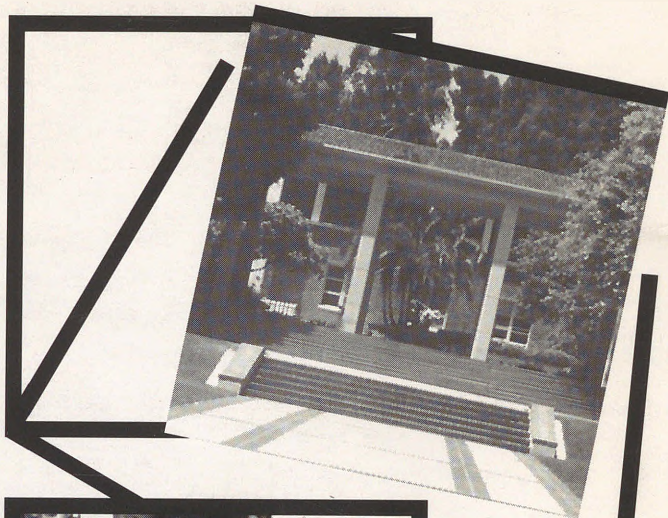
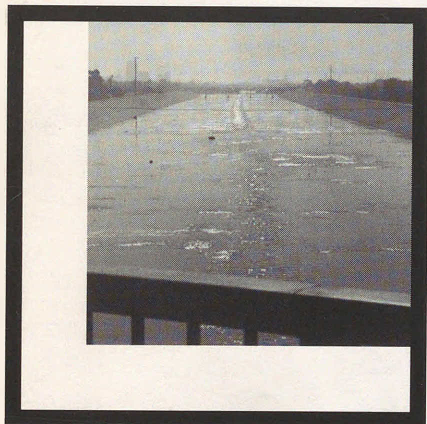
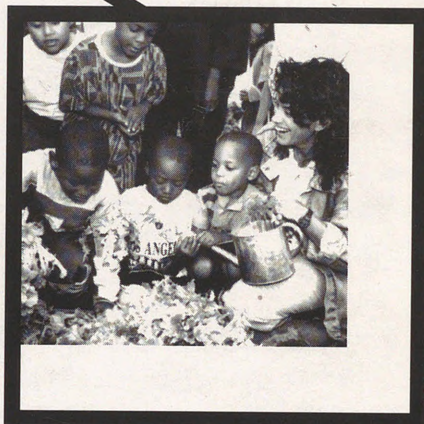
CRITICAL







PLANNING

Journal of UCLA Department of Urban Planning
Volume 2 **Spring 1995**

C R I T I C A L   P L A N N I N G

Editors:
Ute Lehrer
Mirle Rabinowitz Bussell

Editorial Collective:
Bill Adair, Lande Ajose, Ira Brown, Dora Epstein, Andrea Gardner, Liette Gilbert, Hany Khalil, Lewison Lem, Cynthia So

Design Director:
Kayne Doumani

Design Assistant:
Liette Gilbert

Cover Design:
Liette Gilbert
Ute Lehrer

Cover Photographs:
© Ute Lehrer
© Long Photography

Financial Support:
Graduate Student Association of UCLA

Special Thanks To:
Andy Charmatz, Mike Cohen, Dana Cuff, Ajay Parikh, Frank Pena, Joe Plummer, Leonie Sandercock, Aaron Shonk, Michael Storper.

Critical Planning is published annually by the Students of the Department of Urban Planning, School of Public Policy and Social Research, University of California, Los Angeles.

Subscription Rates:
Individual $5/yr., Student $3/yr.,
UCLA Alumni $4/yr., Institutions $10/yr.
Friends of Critical Planning $15/yr.

Send subscription orders and address changes to:
Critical Planning, Perloff Hall
University of California at Los Angeles
405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90095
Tel: (310) 825-8957
FAX: (310) 206-5566

Back Issues:
Back issues are available for $6 and can be obtained by contacting the above address.

Book Reviewing:
Publishers who would like a forthcoming book reviewed should send copies to the above address.

©1995, *Critical Planning*

CRITICAL PLANNING

Journal of the UCLA Department of Urban Planning

PLANNING AND PUBLIC POLICY

Empowerment in Planning: Proof, Pedagogy and Practice
by Lande Ajose 1

The Politics of Production: Post-Fordist Popular Sector Substitutions and Strategies
by William Kramer 11

Perpetuating the Status Quo: Militry Base Conversion Planning and the Lack of Environmental Policy
by Kacy Collons 25

At the Cutting Edge: A Portrait of Innovative Grassrots Organizations in Los Angeles
by Elwood Hopkins 39

Is Development Being Re-Gererated in the Neo-Liberal Age?: Perspectives on Grassroots Challenges to Economic Development
by Jordi Beneria-Surkin 61

ARCHITECTURE AND DESIGN

Towards a Radical Design Practice
by Bill Adair 75

Programming for Spatiality in a Non-Spatial World
by Laura Rambin 81

Decloaking the Camera Obscura: Toward a Free-Space Cinema
by Anthony Raynsford 85

POETRY AND FICTION

Planning Theory of Riots Poetry or Planning Poetry on Riots Theory
by Liette Gilbert 91

From Ma-Ma with Love
by Cytnhia So 101

BOOK REVIEW

John Horton, *The Politics of Diversity: Immigration, Resistance, and Change in Monterey Park, California*
by Ute Lehrer 113

ETC.

Final Projects of GSAUP Graduating Master's and Ph.D. Candidates, 1993-1994 117

a note from the EDITORS

This second edition of *Critical Planning* comes at a time of great change for the Department of Urban Planning. When we first initiated this journal two years ago, we were housed under one roof with the Department of Architecture in the Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning. Times have changed. The Chancellor's Professional Schools Restructuring Plan forced a divorce of the two disciplines sending them off to separate new spaces. But we refuse to let this dictate the contents of our journal. In fact, we find it somewhat ironic that this year the journal contains several articles written by architecture students. This reflects our continuing commitment to maintain a discourse between planning and other disciplines including: architecture, social welfare, political science, geography, sociology, history, anthropology, art history and "others."

In a similar vein, the diversity represented in this issue of *Critical Planning* illustrates the ways in which planning and architecture students at UCLA draw on a variety of discourses in their work. For example, this issue contains articles on critical urban history, the politics of post-Fordist production processes, grassroots organizing and development, and environmental policy. Several other authors consider ways in which contemporary theory and practice is urging architects and planners to challenge the boundaries of their disciplines, forcing us to move beyond "traditional" views. We are very pleased to continue a tradition, that we started with our first issue, of including academic articles written in a non-academic format.

If the dedication and enthusiasm of this year's staff is any indication, we can look forward to a productive and successful future. We were fortunate to have an extremely talented and committed staff, many of whom plan to continue their involvement with the journal. But in order to evolve into a widely recognized refereed publication, the journal needs not only a high level of student involvement, but also the support and guidance of the faculty.

Ute Lehrer & Mirle Rabinowitz Bussell, Editors
June 1995

EMPOWERMENT IN PLANNING: PROOF, PEDAGOGY AND PRACTICE

Lande Ajose

History is widely considered a fundamental intellectual pursuit for both scholars and practitioners of planning because it provides a broad framework for understanding the relevance of the discipline's past to its current practice. Central, then, to this intellectual pursuit is the question of history's constitution. What is it? How is it documented? Who documents it? Who owns it? And perhaps most importantly, what does it tell us about planning today?

For planners a study of history is critical. If we are to plan for the future, we surely must understand the conditions which caused certain decisions to be made, certain events to occur, and which ultimately caused certain outcomes to result. Moreover, a knowledge of history allows us to correct erroneous assumptions about the past while providing us with a contextual understanding of the course of events. A knowledge of history can help us to replicate the positive aspects of our past while mitigating the negative ones.

In recent years, there has been considerable discussion over what constitutes history, both within and outside of the discipline of planning. These discussions turn on the issue of multiculturalism -- on what should and should not be taught in American classrooms under the broad rubric of history. While detractors claim that identity politics and political correctness have no place in the hallowed halls of the academy, advocates of multicultural studies call for a more inclusive narrative which incorporates, the experiences and contributions of traditionally marginalized groups in the United States. One ardent critic asserts that multiculturalism has taken on the qualities of a social movement. He describes it as "a code word for a political ambi-

tion, a yearning for more power, combined with a genuine, earnest, zealous, self-righteous craving for social improvement that is characteristic of the mentality of the post-1960s era in American life" (Bernstein 1994: 7).

Within the field of planning history multiculturalism has reemerged as alternative epistemologies, cultural relativism and revisionist histories. Though a less fervent debate than in most mainstream educational circles, several planning scholars are attempting to come to terms with what it means to incorporate alternative histories into a pre-existing master narrative. The process of doing so requires uncovering the untold stories of traditionally marginalized groups: it is a foray into the experiences of African Americans in the United States, an examination of the role of women in shaping our past, a review of the visibility and invisibility of gays and lesbians in the urban frame. In short, it requires us to reconsider our traditional notions of planning history and, by implication, planning theory.

In this paper, I will consider the implications of "alternative histories" for the field of planning. I will examine several recent articles which challenge our master historical planning narrative, and establish a context for understanding the relationship between these stories and the dominant texts. This examination will provide the "proof" to justify teaching alternative histories in the classroom, and a logic which asserts that these histories should inform practice. Finally, this paper will connect alternative histories to the concept of empowerment, and consider the implications of these alternative histories for radical planning practice.

The Proof is in the Pudding: Examining Recent Works

Traditional historical planning texts are often described as a chronicle of "greats and dates." When Mel Scott wrote *American City Planning History Since 1890*, he considered his work to be a largely comprehensive report of the major events and individuals who affected the development of planning as a profession. These texts have been widely perceived as 'objective' and 'accurate' accounts of past historical events. However, it has been argued that no account of history is ever completely objective or accurate since it is always an reinterpretation of past events. The chronicler determines what is important and valid to include in the story. Leonie Sandercock describes this interpretation as "a textual reconstruction of the past rather than a direct reflection of it." (Sandercock forthcoming: 2) In broader discussion, bell hooks reminds us "that the education most of us ... [receive]... is never politically neutral" (hooks 1994: 30). By doing so she suggests that even seemingly objective texts have a political agenda. While hooks is vague about what this agenda is, it could be argued that it is in part to exercise a form of social control which maintains the orderliness of society. In this sense mainstream texts are political with the intention of perpetuating the *status quo*.[1]

In response to these mainstream texts a number of other histories have been and are being uncovered which describe the impact of traditionally marginalized groups on the planning profession, as well as the impact of the profession upon traditionally marginalized groups. By introducing these texts

to the master narrative, the *status quo* is upset. These texts therefore do represent an insurgent movement within historiography, and for marginalized groups. Their goal however, is not, as critics suggest, "political ambition, a yearning for more power," (Bernstein 1994: 7) but a desire to challenge prevailing cultural understandings and make history more reflective of the rich context in which events transpire. This paper focuses on three recent works by planning scholars to insert an African American planning history within the dominant historical planning paradigm. Incorporating these works into planning history allows us to forge a new understanding of the profession.

Towards an African American Planning Narrative

In "Discovering an African American Planning History," Joan Fitzgerald and William Howard actively interrogate the absence of the African American experience from planning history by undertaking an investigation of black "greats" who have contributed to the profession. They begin with the premise that "the future relevance of the field [of planning] and our ability to obtain and maintain diversity within it require that we better integrate the African American planning experience into the curriculum" (Fitzgerald and Howard 1993: 1). They go on to argue that the topic of race has been omitted from planning texts precisely because black experiences and contributions have not been documented and incorporated, and as a result the issue of race, and by implicitly racism, has been largely omitted from the mainstream contextualization of planning history.

Fitzgerald and Howard correct this omission by introducing W.E.B. DuBois, a social reformer for black community, as a planning "great." DuBois' role as a planner was essentially that of a demographer and a sociologist. His project was to document where and how African Americans lived in urban America, with the hope that the results of his survey methodology could be used to improve their social condition. He concluded that "the physical and social environment shape individual and collective behavior. For ... blacks, who were not part of the historical shaping of Northern cities, and who were not welcomed upon arrival, adjustment to urban life was particularly difficult" (Fitzgerald and Howard 1993: 6).[2]

Fitzgerald and Howard show the tremendous parallels between black urban poverty during DuBois' era and black urban poverty today. Current poverty indicators, such as the number of female headed households, were prevalent 100 years ago, and economic opportunity still ranks as the number one obstacle encountered by black people. Equally important, Fitzgerald and Howard show that the planning tradition within the black community has been substantially different from mainstream practice. Whereas the profession generally has presented its history as being concerned with the shaping of the urban frame, the black tradition has been more focused on economic development activities because of the high incidence of poverty and unemployment which has always been prevalent within

the black community (Fitzgerald and Howard 1993: 19). They argue that historical knowledge of the obdurate nature of such problems can inform our urban policy efforts today (Fitzgerald and Howard 1993: 22).[3]

The study of DuBois by Fitzgerald and Howard is significant for the discipline of planning, because, as the authors themselves suggest, it causes one to question why the profession has never "claimed" DuBois as a planner when he was primarily concerned with issues of demographics (and creating a database of information on blacks) and employment (Fitzgerald and Howard 1993: 18). Instead, his efforts are relegated to the domain of social work. At the most fundamental level, we (planners) must ask ourselves who, historically speaking, we consider to be planners and why. We must entertain the notion that perhaps our reticence to include/claim/adopt DuBois as a contributor to the planning profession is, like the sociologists of his time, because of our consciousness of the subversive nature of such an act. It is subversive because claiming DuBois upsets our social order, disturbs our *status quo*, and perhaps forces the profession to confront our own complicity in perpetuating a largely racist society.

Clyde Woods, in "The Blues Epistemology and Regional Planning History: The Case of The Lower Mississippi Delta Commission," also uncovers the untold story of African Americans within the field of planning, but not through the story of one particular actor. Instead, Woods examines the response of a people, a rural, southern African American community, to the political and structural changes occurring in the South. Woods describes this response as a movement of resistance which he calls "Blues epistemology," a "system of explanation" for the social conditions which blacks faced during the antebellum plantation regime (Woods forthcoming: 4).

Woods' paper is both complex and postmodern in its approach. His task was to "provide new and multiple foundations for regional orders, a more egalitarian and democratic planning practice, and regional restructuring based on indigenous concepts of sustainability and of social, cultural, and economic justice" (Woods forthcoming: 1). In telling the story of the Lower Mississippi Delta Development Commission (LMDDC), Woods "recovers" the *ways* in which poor blacks residing in the South have coped with and responded to the larger structural and political forces around them. Stated another way, Woods' project is as much about the LMDDC as it is about the methodologies of resistance employed by indigenous peoples to respond to this new institution.

The Lower Mississippi Delta Development Commission was a failed regional planning effort. Because the seven states in the Lower Mississippi River Valley have one of the densest and poorest concentrations of Blacks in the United States, the Commission was established as an effort to develop a ten year economic development plan for the region. However, rural southern blacks mobilized a boycott of the white male Commission to voice their outrage at the exclusion of blacks from the economic development process. For African Americans in the re-

gion, this ostricization added insult to injury. They were, after all, the individuals who were unemployed in the greatest numbers and had the most to gain from any policies advanced by the LMDDC.

The mobilization of African Americans against the LMDDC, and consequently the plantation bloc they represented, epitomized the Blues epistemology in action as a "story of how seemingly marginalized regional blocs continue to press their development agenda in daily life, cultural work, institutional development, and through both unofficial theories of development and counter-mobilizations" (Woods forthcoming: 6). In identifying a new epistemology for uncovering the experiences of a subjugated community, Woods compels planners to reconsider how we go about obtaining information, and causes planners to question the kind of information we do obtain if we only use traditional methodologies.

In a third example, June Manning Thomas, in "Race and Empowerment: Necessary Theoretical Constructs for Understanding U.S. Planning History," detours from the format adopted by Fitzgerald/Howard and Woods in which race is explored through an actual planning project. Instead, she considers race as a theoretical construct. This level of abstraction has significance for planning scholars concerned with the link between theory and practice, most especially for modernists who critique postmodern projects such as these as having no direct link to action (Sandercock forthcoming: 35; Holston forthcoming: 2). Instead, Thomas shows that considering race as a theoretical construct leads one to also consider empowerment as it applies to planning.

Thomas offers four justifications for examining race within the context of planning theory. First, she states that an incorporation of the subject of race into planning discourse keeps the discipline intellectually honest. She exclaims, "what opinion would we form of historians of urban planning in South Africa who chose to write about the origins and evolution of the work of their profession without addressing the implications of apartheid?" (Thomas 1994: 3) Second, she asserts, as did Fitzgerald and Howard, that a deeper and more accurate understanding of our past where race is concerned will assist planning professionals in better understanding our present and planning our future. "One of the major purposes of remembering this history must be to insure that it is not repeated" (Thomas 1994: 6). Third, Thomas maintains that a critical examination of planing through the prism of race allows us to accurately place responsibility for racist planning decisions squarely where they rest, either at the hands of planners or, more appropriately, in the lap of policy makers (Thomas 1994: 2).

In her final point, Thomas contends that reinterpreting history in light of race offers planners new possibilities for understanding history (Thomas 1994: 3). These possibilities include the rich history documented by Fitzgerald and Howard as well as by Woods. This reinterpretation, she argues, within the African American community leads to the realization that the African American planning experience has chiefly been about empowerment. Empowerment according to Thomas is:

> "A theoretical construct ... [which] suggests that the disenfranchised will seek to gain control over their life circumstances, whether through community development, politics, or other means. This struggle for control will take place in spite of (or because of) the tendency of societies to bow to the stronger influence of economic and political elites, and to impose social controls upon those who have little power" (Thomas 1994: 11-12).

Each of the three analyses above, by Fitzgerald and Howard, Woods and Thomas, redirect our thinking about planning in some fundamental ways. First, the works by Fitzgerald/Howard and Woods beg the question of whether or not there is a separate black planning history. The response which emerges is an unequivocal yes, since each paper shows that African Americans have played a direct role in shaping the planning process in communities, cities and regions. In a more fundamental manner, the Fitzgerald/Howard and Woods' pieces incorporate the issue of race into the planning discourse in a concrete way which enables Thomas to take it on directly as a theoretical construct. She concludes that race offers planners a means for chronicling the quest for empowerment by disenfranchised urban residents. As such, empowerment, another theoretical construct, becomes central to the intellectual inquiry of planners.

These recent historical works provide the proof that we need to incorporate empowerment into teaching and practice by first documenting it in written texts. However, two questions still remain: what role does empowerment play in the classroom, and what are the implications of empowerment for planning practice?

Empowerment: Pedagogy and Practice

The ramifications of empowerment differ from those described above when considered from a pedagogical standpoint. Rather than being concerned only with the content of historical texts, we want to explore how these texts affect the classroom dynamic. In her most recent work, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*, bell hooks writes at length about the role of empowerment in the classroom and in the educational process. Empowerment for hooks is a transformative process, a transgressional experience. It is engaged pedagogy, in which knowledge, for students "is meaningful. They rightfully expect that... [teachers]...will not offer them information without addressing the connection between what they are learning and their overall life experiences" (hooks 1994: 19).[4]

From a pedagogical perspective, "the power in a transformative pedagogy is rooted in a respect for multiculturalism" (hooks 1994: 40). Multiculturalism seeks to include the experiences (and thus histories) of traditionally marginalized groups in the master historical narrative which is taught in schools. Within planning we call these histories 'alternative/invisible/uncovered' (Sandercock, forthcoming). We study alternative histories in part "so that the learning experience is inclusive" (hooks 1994: 35).[5]

Empowerment within the classroom setting means that a multitude of voices, not only that of the teacher, are valid, important, and contribute to the educational process. This makes for a dynamic classroom environment where learning is an active and interactive process, rather than the traditional pedagogical process where students are only passive receivers of knowledge. The project of empowerment, then, is to present and include many voices so that we can move toward what bell hooks calls an engaged pedagogy. "Engaged pedagogy necessarily values student expression." (hooks 1994: 20)

In her own discipline hooks gives an eloquent example of how transformative this education can be. Learning in an empowering way, she asserts, transcends intellectual understanding, and becomes a part of a student's being, embodied in their person, and thus changing their life. hooks describes how one of her African American female students, as a result of hook's own transformative pedagogy, came to class after a holiday break with her hair no longer "processed", but worn "natural." The student later writes of this transformation as a process in which she can not change her past, but her increased understanding of the world around her, and her place in it, can alter her future.

> "I am a black woman. I grew up in Shaker Heights, Ohio. I can not go back and change years of believing that I could never be as pretty or intelligent as many of my white friends, but I can go forward learning pride in who I am....I can not go back and change years of believing that the most wonderful thing in the world would be to be Martin Luther King Jr's wife -- but I can go on and find the strength I need to be the revolutionary for myself rather than the companion and help for someone else. So no, I don't believe that we can change what has already been done but we can change the future and so I am reclaiming and learning more of who I am so I can be whole" (hooks 1994: 196).

This kind of change on an everyday, human level practicalizes the 'future imaginary' for planners. Rather than envisioning plans of what great cities might look and be like, we can instead, as planners, consider how to impact our environment in the here and now. In a planning classroom then, this means connecting the experiences of students to what they learn (Friedmann 1994: 11). Within the planning curriculum, this translates into a continued focus upon fieldwork and a renewed emphasis on social learning (Friedmann forthcoming: 9).

Learning in an empowering way raises several critical issues of voice and representation, of who is allowed to speak and whose histories are included in the curriculum. To the critical questions of "Who speaks? Who listens? And why?" (hooks 1994: 40), hooks responds "race, sex, and class privilege empower some students more than others, granting 'authority' to some voices more than others" (hooks 1994: 185).[6] One purpose for uncovering and reading/learning/sharing alternative history, then, is to give space to those voices which are usually sup-

pressed, to foster "a willingness to create spaces in the classroom where all voices can be heard and all students are free to speak, knowing their presence will be recognized and valued" (hooks 1994: 186).

As a matter of practice, empowerment takes a different role. In "Subversive Histories: Some Planning Texts That Disempower," Robert Beauregard suggests that history is connected to action in two particularly important ways:

> "As writers of history ... we write in and for the present and, in doing so, we explore both the justification for planning and the contemporary efficacy of planning practice. Finally, it is not enough to indicate what has been accomplished and suggest what might be done. Planners have to be empowered to act; we must imagine ourselves as people who make history" (Beauregard forthcoming: 2).

Beauregard suggests that planning histories must be written in a way which both reveal the tension associated with the choices to be made, and which present planners as actors who 'make history' rather than as functionaries who implement laws and regulations. This critical link again raises the issue of social learning where experiences and action matter. As Fitzgerald and Howard showed, W.E.B. DuBois was a type of activist planner/social learner, since his activities were about, "basic norms or values; a picture, image, or theory of existing reality; strategy and tactics; and implementing practices" (Friedmann forthcoming: 8).

Beauregard also points out that "Histories that empower have to portray a world which is complex, thus offering numerous opportunities for action, and contingent, thus allowing the less powerful to have influence" (Beauregard forthcoming: 18). By this logic, empowerment within practice means that planners, as trained professionals, must be sensitive to and recognize when and how their expertise is needed, and must concomitantly seek to actively involve communities in the planning process. Woods points out the necessity of planners at times to succumb in their role as professionals in order to acknowledge the impact of a larger community. In this case he demonstrates the impact of regional, specifically Blues, epistemology on planning practice. When planners know and understand their role in relation to larger social movements they will have finally engaged in radical planning practice (Friedmann forthcoming: 9).

Conclusion

The above discussion considers the multi-dimensional role which empowerment plays in the study and the practice of planning. It suggests that whether through documentation (proof), the classroom experience (pedagogy) or direct practice, empowerment is a construct which, though perhaps problematic, enhances the profession. The 'problems' which empowerment poses are threatening only in that it forces those in the profession to consider topics which have never been considered, to teach and learn in ways which are perhaps unfamiliar, and to contemplate one's role in the

planning process before diving head first into planning.

Just as this examination of African American histories and texts have demonstrated broader ramifications for the profession. Similar studies of gays and lesbians, women, Latinos, etc. can also identify new theoretical and historical plateaus of understanding. As planners we should not shy away from the admitted complexities which an openness to alternative histories provide. Instead, we should embrace alternative histories as a mechanism to provide us with fresh insights about the profession. These insights advance the profession, and lead to the creation of a more egalitarian and civil society based upon social equity, fairness and inclusiveness.

Notes

[1] For a fuller explanation of this phenomenon, please refer to "The Means of Correct Training" (pp.184-195) in *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison* by Michel Foucault (Vintage Books, 1977).

[2] Ultimately, DuBois determined that "slavery, prejudice and environmental factors" explained the social conditions within black America (Fitzgerald/Howard 1993, p. 7). These conclusions were considered quite subversive by those in academic circles, particularly among mainstream sociologists who attributed the black condition to biological inferiority (Fitzgerald/Howard 1993, p. 7). Recognizing the tremendous resistance he would face in airing his ideas in academic circles, DuBois advocated a philosophy of self help for blacks through black institutions such as churches, mutual benefit societies and saving and loan associations, while still encouraging collaborative efforts with whites to achieve social change. His work in fact served as a catalyst for the establishment of number of black institutions, among them the National Urban league and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

[3] Though the authors do not enumerate the specific ways in which this would occur, I would argue that urban policy within the black community should privilege economic development since unemployment and underemployment has historically been the root of many problems within the African American community. For a more detailed account of the connections between black history and contemporary economic development strategies, refer to "Exposition Park Community Development Corporation: A Contextual Analysis of Alternative Economic Development in African American Communities" by Lande Ajose (Unpublished Masters Thesis, UCLA, 1995).

[4] Within planning, this quandary is further complicated because meaningfulness connotes using the information in such a way that promotes change, that results in a 'plan.'

[5] Inclusiveness applies not only to all the students in the classroom, who are of different ethnicities, races, cultures, backgrounds, genders, experiences, etc., but also to the instructor. hooks reminds us that "teachers must be actively committed to a process of self-actualization that promotes their own well-being if they are to teach in manner which empowers students" (hooks 1994, p. 15).

[6] Paradoxically, this is also true of teachers who, by virtue of their title, are immediately vested with more authority than students.

Bibliography

Beauregard, Robert A. (forthcoming). "Subversive Histories: Planning Texts That Disempower." *Planning Theory.*

Bernstein, Richard (1994). *Dictatorship of Virtue: Multiculturalism and the Battle for America's Future.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Fitzgerald, Joan and William D. Howard (1993). "Discovering an African American Planning History." Paper Presented at ACSP, Philadelphia.

hooks, bell (1993). *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom.* New York: Routledge.

Friedmann, John (Forthcoming). "Teaching Planning Theory." *J.P.E.R.*

Holston, James (Forthcoming). "Spaces of Insurgent Citizenship." *Planning Theory.*

Sandercock, Leonie (Forthcoming). "Making the Invisible Visible: Framing a New Historiography for Planning." *Planning Theory.*

Thomas, June Manning (Forthcoming). "Race and Empowerment: Necessary Theoretical Constructs for Understanding US Planing History" in *Planning Theory.*

Woods, Clyde (Forthcoming). "The Blues Epistemology and Regional Planning History: The Case of the Lower Mississippi Delta Development Commission." *Planning Theory.*

LANDE AJOSE is a 2nd year M.A. Student in the Urban Planning Program. This paper was written for the class "Comparative History of Planning Practices" taught by Leonie Sandercock in Winter 1995.

THE POLITICS OF PRODUCTION: POST-FORDIST POPULAR SECTOR SUBSTITUTIONS AND STRATEGIES

William Kramer

Although a growing body of literature now considers how economic and industrial policy should be adapted to new flexible production systems, much less has been written about post-Fordist popular sector strategies. In this paper, I look at two "community unions" that have organized around local economic development and I argue that they represent examples of a new form of popular politics which focuses on improving the conditions of industries within regions.

I begin with a summary of some of the key ideas of post-Fordist economic theory, with an emphasis on several key characteristics of flexible production systems which suggest that there are benefits to popular sector participation in their governance. I argue, however, that most policy prescriptions and existing initiatives ignore the role that popular sector organizations can and should play in regional development. Looking briefly at the history of social movement politics in the United States, and dividing them into four main traditions (the politics of distribution, identity, development, and plant closures), I present the experience of two groups: La Mujer Obrera in El Paso, Texas, and the AIWA in Oakland, California. I argue that these groups combine elements from the four different traditions to create a model of regional development and popular politics that includes more labor and community participation in economic decision making.

The Resurgence of Regional Development Theory

Regional development theory was revived during the 1980s, in part as an effort to explain the deindustrialization of some regions and the rise of new production systems in others. Most of this

theory is premised on the argument that, starting in the late 1970s, many regions around the world began moving from Fordist to post-Fordist production systems. This involved fundamental transformations in the way production systems were organized and in the government policies and institutions that accompany and support these systems. Fordism refers to the system of mass production accompanied by various institutions such as welfare programs and large labor unions focused on collective bargaining. The Post-Fordist production system, which is seen as the leading edge of development in certain places, is more specialized and flexible, particularly regarding changes in production processes and product quantities and qualities. Flexibility can be accomplished either inside firms using new production methods and forms of work organization or through vertically disintegrated networks of small firms. Post-Fordism also has its own emerging set of public and private institutions, which is addressed later in the paper (Storper and Scott 1990).

