THE GHETTO MARKETPLACE:
PROGRAM AND DESIGN
FOR BLACK STREET LIFE
by
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A.B., Princeton University
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Accepted by.... Chairman, Departmental Committee
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FOR BLACK STREET LIFE

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William Gerard Miner

Submitted to the Department of Architecture
on May 10, 1974 in partial fulfillment of
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SUMMARY:

Poor conditions in inner urban row house dwellings force the ghetto resident to seek refuge in the street. Through involvement in various street-oriented activities, the low income resident has found satisfaction and virality in day-to-day living. Highrise apartment buildings are being built where row dwellings once stood in order to meet an increasing demand for quality, low income housing. Since street activities have become dependent upon a row house block pattern, new multi-story housing fails to respond to traditional street life styles. I contend that neighborhood shopping centers proposed in urban renewal schemes can accommodate the public street gatherings which highrise housing has endangered. This paper attempts to describe a method of designing neighborhood shopping facilities from principles of spatial organization which respond to the street life style of a low income user. This
method is demonstrated in the context of the Shaw Urban Renewal Area of Washington, D.C. Since developments in the Shaw Area typify American attitudes toward urban revitalization, the criteria for this neighborhood shopping center should have more than local significance.

Thesis Advisor: Chester Lee Sprague
Title: Associate Professor of Architecture
INTRODUCTION

The row house dwelling in the old ghetto neighborhood is clearly substandard. It is poorly designed for natural light and ventilation. Overcrowding has destroyed personal privacy, and absentee ownership has caused inadequate maintenance. Despite these adverse conditions in the home, the low income resident has found satisfaction and vitality in day-to-day living through involvement in various street-oriented activities. Relaxing on the stoop, playing ball in the street, or hanging out at a corner shop have become routine ways of life, rich in social interaction and communication.

To meet the ever-increasing demand for new low income housing, highrise apartment buildings are being erected where row dwellings once stood. The densities obtained in multistory housing are greater than before although vertical distribution prevents overcrowding. Unfortunately, direct ground contact which enhanced the former street life style is lost when dwelling units are stacked. Children can no longer venture into the street unescorted. Mothers are unable to survey youth play and general street activity from the house or relax on the stoop between the dwelling and street. Further, territorial boundaries lose clarity in the maze of corridors within the apartment building. Thus, maintenance responsibility becomes even more of a problem. As a result, there is a great need for physical and psychological escape from this new housing environment through involvement in street life activity.
I contend that neighborhood shopping centers proposed in urban renewal schemes can serve as refuges from these adverse residential conditions if the commercial design generates lively street activity and communal gathering. This paper attempts to describe a method of designing neighborhood shopping facilities from principles of spatial organization which respond to the life style of a low income user. The commercial design must be supported by non-commercial functions such as sitting, socializing, dancing, or just hanging out in order to enhance street activity and maximize community participation. I will attempt to describe the relevant needs and aspirations of the ghetto resident and on that basis set the criteria for site, building, and interior design.

Design recommendations will be demonstrated in the context of a neighborhood shopping center within the Shaw Urban Renewal Area of the District of Columbia. Since ten or more shopping facilities are planned for the Shaw area, and since the developments there typify the national attitudes toward urban revitalization, the criteria for such design will have more than local significance.

I understand that my investigation is not prototypical in a traditional sense because it is conducted in the context of a specific commercial setting. However, many of the organizational principles for the commercial and non-commercial functions are valid from one community to another. My consideration of site, climate, size, and other peculiar-
ties which are usually ignored in a prototype study should prove to be advantageous with some future use of this design method. For instance, a designer working with a similar program will be able to extract not only the generic issues involved in the commercial development but also the points where specific conditions of his unique situation are to be applied to the design process.
The inner-urban community relies heavily upon the street to fulfill their needs for daily survival. For one thing, the street is an important channel for verbal communication. On the block, information is exchanged through gossip or rapping. This form of communication reinforces neighborhood cohesion and thus co-ops the struggle for survival. For another thing, all modes of public and private ground transportation are located in the street. Where traffic conditions are less demanding, the street provides a good surface for recreation and play activity in front of the home. As a classroom, the street instructs its low income user in how to cope with life's demands. For some (e.g., hustlers, numbers runners, pimps, prostitutes, and pushers), the street is a source of income. For all, it is a center of commerce. This is a primary reason why I feel that neighborhood shopping centers are appropriate settings for the perpetuation of a street life style.

Before I discuss the nature of Black street life, it is essential that some understanding of home life is attained. It is from this facet of the working class environment that the sidewalk society emerges. As a way of life in the ghetto, the Black woman is relegated to the home. The dwelling is fully under her jurisdiction. It represents an extension of her person in its decoration and in the activities she allows to occur within. The working class woman's preconceived role in life is one
of housekeeper. Thus, the home provides a place where her domestic abilities can be demonstrated. As a result, men have no sense of status in the woman-dominated home.

Men prefer to roam the streets and hang out at corner establishments where they can assert themselves and develop a reputation among their peers. The automobile, as a sign of increased mobility, becomes a symbol of male status. Just as women keep the house, men meticulously care for their cars and parade them through the streets before the eyes of the community. Flamboyant clothing styles also catch community attention and envy.

The street corner serves as the active male lodge or sanctuary. It is a large unobstructed concentration of open space. Being accessible from four sides, the corner experiences a wider variety of movement and activity than the interior of the block. Thus, it is a good place to see what's happening as well as a place where one can be seen. Stores, shops, and bars which occupy the corner generate much of the action. This suggests that neighborhood shopping facilities could be appropriate settings for Black street life.

