From the City to the Shopping Mall and Back Again
Design and Control in the Memphis Mid-America Pedestrian Mall

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Abstract

Victor Gruen viewed the shopping centre as a perfected form of the city, one which brought together commercial, civic, and social activities without the undesirable aspects of the downtown central business district. The privately owned shopping centre offered an alternative to congestion and scarce parking, its highly regulated spaces omitted panhandlers, protestors and unruly youth. In response to the loss of business effected by suburban shopping malls, cities across America transformed their downtowns by installing pedestrian malls that closed streets to vehicular traffic and instead provided landscaping, fountains, and benches to create a more pleasant shopping environment. While the urban designers of pedestrian malls often cite historic European cities as their dominant influence, this paper investigates the extent to which their design and regulation was in fact shaped by the suburban shopping mall itself. Examining the Memphis Mid-America Mall designed by Gassner, Nathan and Browne and constructed in the mid-1970s, I reveal how the city sought to impose the spatial order, aesthetic regulation, and behavioural restrictions first developed in the shopping mall on the urban pedestrian mall in an attempt to curtail the freedoms associated with public space in favour of the restrictions of what legal scholars describe as quasi- or pseudo-public space.

Keywords
urban design, shopping mall, pedestrian mall, Memphis

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INTRODUCTION

The development of the shopping mall as we know it today began a century ago, with the establishment of branch department stores and shopping centers in areas outlying the city center and its traditional commercial downtown. Lizabeth Cohen has argued that the growing suburbs, with their outsized wealth and purchasing power, spurred the creation of regional shopping malls by the mid-1950s.[1] Suburban shopping malls appealed to newly auto- mobile consumers, with their plentiful parking and easy access from newly constructed freeways. Replacing aging downtown commercial centers, with their lack of parking, chaotic visual field, and perceived lack of safety from vagrants, shopping malls offered a similar density of commercial offerings while eliminating many of the drawbacks of the urban shopping experience. Richard Longstreth defined the regional shopping center in terms of its "acres of space for cars," "inward-looking" pedestrian spatial organization, and its visual and behavioral orderliness.[2] As Cohen explains, "centrally owned and managed" malls "offered an alternative model to the inefficiencies, visual chaos, and provinciality of traditional downtown districts."[3] Mall management ensured a healthy mix and distribution of shops, ensured visual harmony through the regulation and standardization of signage, and maintained public order through rules of conduct enforced by hired security guards.

Although early mall designer Victor Gruen imagined that the suburban shopping mall would serve as a community hub as well as a space of commerce through the inclusion of civic and recreational programs, Cohen points out the malls "aimed to exclude from this public space unwanted urban groups such as vagrants, prostitutes, racial minorities, and poor people."[4] They did so through a number of passive methods of market segmentation. Geographically, developers located malls in the largely white suburbs, and demographically they appealed to the white middle class through their selection of stores, merchandise, and price-point. Finally, access to the suburban shopping mall was difficult for those without automobiles. Bus service, if there was any, tended to serve the nearby suburban housewife rather than the inner-city, low-income consumer. In this way, Cohen argues, the shopping mall styled itself as an "idealized downtown" that retained the pleasurable and convenient aspects of the pedestrian shopping experience while eliminating its nuisances.

Ironically, the very man credited with developing and popularizing the shopping mall, Victor Gruen, was also a leading exponent of the downtown pedestrian mall, described. By Harvey Rubenstein as a "street or plaza in central city business areas oriented toward pedestrians and served by public transit."[5] After creating the suburban alternative that helped accelerate the decline of the downtown commercial zone, Gruen argued that recreating the mall in the city could cure its ills.[6] Kelly Gregg has argued that Gruen and others viewed pedestrianization, plentiful parking, and a pleasant, well-landscaped environment as a formula that ensured commercial success whatever the context.[7] She showed how Gruen translated his design for the Northland Shopping Center in Southfield, MI (1954), a shopping mall that arranged stores around a landscaped exterior courtyard (later enclosed), to his 1959 design of Kalamazoo, MI's pedestrian mall, the first to be built in the United States. The sea of parking surrounding the shopping mall became a proposal to build parking structures and a ring road around down-

town, and Gruen transferred Northland's use of planters, trees and sculptures to the Kalamazoo streetscape, where he installed fountains, benches, and large areas of grass and trees. In both cases, Gruen supplemented the primary retail function with a park-like atmosphere designed to provide a sense of community and leisure.

