# Revisiting Pedestrian Malls

Jessica Schmidt

**Abstract.** This article provides an overview of American downtown pedestrian malls of the mid-twentieth century and today by looking at the country's urban planning policy, economic history and social trends. A pedestrian mall is characterized as a number of blocks of public downtown streets designated for pedestrian-only use and closed to vehicular traffic. The article examines why most pedestrian malls have been unsuccessful and narrates the history of Santa Monica's Third Street pedestrian mall. The Third Street Promenade is an interesting example because despite careful planning and investment, initially it was a complete failure, and then after a massive redesign, became a major tourist attraction. Its story is a lesson to other cities, especially as pedestrian malls have seen a resurgence in popularity in recent years. A look back at past efforts to convert downtown streets to pedestrian walkways will illuminate best practices and conditions of successful pedestrian malls.

**Introduction.** Why do pedestrian malls fail? They sound like such a good idea: getting people out of their cars and interacting with the environment and their community. Yet in practice, with a few exceptions, people have shunned them. Between 1959 and the early 1980s, more than 200 American cities closed part of their downtown street networks to vehicles. Hoping to compete with suburban shopping malls and reverse the decline of American downtowns, civic leaders and urban planners believed that by recreating suburban conditions in urban areas, shoppers and tax dollars could be lured back. Pedestrian malls appeared in every region and climate of the country with great fanfare. They varied in terms of length and amenities provided, but all followed the same premise: closing a main downtown street to automobile traffic so that pedestrians could walk from store to store in a leisurely manner.

However, by the end of the 1980s, many pedestrian malls were being converted back to vehicular streets and the trend was dismissed by urban planners as a failure. Most cities had discovered that a pedestrian-only street could not singlehandedly revitalize a community and perhaps had accelerated the downtown's decline. By 2005, fewer than two dozen of the original 200 pedestrian malls remained, and in almost all cases, these malls are in university towns, adjacent to large institutions or near tourist centers.[1]

Today's urban planning trends of walkability and sustainability hope to reintroduce human-scale development in cities and strengthen communities, and one method that has seen a growing amount of popularity is the pedestrian mall. Despite its track record, the pedestrian-only trend is seeing a resurgence in American cities, sparked by sustainability goals and the hope to create a downtown destination and foster a sense of community.

The first part of this article summarizes the downtown pedestrian mall experiment in America, and the second part is a case study of the Santa Monica, California, Third Street Promenade, looking at how the same street could both fail and then succeed spectacularly. It also examines the best practices and conditions of successful pedestrian malls. Many cities are currently designing or considering them, but their leaders would be wise to examine past mistakes and study successful examples.

**Mid-Century Pedestrian Malls.** In 1974, Simon Breines and William J. Dean wrote, "A new day is dawning for the pedestrian. Footpower has begun to challenge horsepower. World-wide action against unrestrained automobile use in congested urban centers heralds the arrival of the Pedestrian Revolution."[2]

The authors point to the negative impacts the automobile has had upon the city, including air and noise pollution, the increase in coronary disease due to lack of exercise, and the economic costs of congestion in time lost, manpower and fuel. They believe that although the car cannot be disinvented or banned entirely, the automobile should be excluded from high density areas to encourage walking for short distances trips and mass transit for longer ones and only allowed in areas of lower density and for intercity travel. To them, it was only a matter of time before the automobile was put away for special occasions, long-distance trips and carrying heavy items.

The Pedestrian Revolution did not come to pass as planned. Automobile usage remains higher than ever, with 254.5 million registered passenger vehicles in the United States.[3] Suburban residents remain highly dependent on their cars and urban mass transit is not widespread or dependable enough to entice residents to give up their automobiles. The recent appearance of car share programs point to the predicament many city dwellers face: sometimes you just need a car.