The following section considers two key characteristics of flexible production systems - the relationship between cooperation, modernization, and unionization in these systems and the role that trust and institutions play in sustaining them. Both of these characteristics suggest that there are significant benefits to popular sector involvement in regional economic governance, even though most existing theory and practice neglects the role that these organizations can and should play.

The relationship between unionization, modernization, and cooperation : Studies suggest that in order for firms to cooperate with each other within flexible production systems, they must modernize through technological improvements, training upgrading, and changes in work organization. The term "modernize" is defined here as a *post-Fordist form of modernization* in which knowledge, skills, decisions, and gains are devolved downwards, rather than a *Fordist modernization* where work is automated and deskilled. Evidence indicates that post-Fordist modernization is more successful in unionized companies, primarily because employees with an independent source of power are less resistant to modernization since they usually have greater job security and are more likely to share in the gains from productivity improvements (Gertler 1993; Kelley and Harrison 1992). In short, unionization facilitates modernization which in turn facilitates cooperation. This suggests that flexible production systems may operate more effectively in regions with higher union densities.

Very little research has been conducted on the relationship between unionization and long term regional prosperity. Although flexible production systems in Germany and Scandinavia have highly unionized workforces, other systems in Silicon Valley and the Third Italy have much lower rates of unionization.[1] Since most of these systems are relatively young, it is still unclear whether flexible production systems with low rates of unionization will be able to sustain their prosperity in the long run. Saxenian's (1994) analysis of Silicon Valley suggests that the lack of strong coordinating institutions may threaten the region's long term economic competitiveness.

Although she does not specifically address the role of unions, one might suspect that they could serve as one type of coordinating institution that could help firms adjust to economic changes.

The Role of Trust and Institutions

The literature on flexible production systems frequently emphasizes the role that trust plays in promoting regional competitiveness. Trust can be defined as "the partners' mutual understanding that no one will exploit the vulnerabilities that partnership creates"(Sabel 1991: 4). When this mutual understanding exists, firms are more likely to share information and to invest in training and technology without fearing that other firms will take advantage of them.

It is often argued that cooperation thrives in an environment of relative cultural homogeneity[2] . Yet trust is not merely "cultural": it is also "institutional", meaning that it can be *created* and produced through social action. Formal institutions in particular can provide participants with an opportunity for frequent communication and contact which can reinforce feelings of trust.

Although many regional development theorists believe that institutions are critical to regional industrial competitiveness, in most cases these theorists focus on the role that institutions play in promoting innovation and modernization, rather than as governance mechanisms. Storper and Scott (1990:3) discuss the importance of institutions which promote technology development and diffusion and workforce training, since firms are likely to underinvest in these areas due to the risk of "free riders." Similarly, Saxenian (1994:349) emphasizes the importance of "institutions that provide capital, research, technical education, training, entrepreneurial training, and market information." Storper and Harrison (1991:41) provide a more detailed treatment of how flexible production systems are governed. They define governance as "the degree of hierarchy and leadership (or their opposites, collaboration and cooperation) in coordinating the input-output system." Their emphasis, however, is on the relative power of different types and sizes of firms within production systems, and they do not look at the relative power of private, public and popular sector institutions in these systems.

In short, little attention has been paid to the role of popular sector institutions in flexible production systems. Popular sector institutions are non-governmental organizations that represent local constituencies, particularly unions and community groups that represent people who often do not share equally in the benefits of regional development. Unions have traditionally been the best suited for this role since, as Joel Rogers and Charles Sabel (199:4) explain, they are

> "the most basic (in America the only) *independent, collective organizations of workers in the economy*. Their central purpose is to represent workers in the organization of production, and to assure a more fair distribution of the benefits and burdens of economic cooperation."

Most of the literature on industrial networking has not examined the role played by unions or any

other popular organizations in their development and governance (Gertler 1993).[3] The most prominent regional development initiatives that have been undertaken by state governments, such as Pennsylvania's Benjamin Franklin Partnership program, the Michigan Modernization Service, and Ohio's Thomas Edison Technology Centers, have involved very little popular sector participation.

The two cases considered below suggest that the exclusion of popular sector organizations from the governance of flexible production systems can generate a popular political response that undermines the trust and cooperation necessary to sustain them. They also point toward both a model of regional development that includes more popular sector participation, and a model of popular politics which seeks to shape the developmental trajectories of regional industries and the way that their benefits are distributed.

A New Social Movement?: The Post-Fordist Politics of Production

Before looking at two community unions that have become involved in regional economic governance, it is useful to review the history of popular politics in the United States, which can be divided into four main traditions: a *distributional politics* which focuses on redistributing wealth and income; an *identity politics* which promotes ethnic, racial, gender, and sexual orientation equality and celebrates these differences; a *development politics* which asserts the interests of citizens and neighborhoods against downtown development elites; and a *plant closures politics* which seeks to retain manufacturing jobs. After identifying some of the key features and limits of each of these traditions, I discuss how community unions in general and La Mujer Obrera and AIWA in particular combine elements from all four traditions to construct a new type of popular politics which focuses on improving both the competitiveness and working conditions in particular regional industries.

Distributional Politics: Distributional politics in the U.S. had its heyday from the 1930s through the 1960s, when the American labor movement was at its peak. Sometimes referred to as the "old social movements", most of this politics took place through union efforts in both the workplace and the political arena to improve wages and working conditions and to extend social welfare programs. Unions at this time served as the "redistributive agent of the working class" (Rogers and Sabel 1993:7).

Distributional politics has three key strengths. First, it recognizes that peoples wages and working conditions are central to the quality of their lives. Second, unions understand the tremendous power that corporations have over peoples' working lives and seek to counterbalance this private power with popular power through organization and mobilization. Third, unions use the political process to pressure the public sector to exercise its power against private power. The fundamental weakness of the distributional approach is that by merely limiting their role to issues such as wages and working conditions, unions cede control over fundamental decisions surrounding the governance of firms, industries, and regions.[4]

Identity Politics: The civil rights movement, the women's movement, the gay and lesbian movement, and the contemporary multicultural movement are all forms of identity politics. Significant variations exist within each of these movements, especially regarding the degree to which difference is celebrated or struggled against because it generates inequality. There is even an emerging new cultural politics which neither celebrates nor rejects difference but seeks to disorder it (Soja and Hooper 1993). Similarly, some forces within each movement push for concrete political and legal changes while others attempt to promote cultural change.

Identity politics has two key strengths. First, it recognizes the centrality of difference. Second, it acknowledges that politics can be waged not only through confrontations with formal public and private institutions, but also through action in the cultural sphere. But this strength can become a weakness when some forms of identity politics overemphasize cultural struggles and ignore the importance of material conditions.

Development Politics: Development politics refers to the political struggles over urban development and redevelopment that have taken place during the post war period. These struggles usually involve opposition between the "growth coalitions" that have mobilized to promote downtown development and the various "urban social movements" that have responded by opposing development or by demanding compensatory public services or other community benefits.

Growth coalitions are usually made up of *local politicians* (who rely on growth from "campaign contributions and public celebrations that build careers"), the *local media* (who benefit from increased circulation and advertising), *utilities* (which may promote growth to seek out new customers or pay off bad investments) and other auxiliary constituencies including universities, museums, theaters, expositions, professional sports teams, organized labor (especially the building trades), self-employed professionals and small retailers, and corporate capitalists. These coalitions promote *value free development* in which markets determine the what, where, and how of development by arguing that all growth promotes fiscal health and creates jobs (Logan and Molotch 1987).

Numerous citizens organizations have challenged this value free development ideology in an attempt to promote the interests of communities and neighborhoods. In some cases downtown development projects have been stopped, and in other cases community groups have won concessions from developers and city governments such as the linking of downtown development to commercial and affordable housing development in neighborhoods.

The key strength of development politics is its analysis of how various constituencies are mobilized to promote and oppose growth, and its acknowledgement that development generates a socially and spatially uneven distribution of benefits. However, it has fallen short in its ability to address the economic conditions that generate these uneven outcomes due to it limited conception of the devel-

opment process. By overemphasizing the politics of land use and commercial development (the "where" of production), development politics have ignored fundamental issues concerning the structure and organization of production which play a crucial role in determining the fortune of cities.

Plant Closures Politics: Between 1978 and 1982 an estimated 6.8 million manufacturing jobs were lost in the United States due to plant closures (Bluestone and Harrison 1982; Haas and Morales 1986). These shutdowns were particularly devastating in the Southern California region and in states like Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. Coalitions consisting of unions, community organizations, churches, local political agencies, and other local institutions tried to prevent this massive loss of manufacturing jobs. Pressure was placed on corporations to try to prevent them from closing plants. Some laws were passed on the local, state, and national level requiring companies to provide adequate warning before shutting plants and to pay for retraining and relocation assistance for dislocated workers. Most of this legislation was rather weak. In some cases, companies who received public subsidies shortly before closing were asked to return these subsidies. In other cases, labor and community organizations and local governments assisted in worker buyouts (Haas and Morales 1986; Portz 1990).

Plant closures politics shares with distributional politics a focus on the centrality of peoples' experience at work and a willingness to challenge the private power of corporations with popular and public power. Similar to development politics, plant closures politics is spatialized: it recognizes that economic and social life is highly geographically differentiated and then seeks to build local coalitions around regional and local economic issues. However, unlike most forms of distributional and development politics which only work to promote popular participation in locational and distribution decisions, plant closures activists tried to promote more popular influence over a broader range of economic decisions.

In the next section that follows, I argue that organizations like La Mujer Obrera and Asian Immigrant Womens Advocates (AIWA) practice a new form of popular politics which combines elements from all four of these traditions. Both groups have organized and advocated for women working in the garment industry. La Mujer Obrera developed an institution—the Garment Development Corporation—which has had some success in improving conditions within the garment industry in El Paso. Although AIWA has been less successful in building a similar type of institution, their activities have focused public attention on problems within the industry. And, while they have not been active participants in some of the recent attempts to improve conditions in the industry, the negative publicity that the industry generated by AIWA's campaign has moved some local garment manufacturers and policymakers to action.

Both La Mujer Obrera and AIWA have been called "community unions" because they combine

elements of both unions and community organizations. They are community organizations since they are rooted in particular areas and often recruit people through community channels, but they are unions to the extent that they organize workers and pressure employers in order to improve wages and working conditions. Community unions often do not engage in NLRB-style organizing[5], and instead use a variety of strategies and tactics to win concessions from employers. They are more creative when it comes to identifying allies and resources, and often rely on local funding sources (Banks, 1991/2:19-20). They recognize the power of coalitions and work closely with unions, community organizations and the local media as part of their campaigns. Community groups and non-union workers are often involved in campaign planning and governance. Community unions also engage in region-wide and industry-wide organizing because they recognize the importance of simultaneously organizing an entire local labor market in order to limit the ability of firms to undercut each other's wages.

Following is a description of how La Mujer Obrera and AIWA practice their particular forms of community unionism. I focus on how culture and institutions contribute to the organizations' effectiveness and the ways in which the groups combine elements from the four types of popular politics outlined above.

La Mujer Obrera: El Paso is one of the poorest cities of its size in the nation. From 1950 to 1990, its population more than tripled from 195,000 to 600,000. Approximately 85 percent of new residents are of Spanish origin, and it estimated that 20 percent of all current residents were born in Mexico. Approximately 70,000 of El Paso's Mexican immigrants live in *colonias* — poor subdivisions consisting of makeshift housing often lacking water and sewer services, paved roads and streetlights.

Several community organizations have tried to address these problems. The El Paso Interreligious Sponsoring Organization (EPISO), modeled on Communities Organized for Public Service (COPS) in San Antonio, has been organizing the community through local churches. Although they have had some success in registering voters and passing a ballot initiative to provide water and sewer hookups for the *colonias*, their efforts have been limited by, as one observer noted, their "myopic focus on neighborhood issues fails to bring the larger processes generating the *colonias* and their grinding poverty into view" (Marston and Towers 1993:95).

The garment industry in El Paso has an estimated $1 billion impact on the local economy and employing 20,600 people in 1993. Approximately one million jeans are made each year in El Paso, and up to three million jeans are washed, pressed, inspected, repaired, tagged, folded, bagged, boxed, and shipped annually. Major manufacturers in the region include Levi-Strauss, Wrangler, Lee Apparel, and Sun Apparel (Lido 1994). However, an estimated 70 percent of El Paso's garment workers work in companies employing less than 200 people, many of which are non-union sweatshops.

Founded in 1989, La Mujer Obrera ("the Woman Worker") has a membership consisting of 1,000 Spanish-speaking women garment workers, most of whom are Mexican immigrants. They have worked to promote fair labor standards and workers rights in the garment industry (McGinn and Moody 1993:24). For years, the city or El Paso did nothing to deal with working conditions in the sweatshops. In 1990, La Mujer Obrera came up with the idea for a Garment Development Center which would help small garment manufacturers modernize and improve working conditions within the industry. They presented the idea at a meeting in March of that year, and a city representative interested in their idea helped them convene a working group which included representatives from industry, government, local community colleges, and La Obrera. That same summer, La Mujer Obrera organized a series of acts of civil disobedience by women who had worked for an apparel contractor who shut down without paying them back wages. Although this activism initially helped bring industry representatives to the table, they later withdrew from the working group in response to La Mujer Obrera's militancy. La Mujer Obrera continued to work for the center, hiring a consultant to develop a more detailed proposal which they presented to the city in January 1991. In July 1991, a Fashion Industry Development Commission was established which, like the earlier working group, consisted of representatives from a variety of public and private institutions in El Paso. The commission met monthly until November 1992, when the Fashion Development Center was established as a subcontractor of La Mujer Obrera, with $100,000 in funding provided by the city.

The Center's board consists of four representatives from industry, two representatives from the two local chambers of commerce, a business school professor, the dean of a community college, and the executive director of La Mujer Obrera. Its mission is "to enhance the job retention and job creation capacity of El Paso's apparel industry and to upgrade and expand employment opportunities for the high proportion of Hispanic, low income women workers that comprise the local workforce." They work with disadvantaged and minority-owned subcontracting businesses who make up 67 percent of the firms in El Paso and who provide 50 percent of total employment. Free technical and managerial assistance is provided to these firms in a variety of areas including personnel relations, marketing, accounting, production planning, and plant layout. The goal is to help these firms move onto the "high road" where they can produce short runs of more specialized, high fashion, high value garments.

During 1993, their first year of operation, the center worked with fourteen businesses resulting in the retention of 126 jobs and the creation of 18 new jobs. Since the center was opened, workers have not had any more problems with contractors in El Paso refusing to pay them back wages.

Cindy Arnold of La Mujer Obrera attributes the organizations' success to their refusal to be pigeonholed as a union that only focuses on worker issues, and their position as a home grown organization working to improve living and working conditions

for the people of El Paso. They are willing to organize and participate in developing initiatives to accomplish this goal. The effectiveness of this approach is demonstrated by the way that they combined militancy with a willingness to work with government officials and industry representatives in order to get the Fashion Development Center started (Arnold 1994).

La Mujer Obrera practices a new form of popular politics to the extent that they have been able to develop an institution which helps to facilitate regional economic adjustment. This institution brings together a variety of interests from the public, private, and popular sector to help small garment subcontractors modernize. While the intermediate goal is to help firms move into higher value added market niches so they can improve their competitiveness, the ultimate goal is to improve the wages and working conditions of people employed in the industry. The involvement of La Mujer Obrera in the project helps to ensure that this last goal in not forgotten.

Asian Immigrant Women's Advocates: Founded in 1983 in Oakland, California, Asian Immigrants Women's Advocates (AIWA) describes themselves as "a community based non-profit organization that works to change the living and working conditions of low-income, limited-English-speaking immigrant women through education, advocacy, services, and community organizing." Although they also work with women employed in the electronics, hotel, restaurant, and janitorial industries in the San Francisco Bay Area and Silicon Valley, I focus on their work in the apparel industry.

The Bay Area garment industry is the third largest in the country after Los Angeles and New York. It generates approximately $5 billion in sales annually and employs 25,000 people (SF Chron, Jan 4, 1994, p. 14). Approximately one half of the 20,000 seamstresses employed in the industry are Asian immigrant women (Omatsu 1994:55). Working conditions within the industry are quite poor: it is estimated that half of the approximately 2,000 garments shops in the Bay Area violate wage laws (Echaveste and Nussbaum 1994), and a 1991 survey of seamstresses showed more than one-third are paid less than the minimum wage (Louie 1992:9).

Launched in late 1992, AIWA's "Garment Workers Justice Campaign" has focused public attention on problems in the Bay Area garment industry. The campaign has been working to pressure dress manufacturer Jessica McClintock, the fifth largest apparel company in San Francisco, to pay back wages for workers who were laid off by one of her subcontractors, the Lucky Sewing Company.

Rallies at McClintock retailers have been organized in ten cities around the country. An advertisement placed in *The New York Times* pointed out that of the total $175 cost of a McClintock dress, only $5 goes to the garment workers' wages. A National Day of Solidarity with Garment Workers was held on October 30, 1993 to call for a holiday shopping protest against McClintock. The campaign has effectively mobilized students , social service providers, professionals, and unions in the Asian American com-

munity, and has served as a form of political education and leadership development for these immigrant women. In December of 1993, McClintock offered the workers a charitable contribution, on the condition that they sign an agreement stating that they did not hold McClintock responsible for back wages. While five of the 12 former Lucky Sewing Company workers signed the agreement and accepted the money, seven of them refused to sign. McClintock has tried to give the remainder of the money to Asian American community organizations, but as far as AIWA knows, all of these groups have refused the money.

The bad press that McClintock received as a result of the campaign has affected the entire industry. As Randall Harris, executive director of the San Francisco Fashion Industries admitted, "this campaign is having a big impact on (McClintock). It's having a big impact on all of our companies" (Anner 1993:8).

This negative publicity has also generated a variety of efforts to address abuses in the industry. The Berkeley and Oakland City Councils and the Alameda County Board of Supervisors passed resolutions supporting the campaign, and a task force was established to address abuses in the industry. In early 1994, the Department of Labor cracked down on 35 workplaces in Oakland and San Francisco, leading to payments of $500,000 in owed wages to more than 1,300 workers. Their Wage and Hour division is considering new strategies to address violations in the industry, and they have encouraged manufacturers to take responsibility to ensure that their subcontractors are complying with labor law (Echaveste and Nussbaum, 1994). The Bay Area Garment Steering Committee -- made up of representatives from San Francisco City College, the San Francisco office of the Department of Labor, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Northern California Chinese Garment Contrators Association and the Chinese Bay Area Apparel Contractors Association -- is trying to establish a Garment Development Corporation, which would provide training in sewing equipment maintenance and would set up a technology laboratory to help firms move into higher value added market niches (SF Chron, Jan 4, 1994, p. 14).

AIWA has successfully used the Jessica McClintock campaign to call attention to some of the problems in the garment industry. This increase in public attention has driven others to work toward a solution to the industry's problems, but one that emphasizes technology and training upgrading. AIWA's Miriam Ching Louie feels that these efforts do not address the central structural problem of the industry in which manufacturers squeeze their contractors. She explained that a more effective solution would make manufacturers more responsible for working conditions, safety, and security among their contractors. AIWA participates in the Coalition to Eliminate Sweatshop Conditions, which is trying to pass a law that would make manufacturers more responsible for the actions of their subcontractors, although in the past similar legislation was vetoed by Governor Wilson (Louie 1994).[6]

AIWA's success can be attributed to several key

factors. Drawing on cultural ties within the Asian American community, they have undertaken nine to ten years of steady base building, including outreach to workers and conducting several surveys. This has enabled them to develop a solid foundation of knowledge of the industry and to build relationships with its workforce. They have also mobilized support from four types of Bay Area institutions: Asian American community organizations, Asian American student organizations, immigrant rights groups, and unions. Asian American students have set up support committees in a number of cities, and this support has been especially valuable since McClintock produces a large number of prom and semiformal dresses for young girls. Several AIWA board members who are union activists with strong ties to immigrant communities have also been particularly helpful (Louie 1992).

Conclusion

Both AIWA and La Mujer Obrera combine elements from all four social movement traditions outlined above. From distributional politics comes a focus on peoples wages and working conditions as an essential determinant of their quality of life, and a recognition of the importance of building popular and public power to counterbalance the power of private interests. Identity politics yields an understanding of how cultural and gender differences shape peoples experience at work and how organizations, with what Louie calls a "culturally specific character" (or what Arnold calls "home grown") can mobilize them to take action to improve their lives. Development politics generates a recognition of the uneven character of development. And finally, plant closures politics produces an attempt to include popular participation in a broad range of economic decisions. But unlike the more scattered approach of the plant closures politics which attempted to fight plant closures in a variety of different industries, both La Mujer Obrera and AIWA take a more focused approach by trying to improve both the competitiveness and the conditions of work within a particular industry.

Each group has taken a slightly different approach. AIWA has focused attention on the problems in the industry and has identified the necessity of formulating a new law making manufacturers responsible for the behavior of their subcontractors. They have been working to pass appropriate legislation in California, although they have not yet been successful. The negative publicity that they have generated about the industry has led others to initiate a program to provide technology and training upgrading to subcontractors, but AIWA has not participated in this effort because they do not feel that it will do much to improve working conditions.

La Mujer Obrera has been able to combine a commitment to organizing with a willingness to cooperate with local public and private actors to develop a major garment industry modernization program. The program has only been in operation for a little over a year, during which time they have helped to create and retain a number of jobs. It is too early to tell, however, what the outcomes have been for people working in the industry, yet since

they started no contractors have shut down without paying back wages.

Both AIWA and La Mujer Obrera offer models of how popular organizations can participate in regional industrial development. It is unclear at this point, however, whether La Mujer Obrera's willingness to participate in modernization efforts or AIWA insistence on the necessity of laws that make manufacturers responsible for the behavior of their subcontractors will do more to improve working conditions for people employed in the industry.

Notes

[1] In Silicon Valley, for example, only 2.7 percent of all firms are unionized (Kadetsky, 1993, p. 517-520).

[2] As Sabel explains, most individuals' "own explanation of ....cooperation... is likely to invoke habits, customs, and moral principles of fair dealing that constitute in part their cultural identity ... the participants often do insists on their cultural distinctiveness and cohesion, although, as we shall, it is possible to interpret this insistence as the product, not the precondition of a disposition to cooperate"(1991:18).

[3] To some degree, the current structure of unions in the United States hinders their ability to participate in flexible production systems, since most unions are organized around sectors and occupations and not around regional economies (Storper and Scott 1990).

[4] Unions themselves are only partially responsible for this state of affairs since labor law hindered them from participation in many of these broader decisions.

[5] National Labor Relations Board

[6] Other members of the coalition include the Asian Law Caucus, the California State Federation of Labor/ AFL-CIO, the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles, Equal Rights Advocates, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates, and the New California Coalition.

Sources

Anner, John (1993). "Asian Workers Take On Fashion World", *Third Force* March/April. p. 8.

Arnold, Cindy (1994). Development Director, La Mujer Obrera. Telephone Interview. May 3.

Banks, Andrew (1991/2). "What Is Community Unionism?" in *Labor Research Review,* 18.

Bacon, David (1994). "Striking Out", *LA Village View.* p. 6, 10.

Bluestone, Barry and Bennett Harrison (1982). *The Deindustrialization of America.* Basic Books.

Delgado, Gary (1991). "Independent Labor Organizations Go Their Own Way", The Minority Trendsletter, 4 (3): 6-7, 10.

Echaveste, Maria and Karen Nussbaum (1994). "96¢ an Hour: The Sweatshop in Reborn", *The New York Times.* Sunday, March 6.

Gertler, Meric S. (1993) "Regional-Industrial Networks and the Role of Labour", paper presented at the Conference on Business Networks, Faculty of Adminstration, Universtiy of New Brunswick, November 18-20, unpublished.

Haas, Gilda and Rebecca Morales (1986). *Plant Closures and the Grassroots Response to Economic Crisis in the United States.* Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning.

Kadetsky, Elizabeth (1993). "High Tech's Dirty Little Secret", *The Nation,* April 19;517-520.

Kelley and Bennett Harrison (1992). "Unions, Technology, and Labor Management Cooperation", in *Unions and Economic Competitiveness.* New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.

Lawler, Edward E. (1986). *High-Involvement Management.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Lido, Lydia Villaiva (1994). "Jeans Capital of the World". *El Paso Times.* Sunday February 20.

Logan John and Harvey Molotch (1987). *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Louie, Miriam Ching (1994). Staff Member, Asian Immigrant Women's Advocates. April 3.

Louie, Miriam Ching (1993). "It's a Respect Thing: Organizing Immigrant Women", *Equal Means* , Fall, p. 21-23.

Louie, Miriam Ching (1992). "After Sewing, Laundry, Cleaning, and Cooking I Have No Breath Left to Sing", *Amerasia Journal,* 18 (1): 1-26.

Louie, Miriam Ching (1991). "Organizing Chinatown's Kitchen Men and Sewing Women",*The Minority Trendsletter*, 4 (3): 8-10.

Marston, Sallie A. and George Towers (1993). "Private Spaces and the Politics of Places: Spatioeconomic Restructuring and Community Organizing in Tuscon and El Paso", in Robert Fisher and Joseph Kling, (eds) *Mobilizing the Community: Local Politics in the Era of the Global City.* Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

McGinn, Mary and Kim Moody (1993). "Labor Goes Global", *The Progressive* , March, p. 24.

Mollenkopf, John (1981). "Community and Accumulation", in Michael Dear, *Urbanization and Urban Planning in Capitalist Societies* : 319-337.

Omatsu, Glenn (1994). "The 'Four Prisons' and the Movement of Liberation", *The State of Asian America: Activism and Resistance in the 1990's.* Karin Aguilar-San Juan (Ed.). Boston: South End Press, 1994.

Portz, John (1990). *The Politics of Plant Closures.* University of Kansas Press.

Rachleff, Peter (1994). "Seeds of a Labor Insurgency", *The Nation,* February 21, p. 226-229.

Rogers, Joel and Sabel, Charles. "Imagining Unions". Unpublished Manuscript.

Sabel, Charles (1992). "Constitutional Order". Forthcoming in *Hierarchies in Games and Networks.*

Saxenian, Annalee (1994). *Regional Networks.* Harvard University Press.

Soja, Edward W. and Barbara Hooper (1993). "The New Cultural Politics of Difference" in Ed Soja, ed. Thirdspace. Forthcoming.

Storper, Michael and Allen J. Scott (1990). "Regional Development Reconsidered", The Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, Working Paper #1.

Storper, Michael and Bennett Harrison (1991). "Flexibility, Hierarchy, and Regional Development: The Changing Structure of Industrial Production Systems and their Forms of Governance in the 1990s". *Research Policy* 20: 407-422.

Wong, Kent (1994). "Building An Asian Pacific Labor Alliance", *The State of Asian America: Activism and Resistance in the 1990's.* Karin Aguilar-San Juan (ed). Boston: South End Press, 1994.

Yoo, Young-Im (1992). "Asian Immigrant Women Advocates", *Race, Poverty and the Environment*, 3 (1).

WILLIAM KRAMER is a 2nd M.A. year stundent in the Urban Planning. This paper was written as an independent study paper for Edward W. Soja in Winter 1995.

PERPETUATING THE STATUS QUO: MILITRY BASE CONVERSION PLANNING AND THE LACK OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

Kacy Collons

Introduction

This paper examines several toxic and environmental issues related to military base conversion. With 22 of the nation's 86 bases targeted for closure located in California, and more expected to be listed through 1997, the issue of military base conversion is not only timely, but extremely important to economic and environmental health. It is my contention that while the military has acknowledged its contribution to environmental degradation and toxic pollution over the last century, and while communities affected by base closure recognize the hazards present on these sites, essential environmental issues associated with base conversion continue to receive inadequate consideration. However, decision-makers are fixated instead on the economic and employment ramifications of the process. Concern that environmental cleanup will slow down the conversion process focuses attention on expedient and "acceptable" cleanup, without proper consideration for how the land should be reused.

The federal, state, and local governments are involved in the conversion process, each with separate and sometimes conflicting roles. Additionally, community and grassroots organizations put political pressure on decision-makers through advisory committees. The regions surrounding bases to be closed will be greatly affected, and therefore multiple regional groups typically take an interest in the conversion process; however, the ultimate decision-making power lies within the hands of the federal government.