Extending Gregg's work, in which she demonstrates the circularity of influence between modernist urban design, suburban mall design, and the downtown pedestrian mall, I will show how cities borrowed further from the shopping mall in an effort to entice crowds and their consumer dollars back to downtown. Towards this end, I will show how business groups and downtown authorities attempted to exert some of the same kinds of control exerted by the shopping mall over the pedestrian mall. Through an examination of the Memphis, Tennessee Mid-America Mall in the latter half of the 1970s in the months and years after it opened, I will show how the mall-ification of downtown didn't end with the construction of the pedestrian mall,but continued through various ordinances regulating the behavior of both merchants and visitors, increased policing, and even the selection of tenants where the city had such discretion.

THE MEMPHIS MID-AMERICA MALL DESIGN & DEVELOPMENT

The Mid-America Mall was a 10-block-long pedestrian mall built on the north-sound Main Street of Memphis in the mid-1970s and designed by local modernist architects Gassner, Nathan and Browne. The city commissioned the project in 1973, and it was constructed between 1974 and 1979. The Mall was part of a suite of efforts aimed at downtown Memphis in the early 1970s, which included the development a bicentennial park on Mud Island and the construction of the Cook Convention Center.[8] Extending from the Beale Street blues district at the southern end of the mall to the Memphis Civic Center Plaza at the northern end, the Mid-America Mall was intended to connect the city's new Convention Center and government center with its most important entertainment district with a pedestrian-only space traversing the heart of its historic retail center, sitting just two blocks east of the bluffs overlooking the Mississippi River in the westernmost part of the city. The Mid-America Mall was a relatively late entry in the twentieth century period of pedestrian mall-building in North America. The typology proved popular with city governments, particularly as many of them were underwritten by federal urban renewal funding. During the years between 1959 and 1985, approximately 140 pedestrian malls were built throughout the United States, and today only about a third of them remain in existence.[9]

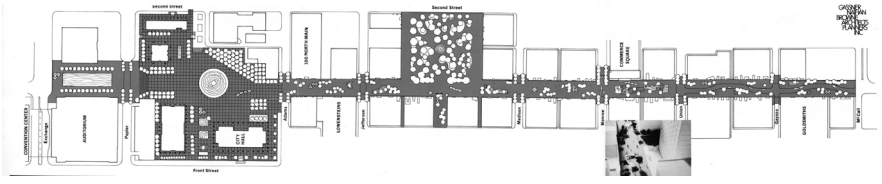

Fig. 1. Mid-America Mall plan, Gassner, Nathan and Browne, untitled brochure (1974).

The factors that motivated Memphis to construct the Mid-America Mall are essentially the same factors that underwrote the late-twentieth century fascination with mall-building as a whole. After World War II, the creation of freeway systems allowed automobile-owning workers to live farther and farther outside of the city, driving the creation of new suburbs and suburban shopping centers, thus draining the central business district of its traditional consumer base. Suburban sprawl was also driven by racial conflict in many American cities, with whites fleeing the city first as Black populations swelled with newcomers arriving as part of the Great Migration,[10] and second in response to Black communities' demands to end to segregation were affirmed by the Supreme Court and gradually enacted in schools, public transit systems, and lunch counters across the nation. Urban renewal projects of the 1950s and 1960s further weakened the urban core, clearing so-called "blight" but without ensuring adequate replacement housing or commercial space. The situation was exacerbated in Memphis and other cities by aggressive annexation policies that incorporated new suburbs into the city, only to decentralize the city's population and assume responsibility for their infrastructural improvements to the detriment of older parts of the city.[11]

The resulting shift in white middle- and upper-class families to the suburban periphery had devastating consequences for urban cores nationwide, and Memphis was no exception. As of the mid-1970s, greater downtown Memphis was described as "an area of crumbling warehouses and industrial districts; a maze of obsolete railyards, large public housing projects, the home of many of the city's black population; and the man-made deserts implicit in fast urban renewal projects."[12] Main Street, Memphis' historic commercial core, suffered from dwindling numbers of shoppers, workers, and visitors. Washington D.C.-based planning consultants Marcou O'Leary, and Associates (MOA) completed a study and plan for downtown Memphis in 1973, and found downtown to be "old, unkept, and generally unattractive," with an "exaggerated and pervasive community image of downtown as crime-ridden and unpleasant."[13] This view of downtown was inflected by the White community's segregationist attitudes and distrust of African- Americans. As Black residents shopped downtown in greater numbers, Whites avoided it in equal measure. The closure of all downtown hotels and the slow corporate exodus to the suburbs led to office and retail closings, all contributing to a feeling of desolation on the once-bustling streets. Shoppers complained about the inconveniences of patronizing downtown merchants, particularly the expense and inconvenience of parking, the dispersal of shops over several blocks, the lack of direct freeway access, and the run-down streetscape, pointing out that nothing was available downtown that couldn't be had more easily and pleasantly in new suburban shopping malls that lined the east-west arterial of Poplar Avenue.