One remnant of the mid-century Pedestrian Revolution that remains is pedestrian malls. From the 1960s through the early 1980s, hundreds of American cities closed downtown streets to vehicular traffic in hopes of creating a pedestrian oasis and reclaiming their status as the destination retail center from the suburban shopping mall.

For thousands of years, central business districts developed at the intersection of the two busiest streets in a community. Retail businesses need visibility and traffic and clustering at busy streets guarantees both.[4] Urban downtown retailing reached its zenith during the 1920s. Despite their gradual decline over the next three decades, downtowns were still the unchallenged center of metropolitan activity until the mid-1950s, when automobiles became firmly entrenched as the preferred mode of transportation, the suburbs became the residential location of choice, and the first indoor shopping centers were built. As a consequence, downtown retailing began a rapid decline.[5]

Middle-class suburbanites did not enjoy the inconvenience of travel to a city's downtown or the diversity of people who frequented it. In addition, suburban shopping malls catered directly to the desire of suburban residents for speed and convenience, as well as providing the mix of retailers they wanted. Downtowns had old-fashioned stores, which had survived from earlier eras, while suburban shopping centers catered to suburban tastes. In addition, beginning in the 1950s, massive declines in transit ridership further eroded downtown retailers' customer base.[6] The simultaneous rapid growth of the American highway system following the passage of the Interstate Highway Act of 1956 meant that the two busiest streets of a metropolitan area were no longer in the central business district, but along highway exits, where shopping malls quickly appeared, surrounded by ample and free parking.[7] Between 1954 and 1977, the percentage of metropolitan retail sales conducted downtown fell by 15%.[8] Urban downtowns began to suffer and many retailers left, creating pockets of abandoned buildings, declining tax revenue, increasing reports of vandalism and even fewer reasons for shoppers to travel to the city center.

To compete with these suburban shopping malls, downtown retailers and urban civic leaders attempted to imitate them. Pedestrian malls were envisioned as a way to bring shoppers back to the central cities and preserve businesses. By closing downtown streets to automobile traffic, urban planners hoped to recreate the suburban pedestrian-friendly environment by physically separating vehicles from people and allowing few distractions away from shopping.[9]. The shopping mall's distinctive characteristics of uniform facades and large amounts of parking were also superimposed.

This strategy was not new. In many post-war German and British cities, pedestrian streets were built during their reconstruction to combat urban congestion. The American mall's objective of stimulating retail sales, however, differed sharply from the goals of Europe's traffic-free zones, which were inspired by hopes of conserving the city fabric and improving downtown residential conditions.[10] European cities also have a higher percentage of mixed land use, which translates to a higher number of workers and residents near the pedestrian mall, resulting in higher foot traffic. Nevertheless, American developers believed that by applying a combination of the European car-free street and the amenities of the suburban shopping mall, they could cure the urban downtown malaises of neglect, abandonment and disinvestment.[11]

In 1959, Kalamazoo, Michigan began the movement in the United States when the city closed Burdick Street to automobile traffic, creating the first outdoor pedestrian mall.[12] Its designer, Victor Gruen, hoped that the four-block long mall would compete with suburban shopping malls and envisioned the street as part of a larger circulation and transportation plan for the city. During construction, Burdick Street was completely renovated with brick and concrete pavers and substantial lawn space. Arcades and canopies were installed to provide weather protection for shoppers and a Japanese-inspired garden was placed on the southern block.[13] The street was transformed from its previous incarnation. Over the next twenty years, over 200 American cities would follow suit.


