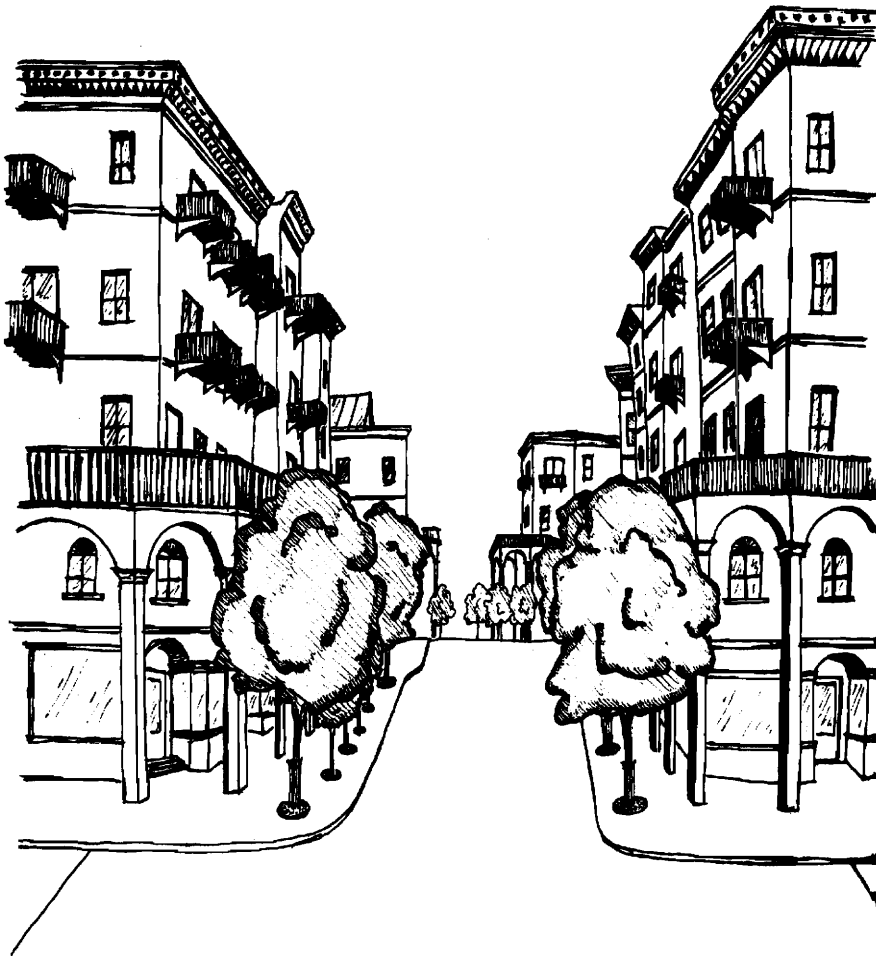


LIFE ON THE STREETS :

Rebuilding Community in America's Cities



Sean Ganey, M.Arch 3.3
College of Architecture & Urban Studies
Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University

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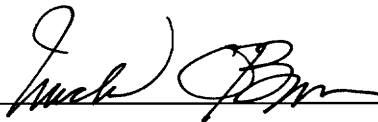
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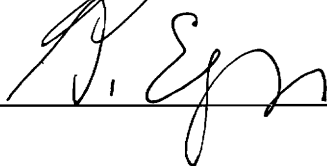
Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
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Masters of Architecture

Approved :

 : Michael O'Brien, Chair

 : Wendy Jacobson

 ; Gene Egger

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College of Architecture and Urban Studies
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Blacksburg, Virginia

LIFE ON THE STREETS:

REBUILDING COMMUNITY IN AMERICA'S CITIES

By

Sean Ganey

Michael O'Brien, Chair

College of Architecture and Urban Studies

Abstract :

A study of the current urban condition in America with a focus on the lack of permanent residents and community mindedness in our urban centers. The sources of urban blight are discussed along with some possible cures or solutions. A proposal for change is submitted for urban centers in general and for Roanoke's Gainsboro district in specific.

Acknowledgements : I would like to thank my committee for pushing me to dig deeper into this topic, as well as for the advice and guidance given. I would also like to thank my fiancée for sharing me with the studio and computer for these last 9 months and for her encouragement and support. Lastly I would like to thank all of the sub-urbanites, without whom I would have had nothing to write about.

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INTRODUCTION : THE INSPIRATION



The Spanish Steps in Rome, Italy. These are the place to be on a warm night. Here thousands of people, young and old alike gather to talk, walk, eat, and in general, to find entertainment. For many, this comes in the form of "people watching," an art which I noticed is especially popular in Italy.

Last Spring I spent the semester traveling through Europe, observing a society based on a considerably different set of cultural and societal values. Coming from a society that places the individual above the collective, Europe was a very different place. One might think, as I did before going, that people are the same everywhere, and a city is a city is a city. However, one would find out as I did, that this is not the case.

As an American I tend to judge a place based on how I feel as an individual. I admit, I focus on how the place makes me feel. Does it satisfy my needs and keep me from being exposed to conditions that do not meet my particular set of criteria for a "good place?" It is this sense of individualism that America breeds. I am not saying this is good or bad at this point, merely that America is built around the image of the individual. European countries are a slightly different breed. It was my observation that most European countries were focused much more extensively on the collective. Not in the sense of Socialism or Marxism or those other "isms" which we Americans have fought off for the last several decades. I am talking about a greater sense of the needs of community.

One can see this in the way our cities are set up. Cities in Europe are setup much different than American cities and the attitudes of the citizens are much different as a result. The cities of Europe are cultural centers; they are the entertainment centers, the "amusement parks" if you will. But they are also the place for life, for raising families, for everyday common activities. They are relaxing places; they are exciting places. The cities in America are places for commerce, cultural centers, government centers, places for the powerful, the poor, and the tourist.

However American cities are not places where people would prefer to bring up a family. Everyday life in America is based in the suburbs or the country. This is not to say that European cities do not have their suburbs, or that Americans do not live at all in their cities. But the focus in the building of the cities in America is much less directed toward the accommodation of everyday life.

The thought came to me gradually over the course of the Spring as I walked through one city after another where I not only felt at home, but safe, happy and content. I was struck by the strangeness of these feelings. I would be considered by most Americans to be a "country-boy." I lived most of my life in one of those rural towns which you could honestly miss if you happened to blink as you drove past. I never really desired to live in a city, never saw many redeeming qualities in large urban centers. In fact one might have considered me to be afraid of large cities.

That is why I say I was struck by the strangeness of the comfort I felt in these European cities. First Barcelona, then Paris, Frankfurt, Amsterdam, Rome, and many others. I was shocked to find myself dreaming of living in these cities. I do not mean living outside the city and visiting, like most Americans. If I were to say, "I want to live in D.C." I would mean that I want to live in a small community outside Washington D.C., close enough to visit often. But when I was in Europe, I wanted to get an apartment in the center of the city and live in the city.

I became intrigued by what it was about those cities that drew a country-boy from America. I began to think, "If only American cities were like this." I was perplexed. It was not the safety of European cities. We were warned in most of them to be careful of thieves and beggars. It was not the cleanliness, at least not in all of them, some were quite dirty. There was just some quality that drew me and I began to dream of bringing this home to America.

*"The whole swollen commercial enterprise we call the city proceeds to stall its own engine by its owner's excess. The day of reckoning is not so far away."*¹

Lest you think I am a romantic, which I could be accused of in some situations but not here, I was not thinking of bringing Venice itself back home. Nor did I want to import the little Parisian cafes. I wanted above all else to find that quality that made the city so attractive and bring that to America.

So I came home and began to explore a little, and found to my delight, that there were little pockets of that feeling in various cities. Georgetown in Washington D.C. for example has some of that quality which drew me. Over the next few months it became clear to me, or at least a little less cloudy, that what was missing was more than just the amenities. Some cities had everything you could ask for in the way of amenities. What was missing was life in our cities.

So I began to question what was needed for life, what could prevent life, what were the symptoms of a dead city, what were the signs of a city on the recovery. This thesis is about those things. It is about the life of cities. It is a call for architects, urban planners, citizens of this nation, to take a greater interest in the health and welfare of our urban centers. It is about "Life on the Streets."

*"Dead streets have no variety ... they are streets of offices in city centers, deserted after nightfall. They are above all, streets where the old low buildings have been replaced by tower blocks, stacking active people on top of each other while all around there is a no-mans-land of roads, parking areas and patches of grass."*²

PART ONE : GETTING STARTED

The Public Realm

" There has been an assault on the public realm by those who define the private and parochial realms as morally superior. To over simplify just a bit, home and neighborhood have united to oppose (the) street." ³

There is a great public outcry these days regarding "the plight of our cities." It would seem that many people have recognized that there is something dreadfully wrong with the fabric of the American City. I would suggest that the biggest concern is not with the public realm itself, but the effect that the deterioration of that public realm is having upon our private and semiprivate realms. We hate the litter because it makes the drive to work unpleasant. We dislike the presence of "undesirables" in our cities because it makes us feel bad to see them, not that their presence really impacts us inside our cars or office buildings.

Before discussing the topic further I think that it would be good to define just what the public realm is. I shall define three realms actually : the private, semi-private and public realms. The private realm is defined as that realm which we control absolutely. This would be our homes, yards, cars, and in some cases, the office. These are the realms where we can be almost certain of the conditions which we will encounter since we control them almost absolutely. It includes any arena where we are intimately associated with the other inhabitants.

The realm of the semiprivate is closely associated with the private realm. It is the realm of the neighborhood, of the work place, places where we are fairly sure of the conditions. We are acquainted with the inhabitants, they know us and we have things in common. There is little chance of encountering the unknown, little mystery, little danger. This is what most people would consider the "community."

The public realm is that realm where the inhabitants are largely unknown to each other. It is the realm of the street corner, the sidewalk, the hot-dog vendor. In it there is a sense of adventure, of the unknown. It is unpredictable and at times down right scary. There is a constant need to accommodate or at least tolerate a wide variety of people.

I believe that it is this element that makes the public realm truly "public". The necessity of coexistence, the need to come to agreement and the possibility to disagree. These are things which are not experience in the sheltered arenas of the private and semi-private realms. Within the public realm there are many different personalities struggling for control, each exerting influence on the other but none gaining dominance. It is a realm of strangers and mystery. It is exciting and it can be exhausting.

In the small rural town and in the suburban development you will not experience a truly public realm. There is a greater chance for it in the rural community, but mostly there just is not enough foreign influence, (and I am not talking about foreign in the sense of overseas influence.) These places are composed of mainly private and semiprivate realms. There are few faces that are not familiar and in most situations one feels in control of the setting. It is different in the city. These realms are present but work within a greater public realm. In the city the private and semiprivate are subsets of the public realm.

Another important definition to make is that of community. Across the country in the last few decades, there have been "Community Centers" spring up. What exactly the community is made of is seldom explained. In most cases the "Community Center" is really a private club for those who possess property, or have some claim to being residents of a particular locale. Within these clubs one seldom meets anyone outside of their normal circle of acquaintances. It is a refuge for a particular group of people. They are not for the community at large, it is a private club and membership is closely guarded.

Community in the truest sense really encompasses any and all persons who live, work, visit, or merely pass through an area. The community includes aspects of each of the realms discussed above. People who merely pass through on their way to work are

"The theme of indiscriminate and inappropriate mixing asserts that, in the public realm, various types or categories of people whom a deity, or nature, or tradition, or whatever, had intended to remain forever separate are allowed - God help us - to mingle." ⁴

" The street may be observed through the window pane, causing its noises to become diminished, its movements ghostly, and the street itself, seen through the transparent but hard and firm pane, to appear as a separate organism, pulsating "out there." Or one can open the door: one can emerge from one's isolation, immerse oneself in the organism, actively involve oneself in it and experience its pulsating life with all one's senses. "5



A wide four-lane highway outside the walls of Rome. Here commuters have no opportunity to enter the community since they have been shut out. In order to enter the community, one must physically enter the city. Here is a good example of the use of different road types. This is a road for cars, merely for the purpose of going somewhere else. As a result it is not included as part of the city. Unfortunately, in America we place this type of road right through the heart of our cities.

potential members of the community. I say potential because they need to stop their cars and enter the public realm to really become part of the community. I guess that is the most important condition for being in the community. One must leave the private realm and venture into the public realm. However even within their cars they have an impact on the community. To remain within the protective shell of the private and semiprivate realm, is to remain a subset of the community. The resulting community is poorer for the division.

There are of course going to be layers of constituents within the community, people with differing levels of involvement in the community, differing roles. There are those who live there; these are full time members. They do much to establish the tone for the community. If you want to change a community, get the residents to take an active interest in the public life of their community

Then there are the people who work within the community. These also have a large impact on the life of the community. Shoppers and tourists are temporary members. They are the spark which gives the public realm its unpredictable nature. Even the commuters who pass through are members of the community, unproductive though they may be. They take from the community without reinvesting in it.

So there you have it, the Public Realm. In America it is in poor health, very weak, almost anemic. In Europe and in some other places it seems to be healthier, more robust. I think it may have to do with the diet of our cities. Our cities may need a more balanced diet with a better variety of "food."

A Call For Greater Community Investment

This brings me to my main point. Americans have an impoverished sense of community. People in America want to be served by the community. They like the images of European communities with their active street life. There is much lamenting by urbanists over the lack of such life in our cities. However the members of communities here in America seem unwilling to invest in that life. To have the kind of cities that Americans want will take sacrifices of a kind that we are not accustomed to, but which Europeans take for granted. To completely delve into the reason for this would involve a rather lengthy discussion indeed. However I think we may be able to hit some of the main points here.

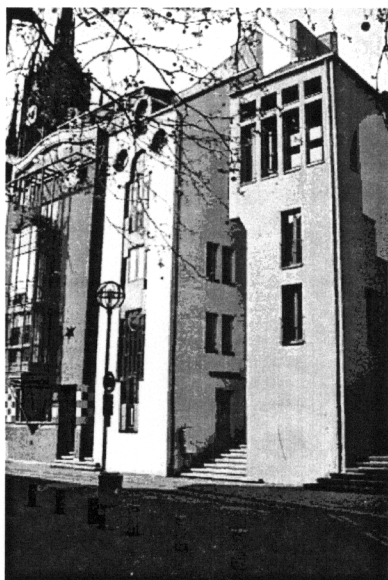
In Europe the primary events of life take place on an urban stage. Large city or country town, most Europeans live within some urban environment. America is a nation of farmers or at least people who would like to live outside of cities. Europe is the opposite; it is a place of urban dwellers to varying degrees. This has been the case for many centuries. As a result, the people have come to grasp, out of necessity, what it takes to make urban dwelling pleasant. To most Europeans what we would describe as a sacrifice to urbanity, would merely be a part of life. They take for granted that they must make the "sacrifice" and in fact I suspect they would not know how to handle it if the situation were to change.

America's roots are agrarian. People came here to spread out, to have freedom from other people. Everyone wanted their own piece of land and they didn't want anyone else interfering with their use of it. The density of American living has historically been much less than our European relatives. It is my firm belief that this has been rooted deeply into the American mind-set. If this is true it would make sense that the sacrifice of "personal space" required for urban living would be contrary to our very nature.

*"The public life...requires a private sacrifice to the public realm and Americans seem less willing to make it; instead they seem to have created bits of public life within the framework of private architecture and design."*⁶



La Defense in Paris, a busy urban setting, for most Americans a nice place to visit but not to live.



Rowhouses in Frankfurt, Germany. These nicely designed homes are located in what would be considered the heart of the city. It is obviously a sought after location as the residents appeared to be well off. Located on a peaceful street, with trees and privacy, the home are only a stones throw from all of the amenities and necessities of life.

*"The problem cannot be solved by design, but only by a thousand individual acts of will. We are going to have to lean over, turn off the T.V., get off our butts, walk out of our air-conditioned condos and ... hang around. Soon enough we'll be joined by others."*⁷

We must not think however that Americans are incapable of learning to make the sacrifice. In fact there are many who already have embraced the idea of urban dwelling and they love it. This is not to suggest that everyone live in a city, but everyone can learn to sacrifice for the benefit of the common good.

There has been much complaint of late about the crime and filth in our cities. Cities all over America have begun "urban renewal" projects. Many refer to these programs as beautification projects. Trees, fountains, fancy streetlights, and assorted other cosmetic solutions have been applied to the problem areas. What city officials need to understand, what we all need to understand, is that these things by themselves only clutter up the already dead spaces. If not cared for these "amenities," in their neglected state, add to the sense of abandonment that the cities already have. There must be something more. What is really needed is a populous for the cities. Cities are not just places for commerce, for entertainment, for cramped low income housing projects. Cities are living things, or they should be. A city has character, it has a pulse, it has the potential to become a living, breathing being. The only thing it asks is for people to come and be its lifeblood. Cities already have most of the organs needed. They possess the capacity to sustain life. The problem is that the source of life in the city comes from the inhabitants. Cities need people to live in them and to love them.

Millions of city dwellers are moving to the suburbs each year. As more and more of the lifeblood of our cities spill out into the suburbs, the city falls into ruin. Crime and neglect characterize many areas of our cities. Without people to take responsibility, to claim ownership of the city we leave opportunity for infection and disease. It comes in the form of the criminal element. If we can stem the flow of people out of our city, stop the loss of life giving blood, we could have cities which would again be sources of civic pride. It would be a glorious thing.

It is not only the loss of inhabitants that has undermined the health of our city; it has also suffered at the hands of the business owners. These also fled the city, following the fleeing residents into the suburbs. Our cities have been turned inside out. What used to be the center of the city, the markets and shops are now arranged about the outskirts in an attempt to attract both the urban and suburban dwellers. It makes good business sense. The millions of commuters who drive countless hours each year back and forth between the city and their castles in the suburbs, pass through the border cities daily. Unfortunately this does nothing except foster an even greater sense of abandonment downtown. The city centers do not need cosmetic surgery; they need a blood transfusion. It is not that the old blood is bad, or that it can't sustain the city. The problem is that the city has lost so much of its lifeblood in the last several decades that the people left are no longer enough by themselves to sustain an active city.

The return of the middle class is needed far more than the trees and the benches. The dirt and the litter, the people living on the streets, these things are merely the outward expression of a dying city. It does a dying man little good to brush his hair and straighten his clothes. Even new clothes won't save him when what he needs is more blood flowing through his veins. This is true with cities. Cosmetic changes will only give a more pathetic appearance to the abandoned streets. Once people move in they will take control of the environment. Crime can not survive for long in areas where the inhabitants take an active interest in the life of the community. It should not be much of a trick. Most people will take an active interest in the environment they live in if the situation seems manageable. If the problems to be addressed seem to fall within their capabilities the people will take initiative. They love their home and won't leave if they think that there is a chance to preserve the city they love as they love it to be.

" We delude ourselves when we imagine that what is at stake here is a matter of benches and trees, grass and pedestrian precincts. When we talk about planning for a sense of place we re really talking about the silly lives we lead, and it is these that will have to change before any other kind of change can have effect." ⁸

"I know of no great and beautiful city where people do not live close to the core. For the whole quality of a city's life - its personality and its image - is set by its inhabitants, not by its merchants or its tourists or the suburbanites who live on the fringes and scatter for home at with the 4:30 whistle... When the city loses its inhabitants it will die." ⁹

" It is of course, a chicken or egg problem: why shouldn't I get into my car? There is nothing to keep me here. But if I don't stay, why should there ever be anything here?" ¹⁰



A section of the main shopping area in Florence, Italy. The streets are narrow, paved with stone with little distinction between sidewalk and driving surface. Cars and pedestrians compete for space, miraculously, the pedestrians always win; in fact the cars hardly put up much of a fight.

Of course the problem city officials must deal with is how to get people to move back initially. People will want cleaner safer places before they are going to move back. They may also want the shops and markets back in the city center before they will return. Which comes first? It is a catch 22. The people won't return until the conditions change. The shop owners won't return until conditions warrant their patrons return. They say, "why should we return to the city center when our patrons live in the suburbs?" The people say "Why should we return to the city when everything we need is in the suburbs?" With this attitude, things look mighty bleak for the city!

There is one thing that is working in the city's favor. That is the convenience of having all your needs met within walking distance. The destroyer of our cities was not crime, dirt, or any of the problems most associate with the city. The destroyer was what has become our most beloved possession. It was the introduction of the automobile that has been the biggest reason for the failing of our cities. In our efforts to make our cities accommodate the auto, we have failed to maintain those conditions that accommodate the pedestrian, the inhabitants. Sidewalks have been narrowed to allow easier access for cars. Sidewalk cafes and street vendors have nowhere to occur because the walkways left are really too narrow for the pedestrian, let alone any type of activity.