The differences between the corner and segments of the street inside the block are summarized on the next page. Although the street segment is less active, it has its uses. Because less traffic flows there, it is safer for youthful play. Since the street passes in front of the home, mothers can keep an eye on the activities of
STREET SEGMENT

Two-Directional Flow of Traffic

CORNER

Multi-Directional Flow of Traffic

Stream of Activity
Limited Visibility
Little Commerce

Concentration of Activity
Good Visibility
Center of Commerce
their children while going about their household duties.

The dispersal of the working class family, as its members roam away from the home to the corner, expresses a polarization of the sexes, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOME</th>
<th>BLOCK</th>
<th>CORNER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>Girls and Boys</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The young tend to bridge this gap, although, upon reaching adolescence, they assume the proximity of their older counterparts.

In his book, *The Social Order of the Slum*, G.D. Suttles substantiates some of my claims concerning family dispersal, and identifies basic social proximity patterns that exist in traditional Black street gathering. He writes:

By and large, the most persistent spatial arrangement is one where peers of the same sex share the same location. Among age and sex groups there is a rough gradation from the household. Nearest their house stoops are the women and the old people followed by infants, young girls, young boys and adult males in that order. Young males, like all the other peer groups of the same sex, the content and style of their conversation does not provide any common framework within which persons of different ages and sex can participate. The married women talk about household duties, family sickness, neighborhood scandals, and their infants. The
older men talk about their youth, pronounce judgments on local politics, and tell stories and jokes about their peers. The young girls examine the latest word on clothing and pop tunes and tease each other about boys. The younger boys follow the pattern of their fathers and converse about the exploits of their peers. (P. 74)

On the following page, I have attempted to physically map those activities which Suttle described as well as other happenings I have observed to be common. The diagram indicates the peer groups involved, their preferred location within a hypothetical block, and the average distance between home and the groups' meeting places.

Not all of the street activities described can be transferred directly to a new commercial setting. Some are partially applicable while others can no longer exist in light of recent highrise residential developments. I would like to review these three possibilities:

Directly Transferable activities could exist within a new shopping center in the same context as before. Such activities include: hanging out at corner establishments, socializing and observing the action. Observing commercial activity from the windows of surrounding dwelling units will also continue. Nightclubbing, if included in the design of the new shopping facility, will thrive.
Indirectly Transferable activities can also exist in the shopping facility, but the features which support the action are different. For example, the stoop, formerly used for sitting and visiting, is dependent upon its position between the dwelling and the street. The stoop enabled women to watch the house and still take part in street life. Sitting areas in conjunction with laundry and shopping facilities may capture some of this activity. Spontaneous youth play like tag, jump rope, and biking will go on; however, surveillance from concerned shoppers must replace the parental observation that was present when play occurred in front of the home. Old uses of the fire hydrant are to be replaced by a wading fountain for children and a self-service car wash for men.

Non-Transferable activities are not applicable to a commercial setting since it is unable to provide features which would support the action. School- or job-related activities are obvious examples. Domestic activities such as gathering in the kitchen, housekeeping, and sleeping are also non-transferable.

