward's, Sears, and other mail order firms constituted significant ways of consuming from the late-1800s well into the 1900s. Catalogs have boomed in recent years.<sup>56</sup> Almost 14 billion catalogs are distributed annually by about 10,000 companies. The catalog industry now has approximately 377,000 employees. Each week the average U.S. home receives 1.7 catalogs. In 1996, almost 60% of the American population, about 113 million people, ordered goods from catalogs. Almost \$48 billion was spent on catalog sales in 1990, and that number has been growing<sup>57</sup> reaching almost \$133 billion in 2003; by 2008 catalog sales are projected to be in excess of \$175 billion.<sup>58</sup> Among today's leading catalogs are those from L. L. Bean, Land's End, and Victoria's Secret.

### Shopping Malls

The first planned outdoor shopping center in the United States, Market Square, was built in the Chicago suburb of Lake Forest in 1916.<sup>59</sup> It was followed in 1924 by another, Country Club Plaza, on the then-outskirts of Kansas City. The Highland Park Shopping Village in Dallas, built in 1931, represented the first time that storefronts were turned away from the public streets inward to a central area. Virtually all of the early malls, and most of what we still think of as malls, are so-called strip malls. There was a hiatus in the building of malls until the post-World War II suburban boom gave it new impetus. The first "dumbbell" mall, Northgate in Seattle, was built in 1947. It included "two department stores anchoring the ends of an open-air pedestrian mall, set in the middle of acres of parking."<sup>60</sup> More important, the first modern, fully enclosed shopping mall was Southdale Center in Edina, Minnesota, which opened in 1956. Enclosing the mall gave it a vertical dimension and served to make it more spectacular. Enclosed malls were also cheaper in many ways to build and created a synergy that increased business for all occupants. Many shopping malls have since been built on the Southdale model, and they are considered one of the new means of consumption. One of the largest is the 1.7-million-square foot Ontario Mills outside of Los Angeles with 200 stores and a 30-screen movie house.<sup>61</sup> The Mills Corporation has a number of such malls throughout the United States.

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However, the formulaic pattern of shopping malls and the competition from newer means of consumption have caused the conventional outdoor mall, especially the strip mall, considerable difficulty. One observer has gone so far as to argue that we are moving into a "postmall world."<sup>62</sup> Shopping time per trip to the mall has been declining since the early 1980s. The number of trips to the mall has declined by 50% since that time.<sup>63</sup> Some are warning that a significant number of existing regional malls either will be forced to close or will be converted to other purposes. Said the chair of the Mills Corporation, "There is too much sameness in retailing. If you dropped a person into most malls, they would not know what part of the country they were in."<sup>64</sup> The result is a shift toward entertainment in shopping malls<sup>65</sup> (more generally, the "entertainmentization" of retailing<sup>66</sup>) as well as the development of different kinds of malls.

Of tremendous importance itself as a cathedral of consumption, the shopping mall has been of perhaps even greater importance in providing the groundwork for a variety of related developments. There is, for example, the development of increasingly large malls culminating in so-called megamalls such as the West Edmonton Mall (opened in 1981) in Alberta, Canada, and the Mall of America in Minneapolis, Minnesota (opened in 1992).

There is also the profusion of various kinds of specialty malls, especially the discount outlet malls that are so popular in resorts or as tourist destinations. The first outlets appeared in the 1920s attached to the mills of New England fabric companies. Later, the outlets took hold in association with the sewing factories in the Southeast. The first outlet centers are traceable to the opening of the Reading (Pennsylvania) Outlet Center in 1970. Larger outlet malls began to appear in the 1980s. The largest is Sawgrass Mills in Florida, which encompasses 2 million square feet, attract 25 million customers a year, and is the state's third most popular tourist attraction (trailing only Disney World and Universal Studios).<sup>67</sup> The outlet mall in tiny Manchester, Vermont (population 3,600) is one of the largest contributors of sales tax revenue to the state, and its contribution has grown dramatically.<sup>68</sup> While they have suffered a decline in numbers recent years—there are now 265 outlet centers in the United States (down from about 350 in the mid-1990s)—the amount of business done in them has increased substantially from \$12 billion to \$16 billion a year.<sup>69</sup> Outlet malls have become a cultural phenomenon, destinations in their own right. People even take vacations or trips to go to outlet malls. For example, on a typical fall weekend with the changing foliage at its peak, one is likely to find long lines at Manchester's factory stores, but the nearby Appalachian Trail is apt to be comparatively empty.<sup>70</sup>

Also of interest is the recent spread of shopping malls into other settings such as Las Vegas casinos, cruise ships, airports, train stations, and college campuses (especially in student unions). And we can think of various sites

on the Internet—eBay.com and Overstock.com, for example—as virtual shopping malls (see below).