**Figure 1** – Kalamazoo, Michigan's Burdick Street
Photo courtesy of the City of Kalamazoo

Initial evidence from the new urban downtown malls justified developers' optimism of the mall as a cure-all. In Kalamazoo, Miami Beach's Lincoln Road (1960), and Knoxville's Market Square Mall (1961), the pedestrian-only street openings brought visitors, increased sales and positively impacted cities' downtowns.[14] Cities poured huge amounts of money into these projects, designing new public open spaces, launching beautification programs and granting bonuses for pedestrian amenities. Most were built with a combination of public- and private-sector money, including federal urban renewal programs and contributions from local merchants.[15] In Raleigh, North Carolina, property owners agreed to help finance Fayetteville Street's conversion to a pedestrian mall by paying an assessment of 12 cents per $100 of property value. Others, like the Church Street mall in Burlington, Vermont, were supported by the Federal Highway Administration's Services and Methods Demonstration Program.[16]

Unfortunately, Americans were already comfortable with their car-oriented suburban lifestyle. The closure of one street was not enough to stimulate the suburbanized population into new habits, and the inconvenience of the closing simply prompted drivers to go elsewhere. There was no reason to go to these new pedestrian malls, just as there was no reason to go into the rest of downtown except for business purposes. In downtowns that lacked a captive market of pedestrians or a steady stream of main street traffic, the downtown and its stores languished when vehicular traffic disappeared.

Meanwhile, enclosed shopping malls began to appear around the county. Victor Gruen, the designer of Kalamazoo's pedestrian mall, was also responsible for the Southdale Center in Edina, Minnesota. Built three years before Burdick Street's redesign, it was the first enclosed postwar shopping mall in the country. Gruen became a pioneer of the shopping mall design, although his vision was never fully realized. He originally intended for the mall to act as a substitute for European arcades, surrounded by residences, schools, and businesses. However, the automobile was now a fixture in the American lifestyle and so these shopping malls were instead surrounded by huge parking lots with convenient access to highways.

**Figure 2** – Southdale Mall, Edina, Minnesota
Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society

**Figure 3** – Interior of Southdale Mall, Edina, Minnesota
Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society

Despite the fanfare and initial successes, most pedestrian malls were not the catalyst that American downtowns needed. Suburban malls had more retail space, more parking and more customers, and retailers continued to relocate there. Many people viewed downtowns as unsafe and the new indoor malls had private security guards, instead of relying on an overburdened police force. And so, instead of recapturing the vibrancy of downtowns of decades past, the pedestrian malls caused congestion on neighboring streets and increased retail failures due to lack of traffic past the stores.

The malls themselves were not solely to blame for their failure. Many American cities during the 1960s and 70s were fiscally unstable, with New York City was on the brink of bankruptcy**.** Rising private automobile ownership and affordable new housing encouraged suburbanization, which lowered cities' populations and their tax base. Cities could not afford to provide the needed maintenance and security that the pedestrian malls required, and so many of theses streets fell into neglect, much like the downtowns they were supposed to improve. The malls were built as a solution to solve a city's problems and could not live up to such high expectations.[17]

The Main Mall in Poughkeepsie, New York embodies the typical life of an American pedestrian mall. In 1973, the mall was created by blocking off a three-block section of Main Street. It was part of a larger project that also included the improvement of U.S. Highway 9 within the city limits; construction of the Arterial, a combination of Routes 44 and 55 into two one-way, three-lane highways a block north and south of Main Street; and the relocation of the city's primary bus station to the intersection of Market and Main Streets.

A year after the Main Mall's opening, the South Hills Mall opened just five miles away, leading to an exodus of both shoppers and businesses from Main Street. The street began to experience problems with vacant storefronts, homelessness and vandalism. In 1981, the mall's anchor, the Luckey Platt department store, closed. Shortly afterwards, the Dutchess County Department of Social Services moved in, and the area's vagrancy problems multiplied. The mall became known for its crime and gang activity and shoppers stayed away.

In 2001, the Main Mall was officially reopened to automobile traffic and businesses have reported an increase in shoppers and sales. Similarly, South Bend, Indiana's downtown retail sales increased by 20% after Michigan Street was converted back to automobile use. Ground floor store vacancies along Jefferson Street in Burlington, Iowa dropped from 80 percent to 20 percent post-reopening. [18]

By 2005, only 20 of the original 200 pedestrian malls were still traffic-free.[19] All the others had been reopened to vehicular traffic. Even Kalamazoo's Burdick Street reintroduced cars in 1998 at a cost of $3.5 million.[20] The combination of urban decline, new shopping habits and delayed response from civic leaders and downtown retailers was just too much.

