THE SHOPPING MALL

Source Companion

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About this companion

This companion records the sources behind the claims, dates and figures in *The Shopping Mall*. The superscript numbers in the book's text resolve here: they run 1 to 60 in order of first appearance, and each entry below names the source, gives its address, and states the figure or fact as the source itself states it. Each entry also records how the source was checked for this edition - which pages were read in full and which were verified through search-result excerpts - so that the depth of verification is visible rather than implied. Entries follow the book's structure, part by part and chapter by chapter; a source cited in several chapters is listed once, at its first use. Where a count or figure is contested - the number of malls in America, the size of the world's largest - the book says so, and the entries here show which definition each source is counting by.

Prologue - The street with a roof

[1] WHYY / ICSC on the US mall population (2023); StreetLight Data.

https://whyy.org ; https://streetlightdata.com

Backs: About 1,126 malls in the United States in 2023 by ICSC's count; roughly 99 open-air centres per enclosed mall; alternative counts near 1,000 - the definition problem.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full pages not re-read.

[2] Gulf News, Khaleej Times and The National on Dubai Mall (2023-24).

https://gulfnews.com ; https://www.khaleejtimes.com ; https://

www.thenationalnews.com

Backs: 105 million visitors in 2023 (88 million in 2022) - the most visited retail building on Earth; the Dh1.5 billion ($408 million) expansion announced June 2024 adding 240 luxury stores.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full articles not re-read.

[3] Guinness World Records - 'First shopping mall'.

https://www.guinnessworldrecords.com/world-records/107188-first-shopping-mall

Backs: The Markets of Trajan in Rome (built 100-112 AD, Apollodorus of Damascus, 150 shops and offices over six gallery levels) as the world's first shopping mall.

Checked: Read in full this run.

[4] Grand Bazaar official history (grand-bazaar.org) and Wikipedia, 'Grand Bazaar, Istanbul'.

https://www.grand-bazaar.org/history/ ; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grand_Bazaar,_Istanbul

Backs: Founded 1461 under Mehmed II, its income serving the Hagia Sophia; 61 covered streets; over 4,000 shops; 250,000-400,000 visitors a day.

Checked: grand-bazaar.org read in full this run; street/shop counts and visitor figures from Wikipedia via search excerpts.

[5] Wikipedia, 'Grand Bazaar, Istanbul'; CNN Travel on the Grand Bazaar.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grand_Bazaar,_Istanbul ; https://www.cnn.com/travel/istanbul-grand-bazaar-rooftop-tours

Backs: The bazaar's anatomy: guild streets, domed crossings (chahar suq), bedesten vaults, enforced opening hours.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full pages not re-read.

[6] British History Online and Burlington Arcade, 'Heritage'.

https://www.british-history.ac.uk ; https://burlingtonarcade.com/heritage/

Backs: Burlington Arcade, est. 1819: commissioned by Lord George Cavendish, designed by Samuel Ware; 51 independent boutiques at opening; the beadles and their rules.

Checked: Arcade heritage page read this run; British History Online entry verified via search excerpt.

[7] In Galleria, 'Mengoni the Architect' and '1877'; Wikipedia, 'Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II'.

https://ingalleria.com/mengoni-the-architect/ ; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Galleria_Vittorio_Emanuele_II

Backs: Milan's Galleria: competition 1860, begun 1865, inaugurated 1867, triumphal arch completed 30 December 1876; Mengoni's fatal fall from the scaffold.

Checked: ingalleria.com refused fetching (403) at recheck; facts cross-verified against Wikipedia via search excerpts.

[8] LVMH and Le Bon Marche heritage.

https://www.lvmh.com ; https://www.lebonmarche.com

Backs: Aristide and Marguerite Boucicaut founding Le Bon Marche in 1852, the ancestor of the world's department stores; fixed prices, returns, browsing.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full pages not re-read.

[9] Harvard University Press, Walter Benjamin, 'The Arcades Project'.

https://www.hup.harvard.edu/books/9780674008021

Backs: Benjamin's study of the Paris passages, conceived in Paris in 1927 and unfinished when he fled in 1940 - thirteen years of work.

Checked: Read in full this run.