The military, consisting of the Department of Defense (DoD), the Department of Energy (DoE), and military contractors including NASA, comprises one of the largest functions of the United States

government. During the 1980's the budget of the federal government for "national defense" averaged between $300 and $400 billion per year, at times making up as much as 36 percent of total federal outlays. In the proposed budget for 1995, national defense still makes up 18 percent of government spending, or $280 billion, compared to only $6 billion (0.4 percent) for the Environmental Protection Agency. This differential in funding levels represents the importance that the federal government places on "national defense" needs over environmental imperatives. The federal budget has traditionally allocated its resources in such a manner that a much higher premium is placed on military protection (and economic prowess through military investment), rather than environmental protection. Continuing to allocate resources in this manner reflects the shortsightedness of the federal government to make the connection between environmental protection and preservation and national security.[1] Policy for the reuse of military sites is consistent with the traditional emphasis on economic development, as opposed to environmentally sound land use practices. Current base conversion plans largely ignore environmental safety issues in order to pursue the interests of developers and industries that military spending sustained throughout the Cold War.[2]

This paper will present information on the history of environmental performance of the "defense" operations of the United States, and how this behavior affects the process of military base conversion. In light of environmental waste history in the U.S. and recent environmental policy, this paper will demonstrate a distinct prioritizing of environmental and economic issues of base closure and base conversion. I will conclude with the notion that prevailing conversion policies focus too much on expedient reuse for the sake of economic development at the expense of environmental safety. Additionally, I will discuss how institutional settings influence policymaking, and specifically how the process of military base conversion is not sufficiently participatory. As a result, decisions regarding new land use are made by persons from powerful political and military institutions, rather than those more likely to represent the environmental and public health interests of the affected communities.

History of military environmental performance

Hazards present on military base sites are among the worst on the globe. Standard operations on military bases, including munitions production, cleaning solvent use, nuclear power production and use, etc., are more prone to hazardous waste creation. Most of the military bases targeted for closure have hazardous waste sites on them, and are listed on Superfund's National Priority List.[3]

> "In the name of 'national defense,' the United States military has cast a chemical plague over our country and many of our allies through its misuse and disposal of dangerous chemicals. Toxic and radioactive pollution from U.S. military and weapons poses a direct and immedi-

ate threat to America's security and prosperity....The presence of multiple toxic pollution sites on many of these bases is a major obstacle to conversion (of military bases) to civilian use. If bases cannot be redeveloped, it is practically impossible to overcome the economic losses of closing" (Seigal, el at. 1991).

Until recently, the military establishment has not been subject to federal or state environmental laws. The Department of Justice refuses to bring suit against the military on behalf of the Environmental Protection Agency, citing the doctrine of "sovereign immunity," which states that branches of the federal government cannot be sued by other branches of the federal or state governments. Refusal by Congress to waive this immunity for the EPA precludes the power of enforcement of the already underfunded agency, and further demonstrates the importance that the federal government places on "defense" over the environment.

As of 1990, the U.S. military was responsible for 14,401 hazardous waste sites on 1,579 military installations (Seigal, et al. 1991:6). The following examples represent some of the worst artifacts of the Cold War -- "national sacrifice zones" -- areas that have been so polluted by the military that they have been deemed unrecoverable.

Rocky Mountain Arsenal (U.S. Army) - Denver, Colorado. This 27 square mile complex was military headquarters for the production of nerve gas. Some term this plot of land "the most polluted piece of real estate in the country" (Harvey 1991). For years the army buried hazardous substances, made up of such chemicals as arsenic and mercury, in six unlined basins. Several million gallons of the toxic sludge has been seeping into the ground and water tables. It is estimated that cleanup, if possible at all, will cost between $1 billion to $2 billion. In 1993 the total outlays for "the exclusive purpose of correcting the effect of the contamination (at Rocky Mountain Arsenal)" were $8.6 million.

Jefferson Proving Ground (U.S. Army) - Versailles, Indiana. This hundred square mile complex, an area four times larger than Manhattan, has been the testing ground for huge amounts of munitions since World War II. Over the past fifty years, the army has discharged approximately 23 million rounds of ordnance with more than 1.5 million unexploded bombs, mines, and artillery shells, and an additional 6.9 million bombs and shells, which may also have explosive potential (Shulman 1990). Aside from the self evident risks of such ordnance spontaneously exploding, aging munitions are often made of metal which can be toxic when degenerating. If the military were to attempt to cleanup Jefferson Proving Ground, it is unclear whether the site would qualify for Superfund dollars since unexploded ordnance is not normally considered by the EPA as "hazardous waste." However, regardless of funding, it is questionable whether cleanup would even be feasible. There is no clear idea of exactly what and how much unexploded material lies in the facility, and attempting to remove all of this material by

detonating it (and thus creating secondary hazards) would leave a ditch at least thirty feet deep over the entire hundred square mile area of the site. At this point, the military has decided to simply abandon the site, designating it unsafe for any type of reuse.

Hanford Nuclear Reservation (Department of Energy) - Hanford, Washington. This facility, traditionally a storage ground for underground tanks of radioactive waste, has reported one million gallons of leakage from these tanks. The cost to cleanup the Hanford site is estimated to be $57 **billion**! Aside from this enormous cost, the technical feasibility of successfully cleaning up radioactive waste is questionable.

The sites discussed above and many others have been designated beyond repair. This determination has not only resulted in a loss of jobs and a decrease in property values near the site, but seems to equate national environmental sacrifice with regional economic sacrifice. As a result, those concerned with economic development -- residents, city planners, developers, and the federal government -- are looking for ways to circumvent environmental regulations in order to avoid the stigma connected with hazardous waste. These decision-makers are seemingly willing to sacrifice human safety in order to preserve the marketability of the land. However, what conversion planners do not foresee in their efforts to skirt environmental concerns for short term economic gain is the continued environmental degradation that will result from such practices and the inevitable economic downturn of such communities due to this degradation.

In California

With nearly 1,713 toxic sites on more than 100 military facilities, California leads the nation in military pollution. Twenty of the state's bases are categorized on Superfund's National Priority List, and only two percent of all California sites are listed as having been cleaned up (Shulman 1990). Table 1 discloses the names of the bases to be closed, the number of identified hazardous sites on those facilities, and the estimated cost of cleanup.

The focus in California with regard to military base closure and conversion has been on economic development and redevelopment. The environmental cleanup issues are seen as barriers to reuse, which should be overcome as quickly and quietly as possible. Two recommendations put forth by the California Military Base Reuse Task Force for Governor Pete Wilson in its 1994 report explicitly recommend compromising environmental concerns for the sake of expediency.

Base reuse plans are subject to an Environmental Impact Report (EIR) under both the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) and the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA). These EIR are often time consuming due to public review during the process. The Task Force recommends eliminating public comment on the EIR and also using the same EIR to fulfill both NEPA and CEQA requirements. This recommendation not only attempts to bypass both federal and state environmental regulations, but it also attempts to completely eliminate citizen participation in the environmental planning process related to reuse.

Table 1
Environmental Data Surrounding California Base Closures

Facility	Number of Hazardous Sites	Estimated Cost of Cleanup (millions)
Round 1 Closures - 1988		
George Air Force Base	68	$70
Hamilton Army/Air Force Base	17	$35
Mather Air Force Base	38	$180
Norton Air Force Base	31	$113
Presidio of San Francisco	35	$78
Salton Sea Naval Station	1	$8
Round 2 Closures - 1991		
Castle Air Force Base	39	$110
Fort Ord	166	$250
Hunters Point Naval Annex	13	$200
Long Beach Naval Station	6	$300
Moffett Field NAS	20	$115
Sacramento Army Dept	15	$80
Tustin MCAS	10	$138
Round 3 Closures - 1993		
NAS Alameda Complex	20	$140
Oakland Naval Hospital	--	minor
Mare Island Naval Shipyard	23	$145-296
Treasure Island Naval Station	23	$25
San Diego Naval Training Center	2	$10
El Toro MCAS	23	$250
Round 3 Realignment - 1993		
March Air Force Base	41	$135
TOTAL	591	$2247 - 2398

Source: Seigel, et. al., 1991 and California Military Base Reuse Task Force, 1994.

The Task Force also recommends "that California urge the U.S. EPA to refrain from placing any additional closing bases on the National Priorities List and from participating in remedial activities at non-NPL bases..." since this classification "delays reuse" and "creates a stigma for future users." In effect, this recommendation encourages the denial of hazardous waste on these sites. The basic message of this recommendation is: Even if the site is toxic, don't classify it as such, and don't clean it up, so that we can convert the land to "economically productive" space as quickly as possible.

The Base Conversion Process

Although interest in military base conversion is a timely issue, it is not a new one. Throughout the twentieth century there have been several periods of military downsizing after major wars like World War II and the Vietnam War. However, the difficulty in comparing these historical periods of military downsizing with current efforts at base conversion lies in a wide disparity in level of environmental awareness and subsequent regulation. Integrating environmental considerations into conversion decision-making was never before considered.

In 1949, federal regulations regarding surplus government property were enacted. These regulations, traditionally referred to as the 1949 Act, provide that "...surplus lands...shall be (sold) with reasonable promptness by notice to the responsible bidder whose bid...will be most advantageous to the (federal) government, price and other factors considered." The General Services Agency (GSA) typically handles this land "disposal" under the direction of the specific branch of the armed services to which the property belongs. There is limited involvement by local government, and federal agencies have the first option to acquire the land. If there are no takers, the property is put up for public auction at "market price."[4] Often times, state, local, and non-profit agencies must compete with private bidders for the land. Throughout this process, priority is placed on rapid disposal of the land, "with little attention...paid directly to determining what use is most appropriate in terms of the site's physical qualities and the regional needs."[5]

When a base is targeted for closure there is a hierarchy in decision-making regarding options of land reuse. First, the base is open to the military branches for other military usages. In cases where this has occurred, the land is usually ceded to the U.S. Coast Guard. Second, the land becomes available to all other federal agencies.[6] After all federal agencies have had the option of using the site, it is subject to the McKinney Act[7] and is then put up for private auction. In the hierarchy of land acquisition, local community groups are at the bottom. Only after all federal agencies have had option to the land does it go up for public bidding. Community groups must compete with private developers as well as state and local governments for the land. Given this scenario, community groups are usually shut out of the process, or forced to take a secondary role under the local or state government, due to a lack of adequate funds.

Pursuant to NEPA regulations, the first stage of the conversion/closure process usually requires an EIS. In the Navy's draft EIS for San Francisco Bay

area base closures, the statement discusses the environmental and social impacts of base closure are discussed (i.e., cost of cleanup, time to cleanup, and job loss), but does not address the consequences of potential new land use for the sites are not addressed (U.S. Department of Navy 1990). With the passage of the 1990 Base Closure Act, the importance of environmental concerns in conversion was marginalized. Under normal circumstances, EIS documents are subject to public review and comment. However, in an effort to minimize barriers to the closure process, the Act exempted bases selected for closure in 1990 from NEPA. This not only results in the minimization of the importance of environmental issues in base conversion, but it also decreases the opportunity for public participation in the early stages of the base conversion process, and it sets a dangerous precedent for the role that the local community is allowed to play throughout the conversion process.

When a given site is acquired by a private entity, such as a developer, that party must comply with normal local processes for development. In the case of California bases, the developer must submit an EIR subject to public scrutiny under CEQA. However, an emerging trend, similar to the federal NEPA exemption, has been to follow the example of the conversion of Wurtsmith Air Force Base in Oscoda, Michigan (closed June 30, 1993), and to exempt new owners of acquired bases from environmental regulations. In this instance, the Air Force, while in operation of the base, was not required to comply with state or federal environmental regulations,[8] and therefore refused to pay for past pollution. The Wurtsmith Base Conversion Authority and the Michigan Attorney General have not chosen to pursue the financial accountability of the Air Force. Instead, the Michigan Attorney General has agreed not to hold "sublessees accountable for past contamination" (Dwyer 1993). This decision effectively exempts subsequent owners of the site from RCRA/CERCLA regulations. Due to the difficulty of determining when hazardous pollution occurs, future land holders may disregard economically burdensome regulations and attribute the resulting pollution to the former military uses of the land. In other words, future landholders of previous military bases could be free from liability for hazardous waste. In the case of the base conversion site in Michigan, the industries currently located on the site, a plastics recycling company and an airline maintenance firm, both use hazardous chemicals which, if not properly disposed of, could simply compound the existing environmental hazards.

Case studies in California: Public Participation and Environmental Concerns

The Presidio, San Francisco: The Presidio is seen as a unique case in base conversion. Unlike most bases, which are being targeted for industrial or mixed-use purposes, the Presidio will become part of the National Park system. Since 1776, when Spanish "explorers" established a fort on the site, the Presidio has served as a military base, and in 1848, the United States gained control of the base. In 1962 the base was declared a national historic landmark as a result of its history and

historical architecture. The United Nations has also declared the Presidio an international biosphere reserve due to its open space and 400,000 tree forest. Furthermore, while other bases targeted for conversion historically have been closed to the public, certain parts of the Presidio are open for public visit. It also surrounds the main thoroughfare leading to the Golden Gate Bridge. Due to these factors, the public image of the Presidio is more favorable than that of most other military base conversion sites.

When the Defense Authorization Amendments and Base Closure and Realignment Act (P.L. 100-526) passed on October 24, 1988, a commission was chartered to determine which bases should be closed or realigned. This Commission analyzed sites using several criteria including: training and administrative headquarters, capacity to absorb additional missions/forces, environmental and economic impacts, total military value, and total savings to the military due to base closure. On this evaluation, 86 bases were recommended for closure, 5 for partial closure, and 54 for realignment.

When the Department of Defense targeted the Presidio for closure, it was expected to be a relatively problem-free process as compared with other base closures. The site was thought to be "clean" and the public already appreciated the site as a park, so its conversion to a national park was not expected to generate much opposition. The Commission estimated that it would not take even one year to recover closure costs at the Presidio, and that the military would reap annual savings of $74.1 million from closing the site.[9]

However, several problems arise with these estimates. First, the Commission's cost estimates did not include the costs of hazardous waste cleanup, Since it reasoned that these costs were not a result of the closure itself, and therefore should not be included. While this reasoning follows accepted accounting standards, implications for the accuracy of closure costs are significant since the military is required to cleanup the sites before they are converted to alternative use sites. A study done by the U.S. General Accounting Office in 1989 estimated that these cleanup costs for the Presidio could be as much as $661 million (U.S. General Accounting Office 1989).

Since the Presidio was targeted for closure in 1988, several facts concerning the environmental health of the site, previously unknown to the public, have been revealed. An estimated 200 fuel tanks are buried on the base, and many are thought to be leaking. There are three known sites of PCB spills that have not been cleaned up. There are also several uncharted landfills on the base, their official contents "unknown." Given these facts, revised estimates by the GAO suggest that the Presidio may take "seven years to never" to recover costs and that annual savings from the closure could be reduced to $46.8 million annually, or could even end up costing the military $6.3 million. These discrepancies in cost recovery and savings were repeated for all the bases included in the Commission's 1988 recommendations. Information in Table 2 has been taken from the GAO study to reflect the differences in cost/recovery estimates.

In spite of these now publicly recognized hazards on the site, environmental concerns are still not given first priority. Consideration of environmental issues is seen primarily as an obstacle to full conversion and profitability of the site. As a result, local and federal politicians, as well as many community members, are looking for ways to accelerate or even circumvent environmental cleanup. Recently, Representative Nancy Pelosi (D-California) proposed a bill that would "accelerate the Presidio's speed toward greater self-efficiency" (National Parks 1994) by allowing the National Park Service to immediately (i.e. prior to cleanup) begin negotiating leases and setting up a public benefit corporation to manage the leased buildings. Diane Feinstein and Barbara Boxer supported this proposal with similar bills in the Senate, and the National Park Service told Congress that "it was crucial to give the Park Service immediate authority to lease (the land)...."

Table 2
Comparison of Commission and GAO Estimates for Base Closure

	Commission estimates		GAO estimates	
Base	Years to recover closure costs	Annual savings ($ millions)	Years to recover closure costs	Annual savings ($ millions)
Presidio	0	$74.1	7 to never	$46.8 to (6.3)
Hunters Point	0	8.0	5	7.5
George AFB	0	70.2	2	51.5
Mather AFB	1	78.7	1	61.3
Norton AFB	3	67.9	5	58.4
Jefferson Proving Ground	6	6.6	38 to over 200	6.3

Source: GAO report, November 1989.

Congress did grant this authority, but has not yet acted on any of the proposed bills by the California Congresswomen.

Early public debates concerning the conversion of the Presidio emphasized national issues, offering scant consideration of local and community needs or local government priorities. As a result, the City

and County of San Francisco lobbied for an increased role in the Presidio planning process. Responding to this local pressure, the National Park Service has convened planning meetings with local planners from the City of San Francisco. However, local planners are only allowed the "power of suggestion." The final decision-making power about the site plans lies with the Park Service and the Federal Government.

Mare Island, Vallejo: In July 1993, Mare Island Naval Shipyard was scheduled for closure. Given the target closure date of 1996, Solano County and the City of Vallejo have taken an aggressive approach to planning for reuse. Unlike other bases where reuse plans have taken years to get off the ground,[10] Vallejo released a final reuse plan in July 1994.

The Mare Island Futures Project, an organization charged with the responsibility of developing a reuse plan, was formed almost immediately upon President Clinton's acceptance of Base Closure and Realignment Commission's recommendation to close the Mare Island base. A conceptual reuse plan was issued by the Mare Island Futures Project as quickly as December 1993, only three months after Congress officially approved the 1993 recommended base closures.

The focus of the Futures Project and the Mare Island Conversion Division of the City of Vallejo is "to become a model of successful timely conversion and capitalize on every opportunity to generate new employment."[11] The City has created an entire division dedicated to the task of base reuse planning, and has spent over $500,000 on consultants. Although the City prides itself on public participation in the reuse and planning process, an examination of the membership in the Futures Project demonstrates that not very many community group, and no environmental groups are present (see appendix). The public has been asked to comment via public forum on the reuse plans, but the majority of the planning process has been done by a private consulting firm with the specific goal of economic development in mind. An examination of the conceptual reuse plan21 clearly illustrates the low priority of environmental concerns in decision making. This sixty-three page document contains approximately two dispersed pages of discussion on environmental matters. This discussion is concerned solely with the delay that environmental hazards may cause in reuse and development.

The Politics and Results of *Speedy* Recovery

A review of the current literature on military base conversion points to a pattern of decision-making that acts upon a perceived dichotomy between the interests of economic development and environmental cleanup. This misperception leads to a policy of hasty conversion at the expense of environmental health and safety. The assumption of mutual exclusivity between cost effectiveness and adequate environmental safety denies the realities of human consequence and the future legal and economic liabilities, which inevitably result from insufficient environmental consideration. "The uses that

emerge in this...context, therefore, result from a process saddled by pre-conversion social perceptions and non-land oriented political concerns" (Hertz 1990).

Current conversion efforts at all levels of government are focusing on economic development which usually translates into an attempt to convert already established military industries, especially military contractors, to private sector industries. Typically, this results in fairly similar, and similarly dirty, land use practices. Air force bases are being targeted for both public and private airports. Chemical and munitions production sites are being targeted as industrial sites. A program sponsored by the U.S. Department of Commerce, the 1994 Resource Matching Program, aims to ensure that industries affected by base closure "are poised to take advantage of appropriate business opportunities..." and encourages U.S. defense firms to enter foreign markets.[12] The federal government is also heavily funding research in commercial uses for military technology. The focus on speedy recovery and the continued support for the current military/industrial economy not only ignores the importance of environmental concerns in base conversion, but perpetuates environmental hazards resulting from current operations of military contractors.

In almost every case of military base conversion, hazards exist on the sites which must be cleaned up. Efforts by both federal and state actors to circumvent environmental regulations, as well as local government attempts to overlook the issue, have made economics a priority without truly considering the long term effects of perpetuating the "dirty" practices. Although quick reuse and development of military bases may curb job loss from base closure and preserve the local tax base, in the long run, allowing these sites to remain dirty, and replacing military operations with other, dirty industry operations, will only make matters worse. "An economy that sacrifices health (and) the environment... for higher productivity and profits in selected sectors and firms is not an economy that 'works' " (Markusen and Yudken 1992).

Notes

[1]For a more thorough discussion of the connections between national security and the environment, see Renner in Cassidy and Bischak (1993).

[2]A current program sponsored by the U.S. Department of Commerce, which is under way in California, and scheduled for implementation nationwide, targets former businesses involved with military contracting and provides technical assistance.

[3]Approximately ten percent of all sites on the NPL are federal sites.

[4]"Market price" is determined by an appraisal by the GSA based on its analysis of the potential uses of the site. This appraisal has a significant impact on potential reuse of the land since financial barriers may eliminate certain parties from acquiring the site except by donation, which is not likely.

[5]For a more thorough discussion of the base conversion process see Hertz, 1991, pages 51 - 61.

[6]The Federal government, through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), has a trust obligation to Native Americans to acquire and maintain land in the best interest of the Indians. In base conversion, it seems that there is a complete lack of consideration for

cession of former base territory to the BIA. This lack of consideration speaks to the lack of opportunity for certain groups to participate in the conversion process. In San Francisco, several Indian tribes have banded together in order to contribute to the decision-making process surrounding the Presidio and other bases in the Bay Area. In the Presidio, due to pressure by local tribal members, an Indian cultural center and museum will be integrated into the park plan.

[7]The McKinney Act establishes that federal sites be considered for homeless services in reuse.

[8]Michigan Environmental response Act (MERA) or Comprehensive Environmental Response Compensation and Liability Act (CERCLA)

[9]Annual savings represent the savings that result after all costs of closure/realignment have been recovered.

[10]Hunters Point, San Francisco was officially inoperative in 1979, and yet to this date no reuse plans for the site have been issued. It is my speculation that reuse plans result from and are accelerated by the perceived *value* of a given site. Hunters Point is in a low-income, formerly industrial area, which has basically been written off by the City. This conversion could be an opportunity to revitalize a depressed area of the City, especially with the current monies available through the federal empowerment zone program. However, it has been written off, and sites that are more publicly visible and more often used by more affluent members of the community, i.e. Presidio National Park, are targeted for immediate attention.

[11]Mare Island Futures Project Description, issued from the City of Vallejo - September 27, 1993.

[12]Fax from William Denk. Bureau of Export Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce. 1994 Resource Matching Program. May 20, 1994.

References

Cassidy, Kevin J. and Bischak, Gregory A. (1993). Real Security: Converting the Defense Economy and Building Peace.

Dwyer, Anabel. (1993) "Cleanup and Conversion: A Case Study of Wurtsmith Air Force Base." *The New Economy.*

Harvey, Mark (1991). "Rocky Mountain Arsenal's Costly Cleanup." *High Country News.* April 22, 1991.

Hertz, Frederick Charles (1991). "Planning the Plowshares: Power and Decision-making in the Conversion of Military Bases for Civilian Use." University of California, Berkeley. Department of Geography.

Markusen, Ann and Yudken, Joel (1992). *Dismantling the Cold War Economy.* New York.

Mayer, Virginia M. (1992). *Local Officials Guide to Defense Economic Adjustment.* National League of Cities.

National Parks (January 1994) "Debate Surrounding Presidio's Future." Vol. 68, no. 1-2.

Pemberton, Miriam (Spring 1993). "Contamination and Conversion at Federal Facilities: The Public Participation Issue." *The New Economy.* Vol. 4, no. 2, issue 18.

Seigel, Lenny; Cohen, Gary; Goldman, Ben (January 1991). *The U.S. Military's Toxic Legacy: American's Worst Environmental Enemy.* National Toxic Campaign Fund.

Shulman, Seth (Autumn 1990). "Toxics War on Earth: The Military's Environmental Nightmare." *Nuclear Times.*

U.S. Department of the Navy (August 1990). *Draft Environmental Impact Statement: Candidate Base Closures/Realignment/San Francisco Bay Area.*

U.S. General Accounting Office (July 1989). "Hazardous Waste: EPA Cleanup Requirements -- DoD Versus Private Entities." GAO/NSIAD-89-144.

U.S. General Accounting Office (November 1989). "Military Bases: An Analysis of the Commission's Realignment and Closure Recommendations." GAO/NSIAD-90-42.

KACY COLLONS is a 2nd year M.A. student in the Urban Planning Program, currently on leave to pursue a law degree at Boalt Law School at U.C. Berkeley.

AT THE CUTTING EDGE: A PORTRAIT OF INNOVATIVE GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATIONS IN LOS ANGELES

Elwood Hopkins

"Discovering" Grassroots Los Angeles

For decades, there has been a flood of neighborhood development research focused on grassroots activity in New York City. There is no question that block associations and non-profit organizations of New York are politically sophisticated, tightly-networked, and exceedingly innovative in their problem-solving approaches. These groups are also well-recognized by the government and backed by an extensive philanthropic community.

But this emphasis on New York creates the impression that the other major American metropolis, Los Angeles, is devoid of such activity. Indeed, popular perceptions about neighborhood activity in Los Angeles oscillate between two equally erroneous extremes: Either Los Angeles is seen as an endless stretch of middle-class suburban tract development in which grassroots activity is irrelevant and unnecessary, or it is seen as a riot-torn wasteland where a lack of community organization has resulted in the penultimate decline of urban society.

Both of these images are false. While it is true that neighborhood organizations in Los Angeles may not enjoy the long history and intense networks of interaction that characterize their counterparts in New York,[1] and while they may be isolated by geographic sprawl and largely unrecognized by governments and foundations, they are nonetheless numerous, well-organized, effective, and highly innovative. They are just as much at the "cutting edge" of community development as their New York peers.

Urban Leadership for the 21st Century

This article attempts to create a portrait of these grassroots organizations at work in Los Angeles, and to sharpen our understanding of the types

of social and programmatic innovations they are initiating as well as the contextual conditions under which they are initiating them. It reflects the preliminary findings of a three-year research/action project being undertaken by the Los Angeles Mega-Cities Project in parallel with the New York Mega-Cities Project.[2] Supported by a grant from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, this program is entitled, "Urban Leadership for the 21st Century: Scaling Up and Reaching Out from the Neighborhood Level." This program is designed to enable innovative neighborhood leaders in both cities to replicate their approaches in other neighborhoods, expand them to serve a larger community, share them with their peers in other cities, or incorporate them into public policy. This article reports on the findings of the first phase of the program. It explains the research methods of the project, describes a few of the illustrative neighborhood innovations we have identified in Los Angeles, examines the patterns which exist across the full set of sixty groups we have documented, and finally, suggests some of the implications of our findings for community development theory and leadership development programs.

Research Methods and Working Definitions

The Los Angeles Mega-Cities Project has identified more than one hundred innovative grassroots initiatives in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. These innovations were identified by a team of student researchers at the UCLA Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning. The researchers used a range of search methods including: creating task forces by policy area (i.e., economic development or housing); conducting in-depth literature reviews of books, journals, magazines, and newspapers; surveying planning directors and community development directors in each geographic neighborhood (including each of the 88 incorporated cities comprising Los Angeles county); utilizing pre-existing listings or networks of neighborhood leaders such as the UCLA volunteer placement network; and networking by sector through our multi-sectoral Project Steering Committee (which includes leaders from government, business, NGOs, grassroots groups, academia, and the media).

For the purposes of this project, we agreed upon working definitions of "community-based organization" and "innovation." For "community-based organization," we used the definition established by Janice Perlman in her 1979 article, "Neighborhood Research: A Proposed Methodology": voluntary, bottom-up membership organizations (or coalitions of such organizations) composed of people acting on their own behalf. In addition, they should be the focus of collective action on neighborhood issues through one of three modes: (1) direct action on key issues pressuring existing institutions and elites for greater accountability; (2) establishing alternative institutions for self-help endeavors; or (3) taking over quasi-governmental functions via the creation of neighborhood governments, planning boards, or civil associations with official recognition (Perlman 1979: 43-56).

As for "innovation," we agreed to use the following definition: any initiative which is perceived as new in its systemic context. Defined in this way,

an innovation could include a continuum of meanings, from an effort which is new to a neighborhood or municipality (but familiar in other localities) to innovations which would be considered unique in any part of the world. Furthermore, this innovation could be social, technological, financial, managerial, or organizational, and could cover any urban policy area. And it could be an initiative or program undertaken by a community-based organization, or it could be the entire organization itself. It was understood that these definitions would evolve and become sharper in our minds as the program progressed; they were considered a starting point.

Each innovation was screened according to four basic criteria: it had to be ecologically sustainable, economically viable, politically participatory, and socially equitable. Clearly, one innovation may not meet all of these criteria in a meaningful way, but the goal was to find innovations which met as many criterions as possible. The innovation was also expected to demonstrate novelty, or "innovativeness." Again, some innovations are likely to be unique while others are likely to be indicative of innovative trends which can be observed elsewhere. The goal was to find as many new ideas as possible which fulfilled these value criteria, while also capturing in our net all of the most promising and successful solutions from the neighborhood level.