What follows is a list of people, places, activities, time of activity and distance from home relevant to inner-urban life. The activities are marked as to whether they are Directly Transferable (**), Indirectly Transferable (*), and unmarked if Non-Transferable.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PEOPLE</th>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>DISTANCE FROM HOME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adult Men</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>Manual Labor</td>
<td>Morn, Aftn.</td>
<td>5-10 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stores</td>
<td>**Shopping, Business</td>
<td>Aftn.</td>
<td>3-5 blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corner</td>
<td>**Hanging out</td>
<td>Even.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clubs</td>
<td>**Entertainment</td>
<td>Even, Night</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>**Custodial Work</td>
<td>Even, Night</td>
<td>5-10 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Eat &amp; Sleep</td>
<td>Night</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>Stores</td>
<td>**Shopping, Business</td>
<td>Morn, Aftn.</td>
<td>3-5 blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Corner</td>
<td>**Hanging out</td>
<td>Aftn, Even.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Clubs</td>
<td>**Entertainment</td>
<td>Even, Night</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fathers</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Eat &amp; Sleep</td>
<td>Night</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Working</td>
<td>Stores</td>
<td>**Shopping, Business</td>
<td>Morn, Aftn.</td>
<td>3-5 blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Corner</td>
<td>**Hanging out</td>
<td>Aftn, Even.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Clubs</td>
<td>**Entertainment</td>
<td>Even, Night</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fathers</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Eat &amp; Sleep</td>
<td>Night</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Women</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>Secretarial, Maid</td>
<td>Morn, Aftn.</td>
<td>3-5 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>Stores</td>
<td>**Shopping, Business</td>
<td>Aftn.</td>
<td>3-5 blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>Cooking, Visiting</td>
<td>Aftn, Even.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Stoop</td>
<td>*Visiting, Relaxing</td>
<td>Even.</td>
<td>1-2 blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>**Waitress</td>
<td>Even, Night</td>
<td>3-5 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Housekeeping, Sleep</td>
<td>Even, Night</td>
<td>3-5 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Working</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
<td>Morn.</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Stores</td>
<td>**Shopping</td>
<td>Morn, Aftn.</td>
<td>3-5 blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>Cooking, Visiting</td>
<td>Aftn.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stoop</td>
<td>*Visiting, Relaxing</td>
<td>Aftn, Even.</td>
<td>1-2 blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Child Care, Sleep</td>
<td>Even, Night</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PEOPLE</th>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>DISTANCE FROM HOME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teenage Boys</strong></td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>Study</td>
<td>Morn, Aftn.</td>
<td>1-2 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Work</td>
<td><strong>Stock Boy</strong></td>
<td>Morn, Aftn.</td>
<td>2-3 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Park</td>
<td><strong>Ball Playing</strong></td>
<td>Aftn.</td>
<td>2-3 blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corner</td>
<td><strong>Hanging out</strong></td>
<td>Even.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Eat &amp; Sleep</td>
<td>Even, Night</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Working or Schooling</strong></td>
<td>Park</td>
<td><strong>Ball Playing</strong></td>
<td>Morn, Aftn.</td>
<td>2-3 blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corner</td>
<td><strong>Hanging out</strong></td>
<td>Aftn, Even.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Eat &amp; Sleep</td>
<td>Even, Night</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Working or Dropout</strong></td>
<td>Park</td>
<td><strong>Ball Playing</strong></td>
<td>Morn, Aftn.</td>
<td>2-3 blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corner</td>
<td><strong>Hanging out</strong></td>
<td>Even.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Eat &amp; Sleep</td>
<td>Even, Night</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teenage Girls</strong></td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>Study</td>
<td>Morn, Aftn.</td>
<td>1-2 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>Secretarial</td>
<td>Morn, Aftn.</td>
<td>2-3 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stoop</td>
<td>*Hair Styling, Dance</td>
<td>Aftn, Even.</td>
<td>1-2 blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stores</td>
<td><strong>Shopping</strong></td>
<td>Aftn.</td>
<td>3-5 blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corner</td>
<td><strong>Hanging out</strong></td>
<td>Even.</td>
<td>2-3 blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Housekeeping, Sleep</td>
<td>Even, Night</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
<td>Morn.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stores</td>
<td><strong>Shopping</strong></td>
<td>Morn, Aftn.</td>
<td>3-5 blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stoop</td>
<td>*Child Care, Dance</td>
<td>Aftn, Even.</td>
<td>1-2 blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corner</td>
<td><strong>Hanging out</strong></td>
<td>Aftn, Even.</td>
<td>2-3 blocks</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Eat &amp; Sleep</td>
<td>Even, Night</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>PEOPLE</th>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>DISTANCE FROM HOME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preteen Boys</td>
<td>School</td>
<td>Study</td>
<td>Morn, Aftn.</td>
<td>3-5 blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Park</td>
<td><strong>Play</strong></td>
<td>Aftn.</td>
<td>2-3 blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Street</td>
<td>*Ball Playing</td>
<td>Aftn, Even.</td>
<td>1-2 blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Eat &amp; Sleep</td>
<td>Even, Night</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preteen Girls</td>
<td>School</td>
<td>Study</td>
<td>Morn, Aftn.</td>
<td>3-5 blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stoop</td>
<td>*Play</td>
<td>Aftn, Even.</td>
<td>1-2 blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sidewalk</td>
<td>*Play</td>
<td>Aftn, Even.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Eat &amp; Sleep</td>
<td>Even, Night</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infants</td>
<td>Front Yard</td>
<td>*Play</td>
<td>Morn, Aftn.</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Eat &amp; Sleep</td>
<td>Aftn, Even, Night</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The mobility of the poor is highly limited. The ghetto shopper must walk or take the bus to most of the city's services. Because of an unstable cash flow, the poor tend to purchase essential goods such as food and drugs one day at a time. These habits demand convenient pedestrian access to shopping areas. Commercial planning for the inner-urban community can best resolve the problem of user access by decentralizing neighborhood shopping developments. A cluster of small commercial facilities within walking distance of local target communities will meet the needs of the low income user better than a single concentrated shopping center which serves a regional target area. The single large center requires private vehicular access, and thus it is beyond the average ghetto resident's range of mobility. When smaller shopping centers are scattered throughout the community, it is important that each center be large enough to support a full range of services. The convenience of one-stop shopping is crucial to the less mobile users.

What is really needed is a hierarchy of trade centers that meets the regional, local, and day-to-day shopping demands of the urban community. Such a system is summarized on the following page. The Local and Walk-To Centers have notably smaller service areas. Since these facilities are more accessible to the pedestrian, they will be visited frequently by low income shoppers. It seems logical, therefore, that an attempt to design with regard for the street
COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY HIERARCHY

LOCAL CENTER

- Comprehensive service nodes for the community
- Located at major intersections
- Bus stops
- Schools
- Active open space facilities
- Pedestrian ways

Services:
- Volume food
- Retail needs
- Personal services
- Household services
- Repair
- Recreation, assembly, religious
- Gas stations
- Restaurants and bars
- Day care
- Professional, medical, governmental services

Size: 2-5 acres

Target Area: 3200 du's (5-minute walk)

Commercial Space: 30,000 sq.ft.

Parking: 1 space/1000 sq.ft.

SPECIALTY CENTER

- Specialized services for community and city
- Located at major intersections with easy access to:
  - Public transportation stops
  - Business institutions
  - Employment centers and social services
  - High density housing

Services:
- General and specialized shopping
- Personal and medical services
- Business and financial institutions
- Government services
- Entertainment
- Recreation, leisure areas

Size: 3-5 acres

Commercial Space: 10,000 sq.ft. or more

Parking: 2-3 spaces/1000 sq. ft commercial

WALK-TO CENTER

- Limited day to day needs of the neighborhood
- Located off of pedestrian ways near
  - Schools
  - Large family housing

Services:
- Limited shopping
- Laundry, dry cleaning
- Fast food establishments
- Day care & related open space

Size: Less than 1 acre

Target Area: 800 du's (2-5 minute walk)

Commercial Space: 3-5000 sq.ft.

Parking: None

Adapted from: Shaw Joint Venture
Shaw, an Urban Design Study
life style of the poor would be appropriate in either the Local or Walk-To Centers.