**Santa Monica's Third Street Promenade**


**Figure 4** – Third Street, Santa Monica, California (1880s).
Photo courtesy of the Bayside District Corporation.

Santa Monica, California is a small upscale community located along the Los Angeles coast. Third Street has been the town's principal shopping district since the beginning of the 20th century and in the 1950s, Third Street was a thriving commercial strip. However, like downtowns all over the country, as Los Angeles County became more suburban, Santa Monica's downtown area saw little growth and Third Street began to show signs of age.

In an effort to reverse the stagnation, city officials invited Victor Gruen to conduct a study and recommend improvements. In November 1960, Gruen Associates presented their findings to civic leaders and the street's merchants and owners and proposed the creation of a pedestrian mall as a catalyst for downtown Santa Monica's renaissance.[21]

The following year, a committee was formed to strategize and garner support for the creation of a pedestrian mall. The group managed to gather signatures from 60% of the merchants and 35% of the property owners along the proposed three-block stretch of Third Street in support of the mall, and a federal grant was obtained to hire and employ design consultants. Construction would last until 1965 and required funding in the form of an assessment from the mall's property owners, which covered 90% of the costs for the redesign and modernization of the affected stores.[22] The support from the mall's buildings owners and merchants spoke to the worries that many felt regarding the street's current stagnation and the feeling that a pedestrian mall would be the needed antidote.

**Figure 5** – Third Street, Santa Monica, California (under construction, 1965).
Photo courtesy of the Santa Monica Public Library Archives.

Upon opening, the Third Street Mall was dubbed a “pedestrian’s paradise” and “commercial wonderland” because of its 130 renovated stores, red brick pavement, fountain, 140 trees, 30 types of shrubbery, 12 reflecting pools, sound system for music and announcements and new lighting.[23] To attract visitors, 3,000 new parking spaces were built around the site perimeter.[24] Its opening drew national attention and its developers dubbed it a success.

However, after a few years of prosperity, the mall fell into a decline similar to its 1950s self. People came to marvel at the fountains and landscaping, but not to shop, and did not return. By the 1980s, the mall was nothing more than a row of struggling and abandoned storefronts. Many were in poor condition and no one cared. The mall was described in the press as “an urban eyesore” and “a ghost retail strip.”[25] It was also home to a large homeless population, who further discouraged shoppers.

A number of factors deterred the mall from living up to the initial accolades. Most stores closed by 5pm and the mall had no late-night entertainment and only a few restaurants, limiting its hours of use.[26] There were over 50 property owners along the street, each with different investment and development ideas and goals.[27] Most of the merchants were loath to shoulder the costs of renovation. Finally, there was no committee or agency to drive projects forward or oversee maintenance because the Mall Committee, formed during the creation of the mall, had been disbanded.[28]

Additionally, in 1976, the city designated seismically unreinforced masonry buildings along the mall as “potentially hazardous.” This compromised the buildings’ owners’ ability to secure long-term financing for renovation improvements.[29]

The mall’s physical elements also deterred shoppers. It lacked focal points or spatial variety and little had been done to the actual street during the closure. It still resembled an automobile thoroughfare with its 80-foot width, which was excessive to facilitate convenient cross-mall shopping. Storefront signs that had been hung when the street served cars were too high to be seen by nearby pedestrians. The mall was not directly connected to its parking structures, forcing shoppers to walk down poorly maintained alleys to reach the mall.[30]