[10] Minnesota Historical Society, MNopedia, 'Southdale Center'.

https://www.mnopedia.org

Backs: Southdale: opened 8 October 1956 as the first fully enclosed, climate-controlled regional mall; about $20 million; 72 stores; Dayton's and Donaldson's; 5,000 parking spaces; 75,000 opening crowd and 188,000 the following weekend; 126 'ideal days' a year; medical centre added 1965.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; the MNopedia page moved and could not be re-fetched at recheck.

[11] Library of Congress, guide to American shopping-mall business history.

https://guides.loc.gov

Backs: Northland (1954); Gruen's 'Architecture 194X' (1943); Frank Lloyd Wright's 1956 visit to Southdale.

Checked: Verified via search excerpt; full page not re-read.

[12] Mercati di Traiano museum and Smarthistory, 'The Markets of Trajan'.

https://www.mercatiditraiano.it/en ; https://smarthistory.org/markets-trajan/

Backs: The Markets' architecture: the hemicycle, great hall, roughly 150 tabernae on multiple levels, and their administration.

Checked: Smarthistory page read this run; museum site reached.

[13] The New Yorker, 'The Terrazzo Jungle' (Malcolm Gladwell, 15 March 2004).

https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2004/03/15/the-terrazzo-jungle

Backs: Gruen's career, Southdale's genesis and reception, and the mall as engineered environment.

Checked: Page reached at recheck; body behind the paywall, details from earlier search excerpts.

Chapter 1 - The agora and the souk

[14] MTSU First Amendment Encyclopedia and Oyez on Pruneyard.

https://firstamendment.mtsu.edu ; https://www.oyez.org

Backs: Pruneyard Shopping Center v. Robins, 447 U.S. 74 (decided 9 June 1980): California's constitution reaches the private shopping centre; the legal recognition of the mall as the modern square.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full pages not re-read.

[15] Grand Bazaar official history.

https://www.grand-bazaar.org/history/

Backs: The waqf financing model (income endowing the Hagia Sophia) and the bazaar's continuous operation since 1461.

Checked: Read in full this run.

Chapter 3 - The city under one roof

[16] Simon Property Group, FY2024 Form 10-K (SEC).

https://www.sec.gov

Backs: The largest mall landlord by the numbers: 194 US properties (92 malls, 70 outlets, 14 Mills, 6 lifestyle, 12 other), 88% of Taubman, 170.7 million sq ft, $5.964 billion revenue.

Checked: Filing figures verified via search excerpts of the 10-K; the filing was not re-read page by page.

Chapter 5 - Regency marble

[17] Brent Cross official history; Drapers; London Museum.

https://brentcross.co.uk ; https://www.drapersonline.com ; https://www.londonmuseum.org.uk

Backs: Brent Cross (1976): Britain's first large out-of-town enclosed centre; about 898,000 sq ft; John Lewis, M&S and Fenwick; late opening hours.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full pages not re-read.

Chapter 7 - The palace of one owner

[18] LVMH heritage, 'Le Bon Marche'.

https://www.lvmh.com

Backs: The 1852 founding and the store from which the world's department stores descend.

Checked: Verified via search excerpt; full page not re-read.

[19] FranceArchives on the Boucicaut papers; Le Bon Marche heritage.

https://www.francearchives.gouv.fr

Backs: The twelve employees and four departments of 1852; reading rooms and concerts; profits funding the skylit iron palaces.

Checked: Verified via search excerpt; full page not re-read.

[20] PBS and the Philadelphia Encyclopedia on Wanamaker's.

https://www.pbs.org ; https://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org

Backs: John Wanamaker's Grand Depot (1876) in a converted railroad freight depot; the price ticket, the guarantee, the organ, the eagle.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full pages not re-read.

[21] Reuters and Columbia Business School on the Sears bankruptcy.

https://www.reuters.com ; https://www.business.columbia.edu

Backs: Sears Chapter 11, 15 October 2018, 142 stores closing - the anchor system's succession crisis.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full articles not re-read.

Chapter 9 - The car changes the map

[22] HowStuffWorks, history of the shopping mall.

https://howstuffworks.com

Backs: Roughly 4,500 US shopping centres by 1960 (counts vary by definition); the centre becoming an asset class.

Checked: Verified via search excerpt; full page not re-read.

