Turin 2014 59, by rouilleralain, https://wordpress.org/openverse/image/88357eaf-c8d2-4204-ac68-1a10b400d308.

Brief History of Traffic Limited Zones (ZTL) in Italy and other early car-restricting strategies

By Michelle DeRobertis

Introduction

The rapid popularity of the automobile led to its fast adoption and use in both USA and Europe. This became a problem, especially for cities that were built for pedestrians and horses. By the 1960s, both city planners (e.g., Colin Buchanan in the UK) and citizen advocates (e.g., Jane Jacobs in the USA) were documenting these adverse impacts on historic cities. By the 1970s, new approaches were being tried in Italy, Europe and USA to address the incursion of cars in city centers. This short article will provide a brief history of the Italian traffic limited zone (zone a traffico limitato-ZTL) as well as some of the other interventions to control traffic that were happening contemporaneously.

ZTL sign, Lecce Italy, photo by Michelle DeRobertis

First Car Restrictions: Pedestrian Streets and Areas

Many European cities have pedestrian areas. Some of these have remained pedestrian-only from before the auto-age, indeed even during the horse and buggy era. While some are to due topographical constraints and the presence of stairs (for example, parts of Perugia and Genova, Italy) or aquatic reasons (Venice), others were primarily due to the fact that their streets, and the buildings they provide access to, date back to medieval times and are extremely narrow, e.g. 2 to 4 meters (6.5 to 13 feet) from building-face to building-face, with buildings that are five or six stories high. Thus, the use of cars was extremely difficult if not impossible. A classic example of such a pedestrian area is the Old City of Dubrovnik, Croatia. There are even isolated examples in the USA of historically pedestrian-only towns or large areas; the truest example may be Mackinac Island in Michigan, where besides pedestrians, and human-powered bicycles, only horses and buggies are permitted; motorized vehicles were banned in 1901.[1]

But prohibiting cars from streets and places (such as the Italian Piazza) where they had been allowed for decades well into the auto era was another concept altogether. Indeed, it marks the beginning of the movement to reconsider how to allocate public space. While undoubtedly car bans happened here and there across the world soon after the invention of the automobile at the turn of the 20th century, the beginning of the second wave of car-free zones may have been in post-World War 2 Germany when bombed-out cities were rebuilding. Buchanan 1963 cites Cologne as one of the first when, after rebuilding their city center post World War 2, they closed the main shopping street to traffic during the day by inserting posts in slots at both ends of the street; deliveries took place early in the early morning or at night (1963, p. 174). R. Monheim (2002) cites the city of Aachen which, in the early 1950s, pedestrianized some small lanes and also closed the main shopping street in the afternoons (p. 187). Hass-Klau (2015) reported that by 1955, 21 German cities already had at least one traffic-free street, typically less than a kilometer, and by 1963 there were 63 cities. By the end of the 1960s, H. Monheim (2002) wrote that there were over 400 pedestrian zones in Germany (p. 155).

These days it is hard to imagine a medium or large European city without at least one main pedestrian commercial street, if not an entire area of the city center. According to Hass-Klau (2015,) in Germany most towns with a population over 50,000 have a pedestrian area and that "nearly every British city has pedestrian streets although they vary substantially in size and design" (p. 43).

Other Early Interventions

The concern in London and the UK in general about the potential of car traffic led to the commission of what is now called the Buchanan Report, published in 1963.

Figure 1a: Piazza Duomo Brescia circa 1940

[1] Mackinac State Historic Park; https://www.mackinacparks.com/why-are-certain-things-banned-on-mackinac-island/ August 6, 2021.

In response to its recommendations, efforts were made in some London neighborhoods to implement the idea of what he called "environmental areas" to reduce the incursion of the motor car. Their goal was to reduce cut-through traffic using a variety of traffic- regulating strategies such as selected one-way streets and permanent physical measures that turned streets into cul-de-sacs. Two case studies were evaluated by Appleyard, 1981 in Livable Streets.