The idea to introduce a pedestrian mall into downtown Memphis originated with the city's Downtown Association and Chamber of Commerce in the late 1960s. The gradual decline of the urban core at mid-century prompted business leaders to intervene in collaboration with the city government to address the main complaints that shoppers leveled at the worsening downtown experience. Moreover, they sought to build on the momentum of the city's own new investment in downtown Memphis: the creation of a new Civic Center built in the mid-1960s. Inspired by Minneapolis' Nicollet Mall and the Fresno Pedestrian Mall, Downtown Association leaders came to believe that a pedestrian mall would draw shoppers back to downtown retail establishments.[14] Using private funds, they hired MOA to study downtown's existing buildings, parking, traffic, and economic outlook, and to develop a plan for a Main Street Mall as well as a framework plan for the larger Downtown area.

Fig. 2. Scenes from Mid-America Mall, 1976-1982. *Memphis Press-Scimitar* newspaper morgue, Special Collections Department, University of Memphis Libraries.

The city hired Gassner, Nathan and Browne to develop MOA's plan for the Main Street Mall into an implementable design in 1973. Their scheme, developed by architect Louis Pounders, removed vehicular traffic from Main Street, but retained a meandering undelineated pathway by which emergency and delivery vehicles could access the right-of- way. Utilizing an 8"x8" dark grey brick as the predominant material of the ground plane and major forms, GNB transformed the street into an abstracted cubic landscape of fountains and platforms, accented by benches, planters, and kiosks in raw concrete and wood. GNB's design stacked the square brick into cubic platforms that were interspersed with fountains and water jets, and opened up pit-like rectilinear pools sunk into the ground plane. These were interspersed with trees, conventional wood benches, concrete and timber kiosks, and decorative flag poles to lend variety to an otherwise austere streetscape.

DOWNTOWN MEMPHIS AS BLACK SPACE

Not only did the city and the Downtown Association pin its hopes on GNB's design of the mall to reverse the economic fortunes of its historic commercial zone, but they also hoped it could overcome negative White public perceptions of downtown that were uniquely colored by the city's racial animosities and its recent history of civil rights actions centered on Main Street. In the mid-1960s, Memphis was considered to be a city that had largely avoided the violence and upheaval of civil rights protests that occurred in cities across the region, including Birmingham, Little Rock, and Selma. Instead, during this time, Memphis desegregated schools, libraries, and other public spaces gradually and quietly in the hopes of keeping the peace among city residents. Memphis, however, took on greater importance in the late 1960s as the movement transitioned from one focused on overturning de jure segregation (that underwritten by law) to one that targeted de facto segregation and the economic inequality that often underpinned it.[15] Memphis' downtown Main Street became the backdrop for two important civil rights campaigns: the 1968 Sanitation Workers' Strike and the 1969 Black Monday protests, the latter of which fought for Black representation on local school boards.

The Sanitation Workers' Strike mounted frequent, sometimes twice daily, protest marches in downtown Memphis for nearly a month and a half, often originating at the Clayborn Temple

south of Beale street, proceeding up the length of Main Street, and concluding at the Civic Center Plaza where Alfred Aydelott's Brutalist design for the Memphis City Hall made for an imposing and symbolic backdrop for their demonstrations. When the city refused to bargain with the sanitation workers' union, the NAACP organized a boycott of downtown businesses. The organizers believed that business owners were well positioned to influence the mayor and city council, and they recognized that many government officials also had ownership stakes in downtown businesses or buildings. The Strike gained national attention when Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. joined the cause. Protestors numbers swelled as they carried the famous "I am a Man" signs, in response to which Memphis Mayor Loeb declared martial law and called in 4,000 National Guard troops. Tragically, Dr. King was assassinated on April 4, 1968, the day after he delivered his "I've been to the Mountaintop" speech in support of strikers. Protests and violence erupted in cities around the country. In Memphis, a massive demonstration of more than 20,000 people took place on April 8, during which marchers followed the well- trodden path to the Civic Center surrounded by National Guard troops and tanks. The Black Monday protests, in the fall of 1969, similarly mobilized mass protests downtown, boycotts, and vandalism in support of equitable school desegregation and power-sharing of school leadership positions.

