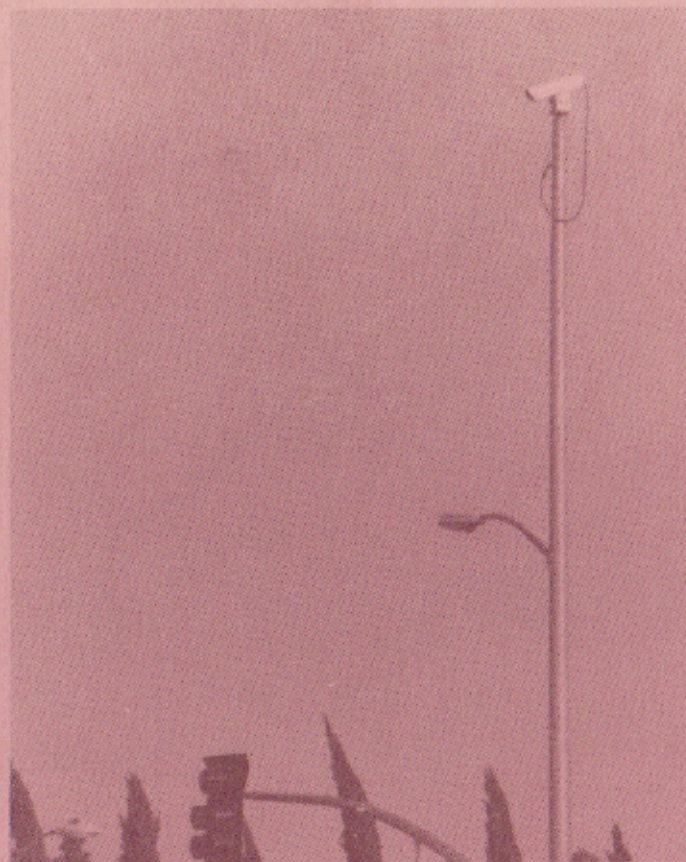


BUILDING PARANOIA:



**THE PROLIFERATION OF INTERDICTORY SPACE
AND THE EROSION OF SPATIAL JUSTICE**

BUILDING PARANOIA: AND THE MAKING OF PARANOID SPACE John Yarnall

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"For the middle class, criminal assault is a survivable nuisance; for the poor and working class, it may mean a total wipe-out: a life's work gone, a psychological disaster. For our low-income population, security in their residential environment — security from the natural elements, from criminals, and from authority — is the first essential step to liberation."¹ Oscar Newman, 1972

"...scanscape — a space of protective visibility that increasingly defines where white-collar office workers and middle-class tourists feel safe...."² Mike Davis, 1992

Symptomatic of different times, an era shaped as much by a War on Poverty and humankind walking on the moon as by assassinations of progressive national leaders, Vietnam, and Watergate, in the early 1970s a nation in its popular press could relate the notion of personal, social and economic liberation with a practice of defensive architecture. Indeed this practice was not seen as ownership of assault rifles, installing alarms, hiring legions of private security guards or separation based upon race, ethnicity and class (all now as much a part of urban environments as a trip to the shopping mall) as much as the architectural application of the age-old adage of building fences to make good neighbors. If popular liberation in the late 1960s and early 1970s was marked by resistance to super-power imperialism, the birth of the women's movement and accelerating desegregation, it was also an intellectual and practical conceit for the demolition of an international modernism that was more interested in abstract form than the daily life and needs of poor people.

Oscar Newman, the author of *DEFENSIBLE SPACE: CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH URBAN DESIGN*, wrote that defensible space "...is a model for residential environments which inhibit crime by creating the physical expression of a social fabric that defends itself."³ Newman articulated with facts and figures that the manipulation of the physical environment could support the development of neighborhood networks that created a framework for socialization and development of a community common. He avoided both the positivist trap of Operation Breakthrough, which overemphasized industrialized production of housing units, and formal models of

1) Newman, Oscar. *Defensible Space: Crime Prevention Through Urban Design*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1972, p.203.

2) Davis, Mike. *Beyond Blade Runner: Urban Control: The Ecology of Fear*. Westfield, New Jersey: Open Magazine Pamphlet Series, 1992, p.5.

3) Newman, p.3.

1950s-style urban renewal, which attempted to maintain the centers of cities by remaking them from scratch. Rather, he demonstrated with conviction that some quality of physical territoriality, architectural identity and constructed self-awareness based upon precedence is essential to the vitality of the good city. In this way he furthered work already begun by Jane Jacobs and others, work that might be defined as grounded in a belief in the metropolitan.⁴

From a perspective of caring, listening and a humane application of the social sciences, in the early 1970s, for a moment, progressive design was once again related in the popular and practical mind to social emancipation. This reification of the popular roots of the modern movement in architecture, after an initial burst of enthusiasm, was mostly ignored by that branch of post-modernism interested in surface and syntactic formalism. It leaves one breathless to remember how quickly defensive space, originally a tactic for the further liberation of society's disadvantaged, was "consumed," or turned in on itself and reconstituted as a strategy to "control" space in global enclaves of privilege.

From Newman's ecology of hope to Mike Davis' "ecology of fear"⁵ is a terrifying journey for anyone schooled in the optimism of architectural defensibility. From Newman's and Jacobs' liberation cityscape, which suggested the possibility of bootstrap metropolitanism, it is a mere twenty year interlude to Davis' noir vision of a totalized "scanscape." Even more cynical, Edward Soja's "scamscape"⁶ suggests that not only are the city's actions monitored continuously but truth now becomes totally relative and fleeting, mediated through a filter of corruption, greed and fraud. In a sense, vestiges of the helpful constructs common to individually and democratically constructed space and geography, still tangible in the metropolitan movements of the '60s and '70s, have been leveled by current cultural and urban geographic constructs. These latter constructs unfortunately don't allow for the possibility of physical worldliness and well-being even as they claim for themselves the discovery of the abrasive space of census tracts, global capital, transnational labor and their respective turfs. The ability to see the world, to analyze and interpret its flux from above, as if from the space shuttle,

4) See Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage Books, 1961.

5) See Davis.

6) Edward Soja discussed "scamscape" at the American Institute of Architecture's National Urban Design Committee Conference, "Restructuring Urbanisms: The Next L.A.," Los Angeles, 9-12 February 1994.

fails to extend to the topological complexities of daily life the patterns and uses of place where society in fact gathers, and where it explores the margins of difference and defines commonalities.

Curiously, many of the social transactions that are shaping the tenor of culture occur in the very places most subject to the scan of globalism. Shopping mall culture, gated enclaves (whether suburbs or rock houses), omnipresent surveillance and recording of every aspect of daily life do not seem to limit ever new and evolving cultural expressions and mutations born of unexpected gatherings. The easy reduction of these places to unitary theories or definitions of globalized space overlooks the physical workings of their quotidian elements. The diminishment of their actual complexity to mechanisms of interpretation from a distance leaves the observer as well as the user mostly mute with regard to the limits of these spaces of surveillance as well as any potential spatial politics of resistance that might emerge from within them. The architect, in the absence of a literal language of these places, is faced with a dilemma. Either the architect becomes a bit player, complicit in the further construction of private fantasies, or worse, is relegated to irrelevance by a theory and practice of cities that rejects any remnant of the physical metropolitanism of hope of a previous generation of writers and activists.