Meanwhile, the zone and cell strategy (also called pie) was tried in other European cities. This strategy prohibits through traffic in the city center by dividing it into smaller zones (typically 4 or 5) and travel between zones is only possible by use of a ring road. According to Hass-Klau (2015), Bremen was the first German city to successfully restrict in traffic in this way. It was instituted for a trial period in 1960 and although initially opposed, it was considered a success. Nevertheless, it did not spread to other German cities, but it did spread to Gothenburg, Sweden, the first to initiate it abroad (Hass-Klau, 2015). Also in the early 1970s, Besançon, France and Uppsala, Sweden addressed traffic in their historic cities by implementing this type of strategy but with different names ("traffic cells" in Besançon and "protected area" in Uppsala). The intent was to reduce not eliminate vehicle traffic, but often a pedestrian-only street section was implemented as well . Both cities' work and results, describing improvements in traffic safety, environmental quality and economic activity, were documented in the 1975 OECD conference proceedings "Better Towns with Less Traffic". Across the Atlantic, in the 1970s, the City of Berkeley in California evaluated and then implemented its extensive system of traffic barriers. While the goal was not to protect the "city center" but rather to reduce cut-through traffic in residential neighborhoods, its aim was the same: restrict the streets that vehicle traffic could access. (De Leuw, 1974).

As these cases show, a new system of judgment was slowly being adopted in the 1960s, away from one which prioritized automobile access. Indeed, in many cities, the concept of controlling total access to some streets within a city had become politically and socially acceptable. To Buchanan, the remarkable thing about Germany's post war adoption of pedestrian streets was a) the widespread acceptance of pedestrian shopping streets, even for the main shopping street of large cities; and b) that it was not limited to bombed-out cities: even those with no war damage "were finding it desirable to close their main streets to traffic during shopping hours" (1963, p. 174).

Interventions in Italy

In Italy, cars had taken over streets and piazzas from the beginning of their existence, replacing the previous mode - horses. This is documented in numerous historical photos of almost any Italian city in the 1920s and 1930s, (Figure 1).

Figure 1b: *Piazza Maggiore Bologna circa 1960*

Figure 1c: *Piazza Plebiscito foto circa 1980s*

Figure 2: *Sorbello Well Today (Source: Google street view)*

By the 1960's, Italian piazzas had become parking lots and city center streets were crowded with cars. In addition to making the city center unpleasant and unsafe, the auto exhaust from all these cars in the city center was also damaging historic structures such as the Coliseum and the Milan Duomo. This untenable situation is described in the introduction to the *Ferrara Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan (PUMS)* 2016 as follows:

> *"The progressive increase of the individual or private mobility has in fact, in the last half a century, led to a crisis in the very concept of the city, saturating all spaces that before were dedicated to living; the space assigned to the car is in fact public space, squares and streets, today totally dedicated to traffic and parking, but before were places for meeting and social interaction. In addition to the undeniable local and global air pollution produced from fossil fuels necessary for private motorization, the more serious and perhaps less perceived of environmental consequence of mass motoring is probably its space consumption: on the planet in fact there is no space for mass motorization similar to that which characterises the industrialised countries, and in our cities there is no space for all cars that circulate there." (Ferrara, 2016, p.144)*

The following description of the Sorbello Well (Figure 2) in the historic city center of Perugia illustrates the adverse impact of motorized cars and trucks on the historical heritage of the historic city center and its monuments; (bold text in indicates particularly relevant passages).

> *"Built sometime around the 3rd century BC, it is astonishing for its exceptional size and mastery of construction techniques. A series of concentric cylinders of various sizes are covered by slots supported by trusses made from the clever interlocking of travertine beams that have been able to withstand the* **improper use of the square over the centuries, including the passage of cars and trucks,** *in what is also a seismic zone. A symbol of these problematics - from which the Sorbello Well has always emerged victorious - is the well curb. The vicissitudes of the* **well curb** *shed light on the evolving forms of thought.*

At one point, Piazza Piccinino had become the terminus of the city tram line: the well was not only in the way but was also exposed to serious damage. *In 1945 it was placed safely out of the way on the lawn in front of the Temple of San Michele Arcangleo, which was not bad, but it was entirely out of context. In the 1970s, it was brought back to its original location,* **but it was suffocated by chaotic parking, which unfortunately spoils too many beautiful corners of our city.** *The current restoration and the desire to redesign the space around it send a very strong signal, which goes far beyond the noteworthy but limited extent of the work.*

For years monuments have been awkwardly moved to make room for cars; now, wisely, cars are sent away to restore the monuments to their original settings." *(Nucciarelli, 2017, emphasis added).*

Figure 3: *Bologna First ZTL from OECD*

The situations as described in Ferrara and in Perugia are illustrative of what had occurred throughout Italy in the 1920s-1960s; only the place names and historical monuments changed. Consequently, in the late 1960s and 70s, several cities had begun to restrict traffic in their city centers to counteract such degradation; early adopters were Siena, Bologna and Brescia.