To promote a unique communal atmosphere should be the objective of neighborhood shopping design. The frequent occurrence of personal encounters can reinforce the spirit of interaction common to the ghetto environment. Face-to-face contact and individual attention tends to personalize buyer and seller relations. These qualities can be obtained if a marketplace image inspires the design. In a market there are no barriers between the shoppers, the merchants, and their merchandise. Buyers are able to handle and examine the goods while conversing with friends or haggling with sellers about their prices. Despite the availability of land, marketing stalls are always closely packed together to concentrate the action. This high density of the user population generates an exuberant form of gathering. The humane scale of market buildings and stalls are very comforting to the pedestrian. Direct ground contact with access to open landscaped spaces enhances public gathering. Colorful awnings, canopies and graphics can help to bridge the scale differences between man and building, and increase the festive atmosphere of the market scene.

For the low income shopper, a sense of ownership is a real concern. The feeling of possession can be enhanced if neighborhood residents are encouraged to produce and sell their own products on the premises. Tailoring, smithing,
arts and crafts are services which could be offered through the talents of the local residents. The presence of familiar faces working in the commercial setting will make the local users feel more at home.

A sense of ownership and pride in the local marketplace is culturally significant to the Black community. One author writes about the importance of the market to the life of the Igbo people of Nigeria. The market life of this culture has much in common with the street life style of the Afro-American.

The marketplace is a specific site where buyers and sellers (as well as observers) meet, principally for the purpose of commercial transactions. For the village-group which "owns" the marketplace, it is a great status symbol; for the trader, it is place for business. Nevertheless, all will agree that it is an important social center with economic and noneconomic functions. It is an important news and gossip center and a place for ceremonials and parades, especially following important second-burial rites, successful swearing of oaths of innocence, and title taking. It is a place to meet a girl to marry, to negotiate a divorce, to make love, to collect one's debt, pay or collect one's contribution, and have a drink with one's age mates, friends, and in-laws. (Uchendu, 1965, pp. 27-28)
As this passage suggests, the inclusion of non-commercial functions is very important to the vitality of the market. These functions tend to diversify the action and thus add interest. For example, community projects could be encouraged by providing space appropriate for organizing, parties, exhibitions, and performances. A basketball court, wading fountain, car wash, outdoor cafe, bus stop, and tot lot are more examples of noneconomic facilities which could be included in order to encourage sitting and socializing in neighborhood shopping centers.

Beyond this, the commercial functions in the ghetto marketplace should be different in nature from those planned for conventional shopping centers. Specifically, in the neighborhood centers, the following three types of commercial services should be considered:

**Essential Goods** are to be sold in large volume to meet the day-to-day needs of the community. Self-service sales is most efficient and requires an open floor area of 10-15,000 square feet. Essential goods include:

- **Foods**—vegetables, fruits, grains, dairy products, meats
- **Drugs**—prescription, nonprescription, personal goods, household goods
- **Hardware**—tools, materials, appliances, repair service
- **Clothing**—garments, shoes, accessories

**Commercial Hangouts** should be adjacent to the sale of
essential goods. Hangout shops encourage social congregation and communication. A showroom with over-the-counter sales and rear work-and-storage areas is appropriate. These specialized sales require 2-10,000 square feet of commercial space. They include:

- Barber/Beautician
- Service Station
- Record Shop
- Pool Hall
- Laundromat
- Liquor Store
- Bar and Grill
- Dry Cleaning
- Arts and Crafts

Social Services require a more professional atmosphere within an office-type structure. The low income users' aspirations for personal attention should be met by the image of private services. The needed functions are:

- Employment Office
- Medical Services
- Financial Institution
- Day Care Center

In general terms, the neighborhood centers should differ from the conventional shopping centers as far as attitude is concerned. Conventional shopping centers seldom include commercial hangouts since loiterers are viewed as undesirable troublemakers who annoy regular customers. In a neighborhood shopping center, however, loiterers are known to be friends who will initiate conversation and assist customers who may need help carrying
packages, watching children or pets, or locating friends. In this way, loiterers not only generate the action but also support it.

Further, conventional shopping centers have no allegiance to the surrounding community. Social service programs vital to a low income community would not be included in a conventional center. Moreover, a cooperative-owned commercial facility which extends credit to community residents in exchange for working with the center is needed by the poor shopper. The privately developed shopping center has little interest in such unprofitable credit plans.
O STREET MARKET
SITE LOCATION

The Redevelopment Land Agency of Washington, D.C., has introduced an urban renewal program in the Shaw School Area. The Shaw branch office of the RLA is the recognized voice of the community. This office is comprised of Shaw residents and advocacy planners who work full time at adapting various redevelopment proposals for the area to the comprehensive needs of their constituents. The next page shows the land use plan developed by the Shaw office as a guideline for the entire renewal scheme.

I am primarily concerned with two square blocks designated as neighborhood shopping. This area is located on the map between O, P, 7th and 9th Streets. This site sits south of the intersection of the proposed 8th Street mall and P Street pedestrian way. The map further indicates that zoning change type 'C' applies here. This is a change from medium density row housing to neighborhood shopping.