[23] Luxe Digital on mall size rankings; WorldAtlas on the Iran Mall.

https://luxe.digital ; https://www.worldatlas.com

Backs: The measurement argument: GLA versus total area; the Iran Mall (2018) at about 1.95 million m2 total.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full pages not re-read.

Chapter 10 - The first planned centres

[24] EBSCO, 'Roland Park Shopping Center'.

https://www.ebsco.com

Backs: Roland Park, Baltimore (1907): six shops, setback, parking in front - usually cited as the first planned car-oriented centre.

Checked: Verified via search excerpt; full page not re-read.

[25] SAH Archipedia, 'Market Square, Lake Forest'.

https://sah-archipedia.org

Backs: Market Square (1916), Howard Van Doren Shaw: the first fully planned shopping centre in the United States.

Checked: Verified via search excerpt; full page not re-read.

Chapter 11 - The word "mall"

[26] HistoryLink file 3186, 'Northgate Center'.

https://www.historylink.org/file/3186

Backs: Northgate: opened 21 April 1950 anchored by the Bon Marche's $3 million store; the country's first regional shopping centre defined as a 'mall'; enclosed in 1974.

Checked: Read in full this run.

Chapter 12 - A Viennese in America

[27] The Guardian on Victor Gruen (24 June 2022).

https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2022/jun/24/

Backs: Gruen's disillusion: 'avenues of horror', the 'bastard developments', and his late disowning of the mall.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; the article URL could not be re-fetched at recheck (404 at the recorded address).

[28] Gruen Associates, 'Southdale Center' project history.

https://gruenassociates.com/project/southdale-center/

Backs: The firm's own account of Southdale's design and of the office that thought hardest about the type.

Checked: Verified via search excerpt; full page not re-read.

[29] Austrian cultural archive and Wikipedia, 'Victor Gruen'.

https://www.archive.austria.org/victor-gruen ; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Victor_Gruen

Backs: Viktor Grunbaum, born Vienna 1903, fled 1938, died 1980; from cabaret and socialism to shop fronts and Southdale.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full pages not re-read.

Chapter 14 - October 8, 1956

[30] Journal of Law and Economics 41(1), 1998 (anchor externalities); ICSC materials.

https://ideas.repec.org ; https://www.icsc.com

Backs: Anchors at the poles pulling the crowd through the middle; inline tenants paying for position in the anchors' traffic stream.

Checked: Bibliographic record verified; paper not re-read.

[31] US Centers for Disease Control on mall walking.

https://www.cdc.gov

Backs: Mall walking as public-health infrastructure: the marked miles, the walking clubs, the doors opened early for the walkers.

Checked: Verified via search excerpt; full page not re-read.

Chapter 15 - The formula spreads

[32] Pacific Standard on mall growth versus population.

https://psmag.com

Backs: Between 1970 and 2015 the number of US malls grew at more than twice the rate of the population.

Checked: Verified via search excerpt; article not re-read.

Chapter 16 - The dumbbell

[33] Gould, Pashigian and Prendergast, Journal of Law and Economics 41(1), 1998, p.115 (via RePEc).

https://ideas.repec.org

Backs: The anchor externality: how mall contracts internalise the traffic anchors generate - the academic statement of the dumbbell's economics.

Checked: Bibliographic record verified via search excerpt; paper itself not re-read.

Chapter 17 - Upstairs, downstairs

[34] Stannah Lifts, The Elevator Museum and Otis company archive - escalator histories.

https://www.stannahlifts.co.uk ; https://www.theelevatormuseum.org ; https://www.otis.com

Backs: The moving staircase: 1859 patent; George Wheeler's 1887 patent (granted 1899); Charles Seeberger's refinement; Otis; the Paris Exposition of 1900.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full pages not re-read.

[35] CNBC, on the first mall food court (19 December 2024).

https://www.cnbc.com/2024/12/19

Backs: Paramus Park, New Jersey (1974): the first successful mall food court in the United States - many counters, shared tables.

Checked: Verified via search excerpt; full page not re-read.

[36] MNopedia, 'Southdale Center' (climate and design).

https://www.mnopedia.org

Backs: Southdale's sealed climate and garden court: the atrium as the machine's lantern, lung and living room.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; page moved at recheck.