The car has also made the commuter life-style quite convenient. We love our cars; sometimes our cars are more comfortable than our homes! Everyone can have their own little island in the suburb, protected from any undesirable sights, sounds, or smells. Our children can grow up without having to deal with "inferior people." We shelter them from the harsh world outside our picket fence, the moat that surrounds our castles. It is an understandable and yet frustrating sentiment., The only way to save "the patient" is to give of ourselves, to invest our lives in the city. I promise it will be worth the risk.

At the same time the roads get bigger and bigger, the traffic gets heavier and heavier, and the smog gets denser and denser. Some people spend twenty hours a week in their cars traveling to and from work. That is the equivalent of a whole day wasted because we want to live in the country and work is in the city. It is senseless. Life is too precious to spend four hours a day, twenty hours a week, one-thousand and forty hours a year, that is over thirty-one thousand hours in the working life of the average adult, (nearly four years), in a car! And we aren't even going anywhere special - just the same old thing day after day after day! People live in cities because they can live, work, shop, eat, and get entertainment all within easy walking distance from each other. The car made this proximity unnecessary. The first to leave the city did so to escape the congestion. They wanted a little more space. With the car, the drive to work was only a little longer than it used to be when they lived in the city. However millions of people later, the drive has become a nightmare, literally for some. Yet people still do it because they can and the city isn't offering anything that they can't get in the suburbs or with an occasional trip downtown.

Another aspect which we must be aware of, even though it will be hard for us to do much about it, is the change in attitude for many Americans. To live in a city used to be a prestigious thing. Over the course of the last thirty or forty years the way Americans view the city has changed. The country life is now a virtue and life in the city is the vice, to be avoided if at all possible. I am not really sure how this all happened. Maybe generation after generation, each building on the psychological hang-ups of the previous, has led to the current distrust of urban life. As each successive generation saw more and more vice within the city, and heard their parents express more and more concern about the city's problems, we as a nation developed an "urban inferiority complex." We dislike the city as a place for living.

*"Although the asphalt carpet which serves as a channel for the movement of cars is still called a "street," it retains no connection with the original significance of the term."*¹¹



The main shopping area in Lil, France. Just on the fringe of a nice European style city, a new American style shopping mall rises. Large road systems have had to be added as well as a huge parking deck to service the giant mall. It is an all-inclusive mall, with everything from sports wear to grocery stores, but what has been sacrificed for this convenience is the ease of access for urban residents. Now they also must drive to shop.



A couple share an intimate moment in the heart of downtown Zurich. It was just after dinner, many people were walking about either on the way to their own meal, or just out on the town. Somehow, oblivious to their exposure, this couple seemed to be enjoying a moment alone.

Yet something deep inside of us draws us to the city. This is obvious in the increasing nostalgia for the good old days, for the romantic European getaways. All is not lost, somewhere inside of us there are urbanites hiding!

So, the key for us as urban designers and city planners, as members of that city-wide community, is to discover what it is that the city can offer to people that they can not obtain in the areas they are now living. There must be something because some people have stayed. Not just the poor who could not afford the move, but the wealthy who can afford to move but choose for some reason to remain. They love the city life! The poor do not hate the city either. They do hate the poverty, but in most cases they also love their city, their neighborhood. I sit and think, what is it that would make me want to live in a city? I think of the convenience of walking to the store and to work, of saving myself twenty hours a week when I might have been commuting, to spend with my family or in recreation. Who would object to that? Everyone wishes there were more hours in a day. Well there can be!

There is something that keeps us out of the city despite these potential advantages. I think that it could best be described as a change in our mindset toward other people. In days past, people enjoyed each other's company. Being in a crowd was a good thing. We liked the excitement and the mystery of being surrounded by strangers. There wasn't as much "to do," but we sure had fun doing it! You can still see it today in some parts of Europe, the love of crowds, of people. Go to Europe, especially in the southern countries. People spend their evenings on the street, sitting on steps, curbs, sometimes even on benches. They sit and watch. They aren't watching anything special, it isn't the circus come to town. It really is nothing at all, well maybe it is. It is called life. There is a great theater in just watching the people of a city. In turn the watchers become part of the drama that is the street.

Le Corbusier once stated something along these lines in a small essay called, "The Street." He says:

*" The street is full of people; one must take care where one goes... men and women are elbowing their way among them... and every aspect of human life pulsates through their length. Those who have eyes in their heads can find plenty to amuse them in this sea of lusts and faces. It is better than the theater, better than what we read in novels. "*¹²

How many of the cities in this country wish that could be said of their streets! In America we don't often experience this phenomena, the theater of the street if you will. If we watch someone they get nervous, just like we do if we are watched. As a nation we are paranoid of other people. The city life described so well by Le Corbusier would be unbearable to a nation so afraid of strangers. We are so afraid of catching something from someone, of being attacked or robbed or having our "personal space violated." Americans dream romantically of Paris by night, of moonlight and streets filled with lights. But in truth to be there would be a nightmare, for the street is full of strangers!

We need to start becoming involved in the life of the city again. It really is okay to be bumped into. Some of the best times I spent in Europe were in markets so packed with people that I had to push my way through. In Barcelona, Rome, Vienna, Florence, and several other cities, I found joy in the activity of the crowded street markets. Admittedly there is some risk in this type of environment. We need to establish cities that foster a sense of safety, of well being so that the theater can take place. Our younger generation doesn't mind being in the center of a mosh pit, frightening as that may seem. Yet take those same kids down into the crowded city street and they will become terrified of being touched by another human being. To me the street seems a lot safer! Not everyone is out to get us.

*" I for one despise riding on public transportation, even BART, because I am forced to be in the midst of strangers whose behavior I can neither predict nor control. When public transportation runs from my door to my destination, provides me with a private, lockable compartment, is there when I want it, and costs no more than driving, I will use it. Until that magic day, we must accommodate the automobile or travel like cattle. I prefer the auto, thank you. "*¹³

- an excerpt from a letter to the San Francisco Chronicle..

" Commerce becomes a form of public life when its exchanges are social ones, malleable, unique and personal, as opposed to economic ones which are impartial, impersonal and interchangeable with all others." ¹⁵



The recently renovated Historic Market District in Roanoke, Virginia. On Weekends and at lunch time during the week this place is full of people. It is one of the few lively spots in the City.

Restoring life to our cities will be a gradual process, one that will take fifty, maybe a hundred years to complete - or maybe it is never completed. It is a constant process of fixing what doesn't work, reinforcing what does. Halprin says *"the art of cities is an art of creative assemblage and change requiring constant and energetic input of all its citizens. It is, in the grandest sense, a participatory environmental art without boundaries."*¹⁴ It is up to us to start. Our generation will be to the city as the pioneers of early American were to the wild west. We must go in and establish a life, a good life despite hostile conditions. We must not give up hope when things seem beyond control. This is not an issue which will be resolved in our lifetimes. Cities are not made, they are in fact small pieces of history, they come together over time, glued together by generations of blood sweat and tears.

Where to begin? We can start by taking care of what is there. That much everyone should know. Next we should establish one or two small areas of improvement. Not cosmetic improvements but infrastructure type improvements. One thing that seems to help is the provision of everyday consumer needs for those who still live there. Another thing which seems to help is the restoration of the market/business districts. Essentially this means the equivalent of the suburban shopping mall, only downtown, outside with everyone welcome like it was meant to be. The modern suburban mall discourages the less desirable and the individual entrepreneur. The reinstated market downtown would be open to whoever and whatever cared to enter into the drama. People seem to love it, even we self-absorbed Americans! This type of atmosphere usually attracts residents to the surrounding area. These in turn attract more business and more people and so on ad-infinitum. The result of this process is a city composed of many smaller neighborhoods. Each small community held together by its own market and business district. Each neighborhood made part of the whole by the city center.

The city becomes a whole composed of many parts, each part relying on the other parts for support. This would seem to work so much better. Once the city gets too big with only one centralized business and market district, the people lose their connection to the whole and they are forced back into those dreadful automobiles to get their everyday needs met. Frank Lloyd Wright stated it quite clearly when he said, "*obesity is not yet a virtue*." ¹⁶ Bigger is not always better, and in a country where you can "supersize" everything, we must to exercise moderation in our cities.

There are many examples in America where the idea of small local city markets are being reinstituted. Some say it is nostalgia but I would suggest that it may be the only cure for what ails our cities. Pike's Place Market in Seattle attracts patrons from across the city, across the state, even from across the country. This city has the right idea. The market is a wonderful drama. The merchants get into the act, yelling out prices, selling local crafts, produce, fish, you name it, they sell it. The market is attracting enough people that there are small businesses popping up in the streets around it. Restaurants, antique store, bakeries, clothing shops, the list goes on. What used to be a bit of a slum is becoming quite respectable. Why does it work? It works because it is fun and it is different. South Street Seaport in Manhattan, the Inner Harbor area in Baltimore, Eastern Market in Washington D.C. and many other examples are based on similar ideas. These areas are what get people excited about the city. There are various approaches, many ideas and they all seem to work in varying degrees of success. It is a start.

We must be careful in going into the city to rebuild. There are many poor there who love their homes and we may not throw them out to make our paradise. We need them to care for our city and to enrich it as much as we need the rich and the middle class. To force them out would be a step in the wrong direction. It seems to happen though and planners must find ways to safeguard against it.

"When trade has a social emphasis, commerce and consumption can become public theatre. There is theatre in watching others bargaining with street vendors, at flea markets, and at block-long garage sales - anywhere prices aren't set." ¹⁷

All of this won't happen overnight and it will be costly. Not only in terms of finances, but it will take the investment of many lives. People willing to go through some hard times to get the process started. It will take people willing to give up some of their personal space, their freedom to a degree. The reliance on the car must decrease. It may be a shocking thought, but maybe everyone doesn't need to own a car! We also need to have people who are willing to speak out and to change what is wrong with the neighborhood right outside their doors. We do it now in the suburbs. If the kids next door are playing with guns in the street, most neighbors are not shy about coming out to the porch to yell at them, or to call their parents. The same thing needs to happen in the city.

If people would just take some responsibility for the street in front of their homes, their shops, their apartments, the crime and litter would decrease dramatically. It will take time to change things and in the mean time the residents and shop keepers will have to endure less than perfect conditions. I think though, that anyone who has seen this type of city will agree the results will be worth the effort and sacrifice. In our cities the public realm must begin to take the leading role, to exercise the supremacy it rightfully holds.

The Significance of the Street

The question for urban designers and city planners alike, indeed for all people involved in the process, is where to focus our energies. We have stated that the single greatest need in the city is for inhabitants. Of course as planners, designers and architects, the physical manipulation of the masses is a little out of our capabilities. If we could write into the specifications right next to the trees, benches and manhole covers a few hundred residents we would be all set. However since that probably won't happen, we need to focus on the areas which we can influence directly.

Theodore De Banville once wrote with regard to the city of Paris, and I think that it could be applied universally, that the streets "*possess life, thought, and soul, and if one knows how to listen to them, they speak to one.*"¹⁸ I think that this comment is very insightful. It could be that the streets are the arteries and connective tissues for this organism we call the city. In this vein we the people would be the cities life-blood which needs to course through the streets to give sustenance to the anemic city. Our cities need a blood transfusion and the streets are the vessels by which this may be accomplished. It would seem that the street is the one thing that all inhabitants have equal access to and responsibility for. It is in the street that the interaction with strangers occurs. It is in the street, much to the parents dismay, that most children play!

Allen Jacobs in his book Great Streets states:

*"In a very elemental way, streets allow people to be outsiders.... They are where you meet people which is a basic reason to have cities in any case."*¹⁹.... *"A great street should help make community: should facilitate people acting and interacting to achieve in concert what they might not achieve alone."*²⁰

It would seem that many are in agreement about our cities being a theater. It is up to us to design the set which stimulates the drama!

" If you are lucky - your street is an extension of your home. " ²¹

" Streets, just as much as individual buildings, are key units in the structure of lively neighborhoods, each with its own character, make towns and cities worth living in. " ²²



Cooperstown, New York. This small and yet thriving city has many very good examples of well designed streets. Trees, benches and lights are all maintained and give the street a very intimate feel.

If we take as our responsibility the design of the street environment, we could perhaps guide the public life of the city. We could inspire, coerce, and force the people to interact and to enjoy it. If we are clever enough, we could get the people to become involved in the drama without them even realizing it until it is too late and they are hooked!

What exactly does it mean to design a street? Are we talking about construction of road surfaces, about curbs and underground utilities? I don't think so. I believe that the "design of streets" is more about the whole experience of being on a street. Whatever effects the street is part of our realm. We will need to address the proportions of the street to its "walls," the walls themselves, the "roof" and so on. All streets must begin and end, implying a limited length. There must be accessibility to the street and at the same time a sense of containment within the street. There needs to be consideration taken of the density desired which will determine the spacing of the buildings. The buildings form the walls for our streets. The gaps between them are our windows.

The street, just like any other designed object has details. These are the trees, furniture, windows, doors, steps, porches, textures, and yes, the paving. Elements which we usually link to the buildings exclusively become part of the design of our street because they form the walls of our street. These must not be overlooked because they are the things which a pedestrian (and I believe that the street is primarily for the pedestrian) will notice most.

Lawrence Halprin stated once, "*the intimate quality of a city is achieved by those things which we experience in the 20 or 30 feet from the floor level within our normal line of sight.*"²³ The way the buildings meet the sidewalk, the way the sidewalk meets the driving surface, the placement of the furniture, the trees, the drains, everything which has visual and sensual qualities, these are the things which the pedestrian deals with.

Boring scenery will give us bored pedestrians. Bored pedestrians quickly become bored commuters who drive right out of our cities. This means we need to take care in the design of everything. We can't just throw down asphalt and concrete, iron gratings and parking meters. We also can't leave the streets to take care of themselves. We need to create quality streets and maintain them. It is not difficult. In Amsterdam they wash the streets each morning. The fact is accumulated litter, dirt, broken furniture and dead trees will drive people away. Poorly maintained streets will only strengthen the dislike Americans already have of city streets.

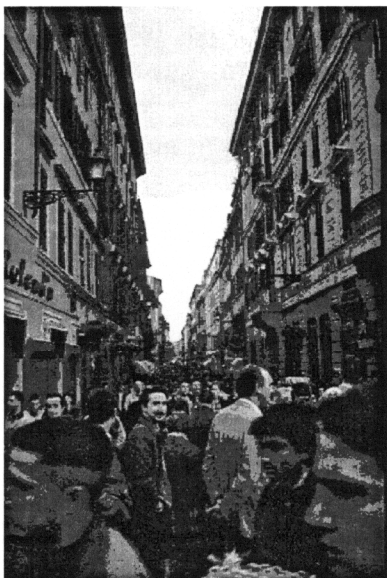
Le Corbusier for all of his talk about the street being better than the theater and better than a novel, also had misconceptions about the street. He wrote:

*"The street is nothing more than a trench, a deep cleft, a narrow passage. And although we have been accustomed to it for more than a thousand years, our hearts are always oppressed by the constriction of its enclosing walls.... The street wears us out. And when all is said and done we have to admit it disgusts us."*²⁴

I feel that I must disagree with Le Corbusier on this matter. A street may wear us out, it may be a trench and a narrow passage, but I would not say that it disgusts us, not all of us. Narrow and crowded streets can be quite appealing. Some of the most popular streets in the Europe are narrow and filled to overflowing. It would seem that people like other people. The drama of being in the middle of it all would seem to outweigh the need for personal space.

In regards to the fatigue, I believe he had a point. The constant action the energy which we each contribute to the scene, it does wear one out. Unfortunately, in America we don't put much thought into the comfort of our streets. After all aren't the streets just for people going somewhere? No one just hangs out on the street do they?

"The correct way to plan a street is not as a means to access other things, but as end in itself - a place that can be enjoyed for its own sake." ²⁵



A street in Rome near the Spanish Steps. It was early evening. Thousands of people were crammed into this small street and others in the surrounding area. Look at the life this street has suddenly acquired! It was quite entertaining to not only watch the action, but to be a part of it as well. I saw people walking up and down the streets with little or no purpose other than to walk and be a part of the city. How wonderful!

Modern cities view streets as access paths. There are few places to sit, to stand, to talk without being run over either by cars or other pedestrians. Little thought is given to the comfort of a person on the street because we don't think of the street as a place. This attitude must change! Our streets should be places in and of themselves, a destination not just a pathway. Any street worth walking will have to be thought of as a sequence of events, a series of places linked by a continuous passage. Perhaps along a street a quarter mile long there are two or three areas which come to be known as "happening places." People might come out each evening just to see the drama played out. Of course they might have to walk the length of the street to get there, and once they arrive they may decide to sit and eat dinner. Who knows? It may catch on and when that happens the whole street, perhaps the whole city, is energized.

Find the places along the street where such things might happen. In Rome it is easy to find these places: the Spanish Steps and the Trevi Fountain to name but two. People walk the streets leading to these destinations and, in the process the whole city becomes alive and interesting. The funny thing to the American mind is that the destination is merely a part of the street! It is a similar story elsewhere in Europe. Florence, Siena, Milan, Barcelona, Paris and so on all have their share of streets which have become places. People gather in places where the street widens, where there are places to sit, to talk, to observe other people. Any place you can get a group of young ladies to gather, you can bet that there will be a group of young men not far off. If there are opportunities for seating, for refreshment and are not too far from their home, people will just head out onto the street after dinner to relax. It is important to note that they do this to relax, so if there are feelings of danger, if the comfort level does not reach acceptable levels, the whole thing is a failure. The older generation especially needs reassurance of safety and comfort on the street.

The younger generation on the other hand, require less, and perhaps that is why the streets in America that do support life, are mostly teeming with the young. One author noted that children can play anywhere. He said,

*"People will in fact make what they can out of almost anything, no matter how atrocious or harmful, if they have no choice. They will adapt to burned out tenements, to garbage in the streets and death on the sidewalks. However horrible, tasteless, pointless, or insipid our object may be, if children can make a plaything of it they will."*²⁶

So, thus far we have discovered that the street must be designed, that it has details which make or break it, that it must be maintained and that it can, must, be a destination itself, not just a pathway. This last one, let me remind you is of utmost importance to ingrain in our minds. We can not go on designing the city by laying out buildings and letting the streets be a by-product, leftovers if you will. The streets should come first, the buildings being subservient; they are after all only the walls of the street which is the real living room for the city.

Let me give you one more excerpt from M. De Banville;

"Go down into the street and without anyone having to teach you the lesson, you will immediately see that there are many other fish to fry. You will see all those people, men, women, old men, and children going to their task, courageous and sad because they are anxious to work with all their strength, but not withstanding their courage they see before them the ever-threatening spectre of hunger. You will see, alas, vice devouring such youthful prey that its cannibal feast makes the stones weep. I am quite aware that these pale young girls might go and ask for work at the Bon -

*Marche, or the shops of the Louvre; But perhaps they would be told that the places were already filled. In any case go down into the street and walk about and it will be time well spent."*²⁷

It could just be that in the process of making the streets a more livable place, in making the cities inhabitable once more, we may accidentally relieve the suffering and hardships of much of our city's poor. It may be that the jobs, the security, the "better life" we encourage will allow some of the poor to raise themselves up. Would this be so bad? Might that in itself not be a reason to pursue this course with all the more vigor?

PART TWO : THE BASICS

Introduction: The Project



This aerial view of Roanoke shows quite clearly the desolation to the north of the rail road tracks. Many wide open lots and fallen down buildings characterize the Henry Street neighborhood today.

For the purpose of exploring the various means of accomplishing the objectives set out in the previous section, I chose to consider a site in the near vicinity. Roanoke is one of the major cities in Southwest Virginia. It has undergone many changes over the course of its history and is now embarking on a new course. In an effort to stimulate growth, Roanoke is initiating many renewal projects.

The area which I selected as a site is the historic center of the Gainsboro District, just North of the center city. The project entails taking a neglected section of the city, a particular street, and making a proposal for the restoration of that section to a productive use. The long term goal is to see this street rise literally from the ashes to become a new center for the Gainsboro community. As such it will have to incorporate such things as stores for everyday consumer needs, jobs for the community, recreation facilities, community centers, attractions for outsiders (tourists we could call them), and it will have to do this in a way that accommodates all of the members of the community.

This is a trickier thing than it may sound at the outset. There are many considerations which have arisen to complicate matters. The question of who makes up the community has been the source of much debate in the city of Roanoke. The ability of the community to support such an undertaking is another great concern. What to some people seemed like a simple refacing project has evolved into a project which could see an entirely new district evolving.