There are physical boundaries in the neighborhood which in effect define the target area to be served by the shopping facility. Rhode Island Avenue, New Jersey Avenue, M Street and 13th Street south of Logan Circle are the target area boundaries. According to the walking time scale on the land use map, the average user can walk to this shopping area in three minutes. Specialized needs of the Shaw community are located further north on U Street. The 8th Street mall connects the neighborhood shopping center to the U Street central business district.
MAP NO. 2
GENERAL LAND USE PLAN

LEGEND:

- PROJECT AREA BOUNDARIES

RESIDENTIAL

- LOW DENSITY
- MEDIUM DENSITY
- HIGH DENSITY

COMMERCIAL

- NEIGHBORHOOD SHOPPING
- EMPLOYMENT CENTER
- COMMUNITY BUSINESS CENTER

COMMUNITY, PUBLIC, AND INSTITUTIONAL FACILITIES

- PUBLIC / COMMUNITY
- 8TH STREET MALL / PEDESTRIAN WAY
- EXISTING ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TO REMAIN
- NEW ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
- JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
- SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
- COMMUNITY SERVICE CENTER
- WASHINGTON TECHNICAL INSTITUTE

SHAW SCHOOL URBAN RENEWAL AREA
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

FOR INFORMATION PURPOSES ONLY

A. CHANGE FROM LOW DENSITY RESIDENTIAL TO NEIGHBORHOOD SHOPPING
B. CHANGE FROM PUBLIC TO LOW DENSITY RESIDENTIAL / INSTITUTIONAL
C. CHANGE FROM MEDIUM DENSITY RESIDENTIAL TO NEIGHBORHOOD SHOPPING
On the next site plan, I have diagrammed the pedestrian and vehicular circulation conditions planned around and through the site. Three-story walk-up (medium density) housing to the north of the site and ten-story (high density) highrise housing to the south have already been developed by the neighborhood churches in accordance with the Shaw Master Plan. The 150,000-square-foot John F. Kennedy adventure playground has been open for about six years.

The 0 Street Market in the southeast corner of the site was built by the District of Columbia during Reconstruction (1878) in order to "feed the city's poor." The market is one of many historical landmarks in the Shaw area to be preserved and brought back into action.

The development perspectus for the site calls for the design and construction of a "Local" shopping center (refer to the Commercial Activity Hierarchy on page 15). The developed floor area ratio is not to exceed one. The renewal of the two blocks is to be carried out in three stages: Stage 1 is the renovation of the old 0 Street Market; Stage 2 is the development of the rest of that block (RLA lot #30); Stage 3 is the development of the other block (RLA lot #21).

Despite this staging process, the Shaw office requires that the two blocks be designed together as a unified whole. Further, the office advises that special design consideration should be given to the 8th Street Mall which passes through the center of the site.
Now that I have covered the relevant user and site information, I can begin to organize spaces for various street life and shopping activities. There are four types of activities I wish to propose for the Shaw shopping center. They include directly transferable and indirectly transferable street activities, commercial operations and social services.

**Directly Transferable Activities**

Adult males and teenagers hang out at street corners. I have said that this type of activity can be directly transferred to the Shaw shopping area. The space for hanging out should have "corner" qualities, namely, a diverse traffic flow and a concentration of the activity. Vehicular access is important here because men and teenagers like to show off their cars at the corner, rap with their peers through car windows and take periodic rides around the block. Above all, men and teens who loiter at the corner want to see the action and be seen.

The male hangout should be located at an active corner of the Shaw shopping site. The best location would be at the corner of 7th and P Streets. The space should be surrounded by commercial hangouts such as a bar and grill, pool hall, barber shop, and liquor store. Standing areas for cars are to be designed in conjunction with landscaped sitting areas. The furnishings must not obstruct the visibility of the corner. Accent lighting can increase the
intimacy of corner activity. The male hangout should be isolated from other shopping areas so that unacceptable corner activities will not disturb more innocent groups.

It is not necessary to place the teenagers' hangout on a street corner. Instead, it can be located at the intersection of pedestrian pathways. However, some form of vehicular access such as a parking lot must be nearby. The area for teenagers should be surrounded by commercial hangouts such as a record shop, carryout shop, crafts or hobby shops. Since teenagers frequently attend block parties, their hangout should be able to contain a large party crowd at one time. If an outdoor cafe is placed within the teen hangout, the space will be better equipped for block parties. Teenagers (as well as some adults) enjoy blowing whistles, playing tambourines, and cheering while dancing to loud music. Hence, the teen hangout space should be enclosed in order to reduce the impact of their noise on surrounding areas. In enclosing this space, natural light from the south should not be obstructed. The diagram on the next page attempts to summarize the spatial arrangements for adult male and teenage hangouts.

**Indirectly Transferable Activities**

Preteens play in the street. The boys play ball while the girls play sidewalk games such as hopscotch and jump rope. Women gather on the stoop to talk with friends or watch their infants play in the front yard. I have
DIREKTLY TRANSFERABLE ACTIVITIES

ADULT MALES
TEENAGERS

HANGING OUT
CORNER QUALITIES

MEN

TEENS

Commercial Hangouts

Multi Directional Flow of Traffic
Concentration of Activity

Essential Goods

Commercial Hangouts

PARKING

PED.

PED.

VEH.

VEH.

CORNER
said that the activities of preteens, women, and infants are closely related to the home and can only be indirectly transferred to the Shaw shopping center. Youth play areas and places where adult females sit and socialize should possess the qualities of the "street segment," namely, a stream of activity pockets along a linear traffic route. Since preteens enjoy spectators at their games and women must watch over infant play, the view from surrounding shops and sitting areas to play spaces should be maximized.

Preteenage boys will choose to play ball in the parking lots of the Shaw site because less traffic flows there than in the street. Girls will play on the side of the parking lot to be close to the boys. To accommodate these kinds of play, the parking areas could be designed as open plazas with landscaping and decorative paving. Bollards could be used instead of curbs to restrict vehicular movement and still maintain a continuous flat floor surface. Preteens often sit on cars when they take a break from play. Some car owners don't care for this, and therefore sitting areas should be placed around the parking (even though they may not discourage the practice of sitting on cars). Since preteens play where they can be seen, the play/parking area should be surrounded by large stores with essential goods and the most popular specialty shops. The large number of passing shoppers will make a good audience.