First traffic-limited zones (ZTL) - Siena, Bologna, Brescia

In 1962, the city of Siena took action against the incursion of cars and passed what is considered by many to be the first prohibition of cars in Italy, and banned cars from Piazza del Campo (Maggi, 2016). This was followed in 1965 by the closure of the four main streets of the city center to traffic 24 hours a day with exceptions only for residents, busses, taxis, ambulances, plus a delivery window for local shops (Maggi, 2016). This can be considered the first ZTL but it is not clear if Siena used this term.

In the late 1960s, Bologna also wanted to restore the serenity of its historic center which had been violated by cars and their noise. As presented at the OECD conference (1975), the first concrete action was in 1968 with the pedestrianization of Piazza Maggiore and adjacent streets. Formaglini (1975) reported that in 1970, the city undertook a two-year traffic study, which was submitted to the city council in June 1972. The study looked beyond just the city center, observing that traffic did not only affect the historic city center, but the whole city:

"...effecting partial improvement to the historic center but increasing congestion on the periphery is no solution either to the problem of traffic or to that of the survival of the historic centre." (Formaglini, 1975, p. 59)

Formaglini (1975) stated that the recommendations for Bologna included two basic interventions: 1) a ranking order for streets; and 2) the bus-only lanes (novel, at that time) which extended well beyond the city center. The concept of the ranking order of streets is the most relevant to car-restricting strategies such as ZTLs. Formaglini writes that streets were assigned to either the primary network, which had to serve all zones of the city, or the secondary network, which provided access to dwellings and buildings; traffic was also divided into two categories: through traffic or local traffic as follows:

- Through traffic - to be channeled onto the primary system
- Local traffic - allowed to use the secondary system, similar to Buchanan's distributor network and environmental areas.

While this concept was applied citywide, it has special significance in the historic city center. It was decided that **through traffic had no place in the entire historic city center,** thus, as concluded Buchanan for Norwich, only local traffic would be permitted, with exceptions for deliveries during certain time periods. In addition, the plan called for an expansion of pedestrian areas.

Figure 4: Brescia's first ZTL in 1974

Formaglini wrote that the implementation of the plan was staggered over several years beginning with one-way streets in 1972 and that the first designated area in which traffic was restricted, (called a Zona a Traffico Limitato) was in the Galvani district of the centro storico in February 1974 (Figure 3). The ZTL was extended to the Marconi district in December 1974.

It should be noted that the car restrictions were not unanimously well-received or accepted by all residents and stakeholders. Interestingly, Bologna (though not all Italian cities) had a process for public referendums. Thus, Bologna allowed its residents to vote, and it was ultimately approved by referendum in 1984 with 71% in favor (Mazza and Rydin, 1997, p.22).

In 1971, the City of Brescia established its first pedestrianized street by designating Via Antiche Mura and one block of Via Aleardi as pedestrian streets. The first defacto ZTL was established in 1974 when Brescia designated the central core of its historic center as a "Pedestrian Area" which it declared would be an area "closed to traffic and to the circulation of private vehicles" (City of Brescia Ordinance 2098, 1974) (Figure 4).

But in fact, there were several exemptions for vehicles of certain persons, similar to Siena, thus it was essentially a modern-day ZTL.

In subsequent decades, Brescia continued to expand both the ZTL and pedestrian areas. Between 1974 and 2016, more than 70 ordinances were adopted that expanded, contracted, or otherwise adjusted the ZTL. These ordinances affected the geographic area, the allowed users, the hours in effect, and/or the on-street parking. In addition, there were dozens of ordinances since 1974 establishing pedestrian streets and pedestrianized piazzas, affecting circulation and parking within the many piazzas in Brescia, and/or creating one-way streets. (DeRobertis 2019)

Throughout the 1980s, many other cities adopted similar strategies. However, cities used a variety of inconsistent terms since there was no national definition of a ZTL or pedestrian area. In fact, Brescia's first ZTL ordinance called the area a "traffic closure" and a "pedestrian area" but in fact there were the many exceptions which are now characteristic of a ZTL.

Main Features of a ZTL

Finally in 1989, a national law was passed that formally defined a Zona a Traffico Limitato (ZTL). Despite this nationwide definition, each city determines the main features of the ZTL including:

- the physical extent, i.e., which streets to designate
- the hours that the ZTL is in effect
- authorized users and vehicles
- enforcement methods
- control of street parking within the zone for both authorized users and for other vehicles during the hours they are allowed to enter.