Illustrative Innovation Mini-Cases

The illustrative mini-cases below provide just a sample of the range of innovative initiatives we have identified:

Proyecto Esperanza: In Echo Park, Proyecto Esperanza is a small grassroots organization dedicated to helping young men who have recently immigrated from Latin America find jobs, places to live, and most importantly, improve self esteem. Proyecto Esperanza is innovative in that it does not channel these youths into normal job-training programs, but trains them to find work in the growing informal sector as day laborers who specialize in carpentry, landscaping, painting, or household repairs. It also is unique in that it organizes the young men into three and four person "family structures" so that they can afford to rent apartments together and benefit from mutual support. A variety of seminars are organized to teach the young men basic life skills for survival in the United States, including basic English, how to shop in the supermarket, how to care for a home, and leadership development skills.

Los Angeles Men's Place (LAMP): LAMP was founded in 1986 as a storefront crisis center for the mentally disabled homeless men in the Skid Row section of downtown Los Angeles. After seven years, the director of LAMP discovered that a community structure was emerging, obtained an abandoned city-owned warehouse building and converted it into a small "village" of about 500 residents. In the LAMP village, residents find not only basic needs such as food, shelter, clothes, showers, and health care, but also job opportunities through small businesses (a laundromat, a linen service, and a convenience store) owned by LAMP cooperatives. They also find stable

human relationships and consistent companionship through which they can re-socialize and regain their self-esteem. Various sub-committees, comprised of the residents, manage the village and set its policy. Most recently, they have begun expanding their village by purchasing and managing a nearby apartment building, called LAMP Lodge, and forming a political voice through voter registration.

HOPE LA Horticulture Corps: The LA Hope Horticultural Corps, based at the John Hope Continuing High School in south central Los Angeles, creates urban gardens in vacant lots and then uses those sites as vocational training grounds for local youths interested in careers in agriculture, nutrition, or food preparation. In addition to the young adults directly involved in the program, the Hope L.A. Horticulture Corps reaches out to family members, neighbors, and peers of program participants encouraging them to start neighborhood tree planting campaigns, or landscape community property.

Vaughn Family Care Center: Located in the San Fernando Valley, the Vaughn Family Care Center serves as a one-stop service provider where low-income families can find: medical services (immunizations, medical screenings, and nutrition classes), youth services geared toward gang prevention, job training and employment referrals, legal counseling, housing and day care referrals, help with school work, translation services, ESL classes, and family counseling. The most innovative aspect of the Vaughn Family Care Center is its "participant reciprocity" system in which beneficiaries contribute several hours a week to helping provide childcare, education, or administrative services.

Casa Loma: New Economics for Women (NEW) was formed to create economic development opportunities and affordable housing for low-income, single Latina mothers. NEW's first project is Casa Loma Apartments, a 110-unit rental housing project for low and moderate income single-parent families in the Central City west area of Los Angeles. Casa Loma is innovative in that it is completely planned and run by the low-income women who are its residents. The residents, primarily single Latina mothers, were organized to design their own program for the development. Committees comprised of the residents worked on everything from the design of the building and apartment layouts to the management policies and social services (such as daycare and job placement) to be provided in the complex.

Community Mammography Program: The Community Mammography Program, based at the Saint Vincent Medical Center in Los Angeles, is a mobile van service providing early breast cancer detection to medically under-served neighborhoods. Launched in November 1992 in collaboration with the Los Angeles Oncologic Institute and the St. Vincent Radiological Medical Group, the Community Mammography Program is the only full-time service of its kind as of November 1992. Offering breast cancer screening and educational services for ten

dollars, it has served a range of neighborhoods including: Chinatown, Koreatown, South Central, East L.A., Highland Park, and downtown. A specially equipped van delivers two St. Vincent staff members and their portable equipment to a regularly scheduled community site three times each week. More than a thousand economically disadvantaged women have already been screened, and numerous cases of breast cancer intercepted.

Many innovations are still in their early, experimental stages and will require continued evaluation before we can confidently assess their impacts. Several have not moved much beyond the planning stage. And others have ceased to exist since this survey was conducted. Even successful innovations often produce unexpected consequences which may or may not be desired. But as a group, these innovations represent promising alternatives to the status quo, and real hope for the future.

An Overview of Sixty Grassroots Groups

Looking at the larger set of sixty community groups identified, some interesting trends and patterns emerge. Each group was questioned on the following main points: self-leadership, primary issue areas,geographical base, year of origin, constituencies or client populations, the innovative aspect of their work, and organization type. I will discuss each of these points in turn, and debunk some popular misconceptions about urban grassroots leaders.

Leadership: Contrary to the prevalent myths that neighborhood leaders are disgruntled citizens, selfless saints, or blindly passionate activists, the leaders surveyed displayed professional personas, and frequently used business lingo, such as "fiscal viability," "customer orientation," "staffing configuration," or "business plan." While some groups meet in church meeting halls or private homes, the vast majority have offices with reception areas and conference rooms. The executive directors have full-time salaries and many hold advanced degrees in urban planning, community development, business and non-profit management. Interestingly, they are slightly more likely to be women and/or minorities than white men (there are 38 women and 22 men in the sample; of the 22 men, 6 are Black, 6 are Latino, 2 are Asian, and 8 are white). This tendency begs the question: what is the role of marginalized groupss in innovative grassroots organizations?

Primary Issue Area: The research teams made concerted efforts to ensure that all issue areas were represented in the sampling so it is difficult to make any assertions regarding the relative prevalence of one issue area over another. The groups represent: economic development (12), youth services (10), environmental issues (9), housing (8), children and family services (7), health care (4), immigration (3), community development (3), women's issues (2), the elderly (1), and transportation (1).

However, there does seem to be an over-representation of groups concerned with economic development. In part this is the result of economic development becoming so broadly defined among community groups that it encompasses a wide range of sub-issues, including immigration services, housing services, and environmental awareness. In addition the current prevailing wisdom is that revitalization begins with economic development. This stands in stark contrast to the conventional wisdom of the 1960s, which held that political empowerment was the keystone to community development.

It is also fair to say that transportation, with one innovation, has the lowest representation. There was also only one innovation concerned expressly with the elderly although many of the other groups serve the elderly through other programs. This paucity of transportation innovations in a city with such major public transit problems can be explained in part by the lack of opportunities, for grassroots groups, to respond to transportation needs. This situation is changing, however, as the Los Angeles Metropolitan Transportation Authority launches some major freeway investments in low-income neighborhoods, and community groups are organizing to demand community economic development projects in the vicinity of freeway on-ramps.

Perhaps the most important observation regarding the issue areas is that extremely few of these community-based organizations have a single-issue orientation. While many of them began with a single issue, they have moved (or are moving) toward a broader scope which encompasses the full set of issues affecting the local neighborhood or city.

Geographic Base: One of the most striking geographic patterns with regard to innovations is that they are coalesced in south central Los Angeles. With 16 innovative neighborhood initiatives, south central appears to be the most fertile source of bottom-up social change in the metropolitan area. Our findings here would support the hypothesis that communities plagued with more severe problems tend to be the best sources of grassroots urban innovations. It is also worth noting that there are a significant number of poverty-related innovations located in neighborhoods generally considered to be wealthy, white suburbs, such as West Los Angeles (which has 6 innovations) and the Valley (which has 4). While Angelenos perceive their social geography to be clearly-delineated by rich areas and poor areas, the reality may be more subtle and complex; there may be considerable pockets of poverty in supposedly affluent areas.

Ultimately, assigning these innovations to particular geographical localities may be a bit deceiving; Despite the myth that neighborhood organizations are provincial and narrowly focused on the localities in which they are located, a great many of these groups define their "community served" as Greater Los Angeles, or even Southern California. On that score, while neighborhood groups are considered to be "place-based," many of these organizations are concerned with abstract, society-wide social problems and they have a remarkable capacity to think and act on a citywide or regional scale.

Moreover, while one might envision community groups spending all of their time "in the trenches," doing hands-on service, many of these groups are also adept at conducting market research and developing policy statements, so that they may truly impact change at a geographically broad level. On that score, it is important to note that some of these grassroots groups are in fact branches or affiliates of large, nation-wide non-profits. When such groups generate innovations, they are in a position to instantly disseminate their ideas to other affiliated groups around the country. A perfect example of this is the Compton Office of Cities-in-Schools that has created a pilot project which may be replicated across the United States.

Nicholas Lehmann recently made a compelling critique of community-based development initiatives. He argued that community development corporations are ultimately counterproductive, because they struggle to keep ghetto residents living in the slums, instead of helping them move into better, more affluent neighborhoods. The slum, he argues, should remain a transitional place, where poor people can get their bearings. Instead of trying to transform them into more viable places to live, these groups should focus their efforts on the broader systemic issues facing our society, such as racism. These sixty grassroots organizations suggest that the most innovative neighborhood initiatives are, as Lehmann suggests, dedicated to improving the quality of life in their neighborhoods and eager to keep their residents where they are. But Lehmann has underestimated these groups in their ability to see the "big picture." Many are also fully cognizant of the larger systemic issues they must address. However, they contend that in order to be effective they must function at both the neighborhood and societal level.

Date of Origin: The mid-to-late 1980s appears to have been a particularly fertile period for neighborhood innovation in Los Angeles. Thirty-five percent of the groups were initiated between 1983 and 1989. This can be attributed in large part to four nationwide trends occurring at this time. These include (1) the height of federal budget cut-backs under the Bush Administration; (2) massive regional economic restructuring (especially in Los Angeles) which left established centers of industry in a state of free-fall; accelerating immigration, particularly in Southern California; and (3) widespread social conservatism which triggered various forms of communitarian reaction.

Another flashpoint at which innovation flourished was 1992-93, the year following the Los Angeles riots. A host of innovations emerged during that year, including: Food from the 'Hood, Project Step, Operation HOPE, Community Build, Youth Employment Systems, Streetlights Production Assistants Program, and the LA Regional Foodbank Garden. This proliferation supports the hypothesis that cities undergoing crisis are the most likely to generate a multitude of grassroots innovations.[3]

Constituencies or Client Populations: While it is fair to assume that many neighborhood groups identify with specific ethnic populations, this study's data suggests that there are a surprisingly high number of groups who span multiple ethnic groups. This is

even true for organizations whose very names suggest that they only serve specific ethnicities, such as the United Cambodian Community Inc. which began by working primarily with Cambodian and other Southeast Asian refugee groups, but has since expanded to serve a full range of immigrant populations. Another example is the Dunbar Economic Development Corporation in South Central Los Angeles which set out to serve a primarily African American population, but has branched out to serve Latinos in response to the increasingly mixed racial composition of the surrounding neighborhood. This tendency suggests that the popular perception that Los Angeles' neighborhoods are insular and racially homogenous may not be as true as was previously thought.

Innovative Aspect: Although each organizational innovation is distinct, there are certain patterns which cut across the set and help us to define the current "frontiers" of grassroots urban innovation in Los Angeles:

- Clustered Services: Many of the innovations are characterized by the theme of clustering related services under one roof in order to make them more accessible to potential users. Excellent examples of this type of urban innovation are the Vaughn Family Care Center and Proyecto Pastoral.
- Government/Grassroots Partnership: Many of the innovations may be classified as government/grassroots partnerships in that they involve shared responsibilities between neighborhood organizations and local public sector agencies. This type of innovation is best exemplified by the Exposition Park EDC and the Community Impact Team.
- Activities in the Informal Sector: A third theme characterizing these innovations is the provision of services to undocumented citizens or supporting the informal sector economy. While some of these innovations in this category might seem routine in a Third World city, they are new in Los Angeles. These include Proyecto Esperanza and the El Rescate Credit Union.
- Intersected Issue Areas: Many of the most innovative initiatives occur at the intersection of two or more issue areas. Good examples of this type of innovation are Food from the 'Hood, which represents the intersection of environmental issues and economic development, or EEXCEL, which combines low-income housing and education.

Type of Organization: As our research progressed we found that it was difficult to define community groups in the clear-cut way we set out at the beginning. There are many neighborhood initiatives which do not involve community membership and there are many which involve partnership ventures with local businesses, government agencies, or academic institutions; and not all are truly "bottom up." Furthermore, the leaders interviewed were quick to admit that there are often a multitude of groups in a single community with competing or at least different views about where the "interests of their community" lie.

It was possible, however, to group the organizations according to the three-type classification system laid out at the beginning. The vast majority, 47 out of the 60 groups, are what Perlman called "alternative institutions." There was 1 pressure group, 7 groups combining pressure with the creation of an alternative institution, 4 functioning as new forms of governance, and 1 combining governance with pressure.

Denise Fairchild of the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) in Los Angeles has argued that there has been a fundamental shift in the way grassroots organizations in Los Angeles perceive themselves. "Neighborhood-based organizations are no longer about revolution; they are about agency, structure, and incremental change" (Fairchild 1994). If this is true, then this set of organizations illustrates the shift Fairchild describes. But why is this so? It could mean that the organizations with the most visible innovations are the alternative institutions; Or, more likely, it could mean that grassroots groups have become extremely sophisticated, providing services on a day-to-day basis, but simultaneously pursuing direct pressure or electoral change through other organizational divisions. In this light, grassroots organizations are capable of acting on small-scale, incremental change as well as larger scale transformation.

Helping and Hindering Factors: Some Preliminary Hypotheses

Although this project is still in its early stages, and the sample size we are working with may not be statistically significant, some of these preliminary findings are suggestive of hypotheses about the helping and hindering factors for grassroots innovation in Los Angeles. As the project progresses, these will be tested in future rounds of research.

The five primary helping factors for grassroots innovation in Los Angeles appear to be: (1) the increasing multi-cultural diversity of Los Angeles, which creates a climate for the creative co-mingling of cultural traits in neighborhood social programs; (2) the general move from single-issue groups to multiple issue groups which find the intersections between diverse urban problems and aim to design integrated community development strategies; (3) the emergence of an informal economy in Los Angeles which has forced neighborhood groups to rethink their role vis-a-vis job creation, vocational training, and so on; (4) the willingness of local government to forge public-private partnerships which has led many neighborhood groups to reconceptualize their roles with policymakers; and (5) the crisis caused by the riots, the fires, the landslides, and the earthquakes over the last several years.

The three main factors hindering grassroots innovation in Los Angeles appear to be: (1) the move from small, informal grassroots groups to well-established not-for-profits with institutionalized bureaucracies; (2) the lack of a major grassroots philanthropic community (Los Angeles has only a few major foundations concerned with grassroots development, the most significant players being the California Community Foundation and the Irvine Foundation, as compared with nearly fifty in New York); and (3) the lack of any substantial, ongoing interaction or communication among community groups.

If we cluster these helping and hindering factors into macro-scale and micro-scale factors, we can begin to see that most of the obstacles to grassroots innovation may exist at the local neighborhood level, or within the grassroots community itself. The combinations of widespread social changes and crisis combined with a decentralized system of local governments with a willingness to collaborate with neighborhood groups has created an excellent climate for grassroots experimentation. But the fragmented and isolated nature of the grassroots community in Los Angeles and the move toward professional, bureaucratic non-profit workplaces hinders such innovation.

Grassroots Innovation and Urban Social Change

These preliminary findings are useful in creating a portrait of the grassroots community in Los Angeles. As the parallel researchers in New York completes their study, their findings will help us to understand how New York and Los Angeles' neighborhood groups resemble and differ from each other. Ultimately, the Mega-Cities Project aims to replicate this urban leadership program in all of the 18 remaining fieldsites around the world. This worldwide perspective will enable us to see what patterns exist among urban grassroots organizations internationally, to analyze the pre-conditions for neighborhood innovation, and to hypothesize the relationship between innovative grassroots leadership and worldwide urban transformation.

In the classic book, *The City and the Grassroots*, Manuel Castells argues that there is a strong connection between innovative grassroots initiatives in cities and worldwide urban transformation. He argues that because the existing urban institutions are deeply entrenched in the status quo, the most significant urban innovations will necessarily come from the grassroots level. But he also argues that these innovations do not always achieve meaningful transformation. On those few occasions it is called an "urban social movement" (Castells 1983: 291).

The central questions for us today are, what needs to happen before a neighborhood innovation can become a social movement? What mechanisms or interventions can accelerate this process? And above all, what constitutes a "social movement"? Does it necessarily involve the organized revolutions, protests, and uprisings studied by Castells? Or can there be social movements that work incrementally through the existing system? The remainder of the Urban Leadership for the 21st Century Program will focus on these questions by creating a variety of mechanisms for these innovative neighborhood initiatives to achieve a "multiplier effect" by replicating what they do in other neighborhoods, expanding to a larger geographical scale, and incorporating their ideas into urban policy.

Acknowledgements

The Urban Leadership for the 21st Century Program, funded by the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, is undertaken by the Mega-Cities Project fieldsite teams in New York and Los Angeles. The findings of this article reflect the contributions made by many people working on this project, including: Janice E. Perlman, Founder and Executive Director of the Mega-Cities

Project; Akhtar Badshah, Director of Programs at the Mega-Cities Project Central Research and Coordination Office; Marianne Cocchini, the Program Evaluator; J. Eugene Grigsby, the Los Angeles Mega-Cities Project Coordinator; Jonathan Abrams, the Leadership Project Director in Los Angeles; Mary Garden, Assistant; Jane Sweeney, the New York Mega-Cities Project Coordinator, and C. Kenneth Shillingford, the Leadership Project Director in New York. The team of researchers includes: Audry Henderson, Robert Holeman, Rosa Hippler, Sally Hubbard, Falguni Sarkar, and Beverly Voran. For information about the Mega-Cities Project or the Urban Leadership for the 21st Century Program, write Janice Perlman, the Mega-Cities Project, Inc., 915 Broadway, Suite 1601, New York, NY 10010.

Notes

[1] Until the mid-1980s, there were essentially only three major community-based development organizations in Los Angeles: the East Los Angeles Community Union (TELECU), the Watts Labor Community Action Council (WLCAC), and the Pico Union Neighborhood Council (PUNC). (Source: Coalition of Neighborhood Developers). In addition, there were a scattering of charitable social service organizations, most notably the Children's Bureau of Southern California, which was founded in 1904, and Children's Institute International, established in 1906.

[2] The Mega-Cities Project was established in 1987 to shorten the time lag between when innovative ideas emerge and when they are implemented worldwide. Headquartered in New York City, the Mega-Cities Project has fieldsite teams set up in 20 cities worldwide (Bangkok, Beijing, Bombay, Buenos Aires, Cairo, Calcutta, Delhi, Jakarta, Karachi, Lagos, London, Los Angeles, Manila, Mexico City, Moscow, New York, Paris, Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, and Tokyo) which are constantly identifying and documenting innovative approaches to urban problems, so that they may be transferred and replicated. The goal is not only to find solutions to the problems large cities face in common, but on a theoretical level, to understand how innovations diffuse and the implications for deliberate social change in cities. The Founder and Executive Director of the Mega-Cities Project is Dr. Janice E. Perlman.

[3] Janice Perlman has pointed out that the same was true for Rio de Janeiro, after the government declared bankruptcy; Mexico City, after the Earthquake; and London, after the breakdown of the Greater London Council.

References

Castells, M. (1983). The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements. Berkeley: University of California Press

Fairchild, D. (February 10, 1994). "Three Generations of Community Development," a lecture presented at the UCLA Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning

Perlman, J. (1979) "Neighborhood Research: A Proposed Methodology," Southern Atlantic Urban Studies. Vol. 4, pp.43-46.

ELWOOD HOPKINS graduated from GSAUP in 1994. This paper draws from his work as the Project Director of the Los Angeles Mega-Cities Project.

TABLE 1: An Overview of Sixty Innovative Neighborhood-Based

ORGANIZATION	LEADER	ISSUE AREA/ SERVICES PROVIDED	GEOGRAPHIC COMMUNITY*
1. Adopt-a-School	Mary Edie, Outreach Director	education, environmental issues	Pacific Palisades
2. Alternative Living for the Aging	Janet Witkin, Executive Director	housing, elderly services	West Hollywood
3. Beyond Shelter	Tanya Tull Executive Director	Homelessness	Central and South Central Los Angeles
4. Black Family Investment Project	Saundra Turner-Settle, Director	Child Welfare/Family Preservation	South Central Los Angeles
5. CHARO Mid-City Plant Growers	Theresa Amador, Director	economic development, urban greening	East Los Angeles
6. Children's Bureau of Southern California	Alex Morales, Executive Director	Child Advocacy and Children's Services	Greater Los Angeles
7. Crysalis	George Jones, Director	homelessness, job training	Downtown Los Angeles, Santa Monica
8. Cities-in-Schools Entrepreneur Program	Shirley Allen, Director	education, job training, youth	Compton
9. City Hearts	Sherry Jason, Director	Child development/delinquency prevention	Greater Los Angeles
10. Clean Needles Now (CNN)	Renee Edgington, Executive Director	AIDS prevention	East Los Angeles
11. Coalition for Women's Economic Development (CWED)	Forescee Hogan-Rowles, Executive Director	economic, micro-enterprise development	Greater Los Angeles

Organizations in Los Angeles

DATE EST.	CLIENT BASE/ CONSTITUENCY*	INNOVATIVE ASPECT**	TYPE OF ORG.
1993	elementary school students in and around Pacific Palisades	• enlists high school students to teach elementary school students about the environment	alternative
1978	elderly	• organizes elderly into alternative housing arrangements	alternative
1988	Homeless or at-risk individuals and their families	• places families in permanent housing in residential neighborhoods • creates "service-enriched" housing	alternative
(1991)	Families suspected of child abuse or neglect	• attempts to address child abuse by working with the entire familiy unit, and not removing the children	alternative
1993	Low-income, primarily Latino entrepreneurs	• runs a plant nursery serving non-profit and environmental organizations	alternative
1904	Children & their families	• Project LEARN, school-based and home-based anti-abuse/neglect initiatives	alternative/ pressure
1989	homeless adults	• conducts job training in a simulated work environment	governance/ pressure
1993	low-income, public school students	• enables students to run a copier recharging service	alternative
1985	abused, homeless, or at-risk children, age 3-18.	•"Sentenced to the stage" acting/dance therapy for probationary children	alternative
1992	Intravenous drug users	• operate mobile van service with needle exchange	alternative/ pressure
1988	low-income women	• lending circles, modelled after Grameen Bank	alternative

12. Community Build	Brenda Shockley Director	economic development, business attraction/retention	South Central Los Angeles
13. Community Impact Team	Steve Margolis, Coordinator	crime, community development, housing	Blythe Street and Delano Street neighborhoods
14. Community Mammography Program	Jan Stein, Executive Director	health care, health education	Central Los Angeles
15. Community Scholars Program	Gilda Haas, Director	leadership development	Greater Los Angeles
16. Community Youth Gang Services	Bill Martinez, Director	youth, gang prevention	East Los Angeles
17. EEXCEL	Kent Salveson, President	education/affordable housing	South Central Los Angeles
18. El Rescate, Inc.	Oscar Andrade, Executive Director	immigration services	Pico-Union
19. ERAS Center	Barbara Cull, Executive Director	education for children with physical, mental, or emotional disabilities	Greater Los Angeles
20. Eco-Village	Lois Arkin, Co-founder	environmental issues	South Central Los Angeles
21. Exposition Park EDC	J. Eugene Grigsby, Co-Founder	economic development, community development	South Central Los Angeles
22. FAME	Ingrid Hadley, Director	economic development, transportation	South Central Los Angeles
23. Food from the 'Hood	Aleyna Larner, Director	education, economic development, urban greening	South Central Los Angeles
24. Gardening Angels	Rachel Mabie, Program Director	education, the environment	South Central Los Angeles

1992	all residents of South Central Los Angeles	• creates partnerships between corporations and residents	governance
1992	all residents of Blythe Street and Delano Street	• set up a governing committee of local residents to supervise inter-agency coordination	governance
1992	uninsured, minority women over 40	• mobile van service providing mammograms in underpriveleged communities	alternative
1991	grassroots leaders	• enables grassroots leaders to study at UCLA urban planning program	alternative
(1990)	youths, primarily Latino	• organizes alternative activities for gang members (e.g. "midnight basketball")	alternative
1988	low-income families	• combines on-site education with low-income housing	alternative
1981	immigrants from El Salvador	•community credit union for undocumented citizens • women-owned cooperative restaurant	alternative/ pressure
1980	children with disbailities	• health food store managed by students	alternative/ pressure
1991	low-income households	• creating a prototype, environmentally sustainable community	governance
1992	residents of the Exposition Park neighborhood	• functions as a community-owned for-profit	governance
1994	commuters	• designs optimal home-office transportation routes	alternative
1992	high school students	• enables high school students to run an ecologically sound business	alternative
1990	elementary school students in low-income areas	• enlists the elderly as environmental instructors	alternative

25. Genesis I Domes Village	Ted Hayes, Director	housing and homelessness	Downtown Los Angeles
26. Greater Hollywood Health Partnership	Joni Goodnight, Director	health	Hollywood
27. Health Promotion Council	Val Rodriguez, Executive Director	health care and health education	El Monte
28. HOPE LA Horticultural Corps	George Singleton, Director	job training, urban greening	South Central Los Angeles
29. In Touch With Teens	Leah Aldridge, Director	rape and violence prevention	Los Angeles
30. Inquilinos Unidos	Enrique Velasquez, Director	housing	Pico Union, Garment District, Burlington Avenue
31. Jovenes, Inc.	Fr. Richard Estrada, Executive Director	homelessness, immigration services	Echo Park and Pico Union
32. Kingdom Kids Academy	Crystal Davis, Director	youth, education	Adams
33. Korean Youth & Family Center Recycling Program	Bong Hwan Kim, Executive Director	youth services, immigration	Koreatown
34. LAMP	Molly Lowry, Executive Director	homelessness	Skid Row
35. LA Regional Food Bank	Doris Bloch, Executive Director	nutrition, the environment	South Central Los Angeles
36. LA Youth	Donna Myrow, Executive Director	youth education and training	Los Angeles County
37. Liberty Hill Foundation	Paula Litt, Program Officer	grassroots mobilizing	Greater Los Angeles

1993	homeless men and women	• organizes homeless individuals into a community and houses them in domes	alternative
(1993)	low-income residents	• uses networks of churches to distribute health information	alternative
1989	low-income residents	• organizes low-income communities to define their own health care needs and lobby for them	governance/pressure
(1990)	youths and young adults	•uses vacant lot gardens as job training grounds	alternative
1993	teenagers	• uses imaginative exercises to teach teens to recognize sexism and avoid date rape situations	alternative
1993	low-income tenants	• trains low-income tenants how to deal with landlords and improve housing	pressure
1989	homeless Latino immigrants	• uses art as therapy and as a way to breakdown misconceptions of immigrants	alternative
1994	low-income children, primarily African American	• apartment-based, musical after-school program	alternative
1989	recently-immigrated Korean-American youths	• runs a recycling enterprise by and for youths	alternative
1986	homeless men , especially those with disabilities	• organizes residents into a village structure	alternative
1992	low-income families	• created a garden sponsored by restaurant chefs and maintained by local residents	alternative
1985	minority teenagers interested in journalism	• has created a youth-run newspaper reporting on key urban issues	alternative
1977	grassroots leaders in low-income neighborhoods	• all funding decisions made by a committee of neighborhood leaders	alternative

38. Mountains Conservancy Foundation	Ruth Kilday, Executive Director	environmental protection, urban greening	Los Angeles County
39. New Economics for Women (NEW), Casa Loma	Maggie Cervantes, Executive Director	housing, economic development, and women's empowerment	Belmont area of Pico Union
40. Operation HOPE	John Bryant, Chairman	economic development	South Central Los Angeles
41. PACE Grocers' Cooperative	Kerry Doi, Executive Director	economic development, employment	Koreatown, Chinatown, Little Tokyo, Pico Union, and other Asian communities in Los Angeles
42. Para Los Ninos	Miki Boalt, Director	homelessness, family crisis	Skid Row, Central Los Angeles
43. Peace Colors	Gayle Nathanson, Executive Director	violence, gang prevention	Inglewood
44. People for Parks	Steve Kelly, Director	parks, recreation	Pacoima, Reseda, Canoga Park, Los Angeles, Watts
45. Performing Tree	Joan Palmer, Director	youth, education	Los Angeles County
46. Project STEP	Karen Gellert, Project Director	youth, job training	Hollywood
47. Proyecto Esperanza	Clif Cartland, Director	job training, immigrant services	Echo Park
48. Proyecto Pastoral	Fr. Tom Smolich, Executive Director	economic development, social services, childcare, education/training	Boyle Heights
49. PUENTE Learning Center	Sister Jennie Lechtenberg, Executive Director	employment training	Boyle Heights
50. QWoD Plus	Kay Inaba, System Integrator	community development	Sylmar, Pacoima, San Fernando
51. Shelter Partnership	Ruth Schwartz, Executive Director	homelessness	Los Angeles County

1983	general public	• development of regional "greenways"	alternative /pressure
1986	Latina women	• CASA LOMA: housing by and for Latinas	alternative
(1992)	low-income residents	• micro-enterprise bank	alternative
1974	low-income Asians	• grocers' cooperative	alternative
1980	homeless or "at risk" families	• Parenting classes on-site in transient hotels	alternative
1994	high-school age youths	• "Peace Days" and other innovative conflict avoidance exercises	alternative
1989	low-income residents	• trains neighborhood residents to take over the upkeep of neighborhood parks	alternative
1972	children in LAUSD public schools	• brings visiting artists and performers into public schools	alternative
1992	homeless youth	• connects homeless, unemployed youth with local employers	alternative
1990	Latino immigrant males, age 18-22	• organizes group training for participation in the informal sector economy	alternative
1986	low-income Latinos in Boyle Heights	•cooperative tortilla shop and daycare center	alternative
1985	low-income Latinos	• multi-generation, extended family approach	alternative
1993	low-income residents	• urban village • First Chance	alternative
1985	non-profit organizations serving the homeless	• brokers between homeless shelters and the public and private sectors •"shelter resource bank" to distribute excess donations	alternative/ pressure

52. Skid Row Access, Inc	Charles McClain, Director	economic development, creative arts	Skid Row
53. St. Joseph Center	Rhonda Meister, Executive Director	comprehensive social services	West Los Angeles
54. Streetlights Production Assistant Program	Dorothy Thompson, Executive Director	job training, alcohol/drug rehab	Hollywood
55. TreePeople	Andy Lipkis, Founder and Director	tree-planting and environmental programs	Los Angeles County
56. Vaughn Family Care Center	Yoland Trevino, Executive Director	comprehensive social services	Pacoima and San Fernando
57. Weingart Center	Maxine Johnston, President	homelessness	Skid Row
58. Westside Women's Health Center	Paula Leshay, Executive Director	health care and health education	Santa Monica, West LA, Culver City, Palms, Mar Vista
59. Window-Between Worlds	Cathy Salser, Founder	support services for battered women	Venice, Pacific Palisades
60. Youth Employment Systems	Jim Smith, Executive Director	housing, employment, youth training	South Central Los Angeles

* Geographic Community and Client Base/Constituencies were indicated by the groups themselves.