Into this dilemma steps beetle-browed Steven Flusty, acutely aware of the Los Angeles School and its practical demonstration of the reintroduction of space into Southern California's globalized urban economy,⁷ cognizant of the spaces of surveillance in this region's urbanized and suburbanized zones of conflict, and knowing of the rhythms of the streets, mini-malls and neighborhoods. By giving all of these spaces the gift of a complex language of place Flusty provides a means for their further social, economic and cultural exploration and evolution. Defining the subtle complexities of the space of surveillance, Flusty makes them absolutely present to even the most inured observer. Most importantly, he makes it more possible to discuss the role of architecture in the design of the good environment, by giving specific form to surveillance. If a language can be developed to expose the dialectics and falsehoods of surveillance, then a means exists to begin to discuss

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7) See Cenzatti, Marco. *Los Angeles and the L.A. School: Postmodernism and Urban Studies*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles Forum for Architecture and Urban Design, 1993.

alternative methods and actions that will work toward the achievement of possible public realms.

Flusty's act of naming different types of paranoid space leads him to a discussion of the manipulation of the built environment toward a greater public good. In this discussion he cannot help but confront the architecture of urbanism and assume the role of the physical designer. Unlike the advocate who calls for change from above, Flusty projects his design ideals from a democratic perspective of collaboration from the bottom up. He reaches toward that linkage of design, public policy and justice that is the hallmark of an activist architecture with roots in the modern movement. Flusty's descent into the hellish surveillance of post-modern space is checked by his insistence that the design activity of the city (and in this I would claim the architect has a function) is in fact the job of reconstituting the morass that has been created — a job the more academically driven critics of the Los Angeles School have trouble articulating, much less believing in.

The notions that the physical experience of life matters, that the design of the environment in all of its minute subtleties and connections is important, that there remains a desire to link public policy to public experience to a public common — these notions all resist the actual realities of a universalizing global culture. Newman, Jacobs and the other Metropolitans celebrated the experience and craft of physical heterogeneity based upon an attack on the homogeneity of an international architecture. In order to realize a new public realm, this moment demands an attack on the universal theorizing that reduces the complexities of daily life to a description of sameness under surveillance. The act of naming the very spaces that homogenize experience allows society to once again anticipate the optimism of a metropolitanism of framed public places. Liberated from the paranoia of sameness, a new public for "valued arrangement"⁸ is realized: heterogeneity demands the physical and desires architecture.

8) Lynch, Kevin. *Good City Form*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1981, p.116.

0) INTRODUCTION

If you don't trust the people, you make them untrustworthy. Lao-tzu

Twenty years ago, I was given a premonition of what Los Angeles would be like in the 1990s. My grandparents came to visit after returning from a cruise to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The stories they told me were almost unbelievable, but for the fact, as I then believed, that grandparents do not lie. The world they conjured up could not have been more alien to a small child growing up in an affluent development on the far western edge of the San Fernando Valley. They spoke of how the houses of the rich Brazilians were surrounded by high walls topped with broken glass. The concierges of apartment buildings carried automatic weapons. The city's outskirts were packed with cardboard and corrugated metal shanties. Children in ragged clothes slept on the sidewalks and ate out of garbage cans in alleys.

My parents still live in the same house in Woodland Hills, purchased twenty-eight years ago. For 18 of those years, the house remained much the same. I would pass through a front yard open to the street, unlock and rotate the doorknob, and walk in.

Over the past decade, however, the simple act of entering the residence has grown dauntingly complex. Next to the door is a small metal plate with an illuminated red L.E.D., warning of the presence of an activated alarm. Upon disengaging the deadbolt and opening the front door, I have thirty seconds in which to disarm the alarm by entering a sequence of digits into a small keypad in the entry hall. Should I forget the number, or should the hall be too dark to work the keypad within the prescribed time, a shrieking siren wakes the neighborhood. Next, I must re-engage the deadbolt and trip a separate switch, located elsewhere in the house, to deactivate pressure pads strewn beneath the floor and contact buttons embedded into the interior doorways. At that point the house's interior becomes safe for passage and the alarm may be safely reactivated as a perimeter defense. At any time, the alarm may be intentionally activated by hitting "panic buttons" sprinkled throughout the house at strategic locations.

The exterior of the house, once illuminated only by a porch light, now basks in the glare of

multiple 150 watt security lights in the back and side yards. This illumination is switched on from dusk to dawn by photoelectric sensors. It is thus no longer possible to turn off the lights manually to accommodate outdoor sitting and stargazing.

My parents' house is one of the neighborhood's less obtrusively secured. Many feature lawn signs cautioning passers-by of armed response. Some include security lights in the front yards controlled by motion detectors set to blind anything that moves on the adjacent sidewalk and street. A few have installed spike-topped perimeter fences with remote-controlled chain-driven gates for automobile access without leaving the vehicle. Patrol cars carrying private security officers pass through the street late at night, watching over only those homes whose owners pay an additional service fee.

This neighborhood transformation did not occur all at once. It was a long, incremental process that only after some ten years has become pervasive. A few residences took action in response to specific incidences; the alarm at my parents' house was installed following a burglary. Most, however, are reactions to a pervasive sense of insecurity. It is an insecurity at odds with the neighborhood watch maps showing this portion of Police Reporting District #1091 largely free of the Xs and Rs marking sites of residential and street burglaries. It is true that my parents' house has not been burglarized since the alarm was installed ten years ago but, then again, it had never been burglarized in the eighteen years prior to the alarm's installation either.

Meanwhile, three blocks away, people in ragged clothes sleep in the bushes by the side of the freeway and eat from garbage cans behind the supermarket.

What is occurring in this little corner of the San Fernando Valley is occurring throughout the City of Los Angeles and, to varying degrees, the rest of the country. The work you hold in your hands is

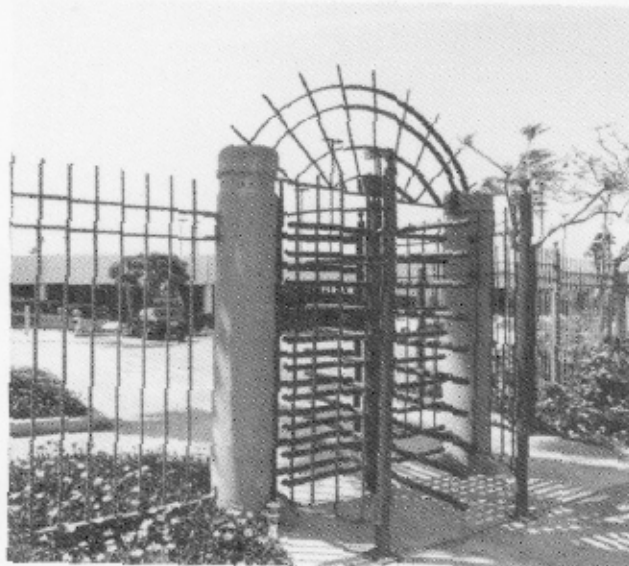
Introduction

If you don't read the page, you won't see it.

intended both as documentation and critique of intensifying reactions to hysterical urban fears. It is my hope that I have provided an introduction to the history, propagation and effects of this paranoia upon the built environment, a common language for its discussion, and a warning about probable future outcomes should we fail as city makers to carefully consider the consequences of our actions now.