Finally, mention should be made of a new type of mall—Easton Town Center in Columbus, Ohio—to be discussed at length in Chapter 7. Easton is, as we will see, a shopping mall that is also a town with apartments and substantial office space. Once part of larger towns, or in distinct and separable (often suburban) locations, the mall of the future may be, like Eaton Center, a town unto itself. Such a development represents the ultimate triumph of the shopping mall and of consumption as our central life interest and activity.

While it has an indoor mall, Eaton Town Center is primarily an open-air mall. As such it is part of a very recent trend away from indoor malls and back to those that are outdoors.<sup>71</sup> As one architect put it, “There’s something magical about being able to look up and see the sky.”<sup>72</sup>

Overall, in an average month more than 200 million people shop in U.S. malls, 94% of the adult population. Malls employ more than 10 million people, about 8% of non-farm employees in the United States.<sup>73</sup> Malls are now so diverse and ubiquitous (and Americans spend so much time and money shopping) that one scholar describes the United States as “the world’s biggest shopping mall.”<sup>74</sup>

### Electronic Shopping Centers

Worthy of special treatment is the advent of the “dematerialized” new means of consumption, the electronic shopping centers and malls that are likely to undergo enormous expansion in the years to come. One variant is the television home shopping networks such as HSN (Home Shopping Network) or QVC (Quality, Value, Convenience). Round-the-clock television retailing has grown enormously in the years since it was first broadcast on HSN in 1985; QVC followed a year later.<sup>75</sup>

Another variant is the infomercial, which is estimated to have done almost \$2 billion in business in 1995.<sup>76</sup> These are ordinarily half-hour “shows” (typically broadcast late at night or on weekends) that are really extended advertisements for a particular product. They are included as a means of consumption because they usually offer telephone numbers that allow viewers to purchase the product by telephone and credit card.<sup>77</sup>

Cybermalls (e.g., shopping.com) and other forms of Internet shopping, or more generally e-commerce, are still in their infancy. The Internet was founded in 1988, based on earlier technologies such as Arpanet (founded in 1969 by the Pentagon for messages between defense labs and universities) and NSFNET.<sup>78</sup> Although fewer than 10 million households had online computer access in 1995, by 2001 over 50% of American homes had such access.<sup>79</sup> Wal-Mart opened its online Internet center in 1996 with 2,500

items; in 1997 it announced an expansion to 80,000 items, or about the same number as in its regular stores.<sup>80</sup> Today, Wal.mart.com has more CDs in stock than the total number of items it had in stock in 1997.<sup>81</sup> Big attractions are sites that offer stocks; computer equipment; "boy toys" (e.g., Sharper Image); music, CDs, cassettes, and videos; books; and other products such as flowers.<sup>82</sup> Worth special notice is the renting of DVDs online through Netflix, which began 1999 and now has well over 1 million subscribers.<sup>83</sup> While indications are that Internet sales have boomed (e.g., during the Christmas season of 2003), big growth may still be some years away and future major expansion may be in business-to-business commerce and finance.<sup>84</sup> Cybersales continue to be hampered by the perception of problems such as identity theft. However, in the longer term, it is likely that cybermalls and related forms of cybercommerce will outstrip the shopping mall.