Historian Beverly Greene Bond has shown that at mid-century, Black and White Memphians might interact in public spaces but lived essentially segregated lives: "They lived in separate neighborhoods, attended separate schools and churches, created and supported separate businesses and professionals, and were buried in separate cemeteries."[16] With the development of the new suburbs and shopping centers of East Memphis, White Memphians essentially ceded the historic downtown commercial core to Black communities that remained—something accelerated by the two major protests downtown. In the vacuum created by white flight, the city's Black population came to constitute the majority of shoppers still patronizing downtown establishments. In newspaper accounts, White residents explicitly cited the Black presence there as the reason for their hesitance to visit:

"The niggers have just took [sic] over. I don't have a thing against them. I am not trying to down them…If they could move the colored people out somewhere else, then maybe we would [go] down if we could be safe down there,' one man said. […] 'You can see colored girls standing on the streets asking for anything. There's just too much junk,' a woman said."[17]

An editorial published in 1969 during the Black Monday protests explicitly described them as a form of harm done to downtown:

"What Negro protesters and streetmarchers do in the way of damage to the heart of Memphis, they do automatically to all of us – and that includes most prominently the very people doing the protesting. The heart of Memphis is downtown Memphis, and it is being damaged. Do Memphis Negroes want downtown Memphis to be a Negro ghetto? Demonstrations, within constitutional limits, are proper when they seek to express a point of view. When they seek to FORCE a point of view by intimidation and boycotts, demonstrations become anarchy."[18]

By the early 1970s, downtown was economically depressed, with a consumer base largely made up of lower-income African Americans, as Whites felt the twin pull of the suburbs and push of the protests causing their perception of downtown as unsafe and undesirable.