In preparing this document, I am indebted to Edward West and Charles Dayton for serving as native guides to gated enclaves of the west side and north valley, Deborah Murphy for helping me navigate through city hall and professional organizations, Michael Plotts for his tactical knowledge and providing the ideologically neutral term interdictory, John Kaliski and Julie Silliman for their interest from the beginning, Mike Davis who, as my teacher some years ago, offered me his shoulders to stand upon, John Chase for his very amenable editing, the people at Refuse and Resist for their ATsAC reconnaissance, the cadres of real estate agents, cops, fellow researchers, civil servants, citizens and family members happy to provide insight and information on, and especially off, the record. And particularly to Rachel Kuzma, my research assistant, for her invaluable aptitude in data collection and analysis.

1) THE EROSION OF SPATIAL JUSTICE



Baldwin Hills Crenshaw Plaza

The evolution and perpetuation of urban cultures has traditionally resulted from communal interaction within accessible common spaces. The streets, parks, bazaars and plazas of any city have either evolved, or been expressly provided, for use by broad segments of the population.¹ These spaces have thus served as urban commons facilitating a wide range of exchanges between individuals and different social groups.

The more inclusive the urban commons, the greater the diversity of interactions. These interactions synthesize new cultures, alternative ways of living and popular forces occasionally strong enough to upset entrenched status quos. Common gathering grounds extend recreational open spaces to those unable to afford their own, and places for the exchange of goods and ideas including those too novel, threatening or unpopular to gain access to privately held mass markets. They are visible staging areas for alternative and oppositional as well as establishmentarian actions. The inclusive urban common has thus provided venues for the creation and expression of a pluralistic society, and vital components for the maintenance of that society against the tyranny of either a majority or a preponderantly powerful minority.

Inclusive urban commons, traditionally provided in the U.S. by the state in the form of public space, have never been an abundant resource in Los Angeles. This is attributable, at least in part, to the fact that the city's majority population until recently consisted of successive waves of displaced Americans. These internal migrants have sought either to replicate their rural lifeways in a "healthier" climate, or to pursue new economic opportunities far from the socially stratified and physically constrained urban settlements nearer the East Coast. As a result, generations of Angelenos perceived little common interest beyond the desire for a home set in the middle of a patch of land large enough to provide a sufficient spatial buffer from like-minded neighbors. This desire was perpetuated through extensive growth abetted by the automobile, and complicated by exclusionary zoning and racism manifested in restrictive covenants confining non-white residents and businesses within homogeneous communities. Thus, it is not surprising that many Angelenos rarely conceive of themselves as a communal public at all, and lack a clear conception of public interest extending beyond their own property

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1) This is not to imply that urban commons have historically served as some sort of ideal, anarchic "free space." Many, at least initially, are subject to restricted programming parameters determined by social elites (e.g. the ban on physical team sports from the inception of New York City's Central Park). Others have at times been segregated by race and/or gender (e.g. the exclusion of women from the Athenian Agora; persons of African descent from all common space but Congo Square in 19th century New Orleans).

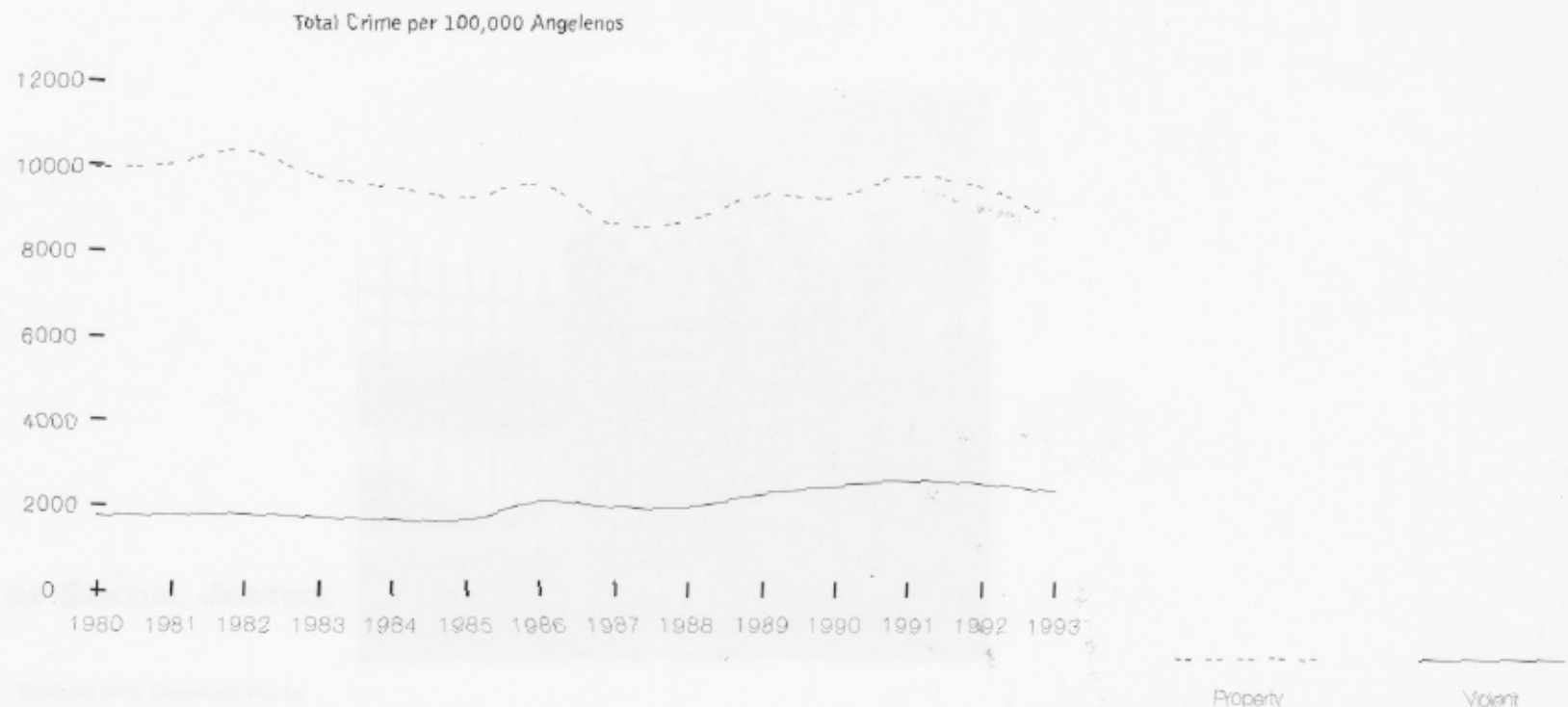
lines or, at best, the immediately surrounding neighborhood.

