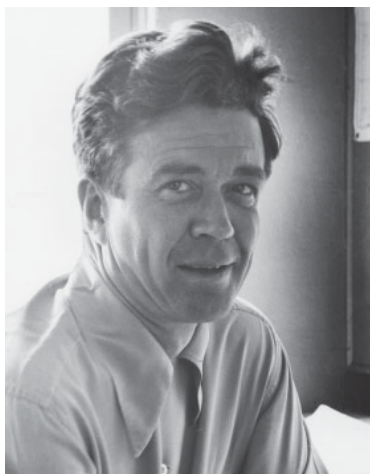


JANE JACOBS: Planners and architects are apt to think, in an orderly way, of stores as a straightforward matter of supplies and services—commercial space. But stores in city neighborhoods are much more complicated creatures which have evolved a much more complicated function. They are a big portion of the glue that makes an urban neighborhood a community instead of a dormitory. A store is also a storekeeper. One supermarket can replace thirty neighborhood delicatessens, fruit stands, groceries, and butchers, as a Housing Authority planner explains. But it cannot replace thirty storekeepers, or even one. The stores themselves are social centers—especially the bars, candy stores, and diners. A store is also often an empty store *front*. Into these fronts go all manner of churches, clubs, and mutual uplift societies. These storefront activities are enormously valuable. They are the institutions that people create, themselves. If you are a nobody, and you don't know anybody who isn't a nobody, the only way you can make yourself heard in a large city is through certain well-defined channels. These channels all begin in holes-in-the-wall. They start in Mike's barbershop or the hole-in-the-wall office of a man called "Judge," and they go on to the Thomas Jefferson Democratic Club where Councilman Favini holds court, and now you are started on up. It all takes an incredible number of confabs. The physical provisions for this kind of process cannot conceivably be formalized. When the holes-in-the-wall disappear, several different things can happen. If you look at Stuyvesant Town in New York, you can clearly see one result. That development is now surrounded by an unplanned, chaotic, prosperous belt of stores, the camp followers around the Stuyvesant barracks. A good planner could handle that belt. But beyond this, is an even more chaotic area, is another belt. Tucked in here are the hand-to-mouth cooperative nursery schools, the ballet classes, the do-it-yourself workshops, the little exotic stores which are among the great charms of a city. This same process happens whether the



Garrett Eckbo, ca. 1960.
 Courtesy of University of California,
 Environmental Design Archives, Berkeley.