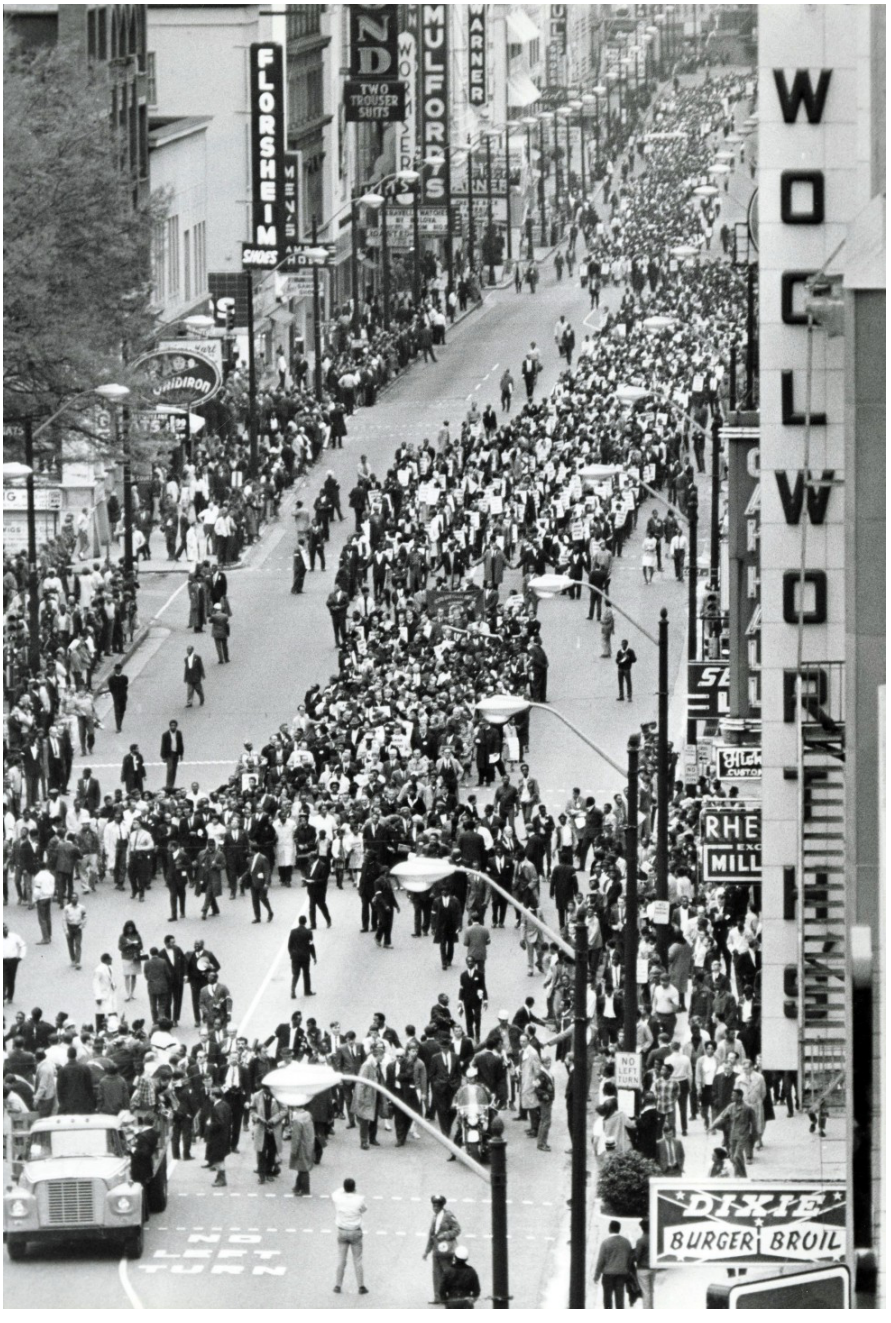

Fig. 3. Mid-America Mall plan, Gassner, Nathan and Browne, untitled brochure (1974). Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial March, North Main Street, Memphis, April 8, 1968. Photograph by Barney Sellers. *Commercial Appeal* newspaper morgue, Special Collections Department, University of Memphis Libraries

BEYOND DESIGN: REGULATORY STRUCTURES AFTER CONSTRUCTION

In the wake of late 1960s protests, downtown authorities undoubtedly desired to avoid any replay of mass marches that they viewed as damaging the reputation of downtown Memphis and harmed businesses located there. In response, GNB's mall design filled up the street with benches, trees, poles and columns. It dissolved parts of the street with fountains that were little more than unprotected rectangular holes in the ground. As GNB designer Louis Pounders admitted, the Mall did not facilitate the assembly of large crowds, because there was "too much in the way" for large processions.[19] Moreover, the design proposed large areas of the mall to be filled with massive "fortress"-like aggregations of blocky forms of varying heights that were difficult to climb, particularly by a crowd moving en masse.[20] By occupying the street with objects easily negotiated by individuals or small groups, but that were significant barriers to large groups, city officials and designers effectively eliminated the possibility for it to be used as a place of protest.

Kelly Gregg has pointed out the error in planners' assumptions that the pedestrian mall would pull traffic back to downtown commercial centers simply by virtue of their physical improvements, noting that the centralized ownership and management of the shopping center meant a single entity maintaining its facilities, establishing consistent hours for all retail tenants, managing the mix of purveyors, and controlling the visual aesthetics of the storefront.[21] During the construction and early years of Mid-America Mall, the city government and the merchants associations realized that additional regulation and supports would be required to create the shopping atmosphere they sought than simply its physical design.

First, even before Mall construction was completed, the city began to consider passing an ordinance to regulate signage on the buildings fronting the Mall. Citing the need for a more attractive, cohesive presentation of the mall to the public, the city sought retailer support for an ordinance that would limit the "size, number, shape and type of signs" as well as their projection, and would curtail the use of flashing lights and open flames.[22] Moreover, the ordinance created a Business District Design Review Board that would identify non-compliant signage and review proposed replacements. The goal, according to the city's chief administrative officer, was to "make the street more attractive by making signs brief and precise. (…) The signs should be compatible, blend and be in harmony with the surroundings."[23] In other words, the city sought to reduce the visual chaos of the downtown streetscape (the "anarchy of advertisement") and replace it with much less signage that was also more homogenous—thereby effecting a degree of visual control found typically at the shopping mall.[24] By October 1975, the ordinance had been passed into law. Beyond the retail signage, the mall also featured large flags held aloft by substantial masts placed in the middle of the pedestrian space. These colorful, abstract flags served to provide a visual coherence and a sense of branding to the mall without explicitly advertising it as such.