** The innovation may in some cases refer to the entire organization or in other cases, to an initiative within that organization

1991	homeless	• has created an income-generating non-profit run by and for homeless	alternative
1976	low-income and homeless	• Listo Job Referral Co-op •Food Service Job Training Co-op	alternative
1993	recovering alcoholic or drug addicted adolescents	• places at-risk youths in entertainment industry technical jobs.	alternative
1973	wide cross-section of Los Angeles residents	• organizes communities into tree-planting brigades	alternative
1990	low-income disadvantaged families, primarily Latino	"service exchange" approach	alternative
1985	homeless	• customer-driven approach • Meal Coupon Program	alternative
1975	low-income and working class women	• high-school based field clinic	alternative
1991	battered women	• uses painting and other creative arts as therapy for battered women	alternative/ pressure
1992	youths	• trains youths in carpentry and construction while repairing local housing stock	alternative

IS DEVELOPMENT BEING RE-GENERATED IN THE NEO-LIBERAL AGE?: PERSPECTIVES ON GRASSROOTS CHALLENGES TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Jordi Benería-Surkin

Introduction

According to some authors, the development era began soon after World War II with the now infamous 1949 speech by President Truman (Sachs 1992; Escobar 1995). At that time, developed countries were believed to be poised to engage in a process that would lead to the elimination of the poverty and social ills (as perceived by these nations) in developing countries. However, by the 1950s, both Marxist and neo-classical critiques pointed out that the economic theory and practice of developed countries did not produce the desired results in less developed countries, because socio-economic, cultural and political conditions differed from those of developed countries.

Out of these critiques emerged the fields of development planning and development economics, fields whose purpose was to generate theory and practice that would be applicable to the conditions of developing countries.[1] During the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, this theory, through the development models and practice it produced, encouraged active intervention in the economies of developing countries, national and regional planning, and import-substitution industrialization policies (Escobar 1995).

By the late 1970s, the realization that development theory and practice had failed to deliver developing countries to the "promised land" led many authors to proclaim the death of development economics (Bruton 1985). In retrospect, it is clear that rather than dying, development economics, and more specifically development as a whole, underwent a period of reflection that led the mainstream development apparatus -- the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and neo-liberal theorists -- to actively encourage neo-liberal economic policy alter-

natives that included, in the 1980s, Structural Adjustments Programs, and market friendly development based on the economic theory of the 1980s and 1990s.[2]

These policies, like those before them, have produced affluence for some of the elites in developing countries, but have also led to increased levels of poverty, malnutrition, deteriorated health, and inadequate education for a large proportion of the world's population. In the face of this situation, and with an increasing disillusionment with socialist and Marxist alternatives, many indigenous and ethnic groups, as well as peasants and other marginalized communities in the developing countries, have organized themselves into grassroots organizations and/ or what are now being called new social movements.[3]

In this paper, I argue that the explosion of grassroots organizations and new social movements that occurred in developing countries in the 1980s has forced mainstream development practitioners and their critics to recognize the importance of grassroots development (GDR).[4] In so doing, I question whether or not we are now in an era in which development will come from the bottom up, or in other words, whether grassroots organizations and new social movements are now the basis for the re-generation of development.

I begin with a brief analysis of how Latin American, neo-liberal market oriented economic development policies of the 1980s and 1990s, particularly structural adjustment programs, assisted in creating the context out of which grassroots organizations and new social movements were organized, and within which one needs to understand the current perceptions of these organizations.[5] This discussion is followed by an analysis of the perceived role that these organizations should or do play in the development process, or in challenging development, from three different political perspectives: 1) the neo-liberal, particularly as represented by the World Bank; 2) the post-modern; and 3) the Marxist/Neo-Marxists. I conclude with some thoughts and critiques on the particular angles from which each of the three perspectives outlined above views grassroots organizations and new social movements.[6]

The Effects of Structural Adjustment and Market Friendly Economic Development Policies in Latin America

The onset of the debt crisis in the early 1980s caused the mainstream development apparatus, particularly the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), to actively pressure Latin American countries[7] into accepting structural adjustment programs and, what has been called, market oriented economic development. The World Bank and the IMF argued that by accepting and implementing these policies, Latin American countries would put their economies on a path towards economic growth and development. Structural adjustment programs included, but were not limited to, the following policy initiatives: 1) currency devaluation, which, it was assumed, would fuel export-oriented economic growth by making exports cheaper and imports

more expensive; 2) privatization of government-owned companies and services; 3) elimination of subsidies and protectionist regulations; and 4) restructuring of the role of the State, particularly through the reduction of government expenditures on social services, education, infrastructure, health, etc.[8] Once these developing countries had adopted these supposed remedies, they were pressured by the development establishment to promote economic growth and to become more integrated into the global economy through a process of increasing trade liberalization.

These programs and policies produced severe socio-economic, environmental, and cultural consequences for most people in Latin America. Although economic indicators in some countries have rebounded from the negative growth of the 1980s (Chile, for example) the adjustment costs for poor people have often been devastating. In the aftermath of large doses of World Bank and neo-liberal economic medicine, most Latin American and developing countries have been left with an extreme worsening of poverty.[9]

In part, the worsening of social and economic conditions in Latin America during the 1980s came about because structural adjustment programs dismantled the mechanisms by which Latin American governments had built a measure of social and political legitimation (Walton 1989). Throughout Latin America, the implementation of structural adjustment programs led to the privatization of public services and massive public spending cutbacks. This two-pronged attack on public services and social welfare spending led to a decrease in availability, and an increase in the cost of, those social services such as transportation, housing, education, and health and nutritional services on which the poor depended (Urquidi 1991). In addition, many people in Latin America were also affected by the reduction or elimination of food price subsidies and declining real wages.[10] As a result, it easy to see why Benería and Mendoza conclude that "a large proportion of the population (in Latin American countries) has yet to benefit from the promises of economic growth and equity under neo-liberal schemes" (Benería and Mendoza 1994: 1).

During the 1980s and 1990s, a dramatic rise in on-going processes of environmental degradation and deforestation occurred, in large part as a consequence of structural adjustment programs, export-oriented economic policies and trade liberalization (Hecht 1989; Benería-Surkin 1992). In Brazil, for example, the percentage of original forest destroyed in the state of Rondonia increased from 1.9 percent in January, 1979 to 14.8 percent in August of 1990. Similarly, in the Brazilian state of Para during the same period, the increase was from 4.6 percent to 11.7 percent. As a consequence, the lands of indigenous people were increasingly under threat of destruction or invasion and poor people in rural areas were forced to survive on dwindling land and environmental resources. In Latin America, this jump in ecological degradation was connected to export-oriented economic policies[11] which encouraged the growth of agro-exports,[12] large scale cattle ranching,[13] and the exploitation of other natural resources such as timber and mining.

In developing countries structural adjustment programs and neo-liberal economic reforms also represented a continuation of the onslaught of western cultural hegemony that has been a part of the development process since the 1950s (Escobar 1995). The spread of the market in developing countries, which accelerated rapidly during the structural adjustment program period, has tended to destroy social and ethnic ties and community networks. It has replaced them with self-interest and other values of the capitalist system (Berthoud 1992). Consequently, during the 1980s, western culture and market-oriented values increasingly threatened to destroy or replace the social and cultural identity and fabric of ethnic minorities and indigenous and peasant communities.

Communities and ethnic groups organized themselves into grassroots organizations or new social movements as one way to respond to these threats. These organizations did not, however, represent a homogenous response to the deteriorating conditions and living standards of the 1980s, as some of the literature suggests (i.e. Fisher 1993). Instead, they constituted a heterogeneous set of efforts to respond to the specific socio-economic, cultural, environmental and political needs of community or group members. They also represented an historical continuity in a centuries-old process in which indigenous people, workers and other marginalized groups within Latin America have resisted structures of power through social movements, Marxist inspired revolutionary movements, and violent and non-violent actions.

Varying Perspectives on the Importance of Grassroots Organizations and New Social Movements in the Third World

The previous analysis demonstrates that the purpose and function of grassroots organizations and new social movements vary tremendously.[14] Some of these organizations and movements were intended to provide social and infrastructural services no longer being provided by Latin American governments as a result of the social spending cutbacks built into structural adjustment programs. Others, such as the Zapatista Movement in Chiapas, Mexico, represent efforts to challenge the political, social and economic marginalization of indigenous people. Still others, such as the Kayapo of Brazil,[15] defend indigenous lands, resources and culture. At the same time, other people in grassroots organizations and new social movements attempt to redefine themselves and struggle for what, Arturo Escobar has called, alternatives to development.

In order to more fully understand the role that grassroots organizations and new social movements can or should play in the development process, the following section analyzes how grassroots organizations (GRO) and new social movements (NSM) are viewed by theorists and development practitioners from neo-liberal, post-modern and Marxist/Neo-Marxist perspectives. Theorists from each of the three traditions view grassroots development as a process of democratization or empowerment. However, it will soon become clear that the meanings attributed to these words vary greatly, as do the perceived end results.

These three theoretical perspectives provide diverse viewpoints. The neo-liberal perspective currently informs most of the political and policy choices of Latin American governments. From a progressive political viewpoint the Marxist perspective still represents a significant critique of neo-liberalism and structures of power. Marxism has also influenced and inspired numerous revolutionary social movements responsible for transforming (albeit sometimes temporarily) several Latin American societies. Thus, it is important to consider Marxist critiques of grassroots organizations and New Social Movements, and how, if at all, these critiques have changed. Lastly, the post-modern perspective provides some significant critiques of the Marxist perspective and in so doing brings to light new ways to theorize and understand the development and struggles of grassroots organizations and new social movements.

Neo-Liberal Perspective

As the primary force behind mainstream neo-liberal development discourse and practice, the World Bank historically has been an exponent of a managerialist approach in developing countries that has neglected the knowledge, needs, wants, and ideas of people at the grassroots level in developing countries. For the most part, in the 1980s and 1990s, this continues to be the case. However, grassroots development now has a place on the Bank's agenda largely as a result of the massive growth in the number of grassroots organizations and New Social Movements in the developing world. For the Bank and many neo-liberal theorists and practitioners situated within the mainstream paradigm, grassroots development represents an avenue to promote democratization and decentralization. This then raises the question of how grassroots development is actually defined in this paradigm. Analyzing this question brings to light some of the political, economic and social motives that underlie the acceptance of grassroots development by neo-liberals.

Recent World Bank reports and development literature demonstrate that neo-liberals have come to acknowledge the need for grassroots development and the participation of grassroots organizations in the development process. This position is apparent in the following statements from the 1992 World Development Report:

> "Many local problems cannot be solved without the active participation of local people (page93)."

> "A ... study of fifty-two USAID projects similarly found a strong correlation between participation and project success, especially when participation look place through organizations created and managed by the beneficiaries themselves (page 95)."

Clearly, the World Bank, one of the primary advocates of the neo-liberal perspective, has acknowledged that grassroots development can successfully ensure project viability. An important question is how and why do neo-liberals want to incorporate these organizations into the development process.

I contend that for neo-liberals, this process of incorporating grassroots development into their agenda is useful for two main reasons: 1) it contributes to one of their main objectives, the expansion of the market; and 2) it is, in some ways, a more efficient and cost effective means of coping with the socio-economic inequities and political instability engendered by neo-liberal economic policies like structural adjustment programs.

Gerald Berthoud argues that "the market appears as an implicit assumption in virtually all development theory and policy" (Berthoud 1992: 72). The spread of the global market was an even more explicit objective of structural adjustment programs which sought the further incorporation of developing countries into the market through policies of market reform and trade liberalization. From the neo-liberal perspective, this spread of market based development leads to economic growth, an improvement of living standards, democratization, and political stability.[16] Yet, in the aftermath of recent doses of neo-liberal economic medicine, and the consequent political upheaval in many Latin American nations, it is clear that market-oriented development has not, as the World Bank claims, effectively reached the poor, nor has it equitably incorporated them into the development process (World Bank 1990).

The World Bank and neo-liberals perceive grassroots development as a mechanism to both "effectively" reach poor people suffering the socio-economic consequences of structural adjustment programs and to deliver necessary services and development assistance no longer provided by government because of the fiscal austerity and privatization required by structural adjustment programs. For neo-liberals and the Bank, one of the primary considerations in measuring the effectiveness of development policies or interventions is "cost-effectiveness - the budgetary cost of delivering a given amount of benefit" (World Bank 1990: 91). Grassroots development can lead to more cost-effective development projects because local organizations "can mobilize resources such as savings and labor" (World Bank 1990: 71). Additionally, these organizations can "help ensure that project benefits reach the poor, that specific local needs are met and that the project remain viable" (World Bank 1990: 71).

This approach to grassroots development is exemplified in many of the emergency social funds established by the Bank and Latin American governments to remedy the socio-economic effects of structural adjustment programs or to "make macroeconomic adjustment more politically viable" (Benería and Mendoza 1994: 4). Mexico's Solidarity Program, which is administered by PRONASOL (programa nacional de solidaridad),[17] is a good example of this. Established in 1988, the program seeks to provide poor people with needed "health, education, nutrition, housing, employment, infrastructure and other projects" through a process that PRONASOL has called "co- participation" (Benería and Mendoza 1994: 13). Through this process of co-participation, the poor and the grassroots organizations and new social movements that represent them, are "en-

couraged to participate in defining program priorities" and to help provide these services by "co-financing projects with their own resources, particularly labor" (Benería and Mendoza 1994: 14).

This form of grassroots development, characteristic of other emergency social funds in Latin America directly funded by the World Bank (Benería and Mendoza 1994), encourages participation within what Arturo Escobar has called a "managerial framework," where real decision-making and project priorities are defined by so-called experts or policy makers. grassroots organizations and new social movements participation takes the form of the provision of resources and labor. The process of delivering development aid or projects then becomes more "cost-effective" because, in the name of "participation and its corollary, self-help," (Rahnema 1992: 119) some of the costs of development projects are passed on to the poor.

From a more positive perspective, this form of grassroots development has, to an extent, alerted neo-liberals to the importance of local needs and local knowledge of environmental and resource use. This type of development, while limited in scope and financial backing, is more likely to reach the poor because emergency social funds such as the Mexican Solidarity Program tend to circumvent or break up "the old tutelage of social ministries and their tendency towards bureaucratism, centralism and corporate state practices" (Benería and Mendoza 1994: 20).

Neo-liberals have embraced grassroots development because it has allowed them to: 1) incorporate the poor people represented by grassroots organizations into the market; 2) further the process of restructuring and decentralizing of Third World governments, which is one of the primary objectives of structural adjustment programs; and 3) provide a vehicle for delivering assistance to those inequitably affected by structural adjustment programs. At the same time, it has encouraged a process of "democratization" in which local organizations define and implement project objectives. This acceptance of grassroots development is not a departure from the objectives of structural adjustment and market oriented development, but rather fits quite nicely into the overall development objectives of neo-liberal reformers.

Post-Modern Perspective

To understand how grassroots organizations and new social movements are perceived by post-modern theorists,[18] one needs first to grasp the problems of the developing world they conceive them. For this group the notion of development itself has been the primary problem confronting Third World countries during the development era. Their critique is that development "implies, explicitly or implicitly, that the western way of life is the only means to guarantee happiness" (Berthoud 1992: 72).

From the post-modern perspective, orientalism, as discussed by Edward Said, can be seen as a metaphor for development (Said 1978). Both orientalism and development are based on massive institutional structures that produce and reproduce the image of the "other" (i.e. non-western), and

serve to support western cultural and social hegemony. For post-modernists, then, it is important to focus on how development institutions, and the theory and practice they produced, generated this image and functioned to "destroy social and ethnic ties and community networks" (Berthoud 1992: 81). They consider both the political and economic inequities produced by development, and the way in which the development process forcibly subsumed the ethnic and cultural practices and identities of Third World people into a dominant modernist western cultural framework.

For post-modernists, grassroots organizations and new social movements in the Third World represent a process of striving to define new discursive practices, or what Arturo Escobar has labeled "anti-development." This is a process in which people in the "new commons" struggle against their subjugation by the State, the market and development practice. This struggle involves a process in which members of grassroots organizations and new social movements actively participate in redefining themselves and their own needs and wants separate from the market (Esteva 1992). In so doing, grassroots organizations and new social movements struggle to construct alternatives to the neo-liberal strategies that are based on non-market traditional resource use and corresponding social and cultural practices.[19]

In this challenge to development, grassroots organizations and new social movements are involved in an effort to democratize society. This democratization involves not just a demand for greater political and economic participation in society, but also an attempt to engender a society based on a plurality of ethnic identities, cultural practices, and ways of living. As Arturo Escobar has explained, grassroots organizations "provide the basis for a slow but steady process of construction of different ways of thinking and acting, of conceiving social change, or organizing economies and societies, of living and healing" (Escobar 1992:143).

Grassroots organizations and new social movements represent an arena which houses efforts to recuperate and defend local knowledge, traditional agricultural techniques and cultural practices, in order to build non-ecocidal, non-capitalist and non-western alternatives to development. However, this perspective neglects to consider how alternatives will evolve in the context of a world increasingly dominated by global capitalism and western culture. Nor is there much focus on the socio-economic realities faced by these organizations which may then affect the types of "alternatives to development" that are pursued.

Marxist/Neo-Marxist Perspective

In contrast to the post-modern perspective, the Marxists have not had an "anti-development" focus, nor have they historically espoused a cultural critique of capitalism and the modernist development enterprise. Instead, Marxists have focused on understanding the historical, economic, and political basis for the class differences and economic inequities engendered by development and capitalism in the Third World.

This focus on class differences and the socio-economic and political structures that produce them, rather than on culture, gender or ethnic differences, led most Marxists to view social movements and grassroots organizations as struggles against class-based oppression, the State and other structures of power that serve to sustain socio-economic inequities. As a consequence, Marxists focused their attention on those new social movements and grassroots organizations that appeared to be successful in fighting structures of power or that were based on some variation of Marxist/Socialist ideology (Wickham-Crowley 1989; Zamosc 1989). The 1980s, though, saw an increasing disillusionment with socialist/Marxist alternatives partially as a consequence of the failures of socialist alternatives in Latin America and other parts of the Third World. This disillusionment was also the result of a growing perception on the part of women, indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities in developing countries that their concerns were marginalized within class- oriented social movements based on Marxist ideology.[20] This, in conjunction with the ecological and socio-economic consequences of structural adjustment programs described above, led to the growth, in the 1980s and 1990s, of new social movements and grassroots organizations that were no longer principally focused on working class or revolutionary concerns.

Confronted with such a process, during the 1980s some Marxists began to reflect on their development theory and practice. This process led some authors such as David Booth to conclude that the theories of the 1970s failed to "reflect the diversity (i.e. diversity of historical, cultural and social experiences) and complexity of real world development" (Booth 1993: 50). This realization has led a growing number of theorists and development practitioners within a Marxist tradition to argue for a more equitable form of development that addresses the concerns of grassroots organizations and new social movements engaged in a diversity of development issues.[21] In other words, they recognize that the inequalities produced by development have different effects on women, indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities.[22]

Both this new Marxist perspective and the perspective of more orthodox Marxists who continue to defend the need for revolution and wholly class-based social movements, differ from the post-modern perspective in that they do not question development, and consequently modernization, as a paradigm. The central struggle remains one of making development and power relations more equitable. From the Marxist perspective, grassroots organizations and new social movements are important in this struggle, not because they raise a cultural ethnic or gender based critique of development, but rather, because they "involve efforts of the politically and economically weak to resist conditions that they consider unjust through noninstitutionalized channels" (Eckstein 1989: 9).

What is important, then, from the Marxist perspective, is not "how, when and why racial identities may become meaningful in their own right" (Eckstein 1989: 25). Instead, the focus is on how the actions and success of such organizations and

movements have been affected by what Eckstein has called the contextual factors. The analysis of these factors explores class and interclass relations, state and local institutional structures and reactions, local history and culture of revolt, and national and international economic structures. For Marxists, it is in the context of these structural conditions that grassroots organizations and new social movements need to be understood as struggles for power and not as arenas for the re-assertion of identity and culture.

Concluding Remarks

The objective of this paper has been to present a brief analysis of neo-liberal structural adjustment programs because these policies have helped foster conditions that contributed to the growth of grassroots organizations and new social movements in the 1980s. Additionally, neo-liberal economic policies helped establish the socio-economic, political and cultural context in which we need to situate the neo-liberal, post-modern and Marxists perspectives on grassroots organizations and new social movements. In concluding, I offer my own critique of these three perspectives and how I perceive the role of such organizations and movements in the context of developing countries.

Within the neo-liberal perspective, neo-liberals view grassroots organizations not as a bottom-up process of social change, but a top down process where grassroots organizations and new social movements continue to be the domain of "experts," despite rhetoric to the contrary. This type of grassroots development is not a process of democratization, but one of the co-optation of potential or existing political opposition at the grassroots level. It is an attempt to silence the cries and struggles of grassroots organizations and New Social Movements by insuring that these organizations and the people that they represent receive development assistance and a place in the global market. In this sense, it is a means of furthering the neo-liberal agenda and it does so by passing on some of the costs of development to the poor and those at the grassroots.

Although the post-modern critique of development provides a valuable and provocative contribution to the understanding of the development process, there are many inherent problems in the way that it views grassroots organizations and new social movements. This perspective tends to idealize grassroots organizations and new social movements as a forum for the production of alternatives to development. Yet, there is little discussion of what these alternatives are and how organizations of primarily poor people can produce them while attempting to survive within the framework of development and western cultural and economic hegemony. The post-modern agenda also lacks an attempt to analyze or explain how the different cultural, gender, ethnic and ecological viewpoints represented in grassroots organizations and new social movements will bring about social change that produces "anti-development."

Despite the fact that many post-modernists are grounded in Foucauldian theory, many of them appear to have forgotten that Foucault, like Marx, emphasized that struggles, like those of grassroots organizations and New Social Movements, also in-

volve resistance against class-based exploitation (Escobar 1985:380). In addition, post-modernists neglect to fully theorize about the effects of vertical dimensions of power between the state and civil society on grassroots organizations and new social movements. Post-modern theory also lacks a discussion of how material interests play a "part in determining the play of ideas within which different groups figure out the world and their role and *allegiances* in it" (Hall 1988:45).

Marxists, on the other hand, do have a broader conception of how grassroots organizations and new social movements will contribute to a process of socio-economic and political change. Grassroots organizations and new social movements can be linked to a broader based struggle for greater economic equity, because they are affected by, and struggle against, the class structure and inequalities of the capitalist system. However, although class interests and material factors are of undeniable relevance to the understanding of grassroots organizations and new social movements, "they are not sufficient-because they are not sufficiently determinate-to account for the actual empirical disposition and movement of ideas in real historical societies" (Hall 1988:45). Instead, a more sufficient theoretical understanding of grassroots organizations and new social movements needs to incorporate, as post-modernism does, gender based oppression, cultural marginalization, and they, way in which power is produced, reproduced and resisted in every day life.

The Marxist perspective is also problematic since it functions within the framework of modernist western cultural hegemony that has marginalized and oppressed the cultural values and identities of Third World people. It also continues to talk about peasants or poor people as though there were no cultural, ethnic or gender-based differences within these groups of people (Wickham-Crowley 1989). In so doing, Marxists fail to specify the "other," and neglect to focus on how the western philosophies of identity imbedded in development, and the structures they analyze, "suppress difference, heterogeneity, and multiplicity" (West 1988:23).

My view is that grassroots organizations and new social movements can undoubtably be an arena of social change that can help to generate a process leading to greater socio-economic equity and political and social participation on the part of all segments of society in the Third World. However, for this to occur, it is important, on the one hand, to develop theoretical perspectives which regard grassroots organizations and new social movements as struggles to engender more equitable societies which also reflect a plurality of identities, cultures and values. On the other hand, it is essential to develop a praxis that confronts the socio-economic inequities of Latin American countries without continuing to marginalize non-western cultures and ways of thinking. If progressive political change is to come about in Latin America, or any other part of the Third World, it is necessary to combine this type of practice and theory in an effort to re-define a political agenda that can unite the diversity of new social movements and grassroots organizations in Latin America. If this occurs, perhaps it will then become possible to say that development is being re-generated in the neo-liberal age.

Notes

[1]It is not the aim of this paper to explore these theories in depth. For a discussion of economic development theory, see Bruton 1985.

[2]During the 1970s, Marxist economic development theory also underwent a process of reflection. However, no clear alternative to previous theories has emerged within the Marxist framework as has been the case with the neo-classical model.

[3]I recognize that grassroots organizations and social movements existed prior to the 1980s. However, for reasons discussed below, at present they are now being integrated into the development process in an unprecedented manner.

[4]For the purposes of this paper the term grassroots development refers to development that is engendered through and/or by grassroots organizations and social movements. Although I will focus on the relevance grassroots development within development, my contention is that as the intent of development economics is to engender development, these organizations are also worthy of consideration on the part of development economists.

[5]In this paper, I focus primarily on the economic context in which GROs and NSMs arose during the 1980s and 1990s. However, I recognize that in each country specific local, national or regional events may have contributed to worsening social conditions and to the organization of GROs and NSMs. For example, the 1986 earthquake in Mexico City led to shortages in housing and a deterioration of socio-economic conditions in marginalized and impoverished neighborhoods. The state was unable, or unwilling, to respond to this situation and as a result people organized and took things into their own hands. In other Latin American countries, specific political and social changes may have been important factors in generating a context for GROs and NSMs to arise. Nonetheless, I focus on the overall economic context because in general, it fostered the conditions to which people in GROs and NSMs were responding.

[6] Grassroots organizations and new social movements are not the same thing. Grassroots organizations are relatively small local organizations that are generally organized to address specific local or community needs. Social movements are larger associations of people that are organized in order to defend culturally, socially, and environmentally specific forms of livelihood or to work for changes in the structures of power and the inequities they produce. However, for the purposes of this paper, I group them together because, despite their differences, they are both important elements of civil society which are actively engaged in attempting to generate alternatives to development and the varied forms of marginalization extant in Latin America.

[7]Despite the fact that the term "Third World" is now perhaps irrelevant, at times I prefer to use it because I find that in some ways it is less loaded that the term developing countries.

[8]See Benería-Surkin 1992 for a more in depth discussion of the programs.

[9]This has even been recognized by Jeffrey Sachs, an important contributor to numerous SAPs. See Sachs, J. 1989: 28.

[10] For example, Walton has argued that from 1984 to 1986, the income of Mexican workers was reduced by 40 percent. See Walton in Eckstein 1989: 308.

[11]Mainstream environmental organizations in the U.S. and Europe and authors such as Garret Hardin have tended to blame the poor for this degradation. However, it is quite clear that the problem is not the poor but poverty, and that the level of degradation caused by the poor pales in comparison to that of the sectors discussed above.

[12]For a more extensive discussion of the agro-export sector in Latin America, see Llambi 1992.

[13]In some Latin American countries such as Brazil, national tax policies and high rates of inflation were also responsible

for encouraging this type of ranching. See Hecht 1989 and Nogueira 1992.

[14]There is also a flourishing literature that analyzes and acknowledges the important role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) which act as intermediaries between GROs, NSMs, governments and donor organizations. I also think that NGOs are now fundamental actors in the development process and further both progressive and neo-liberal objectives in regards to development. However, it is not my intention to analyze the role being played by NGOs in developing countries, despite my view that further research in this area is needed. See Fisher 1993 for a more lengthy discussion of NGOs.