The case of Amazon.com is an interesting one. In 1994, the company's founder, Jeff Bezos, then on Wall Street, noticed that the new World Wide Web was growing at 2300% a year. He decided he wanted to do business on the Web and thought through a list of products that could be sold. He decided on books because of the large variety, the fact that no single merchandiser controlled the market, and because computers could help customers find what they wanted. He quit his job and headed for Seattle because it was a high-tech town and it provided him access to an important book distribution center. Thus a new means for consuming books was founded. More recently, Amazon.com has moved well beyond simply selling books and sells such a diverse array of products that it can be thought of as a virtual shopping mall. By the late 1990s, Jeff Bezos had become a multi-billionaire.<sup>85</sup>

Also worth noting is the dramatic and controversial growth of gambling through online casinos such as World Sports Exchange and Casino Royale.<sup>86</sup> Already estimated to be a \$4 to \$6 billion a year business,<sup>87</sup> it is expected to continue to grow. Like all of the cybersites discussed, it is a threat to the more conventional means of consumption, in this case the casino (to be discussed shortly). The reason is clear from the following statement by a person who plays almost every day for two or three hours: "It's great. I don't have to leave the house. . . . It's very private. There are no distractions, no dirty looks from the casino people if you win."<sup>88</sup> Much the same thing could be said by consumers of another important online business, pornography, and Web sites devoted to it are expanding at a dramatic rate.<sup>89</sup>

### Discounters

Discount merchandising began to boom in the 1950s. Although such stores had predecessors (e.g., Korvette's, Kmart), discount department stores

have recently undergone enormous expansion.<sup>90</sup> Of great note is the Wal-Mart chain. For the fiscal year ending January 1, 2003, Wal-Mart's total sales were almost \$245 billion and it had more than 100 million customers per week.<sup>91</sup> It and its major competitor, Target, were both founded in 1962. As of 2003, there were 1,636 Wal-Mart stores, 1,093 supercenters, and 31 neighborhood markets.<sup>92</sup> In addition, Wal-Mart spawned Sam's Club—a chain of warehouse stores—that began operations in 1983 and now has 502 outlets. (Warehouse clubs are very basic retail operations with merchandise displayed in huge, bare settings, and they offer opportunities to buy in bulk. They advertise little and offer few services. Although the membership requirements are very loose, a membership charge of \$25 to \$35 is usually required.<sup>93</sup>)

Another warehouse club, Costco, was created out of a merger of Price Club (founded in 1976 by Sol Price) and Costco (created in 1983). As of the beginning of 2004, the company operated 318 warehouse stores in the United States (a total of 430 throughout the world), averaging more than 130,000-square feet in size, in 36 states (and Puerto Rico). In 2003, it had almost 20 million cardholders and employed more than 78,000 people in the United States. In fiscal year 2003, its revenues exceeded \$41 billion.<sup>94</sup> Like Sam's Club, Costco is characterized by simple, warehouse-like settings. A limited range of low-priced and discount goods, including food, are sold. Costco offers discounted goods, especially in large sizes and in packages of multiple items, so that consumers often end up purchasing more of a given commodity than they intended to purchase. Demonstrations and samples are abundant. Goods are laid out in such a way that customers often end up buying many things on a whim that they may not need or ever finish.

Also worth mentioning are supercenters that combine a grocery store, a drug store, and a mass merchandiser in one enormous setting. For example, a 200,000-square foot Wal-Mart supercenter is twice as large as a normal Wal-Mart and six or seven times the size of a typical supermarket.<sup>95</sup> Wal-Mart opened its first supercenter in 1988 and, as mentioned above, now has over a thousand of them. Other important operators of supercenters are Fred Meyer in the West, Meijer in the Midwest, Target, and Kmart.

### Superstores

Not to be confused with the supercenter is the superstore (or "big box" store), which is arguably traceable to a 1957 ancestor of the current Toys 'R Us.<sup>96</sup> The distinguishing characteristic of a superstore is that it carries an extraordinary number and range of goods within a specific retail category.<sup>97</sup> Toys 'R Us has all the toys one can imagine (and it controls 20% of the U.S. toy market, although it is currently being threatened by Wal-Mart, which

sells toys close to or below wholesale prices); Home Depot is the giant in home improvement building supplies (a major competitor is Lowe's); Circuit City and Best Buy offer a wide range of electronic gear; books are the specialty at Barnes & Noble and Borders; office supplies are abundant at Staples, Office Depot, and Office Max, and the specialties of many of the rest—Sports Authority, Baby Superstore, PetsMart, and so on—are obvious from the names. Superstores have evolved in a number of incredible directions: Garden Ridge with its 4,000 varieties of candles; American Health Superstore with 8,000 products including, among other things, 20 types of canes<sup>98</sup>; and Just for Feet with thousands of varieties of recreational shoes, “In short, every kind of gear a foot sweats in.”<sup>99</sup>

Superstores are sometimes called “category killers” because their enormous variety and low price tend to drive an earlier means of consumption, the small specialty shop, out of business.<sup>100</sup> And these superstores are growing rapidly. An overwhelming majority of all new retail space is occupied by superstores. They now account for a large proportion of retail revenue in the United States, up from virtually nothing less than two decades ago. Although this enormous growth is likely to be punctuated by a number of notable failures, we can safely anticipate the continued expansion of superstores.