In 1980, Santa Monica Place, a modern suburban-style indoor mall, opened at the southern end of the Third Street. The new building, designed by architect Frank Gehry, spanned two full city blocks. Though it was supposed to stimulate activity in the adjacent Third Street Mall by creating a destination shopping district, Santa Monica Place instead further decreased the sales and volume of shoppers of its neighboring pedestrian area.[31] This new indoor mall had national chain stores and upscale department stores and all the comforts and amenities of an indoor modern shopping mall. Things looked so bleak for the Third Street mall that the city even considered a proposal to build a people mover above the pedestrian mall to carry shoppers to and from Santa Monica Place without having to navigate the neglected pedestrian mall and its homeless population.[32]

That was enough. The same year as Santa Monica Place's opening, a group of Santa Monica residents prepared a platform for municipal action, which included the revitalization of the Third Street Mall, re-envisioned as Santa Monica's community center.[33] Over the next few years, the city held dozens of meetings and design charettes with planners, designers, property owners and residents to hear their ideas. In 1984, the city created and funded a non-profit agency called the Third Street Development Corporation, later renamed the Bayside District Corporation, that was given charge of preparing plans for the mall.

A key shift in strategy was made to distinguish the revitalized mall from its former self. The new focus would be on outdoor eateries, capitalizing on Santa Monica's weather, but not implemented elsewhere because of the narrow sidewalks in car-centric Los Angeles.[34] Planners also recommended the introduction of movie theaters to the promenade to generate additional foot traffic and nighttime activities.

In 1986, a plan for the mall was approved. Thirteen million dollars in bonds were secured for the improvements and private owners invested an additional quarter million.[35] To accomplish the mall's 24-hour goal, the city enacted its zoning power by shifting the location of five multiplex cinema projects into the mall by prohibiting these developments elsewhere in Santa Monica.[36]

The mall was given a branding makeover and renamed the Third Street Promenade. The streetscape was redesigned with improved lighting, an increased numbers of benches and trash receptacles and plazas built at each end of the three blocks. The sidewalks were widened to 30 feet to make room for outdoor restaurants and the street was narrowed to 20 feet to allow pedestrians to easily walk to and from shops. The promenade was decorated with banners and the entrances were emphasized to welcome visitors. The city rented carts to street vendors and street performers were supported and welcomed.

In September 1989, the Third Street Promenade was reopened. The project was instantly a community and commercial success. Pedestrian volumes were higher than expected and rents went up, so much so that many of the original stores had to close to make way for higher-end, more desirable retail.[37]

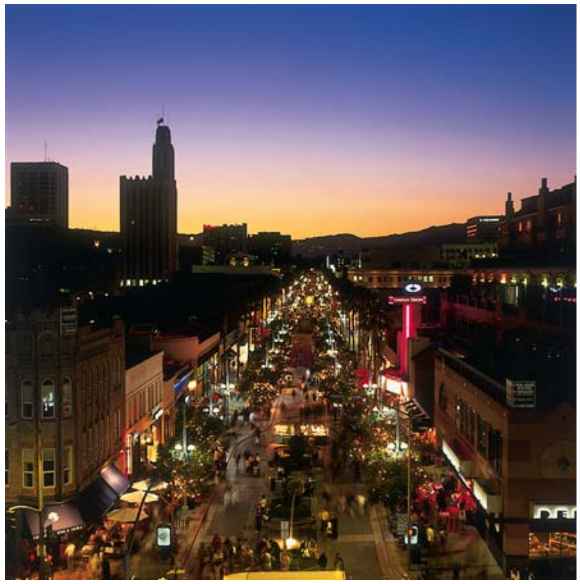

**Figure 6** – Third Street, Santa Monica, California.
Photo courtesy of the Bayside District Corporation.

The Bayside District Corporation was kept on as a public-private management agency charged with overseeing the promenade. Today, this includes securing funding for the mall, maintenance and advising what interventions are needed to keep the promenade viable.[38]

The Promenade has become one of Los Angeles's biggest attractions and continues to thrive twenty years after its redevelopment. It contains over 60 stores, 25 restaurants and coffee houses and 21 movie screens.[39] 40,000 people visit the promenade each day, and foot traffic reaches 60,000 on weekends. Surveys show that 17% of Santa Monica residents come to the Promenade at least once a week and 82% visit at least once a month, which means that the mall is serving both residents and tourists successfully.[40]

**Best Practices for Pedestrian Malls.** Like the Third Street Promenade, a handful of pedestrian-only streets around the country have proved successful. Planners in these cities realized that pedestrian malls would not be the anchor that lured shoppers to the downtown, but would serve as the thread to link popular eateries, stores and other attractions.