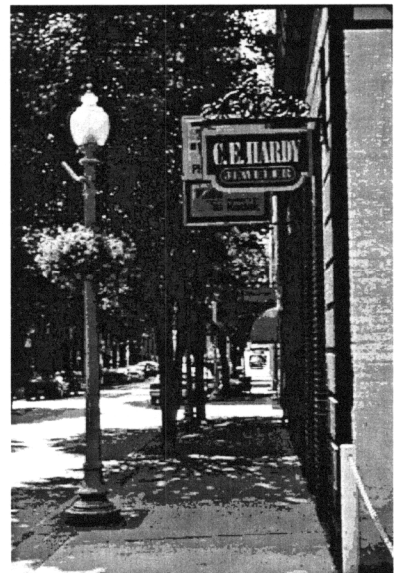
It is important to realize in this situation, that the project is more about the Community than it is about "architecture." There are real people, real lives which this project will effect, and while my proposal is not being offered to the city as a viable option, some proposal is. There was a community here before, if we can swing it, there may be again.

Despite being one of the largest cities in Southwest Virginia, Roanoke has experienced over the years, the same exodus of its inhabitants which most of urban America has. The hills surrounding the city are covered with your typical suburban style homes, small private retreats for those people who work in the downtown area. Those who still live in and around the city core, are for the most part those who could not afford to move out. The buildings downtown are in decent shape, but their upper floors, the ones which should be filled with offices and apartments, are in reality housing little more than cobwebs and dust bunnies.

The truth of this abandonment can be seen with just one visit. The streets are quiet most of the day, the parking lots jam-packed during office hours. I spent the better part of one entire day just walking the streets of Roanoke. From 8 am until 5 pm except for surges of foot traffic at lunch there were few people to be seen in the street. Traffic was fierce during the morning commute, and just as fierce at the close of the business day. Once people had settled into their offices there was little action on the street. People weren't shopping because the malls are on the outskirts of town. Schools likewise are in the fringe areas. No, there is not much in the streets of Roanoke which might be mistaken for life. I walked through the business districts, past the municipal buildings, across the market square, over the railway bridge, around the Coke plant and even through some of the closer residential districts. Other than some delivery trucks, a few locals on their way to some destination (I don't know where but they were wasting no time in getting there), and the street people, I was quite alone in the streets. It was almost spooky.

I sat on the benches outside some of the large office complexes, in the little parks they have built to beautify their little empires. I saw no one. Even the market, the most active place in the city at times, was quiet. Lunch brought a surge of activity though.

"It is not a lack of place that keeps us apart, but an apartness that keeps us without a place." ²⁸



A very pretty little street in downtown Roanoke. The designers of this street did well. Yet where are the people? This was taken at around 5 pm. There should have been someone around.

In the market, the merchants stood around talking, waiting for that rush which would happen at lunch and again at the close of the day. But for now there wasn't a customer in sight. In fact they didn't even put their produce out until around 11:30 am. There was no point without the customers.

A further evidence of the abandonment of this city, the change from a place to live toward a place of business, is the large number of parking lots and parking garages. For a city of its size, Roanoke has an incredible number of parking facilities. From little lots squeezed into places where a store used to be, to the newer multi-storied garages there seemed to be no end to the possibility for parking. To many urban designers this may appear to be a good thing. One of the biggest problems in urbanism today is lack of adequate parking downtown. I would suggest that the need for public parking at such a scale is more symptomatic of the disease than a sign of health. If the city were truly inhabited, there would be less of a need for parking. Not that there would be no need, but a larger number of people living in the city would reduce the need for commuters. Seeing so much emphasis in Roanoke on the commuter is, to me, a bad sign. It tells of a city being abandoned.

This is not to say that there are no signs of renewal. There has been a lot done to beautify the downtown area. Though the focus seems to have been on visitors, it is still a step in the right direction. The old market has been recently rejuvenated along with the adjacent streets. There are stalls for local produce vendors, small shops are filling once vacant buildings. On a decent day the market fills with workers at lunch. The workers come to eat, its the closest food around. In part though, they come to relax, to escape the stale air conditioned towers they sit in all morning. After a breakfast of computer screens and fluorescent lights, the market is wonderful. The walk stretches the legs, and the sights and sounds of people interacting pulls the tired worker back to reality.

I followed some city officials from their offices in the municipal building. It was lunch time and I assumed they were headed to lunch. They walked five blocks, passing several good looking restaurants before reaching the market. There the restaurants were less polished, the atmosphere not as refined, but there the officials decided to eat. It took us a good fifteen minute walk to get there and it wasn't even a particularly nice day. I would guess that before the recent renovation these guys walked a lot less distance for their lunch! But there is something about a market, about mingling people, that draws us.

This market area is the pride of the city right now. They have a theater, a museum, many antique shops, restaurants everywhere, and little knic-knac shops scattered about here and there. Some professionals have taken office space above the commercial spaces. In general the area is looking quite good. One thing bothers me though. There is no evidence of any residential growth. I must wonder why? There is drama here, excitement. People are coming from a long way to be a part of it, but no one stays.

It really is not a difficult problem to solve. Look around and you will see that there is little to provide for a resident. There is little to show that any apartments have been refurbished. There is also the matter of food, there are no grocers here. The market is not extensive enough to fulfill the needs of a resident so they would have to travel out of the city to buy groceries! In fact most of the everyday needs of a resident are outside the city core. Despite the drama of the market, the area is uninhabitable because the focus of the district has been catering to outsiders, not to residents. All of the fancy lightposts and water fountains are not going to make people live in the city if they have to do as much driving as they would have had to do in the suburbs. It is a little discouraging because to the casual observer things look so wonderful, and yet there is still no life to be found in this city.

Roanoke is looking to begin a similar type of project on the North side of the tracks next. There we find the Historic Gainsboro district and the heart of what once was the Black section of Roanoke. There is little here now, just one renovated building, a few gutted shells and quite a few empty, weed-filled parking lots. It is there on Henry Street that I will make my proposal. There is not much to work with, not much to mess up. Just the memories of a community which despite overwhelming conditions still struggles to hold onto the street that was theirs.

A History of Gainsboro

Historically, Gainsboro has been the center for the Black community of Roanoke. There were several districts which made up "Black Roanoke," all along the North side of the tracks. South of the tracks, Roanoke grew bigger, wealthier and became a little embarrassed of their neighbors on the other side of the tracks. Sometime in the 1950s, urban renewal began to sweep across the land, and Roanoke jumped onto the wagon. With promises of better homes and a higher quality of life the city took the Northeast section. The people were paid a small sum and the homes were burned down. From the ashes arose, not new homes or businesses, but a nice new highway. Interstate 581 would bring more people into the city, bring prosperity to the downtown. The residents who lost their homes would just have to understand. Again the city spoke promises of better homes, again the people moved, and again their homes were reduced to rubble. This time a brand new parking lot emerged. It was wide and flat and in the center was a brand new Civic Center. Still later more homes were cleared to make way for the Coca-Cola plant

In 1968, the city turned its eyes on the central district of Gainsboro. It really should be "renewed" as well. The people put up a fight refusing to give in and lose what could be their last link to the city. Little by little the city gained control, homes fell into ruin, shops closed down as the patrons moved out. The people were reluctant to spend money on the upkeep of homes which the city had decided to buy out from under them and these too deteriorated. It is not that the area was pristine to begin with. To many of us it would have seemed like a mean place to live, but it was home. In the end, it stood empty. What we see today is a collection of burned-out houses, a few shells of the old commercial center, and a whole lot of empty weed-filled lots. It is not a pretty site, but for some reason the residents are still clinging to it for dear life!



What is left of the only two buildings on Henry Street today. On the right the Music Center has recently been renovated. To the left there is just a shell.

" "Slum" and "Blight" are words that Roanoke's older white leaders used to describe what they saw in those neighborhoods. Black people who lived there had another word for it: Home." ²⁹

*" While some blacks moved into public housing and have been there ever since, most black families bought sounder homes than the ones they left. The problem was many took on staggering debt to make the move and lost their neighbors, friends, and social connectedness in the process."*³⁰

*" It was all one big black community with every social class and philosophy packed closely together - prim and proper churches towering near gin joints, solid brick homes whose lawyer and doctor-owners tipped their hats to the laborers and domestics who lived down the row in clapboard shotgun houses and tin roofed shacks."*³¹

Many of the descendants of those people forced out in the 50s and 60s are still living in public housing facilities to the North. Some live on the fringes of the run down section, others have moved away to other parts of the city. But amazingly enough, most still feel connected, to the city, to their district, and to each other. There are stories of neighbors in old Gainsboro, relocating together in order to maintain that relationship. It must have been one great place to have elicited such devotion wouldn't you think?

Well, in actuality it was great, in some ways. The people lived in close proximity to each other, they cared for each other's kids, and watched each other's backs. The district had all the comforts of home. Roanoke's first Post Office was there, its second Fire House. There were grocers, barbershops, ice cream parlors, shoe store, clothing stores, churches everywhere and anything else you could want. They even had their own hospital and library. It wasn't all poor either. There were wealthy and poor living side by side, in unity.

Lest you think I am painting a picture of Eden, I must point out there were some faults as well. The district had its share of murders and thefts. There were some rather lucrative moonshine operations going on behind closed doors. One former resident was quoted as saying, *"Henry Street was a street of hustlers. A lot of those places were fronts for gambling and bootlegging... There were murders, prostitution and all kinds of violence on Henry Street."*³²

Others recall that even with those aspects, life was good, it was rough, but it was good. The fact that so many people still care about the street today, some 15 years after the last renewal effort devastated the district, is evidence that the district had something which many cities lack. The people loved the place, it wasn't just a city to them, not just a street to work on . It is this element which we need to harness in order to make lively streets and cities.

Status Quo : What is in the Works Now

In an effort to stimulate business and growth in the city of Roanoke, several recent projects have been undertaken. The aforementioned City Market was one of the more successful. There was also the renovation of the Hotel Roanoke with the addition of a Convention Center. Some old houses were torn down and a hillside of plants was added to create a buffer between the Hotel and the older sections of Gainsboro. Nice street lamps were added on a couple of streets, plants hung from them and brick pavers used here and there in the sidewalk.

In an effort to further stimulate business for the Hotel and Convention Center, the city wants to build a 14 million dollar entertainment district around Henry Street. There is a great debate now raging over this proposal. On one side stand the city officials and the Hotel Roanoke looking for economic prosperity and a prettier city. On the other side stand the residents of the Gainsboro district, trying to hold on to the one last connection they have to the city center.

There have been some plans already laid out, approved in fact by the city officials. These plans call for a variety of entertainment facilities, shops, restaurants, and offices. There is even a small park and outdoor amphitheater. The city is planning to put money into the upgrading of the sidewalks, and roadways including the conversion of Second Street into a major arterial, speeding commuters in and out of the city. Second Street is one street away from the Henry Street sight and so should provide greater access for all of the would be tourist flocking to the new entertainment district. It is envisioned as a great money maker and in connection with the Hotel and the City Market, city officials are hoping that it will spark an upward swing for the economy.

The only problem with this whole thing is that the residents themselves haven't really been considered. These people need more than entertainment!



To the left is the Hotel Roanoke Convention Center; to the right a building recently leased to the Federal Government. The street is decorated in a fashion similar to the market, and yet it is never busy.

The residents of the Gainsboro District are in need of some type of unifying element. Henry Street is historically the center of their community. With the restoration of the street there should be great joy. And yet there can not be because the planners have left these people completely out of their design. There were no provisions for the everyday needs of the residents, no proposed new living space for them, no real improvement in their lives,

I asked one of the planners, who shall remain anonymous, if there had been any consideration for providing housing in the plan. The response I got surprised me quite a bit. He said, someone mentioned that there used to be houses on this street, but there didn't seem to be much interest in pursuing that avenue so he didn't. Well, as you can imagine, the people of Gainsboro, were not really excited about a plan for renovating "their Street" which didn't include any provisions for them.

After the public outcry, the developers relented a little promising to give some opportunity for the people to have a voice. There was a need for input in deciding what types of store would go into the new buildings. There could be some jobs for locals and even some shops which might cater to the needs of the locals. There seems to be a misconception about who this project is really being done for. If it is to be for the benefit of the community, then there needs to be a redefinition of the community. As we mentioned before, there are many participants in the community. There is the Hotel and Convention Center and those who work there. There are also the commuters who will most likely make use of the street as they go to and from work. There will be tourists, hopefully who will add another dimension to the street. There are also the students of the proposed school for Graduate studies which may be moving into one of the abandoned buildings next to the Hotel. But perhaps most significantly there are the residents and would-be residents of the surrounding streets.

The needs of all of these constituents need to be met, not just the needs of those with the financial clout. It is encouraging to see the fervor with which the Black community is clinging to its streets. It gives me hope for the city. If the city can find a way to take advantage, to cultivate this love, to make it a part of the new street there may be hope yet for life in the city.

The Proposal : A Summary

It was my desire to provide a proposal which was more comprehensive in the issues it addressed. The needs of the entire community should be and can be met with the plan for this street. I think that the planners and city officials lost sight of just who the community is composed of. We defined the community as any and all groups or individuals who pass through the area, use it as a place of business or live in it. With this in mind, there are a whole lot of people who come into play in this design. There are the residents of Gainsboro, the workers at the surrounding businesses, both on the North side of the tracks and downtown. There are all of the commuters who will use the new Second Street Bypass, the tourists at the Hotel, the students at the proposed school, the residents at the proposed apartment complex, and anyone else who might want to wander down our street just for kicks! There are a few things which need to change with the city's current proposal. As such I will start with a clean slate.

My proposal starts with the idea that the street is to be designed to accommodate residents. This means that the street should supply the basic needs of the residents; clothes, food, entertainment open spaces, walking paths, opportunities for interaction and a feeling that it is not only a good place to live, but a safe place to live. The idea can almost be described as a return to the traditional idea of a "Main Street." It is where the heart of the city is. The excitement and the identity of the city come from this street. The buildings are primarily of a commercial nature on the ground level. Large display windows offering things which grab the shopper's attention, welcoming everyone inside and tempting the pedestrian to stop and window-shop. The upper levels of the buildings will house some office spaces, or other small, "non-interactive" businesses. There will also be plenty of apartments for the residents of Gainsboro to call home.

Henry Street will be designed with the pedestrian in mind as the primary user. As such the sidewalks will be wide, the roadway relatively narrow. The buildings will fall into a height range of three to five stories, depending on their location. Trees will be planted at intervals along the street, streetlights will be designed to light the sidewalk for the pedestrian, i.e. they will be low and direct their light down onto the walkways. All in all, everything will be done to make the street full of interesting sights, right down to the choice of paving materials.

I think that to get anymore specific at this point would make this more than a summary. Therefore let me close this section with a quick walking tour down Henry Street. We begin on the corner of Wells Ave. and the new Second Street Bypass. Heading East along Wells Ave. we notice the new Gainsboro branch of the Post Office on the North side of the street. Directly across from the Post Office is the entrance to Henry Street. We round the corner onto Henry Street, and as we do we notice that there are arcaded walkways on either side of the street along the length of the first building. Twelve foot sidewalks allow us to walk side by side with no worries about oncoming pedestrians. Birds are chirping from the branches of the trees which throw filtered sunshine onto our path. It is early still, men and women are sitting on their balconies sipping their coffee and watching the world wake up. Halfway down the street we notice that a new movie is playing at the Lincoln Theater, I might have to come back tonight.

As we pass the theater you notice that the buildings have stepped back a little where Loudon Ave. joins Henry Street, as a result we enter an open space, a type of small plaza. The restaurants and the Hotel on the corners have taken advantage of this opportunity to create outdoor eating areas. On certain days of the year, Henry Street is closed to motorized traffic and there are street fairs here. At this particular intersection there is usually a local band playing.

" Support the weaker users of the streets... because the powerful can generally look after themselves." ³³

This morning however, the "plaza" is quiet, the laughter of last nights revelry long since dispersed. As we continue on our way, you comment to me on the progress being made on the renovations of the old Ebony Club. It is almost done now, the last few touches are being applied. The Grand Opening is rumored to be next Friday night. As we pass the Henry Street Music Center, the mellow notes of a clarinet float out to us from a second floor window. An early student competing with the birds! To our left, Centre Ave. leads down past the Retirement Community to the new school for Graduate Studies. Students will be arriving soon I think. We are now officially on Centre Ave., but in this little stretch, Henry Street and Centre Ave. seem to have blended together.

Crossing over the street, we continue South towards the Downtown offices. Passing between the arcaded facades of the Medical Arts Building and the Retirement Community, we notice that the sidewalk has spread, extending from one facade to the other. That is correct, from here until we reach the other side of the railroad tracks only foot traffic is allowed. Up ahead is the pedestrian bridge that will take us across the tracks into downtown. But we aren't crossing that bridge just yet. First we have to stop into the little Cafe run by some of the residents of the Retirement Community. They have the best buttermilk pancakes I've ever tasted. I'm told their sausage gravy and biscuits are the best in Roanoke, but this Yankee still isn't used to some of these Southern foods!

After breakfast, we will cross over the bridge and descend the "grand staircase" into Downtown and head off to work. But for now, I'm enjoying this orange juice!

The Process

The art of building a city involves the use of the fourth dimension. That is, one of the major building blocks is time. To be successful a city or in this case, a portion of the city, a street, must survive the test of time. The elements which are good remain, those which don't work so well are changed and retested. Over the course of decades or centuries even, the city changes constantly, the things that work well are sustained, those which only work alright, are improved and the rest are replaced with new things. All in all it is a never ending series of changes.

This will be true in the design of Henry Street as well. For one thing the end product would cost too much to do in one lump project. Secondly, as the street evolves, the bad ideas are weeded out, the community itself makes changes, and in the end what we saw at the beginning may not be where we end. But where we end will be where we wanted to go. Think about it. Our real goal is not this specific design, but the ideas it represents. Therefore the proposal is just that, a guide, a framework which time will take and, with the help of many architects and planners, will produce a lively street which may or may not look as I have envisioned it.

However since we have to begin somewhere, let me suggest some guidelines. First, the major changes in street layout and the changes in the landscape should be taken care of, including the pavement changes which should be instituted right away. The wall along Shenandoah Ave. should be built along with the Medical Center and Retirement Community. The city has certain responsibilities. The Post Office, the building for the Incubator Businesses, the Community Centers, and some of the houses should be developed by the city over the course of the next ten to twenty years. Other buildings should simultaneously be built by developers, focussing on Henry Street first and then working outwards.

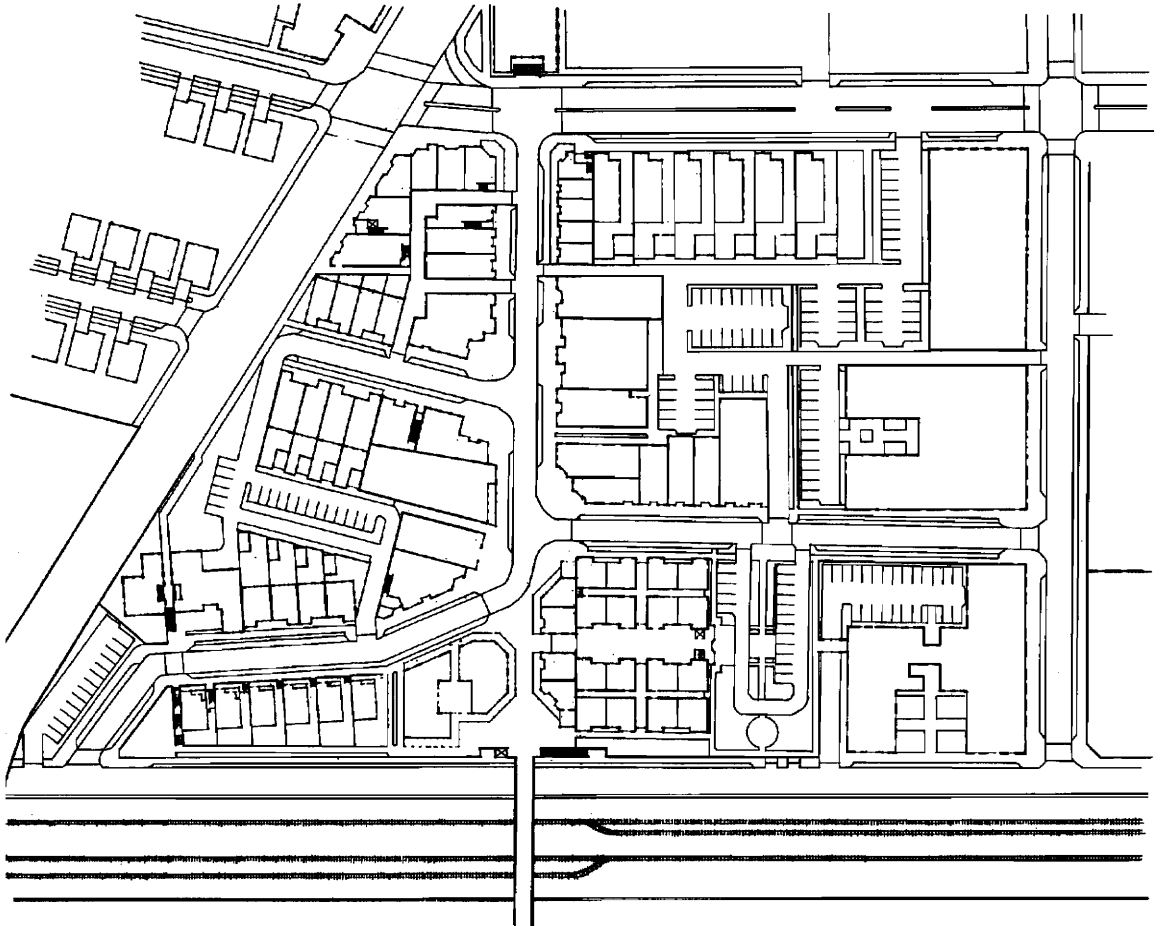
" It is a proposal for a program of catalytic projects to be implemented through both private and public expenditures. These opportunistic and strategic projects are proposed at critical locations where they can augment an existing strength, repair an urban condition, make a new linkage, be a new resource, and stimulate additional investment nearby. Each of them related to an over-arching set of basic objectives: economic development, social equality, accessibility, and community. " 34

As time goes on, there should be constant supervision given to see that the end results are being realized, as well as constant evaluations made as to how well the finished projects are accomplishing what they need to accomplish in order to meet our goals. For this reason, an organization should be formed to oversee the development of the street. It will be composed of local residents, city officials, local designers and/or architects who have a working knowledge of the goals and a desire to see them fulfilled. This organization will be responsible for checking the proposed developments for compliance with the intent of the plan.