The new means of consumption discussed to this point are the kinds of settings that most of us frequent on a regular basis. There is a whole other set of new means of consumption that are more unusual. They relate more to tourism, or extraordinary vacations, than to day-to-day activities; they involve attempts to escape the mundane.<sup>101</sup> In fact, they are part of a general trend toward viewing tourism as a type of consumption.<sup>102</sup> Disney World and other theme parks are one example, but there are several others.

### Cruise Ships

Cruise ships have a long history. The great ocean liners of the late 1800s and early 1900s are certainly important predecessors. However, the modern cruise ship can be traced to the maiden voyage of the cruise ship *Sunward* in Florida on December 19, 1966.<sup>103</sup> A major boon to the cruise business occurred in 1977, when the television series “Love Boat” made its debut. The show took place on ships of the Princess Line and made that line famous. It also served to popularize the cruise. The Carnival line began operations in 1972 and soon thereafter came to emphasize the “Fun Ship.”

In recent years, both cruise ships and the idea of a cruise have been revolutionized. In the early years of the industry, people took ships to get from one location to another; the ship was seen as a novel way of getting to interesting locales. Now the ships themselves, as well as the entertaining experience of the cruise, are the main reasons for taking a cruise. There are



significantly more cruise ships, and cruises are far more frequent. Although the cruise lines carried only about one-half million passengers in 1970, by 1995 that number had increased ten-fold to 5 million passengers<sup>104</sup> and has since increased to about 8 million passengers.<sup>105</sup> Through most of the 1980s and 1990s, the number of cruise passengers grew at a rate of 7.6% per year<sup>106</sup> and in spite of a lull due to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the rate of increase was even greater in 2003.<sup>107</sup> There are many more cruise destinations now and a much wider variety of types of cruises (gay, family, nature, etc.). Cruises have become far more affordable (cruise lines are now even offering customers the option of financing their voyages).

The cruise ship itself has been transformed. Ships of the 1970s tended to be small, uncomfortable in inclement weather, with tiny cabins, no television, and limited menus. Although there is a wide variety of cruise ships, the most popular have become much larger and more spectacular. They also have come to encompass a number of other means of consumption such as casinos, night clubs, health spas, shopping malls, bars, and so on. Each of these plays a role in making the modern cruise ship a highly effective means for getting people to spend large sums of money and consume an array of services and goods.

## Casinos

Like amusement parks and cruise ships, casinos (often coupled with hotels) have a lengthy history. The modern casino can be traced to the founding of the Flamingo hotel by gangster Bugsy Siegel in Las Vegas in 1946.<sup>108</sup> There had been casinos in Las Vegas prior to this time, but the Flamingo was the first of what was to be the development of increasingly spectacular casino-hotels. In its early years, Las Vegas relied on income from gambling, and other potential money makers (hotel rooms, food, shows, etc.) either were loss leaders or marginal producers of income. Later, Las Vegas reinvented itself and became more oriented to family entertainment. Although gambling was still an important source of revenue, the other facets of the business of casino-hotels were also designed to make lots of money. The casino-hotel became a highly effective means of promoting gambling, the Las Vegas experience, and the activities, souvenirs, and other products that go with them.

More recently, Las Vegas has begun to rethink its emphasis on family entertainment. With business beginning to flag in the early 21st century, there is some return to the basics of Las Vegas's early success—gambling and sex. However, it seems likely that to maximize its number of visitors, Las Vegas will try to combine the latter with more family-oriented venues and activities.