Women will primarily use the Shaw center to shop.
A shopping arcade should be placed along the busiest pedestrian path to increase the movement and activity in this area. On the Shaw site, the 8th Street Mall is the main pedestrian thoroughfare. Landscaped sitting areas should be placed along the arcade so that adult women can sit and talk with friends or just relax and watch the action. The arcade should have smooth paving so that baby carriages can be easily maneuvered and toddlers can walk on their own. Paving color and texture should clearly indicate where the pathway crosses vehicular traffic. The arcade should have a canopy cover that filters harsh sunlight, providing shade for sitting areas and wet weather protection. The arcade should have bright lights to increase the security of night use. There should be many shop windows along the arcade to increase the level of open space surveillance by concerned shoppers. Since mothers must often bring their infants with them when they shop, the day care facility proposed for the Shaw center is best placed near the arcade. This way, women could leave their children with the day care staff and go off and shop without being burdened with their infants. Women are also forced to spend much time at the laundromat. If sitting areas and tot lots are placed near the laundry, women will gather and talk as they do on the stoop. The spatial arrangements for preteen games, sitting areas for women, and infant play spaces are summarized visually on the next page.
INDIRECTLY TRANSFERABLE ACTIVITIES

PRETEENS
INFANTS
PLAY

WOMEN
SITTING, SOCIALIZING

STREET SEGMENT
QUALITIES

Two Directional Flow of Traffic
Stream of Activity

PRETEENS

PARKING AND PLAY

VEH.

Essential Goods

WOMEN

SITTING

Shops

INFRANT PLAY

PED.

Shops

ARCADE
Commercial Activities

For shopping activity, spaces should be organized so that the circulation patterns of both buyers and sellers is without conflict and consistent throughout the site. Direct access routes to shopping facilities should be clearly defined. Buyers who come to the Shaw center will arrive either on foot, by car, or by bus.

Most of the shoppers will come to the neighborhood center on foot. They will usually enter the site on the 8th Street Mall. This pathway is to become a shopping arcade lined on both sides with entrances to a majority of the commercial facilities. This pedestrian mall must be 20-50 feet wide so that emergency vehicles can enter the site. Small landscaped spaces where shoppers can sit and socialize should occur along the way. An overhead canopy can provide shade and shelter for sitting areas.

For the motorist, short- and long-term parking is needed on the site. Access roads should turn off of minor streets such as 0 Street rather than the more congested arterials, like 7th and 9th Streets. At least one parking space is required for every 1,000 square feet of commercial floor area. High light levels throughout the parking lot will make this area safer for night use. A walkway should connect parking areas with the major pedestrian mall for access to shopping areas.

Shoppers who come and go by bus need a small square where they can sit and socialize while waiting for a bus.
or taxis. Since strangers to the community will linger at the bus stop, it should be neutral turf. Hence city service equipment such as a fire box, mail boxes, telephones, and rest rooms should be grouped together and placed near the bus stop for everyone's use. If light levels are high and shop windows face the bus stop, the security of this area should increase. A walkway should connect the bus stop to the main pedestrian path system.

Shopkeepers in the Shaw center will need direct vehicular access to storage areas for daily pickups and deliveries. These operations can occur along the parking lot. Since the seller counts heavily on window displays to make sales, frontage on streets and busy pedestrian paths is good for business. The spatial arrangements and connections relevant to the shopper and seller are diagrammed on the next page.

Social Services

The community body of the Shaw area needs space for projects, meetings and exhibitions. In addition, social services should be planned with shopping activities so that these services are more visible and accessible to the community. The community space should be neutral turf. A large open space could be surrounded by medical and employment offices, day care center, classrooms, and an auditorium. The community space should be located at the intersection of major pedestrian pathways. On the Shaw site the square could be placed where the 8th Street Mall
crosses the P Street pathway. This square also needs direct access to large parking areas since a community gathering and the social service staff will take up a large amount of parking. A spatial arrangement appropriate for community services are diagrammed below.

With the knowledge of necessary connections and separations between the spatial functions in a neighborhood shopping center, the information can be synthesized and applied to the Shaw shopping site. The schematic site plan on the next page was obtained by superimposing the space relationship diagrams of all the group activities discussed.
DESIGN ANALYSIS

The schematic site plan which was previously designed on the basis of street life and shopping information raises certain architectural issues. There are physical elements on the site as well as interior operations which need further study. These issues are important because they represent subproblems of the total shopping design problem. I will attempt to resolve these subproblems separately in order to maximize the performance of the parts. The site elements and interior operations are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site Elements</th>
<th>Interior Operations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pedestrian Paths</td>
<td>Self-Service Sales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arena</td>
<td>Over-the-Counter Sales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corner</td>
<td>Consultation Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus Stop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major and Minor Arterials</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parking and Delivery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each of these elements and operations are analyzed with regard to its function, performance, and location, with these terms defined as follows:

**Function** is a general statement of purpose and use. We need to know who are the users: men, women, shoppers, sellers, loiterers, passerbys, etc. What is the activity: play, hanging out, or shopping? What is the schedule of use: 24 hours, seasonal, day or night?

**Performance** is a statement of physical requirements
needed to meet the "function" of the object. In addition, there are special performance issues which should be considered when selecting open space and interior furnishings. These issues are listed on the next page along with the responsible furnishings.