Second, drawing upon the centralized management concept of the shopping mall, the Business District Advisory Board instituted regulations for the use of seven kiosks built as part of the mall design. The kiosks were small modernist structures placed within the pedestrian

mall. Composed of concrete columns, wood beams supporting flat roofs, and floor-to-ceiling glazing systems, the kiosks provided smaller businesses access to the coming crowds of shoppers. In order to reduce competition with existing businesses, the board decided to limit the types of operations to newsstands, food vendors, and florists.[25] The regulation also prohibited businesses from operating outside of the kiosks, in an effort to prevent the consequences of an earlier decision to allow hot dog purveyor "Ollie's Trolley" to set up shop in a brightly painted model trolley on the Civic Center Mall, just to the north and continuous with Mid- America Mall—something Mall architect Francis Gassner criticized, likening it to "placing a jukebox on stage with a symphony orchestra."[26] In this way, the city attempted to control the mix of businesses found on the mall, to the extent that they were able to do so.

Finally, a year after the Mid-America mall opened, the city sought to impose greater control over the behavior of its visitors, particularly the activities of panhandlers, vagrants, street preachers, and street harassers, as well as young bicyclists riding recklessly through the mall. Unlike the shopping mall, which feels like a public space but is in fact privately owned and policed, the police maintaining order on the mall were stymied by the liberties guaranteed by law in public space. Indeed, the city's loitering law had been struck down as unconstitutional in 1971 because it made "an individual's presence on a public street conditioned upon the permission of a policeman."[27] A police legal advisor explained that "Being ill-clothed, ill-shaven or having an ill odor does not constitute a violation of the law. […] A person can say whatever he wants to unless he accompanies it with threats or tries to incite a riot."[28] Despite these limitations, street harassment grew serious enough that the city's Police Director ordered a four-day undercover operation in which female officers in plainclothes waited for men to approach them, then arrested those that touched or propositioned them. By the end of operation, police had arrested over seventy men on charges of disorderly conduct, public drunkenness, and assault and battery. The men were largely between the ages of 18-25, and the papers accused them of purposefully roaming the mall during lunch time when the mall was crowded with workers.

Although the papers assiduously avoided mentioning the race of the men arrested, a photograph published in one story showed four Black men who had been arrested in the sweep. The City Court chief public defender protested the low bar for arrest, reporting that some men had been detained after simply speaking to a plainclothes officer without any physical contact or profanity. Believing that the arrests were racially motivated, the defender asked rhetorically, "Is it a crime for a black man to speak to a white woman?"[29] Despite the fact that judges dismissed many of these arrests and let many others off with a moderate fine, the undercover police operation and the fruitless search for laws that might constitutionally bar "undesirables" from the mall can be understood as attempts to impose the behavioral constraints easily enacted in the privately owned space of the shopping mall.

CONCLUSION

Historian Kenneth T. Jackson has outlined the essential differences between the center city business district and the suburban shopping mall, pointing out that "the former is by defini-

tion open to all people at all hours. The latter is private property, owned and operated by a single corporation, and thus subject to coercive, centralized authority. The theme of their design is enclosure, protection, and control. Litter, panhandlers, vagrants, suspicious characters, protestors, and even cold winds are not tolerated."[30] David Smiley went further, suggesting that the aesthetic and spatial ordering of the consumer experience in the shopping mall was a central vehicle of the dissemination of American architectural modernism, both aesthetically and ideologically.[31] In this way, we can understand the urban design of the pedestrian mall as an attempt to modernize the American downtown, scraping its streets of honking noisy cars, and its buildings of their visually chaotic sign-scape. Extending Kelly Gregg's argument that the development of shopping mall and pedestrian mall *design* was reciprocally influentially on one another, I argue here that the *management techniques* of the shopping mall, particularly its aesthetic regulations, policing, and tenant selection, were also adopted by cities for their pedestrian malls to reinforce and perhaps even complete the modernization project. In so doing, creating a quasi-privatized space out of a traditionally public one.