Chapter 18 - Weather made to order

[37] Mall of America, 'About'; Meet Minneapolis; Star Tribune coverage.

https://mallofamerica.com/about ; https://www.minneapolis.org ; https://www.startribune.com

Backs: MOA: opened 11 August 1992 with 330 stores; now about 520 stores; about 40 million visitors a year; no central heating - bodies, glass and equipment hold the interior near room temperature through a Minnesota winter; 8 acres of skylight; thousands of weddings (8,700+ reported); the 7-acre Nickelodeon Universe.

Checked: mallofamerica.com/about read this run (confirms 1992 opening, 330 stores at opening); the heating, skylight and wedding figures come from Meet Minneapolis, the Star Tribune and the Guardian via search excerpts.

[38] Wikipedia, 'Gruen transfer'; Pacific Standard on mall growth.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gruen_transfer ; https://psmag.com

Backs: The Gruen transfer: deliberately disorienting design loosening the shopper's wallet; malls growing at more than twice the rate of population, 1970-2015.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full pages not re-read.

Chapter 19 - Five acres of asphalt

[39] ICSC, US Shopping-Center Classification standard.

https://www.icsc.com

Backs: Industry classifications and the one-owner-one-image discipline: fascia control, use clauses, radius restrictions.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; standard PDF not re-read at recheck.

Chapter 20 - The court and the cage

[40] The New York Times (1974) and Wikipedia on Paramus Park.

https://www.nytimes.com ; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paramus_Park

Backs: Paramus Park's 1974 food court in its waterfall-and-garden setting.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full pages not re-read.

[41] ICSC, US shopping-centre economic impact kit (2014).

https://www.icsc.com

Backs: Lease structures, percentage rents and the industry's own accounting of the shared-services model.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts of ICSC materials; the kit PDF was not re-read at recheck.

[42] ICSC, US shopping-centre economic impact kit (2014) and classification materials.

https://www.icsc.com

Backs: 831 US regional malls in 2013 (488.6 million sq ft, 6.5% of GLA); the industry's global spread and consolidation; the percentage lease as a universal reporting standard.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts of ICSC materials; the kit PDF was not re-read at recheck.

Chapter 21 - The movie moves in

[43] Majid Al Futtaim, WAM and The National on Mall of the Emirates.

https://www.majidalfuttaim.com ; https://www.wam.ae ; https://www.thenationalnews.com

Backs: Mall of the Emirates: opened 2005; 255,000 m2; 545+ stores; Ski Dubai; over

40 million visitors a year; the desert mall's midnight clock.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full pages not re-read.

[44] Retail Dive coverage of mall anchors, closures and replacements.

https://www.retaildive.com

Backs: The anchor swap - replacing dead department stores with gyms, grocers, entertainment - and the wave of maturing mall debt meeting higher rates.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; articles not re-read in full.

Chapter 23 - The stage-set years

[45] The Cultural Landscape Foundation and Los Angeles Times on Horton Plaza; Faneuil Hall history.

https://www.tclf.org ; https://www.latimes.com

Backs: Faneuil Hall Marketplace (Rouse, 1976) and Horton Plaza (opened 9 August 1985, $170 million, Jon Jerde for Ernest Hahn, closed May 2020): the festival marketplace and the mall as urban theatre.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full pages not re-read.

Chapter 26 - The percentage

[46] SM Prime and SM Investments corporate histories; GMA Network coverage.

https://www.smprime.com ; https://www.sminvestments.com ; https://www.gmanetwork.com

Backs: Henry Sy, ShoeMart (1958), SM Prime (incorporated 1994, PSE:SMPH); about 9.8 million m2 GFA; 'a pair of shoes for every Filipino'; the mall as national institution.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full pages not re-read.

[47] Coresight store-closure counts via Retail Dive, CNN, NBC News and JCK.

https://www.retaildive.com ; https://www.cnn.com ; https://www.nbcnews.com ; https://www.jckonline.com

Backs: US store closures: 8,069 (2017); 5,844 (2018); 9,302 closures against 4,454 openings (2019). Also: VF's first factory outlet centre, Reading PA, 1970 (vfoutlet.com via web.archive.org; WFMZ; American Business History Center).

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full articles not re-read.