PART THREE : THE SPECIFICS

Overview of the Henry Street Neighborhood

I thought that the best way to introduce the project would be to simply show the layout of the new neighborhood. After examining these drawings, the following discussion should make more sense. Refer back to these drawings whenever you begin to get disoriented during the more lengthy discussions.



Henry Street is in the middle running vertical on the page. To the far left is the new Second Street extension, to the far right, Jefferson Street. At the bottom of the map is the Norfolk and Western Railroad, Wells Ave. is at the top.

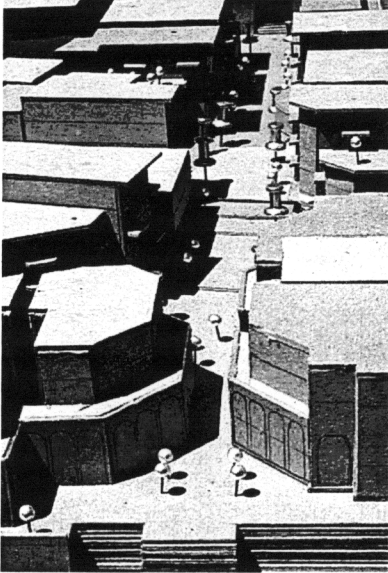


Section down the length of Henry Street looking West. At the far left, we start downtown and must mount the stairs in order to be introduced to the Henry Street Neighborhood. Across the pedestrian bridge we pass by the Medical Arts Center and onto Henry Street itself. Notice the abundance of trees, and the active nature of the buildings facades.



Section down the length of Henry Street looking East. Downtown is to the right, the Grand Stair case into Henry Street once again and on up to the new Post Office at the far left.

The Street Condition

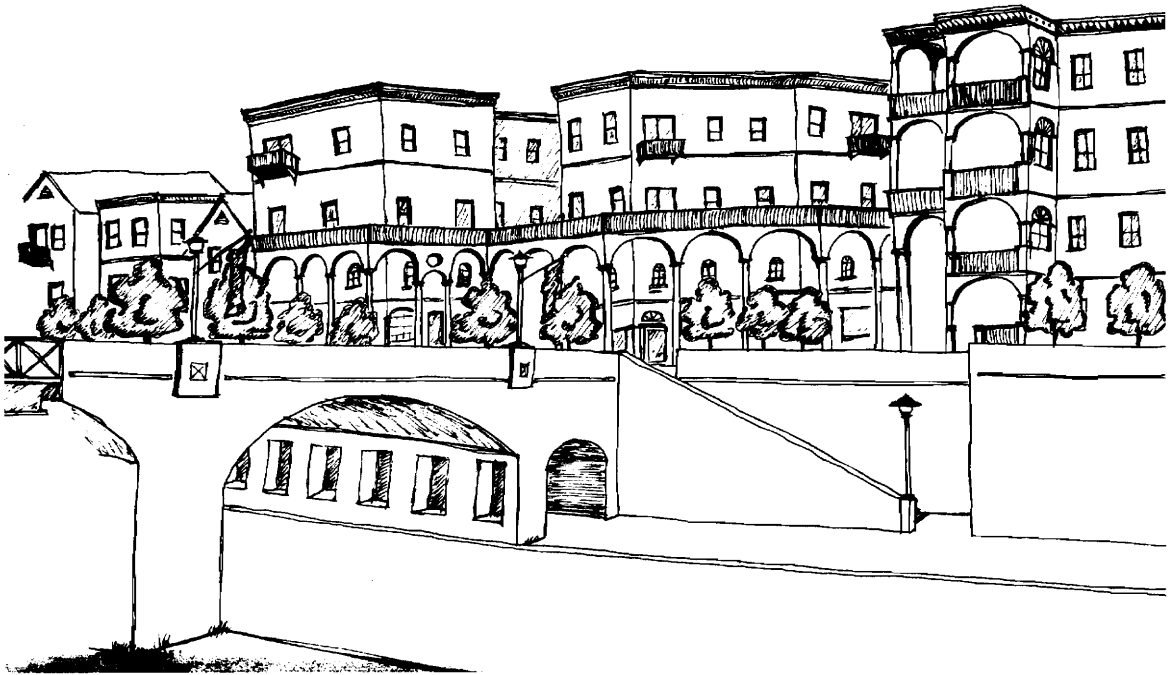


-The entrance plaza to the Henry Street District. This is where the pedestrian bridge comes across from downtown. To the left, a walkway takes you along the wall towards the private houses. To the right, a walkway leads past the Retirement Community to the small park. On this entrance plaza there are several trees and a couple of fountains.

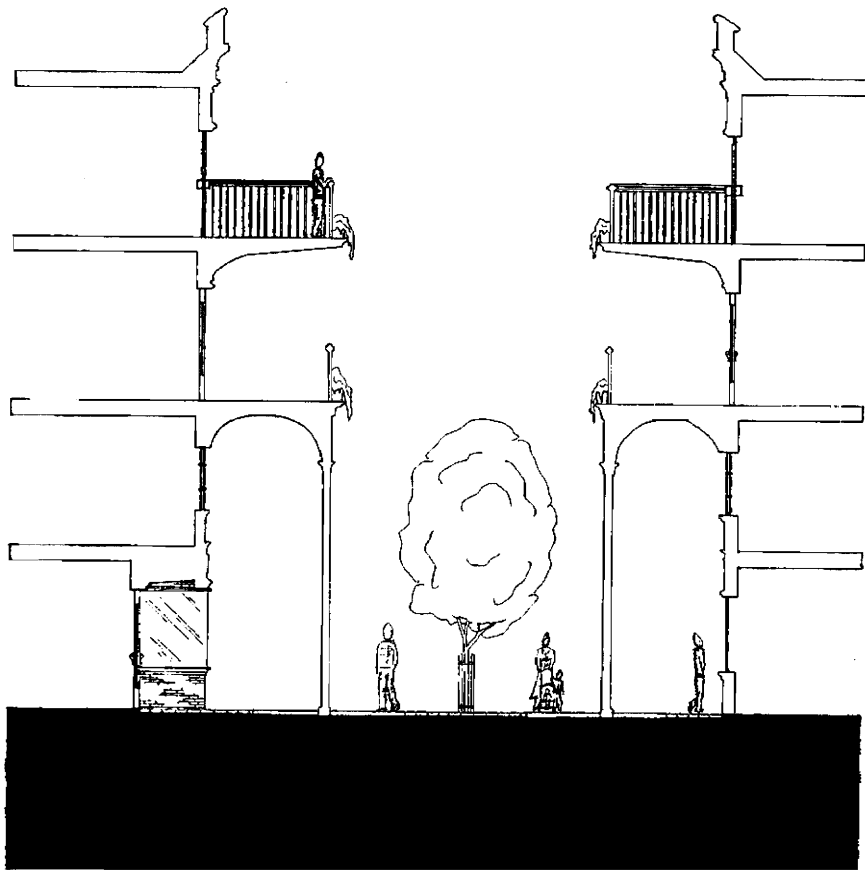
Since I claimed to have the pedestrian at the top of my list of community members, it would be a good idea to start with the design of the street itself. By this I mean the actual road, sidewalk, and other assorted elements associated directly with the outdoor space known as the street.

To begin with, I have taken out the First Street Bridge. No longer will cars be able to come directly from Downtown across the railroad tracks and into the heart of our community. I have a more elaborate method for introducing motorized traffic to Henry Street. Instead, the bridge will be limited to pedestrians only. From downtown there will be a grand staircase erected to lead us onto the bridge. For the handicapped and anyone who doesn't wish to climb the stairs there will be elevators located at the far end of the stairway. Lining the stairs are trees and light posts, positioned on the periodic landings along with small planters of flowers. The paving on the bridge and staircase is a smooth concrete paver, not the large ones, but something about one foot square. On festival days, the lamp posts double as Flag poles, and at other times they hold flowering baskets. These are little things, usually overlooked, but they add a friendly feeling to the otherwise drab stage.

On the North side of the tracks, there is a small plaza with walkways leading off to the East and West. These are part of a network of pathways which provide additional access to the neighborhood for the pedestrian. The plaza and paths are lined by trees, carefully pruned to keep the branches from obstructing the pedestrian's view. Up ahead, to the left and right are the Medical Arts Building and the Retirement Community. Between these two buildings, the sense of enclosure is great. It is a dramatic change from the openness of the bridge and the plaza. This is the Southern entrance to the community, designed to heighten the sense of place on the other side.



The Southern entrance to the Henry Street neighborhood and the Historic Center of Gainsboro. The entrance is at the intersection of several key pathways; the pedestrian bridge going from downtown Roanoke across the rail road tracks; the stairs leading up from Shenandoah Ave.; the end of the Henry Street walkway; and a segment of the network of walkways throughout the new neighborhood.



A section through the Southern Entrance. Two story arcades line each facade with a balcony above.

On the other side of this "entrance" we can see the strategy which will be applied to the neighborhood. To begin with, let's look at the surface of the street. In this neighborhood, all crosswalks are made of exposed aggregate concrete pavers one foot square. The idea is to set these apart from the rest of the driving surfaces. In fact, the crosswalks are even raised above the level of the road by about two inches. By raising these crosswalks two inches, I hope to make the drivers more aware of the crosswalks. The slight bump caused by driving over these, in conjunction with the noise of driving over the exposed aggregate surface, should accomplish this. The rest of the driving surface may be common asphalt, with the exception of Henry Street itself. Henry Street I am treating as one large crosswalk. This means that from the Post Office at the North end of the street, to where the pedestrian street goes through our "Southern Entrance," the roadway is paved as if it were a large crosswalk.

It is my theory that by building the street to resemble what the drivers recognize as a crosswalk, the drivers should be more cautious. The message being sent to them is that the street here belongs to the pedestrian, cars may share the space, but the foot traffic has the right-of-way. Through the rest of the neighborhood, the raised crosswalks occur at the corners of intersections and at major pedestrian crossings.

Another change of paving which we should be aware of is that which occurs along the curbs where parallel parking is provided. In these areas, the paving will be of a slightly rougher paver, or perhaps a type of cobble stone. Again the main idea is that the change in material will indicate to the drivers a change in use. In this case, the rough surface should tell the driver that this area is not for driving, but for parking. It is simple, smooth surface means free driving, a rougher surface means caution, drive slowly. The rough surface of course means park the car, get out and walk! As we will see later, this principle can apply to walking surfaces as well.



- The cross section of a typical crosswalk condition. The walk way is in a sense the combination of a speed-bump and crosswalk.

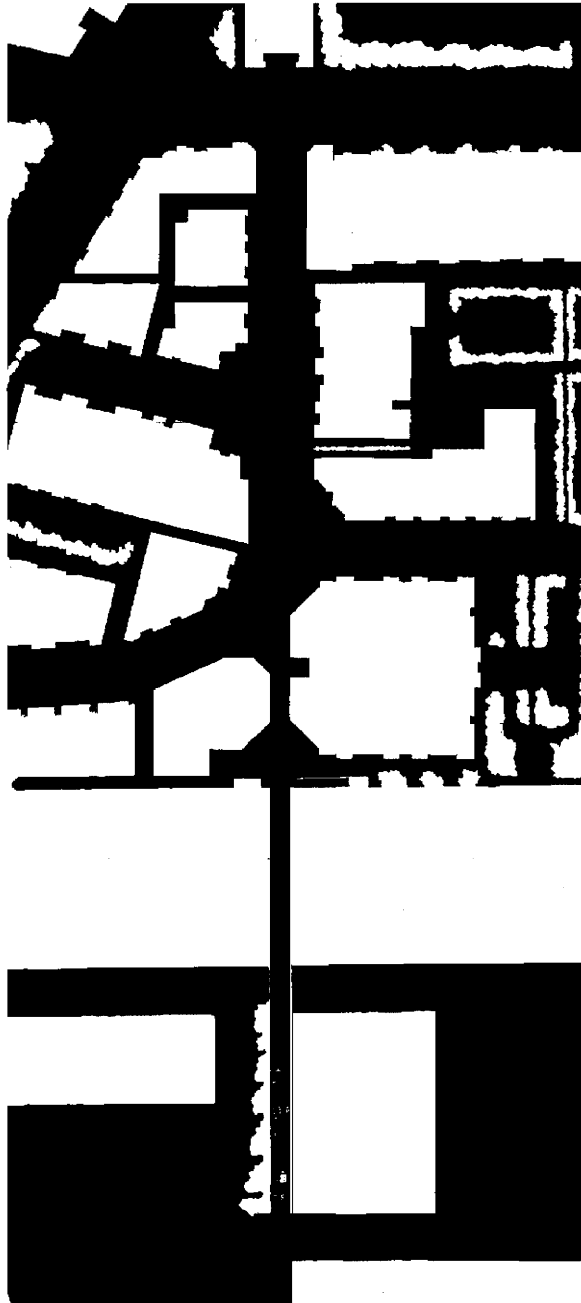


A Section through the theater and "plaza-type" occurrence in the middle of Henry Street. With plenty of sidewalk space, one of the restaurants has decided to run an outdoor cafe.

The next thing to notice, is that the curb height is much different along Henry Street. In the rest of the city the curbs raise the sidewalks about six to nine inches above the road surface. This is the case on the new neighborhood as well, with the exception of Henry Street. Along Henry Street, the curbs are only three inches in height. By lowering the change in height between the sidewalk and the road, I am hoping to let the pedestrian know that they have free roam of the street. Three inches is a very easy and comfortable change in elevation for a pedestrian to make. In fact you can step down three inches and hardly notice it.

As I allude to earlier, the sidewalks are designed very similarly to the roadway. The surface of the sidewalks are broken into three main regions. First, there is the curb. These are made of pieces of cut stone. Next there is a three foot section paved with brick, a nice deep red. There is another three foot section of these bricks along the front of the buildings. This leaves a six foot section in the middle which is paved with three foot square concrete pavers. These have a very smooth surface. As you can guess there is a method to all of this. First it is my belief that the sidewalk is for more than just walking. Pedestrians also like to stop and talk, or window-shop. I believe that just as cars can be forced to drive in certain ways by the type of road surface, pedestrians can also be manipulated.

Smooth surfaces tend to mean free movement. Rough surfaces mean caution, you might trip. Therefore, I placed rough surfaces along the buildings where shoppers could gather, and rough surfaces along the curb where people could stop to talk. This area would also be the likely spot for a nice bench, the trash can, and provide a haven for the motorist who is exiting his car! In the middle, the smooth concrete will attract the walkers. I think that the lighter color will also help. Colors affect our actions greatly and the nice buff color of concrete feels safer than brick red.



A study of the mass of the street. Everything black is either a street, a sidewalk , or a parking lot. i.e. open ground. Everything that is white is some mass which acts as a barrier to free passage or viewing.

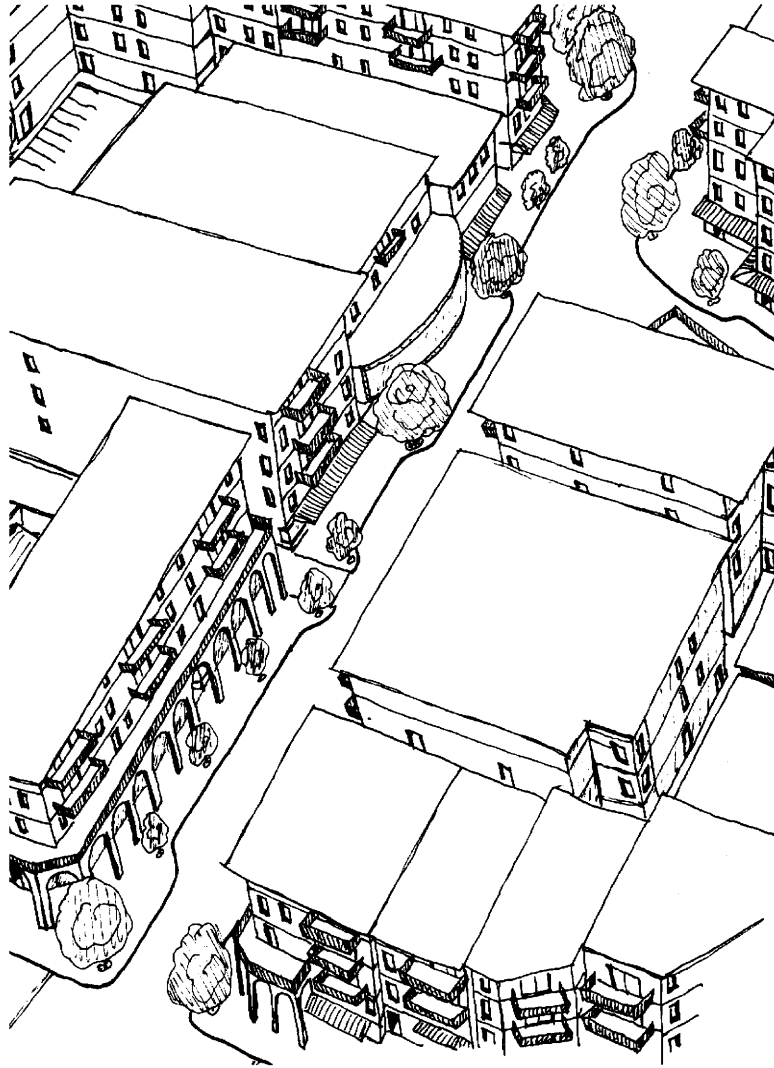
The sidewalks are also dynamic in their width. Responding to the needs of the street at each point, the curb may push out into the street, or it may pull back into the sidewalk. At street corners, places where there are intersections of pathway, and at places where crosswalks occur, the curb pushes an additional seven feet out into the street. This cuts off the parking lane and gives the pedestrian less distance to go in crossing the street. Another added bonus is the added space at the street corners for people to congregate. Street corners are the places where the street has the most life. These are places where street vendors should sell their wares, and where musicians or entertainers can stage a performance. In front of very active places, the Theater for instance, the curb will also push out into the street to give room for the waiting crowds.

Along the rest of the street, the curb resumes its proper place, twelve feet out from the storefronts, with ample room along the street for a parking lane. There should be no discussion about where to park. If there is a lane to park in, park. If the curb has pushed out into the street so that there is no room for parking, I guess it should be clear that parking is not permitted. No need for extra signs cluttering up the sidewalk, no need for policemen checking out the parked cars, no need for noisy tow-trucks removing illegally parked cars.

On the other side of the curb, in that region of the sidewalk designated by the first layer of brick, we discover the realm of the street furniture. Here, the streetlights are located, giving an edge to the walk. We also find benches, trash cans, and perhaps water fountains. Many things which add to the human scale of the design, but which for the purpose of this thesis we will not go into. It is enough for us to say that these things should be there. Their specific design and placement will be left up to the individual designer. The only stipulation I will make, is a reminder that in a realm designed for humans, and for intimate contact, the quality of details is of utmost importance.



An active street corner in Paris. Much has been done to create activity here; the metro entrance; balconies on the buildings; sidewalk cafes; wide corners. Notice the care given to the design of the street furniture from the Metro sign and clock to the railings on the balconies.