Modern Las Vegas hotels make money by offering thousands of rooms at operating margins of around 25%. The city as a whole has approximately 127,000 hotel rooms with more on the way as several hotels are involved in major expansions (including building new towers) and a large new hotel—Wynn Las Vegas—is under construction.<sup>109</sup> The Venetian hotel has recently expanded, and work began in late 2003 on yet another expansion that will make it the world's largest hotel with about 7,000 rooms. The casinos are enormous and spectacular, offering an increasingly large number of ways to gamble. And these casinos are huge money makers for the house with operating margins on table games (e.g., blackjack) of roughly 25% and of more than 50% on slot machines, the true cornerstones of the modern casino.<sup>110</sup> Whatever last small bills and coins a departing visitor might not yet have spent are apt to be taken by the slot machines at Las Vegas's McCarran Airport or in state-line casinos for those who are leaving by automobile (if they haven't lost it, as well).

Las Vegas casinos have also, in one way or another, been transported to much of the rest of the United States. The most notable examples are the casinos in Atlantic City, on Native American reservations, and in many other settings (including, in Canada, the West Edmonton mega-mall). Tunica County, Mississippi, "long known as one of America's most wretched backwaters," almost overnight became a gambling mecca with nine casinos (several of them branches of Las Vegas casinos) and by the late 1990s was averaging 50,000 visitors a day.<sup>111</sup> In just five years, it went from the poorest to the richest county in Mississippi. Other examples of the spread of the casino influence include the previously discussed online casinos as well as racetracks that have poker rooms and slot machines.

#### Entertainment Aimed at Adults

The Las Vegas casino model has had other kinds of influences. For example, there is a chain of adult-oriented entertainment centers known as Dave and Buster's (the first one opened in 1982; there are now 35 with revenue more than doubling between 1998 and 2002<sup>112</sup>), which look like miniature casinos; the chain is seen as a possible harbinger of "the Las Vegasification of America."<sup>113</sup> In fact, one of the co-owners said, "By virtue of its scale and the adult concept . . . yes, we're like Las Vegas."<sup>114</sup> They are large (in one case, 50,000 square feet) and have bars, restaurants, pool tables, and many modern (video and virtual reality games such as virtual skiing and car racing) and traditional (e.g., skee ball) arcade games. One can win tickets redeemable for prizes. There is even a small casino, although gambling for money is not permitted. Servers deliver food and drink to the play areas from the restaurant and two bars.

Reflective of the Vegas influence, Dave and Buster's is itself also representative of the growing number of new means of consuming adult-oriented entertainment (now sometimes called "shoppertainment"). Many shopping malls are moving toward offering more entertainment like that found at Dave and Buster's. Another significant entertainment-oriented chain is GameWorks (the first one opened in Seattle in 1997).

### Eatertainment

Another contemporaneous example of the trend toward emphasizing entertainment is chains of themed restaurants (often called "eatertainment"), which have grown dramatically in recent years (although some have run into trouble lately). Theme restaurants "typically combine lack-luster food, designs that resemble theater sets and entertainment ranging from costumed waiters to museums of memorabilia."<sup>115</sup> The pioneer in this realm, Hard Rock Cafe, was founded in London in 1971. Although a British creation, it took as its mission the introduction of "good, wholesome American food" to the English. Today, there are more than 100 Hard Rock Cafes in over 40 countries.<sup>116</sup> It is interesting to note that it is not the food but products with the Hard Rock Cafe logo that are generally coveted by visitors and tourists. According to one observer, "Most people who wear the T-shirts never even sit down to have a meal there; they simply walk into the apparel stores to look at and purchase Hard Rock buttons, caps and sweatshirts. What in the world compels these people to buy memorabilia from a restaurant in which they have never eaten?"<sup>117</sup> In fact, with the wide array of merchandise (including \$300 leather jackets) now available sporting the Hard Rock Cafe logo,<sup>118</sup> the wearing of anything with that logo gives the wearer almost instant international recognition. As Thorstein Veblen argued long ago, "Esteem is awarded only on evidence," and for many today that evidence is the Hard Rock logo on a T-shirt.<sup>119</sup>

A similar chain (albeit one that has had financial difficulty and been through bankruptcy) is Planet Hollywood, which openly admits that it "operates movie-themed restaurants in the Hard Rock Cafe 'eatertainment' vein."<sup>120</sup> Instead of rock memorabilia, Planet Hollywood offers movie memorabilia. It does not try to conceal the fact that its hamburgers are "high-priced." And it proudly states that the sale of T-shirts and other souvenirs accounts for 40% of all of its sales.