More recently, public space has come under assault by privatization reacting opportunistically to the demands for recreational space left unmet by the public sector's growing penury. The Proposition 13 property tax revolt, passed as a ballot initiative in 1978, capped property tax rates at one percent of valuation and permitted reassessment only when property is sold or when new buildings are added. These provisions had the effect of reducing combined city and county property tax income by \$2 billion. The resulting shortfall was temporarily ameliorated by the imposition of special development fees, the attraction of retail establishments generating high sales tax, and money drawn from state government surpluses. These ameliorative measures proved to be only a short-term fix, however, due to the saturation of retail markets, consumers' loss of purchasing power, the late 1980s collapse of the local real estate market, and reduced federal assistance contributing to a state budget deficit of \$11 billion in 1992.² Thus, by the early 1990s the City of Los Angeles was left with a budgetary shortfall of \$500 million. As a result, an impetus has evolved to discontinue fiscally burdensome functions of public space and to transfer potentially profitable functions to the private sector. Such public facilities as parks and libraries are cannibalized by shrinking tax revenues and declining income from user fees, first losing programs, then maintenance, and finally closing entirely.

Traditional public spaces are increasingly supplanted by such privately produced (although often publicly subsidized) "privately owned and administered spaces for public aggregation" as shopping malls, corporate plazas and electronic mass media. In these new, post-public spaces, access is predicated upon real or apparent ability to pay. People, goods, actions and ideas narrowly perceived as inimical to the owner's sensibilities and maximized profit are unaccommodated or removed by private security as quickly as they are manifested. In such spaces, exclusivity is an inevitable by-product of the high levels of control necessary to insure that irregularity, unpredictability and inefficiency do not interfere with the orderly flow of commerce. As a further result, those Angelenos who are permitted access are forbidden the role of actor or reveler. Visitors are confined

2) Fulton, W. "California Pulls Out the Stops." *Planning*, October 1992, p. 8.

3) It is ironic that many pseudo-public spaces have attempted to counter their images as pastures for placid purchasing by appropriating the forms of a vital street life. Street-type performers, carefully screened, scheduled and forbidden to pass the hat, are hired to cavort in shopping malls; concerts of mainstream music are offered in corporate plazas during the business lunch period from 12-1 p.m.



to such non-activities (passivities?) as people watching, enjoying the weather where it is not roofed out, watching events staged by management and consuming products sold in the space.³

The stripped-down remnants of public space, streets and sidewalks, are redefined as the last refuge of the desperate, the "delinquent" and the dissident. These interstitial spaces are forced with an increasing militancy into the exclusive role of conduits for the uninterrupted flow of vehicles and pedestrians. As is demonstrated by the violence employed by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) against Halloween revelers on Hollywood Boulevard and striking janitors at Century City in 1990, this tendency is in part a precaution against social action. The streets have a centuries-old pedigree as sites of such social dissidence. Consequently, elites fear "large numbers of people in the streets, especially if the streets were in their own neighborhoods and, even more so, if the people were assembling to express political and economic grievances."⁴

This dismantling of urban commons has accelerated and assumed an increasing belligerency in recent years, under the impetus of a plethora of urban fears. Localized crime increases have occurred in such relatively affluent portions of the city as West L.A. and the western San Fernando Valley, while chronic high crime rates plague the city's poorest neighborhoods. The affordability, miniaturization and increasing potency of offensive weaponry, and such new forms of crime as carjacking and classroom shootings, are held aloft as lurid symbols of social disintegration by sensationalistic local media hungry for ratings and circulation.⁵ The resulting portrait of Los Angeles as a war zone has been uncritically presented and accepted as confirmation of urban dysfunction-being both out of control and uncontrollable. This perceived insecurity has inspired urban paranoia manifested as belligerent territorialistic reactions on the part of more privileged groups against less powerful and more marginalized sectors of society. Publicly accessible spaces are made progressively harsher. They are stripped of amenities and lined with blank walls, bathed in high-intensity security lighting, and studded with observation cameras and those ubiquitous placards warning of "armed response."

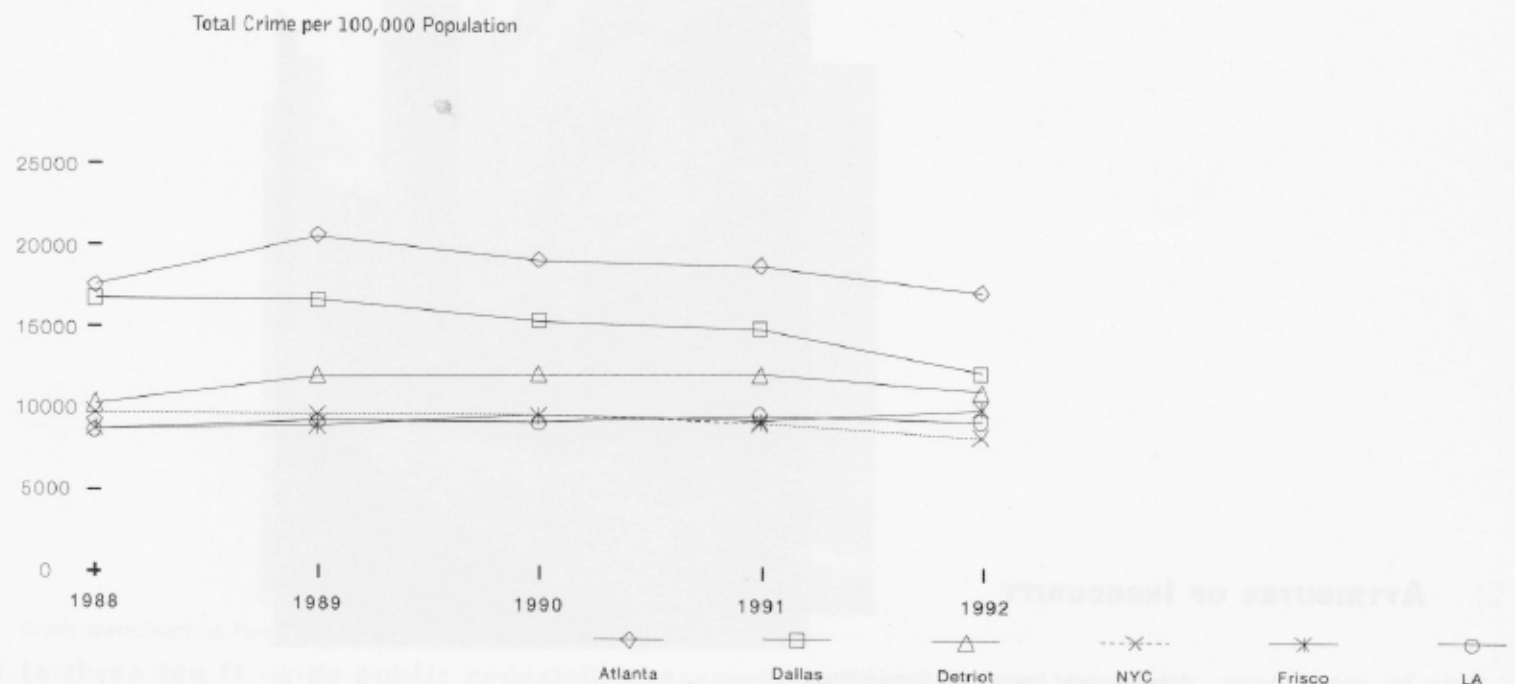
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4) Schiller, H.I. *Culture, Inc.* New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, p. 103.