A bird's-eye perspective of the Northern end of Henry Street.

In this curb-side realm we discover another of the street's vital elements. Trees are a key ingredient in any street. Not only do they accomplish their biological function by providing oxygen to our cities, but they also are key to setting up a more humanly scaled street. Along the streets in this neighborhood, the trees are planted in the section of the sidewalk next to the curb. This is the section already designated, by virtue of the brick paving, as the resting area. It is not that there is no activity here, but this is not the area for fast walking. As such, it is the perfect location for the trees. Under the trees people can stop to talk, to rest on a bench, to take shelter from the sun or perhaps a light rain.

The tree is also key visually in making the sidewalk seem like a separate place. The canopy of the tree extends over the sidewalk and combined with the facade of the buildings defines a space within which the pedestrian feels safer. The trees are spaced along the street according to the needs of the sidewalk at each point. For instance, at corners or intersection, the sidewalk is wider, therefore, the trees can be larger, have more presence. Along the sidewalk in front of the buildings, there is less room for trees, so the trees are smaller and more spaced out. In front of an entrance is not the appropriate place for a tree, since it would block access to the shop or upstairs apartment. However, where one shop or one display window ends, there is the perfect place to place a tree.

The proper pruning of a street tree is vital as well. We can't have branches and leaves obstructing the pedestrian's view or progress. Therefore, the tree canopy should not begin until seven or eight feet from the ground. Likewise, we don't want the trees to obstruct upper floor balconies or windows, so the canopy should be limited to twenty or thirty feet at the most and should not extend to the sides to the point where the branches touch the building. All said, it is a difficult balance, too much tree and the street is overwhelmed, too little and the street suffers as well.



The trees define the space on this Parisian street. Without the trees, the focus would be lost, but the trees channel our attention to the end of the street and the intended object of our focus. In this case the trees are as important for the car and driver as they are for the pedestrian.

The last thing to say about the street itself, that is in regard to the physical street surface, has to do with maintenance. Dirty streets are a turnoff. Once the street is cleaned, it should take very little effort to maintain. Clean out the trash cans on a regular basis, sweep the streets a couple of times a week. Keep the trees trimmed, pull out the dead plants and replace them. Simple common sense things. Treat the street as if it were your own front yard!

The Street Walls

The next key element in the discussion of the street, has to do with the other major space-defining element which we find in the street. It is not the "buildings" as many might suppose. Really it is what I like to think of as the street walls. These are the facades of the buildings, and perhaps the first five feet or so within the front door. No, this is not the same thing as the building itself. The region which I call the street wall is only that portion of the building which actively interacts with the street, maybe just the first ten feet of the building. As such I do not feel justified in including the entire building in this discussion.

Within the depth of the facade, a lot of things happen. There we find the windows, doors, balconies, awnings, and assorted other articulations which give life to the street. I shall begin at the sidewalk and work my way up the facade, explaining the elements as we go.

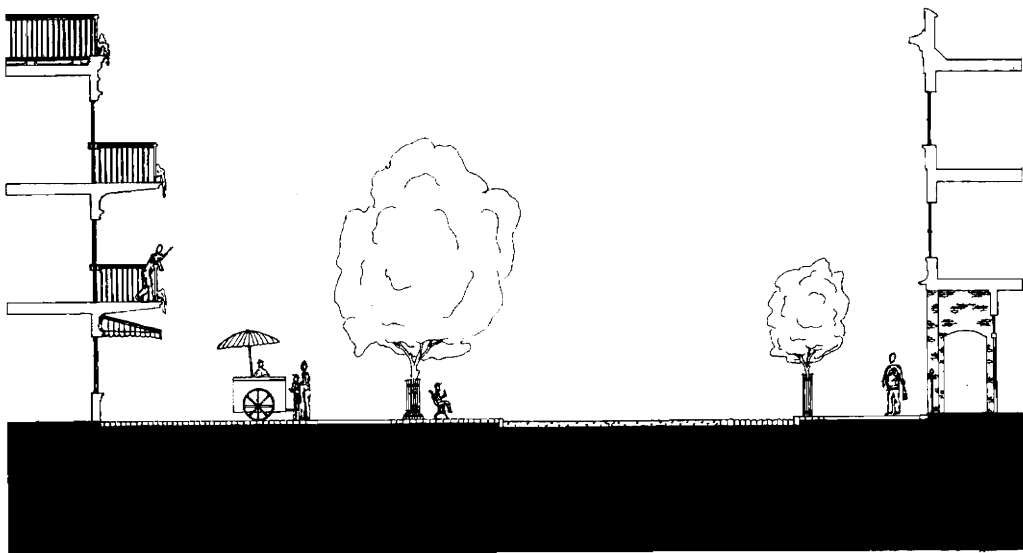
Where the sidewalk meets the building, there should be an acknowledgment of the change. What I mean is that the two materials, brick from the walk, and whatever the facade is, should not just run into each other. There should be an intermediary material, almost like the moulding in your bathroom. This transition piece can be simple or elaborate. In some of the older buildings you will find that this piece was quite large, becoming a seat for weary pedestrians.

Another very basic consideration is the entrance into the building. Entries should be recessed a depth of four feet minimum in order to give the door room to swing open without interrupting the flow of traffic. Only the entry should be recessed however, the display windows to either side should remain at the edge of the sidewalk. Why is this so important? The idea of transition comes into play here. With the recessed entry, we pull part of the street into the facade of the building, with the display windows we push the interior space right out into the pedestrian's face!



When given the opportunity, people will make use of our buildings for community activities. When this happens, the buildings become more of a part of the life of our streets regardless of their interior use. In the picture above, tourists make use of the "natural seating" outside a rather old and drab building near the Duomo in Florence.

" Such ambiguities must be considered in the very definition of street space, which in the context of this study is considered to be all the space of the public domain, indoor and outdoor, to which the pedestrian has access without ownership invitation." ³⁵ regarding the extension of streets into buildings.



A section through Henry Street right at the corner where it intersects with Centre Ave. On the right is the Henry Street Music Center, to the left one of the corner stores. Hot Dog vendors are a welcome sight on the street.

We even go so far as to continue the brick paving into the entry-way adding further visual connection to the street. The rest of this first story will be primarily devoted to the display window. From about three feet or, waist height, up to seven or eight feet, there should be mostly glass. The exact configuration of these windows is up to the individual designer, but the principle is to pull the pedestrian visually into the building. The front of the shop should therefore be of an active nature. That means either displays of the goods within, or seating areas for diners, or other such activities which catch the interest of pedestrians.

To complete the ground floor facade, there should be some type of awning. I am not prescribing any particular type here. The old fashioned striped awning would do, or some modern design using steel and glass would work equally well. The awning should provide a covering for the sidewalk in front of the entrance and the display windows, 75 to 80 percent of the width of the store front at a height of eight feet. The awning will extend out over the sidewalk for six feet, in order to provide adequate covering. The net effect will be to provide the pedestrian with shelter from the weather while entering, exiting or just window shopping.

An added feature of the awnings is that the sense of enclosure begun by the other elements will be greatly increased in the region of the street right next to the buildings.

Moving up the facade, there are additional elements which need to be addressed. Wherever feasible in keeping with the use of the spaces above street level, there should be balconies on the facade of the buildings. Once again, this is an element which will bring the outside in, and the inside out, essentially increasing that zone of transition. The configuration of the balconies should be left up to the designer as a variety of solutions to this requirement will make for more interesting street scenes.

"As long as man needs two arms and two legs, the scale of his body must be the measure of size for all buildings." ³⁶



* simple planes



* recessed entry



* awnings



* arcades/ covered walk



* Awnings over recessed entries

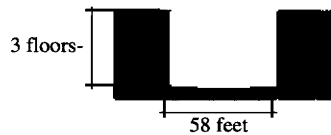
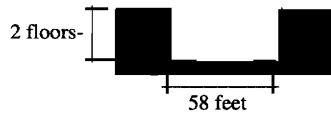
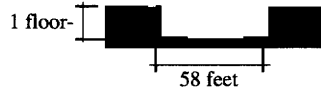
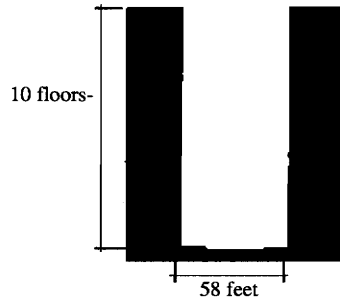


* terraces



* inverted terraces

- An exploration of various ways facades respond to forming walls. From simple straight walls to recessed entry ways; awning covered entries; arcaded entry ways and finally to a terraced idea. Many different ways to capture and hold a pedestrians eyes.



Various options when deciding on the proportions of the street.

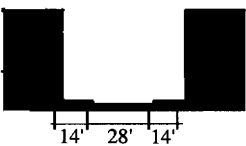
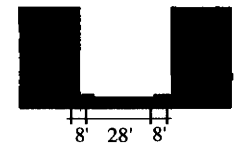
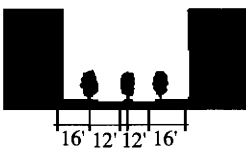
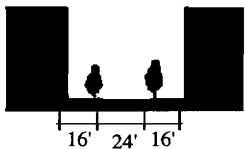
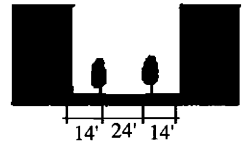
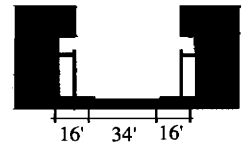
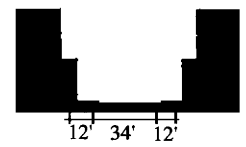
- 2:1 the ratio of a large city center.

- 1:4 the ratio of a suburban shopping street.

- 1:2 the ratio of a small town.

- nearly 1:1 with three stories, this is the general small city ratio.

- for any sense of enclosure simply by virtue of building heights, a ratio of at least 1:2 is needed. On the other end, much more than 2:1 and the depth of our canyons become a little oppressive.

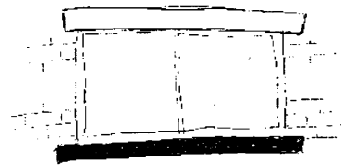


By varying the street widths and sidewalk widths, streets take on different character even though the heights of the individual buildings remain constant.

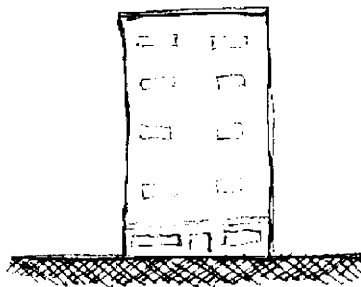
Windows above the street level are designed to allow people in the interior see out, to let light in and to provide ventilation. There is no need up there for large picture windows. Therefore the windows should be vertical elements in the facade. There are several reasons for this. First, the use of windows which are taller than they are wide adds to the vertical nature of the building. Another reason for the use of taller windows is merely that with taller, narrow windows, more windows will be needed to achieve the desired interior illumination. As a result the facade will be broken into more pieces. Finer grained details are always more appealing to a pedestrian.

We also need to discuss how to stop the building. That is, what it is that will hold the eyes of the pedestrian, to keep them from slipping up the front of the building and off into the sky. The only way to do this is to place a top on the building. When the building ends, put a cap on it. If everything must have a beginning and an end, we should articulate it. We already discussed the articulation of the facade's origin at the sidewalk. In a similar way, there should be some articulation at the terminus, a "cornice" for lack of any better term. It doesn't have to be grand or elaborate like some of the Victorian style buildings, just readable.

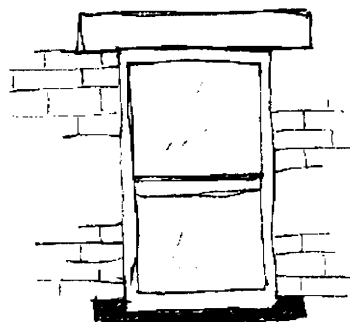
One final aspect that requires mention, is the ratio of wall height to street width. The issue here is one of enclosure, or sense of enclosure. It is generally accepted that in order to produce an adequate sense of enclosure, the ratio of height to width needs to run about 1:1 or 1:2. Since the average distance from facade to facade is 60 feet, we are going to allow for buildings around that in height. I am setting the buildings a range of three to five stories in height. If you do the math it is obvious that in general we are falling short of the recommended 1:1 ratio. In fact in some areas of the street, at intersections for instance, it is far from realized. However I believe that the results will still give an adequate sense of enclosure.



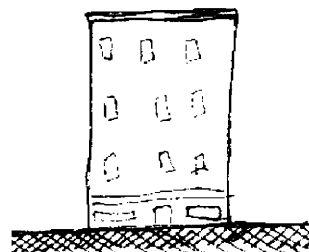
- an example of a horizontal window



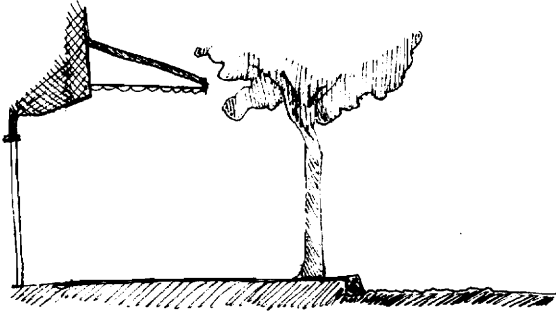
- the overall effect of horizontal windows on a building



- an example of a vertical window



- the overall effect of vertical windows on a building



- This sketch of a typical sidewalk condition illustrates how the sense of enclosure for the pedestrian depends more on the elements of the facade at the ground level working in conjunction with the other street elements.

There are good reasons for why I think this will work in our situation. First and most practically, the neighborhood is only one small part of a not so large city. To build six or eight story buildings wouldn't make sense from a practical side, the neighborhood not only doesn't need that much room, but it couldn't support that much. Secondly, with the other aspects of our facade design creating much of the sense of enclosure separate from the overall building height, meeting the exact 1:1 ratio is not as critical. What I mean is that the overall height is more critical in cases where the street walls are purely vertical elements with little to hold the pedestrian's eye until it hits the sky. On our street however, there are the awnings, the trees, the balconies and so on which do more to create the sense of enclosure for a pedestrian than following the precise height to width ratios.

Since the main interest is in Henry Street I will not go into details about the rest of the neighborhood. In general the rest of the area follows the same philosophy. There are some slight variations which occur to our walls when we move off of the "Main Street" and into some more residential areas. In these areas, we find more space between buildings for starters. Along Henry Street, the buildings are pushed against each other, gaps only occur for alleys, access roads, or at intersections. In the residential district, there may be side yards, unless the houses are row houses. There is also a greater setback for the buildings in the residential district. These and other differences will be discussed at a later time.

For now, let me summarize what we learned about the walls of our streets. These principles apply to both main streets and slightly more residential ones.

The following are basic principles for the design of the building facades, the walls of our streets.

- This is a zero setback zone. In other words the buildings must fill their lots completely.
- Buildings are to be three to five stories in height.

- Entryways to ground floor shops should be recessed a minimum of four feet, for a maximum of two feet to either side of the door. The entries to upper levels do not need to be recessed as much, but the opening of the door should not block more than one foot of the sidewalk area.

- The ground level store fronts should be composed of large display windows, allowing pedestrians to partake in the activities of the interiors.

- The front of the shops should be covered by a continuous "awning" for at least 75 % of the facade. The only exceptions are for the first buildings on either side of the street where Henry Street and Wells Ave. meet. These, as well as the facades of the Medical Arts Building and the Retirement Community facing the pedestrian walkway are arcaded and do not therefore need awnings.

- Windows above street level are to be of a vertical nature.

- Balconies are to be provided on the upper levels of the street front facades.

- The transitions from sidewalk to building, and from building to sky should be emphasized by some form of articulation.

- Success for the street depends on the level of comfort provided for the user. As such, every effort should be made to make everyone, rich and poor, young and old, visitor and resident, all feel equally welcome on the street.

- The boundary between the sidewalk and the inside should be as transparent as possible. To bring the inside out, and the outside in, to make the public extend into the private is the key.



The entrance to a shop in the center of Frankfurt Germany. This store front exhibits many of the characteristics described in this section; The recessed entry; the slight overhang of the upstairs balcony functioning as a type of "awning"; the large display window to attract shoppers; the floors above belong to an apartment complete with balconies and vertical windows; and the attention to details is rewarding.

The Commercial Sector

As indicated at the outset of this project, one of the goals of this design was to create a unified city. That is, there would be no strictly business or commercial district, no streets without residents. In light of that, it will be noted that this section is not dealing with a street in the neighborhood, as much as simply a portion of the street.

The Commercial Sector as I am calling it, refers simply to the aspects of our street which deal with the selling or providing of services. In general this sector will be confined to the ground level of the buildings. It will be there that one will find the commercial businesses. Businesses on the upper floors will be more private, professional offices or businesses which don't rely on the window shopper for business.

There are also specific locations on the street which are so sensitive that the type of business located there is critical. To begin with, the corners are critical places. These are areas of the street which are expected to be energetic and lively. The business which is located on a corner therefore, must be one which elicits activity. These types of businesses would be ones which produce a lot of customers, who may or may not spend a lot of time there. Things such as nightclubs, cafes, restaurants, any type of eating establishment, or perhaps drugstores, grocers, or the like. The key requirement is that it be a source of activity for the street corner during the majority of the day and evening. Businesses which close down at 5 pm and won't open until 9 am the next day are not the type of businesses which the corners need. At 10 pm there should still be activity there. Why is this important? It is vital because most people will not hang around outside closed shops. The closed shop is dark, giving no light to the people on the corner. There is no activity and therefore no other observers around to "protect" those standing outside. It is a safety issue, active shops are safer to stand outside of !

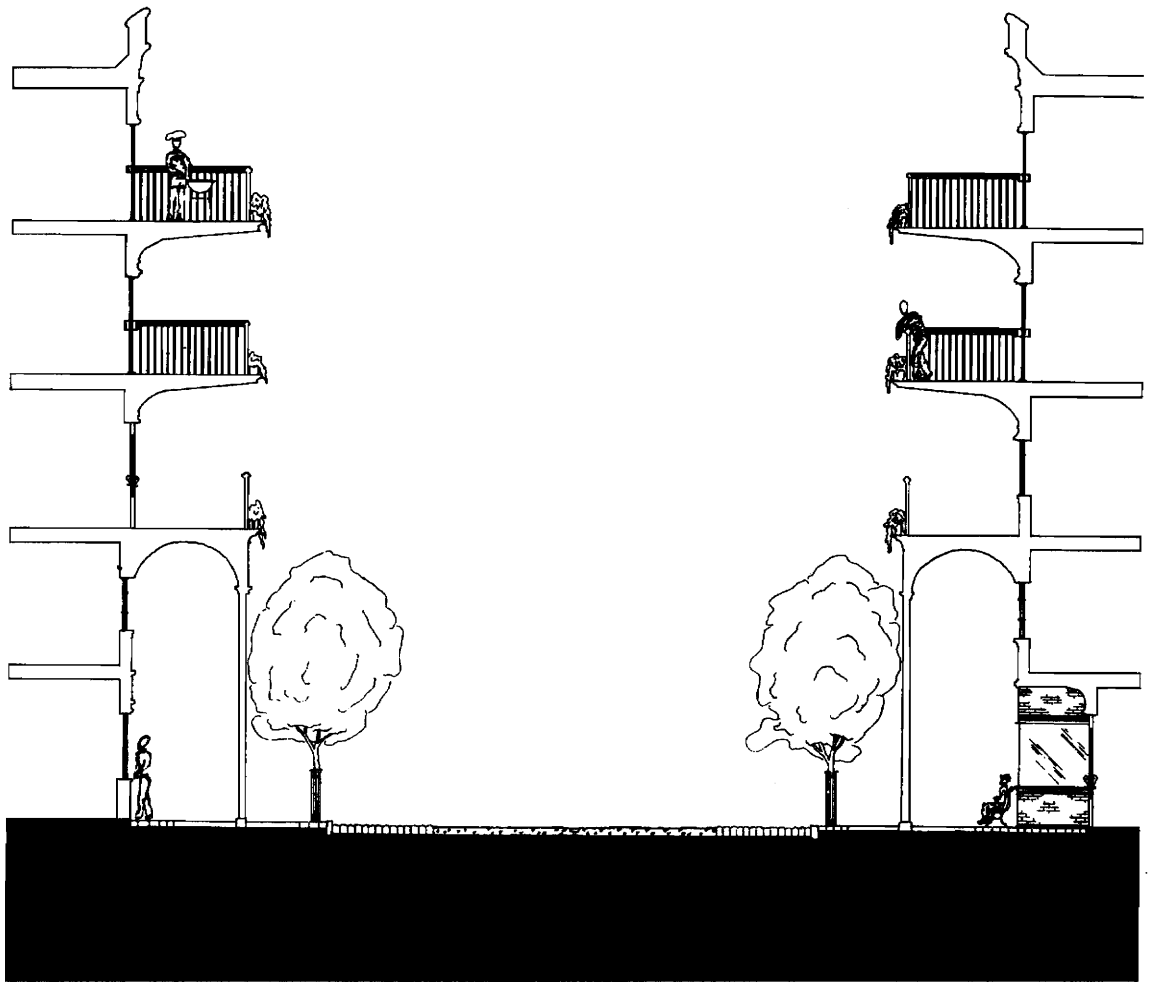
Next, the businesses which are located in any plaza or space which acts alike a plaza also need to be active places. For instance, on Henry Street, there is a place just about in the center of the street where Loudon Ave. intersects it. At this point there is a sense of a plaza being formed. It is a wide space with a well defined set of walls, and there should be a feeling of safety generated for the pedestrians by the slowed traffic and wide street corners. On this "plaza" I have placed a hotel, a restaurant, a sidewalk cafe, the historic Ebony Club, and the new community theater. All of these are activity generators. Some are more active at night than during the day, so some additional shops in the immediate vicinity which are daytime activity generators will be a good idea. Ice cream shops, coffee or donut shops are good all day generators. Grocery stores, and drug stores are also daytime store, sometimes extending into the evenings, but a hair salon or a bank for instance are pretty much daytime only generators.