While a ZTL is typically located in the city center, larger cities often have more than one distinct ZTL area, with different rules and hours, as shown in Figure 5

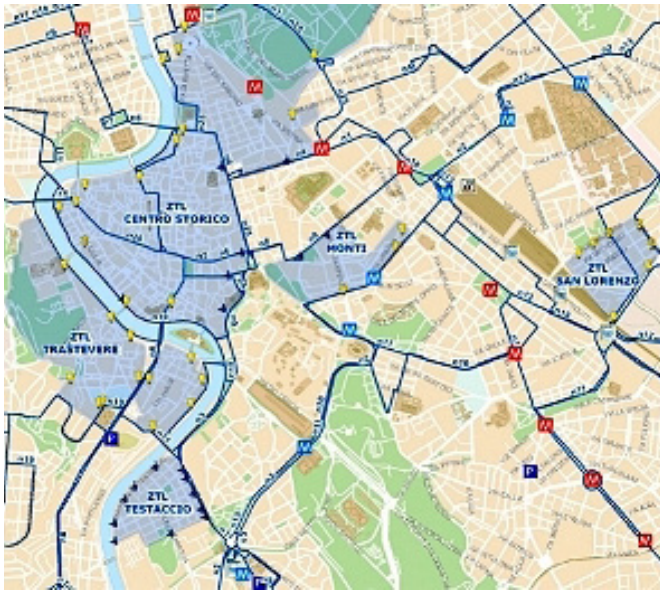

Figure 5: *Five ZTL locations in Rome (Source: Comune di Roma website)*

for the city of Rome.

Even for ZTLs within the city center, a ZTL can be either:

1. **A strict cordon** where everything inside the border is a ZTL; examples are Torino and Bologna.
2. **An area** in which there remains a limited number of open streets or routes making it still possible to traverse the city center. An example is the ZTL of Brescia; when mapped it looks like several contiguous ZTLs.

Although in a ZTL anyone with a permit to enter the ZTL can drive anywhere within it, the main reason why residents do not drive indiscriminately within the ZTL, even though they can, is the difficulty in finding a place to park. This same difficulty is routinely felt by the residents of many neighborhoods of dense U.S. cities such as San Francisco and New York, where there are no restrictions on driving, but people think twice about using their car. Either they don't want to leave their hard-found parking place unless they have to (i.e., go to work or because it is street-cleaning day), or even if they have a private parking place at their residence, there is no guarantee they will find a parking place at their destination. So, they prefer to walk instead.

Indeed, the main mode within the ZTL is intended to be walking. The size of a ZTL is not so large that one cannot walk in from the peripheral neighborhoods, parking garages, or sometimes the main train station. Most large cities also allow public transit within the ZTL (buses, street cars, and in the case of eight cities, metros).[1] Bicycling is also promoted although not with separate bike facilities due to the narrow streets and narrow building-to-building widths in the historic city center.

To accommodate those not able to walk even these short distances, disabled persons are able to apply for and receive permits to enter the ZTL. Any vehicles authorized to enter may park within the zone, either in their own private garage or on the street. Street spaces where authorized vehicles may park are marked with yellow stripes. Some of these spaces are further restricted, for example they may be specifically designated for deliveries, vehicles of disabled persons, taxis or police vehicles (via pavement markings).

National Law on ZTL

The 1989 Tognoli law defined a ZTL as "an area in which vehicle access and circulation are limited to certain hours and certain categories of users and vehicles."[2] This law also first defined an Area Pedonale (AP, or Pedestrian Area) as "an area which bans the circulation of vehicles, except for bicycles and for vehicles in the service of handicapped people with limited mobility". Subsequently in 1992, ZTL and AP were formally included in the update to the Codice della Strada (CdS, the Italian National Highway Code). This law also expanded on several other issues pertaining to ZTL and AP as follows:

1. Revised the procedure to create these zones, from just a mayor proclamation to that of the entire "giunta", i.e., City officials and department heads appointed by the mayor
2. Allowed municipalities to charge a fee for vehicles entering and circulating within the ZTL (although very few cities have done so; the most well-known are Milan and Genova)
3. Included some reasons that a city may want to implement a ZTL including the prevention of pollution and the protection of national treasures possessing artistic and natural value.

In 1999 the CdS allowed electronic enforcement of the ZTL and AP and specified the fine that could be charged for violators.

ZTL versus Other Strategies

The key difference between a ZTL and other traffic-restricting strategies is that one cannot buy one's way in, as with tolls or congestion charge zones, or by buying a newer, less polluting car to enter a low emission zone (LEZ). In a ZTL, everybody except residents (and other authorized users) are prevented from entering during the indicated hours, which may be 24 hours per day or a specific time window. From this point of view, ZTL are much more socially equitable than these other measures.[3]

[1] Seven of these metros are underground, at least in the city center, and one, Perugia, is entirely above ground.