5) Local broadcast news has resorted to particularly virulent hyperbole in an effort to exploit crime as a means of inflating viewership. "The Fugitives Among Us. They're Walking Time Bombs. Murderers. Rapists. Robbers. They're on the run, on the streets, free to strike at will." Advertisement for Channel 4 KNBC News, *Los Angeles Times T.V. Times*. 28 November-4 December 1993, front cover appendage.

Total Crime per 100,000 Angelenos (numerical values)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Total	9952	10033	10328	9735	9452	9241	9550
Violent	1742	1743	1739	1692	1636	1658	2036
Property	8210	8290	8589	8044	7816	7582	7515
	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
	8634	8676	9272	9225	9730	9457	8729
	1910	1961	2246	2405	2526	2484	2293
	6723	6714	7026	6821	7204	6973	6436



The result is a widening array of security measures directed against ever-broadening definitions of who and what constitutes a potential threat. These measures generate a proliferation of boundaries starkly delineating swelling inventories of exclusionary space from the stripped-down streets. Fundamental constitutional, civil and human rights are thus rendered impracticable for growing numbers of Angelenos selectively deprived of the physical space where those rights might be exercised. Ultimately, this translates into gross spatial injustice; the inequitable distribution of spatial resources generates a decreasing number of spatial haves and a burgeoning mass of spatial have-nots. While these haves are granted ready access to attractive, tightly secured and homogenized spatial resources, the have-nots are characterized by "undesirable" appearance, lack of capacity to buy access, or both, and are thus compelled to move on through an unfriendly and depleted public environment.

Urban paranoia is indicated by the fact that current perceptions of threat are not justified by the long term reality of crime. As of the end of 1993, figures from the National Crime Survey indicate a twenty year low for crimes against U.S. residents and households, and a decline in L.A.'s crime rate for most categories and in total. This finding is in line with trends of the past decade as demonstrated by the F.B.I.'s Uniform Crime Report. Through 1991, total reported crime per 100,000 population had risen following a downturn around 1987-88, but remained below that of the early 1980s. Within the now crested wave of violent crime, aggravated assault had been up, as may be expected in a city of rapidly increasing density, but murder continued to fluctuate within a stable range and rape had dropped consistently. Further, L.A.'s crime rate per 100,000 population throughout the past decade has been among the lowest in comparison with other major American cities.

Total Crime per 100,000 Population (numerical values)

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
Atlanta	17548	20690	19236	18953	17347
Dallas	16742	16707	15520	15066	12430
Detroit	10311	12090	12192	12264	11229
NYC	9760	9667	9699	9236	8491
Frisco	8757	9021	9662	9384	10195
LA	8676	9272	9226	9730	9457



2) ATTRIBUTES OF INSECURITY

Stealthy space: Poet's Walk, Citicorp Plaza

Los Angeles' emergent paranoid urban environment is engendered by spaces designed to intercept and repel or filter would-be users: INTERDICTIONARY SPACE.

interdict: steady bombardment of enemy positions, routes or supplies for the purpose of delaying and disorganizing the enemy's progress; to cut off authoritatively from certain functions and privileges.⁶

Interdictory space is comprised of a variety of exclusionary design strategies, flavoring it with one or more of these defensive characteristics: stealthy, slippery, crusty, prickly and jittery.

STEALTHY space is space that cannot be found, camouflaged or, more commonly, obscured by such view impediments as intervening objects or grade changes. The Poets' Walk garden of Citicorp Plaza at Seventh and Figueroa Streets is concealed behind an office tower and a department store entrance kiosk. There is no signage or other design feature to indicate the garden's street level entrance. Although the Scope of Development Agreement for Citicorp Plaza specifies a 115,000 sq. ft. public plaza including significant pedestrian entrances, and developer's brochures touting the plaza's art installations refer to the site as "public spaces,"⁷ the project includes no public easements and discourages access by hiding behind a "corporate 'front door' [that] is an empty, undistinguished space."⁸

SLIPPERY space is space that cannot be reached, due to contorted, protracted or missing paths of approach. Such a strategy is costly, as it may require obfuscating numerous routes of access extending well beyond any single site. Justifying this expense, slippery space provides public relations benefits in that it may be blamed on pre-existent topographical constraints as a means of defraying criticism. The waterfall-laden Watercourt central performance plaza of California Plaza at 2nd-4th Streets and Grand Avenue, looming over Olive Street with no readily apparent means of access from below, exemplifies slippery space. Despite, or perhaps because of, the 350 ft.-wide plaza bridge serving as a potential link from the downscale Latino shopping

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6) Stein, J. *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language*. New York: Random House, 1967.

7) *Explore*. Poet's Walk promotional brochure, The Prudential Property Company.

8) Citywide Citizen's Advisory Committee Open Space Task Force. "Open Space Downtown: A Citizen Task Force Case Study Report on Citicorp Plaza." CRA/LA p.7.



Slippery space: California Plaza Watercourt



Crusty space: Hancock Park

district to the east to three ten ft.-wide public pedestrian easements cutting across the plaza, managers of the project have consistently opposed efforts to render the plaza accessible to all but lessees. The third and final phase of the project remains in limbo due to the real estate market collapse, but plans call for only a narrow sequence of five escalators to link the plaza to the streets below.

CRUSTY space is space that cannot be accessed, due to obstructions such as walls, gates and check points. The L.A. County Museum's grounds and sculpture garden at Hancock Park were once open to one another and the surrounding greenswards. Since the museum's expansion in 1986-88, however, they have been encircled by a series of high wrought iron and chain link fences, cutting the park's lawn into fragments. On the corner of Hollywood Boulevard and Western Avenue in 1991, Tipus, poplars, bougainvillea and flax were planted on the barren site of a future subway station. In order to preclude the possibility of "major security problems,"⁹ this Transit Garden was surrounded by a 500 ft.-long fence topped with iron sculptures. No public entrance was provided, leaving the sole open greenspace in the area accessible only to viewing from behind bars.

PRICKLY space is space that cannot be comfortably occupied. It is defended by such details as wall-mounted sprinkler heads activated to clear loiterers, or ledges sloped to inhibit sitting. Prickliness is in the details, and most any site can be made prickly through the removal of the right amenities or the addition of the wrong ones. The 380 sq. ft. park wedged into a southwest facing pocket between the sidewalk and the Ronald Reagan State Office Building at 3rd and Spring Streets induces numerous discomforts to resist occupation. A grid of nine sparse trees provides inadequate shade against midday and afternoon sun reflecting off the light granite floor and walls. Between the trees, two parallel rows of backless benches with seating heights at an unnatural twenty four in. are set seven ft. apart to preclude either interaction across them or their use as footstools.