Stores should be spread out along the street to provide some activity for all times of the day, at all places on the street. As we have seen, certain areas, corners and plazas, will accumulate more highly active businesses than the stretches in-between. This is good, as long as it doesn't leave the rest of the street dead at night, nor itself dead during the morning and early afternoon.

On Henry Street and in the vicinity, there are a few special situations which should be addressed. First it will be noted that there are four buildings which act in pairs as the entrances to the street. At the South end there are the Medical Center and the Retirement Community. At the North end there are simply two sets of commercial buildings. The one on the West side of the street, is Incubator Business building. On the other side of Henry Street is just another corner store. The main difference between these buildings and the rest on the street, is that they have a two story arcaded front on them.



One example of a "special situation." Here two churches act as an entrance, a doorway to a neighborhood in Rome. The similarity of the two facades and the slight narrowing of the street at this point, heighten this sense of entry.



A section through the Northern "entrance" to Henry Street. The arcades are once again present, with balconies on the upper levels.

The reason for this detail is not just personal preference. By placing arcades on the fronts of these buildings we narrow the street by about 16 feet. That is, the arcades cover eight feet of the sidewalk and so the street width is reduced by that amount. I am convinced that this is enough to make these two areas readable as entrances. For the pedestrian the sense of entrance should be especially strong as they will be passing through either a much reduced walkway, or through the arcade itself. The functions of these buildings themselves is another interesting matter.

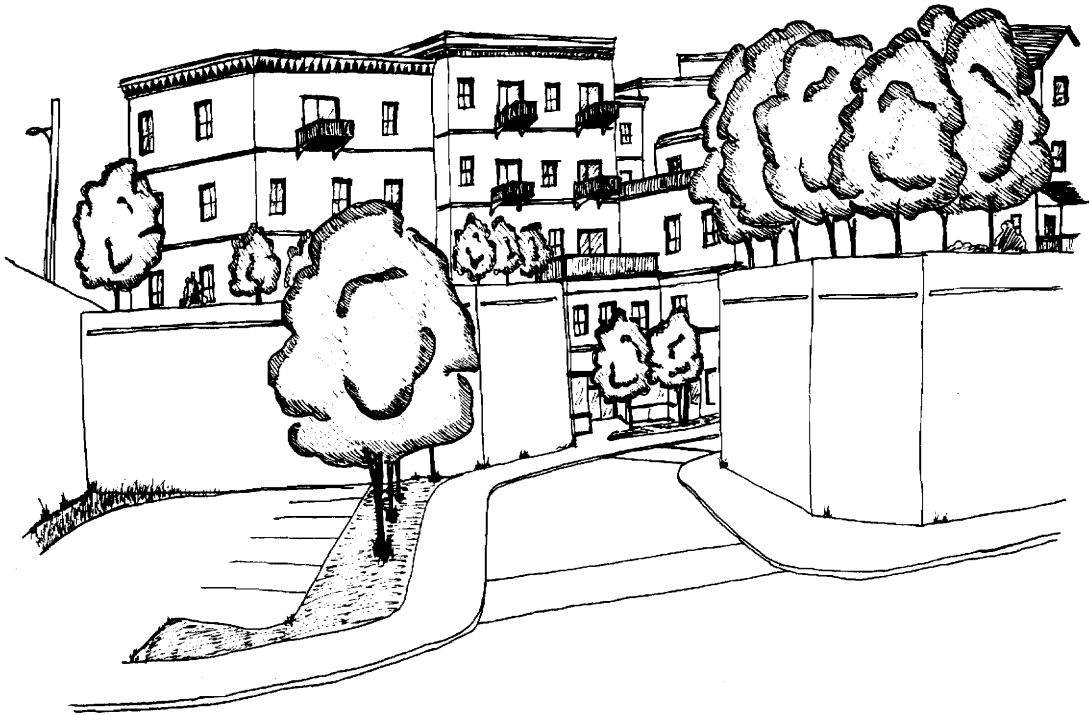
The Medical Center will house a variety of professionals from various medical fields, as well as housing a small community hospital. There will also be a fitness center or exercise therapy area. The ground floor along the pedestrian pathway will house the last of these as it will be the most active area. Across the way, the Retirement Community will be just that. It is comprised of two sections, a residential and a communal section. In the residential section there are four floors of private apartments for elderly residents who still want independence but also want the convenience of communal living. There is a large indoor courtyard and sitting area in the middle of this section.

The more interesting section is the communal section, which lies on the pedestrian walkway opposite the Medical Arts building. On the ground floor of this section there are several little shops run by the residents. These may be anything which will allow the elderly residents to take an active part in the street life. For instance there could be a lunch counter, a coffee shop, antique stores, or craft store. Perhaps this is a good place for an ice cream shop! Anything which provides the street with life, and will also allow the elderly to take an active part in the community at large. Above these shops there are conference rooms, recreation and activity rooms and the mandatory office space for the Retirement Community's staff. The proximity to the Medical Center is an added advantage,

On the North end, the building with special interest is the Incubator Business building. Here the ground floor is divided up into several small shop spaces which are available only to residents of the neighborhood who are trying to start their own business but can't afford the cost because of their financial situation. The businesses are provided shop space for a much reduced rent, usually calculated based on the average income of the shop, as well as getting reduced tax rates. The hope is that residents will in this way be able to improve their own financial situation while benefiting the entire community. It isn't a handout but an opportunity to make a new start. The office spaces above are for professionals in similar situations, or the administrative staff for the building.

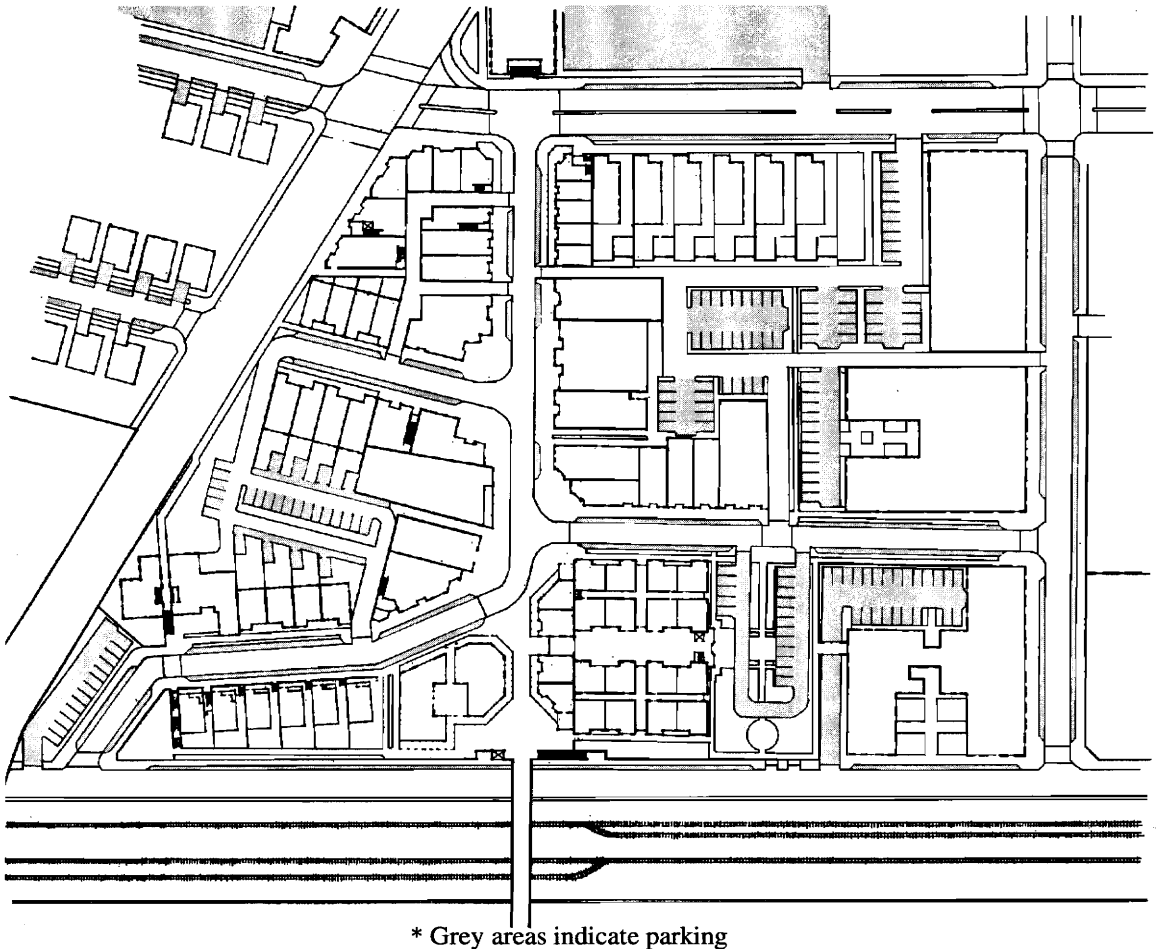
There is also a new Post Office planned. Acting as a bookend for the street, it is located at the far North end of Henry Street, across the intersection of Wells and Henry Street from the arcade entrance. It seems only fitting that the city build Gainsboro a new Post Office since the community needs it and their old one, Roanoke's first Post Office was demolished during the urban renewal phase. The new building should be raised above grade so that there can be a small stair case in front. Stairs are wonderful things for a street. They are places to sit and to congregate. The Post Office will signal the end of the street and be a reminder of the connection to Roanoke as a whole.

The last special interest building is the small community centers. There are two in the plan, one in the South East corner, where Centre and Shenandoah Ave. meet, the other across Second Street from the Post Office. The one on Centre Ave. is a type of YMCA or Youth Center. It is a place where kids can hangout and where youth programs can be held. It also has facilities for community meetings; the Boy Scouts or Girl Scouts could hold their meetings there. Local organizations could rent rooms there for special meetings as well. There are also offices for some of the community programs.



The southeastern entrance to the neighborhood brings people in near the Centre Ave. Community Center. One of two Community Centers, this one houses most of the facilities for meetings and youth activities. You can also see in this sketch, the entrance condition created by the break in the wall which runs along the Southern end of the district.

Parking Facilities for the Henry Street Neighborhood



Parking Statistics

On-Street Parking: approx. **275** spaces

Off-Street Parking: **148** parking spaces in new lots

87 spaces in the church parking lot

50 spaces possible in a lot at the Northern Community Center

approx. **240** spaces in the existing parking garage

200 spaces in a new facility beneath the Entrance Plaza

Total Projected Available Parking:

Minimum of **1,000** spaces, plus private garages and drives

On the other end of the neighborhood, there is the Second Street Center. This facility provides several important functions. First it provides a connection for the Community across Second Street. At this point Second Street acts as a barrier, much like the train tracks on the Southern end. The road is so large, and the vehicles are so fast moving, that to cross it there needs to be some extra incentive. By placing a facility on that corner which pulls residents from the residential parts of Gainsboro and residents from the newer Henry Street neighborhood, it is hoped that this barrier can be bridged.

To aide in this, the intersection will be provided with what is referred to as an All-Stop system. In this system, the traffic lights will periodically stop cars in all four directions and give pedestrians total freedom to cross the intersection at will. This eliminates the worry about being hit by cars exercising the "free right rule." The actual functions that the building provides can range from day-care facility to TAP offices, to additional library facilities. In fact it would be nice if the Gainsboro library were moved to this location in addition to the other activities already here.

The only other aspect involved in the Commercial Sector involves the issue of parking. To most this discussion would have taken higher priority. However as my focus is on the pedestrian, the topic of parking is a little less important to me. However there are still those who live too far away to walk, or are visiting, or are simply too lazy or timid to walk. Therefore I have provided plenty of parking with a variety of schemes. The first and most obvious is simply street side parking spaces. These are indicated by places where the curb is pulled back and rougher paving is revealed. They occur on all of the streets in the neighborhood as I believe even parked cars add life to the street. In some places the street side parking may be restricted to residents, for instance where this is the only parking available near the resident's homes.

Other parking is provided by parking lots. One such lot is located in the center of the block to the west of Henry Street. This is the largest of the lots but is designed to resemble more of a park than your normal concrete wasteland associated with parking lots. It is broken down into several smaller lots, with trees and pathways running through it. Henry Street and the other streets are accessible through one of several paths. There are a few other parking lots scattered through the neighborhood, as well as a parking garage. The garage is actually located beneath the Retirement Community and Medical Center and is accessed from Shenandoah Ave. Residents can park in any of these places, or for those in houses most have private garages. It is stressed that one of the benefits of living here is that the need for a car is very small.

About the only other option for parking is for the individual buildings to have garages underneath them. I observed quite a bit of this when I worked in Georgetown. Since open lots would disrupt the street walls, garages were placed in the basements of buildings and accessed from alleys or service lanes. It is another option as long as the access is not from the street itself, garage doors are not part of a lively street scene!

The Residential Sector

The Residential Sector includes the parts of the neighborhood where there are individual houses, as well as that part where the residences are actually apartments above the commercial spaces. The apartments along Henry Street are all on the upper levels of the buildings, accessed by means of a separate entrance at the street level. Where possible elevator access should be shared by multiple buildings. In fact it would be a good idea if several buildings could be consolidated on the upper levels. That is, one large building from the second floor up for the purpose of making the apartment access easier. From the outside and at ground level the building would appear as multiple buildings to maintain the scale of the street. In this way one elevator or service core could be shared by a group of apartments, and the street front space required for the entrances would be minimized as well. There is of course a limit to how far this can be taken. The whole street should not be one building. Residents in these apartments should be provided with balconies and plenty of windows. The balconies are public areas in a sense and they should not be built to provide privacy. In other words, railings which are transparent are appropriate.

The other residential areas are private homes on the streets surrounding Henry Street. These are typical urban homes, small front yards (about 10 feet deep), moderate back yards with little or no side yard. In the case of rowhouses, there is of course no side yard and parking is usually on the street, although there is a situation in my design where the rowhouses were able to have garages in the rear. The detached homes have side yards, but only on one side to consolidate the available space for the most beneficial use. These also have garages in the rear. In my design, these homes have private and public yards. The front yards are fenced in by short, three foot fences which are transparent.



A typical urban dwelling in Cooperstown, New York. The house defines the edge of the street with a "transparent" fence.

Where there are side yard, these are not to be treated as merely access to the back yard. Rather there should be things, activities going on in these as well. They aren't large, 8 feet wide, but that is enough for gardens and gateways. In the city every little space should be made the most of. The back yards are private, and as such are encased by high solid walls. This is the place where the urban resident can retreat from public life, it is not vast, but it is enough. The only exception to this rule is in the case of the houses on the Southern end of the neighborhood which sit up on the wall. These houses do not have a strictly private yard for the simple reason that a solid high wall along the path at the top of the wall would be visually displeasing. These residents will have to make do with less privacy and merely fence their entire yard with transparent fencing. They can plant hedges, but these must be kept low.

Lest you think that the residents are unfriendly because of all of the fences, let me explain. The fences are merely another way of marking boundaries, of establishing "walls." Just as with the walls of the street, sometimes walls need to be transparent, and sometimes they can be solid.

As I mentioned earlier, these streets are slightly different. Mainly this lies in the increased setback requirements. There is also the fact that for practical reasons the 1:1 ratio we spoke of is not even attempted. Rather, the sense of enclosure depends on the use of large trees and fences. In this way the sidewalk is still given a sense of enclosure, at least to the degree required. After all residential streets require less sense of enclosure than main streets.

The last aspect of the residential sector which I would like to touch on deals with the topic of Gentrification. Gentrification is merely a fancy term for a situation where a neighborhood undergoes this type of restructuring and as a result the area become attractive to middle and upper classes. This may sound good but there is a drawback.

What happens is that this influx of wealth causes tax rates to increase to the point where the original residents are forced out because they can no longer afford the taxes. It happens quite frequently and in many ways defeats the purpose of the project. We are trying to create better life in the city centers. However we end up forcing out the people who are usually the most devoted members of the community.

There is a simple way to stop the process of gentrification. That is to freeze the taxes and rents for original residents at a place where they are still manageable for these people. For the wealthy who want to move in, go ahead and charge them more. The street likes to have many different "classes" of people living on it, but we have to be careful that we don't drive the original residents out in the process of trying to save the city.

" America's economic and class segmentation and stratification reduces localized diversity, offense, danger, and unfortunately adventure." ³⁷

The Costs

A city is an expensive thing to maintain, not only in monetary terms, but also in the sense of human expense. To make the city a living, breathing place will cost plenty of money, spent to upgrade the conditions of our streets, both for the pedestrian and for motorized vehicle.

For starters, the current level of attention paid to the street will have to change. There will have to be a new commitment to keeping the streets clean. Whether that means sweeping the streets weekly rather than once or twice a year, or if it means beginning to actually wash the street as they do in Amsterdam, is a choice that the individual city will have to make.

There is also the matter of using the more expensive materials which this proposal calls for. This will be perhaps the most difficult measure to get past the local city governments. For the most part modern man does things in the quickest and easiest manner, not taking into account that the more expensive route may in the long run be cheaper because of the longevity of the product.

The city will also incur more costs in providing some of the newer community facilities. The Post Office, the two community centers, and the building to house the incubator businesses are all costs which the city will incur. All of these projects will cost money which the city will need to find a way to provide for the district.

The introduction of trees along streets will cost a good bit, not to mention the necessity of maintaining the trees, pruning, feeding, and replacing the ones which don't survive. Flowers and greenery will likewise be an added expense in initial costs and in maintenance. Other costs include the benches, lights, and fountains, anything which is added to the street in an effort to make them more livable. Some of the more superficial things can be spread out over a period of time to ease the burden on the city's budget.

The public will feel the bite as well. The attention paid to designing more detailed facades and shop fronts will be an added cost. Elements which are not used now, such as awnings, balconies, and other such details, will mean additional costs.

On another level, the new life of the city will cost individuals as they give up the complete privacy and isolation of the suburbs. Life in the city requires that the residents invest their lives in the streets. If the residents fail in this, that is if they remain hidden within their homes, inside their apartments, the life we are looking for will not appear. The process will involve a sense of vulnerability and fear among those not familiar with urban dwelling. Americans will have to conquer their fears of strangers and their need for solitude. But I believe that the results are worth the investment. I think that the people who live in cities which are alive, would agree

In our specific situation there will be further costs. The residents of Gainsboro will have to learn to share their neighborhood, even with the ones who are responsible for the current state of Henry Street. Urban life can not be selfish. In fact, the neighborhood would not last very long if left to itself. In the first place, there is not enough capital in the neighborhood to sustain life for the streets. There is not enough to even get these projects built. Investment will have to come from outside sources. As a result, the benefits must be both internal and external.

Secondly, the source of a majority of quality urban life comes from variety, from unexpected situations. These things won't occur without outsiders being welcomed into the very fabric of the neighborhood. It won't be comfortable, the residents will have to overcome their suspicions and distrust of the city and outsiders in general.

