

has deterred some organizations from locating in the city. Parking lots in fringe areas have had their patronage boosted and the usage of the city's bus system has increased because of the added convenience provided by the skyway links in moving around downtown. Some people worry about the way the system provides shops catering to the middle class and in doing so separates middle-class people and the poor thus creating a dual downtown society (Robertson, 1994).

### Major references

- Robertson, Kent A. (1993). Pedestrian strategies for downtown planners: skywalks versus pedestrian malls. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 59 (3): 361–71.
- Robertson, Kent A. (1994). *Pedestrian Malls and Skywalks: Traffic Segregation Strategies in American Downtowns*. Aldershot: Avebury.
- Skyway, Minneapolis. <http://www.cala2.umn.edu/skywayminneapolis/>

## CASE STUDY

### Paseo del Rio, San Antonio, Texas, USA: a riverside walkway (1939–41, 1962 to the present and continuing)

The San Antonio River has its source 3 miles north of the city. In the downtown area it has paved walks along its banks. The design and implementation of these walkways, known as Paseo del Rio, or Riverwalk, is a pioneering example of a consciously designed riverfront park integrated with the buildings around it. In 1984 it received a Distinguished Achievement Award in the American Institute of Architects Honors Program. It is also an example of the effect that an individual with an idea can have on a city.

In the city centre the river runs at a level below the streets. In the 1920s work was done on stabilizing its banks. In 1929 it was proposed to pave it over as a flood prevention measure and to make it a sewer but this idea was not taken seriously. Robert Hugman, a local architect, aged 29, instead proposed the building of walkways along its banks. He was joined by groups such as the San Antonio

Real Estate Board, the San Antonio Advertising Club, and the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in lobbying business and civic leaders to develop the project. A number of people with property along the river agreed to pay \$2.50 per foot of riverfrontage into a fund to finance riverfront improvements but the City Commissioners refused to move ahead with them. It was not until 1938, with support from the Works Projects Administration (WPA), that funds became available to implement the scheme. Upstream engineering projects had already been constructed to control the flow of water in the river. Once these projects were completed, the proposed improvements along the river could be implemented.

Hugman was appointed project architect and Robert Turk, the superintendent of construction. A pedestrian esplanade running for almost 2 miles (3 kilometres)