JITTERY space is space that cannot be utilized unobserved, due to active monitoring by roving

9) Former City Councilperson Michael Woo in "Garden Rises from a Patch of Squallor," by G.B. Smith, *Los Angeles Times*, 26 August 1991.



Prickly space: Ronald Reagan S.O.B. Pocket Park



Jittery space: Biddy Mason Park, Broadway Spring Center

patrols and/or remote technologies feeding to security stations. Jitteriness is the most long-term labor intensive strategy. It has been greatly facilitated by the affordability of new electronic surveillance technologies and the growth in low wage, benefit-free guard work.¹⁰ The Biddy Mason pocket park, completed in 1992-93 between the restored 1893 Bradbury Building and the Broadway Spring Center, presents a stark example of jittery space. The park is an open-air, block-length internal courtyard "offering direct secured passage"¹¹ to an intersecting through-block connection emanating from the gallery of the 1,250 parking stall Broadway-Spring Center. The ground floor retail gallery of the Center is occupied by a glassed-in security office connected to seventeen video cameras monitoring the park's sitting and eating areas, parking structure stairway landings, even public sidewalks abutting the park entrances. An additional desk station adjacent to the security office houses a guard charged with controlling pedestrian access to the toilets and parking spaces.

10) Whereas public law enforcement spends approximately \$30 billion per year with a workforce of 600,000, private security is a \$52 billion annual industry employing 1.5 million workers, outspending public law enforcement by 73%. Study by the National Institute of Justice, 1992.

11) Bradbury 1893. Promotional brochure, The Yellin Company.

3) **PARANOID TYPOLOGIES**



Blockhome: Hopper House

Combinations of these various flavors of interdictory space are gradually being incorporated into every facet of the urban environment, generating distinctly unfriendly mutant typologies.

The BLOCKHOME is a residence with a crusty core of thick blank walls, often embedded in an extended jittery perimeter of alarms, video observation cameras and motion-sensitive security lighting.

Blockhomes have long been prominent fixtures in high-crime, often low-income neighborhoods throughout the city. In these neighborhoods, homes gradually accrete barred windows and sturdy, well-maintained fences with locked gates to provide relative safety against trespassers and the intrusion of street violence.¹² At the opposite extreme, the blockhome has a long-standing presence in such opulent urban neighborhoods as Beverly Hills, where large mansions containing great wealth are secured against outsiders by means of high walls and impenetrable hedges.

More recently, blockhomes have been adopted in gentrifying areas, where new wealthier residents feel threatened by the established poorer community. Venice is dotted with blockhomes forced into compact bunker and tower forms by the high cost of beach-adjacent property. Isozaki's blank-sided beach studio on Speedway is set in a forecourt surrounded by plaster and frosted glass walls. Laddie Dill's studio on Innes Place has featureless concrete facades and a courtyard held behind towering blackened steel gates. Many of these buildings clothe themselves in the trappings of the pre-existent community, as with a miniature white picket fence set before the windowless corrugated metal front of Brian Murphy's Hopper House near the corner of Indiana and Electric Avenues, or the exterior of the Dillon House on 5th Avenue, fitted with handleless steel doors in the unrehabilitated shell of an existing dilapidated house, and complete with an address number spray-painted across the front in emulation of graffiti.

Blockhomes have also appeared in areas perceived to be subject to creeping blight, like

12) Blazek, P. V. *The Childhood Landscape*. Unpublished thesis, U.S.C. School of Architecture, 1993.

southern Hollywood where the yards of sprawling two- and three-story Spanish Revival style homes from the 1920s and 30s are being retrofitted with spike-topped perimeter walls.

This trend, however, is not confined to locations in flux, being visible in stable, affluent areas as well. On Royal Oak Road, in the northern foothills of the Sepulveda Pass, homes sprout such features as crenelated walls and fences made of unscalable vertical piping. Some homes include exterior video cameras to communicate the identities of visitors prior to admission through remote-controlled driveway gates. Others employ prickly plantings like bougainvillea and firethorn to establish security-oriented gardens beneath windows and surrounding the property. In areas such as this, blockhomes are embedded in a jittery ground of privately patrolled streets (the entire Royal Oak neighborhood has contracted with Westec for security services) rendered slippery with parking restrictions and/or the absence of sidewalks.¹³

An experienced thief is capable of entering and leaving alarmed properties in less than the fifteen minute maximum permitted by Underwriters Laboratories for dispatch and arrival of security patrols.¹⁴ Nonetheless, studies suggest that such interdictory measures as home alarms do discourage more casual break-ins, reducing the likelihood of a burglary by fifteen times. Anecdotal evidence suggests that this reduction is achieved by displacing break-in attempts to properties less well defended. Home security providers cater to this conventional wisdom with advertising copy implying "they'll take one look, and move on to easier pickings."¹⁵ The apparent success of such sales pitches indicates that many homeowners are perfectly willing to protect themselves to the possible detriment of their neighbors.

blockhouse: a small timber fort used as a refuge from attack throughout North America during the westward expansion over Native American land. Such structures were commonly built by settler communities for use by individual families in the event armed disputes arose between settlers and their Native American neighbors. The blockhouse was generally two stories tall. The lower floor had sheer walls with tiny loopholes facilitating gunfire. The upper floor overhung the first, thus creating a projecting ledge from which assailants with

13) This use of proprietary security in the role of police surrogates or auxiliaries in residential spaces prefigures wider application, as is demonstrated by the City of Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency's reinforcement of the LAPD with contracted private patrol services along a 1.5 mile length of Hollywood Boulevard in the Hollywood Redevelopment Area.

14) Private security companies are unwilling to release response time figures, but industry members claim fifteen minutes as average, and response times of as long as thirty minutes are not unknown.

15) Television advertisement for roll-down steel shutters.



Luxury laager, Calabasas

torches could be prevented from getting close enough to ignite the walls.¹⁶

The LUXURY LAAGER is a relatively affluent residential community sealed behind a crusty perimeter, fenced off or built within walls sometimes reinforced by a stealthy periphery of densely landscaped berms.

According to city law, there are two distinct types of street gating defined according to the process of closure: gating of existing public streets by revocable permit and gating of formerly public streets subsequent to vacation. At present, 147 requests for street closures are awaiting implementation, pending city council approval of some sort of closure policy. Notwithstanding these requests, the real growth in luxury laagers has been new blank slate developments including privately constructed streets. Such developments obviate the need for gating approvals.

Early luxury laagers from the 1950s-60s were sold more on the basis of snob appeal than survivalism. Although walled off from surrounding major boulevards and lacking internal sidewalks, gates were either largely for show, as at Bel Air in the Santa Monica Mountains, or not provided at all, as at Devonshire Highlands in the northern San Fernando Valley. Real estate advertising copy of the past decade, however, suggests a preoccupation with creating hard interdiction. Advertisements tout such features with the utilitarian brevity of "Gated with 24 hour Drive-by Security"¹⁷ or florid prose like "As you drive through the wrought iron gates, past the uniformed guard, and over the rushing stream, you will be transfixed by [the development's] natural beauty and inherent quality of design."¹⁸

Sealed luxury laagers with checkpoint entries and private internal security patrols may now be found throughout the L.A. area and beyond. This proliferation has led to an explosion of typological permutations that provide owned and rented residential units in a range of premium prices. Park La Brea in the Wilshire

16) Hart, H. M. *Pioneer Forts of the West*. Seattle: Superior Publishing, 1967.