[15]See Beneria-Surkin 1992 for a discussion of the Kayapo.

[16]G. Berthoud has argued that for neo-liberals, "the market.... is frequently conceived as a device which liberates persons" (Berthoud 1992: 78).

[17]PRONASOL, unlike other ESFs in Latin America, has not been funded by the World Bank and other international organizations. Instead, it has been financed with funds available from the privatization of public companies and has been wholly managed and administered by the Mexican government.

[18]For lack of a better label, I use the term "post-modern" here to refer to theorists who expound a similar critique of the project of modernity in all its forms.

[19]The Chipko movement in India is a good example of this type of struggle. For a more in depth analysis of this movement, see Shiva 1986.

[20] Alvarez, in discussing women's movements in Brazil, points out that women increasingly felt that their gender-based concerns were marginalized within the patriarchal structure of left wing organizations. See Alvarez 1990.

[21]Some feminist scholars concerned about class issues have discussed the gender bias in development and the marginalization of gender issues within Marxism. See Diane Elson, *Gender Bias in Development.* However, in the 1980s and 1990s there was a growing concern with these issues as well as with questions of culture and ethnicity.

[22]Many of the leftist academics behind PRONASOL saw the ideological mission of the agency to carry out this type of project, but as I have shown above the end results were not what was originally hoped for. See Beneria and Mendoza, 1994.

References

Alvarez, Sonia E. (1990). *Engendering Democracy in Brazil: Women's Movements in Transition Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Benería, Lourdes and Breny Mendoza (1994). "Structural Adjustment and Social Emergency Funds: The Cases of Honduras, Mexico and Nicaragua." Paper prepared for United Nations Research Institute for Social Development's research project on Economic Restructuring and New Social Policies, April.

Benería-Surkin, Jordi (1992). *Linking Environment and Development in the New World Order: Why Indigenous and Marginalized Peoples Can and Should Have a Role in Fighting Environmental Degradation and Constructing Sustainable Alternatives.* Department of City and Regional Planning, Cornell University. Unpublished masters thesis, August.

Berthoud, Gérald (1992). "Market." In *The Development Dictionary*, edited by Wolfgang Sachs. London: Zed Books.

Booth, David (1993). "Development Research: from Impasse to a New Agenda." In *Beyond the Impasse: New Directions in Development Theory*, edited by Frans Schuurman. London: Zed Books.

Bruton, Henry J. (1985). "The Search for a Development Economics." *World Development*, Vol 13, No 10/11: 1099-1124.

Eckstein, Susan (ed.) (1989). "Power and Popular Protest in Latin America." In *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*, edited by Susan Eckstein. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Elson, Diane (1994). "Economic Theories and Their Implications for Models of Develpment." Paper presented at the Global Development 50 Years after Bretton Woods Conference. North-South Institute, June 22-24.

Escobar, Arturo (1995). *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World, 1945-1992.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Escobar, Arturo (1992). "Planning." In *The Development Dictionary*, edited by Wolfgang Sachs. London: Zed Books.

Escobar, Arturo. (1985). "Discourse and Power in Development: Michel Foucault and the Relevance of his Work to the Third World." *Alternatives*, X: 377-400.

Esteva, Gustavo (1992). "Development." In *The Development Dictionary*, edited by Wolfgang Sachs. London: Zed Books.

Fisher, Julie (1993). *The Road From Rio: Sustainable Development and the Nongovernmental Movement in the Third World.* Westport, Connecticut: Praeger.

Fox, Jonathan and Luis Hernandez (1992). "Mexico's Difficult Democracy: Grassroots Organizations, NGOs and Local Government." *Alternatives*, 17: 165-208.

Hall, Stuart (1988). "The Toad in the Garden: Thatcherism among the Theorists." In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg. Chicago:University of Illinois Press.

Hecht, Susanna (1989). "The Sacred Cow in the Green Hell: Livestock and Forest Conversion in the Brazilian Amazon." *The Ecologist.* 19 (6): 229-234.

Llambi, Luis (1992). "The Political Economy of Non-Traditional Fruit and Vegetable Exports From Latin America." Unpublished paper. Caracas: IVIC.

Nogueira, Jorge M. (1992). "Sustainable (Under)Development: Are There Economic Alternatives to Explore in the Amazon Rainforest?" Paper presented at the 4th North American Symposium on Society and Resource Management. Universty of Winsconsin-Madison.

Rahnema, Majid (1992). "Poverty." In *The Development Dictionary*, edited by Wolfgang Sachs. London: Zed Books.

Sachs, Wolfgang (ed.) (1992). *The Development Dictionary.* London: Zed Books.

Said, Edward W. (1979). *Orientalism.* New York: Random House.

Shiva, Vandana (1986). "Ecology Movements in India." *Alternatives*, XI:255-273.

Urquidi, Victor (1991). "The Prospects for Economic Transformation in Latin America." *LASA Forum*, Vol 22: 1-9.

Walton, John (1989). "Debt, Protest, and the State in latin America." In *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*, edited by Susan Eckstein. Berkeley: University of California Press.

West, Cornel (1988). "Marxist Theory and the Specificity of Afro-American Oppression." In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg. Chicago:University of Illinois Press.

Wickham-Crowley, Timothy P. (1989). "Winners, Losers, and Also-Rans: Toward a Comparative Sociology of Latin American Guerilla Movements." In *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*, edited by Susan Eckstein. Berkeley: University of California Press.

World Bank (1990). *World Development Report 1990.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zamosc, Leon (1989). "Peasant Struggles of the 1970s in Colombia." In *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*, edited by Susan Eckstein. Berkeley: University of California Press.

JORDI BENERIA-SURKIN is a 1st year Ph.D. student in the Urban Planning Program. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Associatioin of Collegiate Schools of Planning conference in 1994.

TOWARDS A RADICAL DESIGN PRACTICE

Bill Adair

"We have a modest proposal. Why don't we get rid of graphic design, industrial design, architecture and interior design?" (Kalman and Jacobs 1993: 39)

"There is nothing more powerful than the ability to frame, with many others-the imagination of a place or a time-to be about the practice of constructing the world" (Schneecloth 1993: 8).

The Design professions have deconstructed -- no -- they've outright collapsed. With one last, explosive, greedy boom, Design ruled the 1980s, and then disintegrated into oblivion. Now left to ourselves, insulated in our own little hip cocoon, Designers massage each others' egos and thin wallets, disgusted that the world has turned its back on us. "Where did we go wrong?" we ask, turning to each other for answers, never daring to step outside the cocoon for a fresh perspective. We blab, blab, blab about our fall from grace -- our irrelevance -- and then fight like dogs for tiny jobs designing corporate bathrooms and doorknobs in expensive boutiques. We have become effete and ineffectual, having less impact on the built environment than the average street cleaner. Design is dead.

Long live design. Visual culture -- the manifestation of our aesthetic nature -- will thankfully never go away. The human impulse is to create, to make, to build, to decorate - as all cultures demonstrate. Hundreds of years ago, our own society began to relegate these activities to the periphery, divorcing the creative process from everyday life. This made the situation ripe for the development of an elite, "expert," exclusive group that claimed the crown "tastemaker."

The Design/Corporate Alliance

Always loosely tied to an economic elite (although with pretensions otherwise), this club of "expert tastemakers" eventually began to serve only the rich and powerful. By the late 1980s, in the U.S., corporate culture and Design culture were essentially inseparable. Kalman and Jacobs in their essay "The End" write:

> "We think that designers, who could have - at some point long ago - thrown their weight on the real culture side of the scale have instead joined with corporate culture. Because what designers have done is devoted all their creative power to making the corporate culture seem more beautiful, more seductive, and more real than the real culture" (1993: 38).

Designers not only served the needs of corporate power in the 1980s, they helped to legitimize the hegemony of big business. Big name (and not-so-big-name) architects linked themselves with developers to remake our urban centers. In her introduction to the book *Out of Site: A Social Criticism of Architecture*, Diane Ghirardo professes:

> "Developers and real estate interests, in their wildest dreams, could not have come up with such an intellectually credible screen for their activities, an academically respectable and viable means of diverting attention away from the toughest issues in land development and the building process toward trivial matters of surface. But not only that: the work of the big name "art" architect not only masks but legitimates the project by virtue of the power of art, rendering any other questions pointless" (1991: 15).

Design as Artifice

In suggesting that Design as we know it has failed, I am partly responding to issues addressed by theorists such as Michel Foucault, who has claimed that the present epoch will perhaps be "above all an epoch of space" (1986: 22). In reading works which return the politics and power of place to the center of theoretical discourse, it becomes even more obvious that there is a crisis in the production of space in our culture.

The crux of this discourse is a warning that "corporate-produced" space threatens to seduce us away from lived space, and the everyday experiences that occur there. When the ruse of Universal "City" Walk serves as the new urbanism and cyberspace captures our imaginations more than our own homes, it is clear that nothing less than a revolution in Design must ensue. Foucault mentions the importance to human life of what he calls "the space of primary perception." He writes:

> "The space of our dreams and that of our passions hold within themselves qualities that seem intrinsic: there is light, ethereal, transparent space, or again a dark, rough, encumbered space; a space from above, of summits, or on the contrary a space from below, of

> mud; or again a space that can be flowing like sparkling water, and a space that is fixed, congealed, like stone or crystal" (1986: 23).

It is to the creation of these lived spaces, which humans respond to in a primordial way, that our culture could turn its design energies and imaginations, away from citadels of corporate power and ersatz avenues of consumption.

Designer/Insider

Design culture continually rewards itself for its self-defined superior aesthetic prowess. Established Designers teach new Designers, perpetuating professional tastes and values from generation to generation. Professional publications offer the opportunity for Designers to critique and adulate other Designers' work and set-up competitions, judged only by insiders.

The professional discourse, in classrooms, conferences, lecture halls and publications, congratulates the insider (usually white male) and ignores all outside voices, including that of the user. It's the Design Mutual Masturbation Society. Ghirardo writes: "...formal critique, directed as it invariably is to those already in the know, has as much to do with criticism as a placebo has to do with curing cancer" (1991: 13).

Design and the Margins

Since the construction of knowledge in the Design professions is traditionally limited to the privileged white heterosexual male club of insiders, it follows that voices from the margins are virtually ignored. Thus the products of Design culture are still primarily geared towards an elite user. Design as we know it has not even come close to addressing the needs and tastes of women, gays and lesbians, communities of color, the working class, or the homeless.

But listening to the voices of the other has proved too great a threat to the profession. Design educator Lynda Schneecloth, in her essay "The Power of Knowledge" asserts:

> "If we fracture the idea of knowledge to recognize different ways of knowing, different ways of constructing knowledge, different purposes for knowing, and a world filled with knowers, we find ourselves in a peculiar position of essentially deconstructing our former role as the experts. We are on shaky ground" (1993: 8).

I propose that designers must deconstruct our role as experts and learn to endure the shaky ground that results. There is no other way to meaningfully engage in place-making.

A New Way of Place-Making

I suggest that the current crisis in Design offers us an opportunity to return the creative process to its rightful place i.e. at the center of everyday life. Given the results of Design culture (and its obliviousness): inhumane cities; desolate workplaces; prescribed and conformist interiors; and develop-

ment that spreads like a contagious virus; it is time for the user to become part of design practice. It is time for people to actively participate in the construction of their own environment. A system of divided labor which leaves place-making in the hands of a very few leaves us all alienated and frustrated. We must all become place-makers.

So what of professional Design? I believe it should be shrunk, turned upside down, metamorphosized into a new creature. Designers should emerge from our cocoon as designers with a small "d"; as mediators and facilitators of the design process. Designers should act as powerful advocates for the importance of visual culture in everyday life, resist the corporate control of housing and workplace design, and develop public arenas for a new collaborative design process. This new designer must be at the forefront in transforming our culture's peripheralization of the aesthetic. But the new designer should not claim aesthetic expertise.

John Forester, in the chapter devoted to design in his book *Planning in the Face of Power*, writes that "the development, refinement, and realization of design is a deeply social process" (1989: 132), and he proposes an alternative conception of designing as the "interactive work of making sense together in practical conversation" (idem). While I agree that much of the design process must include social participation, in particular that of public places, this alone does not solve the problems of Design. His critique could go one step further. At no point in his essay does he question the architect's role as expert or the architect's place at the center of design. He still buys into the belief that "the designer's work is not just a matter of technical problem-solving. It is a matter of altering, respecting, acknowledging, and shaping people's lived worlds" (1989: 127).

I propose that architects no longer attempt to shape people's lived worlds. We haven't done a very good job of it. I suggest that as individuals and groups, everyone must take responsibility for shaping our lived worlds, and develop a system for building this place-making into everyday life.

A New Expert

One of the most arrogant notions of Design culture is that the layperson is incapable of imagining, making, building, and decorating. "How can we expect people to know what they want and need?" designers haughtily declare.

Yet I believe that, when given the chance, people are eloquent and clear about their aspirations for place. To understand and appreciate this eloquence and creativity, however, requires new aesthetic definitions and an expanded vocabulary of tastes. Michael Moon, a gay writer (not a designer) sensitively describes the creation of his private space as a child in the American suburbs:

> "My own queer, or proto-queer, mode of trying to territorialize some space for myself took the form of constructing little seasonal shrines and shadow-box dioramas made of construction paper cutouts in shoe boxes. The shrines were cardboard boxes covered with pieces of fabric

borrowed from my mother's sewing scraps. They were thematically keyed to religious holidays. Spring from Easter through May (the official Virgin Mary month) was the high season for these. In my personal religion they also celebrated the end of the school year and expressed my ecstatic fantasies about the coming of summer (I hated school and lived for summer vacation). The shrines were alters on which I set religious knickknacks, such as little statues, medals, and "holy cards"; the main focus was always a small vase of beautiful flowers from my father's garden, placed as a sacrificial offering to God and the saints-but also as a smashing decorative accent. The shadow-box scenes were a focus for me of more secular fantasy... I don't remember anyone in my family ever making fun of my shrine-building propensities; they either ignored them or expressed a respected interest in them. I believe it remains vital to me and to the survival of my faculties for sustaining and expressing cathexis to continue creating spaces that collapse the categories of the sacred with those of the sexy, funny, and charming" (1994: 26-27).

I want to see such rich, meaningful spaces artfully photographed in the glossy pages of interiors magazines rather than the homogenized musings of an elite taste-culture.

African-American writer bell hooks describes her desire for new formulations of place in a current issue of *Assemblage*:

"...-i dream of small buildings - a feminist housing project - with day care on the premises, a library (everything small and simple) with a large common space - it is a space- this building - where folks who live together share the belief that we must change the world so that [we] can embrace our differences, our commonalities and know freedom and equality... Why not begin by making the world we dwell in community... a building for ten to twelve people - some who only want a large room - that would be a separate space - i believe we can have private space and share space in a common dwelling... space is for me never about property but always about our lives, ways we make home - shelter - rather than live in a world where there is a need for "battered women's shelters"- i want to create a world in space where women can be safe- at home - live freely - to see such space would be a gesture of hope and possibility..." (1994: 26-27).

I have never witnessed an architecture studio that has such radical, transformative goals for its designs. And so I ask that the Design professions as we know them be dissolved and replaced with a system that offers each person, family, and community the chance to formulate, and create, a whole new set of desired places. These places should range from private and public living spaces, to the workplace; areas for entertainment, shopping, and recreation; schools; and health-care facilities.

Conclusion

Designers can and should become de-linked from hegemonic corporate and retail power. In the essay "Design is Power is Design" Necdet Teymur dares to claim that "Design is responsible both for what it designs and for what it does not" (1993: 84). Designers can separate themselves from capital and instead provide empowering technical assistance to a messy, complicated, public collaborative effort of place-making. Through this de-linking we might actually become meaningfully engaged in the larger culture.

Designers must reject the pretense of our role as the aesthetic experts and, as people who care deeply about visual expression, work to restore multiple aesthetic issues to our culture. People must become their own space makers and creators. Varied tastes and spatial values, as those described above by Moon and hooks, must be validated and translated into concrete reality.

The radical design practice rejects the limited white male palette of accepted ideas and embraces a collection of voices, tastes, and knowledges. This new practice refuses to participate in the raping of our landscapes and cities and divorces itself from the culture of consumption. The radical designer offers hope to a society so stunned by the ugliness and meaninglessness of place that it turns to artifice for fulfillment. The new designer hands the power of place-making back to the people.

The old Designer has outlived his purpose, his usefulness, and his productivity and the time is ripe for a cultural transformation that will supplant him. As Kalman and Jacobs write in their essay on the close of the millennium: "The end is near. But we're optimists. We hope it's just the end of Design (1993: 41).

References

Forester, John (1989). *Planning in the Face of Power.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Foucault, Michel (1986). "Of Other Spaces". *Diacritics.* Vol.16, No.1.

Ghirardo, Diane (editor). (1991). *Out of Site: A Social Criticism of Architecture.* Seattle: Bay Press.

hooks, bell et al. (1994). "House 20 June 1994". *Assemblage.* No.24: Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Kalman Tibor and Jacobs, Karrie (1993). "The End". *The Edge of the Millennium An International Critique of Architecture, Urban Planning, Product and Communication Design.* New York: Cooper-Hewitt, National Museum of Design.

Moon, Michael et al. (1994). "Queer in (Single-Family) Space". *Assemblage.* No.24: Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Schneecloth, Lynda (1993). "The Power of Knowledge". *Power by Design.* Oklahoma City: The Environmental Design Research Association.

Teymur, Necdet (1993). "Design is Power is Design". *Power by Design.* Oklahoma City: The Environmental Design Research Association.

BILL ADAIR is a 2nd year M.A. student in the Urban Planning Program. He wrote this paper for the class "Introduction to Theories of Planning" taught by Leonie Sandercock in Fall 1994.

PROGRAMMING FOR SPATIALITY IN A NON-SPATIAL WORLD

Laura Rambin

Michel Foucault describes a heterotopia as a space somewhere between reality and utopia, having characteristics of both. One of his five principles of heterotopia is that "heterotopias are most often linked to slices in time... (they) enclose in one place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes... a place of all times that is itself outside of time and inaccessible to its ravages" (Foucault 1986: 26). With the advent of the information superhighway and cyberspace, it is not unforeseeable that many common urban typologies **will** be affected by the ravages of time and will be redefined or even become obsolete. Heterotopias, and particularly heterochronies which are defined as "heterotopias of indefinitely accumulating time... in which time never stops building up and topping its own summit" (Foucault 1986: 26), will no longer be architectural forms. Instead, they will be manifested in smaller-than-a-bread-box computers. People will find themselves more frequently immersed in a world that **appears** to be boundless (**virtual**ity), rather than experiencing the real, physical world that a person must bodily move through to fully comprehend (**real**ity).

Libraries are heterotopias that are particularly susceptible to cyberspace's influence. As information increasingly becomes computerized and more individuals own computers and gain access to the information superhighway, there will be less and less need for an actual place to house books and the associated functions of storing and retrieving information. The traditional idea of the library as a public place will gradually be displaced by the process of information retrieval. While we can certainly benefit from new technologies, we must avoid letting them diminish our public world. We must start to focus on other aspects of a building's program in

order to reprogram for spatiality in an increasingly non-spatial world that represents three dimensions with two dimensional cartoon caricatures/icons.

"[I]nstruments of instant artificial adjacency are rapidly eviscerating historic politics of propinquity, the very cement of the city" (Sorkin 1992: xi). If we increasingly rely on information technology there will be an inevitable loss of public space and face-to-face human interaction. Telecommuting will become the norm and as a result, people will no longer need offices in monumental corporate headquarters. Many companies will function quite effectively without any offices at all. Corporate status will no longer be measured by a company's physical size and stature, but rather by its computer system. As the physical presence of the corporate office diminishes, so will that of employees. They will move farther and farther out from the city centers where property is cheaper and the quality of life is (supposedly) richer and absent of those horrible urban ills. As cyberspace encourages an urban exodus, it will also cause the decay of our urban infrastructure.

Promoters of cyberspace suggest that "offices and desks are anachronisms from the nineteenth century...they inspire politics and secrets. There's a lack of cross-pollination" (Jacobs 1994c: 88). However, it is difficult to deny that if people only telecommute, we will lose face-to-face human interaction. There will be no need to meet in the three dimensional world when the virtual world is so easily accessible. The loss of human interrelation would seem to create more secrets and would diminish spontaneous encounters, which is what is increasingly occurring in many cities and making them undesirable places to be. "The potential disadvantages of isolation from normal reality seem to outweigh the potential advantages of immersion in a virtual space" (Benedikt 1991: 412).

Revising the Non-Spatial Building Program to Create Space

If cities are being forced into obsolescence, architects must find the means to prevent this destruction and to encourage the development of spaces for **real** human interaction. In the past, public libraries provided such an environment. If libraries are no longer places to physically store information, we must analyze who currently uses them and how they use them. Based on this, we can re-create the fundamental building elements to incorporate spatiality and encourage use. The most obvious step is to focus on other functions that are not affected immediately by technology's move toward non-spatiality.

Libraries not only disseminate information, but they also provide space for public forums, graphic reproduction, and shelter for those who have no other place to go. Users represent a broad spectrum of classes and cultures. If people have fewer reasons to go out into the public realm, libraries should begin to provide services that a computer simply cannot fulfill. If there are fewer public services as a result of a decaying urban infrastructure, then libraries can begin to fill that void by incorporating other civic functions into their activi-

ties. Currently more libraries are becoming community meeting places; such practices should continue so that people are encouraged to congregate and communicate face-to-face.

Historically, libraries have had a physical presence in the urban environment. If they are allowed to become non-spatial, they can no longer act as landmarks within the community, furthering "the dissipation of all stable relations to local physical and cultural geography... loosening ties to any specific space" (Sorkin 1992: xiii). To create a comfortable, usable city, there is a need for points of reference which people can identify and use to orient themselves within the urban fabric. While libraries in the future will probably never achieve the monumentality of past libraries, they should attempt to achieve a sort of importance and cultural relevance in their local community.

As more people become computer owners/users and day-to-day functions begin to rely heavily on the ability to operate a computer, libraries can respond by providing computer support services. Libraries can begin by offering classes which teach people how to use computers and access the library's vast resources. In addition, technical support can be provided for people who have questions or have simple repair needs. Libraries can also provide access to cutting edge software, encouraging people to utilize libraries to stay abreast of current technology.

If libraries embrace technology, they will need to maintain a grasp on the real, physical world, rather than immersing themselves in a virtual world. Libraries should become "a *distributed, augmented reality* rather than an *enclosed, simulated reality*, a reality in which cyberization is integrated seamlessly into people's everyday activities" (Benedikt 1991: 412-413). Our current UC libraries begin to be "augmented realities." The computerized card catalog maintains a relationship with the physical collection of texts while using its computing ability to locate particular resources and to indicate if a text or book is currently circulating. This computer system is used to access the library's tangible, physical resources; the library embraces the real world and grasps the virtual one as well.

Consequences

Hopefully "we will be able to use this computing power to figure out that what we need to do is create places where people really want to be, rather than the urban structure that we have now, which is primarily a place that people want to escape" (Jacobs 1994: 93). Instead of blindly accepting new technology as the greater good, architects and planners should consider how they can combine the old with the new. Ideally, the result would be the creation of spaces that are not a sort of theme park or simulacra, but instead invite occupation by the user(s).

If augmented reality is to become the norm, it should be integrated into the design process. As architects design, they should work with software engineers just as they would a structural engineer (or perhaps there will be a catalog of programs to augment reality). Cyberization should be considered an element of design rather than an addition made by a space's occupant.

Critique

As social questions become completely cyberized, libraries must question whether or not to bow down to technology and simply become access points to the NET or recombine new technologies with the traditional building typology. It would be easy to embrace the virtual world and assume that what is new is better. If libraries take the form of copy centers that offer document reproduction services and provide public access to computer terminals (or what Jacobs refer to as the "Kinko-ization" of libraries), then they will propagate the destruction of public space. In turn, the decay of the infrastructure that supports community services such as libraries will occur. It will also take time for computers to be "integrated seamlessly into people's everyday activities" (Benedikt 1991: 413). As society moves toward computer literacy, libraries will have to navigate this transition by educating their patrons. An augmented reality library is only effective if its patrons know how to access its resources.

As libraries expand to encompass other functions, they run the risk of providing services that benefit only one sector of society. This would only serve to alienate other groups and turn the library into something other than what a library is intended to be. There must be a careful balance between the needs of all potential user groups.

Conclusion

As our economy moves away from manufacturing, we will continue to experience a population shift towards suburbanization. As we increasingly become an information-based society, this trend will continue. It is a depressing notion to think technology could lead to the end of public space and urban life. A recent radio ad for Amstel Light beer presents two men (presumably yuppies) discussing the advantages and drawbacks of computers. The anti-computer man says: "Great. A whole society of people who never leave home. Now that's progress." And there certainly is the threat that people will find it less necessary to venture out into the public realm. Why would you if you could shop, work, chat with friends, and be entertained from the cozy privacy of your own home? Karrie Jacobs states it very well in writing that "the question is whether the electronic simulation of urban life will be the end of real urban life or simply another step in its marginalization" (1994c: 97).

References

Benedikt, Michael (ed.). (1991). *Cyberspace: First Steps.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Foucault, Michel (1986). "Of Other Spaces." *Diacritics.* 16 (1): 22-27.

Jacobs, Karrie (1994a). "Waiting for the Millennium Part I: The Box". *Metropolis.* May: 86-97.

Jacobs, Karrie (1994b). "Waiting for the Millennium Part II: Interface". *Metropolis.* July/August: 49-69.

Jacobs, Karrie (1994c). "Waiting for the Millennium Part III: Dinosauring". *Metropolis.* October: 86-97.

Sorkin, Michael (ed.). (1992). *Variations on a Theme Park.* New York: Noonday Press.

LAURA RAMBIN is a 3rd year M.Arch I student in the Architecture Program. This paper was written for the class "The Program in Theory and Practice" taught by Dana Cuff in Fall 1994.

DECLOAKING THE CAMERA OBSCURA: TOWARDS A FREE-SPACE CINEMA

Anthony Raynsford

Architecture of the Cinematic Apparatus

If the terms, 'virtual reality' and 'simulcrum,' have become common in contemporary discourse, it is not because the concepts are incredibly new. Rather the technological means of virtual realization and the proliferation of simulcra are so pervasive that these terms have become necessary tools in shaping our understanding of social and cultural space. While the terms are pervasive in shaping an understanding, this is not at all my intended meaning in this context. Rather, my point is that the terms have become common in a critical, social discourse *in response* to changes in the built environment. In other words, while simulcrum is as old as Plato, the pervasive technological production of simulcra is somewhat new. One of the means by which virtual worlds and fictional imitations are created is through the technology of the cinema. The cinema presents us with a modern version of the spectacle in which the public is no longer an interactive participant in a ritual of seeing but rather a de-activated consumer of a spectacle as a commodity. In fact, the notion of the public as a political or intellectual force disappears in a cinematic system in which individuals are united in their consumption of filmic discourses while remaining separate and divided from one another. This cinematic ritual requires a docile spectator sitting in the darkness of his or her seat.

This isolation and atomomization of subjectivity in the modern spectacle's realm has already been extensively theorized. In conceiving of the spectacle as a kind of center, Guy Debord notes that, "spectators are linked only by a one-way relationship to the very center that maintains their isolation from

one another. The spectacle thus unites what is separate, but it unites only in its separateness" (Debord, 1994:22). The architecture of such an operation is understood as structurally analogous to the panopticon with the spectacle replacing the surveillance. If, as according to Michel Foucault, the spectacle dies out as a form of direct political discipline, it certainly reappears in the dark walls of the movie house. However, in the movie house, as in the panopticon, the collection of bodies are docile, separate, silent.

According to Foucault, one of the political functions of separation in the panopticon is controlling the unpredictable forces of collective action. The image is that of the "crowd, a compact mass, a locus of multiple exchanges, individualities merging together, a collective effect" (Foucault 1979: 201). In the movie house, separation clearly functions to generate, as much as possible, an undistracted relationship between the spectator and the filmic sounds and images. This is the theater of total absorption where the spectator is enticed from the beginning. Simultaneously, this separation functions socially in exactly the same way as the crowd control of the panopticon. At the precise moment that a large number of individuals emerge out of isolation or small groups to form a large assembly, their isolation from one another is profoundly enforced by the cinematic apparatus of the movie house.

In his description of the social function of the cinema, P. Morton Shand discusses the institution of movie-going during the stressfulness of World War II "as something which appeased the frantic craving everyone was obsessed by: the possibility of forgetting for an hour or two. The films were the only efficacious opiate, the one form of dope generally available which could still be had without restrictions or ration cards" (Shand 1930:12). Film theoreticians have struggled for years with the politically numbing effects of film and its ideologically manipulative narrative structures. However, film theory has concentrated almost exclusively on the film itself, both the technology of its production and the content of its images. Thus, while film theoreticians speak of the gaze, narrative, identification, mise-en-scene, and camera angles, they largely ignore the one apparatus that allows the mechanisms of the actual film to have any power whatsoever: the movie theater. A place where the individual subject is isolated and engaged.