Anthony Maniscalco, in his study of the applicability of First Amendment protections to the context of the privately owned shopping mall, argues that public space in America is defined by "openness and accessibility to users; support for community practice; visibility and revelation; diversity tolerance, and accommodation; and authenticity and unexpectedness."[32] The imposition of sign ordinances, loitering ordinances and other forms of policing, and the state selection of businesses for the mall negated several of these characteristics. It reduced the openness and accessibility of the mall to exclude the poor and marginalized, it foreclosed upon the possibility of the established community practice of protest, it reduced the ability of merchants to advertise in traditional ways and express an established commercial culture, and it certainly reduced the diversity of users and their activities to those deemed palatable to merchants and consumers, for example by excising bicycling from the mall. What was retained and even heightened by the mall was unexpectedness of a sort. While Maniscalco understands "authenticity and unexpectedness" to mean unanticipated communal activities, the complexity of GNB's design provided opportunities for individuals and small groups to experience public space in a new way, inviting visitors to participate in public space differently by presenting the opportunity to negotiate unfamiliar forms and risky physical conditions. The design of the mall certainly presented an aesthetically and spatially unexpected landscape to visitors, but in seeking to the deny the possibility of larger political aggregations, it utilized the veneer of spectacularity to cover over its imposition of order.

DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTOR(S)

Elizabeth Keslacy is an Assistant Professor of Architecture at the Virginia Tech Washington-Alexandria Architecture Center, and an historian of the built environment whose work deals with postwar and postmodern architecture and urbanism, the museology of design, and the discipline's intellectual history. She is currently working on a book entitled *Concrete Leisure: Public Space, Recreation, and Black Political Agency in the American Rust Belt*. Keslacy has taught design and history at the University of Michigan, Lawrence Technological University, Kendall College of Art and Design, and Miami University of Ohio. Her

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ENDNOTES

1. Cohen, "From Town Center to Shopping Center," 1052.
2. Longstreth, *City Center to Regional Mall,* xiv.
3. Cohen, "From Town Center to Shopping Center." 1056.
4. Ibid. 1059.
5. Rubenstein, *Pedestrian Malls, Streetscapes, and Urban Spaces*, 21.
6. Gruen argued that pedestrianization alone was not enough, but rather cities had to invest in improved vehicular circulation and parking capacity. Gruen, *The Heart of Our Cities,* 222-223. Cited in Gregg, "Conceptualizing the Pedestrian Mall," 560.
7. "Conceptualizing the Pedestrian Mall."
8. "Progress Downtown," 4-5.
9. Amos, "Understanding the Legacy of Pedestrian Malls."
10. While the New Great Migration is best known for large shifts in Black populations from the rural south to cities in the industrial northern United States, some southern cities like Memphis also received significant Black in-migration. Bond, "Taylor-Made: Envisioning Black Memphis at Midcentury," 111.
11. Biles, "Epitaph for Downtown," 279.
12. Weiler and Riker, "Are Memphis Blues Fatal?"
13. Marcou, O'Leary and Associates, *Where Do We Go from Here*, 44.
14. In the late 1960s, the Downtown Association brought in speakers, such as Canadian planner Vincent Ponte, and organized trips to cities like St. Louis, Atlanta, and Minneapolis to generate ideas for the revitalization of downtown Memphis. These activities were widely covered in the *Memphis Press-Scimitar* and *The Commercial Appeal*, and collected in the University of Memphis Special Collections, Memphis Press-Scimitar morgue file 1081.
15. For the distinction between de facto and de jure segregation, see Rothstein, *The Color of Law*, vii-xv.
16. Beverly Greene Bond, "Envisioning Black Memphis at Midcentury"
17. Joseph Weiler and Jefferson Riker, "Are Memphis Blues Fatal?"
18. "What's happening in Memphis?"
19. Louis Pounders (architect, ANF Architects, and project designer of the Mid-America Mall with Gassner Nathan and Browne), interview with the author, October 7, 2021.
20. Carol Coletta (President and CEO, Memphis River Parks Partnership, formerly community relations manager, Center City Commission, Mem-phis), interview with the author, October 19, 2021.
21. Gregg, "Conceptualizing the Pedestrian Mall." 568.
22. "Ordinance would regulate signs at mall"
23. "Proposed city ordinance would regulate signs at mall"
24. "New view for the mall"
25. "Kiosk policy adopted for mall"
26. "Architect attacks placement of fast food outlet on mall"
27. "Caution is urged on loitering law"
28. "Police still seeking laws controlling activities on mall"
29. "Constitutionality question on some of arrests on mall"
30. Jackson, "All the World's a Mall," 1118.
31. Smiley, David J., *Pedestrian Modern*
32. Maniscalco, *Public spaces, marketplaces, and the constitution*, 6

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