17) Promotional sheet for Mountaingate in Brentwood.

18) *Life is an Art Form*. Promotional brochure for Summit at Warner Center.

District is a complex of rental apartments built through the 1950s as a series of high-density urban tower blocks, surrounded by two-story garden court apartments. In 1990, the complex was retrofitted with gatehouses manned by forage-capped guards. High metal fencing stretches between the garden courts to block access to internal streets.¹⁹

The medium-density suburban townhouses of Summit in Canoga Park, completed in 1990, are set atop a tall berm landscaped so heavily as to obscure the existence of residences behind. Access is through a gate-guarded forecourt. The low-density exurban mansions at Calabasas Park are similarly reached by passage through sentry stations augmented by video cameras to record visitors' license plates. Behind the gates lay single-family houses indistinguishable from homes immediately outside the walls.

The residential development of Desert Island in the region's far eastern exurb of Palm Desert is a novel moated community. It is surrounded by "a deep 25 acre lake [that] provides total security for the owners of the spacious high-rise condominium homes."²⁰

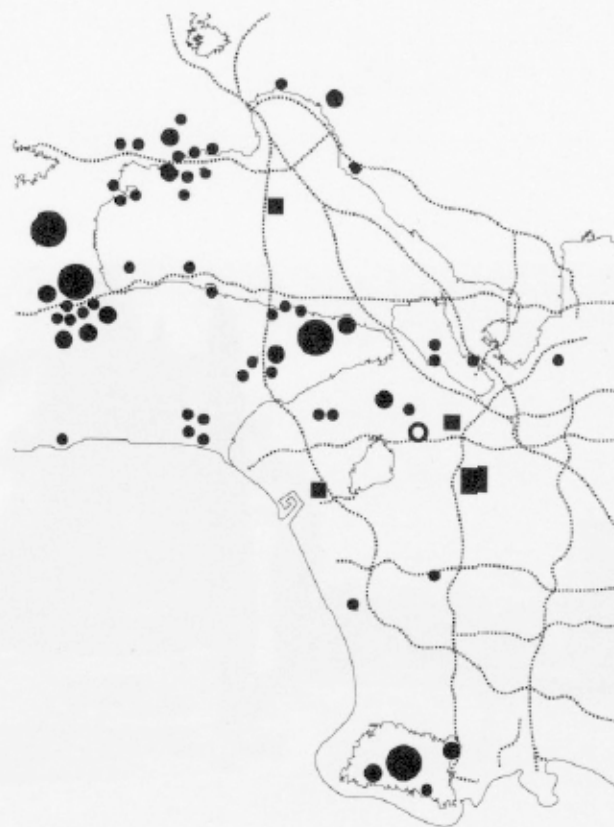
Contrary to the commonly held assumption that luxury laagers deter crime by displacing it elsewhere, evidence suggests that luxury laagers actually have little effect on crime either inside or outside the walls. Recent crime incident maps and quarterly crime reports for the period 1988-1993 were examined in six police reporting districts. The districts studied were composed largely or entirely of gated developments and adjacent reporting districts of similar, ungated properties. The study indicates that fluctuations of rates for all categories of crime within luxury laagers are similar to those outside.

This holds true even in the case of tightly secured laagers comprised of single family homes in the Porter Ranch area of the far northern San Fernando Valley, where crime rates rose with the construction of new laagers to mirror crime rates throughout the surrounding ungated area.²¹ In some cases gating of

19) Some residents of these garden apartments have expressed dissatisfaction with paying monthly surcharges for maintenance of a security perimeter comprised in part of their own rental units.

20) Advertisement in *Palm Springs Life*. Rear inside cover, July 1993.

21) For example, rising crime incidents for LAPD Reporting District #1701 concurrent with construction and inhabitation of luxury laagers from 1989-1993, compared with crime incident fluctuations for adjacent reporting districts of comparable population density and ungated building stock. It should be noted that crime rates are negligible throughout such affluent suburban areas as Porter Ranch, both within and outside luxury laagers.



L.A. Area Interdictory Residential Complexes

 Pocket Ghetto
  Luxury Laager
  Freeway
  Mountains

existing developments has occurred, permitting comparison of crime rates prior to and following gating. Initial drops in crime rates as a result of gating, relative to adjacent ungated areas, either fail to occur or return to pre-gating levels or slightly higher within one to three quarters after gating, suggesting criminal adaptation to the newly "controlled" environment. Further, high-density urban laagers sometimes show significant rises in residential burglaries, residential robberies and street robberies.²²

Explanations of these findings are complex, varied, and based largely on the anecdotes and street sense of law enforcement specialists and the perpetrators themselves. First, security in any luxury laager is invariably compromised. Luxury laagers must permit the constant passage of domestic servants, maintenance workers and visitors. Any of these individuals may engage in criminal activity or provide access to criminals, either intentionally or inadvertently. Access may also be obtained through automated gates in the process of closing, and with codes, remote controls or gate check passes disseminated by residents or stolen from residential units, rental offices or vehicles. And, of course, perimeter walls may be scaled. Finally, departures are rarely monitored as closely as arrivals, facilitating vehicular escape even past manned gatehouses. While gating may discourage casual amateur property crime, luxury laagers are perceived as indicative of greater wealth and thus may attract a more professional class of criminals undeterred by such permeable defenses. Further, the laager's interdictory spaces obstruct the passage of emergency vehicles as well as unauthorized visitors. The resultant absence of police patrol visibility inside the laager provides criminals a more relaxed environment in which to work. Finally, in addition to criminal intruders, luxury laagers generate their own internal crime much as any other community. In 1991, crimes committed in one cluster of laagers just outside Las Vegas included five robberies, three rapes, three murders and a series of alleged child molestations attributed to residents.²³

laager: an autonomous encampment configured to withstand siege. Beginning in 1836, 12-14,000 disgruntled Boer farmers and ranchers undertook the Great Trek in reaction against British colonial administration of South Africa's Cape Colony and in search of fresh pasture land. These Voortrekkers penetrated into the interior in trains of ox-drawn covered wagons. These wagon trains, when circled and

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22) Exemplified by crime incident fluctuations and categorical increases for LAPD Reporting Districts #714-715, prior to and following gating in 1990, compared with crime incident fluctuations for adjacent ungated reporting districts of comparable population density and building stock.

23) Guterson, D. "Home, Safe Home." *Utne Reader*. March/April 1993, pp.62-67.

lashed together either against threat of attack from the native Bantu-speaking population or as a base of cavalry operations for the subjugation of same, were called laagers. This configuration was later echoed in the layout of settlers' homesteads. (Afrikaans variation of German lager, "camp," originating with fortified camps of circled wagons employed defensively by the Goths against the Roman legions.)²⁴

The POCKET GHETTO is a public housing project or low-income area retrofitted with street barricades and patrolled by police garrisoned on-site. Residents themselves are considered an "artificial community"²⁵ constituted according to perceived criminal potential by virtue of residing in areas with high numbers of reported crime incidences. Thus, the configuration of interdictory spaces in the pocket ghetto differs from that of the luxury laager in that the former is intended as much to interdict actions by the poor and allegedly dangerous residents within as those of potential intruders from without. While both types are residential communities with crusty perimeters, the interior of the pocket ghetto is made extremely jittery.