The privileging of the film over the site of its reception can only be accomplished by a certain notion of supplementarity in which the theater is merely the extension of its filmic apparatus into the space of its reception. If one applies Mark Wigley's notion of the prosthesis in the context of the movie theater's relationship to film, the theater being the extension of film as well as giving film its coherence, the distinction between the mechanism of the film and the theater's architecture grows hazy. In this notion of the supplement, the prosthesis both extends the structure of that to which it is attached and props up the structure by correcting its flaws. The mimetic flaws of film, which consists of a spliced strip of frames, is projected by a lens and a flickering light bulb, and focuses in a two-dimensional plane, are supplemented by the seating arrangement

focussed on the screen. It is here where the darkness of the surrounding space and the perpendicular flatness of the screen exist relative to the projector. The space of the theater allows the illusory effects of the filmic discourse to occur, by masking the celluloid strip while maximizing its imagistic content.

It is not insignificant that the movie camera, privileged machine of film theory, traces its origins to architecture, that room of darkness, the camera obscura. Since medieval times, the camera obscura had been used in Europe to observe natural phenomena such as eclipses. In the 17th century it was used in the production of the illusion. In his *History of Photography*, Helmut Gernsheim describes Giovanni Battista Porta's experiments. This Italian scientist "arranged elaborate theatrical productions on a sunlit stage just outside the dark room, with scenery, actors in costume, models of wild animals moved by children inside them, music &c. The audience in this darkened room, unaware of this arrangement, were so taken in by the spectacle they saw projected on a white sheet, that some could not believe Porta's explanations afterwards, and he was accused of sorcery" (Gernsheim 1955:7). Thus, the first cinematic apparatus was a room, a camera obscura set up as a theater. The modern cinematic apparatus has simply split the camera obscura into two phases, the movie camera and the movie theater.

While the use of the movie camera has been evaluated and critiqued by filmmakers, the construction of the movie theater as an unimpeded reception site has largely been accepted by architects as purely a matter of function. The instructions written by architects concerning the proper placement of the screen relative to the seating and projection room has been exceedingly specific and inflexible. The architect Arthur Meloy wrote in 1916 that "if the light strikes the screen at any angle other than a right angle the picture will be contorted" (Melroy 1916: 20). In the past, contortions and distortions of the film image were to be avoided at all costs. The reason for such an avoidance is more than merely a functional one but goes to the heart of the cinematic apparatus as an illusionistic spectacle. The reason is the revealed by the British architect, Clifford Worthington's 1952 instructions for movie theater design. In his discussion of the relationship between seating and different types of screen images, he stated that "limiting viewing distances are essential to maintain a more intimate relationship of the spectator to screen action. The screen area should, as much as possible, predominate the field of view of the spectator's eyes, thereby eliminating distracting excessive wall and ceiling surfaces and intervening audience area" (Worthington 1952: 66). Everything is done. In other words, to eliminate anything which might come "between" the spectator and images on the screen, including other members of the audience or the architecture of the theater itself. The theater must not only hide the artificiality of the film, but also its own function as an illusionistic apparatus.

The relatively invisible and "humble" status of cinematic architecture should not cloud the fact

that it is this architecture which organizes the spectator as an atomized subject and allows this subject to become fully absorbed in any sort of totalizing or ideological film narrative. If the cinema is to have any function other than that of an imagistic opiate, the space of film reception must be addressed as much as the film itself. Film and architecture can not be thought of as having any meaningful independent existence in the culture of cinema. It is such thoughts that lead to the idea of the free-space cinema.

Disclosing the Machinery: Freedom of Vision

In the free-space cinema, the projector would be taken out of the projection booth and multiplied one-hundred fold. Different projectors showing different films simultaneously would be deployed around the space in plexi-glass cases. Some projectors would be aimed perpendicularly at small, flat screens against the wall, while others would be aimed at random angles to the ceiling or at the curved surfaces of abstract sculptures. Some of what appeared to be wall screens would actually be tinted windows showing the street outside. In this kind of space, the projectors would be as prominent as the images they project. Depending on one's inclinations, one could become intrigued as much with the celluloid as with the flickering image, as much with the screens as the with the windows, as much with the distorted pictures as the naturalistic ones. Additionally, interior lighting would be such that the other spectators would be as prominent as the multiplicity of miniature spectacles.

Reformulating the Social Contract: Talking Allowed

In the free-space cinema, the separation between spectators would be dissolved. Moveable tables and chairs would be scattered around the space and spectators would be free to group them however they wished. Sound movies would have small speakers under their screens so that one group might gather around a screen to watch a full length feature while feeling free at any point to make comments aloud or get up and leave. Parts of the space would only have the muffled sounds of several different movies, and spectators here might simply sit at a table and stare at random images or flirt with other spectators or have political discussions on postmodernity or exchange information on their hairdressers.

Disrupting the Daydream: Discontinuities

In the free-space cinema, the viewing experience would be constantly interrupted by other spectators walking in front of the projectors and sudden, and by loud disturbances from other parts of the space. Additionally, certain projectors would be situated on tracks and pivots. At random points such projectors would pull away from the surface on which they were projecting and begin to project on a different surface. These occurrences would disrupt the daydreams of those who, despite everything, manage to become completely caught up within the narrative imagery of one particular film.

Bibliography

Benjamin, Walter (1969). "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *Illuminations*, New York: Schocken Books.

Debord, Guy (1994). *Society of the Spectacle*, New York: Zone Books.

Foucault, Michel (1979). *Discipline and Punish, The Birth of the Prison*, New York: Vintage Books.

Gernsheim, Helmut (1955). *The History of Photography, From the Earliest Use of the Camera Obscura in the 11th century up to 1914*, London: Oxford University Press.

Meloy, Arthur S. (1916). *Theatres and Motion Picture Houses*, New York: Architects Supply & Publishing Company.

Schliepmann, Hans (1914). *Lichtspieltheater, Eine Sammlung Ausgefuehter Kinohaeuser in Gross-Berlin*, Berlin: Verlag von Ernst Wasmuth.

Shand, P. Morton (1930). *Modern Theatres and Cinemas, The Architecture of Pleasure*, London: B.T. Bashford Ltd

Wigley, Mark (1990). "The Disciplining of Architecture," *Ottagono*, 96: 19-27

Worthington, Clifford (1952). *The Influence of the Cinema on Contemporary Auditoria Design*, London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons.

ANTHONY RAYNSFORD is a 3rd year M.Arch I student in the Architecture Program. This paper was written for the class "The Program in Theory and Practice" taught by Dana Cuff in Fall 1994.

PLANNING THEORY OF RIOTS POETRY OR PLANNING POETRY ON RIOTS THEORY

Liette Gilbert

Los Angeles

Three angels were sipping cappucinos on a Wednesday afternoon,
on a secluded sunny terrace overlooking the ocean.
Freedom, Democracy and Equality
have been hanging out
when the not-guilty verdict raised above the Santa Susana Pass.
Were we supposed to be there?
Indeed, consulting their grand master agenda they realized that...
On the other side, Los Angeles was burning.

When finally Freedom, Democracy and Equality arrived south of downtown;
they couldn't see clearly because of the dense and dark smoke.
They looked in their grand master agenda to assess the situation.
What happened? How can a whole area be ignored for so long!
The last note for this area said "Watts Riots" and was dated 1965.

What happened? Pages must be missing!
As they finished counting the twenty-seventh page...
they were circled by young dark angels wearing white bandannas;
carrying plans, initiatives and tools.
A fifteen-year old young woman holding a future and a truce
said "Welcome to South Central; we hoped you were coming."

Freedom, Democracy and Equality were astonished by the young age of their host;
They were all so young, vibrant, committed.
What is happening here? asked the trio of angels.
Our people are rebuilding their community on new foundations,
according to their needs and their dreams.
Would you help us? asked the young angel
who could not wait for the answer
for the Bloods and the Crips were implementing the truce.

Freedom, Democracy and Equality remembered too well.
After all, as ideologies, they have been around for awhile.
Upon the light of the young dark angel
they recognized the scenario of oppression, rage and rebellion.

Cameras were rolling, like usual in Los Angeles,
but to the surprise of the directors,
real-life actors shouted "action"...
The images were explicit,
the traditional plot has been burned...

A loud call rising up for Freedom, Democracy and Equality;
a social revolt in the City of Forgotten Angels:

a magnified view on the economic decline, cultural decay and political lethargy.
South Central Los Angeles is screaming with rage!
Rewind the images, mute the televisions and trust your eyes.
What happened?

What happened?

Southern California, land of sunshine and of disasters;
human and natural manifestations,
the naturally human, the humanly natural...
the invisible once, the visible now;
a San Andreas fault of socio-economic and spatial inequalities.
Good Mourning Los Angeles...

Parade of politicians interrupting their on-going campaigns
to reconnect with the urgency of the moment;
Quick surveys from above,
landing among the cameras broadcasting live the empathy of our leaders,
bravely comforting the public interest;
announcing a local state of emergency,
calling for the National Guard,
declaring Los Angeles a disaster area.

Of course, this is a disaster area;
Riot, uprising, rebellion: anarchism lives.
Urban crisis bursting from the politics of neglect;
deindustrialization and abandonment in South Central Los Angeles.
An industrial core assassinated;
too many plants closed - too many jobs lost;

extraordinarily high unemployment and poverty rates
in the name of national competitiveness in the global economy.
Why create a Third World existence in the heart of a First World city?

Los Angeles shining its international capital;
redevelopment grows only downtown and on the Westside.
The insanity of land speculation blooms.
Chronic disinvestment in the inner cities
in the name of affluent suburbanization.
Even the trial moved to the suburbs to be white-washed...
Color changes, contrasts, saturates, reacts.

State anti-crime policies perversely promote
punishment rather than rehabilitation, detention rather than education.
Always more money to build prisons while schools are starving.
Extraordinarily high dropout rates;
disenfranchised black and Latino youth
growing up in a tradition of abuse of power
fostered by the local law enforcement and the criminal justice system.

The city was ironically declared calm and peaceful;
the famous troops were guarding the infamous streets.
The country is at war with itself;
the LAPD and INS officers are hunting for criminals and illegals...
They are guilty of being poor, guilty of being brown.

Multicultural Los Angeles...
bewildered in a kaleidoscope of racial tensions.
Ethnic antagonisms intensifying with demographic change;

the visible price of invisibility...
Blacks, Hispanics and Koreans,
destined to a life together,
have so little in common
except a darker skin and the dream of a better life.
South Central, Pico Union and Koreatown
must translate suspicion into empathy,
must speak coalition.

The Aftermath: From Knowledge to Action

The Mayor's symphonious orchestra is playing
the "Rebuild L.A." requiem under the prodigal baton
of the official conductor.
The streets are rapping.
Who wrote the music? Who is listening? to which music?

Rebuild LA talks revitalization;
committed to the creation of jobs in South Central.
Private friendly corporations are invited to invest in the city's poorest area;
they will rebuild South Central LA
to the beat of tax breaks, minimum wages and poor working conditions.
Top-down corporate strategy of self-interest
has no promise of benefiting the community.
Strike one.

But Rebuild LA was planning a good "common good";
they got here late with their best timely response
to the urgency of a diverse community

which had already initiated the process of rebuilding itself.
Rebuild LA failed to dialogue
with the multiracial community-based organizations.
Top-down elitist strategy of societal guidance
has no promise of empowering the community.
Strike two.

The game is not over yet... and the season has just started.
There is hope; the community is on fire
denouncing the racist and repressive "Weed and Seed" program;
NWA- Nihilism With an Attitude
a typical Bush Administration blueprint to eradicate the criminal
straight-out of the "targeted" communities;
The program was renamed CPR- Community Projects for Restoration;
its mandate shifted towards comprehensive social services.
A better start to end criminalization and alienation
of entire black and Latino communities.

But the structural economic crisis persists;
where are the jobs and the training programs?
What happened to the commitment of revitalization?
Social reformers are parachuting their economic plans;
EZ-EZ this time: Enterprise Zone - Empowerment Zone;
a naturalized species, not an indigenous plant.
Weed, seed, needs, creeds and deeds.

The uprising was a call for the decentralization of power;
Rebuild LA can't you see? Are you listening?
Collect call for redefinition, negotiation and mediation:

are you accepting the charges?
No dial tone.
Can we really do the same thing over and over
and expect different results?

Mobilization of the urban underclass;
Wake up call for suburbia and call of action in the inner city.
The mythical smoke of centralized planning is clearing;
allowing the intensification and the expansion of pre-riots struggles
in the recovery of the social, economic and political community.

Grassroots initiatives are developing options;
alternative ways to survive.
Emancipatory process where the social and the economic are no longer divorced;
but united accomplices in a new urban renewal;
facilitating entrepreneurship among local residents,
increasing access to capital in the community,
relieving ethnic tensions in building coalition,
opening channels and opportunities,
giving a sense that needs and rights are legitimate.

The community is accountable to itself;
Reality validates the credibility of actions:
Coalition Against Police Abuse
denounces police brutality and criminalization of young people of color;
Mothers Reclaiming Our Children
assists and supports people processed unfairly by judicial system;
Hands Across Watts
sustains the unification and peacemaking process;

Multicultural Collaborative Development
develops an urban agenda to advance interethnic understanding;
Carecen and Dunbar Economic Development Corporation
trade expertise on immigrants' rights and community development;
Coalition of Neighborhood Developers
grouping 40 ethnically diverse community organizations
improves social and physical environments city-wide.
And so many more...
working for freedom, democracy and equality.

Efforts in various stages of development are addressing fundamental causes.
They are igniting hope.
Education, jobs, healthcare, affordable housing, security,
all are national priorities with aggravated local emergency.
Bottom-up social solution needs top-down economic resources,
a new juggling act between political will and allocation of funds;
the legitimacy to be and make changes from the bottom-up.

What happened in Los Angeles?

a quest for fire; light on darkness,
a flame of reality, heat of the conflict:
People claimed back the blocks,
breathing life to the streets;
burning the structures of domination,
literally creating space for freedom, democracy and equality.

And soon the community will congregate around
Portals, Bridges and Gateways

erected in our neighborhoods.
Cultural Explainers of our differences,
public mo(nu)ments to celebrate the other.
Art as community self-determination,
art as public performance,
art as multicultural dialogue
between Koreatown, Pico-Union and South Central.

Graffiti seen in South Central
reminds us the fragility of our relationships:

Crips	Forever	LAPD
Bloods	Together	187
Mexicans	Tonight	

A constant reminder that our city of angels
is a combustible laboratory
where everything can happen at any time,
for better and for worse
for worse and for better...

References

Chavez, Lydia (1994). "Crossing the Cultural Line" *Los Angeles Times Magazine.* August 28: 22-26, 47.

Crogan, Jim (1994). "The Cease-Fire This Time" *LA Village View.* July 29-August 4: 28-30, 41.

Davis, Mike (1990). *City of Quartz.* London, New York:Verso.

Davis, Mike (1992). *LA Was Just the Beginning.* Open Magazine Pamphlet Series.

Devere Smith, Anna (1992). *Twilight Los Angeles.* Los Angeles, Toronto, New York: Doubleday.

Friedmann, John (1987). *Planning in the Public Domain: From Knowledge to Action.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Gooding-Williams, Robert (1993). *Reading Rodney King: Reading Urban Uprising.* New York: Routledge.

Hazen, Don (Ed.) (1992). *Inside the LA Riots.* Institute for Alternative Journalism.

Jackson MR., Johnson JH. and Farrell WC (1994). "After The Smoke Has Cleared" *Contention.* 3 (3): 3-21.

Kelly, Raegan (1993). "The Truce is On! Watts Love" *URB Magazine.* August, Number 30: pp 42-45, 47-48.

Mendez, Carlos (1993). "Metropolis Now." *LA Village View.* August 27: 26-28,39.

Miles, Jack (1994). "The Alternative to Anarchy." *Contention Volume.* 3 (3): 29-38.

Ridley-Thomas, Mark. "Seeds of Renewal Have Been Planted." *L.A. Times.*

Social and Public Art Resource Center (1994). Cultural Explainers: Portals, Bridges and Gateways. October .

Sonenshein, Raphael (1994). "After the Civil Unrest: What about Politics?" *Contention.* 3 (3): 23-27.

West, Cornell and Jorge Klor de Alva. Dialogue (1994). Lecture held on October 23, at the Watts Labor Community Action Committee.

LIETTE GILBERT is a 2nd year M.A. student in the Urban Planning Program. This paper was written for the class "The History of Planning Though" taught by Leonie Sandercock in Fall 1994.

FROM MA-MA WITH LOVE

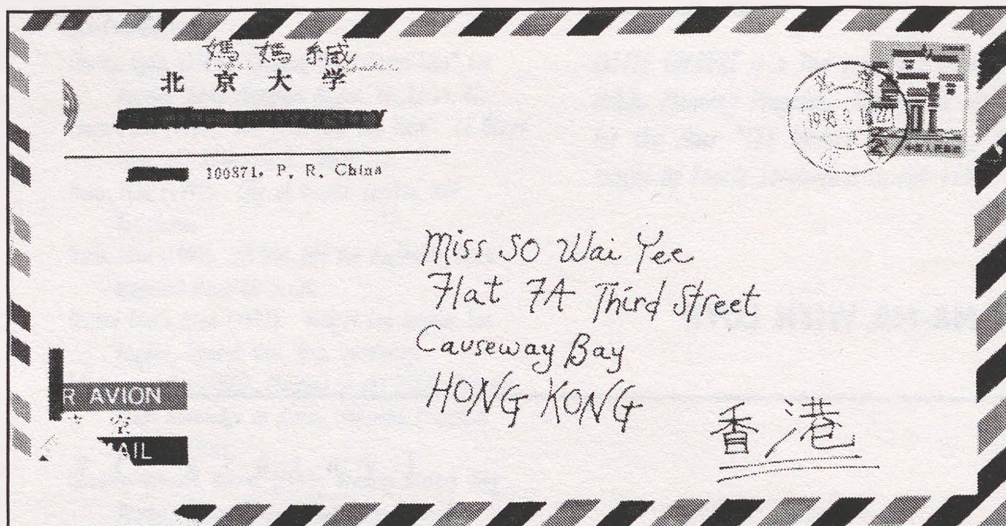
Cynthia So

This is the correspondence between a mother and her daughter. The mother writes from her traditional southern Chinese village to her daughter Wai Yee working in Hong Kong as part of a cooperative exchange program between China and Hong Kong.

Through her letters, the mother describes the events taking place in her daily life and her village. Her prose captures the cross-section of non-western and non-conventional development. The center of her life revolves around her household and her immediate village. After the encounter with a young woman from the North, she shares with her daughter her perceptions of the macro-level development in China.

Meanwhile, Wai Yee writes about the prominent materialistic aspects of her first capitalist country. In the letter to her mother, she discusses her difficulty in understanding development as defined by corporate entities. As Wai Yee writes about the different consequences of emerging free enterprise practices, she introduces the complex issues facing Southern China brought about by a transitioning national agenda.

The characters used in this story are fictional and do not portray real persons of the same or similar name.



January 5, 1994

Dear Wai Yee,

Why have you not written us is so long? The new lunar year is fast approaching, when do you plan to return? Re-confirm your direct train arrangements from Hong Kong to Guangzhou EARLY!! Be careful of those around you when you arrive back into Guangzhou. Last year, well over one million workers were trying to get back to their villages in the northern and western provinces. The crowds are chaotic and are there for different reasons. Many people are desesperate for money right before the new lunar year. Beggars have empty pockets and are in the clothes they arrived in months before; many are without work and are trying desperately to scrounge enough to buy train fare. Some prey on the luckier people, who leave Guangzhou with savings from their factory earnings while others are merely waiting for the nest overbooked train. The week before the first day of the new lunar year marks the beginning of people camping outside the station waiting for their upcoming train journeys.

Your older brother Yiu Hing has just finished up his construction work on a new factory and dormitory complex in Fuijian. In his last letter to us, he reassured us he will be back for the family dinner on the eve before the new lunar year. He should know better; all children regardless of how far they are from their home villages are expected to eat this dinner with their families. Aihhhh, I worry about him so much; I hope he does not get involved with those mixed-up boys in Fujian. I hear that Fujian is notorious for its human smuggling activities to the Americas. Auntie Lee told me that three villages over, the Wong's have a son who embarked upon one of these journeys for 110,000 yuan (US $20,000)! They say he is now in a place called 'Panama' awaiting a boat to take him to 'Florida'. He dreams of the "Gold Mountain" in California where he hopes to find a fortune. Now his family has very little to eat. Last week, the Wong's approached us and asked to trade one of our chickens for a full basket of their famous salted duck eggs. We kindly accepted.

The Year of the Dog will be your brother's fifth year since he left our village to seek outside work. It is unfortunate that the flood of 1989 left us with only 1/6 of our annual rice and vegetable crop size. Today, we are growing a bit more, 1/3 of our original crop size. Thanks to Grandma who burns incense every morning to the farm god. She has successfully raised 5 geese and 15 chickens. We save the chickens for special occasions or trade them when we do not have a surplus. These days, we eat mainly the rice and vegetables we grow with your village aunties; not much has changed. Then for other needed items we use our state allowance and the money that you, your brother and now your younger sister Pui Yee send us. Twice a month, I buy some dried shrimps, knitting materials, preserved cabbage. Grandma's herbal medicine, coal and occasionally fish from the local vendors.

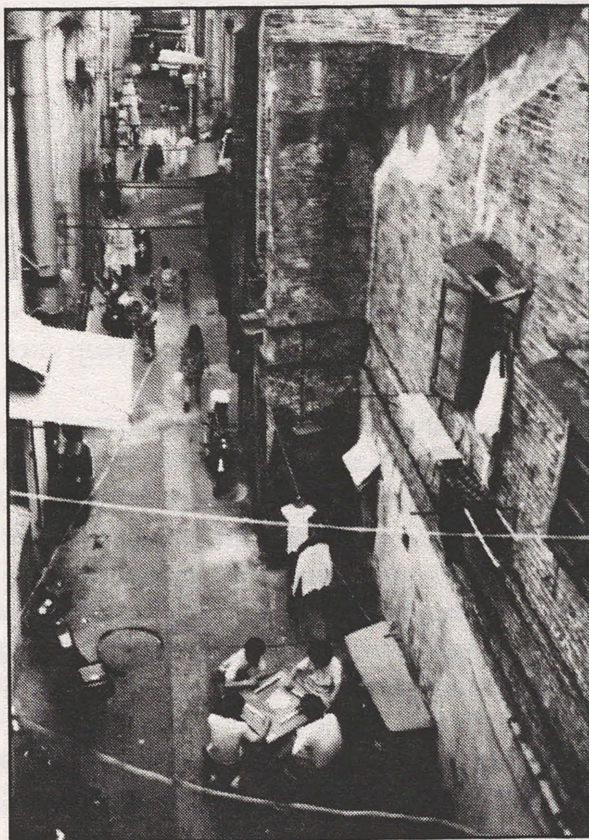
Since Pui Yee's departure to Guangzhou to work in a factory, your youngest sister Dzin Yee has been helping us out in the fields. Your aunties are very pleased with her rice sowing, harvesting and husking performance. Maybe when she is older, she will not sink so deeply into the mud. It seems like it was just a few years ago when you and Pui Yee were helping me in the fields. Now your nine year-old sister is following in her older sisters', mother's, grandmas' and great-grandmas' footsteps of learning to live off the land.

How different Ching Yuen village looks after just one year. When you were here last, your male cousins were just taking new brides into their families. Now you have many new cousins, all boys! Like many of the neighbouring villages' red scarved boys, your new cousins will have to go many villages over to find themselves brides. These days very few families are having daughters. Perhaps, they will have to leave Guangdong province in search of remote rural areas where families still have many children.

How lucky I am that in my youth I could have as many children as your father and I desired. Now it is different. The State is strictly enforcing the one-child policy in Guangdong. It is a shame that those who defy the policy have sanctions taken against them; having many children is such an old Chinese tradition. In my eyes, those who are deeply affected, with the exception of remote villages, are the families who have a large plot of land, extremely large in cases where it was once shared by extended families who have since migrated. Those who stay behind have fewer kin folk and children to help with the planting and harvesting. What will they do when they grow old and one child have to support the entire family?

Last week your Uncle Kit-Chi from Hong Kong was up here surveying the old family estate located two hours southeast of Ching Yuen. It is hard to believe that your paternal grandfather grew up so near to what is now the rapidly growing city of Shenzhen. Your other cousins still live there with your paternal uncles. They have received an offer from an international hotel corporation interested in developing the village area, particularly the adjacent coastal area, into a new five-star resort hotel. They say it will be another White Swan Hotel. As the oldest of seven sons, your father has the responsibility to make the family decision regarding this offer. I sense that your father is reluctant to sell the rights of our family village. As you know, your father is a very traditional family man. Your uncles tell him after they divide the money, they will be able to move into the city and earn higher wages. But your father believes that losing the land will mean they and our later generations will have nothing to carry their own in the future. You know how old fashioned your father and I are. We still argue with your uncle and aunties over the effects of free enterprise zones changes in the costal regions, particularly in Guangdong. Your father and I are so old in our ways and are unlike your eager uncles.

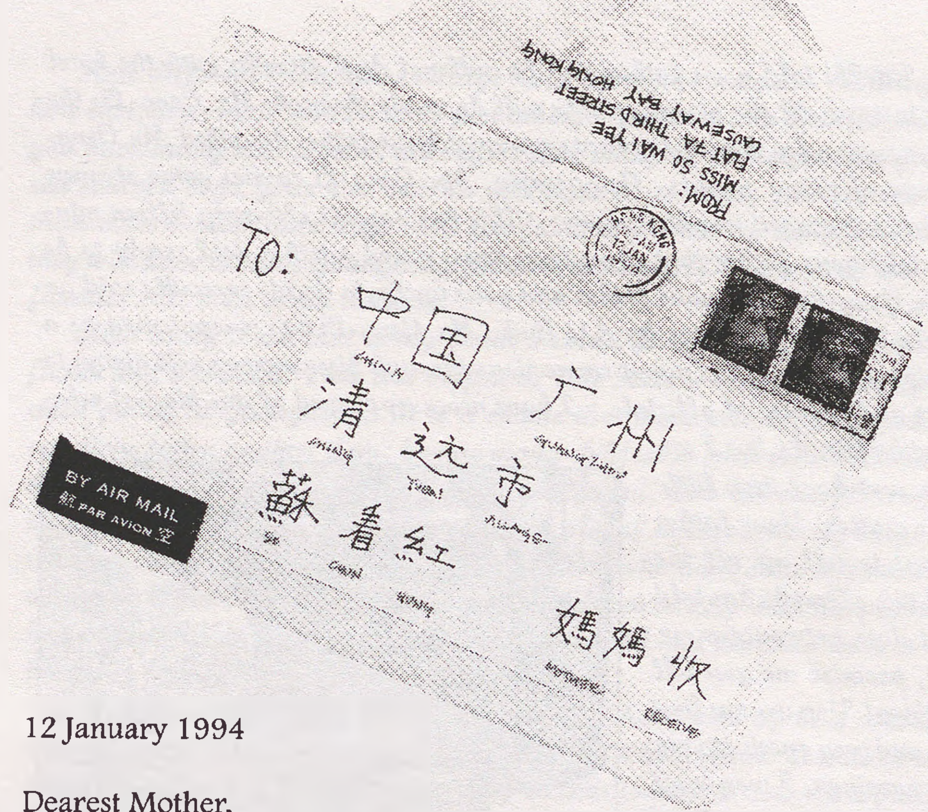
Uncle Kit-Chi told your father that he will not deal directly with the hotel company, instead all the arrangements will be made through Mr. Geng-Li, the mainland manager for the development company. Your father described Mr. Geng-Li as a man of many sounds. Apparently, Mr. Geng-Li carries some strange device which is buttoned into his trousers. This box sounds off every fifteen minutes. He told your father that every beep represented another deal ready to be made. Mr. Geng-Li urged your father and your uncles to decide soon. He said an opportunity like this one is too hard to find. Mr. Geng-Li has a reputation as a quick businessman and has many connections through his generous gift giving to the district and provincial officials. I have never approved of this kind of relationship with officials, but I am a woman, and have very little say in this matter. Your father is reluctant to tell me all the details of this offer; he has told me that it does not concern me. Wai Yee, promise me you tell me everything! You are my first daughter and very special to me. On rainy evenings, I wonder if you have enough to eat and if you are keeping warm. I must sleep now. Take care of yourself and remember to thank your Uncle Lee and his family for their hospitality.



Love,

媽媽

Ma-ma



12 January 1994

Dearest Mother,

After almost a year here, I am still not accustomed to the different lifestyle of Hong Kong. I learn something everyday. I am sorry it has taken me so long to write. I have not written as frequently as I had hoped this year. Can you forgive me? Enclosed are some pictures of my life in Hong Kong. I will bring many more to show you and the rest of the village when I return in February.