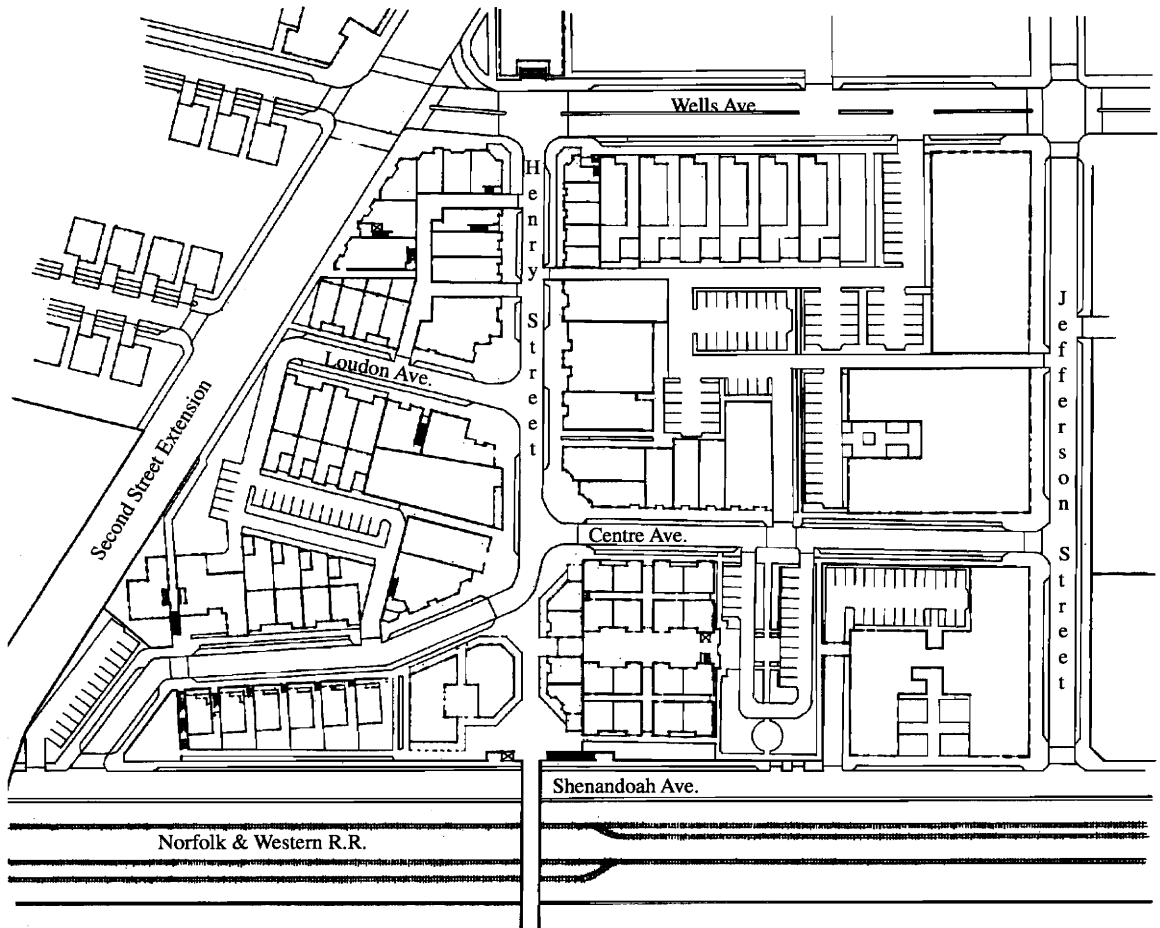
All told, the venture will be costly at the outset, but the end will no doubtedly be worth the added cost, after all who can put a price on life?

" All this illustrates the enormous conflict of interests between investments for the demands of machine/car and investments for living creature/man; it also indicates that there is a price to be paid for the restoration of urban space, if our society is to continue to value life in its cities. " 38

PART FOUR : CONCLUSIONS

The Henry Street Code

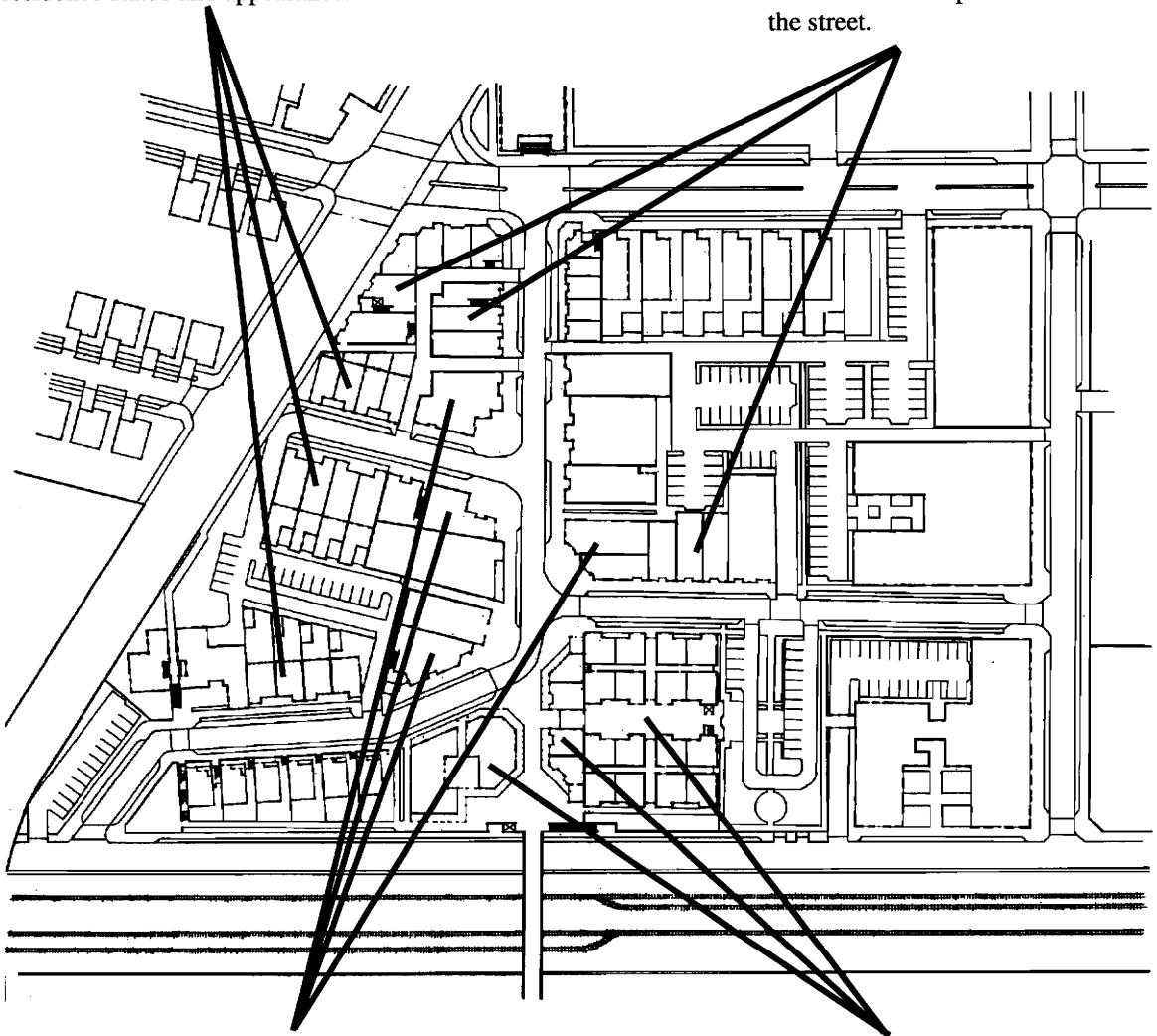
Below is a map to give you a quick overview of the Henry Street Neighborhood.



Lot Consolidation : in order to make development easier and more cost effective, many lots may be consolidated for the purpose of construction. It should be remembered however, that the street presence of each individual lot, that is the first floor and the facade should retain the appearance of the finer grained lot pattern.

Type five (Row houses) may be consolidated in groups of two or four for the purpose of construction only, but should retain their individual residence status and appearance.

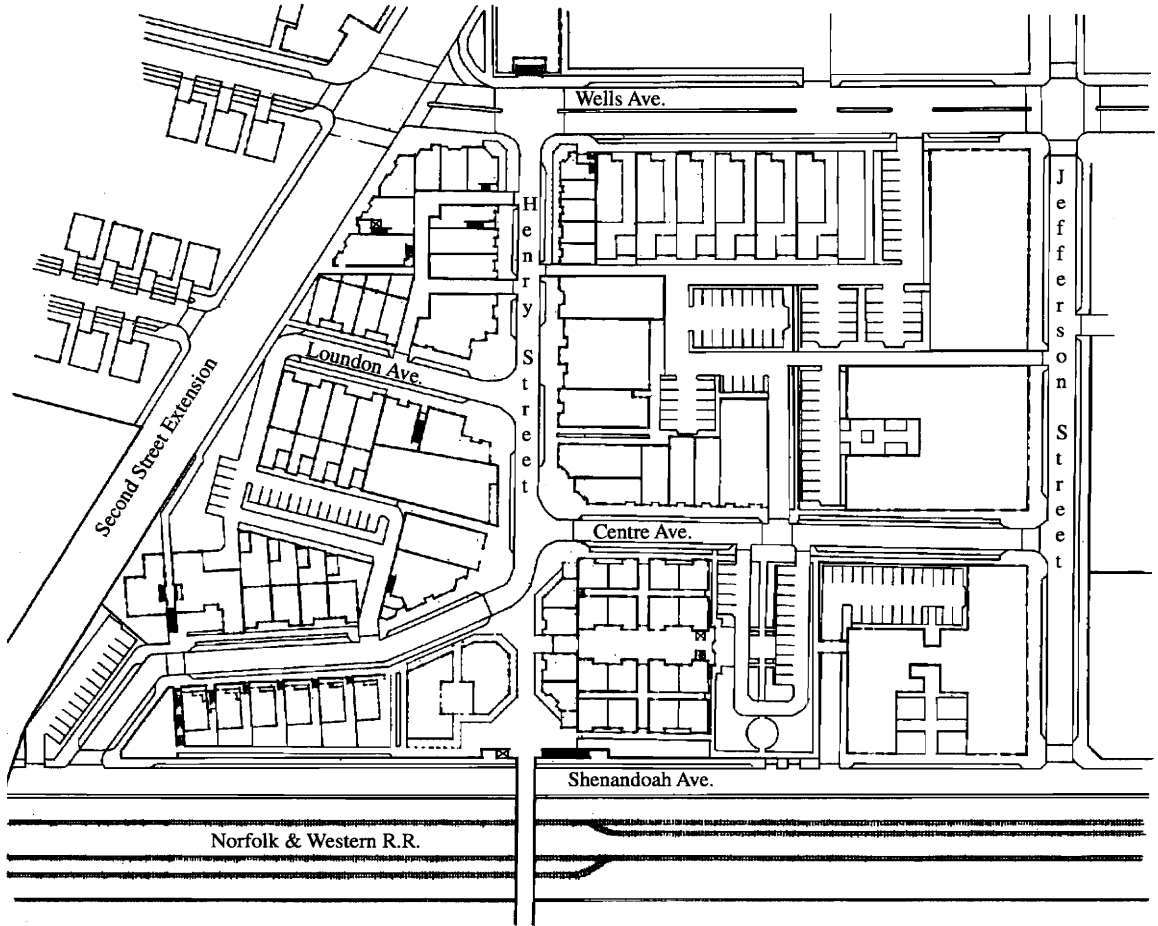
Type Three, (Main Street Type), these may be consolidated to allow for unified upper levels, the apartments, and would also minimize the need for multiple entrances from the street.



Type Two, (Corner Stores), these may also be consolidated, especially if one building wants to utilize the rooftop gardens of a corner lot.

Type Six, (special case), these will have to be consolidated to allow for the underground parking garage, and a more unified appearance.

Residential Capacity/ Population Density:

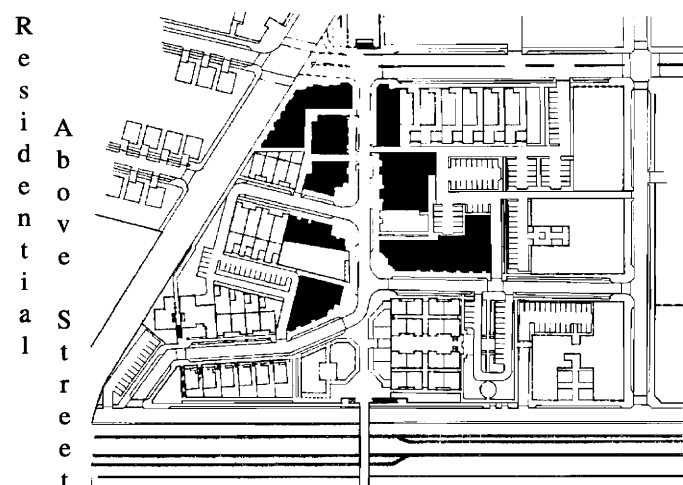
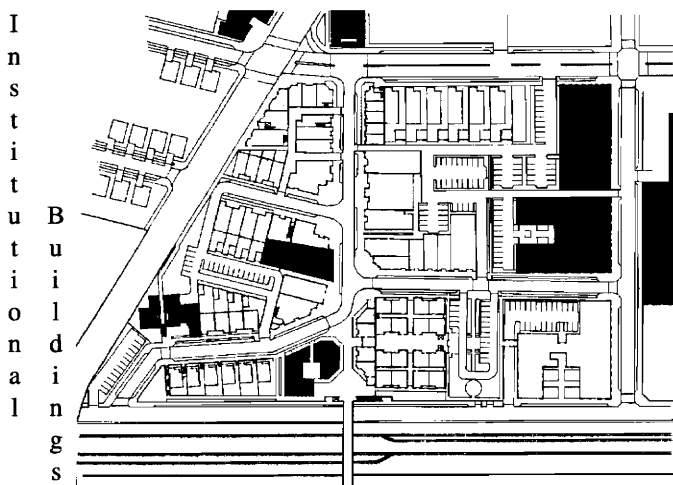
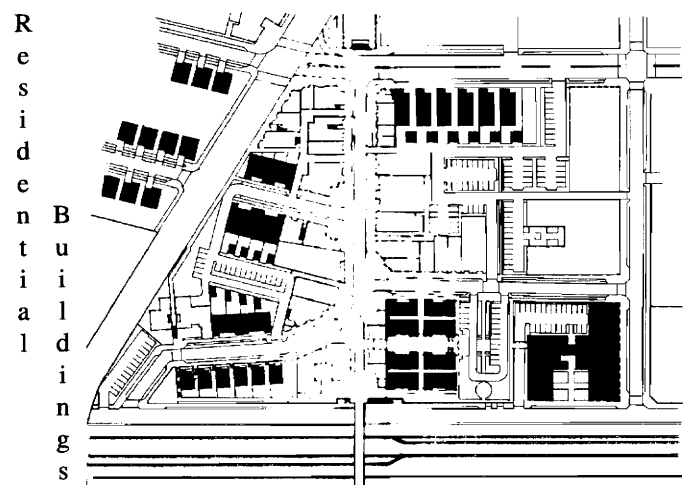
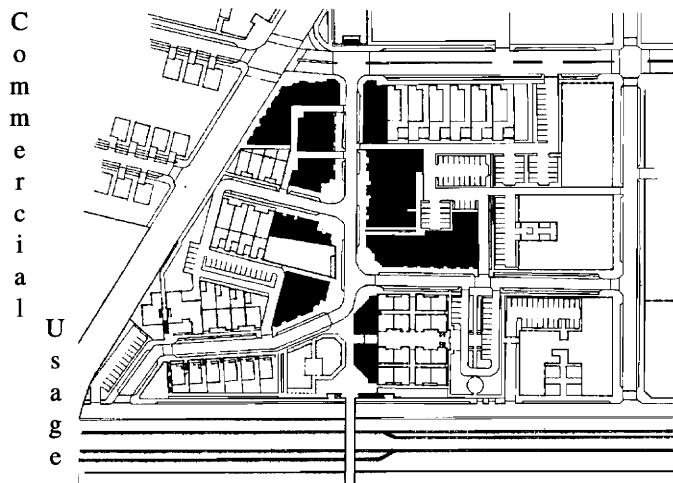
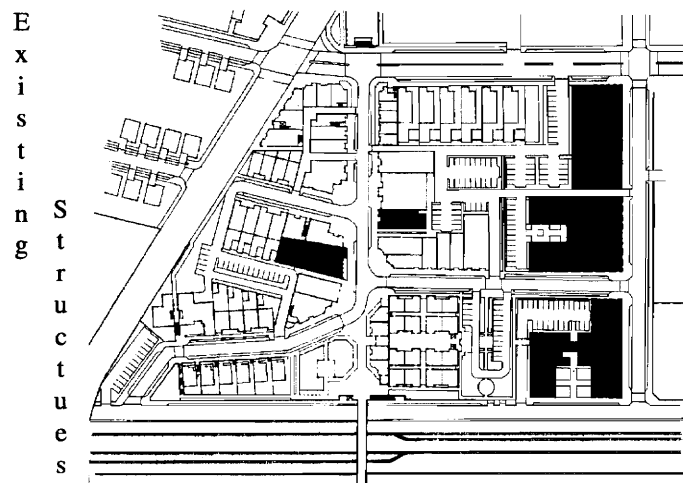


Temporary Users Of The New Neighborhood

22 Retail Units
 4 Entertainment Facilities
 2 Medical Facilities
 4 Shops in the Retirement Home
 2 Community Centers
 1 Post Office
 1 Graduate School Facility
 ?? Shoppers, Students & Guests

Approximate Number Of Dwelling Units In The New Neighborhood

Single Family Houses :	24 Houses.
	12 Detached Houses
	12 Rowhouses
Retirement Facility :	64 Units
Apartments Over Stores :	100 Units
Apartment Building :	100 Units
Total Dwelling Units :	312 Units



Building Type Study, Key.

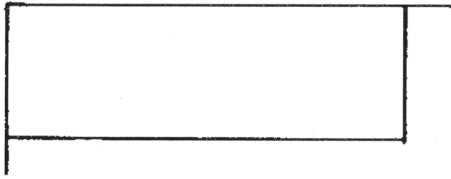
Existing Structures : Buildings which are currently on the site.

Residential Buildings : Buildings whose sole purpose is to house residents; either single families or apartment complexes. This includes the retirement facility.

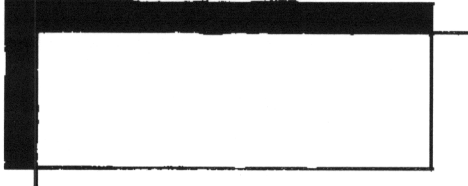
Residential Above Street Level : Buildings whose upper floors are used in part or in whole for apartments and living quarters.

Commercial Usage : Buildings whose mainfloor, at least, is used for retail or commercial purposes. This includes hotels, banks clubs and all stores.

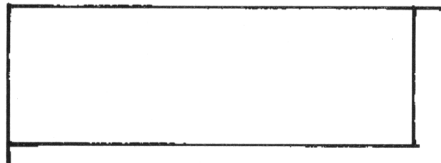
Institutional Buildings : Buildings used for community or governmental purposes; including community centers, post offices, learning institutions and medical facilities.



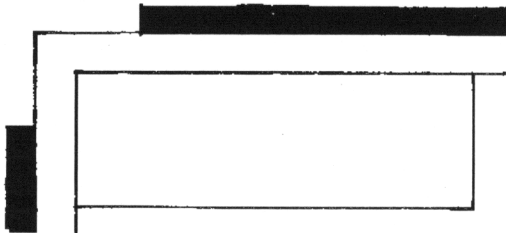
- 0' maximum setback on all sides.



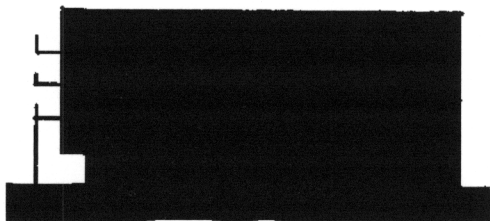
- arcades and balconies on sides exposed to public street, extending for 8' over public sidewalk. Arcades are two stories.



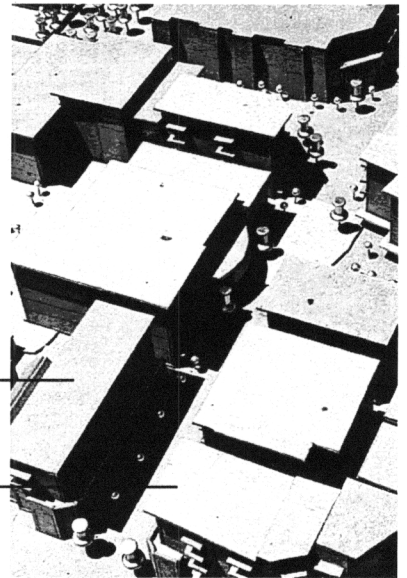
- there are no secondary structures.