[2] "Un area in cui l'accesso e la circolazione veicolare sono limitati ad ore prestabilite o a particolari categorie di utenti e di veicoli."

[3] However, some cities do allow all electric vehicles, which partially negates the social equity aspect. Torino recently changed its ZTL rules to operate as a ZTL from 7:30 to 10:30 and a LEZ from 10:30 to 17:00 also negating somewhat the social equity aspect. The purpose of this section is merely to describe a ZTL for those not familiar with them, not to describe the infinite number of variations and permutations they can have.

The most comparable strategy to a ZTL would be a pedestrian street that still allows vehicle access for the few residents who do live on that street.

Based on information from the Italian Ministry of Infrastructure and Transportation , ISFORT, and two publicly accessible websites, (http://www.accessibilitacentristorici.it/ and www.urbanaccessregulations.eu/) and supplemented by research by the author[4], it has been ascertained that today at least 350 cities in Italy have a ZTL, including virtually all cities above population 90,000, at least half of those between population 60,000 and 90,000, and many other towns as small as 1000 inhabitants (Figure 6). The fact that ZTL are so widespread in Italy and are present in large and medium cities as well as small towns indicates that the benefits of the ZTL are not accrued by just a few large cities, but indeed by hundreds of Italian cities.

Corso Zanardelli-Pedestrian Street in Brescia, Italy, photo by Michelle DeRobertis.

Conclusion

Many strategies were adopted in the late 1960s and 1970s to curb the impact of automobile traffic on city spaces. Germany led the way with creating pedestrian streets after World War 2. The Italian strategy of the ZTL was adopted specifically for the context of the historic city center. From its beginning in Siena and Bologna, it has been adopted by more than 350 other cities and towns, both large and small. A ZTL can be considered a strategy for the city center in the way that a woonerf is a strategy for residential streets. The premise is the same: nonlocal traffic is considered unwelcome, (prohibited in a ZTL at least during certain hours, and intensely discouraged in a woonerf). However, a ZTL is relatively easy to implement, does not require expensive redesign, can be easily modified, does not restrict emergency vehicle response times, and is more equitable than congestion charge zones and LEZ.

Many cities outside Italy could undoubtedly benefit from implementing a ZTL. Indeed, Paris, while having some pedestrian-only streets, is now considering a ZTL (tentatively called "Paris-Centre-Saint-Germain Peaceful Zone") since the vast majority of its streets remain fully open to traffic. The objective of the peaceful zone is to prohibit through traffic, thereby reducing "air pollution, noise and other nuisances caused by car traffic." (Modijefsky, 2022). With respect to the U.S. and other "new world" cities, there are implementation challenges not present in Italy including:

a. the boundaries of most U.S. city downtowns are not as clearly defined as those of Italian and European historic city centers;

b. many U.S. downtowns have a significant investment in parking garages to which access needs to be maintained, whereas in Italy, parking garages are most often underground and/or outside the city center; and

c. many U.S. downtowns do not have the cultural and residential land use mix that is present in Italy (see sidebar).

Nevertheless, a ZTL could be the answer for certain streets or blocks of many downtowns where residential, cultural and historic sites are adversely affected by through traffic that could and should be on other streets or should not enter the city center at all.

[4] This independent research consisted of either visiting a particular town in person and seeing the ZTL signs or researching the city's website and verifying that they have a ZTL webpage or a ZTL permit application form.

SIDEBAR

Trans-national Context: The Italian Historical City Center vs. the American Downtown/CBD

Most ZTLs were implemented in an historic city center (*centro storico*). However, it should be noted that the *centro storico* of Italian cities is different from the American downtown or Central Business District (CBD). It is also much more than just a residential neighborhood. If the historic city center were only for those who live or work there, cities could put up gates and lock them, keeping everybody out including pedestrians, as was done in the Middle Ages or as is still done in some neighborhoods within the City of St. Louis, Missouri (Waldron 2010). (Figure 7)

For the benefit of American readers, a few key differences between an American CBD and an Italian (or European) historic city center should be pointed out.

Figure 7: Gates on private streets and sidewalks, St. Louis, Missouri

First, a historic city center exists in cities and towns of all sizes not just large "great" cities which were Jane Jacobs' focus.[5] In fact there can be more than one *centro storico* within a city, since there are 22,000 historic centers in Italy (Pezzagno and Maternini, 2014) and only 8,000 official Italian *commune* (cities and towns).