Ma-ma, you could not imagine the height of the buildings here. In Central, which is the main business district where I work, there are buildings which reach the clouds! Some structures are 60, even 80 stories high! Fortunately, Uncle Lee's office is on the second floor of an old five story building, probably one of the only left in Central. I am working very dilligently for Uncle, just like you taught me. I am learning many new things. I have learned how to type

Chinese language documents on a computer. Everyday, I conduct Mandarin conversation sessions with the managers as well as read books on how the foreign companies profile economic development in China.

This China-Hong Kong financial services exchange program enables me to learn about the western world and exposes me to outside attitudes towards China. My program supervisor (a former government official) reminds us during our monthly meetings to do our best when we are learning new skills at our respective work places. He encourages us to integrate with the local Chinese but discourages us from adopting Western habits. He tells us to develop strong working relationships with our colleagues. In this way we help China to cultivate long standing relationships with our soon to be cousin Hong Kong.

I am overwhelmed with all the new English economic and financial terminology introduced to me. Often it is difficult for me to fully understand how the corporation defines successful projects, large or small. They seem to base their investment decision on the net dollar value of the final product.

The corporate formula measuring success does not include the effects of the work on the people. Our clients refer frequently to the industrial success of the Pearl River Delta area but I never heard them discuss the unnatural colors of the delta 's water, the strange odors or the displaced workers on the outskirts of the industrial estates. Is that not also a part of what is "success"? Uncle Lee is patient with me and my questions. I try my best not to disappoint him and my program supervisor.

Ma-ma, I often wonder what you would think of Hong Kong. Although they speak the Cantonese we speak and eat many of the same dishes we eat, the Hong Kong locals are different. Capitalism and the accumulation of wealth seem to be everyone's top priority. The clients who we meet with only wear Italian suits, French ties and all-leather shoes. All are foreign name brands I can not pronounce with exception of 'Boss'. It seems as if all men and women, rich or not, old and young, have portable phones, quite different from the two stationary phones shared in our village. I find this behavior to be excessive and ostentatious.

Why does everyone need a phone when they are eating or seeing a movie? Have they no respect for their family members when they are sharing meals

together? It is irritating enough to sit peacefully in a movie house and hear beeping noise sound off every five minutes enacting full conversations out loud in the theater. I think many of them are trying to show off their wealth and power, even if it is very little. I am told by my friends from Guanzhou and Shenzhen that this phone phenomena has already caught on there. They say

at any given moment, you can see a passenger on the back of a motorcycle or a young man walking down the street talking on his phone. Ma-ma, next time you are in Guangzhou you will be able to see if these tales are true.

Regarding the hotel development proposal, I encourage father to not act hastily. Ever since the State allowed families to claim back their family property, many foreign developers have flocked to Southern China's coastal areas to acquire land for development. In some areas, the provinces are anxious to

lure investors into joint-venture enterprises. There is talk that some local officials are skimming off profits in exchange for expeditious processing. Many of these experienced middle business men are shrewd and oftern short change the property owners.

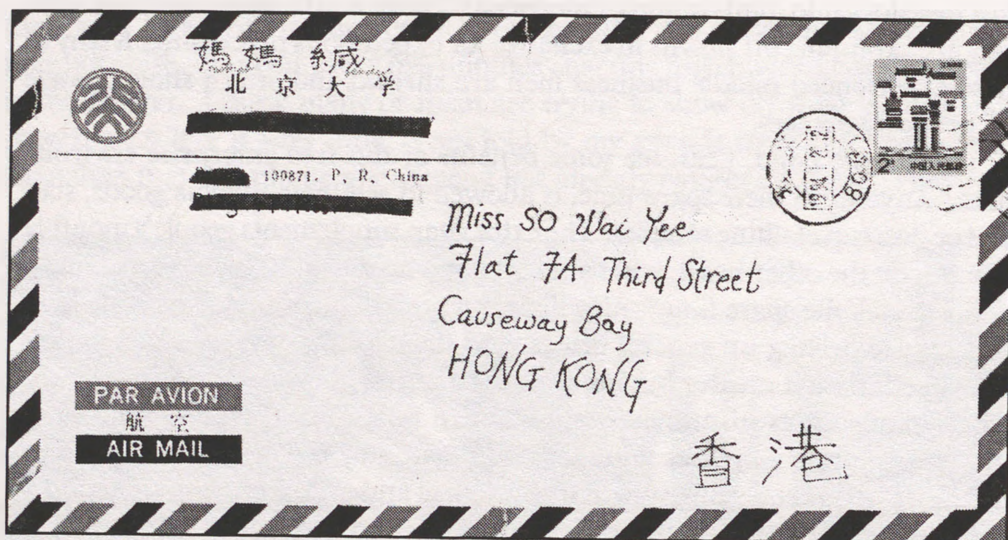
On the one hand, I can see some benefits of this free enterprise environment. Anyone, in their spare time, is allowed to sell their surplus goods, stall food or overrun clothing samples. The extra yuan supplements people's monthly pay. But on the other hand, what about those who do not have the extra things to sell or lack the spare time? Also those engaged in medium to high financed projects are driving up general prices with their property speculation activities. The inflation creates buying frenzies and the hoarding of goods. Some people buy gold as insurance against future inflation. For those who have little, these price increases will mean they can only buy less. I see inherent inequities in this emerging system that are new and unlike those under collective activities. Perhaps Guangzhou is an anomaly in China.

In Pui Yee's letter to me, she wrote about the buying frenzies and the hoarding particularly the week before the official adoption of the single exchange rate. She described people's pushing and shoving as if it were the last shopping week before the new lunar year. With new prices almost every other week, she worries she will not save enough yuan to send to you and father. She worries about you both, Grandma and Dzing Yee especially about how tired you all must be with one less person helping in the fields. She misses you dearly and confided in me that she is very lonely. Ma-ma, it has been half a year since your last visit to Guangzhou, will you consider visiting her again?

Please send my warmest wishes to Father and to little Dzing Yee. Tell her that older sister will bring her back many new things for the new year because I am very proud of her contribution to the household. Tell Grandma that I look forward seeing her new geese and chickens.

Love,

Wai Yee



28 January 1994

Dear Wai Yee,

Your father and I are very happy to hear you are learning so much in Hong Kong. Continue listening to your Uncle Lee and your program supervisor. They are teaching you a lot of things we know very little about. Remember to thank those who teach you and help you.

You will be happy to know that I have just returned from a week-end visit with your younger sister. Your village aunties were willing to do my share of last weekend's field work in exchange for errands I ran for them in Guangzhou. My bumpy bus ride out to Guangzhou was very long. But as we approached the city, the roads were smoother. Your sister was very happy to see me. Pui Yee lives with her co-workers at the factory's all-women's dormitory. Amongst the workers, there is an unspoken agreement to not complain about anything. Pui Yee tells me she has seem work supervisors point to the hundreds of women waiting outside the factory gate ready to work.

Her bunkmate is named Mei Lai and is from Liaoning, a northern region adjacent to Inner Mongolia. Mei Lai is the oldest of five children. She is supporting her elderly mother and her four younger siblings. When I asked Mei Lai about her home village, she spoke of the destitute conditions there. Families in her region are receiving only 80 to 100 yuan (US $10 to 15) a month. Mei Lai added that the mountainous areas are difficult to live for her to live off because of the poor soil. With only one long and narrow walking path to her village, it is difficult for her family to trade or buy food from other areas during the winter season. In the north, Mei Lai witnessed farmers rioting in the countryside because provincial governments were slow and sometimes unable to pay the farmers for their crops.

After arriving in Guangzhou, Mei Lai realized finding employment was not going to be as easy as she had heard. She could not find work during her first four months in the city. Every night, alongside thousands of other desperate young men and women with similar backgrounds to her own, Mei Lai slept in different places: on the streets, under bridges, in the parks and under doorways. Mei Lai told me she often feared for her life especially since she could not understand the local dialect. Everyday, she would see people die of starvation, steal and sometimes kill. She learned at the train station that the majority of beggars there had no choice but to beg in order to survive. Their circumstances were identical to hers -no job, no money and hungry. After saving a few yuan from begging, she left the city and headed to the next province of Fujian. There, she was hired to work in a small Hong Kong-owned factory. Despite the 12-15 hour days, she was relieved to receive 200 yuan (US $35) monthly. Today she, like your sister, earns 450 yuan (US $80) monthly.

It is sad to hear stories like Mei Lai's but I know her story represents a small part of a larger transition. I refuse to believe that the State is intentionally overlooking the needs of the countryside peasants. There must be a reason why they have been slow to pay Northern farmers. They know that the farmers rely heavily on their State allowance; the national agenda has always been the interest of all people. The State enforces the power of the people.

We are each promised an iron bowl in China. Everyone is given something to eat, a place to live and community. The People's Government promotes the needs

of the nation's people first, which is to live equally and collectively as one nation. Changes in the national policy are for the good of the people. For example, in the past, the Government allowed foreign companies to buy goods produced by State factories. The money from the sales went to all of us, rural or urban people alike, through the State. Nowadays, foreign companies build new factories in China, bringing new technology and teaching our people specialized skills. China refuses to leave her people behind as the rest of the world moves ahead in production. China empowers her people through training and building resources for the country. We want to remain a strong and unified nation. With no sales of the produced goods to the Mainlanders, China ensures her people their savings do not go to foreigners but back to our own people. The State has designed this system in order to practice the socialist principles it preaches. Although this transition may not be smooth in its beginnings, especially for people in remote and rural areas, I still believe in the power of the people through the State and its party members.

Wai Yee, I imagine Hong Kong must be a stark contrast to what I have just described but you must not doubt the State and its intentions. It was the popular people who struggled for this socialist system and it is the system which continue to struggle for its people. When you return for the new lunar year celebrations, the two of us can discuss this behind closed doors. I am anxious for your return.

Love,
媽媽
Ma-ma

CYNTHIA SO is a 2nd year M.A. student in the Urban Planning Program. The paper was written for the class "Urbanization in Rural and Third World Countries" taught by John Friedmann in Winter 1994.

THE POLITICS OF DIVERSITY: IMMIGRATION, RESISTANCE, AND CHANGE IN MONTEREY PARK, CALIFORNIA
by JOHN HORTON

Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995.

Ute Lehrer

Immigration has become one of the most pervasive features of urbanization in an age of globalization and world city formation. Most studies on immigration, however, have overlooked the important connection between the emergence of new types of urban communities as a consequence of immigration. While the origins of immigration can often be found in the dramatic restructuring processes of the global economy, and while most immigrants tend to move to large urban centers, the existing literature continues to focus on national immigration policy (Muller 1993). Recently, though, some students of immigration have begun to focus on the nexus between global and local forces shaping specific places by looking at local regulation of immigration and the impact of different ethnicities on local politics (Portes and Stepick 1993).

John Horton's book *The Politics of Diversity* can be seen as a contribution to this field of analysis. Horton's case study is Monterey Park, a city with about 63,000 inhabitants (1994) that occupies 7.7 square miles. Located to the east of Los Angeles, it is one of 84 cities in Los Angeles County. The book demonstrates how the city was transformed from a predominantly Anglo-American community to a multiracial community through "economic mobility and the legal and informal erosion of discrimination in housing" (p. 11).

The study moves beyond an ethnographic research project that Horton conducted with six other sociologists from UCLA in the period between 1987 and 1988. In this new book the time frame for the story takes place between 1987 and 1994. The two main points of discussion are: first, the way in

which the incorporation of immigrants in Monterey Park affected both newcomers and old-timers; and second, the "reconstruction of what it means to be immigrant, ethnic, and American in an increasingly multiethnic United States" (p.3). In this respect, Horton does for ethnicity what others have done for race (Roediger 1991; Almaguer 1994; Omi and Winant 1994). But in contrast to these authors he shows how ethnicity is both constructed and refracted through prosseses of local class formation in the immigrant community and by the local political process. The resultant reformulation of ethnicity in Monterey Park, at times, leads to new and surprising alliances between certain groups of old-timers and newcomers.

Twenty years ago, Monterey Park faced two major transformations. During the early seventies the city had become also a home for middle-class Mexican Americans from the adjacent East Los Angeles, Japanese Americans from different parts of Los Angeles, and Chinese Americans from Chinatown in downtown Los Angeles. The second wave of transformation started in the mid-1970s when Chinese and "other" Asians (mostly from Korea, Vietnam and the Philippines) came to this city. As a community experiencing a high influx of Asian immigrants during the eighties, Monterey Park had to address issues that grew out of ethnic and racial differences. By the 1990s the majority of the residents in Monterey Park was Asian. Horton states that, "Today, Monterey Park is a city completing its transition from a quiet, racially mixed bedroom suburb of aging single-family dwellings and dying commercial streets to a Pacific Rim hub with higher-density housing and a globally oriented financial and service center for a rapidly expanding regional Chinese population" (p. 11).

Not only does this book contribute to discourses on political representation of ethnicities and class interests, but it also has applications for architecture and urban planning. Monterey Park's built environment and regulations play a major role in the alliances and struggles between newcomers and old-timers, between natives and immigrants, and between members of different ethnicities. By looking at regulation of signage over commercial space, Horton shows in detail the role of ethnic representation. The struggle over street signs is mostly driven by the fears of the Anglo-American population. Yet Horton found that the city's slow-growth policy led to the formation of new coalitions. Groups that previously ignored one another began to form alliances, bridging ethnic differences.

The author's focus on the transformation of Monterey Park from a predominantly white community to a Pacific Rim city implies certain omissions that need to be mentioned. Horton neglects issues related to the city's African American community (which fluctuates between 0.1 and 0.5 percent of the population). While whites have been to a large extent replaced by Asians in Monterey Park, the city remains an important residential location for Latinos, who, in 1980, made up more than one third of the total population and was the largest ethnic group. Horton does not sufficiently deal with Latino-Asian relationships in this city.

This book is written in carefully chosen language which is sensitive to issues related to minorities and gender. Horton's method is to combine voting data (with respect to ethnicity, gender and class), describing events, and incorporating notes of the ethnographic study of this community. The breath of information is sometimes overwhelming. However, Horton succeeds in guiding the reader through the small details in a manner which never loses sight of the broader issues of class analysis and ethnicity as prominent forces in local politics.

Horton's book is premised on the assumption that ethnicity is a major factor in contemporary local politics, and he arrives at the conclusion that the reconstruction of (ethnic) identities through social, cultural, and political participation has a significant impact on local politics. Horton's book opens up a space of further investigation. First, we have to bring our attention to local cultures and how they are informed by global economic changes (and vice versa). Second, the construction of citizenship will have to undergo a redefinition in order to provide a realm for political participation of immigrants. In the political climate of Proposition 187 in which basic education and health care for undocumented immigrants are under siege and in which the everyday life for certain groups of (legal) immigrants is becoming more difficult we need a public discussion of citizenship.

References:

Almaguer, Tomás (1994). *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

Muller, Thomas (1993). *Immigrations and the American City.* New York, London: New York University.

Omi, Michael and Howard Winant (1994). *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s.* New York: Routledge.

Portes, Alejandro and Alex Stepick (1993). *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

Roediger, David R. (1991). *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class.* London, New York: Verso.

UTE LEHRER is a 2nd year Ph.D. student in the Urban Planning Program.

FINAL PROJECTS OF GSAUP GRADUATING MASTER'S AND PhD CANDIDATES, 1993 - 1994

URBAN PLANNING

CLIENT PROJECTS

ABASOLO, Santiago: "Land Development in the Area of the Imperial Transit Stop - Blue Line" (Drew Economic Development Corporation)

AULTER, Lillian: "The Use of Worker Remittances in Binational Grassroots Development: A Proposal for El Salvador" (FEDECACGS)

EEKHOFF, Kay: "Los Angeles Based Salvadoran Community Associations and Their Contribution for Community-Based Development in El Salvador" (Communidades Unificadas para la Asistencia Directaa El Salvador)

FRYMAN, Deborah: "Defining Sustainability for Los Angeles" (Defining Sustainable Communities/Tides Foundation)

GILBERT, Jean: "Business Conversion Options for Liquor Store Owners" (Korean Youth Community Center)

GOMEZ, Ray: "GISMapping of Section 8 Certificates Analysis and Feasibility of Setting Up a GIS System" (Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles)

GOODRICH, Corrine: "The Multi-City Transportation System Management Agency: Development and Implementation of an Employee Based Trip Reduction Ordinance" (Multi-City Transportation Systems Management Agency)

HARRIS, Fedolia: "PC-Based Software to Calculate Real-Time Average Vehicle Occupancy" (California Department of Transportation)

HIBINO, June & MURAYABASHI, Janice: "Evaluation & Recommendation for a Janitorial Service Start Up In Los Angeles' Korean American Community" (Korean Immigrant Workers)

HILL, Elizabeth: "Making the Switch to Non-Toxic Garment Care" (Center for Neighborhood Technology)

HOPKINS, Lynne: "Pollution Prevention Strategies in the Workplace: A Case Study" (Patagonia)

HOSEMAN, Joan: "Legal Implications of Employee Bicycle Incentives" (Bay Area Air Quality Mamagement District)

HOWARD, Nicole: "Towards a Second Dwelling Unit Policy: Evaluation of Alternative Approaches and Recommendations for Implementation in the City of Glendale" (City of Glendale Planning Division)

FINAL PROJECTS / 1993 - 1994

KLASKY, Stephanie: "Congregate Housing: Review of Barriers to the Development of Congregate Housing with Recommended Action for the Revision of Zoning Codes" (City of Los Angeles Housing Department)

KOZLOWSKI, Teresa: "West Hollywood: Becoming Sustainable" (City of West Hollywood)

KU, Christina: "Research and Advocacy for Low Income Asian Communities" (Little Tokyo Service Center)

LEMUS, Richard: "Incubator Business in East Pasadena" (Stanley R. Hoffman Associates)

LOMBARDO, Maria: "The Potential for Jitneys in Los Angeles" (Board of Transportation Commissioners)

MARCUS, Richard: "Measures of Effectiveness for the Analysis of Urban Mass Transit Projects" (Federal Transit Administration)

MARTINEZ, Lorena & MANJARREZ, Adrianna: "Bell Gardens Comprehensive Study: Community Empowerment" (People United to Elect Hector Chacon)

OUELLET, Michael: "Community Redevelopment Financing Staff Report" (City of Yakima)

PRADO, Cora: "Broadway Manchester Community Plan" (Greater Bethany Economic Development)

ROSILES, Dora: "Are We Meeting Our Clients' Needs?" (Crystal Stairs)

SANDERS, Stacie: "How-to Manual for a Novice Housing Project Manager" (Dunbar Economic Development Corporation)

SEAVEY, Fred: "The LAX Hotel Industry: Impact on Workers and Communities" (Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union, AFL-CIO)

SINSHEIMER, Peter: "Case Study of 3M's Pollution Prevention Pays Program" (Pollution Prevention Education & Research Center)

SMITH, Chris: "CaseStudy Analysis of Post-Earthquake Non-Profit Development: Current Projects" (Hollywood Community Housing Corporation)

UBAKA, Ike: "Towards More Direct Bus Routing: A Cost Benefit Analysis of Out-of-Direction Deviation Segments" (Los Angeles County Metropolitan Transportation Authority)

WATSON, Yvonne: "The Impact of Air Pollution on Minority Communities and Businesses: The Need for Increased Representation and Involvement of Minorities at the South Coast Air Quality Management District" (South Coast Air Quality Management District)

COMPREHENSIVE PROJECTS

ADAIR, Bill; EMBREE, Lea; FOY, Timothy; HAEFELE, Laurie; HONDA, Aki; KU, Christina; MORRIS, Dianne; ROSENBAUM, Debra; SALAZAR, Michael; SOLIS, Patricia; STARZAK, Richard; & WINEGAR, Kate: "Realizing a Community Dream: The Diverse Cultural Resources of the Anaheim Corridor"

BERNARD, Kelli; DICKSON, Deidre; & SPRINKLE, Kelly: "Banking on Communities: A Popular Education Workshop"

BOORN, Mary Lynne & HONDA, Aki: "Will the Golden Eagle Fly? A Feasibility Study for the Golden Eagle Site, Carson, California"

THESES

DOHAN, Marc: "Seeds of Change: Strategies for Food Security in the Inner City"

GORBEA, Ivelisse: "Ideology and Rural Development in an Industrialized Island: The Case Study of Adjunteras, Puerto Rico"

HINESMON, Lezlee: "Exploring the Role of Church-Based Community Development in the African-American Community"

HOPKINS, Elwood: "The Lifecycle of Urban Innovations"

LAU, Samuel: "Evaluation of Ground Transportation Information Systems in California Airports: Will Information Influence Choice?"

LOUIE, Winnie: "Community Economic Development Asians in Los Angeles"

MAZUREK, Jan: "Chips and Dips,or When the Chips are Down: Toxics and the Semiconductor Industry"

MRAZ, Jacqueline: "Making Space in Los Angeles: Garza v. County of Los Angeles"

STRAUSS, Valerie: "Crisis in American Agriculture: A Case Study of Farm Failures and Community Response"

TRABALZI, Ferrucio: "State and Nature in the Pontine Marshes Reclamation"

DISSERTATIONS

BLOCH, Robin: "Boom Times: The Politics of Agglomeration in High Technology-Based Urban-Industrialization in the Post-War Sunbelt: Orange County, California, Maricopa County, Arizona and Brevard County, Florida 1950 - 1987"

BROOK, Ronald: "Tenant Intervention in Public Housing"

BUSS, Shirley: "Children and the Urban Spatial Environment: Meaning and Action from Young People's Angle of Vision"

CENZATTI, Marco: "Motorcycles of Postmodernity: The Restructuring of Industry and Theory"

CHASE, Jacquelyn: "Roots of Stability: Agricultural Wage Workers in a Soybean Producting Area of Brazil"

CRUZ, Marcelo: "Naupaj Manpuni: Rethinking Development, Community, and Ethnicity in the Ecuadorean Andes"

DEMISSIE, Fassil: "Agrarian Reform and the Peasantry in Southern Ethiopia: A Study of the Political Economy of Rural Transformation"

DIAZ, David: "The Growth Control Movement in Southern California"

GHORRA-GOBIN, Cynthia: "Implementation as a Social Learning Process: The Case of French Housing Policy"

GOTO, Junko: Competing Ideologies n Urbanization and Chiikiokoshi (Rural REvitalization)in Contemporary Japan"

ISSAC, Claudia: The Gender Division of Labor and Agrarain Transition: The Case of Rural Women's Production Cooperatives in Central Mexico"

KENNEY, Moira: "Strategic Visibility: Gay and Lesbian Place Claiming in Los Angeles 1970 - 1994"

NG, Mee Kam: "The Politics of Planning in Hong Kong: A Cas Study of the History of Port and Airport Developments"

SENSIPER, Sylvia: "The Geographic Imaginary: An Anthropological Investigation of Gentrification"

QUANDT, Charlos: "Technology, International Competition and Regional Development: Case Studies on Sao Paulo State, Brazil"

RAGAN, Haripriya: "Contesting the Sylvan Margin: State Forestry Use and Regional Processes in the Garwahl Himilayas"

RUDDICK, Susan: "Redrawing the Maps of Meaning: The Social Construction of Homeless Youth in Hoolywood"

SABATINI, Francisco: "Community Participation among Hosuewives of a Low-Income Settlement in Santiago, Chile"

WIENER, Robert: "At Risk of Loss: Federal Policy, the Conversion Problem and the Emerging Crisis in Low Income Housing"

WOODS, Clyde: "The Lower Mississippi Delta Development Commission: Rural African American Communities and Regional Policy"

FINAL PROJECTS / 1 9 9 3 - 1 9 9 4

ARCHITECTURE

THESES - MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE

AKIMICHI, Shinji: "Modelpad: A Geometric Modeling System for Pen Computing"

BOUTIS, Spiros: "The Spatial Language of Greek Vernacular Houses with Chayati"

CHUA, Clifford: "Green Architecture in the Cities: Microenvironmental Impact and Architectural Integration of Urban Landscaping"

HUO, Kenny: "Space of Emancipation and Space of Imprisonment: A Chinese Approach to the Architecture on the Interface of Mind and Body"

INGRASSIA, Richard: "Energy Efficient Design for Affordable Housing"

INTSCHER, Laura: "The New Museion: Science, Technology, and Arts Center, Alexandria"

JONSSON, David: "Environmentally Sensitive Residential Construction in Davis, California"

LEE, Shing-Kuo: "Climatic Building Design and Application of Passive Cooling Strategies for Taiwan: With Emphasis on Multi-Story Residential Buildings"

O'DONNELL, Lance: "Teaching Architectural Science and the Design Studio"

PANEC, Peter: "A Computer Implementation of a General Purpose Shape Grammar Tool"

SMITH, Christopher: "Rail Rapid Transit, Urban Design, and the Urban Form of Los Angeles"

THESES - MASTER OF ARTS

BRESTYANSKY, Paul: "Utilizing CAD as a Generative Tool"

GOMES, Ricardo: "Analysis for Alternative Building Materials and Construction Systems for Small-Scale Industries in the Republic of Cape Verde"

HARRIS, Elizabeth: "The Palace of Fine Arts: Monumental Meaning"

HART, Linda: "Classicism and Architectural Education at the French and American Academies in Rome"

JENG, Tay-Sheng: "An Object-Oriented Approach to Modeling Design Information for Computer-Aided Design"

MULHALL, Kevin: Claude Perrault's *Ordanne des cinq especes de colonnes selon la methode des anciens*: Re-examining the Text and its History"

OH, Kie: "The CAD Program for the Element-Standardized House Design"

STARZAK, Richard: "Critical Analysis and Help System Regarding California Procedures in the Inventory of Historic Resources"

VARGHESE, Paul: "Solids, Shapes, and Modeling"

DISSERTATIONS

FEINBERG, Victoria: "An Investigation into the Politics of Decision-Making: Factors Affecting the Adoption of Fire Sprinkler Retrofit Ordinances for High-Rise Office Buildings in California Cities"

LEE, Jin-Won: "A Developmental Approach to Urban Design in Ethnic Communities Based on an Analysis of the Process of Korean Immigrants' Accomodation to Los Angeles"

C R I T I C A L   P L A N N I N G
Volume 3 Spring 1996

CALL FOR PAPERS

Submission Deadline: January 26, 1995

Critical Planning is a student-run journal formed by students of the Department of Urban Planning in 1993. The journal was established to serve as a forum for the urban planning and public policy community at UCLA, particularly students, to present current research interests and debate timely issues. We welcome submissions from graduate students, faculty, and alumni.

Guidelines for Article Submissions:

1. Submissions should be no longer than 20, double-spaced pages. Contributors must submit 1 hard copy version of the article and 1 version of the same paper on an IBM formatted computer disk using WordPerfect (DOS or Windows) version 5.1 or higher.
2. All submissions are reviewed by an anonymous editorial review board in which the author's name is also kept confidential.
3. The Editorial Review Board evaluates submissions according to the following criteria: clear statement of thesis or objective; relevance of subject matter; clear development of ideas; clear and concise writing.
4. Place the author's name, phone number, e-mail address, and title of submission on the cover sheet. The first text page should contain the title of the article, without the author's name, as a means of identification.
5. Tables, illustrations, and photographs should be titled, numbered, and included separately at the end of the text.
6. Cite sources by the author-date system of reference described in the *Chicago Manual of Style*, fourteenth edition (University of Chicago Press, 1993), chapter 16.
7. All submissions are subject to editing by the Editorial Review Board and the editors. Authors will be given the opportunity to review the final edited version of their paper prior to publication. The editors, however, have the final authority on the publication-ready version of all submission.

Table of CONTENTS

PLANNING AND PUBLIC POLICY

Empowerment in Planning: Proof, Pedagogy and Practice
by Lande Ajose 1

The Politics of Production: Post-Fordist Popular Sector Substitutions and Strategies
by William Kramer 11

Perpetuating the Status Quo: Militry Base Conversion Planning and the Lack of Environmental Policy
by Kacy Collons 25

At the Cutting Edge: A Portrait of Innovative Grassrots Organizations in Los Angeles
by Elwood Hopkins 39

Is Development Being Re-Gererated in the Neo-Liberal Age?: Perspectives on Grassroots Challenges to Economic Development
by Jordi Benería-Surkin 61

ARCHITECTURE AND DESIGN

Towards a Radical Design Practice
by Bill Adair 75

Programming for Spatiality in a Non-Spatial World
by Laura Rambin 81

Decloaking the Camera Obscura: Toward a Free-Space Cinema
by Anthony Raynsford 85

POETRY AND FICTION

Planning Theory of Riots Poetry or Planning Poetry on Riots Theory
by Liette Gilbert 91

From Ma-Ma with Love
by Cytnhia So 101

BOOK REVIEW

John Horton, *The Politics of Diversity: Immigration, Resistance, and Change in Monterey Park, California*
by Ute Lehrer 113

ETC.

Final Projects of GSAUP Graduating Master's and Ph.D. Candidates, 1993-1994 117