Location describes the necessary connections and separations which should exist between each object and the functions which surround it.
SPECIAL PERFORMANCE ISSUES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Building</th>
<th>Furnishings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Access</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handicapped</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Ramps, Lifts, Railing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicycles</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Paths, Storage Racks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrances</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Gates, Doors, Driveways</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Signs &amp; Symbols, Cues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Security</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Space Surveillance</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Visible Windows, Accessible Doors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Visibility</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Stairwells, Balconies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Density of Use</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Passerbys, Buyers &amp; Sellers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compatibility of Movement</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pedestrian/Vehicular Intersections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illumination Levels</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Street Lamps, Light Fixtures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Human Comfort</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thermal Environment</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Heating, Ventilating, Conditioning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acoustic Environment</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Buffers, Absorptive Materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun &amp; Rain Shelter</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Canopy, Overhangs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wind Shelter</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wall Enclosure, Screens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Light</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Southern Exposure, Windows, Skylights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Relief</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Rest Rooms, Benches, Fountain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Building</th>
<th>Interior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>4. Aesthetics</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landscaping</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surface Texture</td>
<td>X X X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decorations</td>
<td>X X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass &amp; Scale</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compatibility</td>
<td>X X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Planting, Paving</th>
<th>Materials, Finishes</th>
<th>Graphics, Banners, Awnings</th>
<th>Built Forms</th>
<th>Existing Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| **5. Construction** |       |          |          |
| Efficiency          | X     |          |          |
| Flexibility         | X X   |          |          |
| Expansion           | X     |          |          |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Systems Building</th>
<th>Movable Furniture and Partitions</th>
<th>Movable Walls, Available Space</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| **6. Maintenance** |       |          |          |
| Responsibility    | X X X |          |          |
| Trash Collection  | X X   |          |          |
| Cleanliness       | X X X |          |          |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boundaries of Ownership</th>
<th>Receptacles, Municipal System</th>
<th>Surface Materials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
PEDESTRIAN PATHS

Function:
An exclusively pedestrian throughfare which connects building entrances, open spaces, and parking with each other and with neighborhood functions beyond the site. Spaces for sitting and socializing are to be provided along this path.

Performance:
Paving should be 20-50 feet wide so that the path can act as an access road for emergency vehicles.
Paving surface should be smooth for easy walking, bike-riding, wheelchairs, and baby carriages.
Paving color and texture should clearly indicate where pedestrian paths cross vehicular traffic.
Canopy should filter the sun light and provide shade for sitting areas.
Canopy should shelter sitting areas from wet weather.
Artificial lighting should be at a level sufficient to recognize a person at a distance of 25 feet.
Other furnishings needed include benches, trash cans, water-fountains, and planting.

Location:
The connection of entrances, open spaces and parking is imperative.
Informal surveillance through shop windows should be maximized.
ARENA

Function:
To provide a central open space surrounded by commercial activity. The flexibility of a single large open space is important for community projects such as block parties, performances and meetings. The arena should encourage adult sitting and socializing and spontaneous youth play.

Performance:
Arena should be able to contain at least 150 people at one time. Providing 4 sq.ft./person the minimum area needed is 600 sq.ft.

Arena diameter is 75-100ft. to facilitate social cohesion and communication.

Natural light can be increased by reducing obstructions to southern exposure.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Landscaped Sitting Areas</th>
<th>20% of total arena area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sheltered Areas</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Paved Area</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storage</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Location:
Incorporate arena into main path system with connection to the bus stop and parking areas.

Place arena to maximize surveillance of activity from surrounding shop windows.

Arena should be sufficiently enclosed to lessen exterior noise disturbance.

Take advantage of the south and southeast exposures.
**CORNER**

Function:
Provide a small square for hanging out. Shops which generate such gathering should front on the corner. Users want to see the action and to be seen.

Performance:
Landscaping should separate the sidewalk from the corner. Accent lighting should reinforce the intimacy of corner activity.

Furnish the corner with benches and trash cans

Size: 1-2000 sq.ft. planned as follows:

- Open Space: 70%
- Sheltered Areas: 20%
- Landscaping: 10%

Location:
Place the hangout space at a most active intersection of both pedestrian and vehicular circulation.

The corner should be isolated from other shopping areas so that the unacceptable corner activities will not disrupt the more innocent gatherings.
BUS STOP

Function:
Provide a small square where shoppers and neighborhood residents can sit and socialize while waiting for buses and taxis. Shelter and enclosure are necessary for bad weather protection.

Performance:
The square should face onto a major arterial.
The bus requires an 8 ft. wide access lane in the street.
Light levels should ensure the safety of night use.
Furnish the bus stop with benches, trash cans, telephones, water fountain, mail box, and fire box.
Size: 3-4000 sq.ft. with

Location:
Incorporate the bus stop into sidewalk design along a major arterial.
There should be direct access to the central arena along a pedestrian path.
**MAJOR ARTERIALS**

Function:
Regional traffic routes which provide access to city wide services.

Performance:
Provide a 70ft. right of way for single lane, two-way traffic movement.
Signalization is needed at major street intersections
Parking is permitted on one side of the street.

![Diagram of Major Arterials]

**MINOR ARTERIALS**

Function:
Local traffic routes for access to residential and commercial areas within the block. The minor street should link parking lots with the major arterial system.

Performance:
Provide a 50ft. right of way with angular parking on both sides of the street.
Place landscaped islands along the one-way street to obstruct fast moving traffic.
PARKING

Function:
Provide space for short and long term auto storage for users of shopping facility. Ball playing is permitted here.

Performance:
One parking space is required for every 1000 sq. ft. of commercial floor area.
Each space should be maximum 10x20 feet.
Provide a 6 ft. wide pedestrian walk which connects parking with the major pedestrian circulation system.
Maintain 3-5 footcandles of light throughout the lot.
Landscaping can be placed on islands which help define the circulation path through the lot. Furnish the islands with benches and trash containers.