A mall is most minimally disruptive to a downtown when it does not impact high levels of vehicular traffic. In many cases of the midcentury pedestrian malls, the city's main vehicular artery was closed, which impacted surrounding streets not capable of handling large volumes of automobile traffic.  This in turn made it confusing and unattractive for visitors to frequent the mall and upset the city's travel patterns.

The street's length, width and land use are also critical.  Short blocks allow for minimal disruption to traffic circulation and permit cross-traffic to pass through the mall, reducing complaints from nearby residents and business owners.  A pedestrian-only street should be rescaled with wide sidewalks to allow for outdoor dining and a narrower street to allow for easy window shopping.  The ground floor should be zoned for retail use only, with residential and commercial uses on the upper floors.

Providing a wide variety of services with late-night hours will help attract larger crowds as well as make the mall safer.  The Third Street Promenade has a minimum percentage of restaurants that must occupy the mall as well as multiple movie theaters. These businesses stay open later than most retail operations, which keeps the mall occupied and busy at all times of the day.

Finally, creating an agency dedicated to overseeing the mall's maintenance, tenant mix and landscaping is critical.  A lack of accountability led to many malls falling into neglect in the past, because they were only supervised during the process of planning and design, with no provisions or funds for ongoing management or maintenance.[41]  The successes of Santa Monica, Denver and Boulder's pedestrian streets are in large part due to these agencies.

Pedestrian malls are most successful when they are in close proximity to the office/financial core in large cities (Denver, Boston, Portland and Minneapolis), in university towns possessing high levels of pedestrian traffic (Boulder, Burlington, Ithaca and Madison), or in areas catering to tourists (Las Vegas, Cape May, South Beach and Santa Monica).  These three scenarios provide the mall with high levels of foot traffic and people eager to shop and eat.

The city of Denver has helped the 16th Street mall's viability by catering to downtown workers and baseball fans by encouraging the addition of residential units, hotels and an anchoring retail center, which includes shops, restaurants, street vendors, sidewalk cafes and a movie theater.  A special downtown assessment district was created in the early 1990s to provide funding for the mall's ongoing management and occasionally reevaluate the mall's design and land use patterns.  A free MallRide shuttle bus is used by 55,000 people every day, which reduces the mall and downtown's parking demands.[42]

University towns are blessed with a large population more likely to walk than drive and less likely to own a car, and so pedestrian malls have been very successful in these cities, including Boulder, Colorado.  In 1977, the City of Boulder closed Pearl Street to vehicles in an effort to save its downtown retail, which had declined after Montgomery Wards and JC Penney relocated to suburban malls.  Its designers wanted the place to be "…more than a mall… a pageant of events rather than living the singular purpose of selling."[43]  City officials called Victor Gruen, who chose the Pearl Street location for its proximity to the University of Colorado. The mall contains a wide variety of services to attract people, including the courthouse, commercial office buildings and local businesses.  Boulder's Pearl Street mall developers have been very aggressive, creating a Business Improvement District and maintaining that a minimum percentage of stores along the street be independently owned.[44]  In 2001, the mall accounted for $2.2 million in sales tax revenue.[45]

In Cape May, New Jersey, the Washington Street mall has remained economically viable and heavily trafficked by shifting its retail emphasis to target tourists rather than its small number of year-round residents.  Opened in 1971, its planners took great efforts with the landscaping and designed the mall with the leisurely walker in mind, with a high number of park benches and a variety souvenir shops along the street.