The "historical" part of the historic city center could be Etruscan, Roman, medieval, renaissance, baroque, and/or even fascist, with its accompanying architectural and cultural heritage.

But two of the biggest defining differences between Europe and USA (beside the age and historical significance of the structures) are:

a. the concentration of urban functions and

b. the narrowness of the streets and the space between buildings (e.g., a main street in the historic city center may be 12 m (40 feet) building-face to building-face not curb-to -curb).

Figure 7: Gates on private streets and sidewalks, St. Louis, Missouri

Another difference is that many historical city center boundaries can be clearly defined by the ancient city walls which, even if they don't still exist, have left their mark on the cityscape, while in the USA there is no clear visual or physical demarcation of where the "downtown" stops and the adjacent neighborhood begins.

The concentration of urban functions in the centro storico is worth discussing further as it provides a large amount of cultural and land use diversity. As in most "downtowns", there are city and provincial offices, professional offices of architects and lawyers, retail shops, restaurants and often theaters and/or concert venues. However, in contrast to American cities, there also may be Roman ruins and/or castles, not to mention a cathedral and numerous (sometimes dozens of) medieval, renaissance and/or baroque churches full of priceless works of art. More than most American cities, there are many secular buildings of historical significance.

[5] Jacobs wrote that The Death and Life of Great American Cities concentrated on "great" cities which she didn't define but specifically stated were "dense" and different from towns, little cities and suburbs. She wrote: "But I hope no reader will try to transfer my observations into guides as to what goes on in towns, or little cities, or in suburbs which are still suburban. Towns, suburbs, and even little cities are totally different organisms from great cities." (p. 16). Her primary examples came from New York, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Their 1960 populations ranged from 600,000 (Pittsburgh) to 7.8 million (New York) (source: https://www.biggestuscities.com/1960. https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1960/dec/population-pc-a1.html

Antique market, Piazza Santo Spirito, Florence, Miles Berry, https://wordpress.org/openverse/image/9ed48a7b-3b29-4067-9940-d1c469fe37bb.

The historic center may also have universities and typically has museums, and daily or weekend outdoor markets in addition to the seasonal events held in the (many) piazzas. The Italian historic city center attracts many visitors, day-trippers, tourists, even in towns as small as one thousand inhabitants. There is also the very Italian "passeggiata del pomeriggio", where people go for a walk in the afternoon, no destination intended; the trip-purpose is to walk.

What Italian historic city centers of the major cities do not have, in contrast to American downtowns, are skyscrapers; for this reason also, they are not comparable to the CBD of U.S. cities. The skyscrapers, if any, are in another section of the city, called "quartiere direzionale", the business center, not in the historic city center.

While there are certainly many downtowns in the USA that are central to their region and attract numerous local visitors as well as tourists, the sheer scale of the number of **visitors to and residents of** the Italian historic city center of both large and small cities and towns is greater. Thus, while there is employment in the *centro storico* as there is in a U.S. CBD, residential and "other" trip purposes are just as prevalent. In traffic engineering terms, the percentage of daily trips to the Italian historic city center that are work trips would be lower than for the typical U.S. downtown.

In sum, the *centro storico* is for the enjoyment of all city residents as well as those who live in adjacent towns, and, in many cases, (not only Rome and Florence), for visitors from all over the world. This is revealed by this description of Piazza Maggiore in Bologna:

> *"The piazza is the primary destination for all people, regardless of their social strata or race in a now more multicultural Italian society. It is always the place to go, whether on an ordinary day or on those special occasions in which we congregate to celebrate, or to protest. Having served this role throughout the city's history, the piazza is also the soul of its collective memory and the most potent symbol of the city itself." (DiTommaso, 2015)*

This can be capsulated by this quote from Mario Capponi:

> *"La città è un museo all'aperto"*
> *- "Italian cities are outdoor /open air museums" (2005, p.104).*

The above description of an Italian historic city center indeed also applies to historic centers in other European countries, as the following quote about the city center in England attests:

> *"It has been forgotten that the centre is not primarily a place to which people and goods travel but in which people work, shop, meet their friends and visit restaurants, theatres and concerts. The pedestrian is not just nuisance and a hindrance to traffic; his or her desire to move about on business, look into a shop window or just stand and stare* **is the primary reason why the city centre exists at all**." *(Tetlow and Goss, 1968, p. 187, emphasis added).*

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