Location:
Place parking at the rear of the shops and services.
Access roads should turn off of minor streets rather than the more congested arterials.

DELIVERY

Function:
Provide access to commercial storage areas for trucks and vans.

Performance:
Loading docks should have adjustable platforms and large roll doors for entry to storage areas.

Location:
Receiving areas are to be designed in conjunction with the parking lot at the rear of shops.
SELF-SERVICE OPERATION

Function:
Self-service is most appropriate for volume sales. Customers compare and select goods and then cart them to a central checkout and bagging area.

Performance:
Furnish the interior with aisles, shelves and checkout counters.
A separate area is required for preparation and storage of stock goods.
High illumination levels are needed (200 footcandles).
Noise Criterion = 30-40.

Location:
Place self-service sales in buildings with large unobstructed floor areas, high levels of natural light and multiple access.
OVER-THE-COUNTER OPERATION

Function:
Face-to-face sales are appropriate for specialized goods within commercial hangouts. Provide a showroom for demonstrations and display. Browsing and sitting should be encouraged.

Performance:
Furnish the interior with chairs, counters, display cases and racks.
Provide a separate work/storage area with access to car park.
Illumination = 100 foot candles.

Location:
Place in buildings with double entry from pedestrian and vehicular circulation areas.
CONSULTATION FACILITIES

Function:
Social services require small private offices for discussion, interview and examination. Services should be clustered to enable the sharing of records and files, as well as the heating, ventilating, and airconditioning system. Maximize inter-office access and communication.

Performance:
Information and control is provided by a centralized reception area.
A spatial hierarchy ranging from public reception, private consultation to personnel and administration should be designed with some degree of flexibility for future reorganization of services.

Location:
Social services are usually placed within multistory buildings for flexibility of interior arrangement, stacking of building services and concentration of activity.
Building Components

I have referred to factory building studies to determine the appropriateness of certain building components within a neighborhood shopping center. First, industrial building types lend themselves to prefabrication and thus produce savings in construction costs. Second, industrial buildings are utilitarian by nature. This quality is relevant to my attempt to create a "marketplace" image in the Shaw shopping area. Third, due to frequent interior modification, factories require a high degree of interior flexibility. A ghetto shopping center also needs flexibility in building design because of the instability of commercial ventures.

There is a high incidence of small business failures in the inner-urban community because of the shoppers' low and irregular income. A carryout shop today may become a record shop tomorrow. Hence an interior framework should be able to adapt to a variety of shop sizes, and enable shops to go in and out of business independent of their neighbors. Further, the framework should be open so that individual shopkeepers can organize spaces to their own needs. I have used a 40x60-foot modular building unit. This space can be subdivided into four smaller shop sizes. The subdivisions are illustrated below.
Two units could be used together for large volume sales creating a space 30x60 feet. Merchants may need a mezzanine for storage, offices, or additional sales space. If ceiling heights are greater than 16 feet, a second level is possible. A multistory building is less appropriate since it lacks the human scale desired in the marketplace.

High levels of natural light in shops can cut utility costs. Bright work surfaces are helpful to the buyer and the seller and often compliment the display of goods. Skylight patterns for four common factory roofs are compared on the next page. Each example is designed to produce no less than a 5% Daylight Factor throughout the work surface level. The relative efficiency of each roof is expressed by the percentage of glass area to floor area needed to maintain the minimum light level. The lower the percentage, the less it costs to light the space. By this measure, the shed type roof is more efficient. However, if we consider the added cost of heating and cooling the excess space with the trusses, the lower profile monitor roof is a better choice. It should be noted that a continuous flat roof and skylight performs the same as the shed roof with no wasted space. The problem with the flat skylight is one of direct sky glare and possible obstruction by the accumulation of snow or leaves. I have used the monitor-type roof in my design, not only because of its lighting efficiency but also because it is similar in style to the
SHED ROOF  

GLASS AREA 10% OF FLOOR AREA

NORTH LIGHT ROOF  

GLASS AREA 20% OF FLOOR AREA

MONITOR ROOF  

GLASS AREA 16% OF FLOOR AREA

VERTICAL MONITOR  

GLASS AREA 30% OF FLOOR AREA
roof on the existing O Street Market.

To further heighten the "marketplace" image of the shopping center, merchandise should have maximum exposure to outdoor pedestrian pathways. The interiors of shops could be exposed if the exterior walls are fitted with garage-type doors. These doors could either be the roll-up type or they could lift up to form overhead canopies. The canopy door would help enclose the pathways and provide sun and rain shelter. By opening up the walls of the building, induced cross-ventilation may totally eliminate the need for mechanical cooling. The canopy doors should have glass areas so that when they are closed they can serve as display windows or just provide a view inside and out. Interior partitions should also have glass areas. An internal view from shop to shop may increase security, the diversity of view, and add a sense of unity to the shops.

I have said that a concentration of the action is a desirable quality of the marketplace. To this purpose the shopping structures must be able to be packed close together without causing undue problems of access, roof drainage or obstruct natural skylighting. Although the staggering of shops to form small recesses along the path adds diversity, the setbacks will destroy the possibility of a continuous shelter formed by open canopy doors. I prefer to form a network of small passageways between shops with many opportunities to turn corners. Of course, a few shops should open on each passageway. The irregular
pattern created by canopy doors of different colors and sizes, regular doorways covered by the eave of the roof, periodic display windows, wall graphics, and signs will add variety and interest to the physical setting.
TYPICAL VIEW
(OPTIONAL ROOF)
BIBLIOGRAPHY