The leader in children's eatertainment is Chuck E. Cheese's restaurants, which in late 2003 had 404 company-owned and 51 franchise restaurants in 47 states and 4 countries. In addition to food, Chuck E. Cheese's offers games and entertainment of various kinds. It is best-known for its "musical

and comic entertainment by life-size, computer controlled robotic characters.”<sup>121</sup> Rainforest Cafe is another leader in this area with 33 locations in six nations<sup>122</sup> Among other such chains that have recently opened, or will soon open, are Bubba Gump Shrimp Co. (based on the movie *Forrest Gump*), Marvel Mania (comic book theme), Motown Cafe (inspired by the music and stars of Motown records), and so on.<sup>123</sup> However, this is a tough market and many entrants have failed, with others having difficulty getting established, let alone expanding to any great extent.

#### OTHER MEANS OF CONSUMPTION

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The cathedrals of consumption are important not only in themselves but also for their influence on other parts of society. A surprising number of settings are emulating the new means of consumption in one way or another.

##### Athletic Facilities

A variety of modern athletic facilities such as golf clubs, tennis clubs, ski resorts, and fitness centers can all be seen as new means for consuming athletic activities. The newer professional athletic stadiums can be described in a similar fashion, witness in baseball Baltimore's Oriole Park at Camden Yards, the Cleveland Indians's Jacobs Field, and the Atlanta Braves's Turner Field. Although these stadiums often resemble earlier versions, and even seek to copy them in many ways, they also have a number of innovations. For example, they all feature spectacular computerized scoreboards; they have all become more adept at extracting money from those who use their services (e.g., high-priced suites of box seats at baseball and football games; food courts that resemble those found in shopping malls; elaborate souvenir shops). As a stock prospectus for the Cleveland Indians Baseball Company put it: “Fans at Jacobs Field are offered a customer-focused experience in an attractive, comfortable environment featuring a variety of amenities, concessions and merchandise options.”<sup>124</sup> Although these athletic facilities have a long history, the more modern forms are far more oriented to, and effective at, serving as means for the consumption of athletic services (and related goods and services). Not only have new stadiums been built with these amenities, but older ones (such as Boston's Fenway Park<sup>125</sup>) have been altered to include a number of them.

Many of these things have now found their way to the college level in football stadiums and basketball arenas (e.g., the renovated Byrd Stadium [football] and the new Comcast Center [basketball] on the campus of the University of Maryland). In minor league baseball, there is a miniature

version of Oriole Park (Ripken Stadium) built in the small town of Aberdeen, Maryland, by former Oriole Star Cal Ripken, Jr., for his team, the Aberdeen IronBirds.<sup>126</sup> In addition to many other similarities with Oriole Park, Ripken Stadium will soon offer a scaled-down version of the old-fashioned warehouse beyond right field in Oriole Park, which was left standing and renovated to help give the park the aura of an old-time stadium. On the Aberdeen complex, of which Ripken Stadium is part, there are other fields for youngsters. Besides those “themed” to resemble Oriole Park, one to be built soon will be reminiscent of the stadium that preceded it in Baltimore—the defunct Memorial Stadium.

### Luxury Gated Communities

Like the new athletic stadiums, luxury gated communities often seek to resemble, and even copy, traditional communities. Unlike the majority of these early communities, these new communities have opted to wall themselves off from the outside and to privatize their streets.<sup>127</sup> Consumed in these spectacular settings are expensive homes and a rich and luxurious lifestyle including golf courses, tennis clubs, fitness facilities, and so on. Almost *de rigueur* in these communities are expensive home furnishings, landscaping, and automobiles. (In the exclusive and expensive gated communities of Boca Raton, Florida, the high-priced Lexus is known as the “Boca Chevy.”)