**Today's Pedestrian Malls.** Clearly, pedestrian malls have had a mixed success rate and so it is curious that the idea is having a resurgence at a time when older pedestrian-only streets are being reopened to automobile traffic.  If considering closing a street to traffic, civic leaders should consider the impact upon neighboring streets, the area's pedestrian traffic level and the street's current and potential amenities and services.

Partial closures have proved very successful for many cities.  In New York City, Summer Streets closes a route from Central Park to the Brooklyn Bridge on three Saturdays in August.  This event is similar to the city's Museum Mile, an annual event that closes Fifth Avenue to traffic and allows pedestrians to visit museums at a discounted rate.

In Bogota, Columbia, the Ciclovia is a weekly event on Sundays and holidays in which over 70 miles of city streets are closed to traffic.  In Paris, cars are forbidden on the Georges Ponpidou Expressway along Paris's Right Bank for one month every summer.  The road is transformed into a beach with floating pools, cafes, fountains and features activities including a climbing wall, dance lessons, and nighttime shows.  Weekly or annual closures such as these create an event and many people enjoy the novelty of walking down a normally congested street.

This partial closure tactic is a good intermittent step for cities considering a pedestrian mall or hoping to provide its residents with the experience, but currently without the space or resources.

For cities in the opposite situation, hoping to reopen their pedestrian malls to automobiles, Raleigh, North Carolina provides a good example. Fayetteville Street in Raleigh closed to automobiles in 1977, but was struggling to keep its retailers. When the city decided to reopen the street in 2003, rather than recreate the six-lane thoroughfare that had previously existed, civic leaders reimagined the street to be both automobile and pedestrian-friendly. In 2006, Fayetteville Street reopened as a two-lane road with a lane of parallel parking on each side and a sidewalk wide enough to provide outdoor dining at its restaurants.[46] Planners in Raleigh discovered that providing enhanced and attractive pedestrian space with vehicular access accomplished the same goals that their predecessors had intended the Fayetteville Street pedestrian mall to accomplish.

For a pedestrian mall to be successful, a number of factors need to be in place. Many cities have tried and failed in the past and others are trying today. It is a highly contentious, complex legal and financial undertaking that demands serious long-term research and planning. Newly opened pedestrian malls at Times Square and Herald Square in New York City have been successful because of their location in highly trafficked areas and the lack of nearby outdoor seating.


**Figure 7** – Times Square, New York, NY
Photo courtesy of New York City Department of Transportation

San Francisco, however, has been studying the closure of Market Street for many years now and it is unclear if this would be beneficial to the city. Market Street is the city's main thoroughfare and its closure would make it very difficult on residents and visitors to access downtown, as well as substantially increase traffic on Mission Street and negatively impact deliveries for the shops on Market. In addition, the area proposed for closure is ten blocks, which is too long to expect shoppers to walk from one end to the other. While San Francisco does benefit from year-round temperate weather and a high level of pedestrian traffic, most businesses on Market Street are commercial office buildings. Unless nighttime activities and additional retail and dining are opened on the ground level of these buildings, there would be a no reason to use the street at night and safety issues would arise.

One reason for the resurgence of pedestrian malls is the recent enthusiasm for sustainable and healthy living and efforts by many cities to get people out of their cars. The reasons cited by Simon Breines and William J. Dean (reduced air and noise pollution, exercise and economic considerations) are still major issues in American cities. By creating pedestrian-friendly environments, civic leaders will increase their cities' walkability, promote a sense of community and increase the city's open space, even if in concrete form. With careful planning and consideration, pedestrian spaces can be a welcome addition to any city.

**Author Information.**

Jessica Schmidt
Planner/Urban Designer II
Sam Schwartz Engineering
611 Broadway, Suite 415
New York, NY 10012
Phone: 212-598-9010 ext. 145
Fax: 212-598-9148
jschmidt@samschwartz.com

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