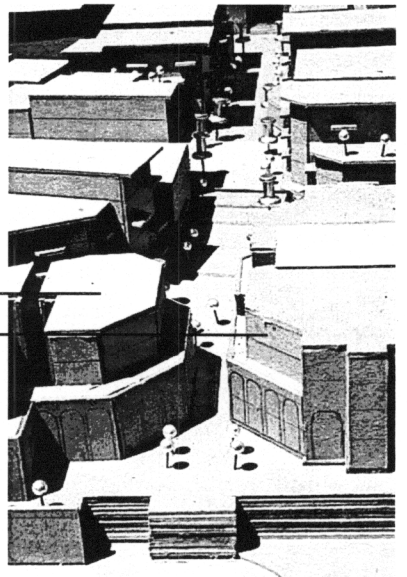
- street front parking, must be a minimum of 15' from corner before beginning parking lanes.

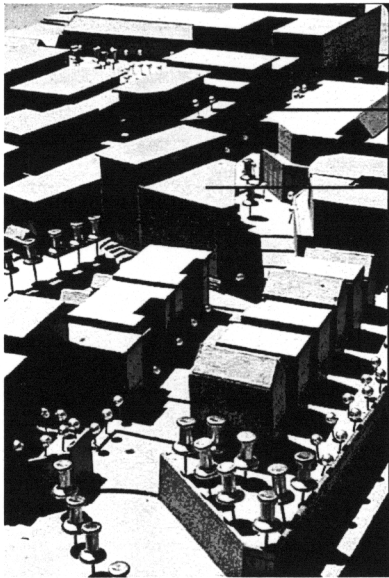


- 5 stories maximum, four minimum. Entries to individual shops should be recessed 4' minimum.



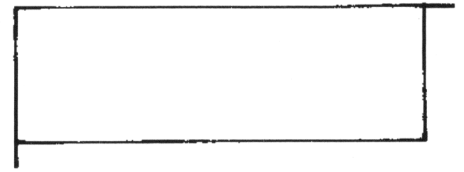
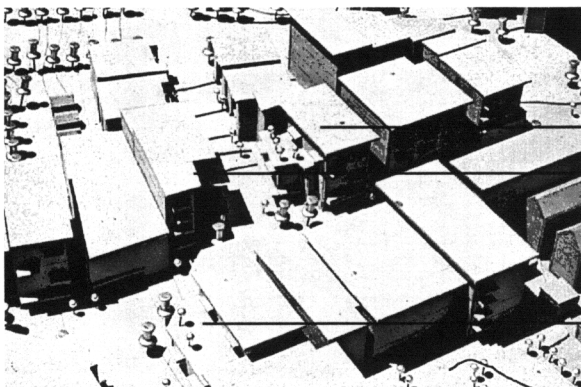
Type One - Entrance Buildings: (to Henry Street) These would be the Medical Arts Building, the shops connected to the Retirement Community, the Incubator Shops, and the building across from the Incubator Shops. These function as the entrances to our street and should contain active, interesting shops.



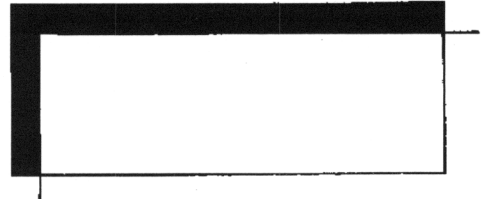


Type Two - Corner Store type.

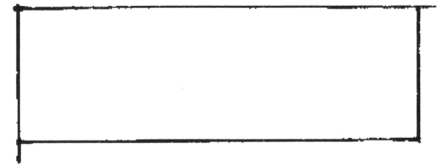
These are the buildings which anchor the street corners. Rather than have them anchor the corner by sheer mass, these dominate the corner by virtue of their character. The amount of activity is key. In these places the use of the roof to bring activity to the corners at an even greater level, is recommended.



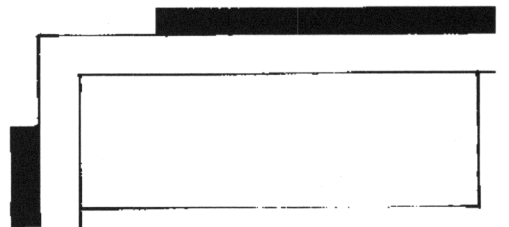
- 0' setback maximum on all sides.



- awnings and balconies on facades facing public street. Awnings to be 6' in depth at a height of 8'.



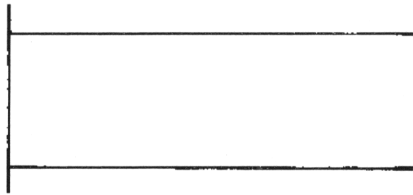
- there are no secondary structures.



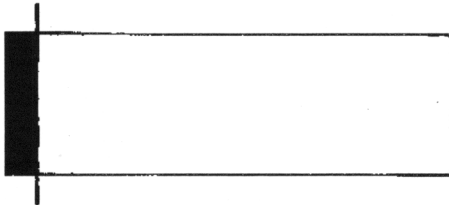
- street side parking, maintain a minimum of 15' from corners.



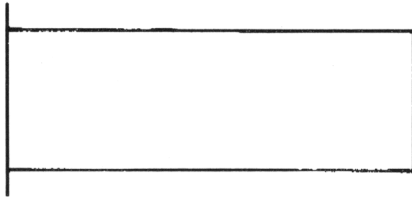
- four to five stories in height, may have three stories if there is extensive use of the roof for public gathering, i.e., a roof garden or deck.



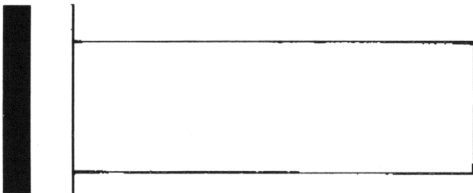
- 0' maximum setback on all sides.



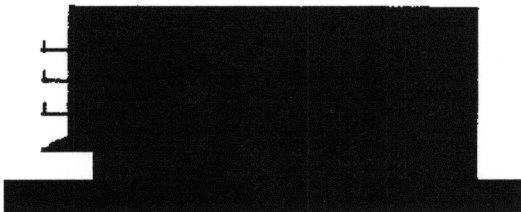
- awnings and balconies on street front facade. Awnings to be 6' in depth and at a height of 8'.



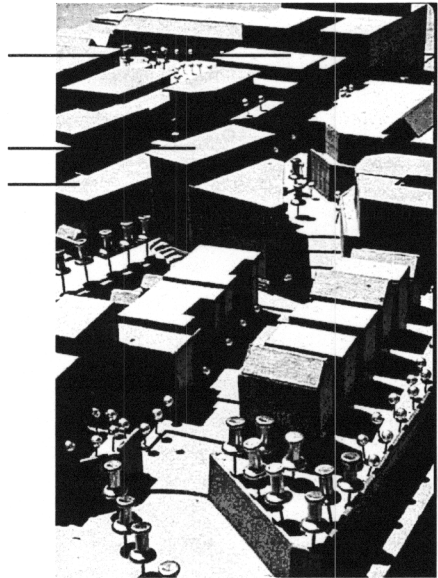
- there are no secondary structures.



- street side parking where allowed. May utilize "basement garage" if a rear or side access is feasible.

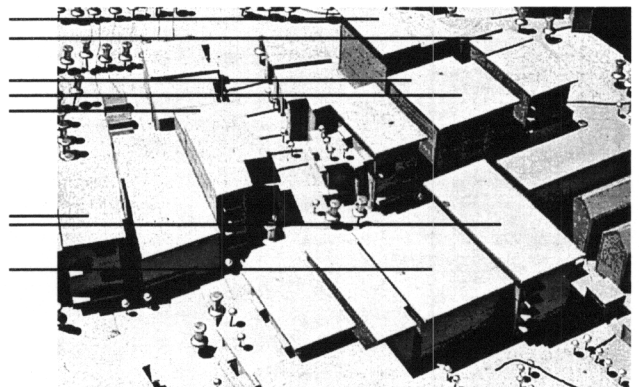


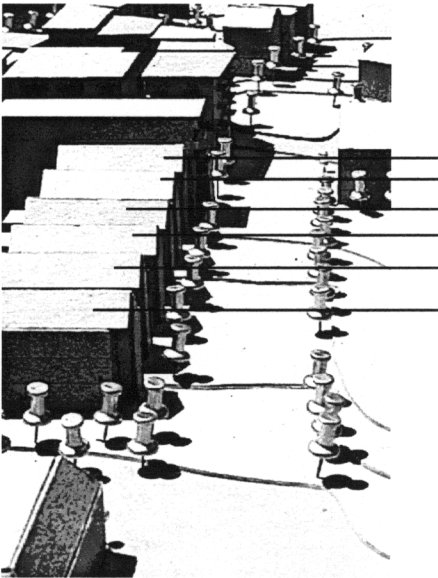
- buildings are four or five stories in height.



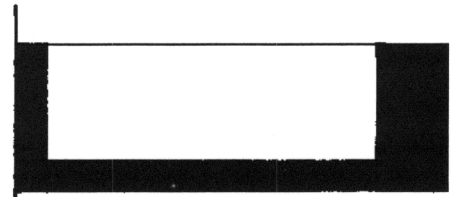
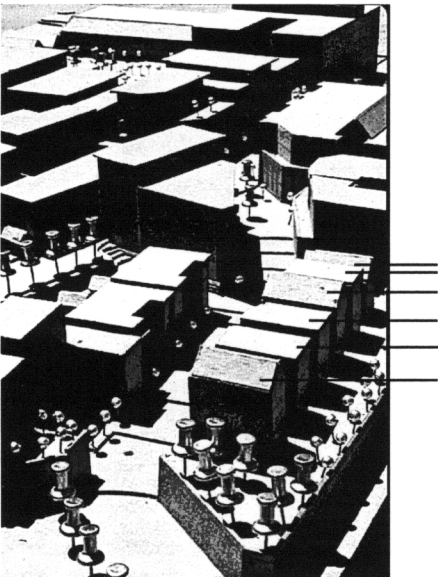
Type Three - Main Street Type.

These are the typical middle block buildings. They have commercial space on the ground level with office, retail or residential spaces above. These also include special uses such as theaters or hotels. The restrictions for these do not apply to historic structure already in place.

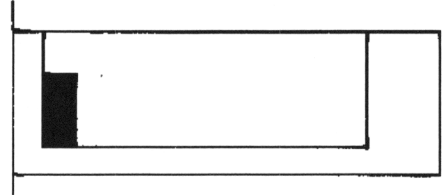




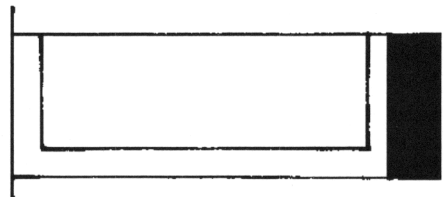
Type Four - Freestanding Residential. These are single family home for the most part although a bed and breakfast or boarding house would fit in as well. They have small front yard and larger walled rear yards, (except those on the wall). They also have a single side yard.



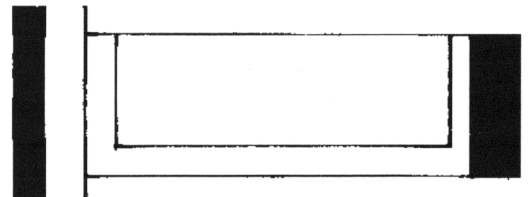
- Minimum setbacks: 8' front, 20' rear, 0' one side, 8' the other.



- a porch and balcony in the front, to a depth of 8' minimum.



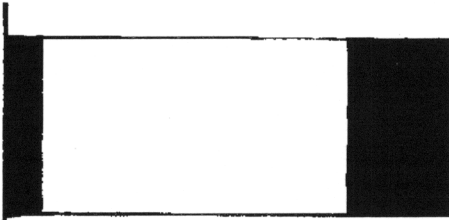
- secondary structure of not more than 15' in height may be built in rear setback.



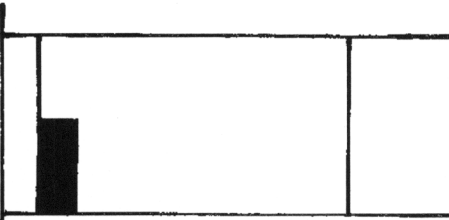
- parking along street front where allowed. Also may park in rear setback or in access way where applicable. Rear parking must be accessed from the rear.



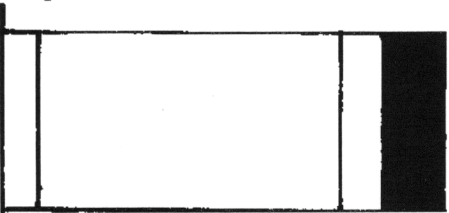
- 3 foot fence in front, some have a 8' wall in rear. Three stories mandatory.



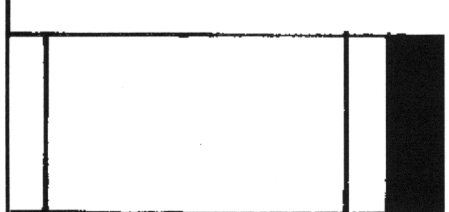
- Minimum setbacks: 8' front, 10' rear, 0' sides.



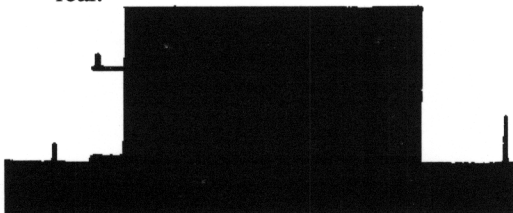
- a porch and balcony in the front to a depth of 8' minimum.



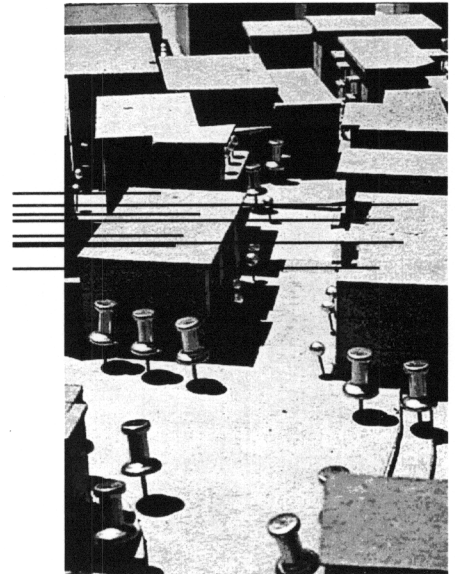
- secondary structure of not more than 15' in height may be built in rear setback.



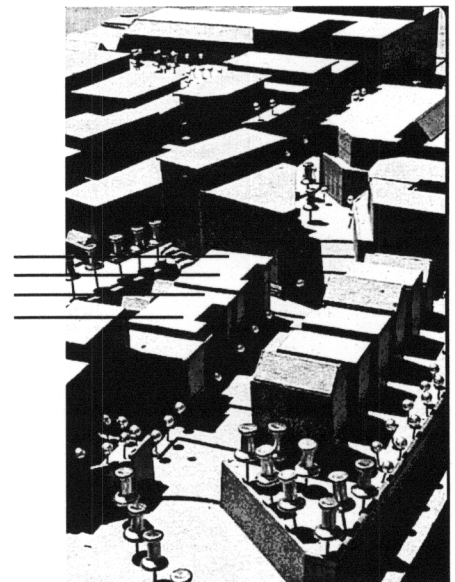
- parking along street front where allowed. Also may park in rear setback or in rear access way where applicable. Rear parking must be accessed from the rear.



- 3' fence in front, 8' wall in rear. Three story mandatory.



Type Five - Rowhouse type. These are typical row houses, small front yards, larger walled rear yards, with common walls. Generally single family units. These may be built as a single building as long as they read as independent from the exterior.



Concluding Remarks

It is a hard thing trying to decide how to close out the discussion of this project, of this whole topic. I think that the most important thing to take from this project, indeed from this whole discussion, is a new way of envisioning a city. Rather than visualizing the "Big Picture" we need to start getting down to the level of the street. To see the city from the eyes of a small, insignificant pedestrian, is the only way designers and planners are going to be able to turn our cities around and make them places to live.

The American city is not yet dead. There is still a heart beat although faint, which calls to us as professionals, and as citizens, "Help me!" It matters not if the city contains cutting edge technology and the latest in Architectural fashion. When building in an urban site, the key is to work with the city. Prairies and open countrysides are the place for "showboating," but the city is much too fragile for it. The real key is to make the city, both the public and private realms, enjoyable for the pedestrian. Within the framework which the city and the street provides, it is good to explore new ways of meeting the cities needs. But again, not at the expense of the urban fabric.

Lastly, I want to remind us all of the most important thing to be learned here. Cities are for people. Streets are for people. If we have any hope of making the city live again, we must stop designing and building for machines and for grand schemes that only the birds can enjoy. People must become the focus in all of our designs, from the small shop to the layout of entire neighborhoods. The scale at which we build must relate back to the ones we are building for, the human. If we do this, if we can change our thinking and design for the individual pedestrian I believe that life for our cities, abundant life, is not far from our grasp.

" ... theorems which determine patterns of urban building:

1. Each building in a town must be subservient to the overall plan. That is, its scale, its building type, architectural vocabulary must harmonize with the existing architectural fabric.

2. The existing conception of urban space must not be destroyed, but complemented by new buildings. If such a conception of urban space does not already exist, the new building must create it." ³⁹

" In the end, our purpose must be clear: places of privilege everywhere for everybody. Such a sweeping mission can be accomplished. One of the most powerful tools can be the strategic design of projects that are catalytic and placemaking, able to augment the economic and cultural identity of a neighborhood or district. Imagine the cumulative effect of such projects in our cities - hundreds of projects each year, most of them privately sponsored, year after year, making places more whole and evocative." ⁴⁰

Endnotes

1. Frank Lloyd Wright, The Living City.
(New York : Horizon Press, 1958) p. 60
2. Anthony Fyson, Change The Street.
(London : Oxford University Press, 1976) p. 50
3. Lyn H. Lofland, "The Morality Of Urban PublicLife: The Emergence and Continuation Of A Debate". (*Places*, Vol. 6 No. 1, 1989) p.20
4. *ibid.* p.21
5. Kandinsky, Complete Writings Of Art, Volume One.
(Boston, Mass : G.K. Hall & Co., 1982) p. 532
6. Nathan Glazer and Mark Lilla, The Public Face Of Architecture.
(New York : Free Press, 1987) p. 382
7. David Wood, "Looking For Life In The Heart Of The City".
(*Places*, Vol. 7 No. 2, 1991) p.47
8. *ibid* p. 46
9. Lawrence Halprin, Cities.
(Cambridge, Mass : MIT Press, 1972) p. 37
10. David Wood, p. 45
11. Rob Krier, Urban Space.
(New York : Rizzoli, 1979) p. 17
12. Le Corbusier, "The Street" in Seaside : Making A Town In America.
(New York : Princeton Architecture Press, 1994) p. 244
13. Lyn H. Lofland, p. 22
14. Lawrence Halprin, p. 221
15. Michael Brill, "An Ontology For Exploring Urban Public Life Today"
(*Places*, Vol. 6 No. 1, 1989) p. 28
16. Frank Lloyd Wright, p. 61
17. Michael Brill, p. 29
18. Theodore De Banville, "The Street" in Paris As Seen And Described By Famous Writers. (New York : Dodd, Mead & Co., 1900) p. 351
19. Allen Jacobs, Great Streets.
(Cambridge, Mass : MIT Press, 1993) p. 4
20. *ibid.* p. 8
21. Anthony Fyson, p. 10
22. Anthony Fyson, p. 18
23. Lawrence Halprin, p. 117
24. Le Corbusier, p. 244
25. Nathan Glazer and Mark Lilla, p. 22
26. *ibid.* p. 338

27. Theodore De Banville, p. 357
28. David Wood, p. 47
29. Mary Bishop, "Street By Street, Block By Block".
(Roanoke Times, Sunday Jan. 29, 1995) p. A10
30. *ibid.* p. A10
31. *ibid.* p. 3-special report
32. *ibid.* p. 5-special report
33. Anne Vernez-Moudon, Public Streets For Public Use.
(New York : Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1987) p. 5
34. Robert S. Harris, "Places Of Privelege".
(*Places*, Vol. 9 No. 2, 1994) p. 30
35. Stanford Anderson, On Streets.
(Cambridge, Mass : MIT Press, 1978) p. 145
36. Rob Krier, p. 62
37. Michael Brill, p. 30
38. Rob Krier, p. 21
39. *ibid.* p. 67
40. Robert S. Harris, p. 31

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