### Educational Settings

Administrators are coming to recognize that their educational campuses need to grow more like the other new means of consumption to thrive. The high school has been described as resembling a shopping mall.<sup>128</sup> The university, too, can be seen as a means of educational consumption. These days most campuses are dated, stodgy, and ineffective compared to shopping malls, cruise ships, casinos, and fast food restaurants. To compete, universities are trying to satisfy their students by offering, in addition to state-of-the-art athletic facilities that have many of the characteristics of professional stadiums, “themed housing”—dorms devoted to students with shared special interests.<sup>129</sup> As universities learn more and more from the new means of consumption, it will be increasingly possible and accurate to refer to them as “McUniversities.”<sup>130</sup> A related and important trend, still in its infancy, is the growth of the virtual university, especially the Western Governors University put together at the initiative of the governors of 13 states in the western United States<sup>131</sup> and Phoenix online.<sup>132</sup> It will be increasingly difficult to distinguish such dematerialized universities from cybermalls.

### Medicine and Hospitals

A similar point can be made about medicine and hospitals.<sup>133</sup> We already have “McDoctors” (drive-in, quick service medical facilities) and there are many indications that we are moving in the direction of “McHospitals.” Examples of the latter trend include expensive suites that look more like hotel than hospital accommodations, more and more “in-and-out” procedures, and so on. HealthSouth, a chain of mainly outpatient rehabilitation and surgery centers now with more than 1,900 facilities in all 50 states, the United Kingdom, Australia, and Puerto Rico,<sup>134</sup> is seeking to copy McDonald’s and offer low-cost, efficient, and accessible health care throughout the United States. Its head says, “I felt we could brand health care in 50 states, and no matter what city you were in, you could have consistent treatment.”<sup>135</sup> HealthSouth uses sports stars to increase its visibility, puts its logo on jogging suits and gym bags, and is in the process of creating a catalog of HealthSouth products. It also is having discussions about cobranding athletic shoes and nutritional drinks. Another company official says, “We hope to be right up there with the Cokes and Nikes.”<sup>136</sup>

### Museums and Charities

Even museums are coming to look more like shopping malls.<sup>137</sup> The Metropolitan Museum of Art houses what amounts to a small department store and has 19 satellite stores in eight states selling books and museum-made products. The “MetStore” is even online offering, among many other things, a reproduction Mughal diamond, ruby and emerald necklace for \$19,500.00.<sup>138</sup> The Louvre has 55 shops in France (with 14 others licensed to carry its products), an underground shopping mall with high-end boutiques such as Chanel and Yves Saint-Laurent,<sup>139</sup> and an online store.<sup>140</sup> The National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., has been described in the following terms:

The huge skylighted atrium is surrounded by promenades connected by bridges and escalators; individual galleries open off this space, placed exactly where shops would be in the mall. Potted plants, lavish use of marble and brass, and, in the neon-lit basement concourse, fountains, shops, and fast-food counters make the resemblance even more striking.<sup>141</sup>

The former chair of Neiman Marcus said, “I was in the Metropolitan [Museum of Art] recently, and I was flabbergasted when I saw the size of their store. They are selling everything from rugs to jewelry.”<sup>142</sup> He might have been less flabbergasted had he known that the roots of the modern museum are, in part, in the World’s Fairs and Expositions.

Finally, to raise money, charities are now using catalogs and 800-numbers to allow recipients to order, among other things, a rabbit and two chicks for a Rwandan family, prenatal care for women in Bangladesh, and a small business loan for a Haitian woman.<sup>143</sup>

### Mega-Churches

We can bring this discussion full-circle by pointing out that although the cathedrals of consumption have a quasi-religious character, religion has begun to emulate those cathedrals.<sup>144</sup> Here is one description of the result:

Megachurches are huge steel and glass structures with acres of parking . . . at their fanciest [they] feature aerobics classes, bowling alleys, counseling centers, and multimedia bible classes where the presentation rivals that of MTV. On Sunday morning, big screens project Scripture verses and the lyrics to pop-style religious songs so that everyone in the congregation can see and follow along.<sup>145</sup>

Said one expert, "They're the biggest movement going in the Protestant Church."<sup>146</sup> Another commented, "They are what I call the Wal-Martization of American Religion."<sup>147</sup> Similarly, the pastor of a large Baptist church has sought to make his services "fun" and to that end urged his staff to study Disney World.<sup>148</sup>

### CONCLUSION

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This chapter has been devoted to introducing the twin concepts of new means of consumption and cathedrals of consumption. I have also introduced the reader to the major types and examples of such means. Chapter 2 offers insight into the wider context and implications of the cathedrals of consumption, as well as their impact on the way Americans and, increasingly, much of the world consumes.