Chapter 27 - The classification trade

[48] HistoryLink file 3186, 'Northgate Center'.

https://www.historylink.org/file/3186

Backs: The early promotional grammar - the 1950 world-record 212-foot Christmas tree, the 1953 General Motors auto show - as the industry's events template.

Checked: Read in full this run.

[49] Smithsonian Magazine on dead malls (2019); Retrofit Atlas.

https://www.smithsonianmag.com ; https://retrofitatlas.org

Backs: The dead-mall landscape: declining maintenance as the readable beginning of the end; churches, clinics and campuses in former malls.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full pages not re-read.

Chapter 29 - The biggest landlord

[50] Coresight Research, 'State of the American Mall'.

https://coresight.com

Backs: The tier system: top-tier malls thriving while weaker centres fail; sales-per-

square-foot spreads between A and C malls.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; report body not re-read.

Chapter 33 - The American export

[51] CNN (2015) and Wikipedia on New South China Mall.

https://www.cnn.com ; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_China_Mall

Backs: Dongguan's giant: opened 2005, a decade largely vacant, revival from 2015 as the city grew into the farmland - sequencing punished, not hubris.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full pages not re-read.

Chapter 34 - Britain takes the roof indoors

[52] The Canadian Encyclopedia and CBC coverage of West Edmonton Mall.

https://www.canadianencyclopedia.ca ; https://www.cbc.ca

Backs: WEM: opened 15 September 1981 by Triple Five (the Ghermezian brothers); largest mall in North America; over 30 million visitors a year; the phased, cash-flow-funded frontier playbook.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; the encyclopedia page was unavailable at recheck.

[53] The Guardian on Mall of America (2017).

https://www.theguardian.com

Backs: The destination mall as tourism strategy - the template hammered out in Alberta and Minnesota.

Checked: Verified via search excerpt; article not re-read.

[54] CNBC, The New York Times and Business Insider on American Dream (2019).

https://www.cnbc.com ; https://www.nytimes.com ; https://www.businessinsider.com

Backs: American Dream, Meadowlands: opened 25 October 2019; about $5 billion; roughly 15 years, three owners, two names; Triple Five's third act.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full articles not re-read.

Chapter 37 - The most visited place on Earth

[55] Emaar and Dubai Mall official materials.

https://www.emaar.com

Backs: Dubai Mall: opened 4 November 2008; about 1,300 stores; 350,000 m2 GLA; the aquarium and its record acrylic panel.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full pages not re-read.

Chapter 38 - The factory's showroom

[56] The Atlantic, Ellen Dunham-Jones on mall retrofits (2015); Fortune (2024).

https://www.theatlantic.com ; https://fortune.com

Backs: 211 documented mall retrofits; the proposition that redeveloping 10% of underperforming retail yields hundreds of thousands of apartments.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full articles not re-read.

Chapter 42 - The Indian arrival

[57] The News Minute and Wikipedia on Spencer Plaza, Chennai.

https://www.thenewsminute.com ; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spencer_Plaza

Backs: Spencer Plaza: Raj-era origins, rebuilt 1985 on the old Spencer and Company department-store site; 'the oldest shopping mall in India'.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full pages not re-read.

[58] Peninsula Land and Mid-Day on Crossroads, Mumbai; Wikipedia.

https://www.peninsulaland.in ; https://www.mid-day.com

Backs: Crossroads, Haji Ali: opened September 1999 on a converted pharmaceutical site; about 150,000 sq ft; India's first international-standard mall; 'shoppertainment'.

Checked: Verified via search excerpts; full pages not re-read.

Chapter 49 - The catalog strikes back

[59] US Census Bureau retail e-commerce data via FRED (series ECOMPCTSA).

https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/ECOMPCTSA

Backs: E-commerce at 16.1% of total US retail sales in 2024 (16.4% by Q3 2025), with much higher shares in the mall's former core categories.

Checked: Series page read this run.

Chapter 61 - The enduring street

[60] Bisnow on Placer.ai mall-visit data.

https://www.bisnow.com

Backs: The indoor-mall visit gap narrowing from over 15% below pre-pandemic levels (2021) to 5.8%; warnings of a coming shortage of good retail space.

Checked: Verified via search excerpt; article not re-read.