One such micro-township, a mile-square area of Newton Division centering on Jefferson High called Operation Cul De Sac, has been put forward by the LAPD as "an ideal test bed" "to create a model for Citywide application."²⁶ Beginning in 1990, the thirty-one-block area was saturated with police officers and entirely blocked off by manned sawhorse barricades. By 1992, the sawhorse barricade perimeter had been replaced by steel fences and concrete planters blocking eight street entrances into the original Cul De Sac area and an additional nine street entrances extending three-quarters of a mile to the west. Simultaneously, however, the costs of maintaining police omnipresence proved unsustainable, necessitating manpower cutbacks.

A less labor-intensive strategy has been employed in Pico-Union, known as La Centroamericana to its residents. A roughly twenty-block area has been sealed off with unmanned lines of concrete "K Rail" freeway dividers. Residents allege that undocumented Central American immigrants have, at times, been herded behind the Pico-Union barricades as a means of containment preparatory to deportation.

24) Hogg, Ian. *The History of Forts and Castles*. New York: Crescent Publishing, 1985, p.140.

25) Operation Cul De Sac Project Summary, Los Angeles Police Dept. and Los Angeles City Council Notes 90-1165, 90-1267.

26) Project Summary, *ibid.*

Much like luxury laagers, pocket ghettos appear to have little clearly attributable effect on crime. An examination of portions of the Operation Cul De Sac area shows declines of approximately 15% in some forms of crime during the first year of barricading. Similar declines, however, occurred in most nearby, unbarricaded reporting districts. Further, crime rates within the Cul De Sac area remained constant, with fluctuations comparable to those of crime rates in adjacent areas, following barricade and staffing reductions. Not surprisingly, total street closure was most effective in eliminating drive-by shootings.

While some police officers credit barricades with at least inconveniencing crime, others claim they merely distribute criminal incidences more widely throughout the area. Observers note that, in a further similarity to luxury laagers, any initial drops in robbery, narcotics trafficking and other street crimes that do occur within newly created pocket ghettos eventually disappear. This is due in part to the fact that barricaded streets are readily negotiated on foot but impassable to officers in patrol vehicles. Barricades thus create a comfort zone which perpetrators learn to exploit as a safe space of operation and route of escape.

Equally significant are the effects of pocket ghettos upon community. Barricaded edges of Operation Cul De Sac and Pico-Union largely correspond to the boundaries of specific high-crime police reporting districts. These districts are derived from census tracts, as a means of rendering census data readily applicable for law enforcement purposes.²⁷ Census tract boundaries reflect nothing more than a unit of roughly 4,000 demographically homogeneous persons. Thus, residents of pocket ghettos are forcibly contained within physical boundaries determined not by any real neighborhood social geography, but by abstract statistical expediency. In instances, this is exacerbated by police-run checkpoints permitting entrance only to residents with identification, although manpower shortages have left these checkpoints unstaffed. As a result, actual communities are dismembered and isolated. Residents complain of severed social connections and disintegrating neighborhoods. This community disintegration, coupled with the apparent lack of long-term efficacy against crime, has led residents of one pocket ghetto in the San Fernando Valley's North Hills to call for removal of the

27) In the Cul De Sac area, this data has been augmented with information gathered by police in a "door-to-door community survey."

barricades.²⁸

ghetto: originally sections of European cities where Jews settled, beginning with the Diaspora following the Roman conquest of Palestine. At first a product of voluntary segregation to retain ritual purity, Jews were later forced into ghettos as an element of increased persecution during the Crusades of the 12th century, resulting in overcrowded, walled-in ghettos locked behind gates after dark. The Nazis revived the practice in 1939. Many Nazi-era ghettos were sealed behind high walls, sometimes surmounted by bridges to permit Jews to pass from one ghetto sector to another without setting foot on "Aryan" ground. The most famous of these, the 840-acre Warsaw Ghetto, was created in October, 1940 and forcibly populated with approximately 500,000 residents. They were held behind barbed wire, later replaced with a wall ten ft. tall and eleven miles long. Two years later, diminished food rations and the deportation or extermination of up to 3-4,000 people a day had reduced the population to 40,000. In the post-First World War United States, the term ghetto has referred to urban areas densely populated by minority groups, especially African-Americans, generally as a product of financial or social restrictions. (Possibly Italian, from *borghetto*, diminutive of *borgo*, settlement outside city walls, or *getto*, an iron foundry on a Venetian islet where the city's Jewish population was confined by canals with bridges raised and guarded nightly from 1516-1797, or Hebrew *get*, indicating divorce or separation.)²⁹

Commercial facilities have undergone similar transformations. Spaces of consumption cannot seal themselves off completely, being dependent upon customer access for sustenance. Even so, they have imposed tight controls over use to become STRONGPOINTS OF SALE resembling colonial trading stations. Similarities to colonialist institutions are particularly strong for large corporate retail outlets like supermarkets, which remain profitable by extracting as much as four dollars from neighborhoods for every one dollar returned as local employees' salaries.³⁰

Even the smallest strip mall has become a tightly nested series of interdictory spaces. Crusty perimeters are established by fencing off parking lots to limit points of access. The strip mall's parking lot itself has become jittery and prickly. Armed security guards are present at growing numbers of malls. Pay

28) Williams, T. "Neighborhood Gives Up on Barricades." *Los Angeles Times*, 27 June 1993.

29) *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. 1978.

30) This 1:4 ratio may be conservative, as it assumes 100% of payroll remains in the community. Figures courtesy of the University of California at Los Angeles Department of Afro-American Studies.



Strongpoint of sale: Baldwin Hills Crenshaw Plaza

phones have been removed to discourage vagrants, and some of Southland Corporation's 7-Eleven convenience stores have installed exterior speakers blaring Muzak to drive away adolescent loiterers.³¹ Many secured strip malls include smaller freestanding commercial spaces such as fast food outlets, surrounded by their own fenced-off outdoor eating areas and equipped with observation cameras at pay points both at indoor counters and outdoor drive-through windows. Loading docks large enough to enclose delivery vehicles are contained within high concrete walls accessed through steel doors. In addition to these strategies, the interior promenades of some larger malls are remotely monitored by both private security and police in on-site substations replete with holding cells.

Many structures damaged in the 1992 insurrection have been rebuilt with interdictory features. In addition to the usual fences and security stations, these strongpoints of sale are designed to thwart looting and arson. Wood frame structures, flammable and easily breached, have been replaced by single or double-thick walls of concrete masonry. Parapets have been extended to deflect fire bombs thrown from street level. Display windows have been either omitted or set into concrete bulwarks two to five feet above sidewalk level to prevent automobiles ramming through to the interior. Locking glazed entries and steel lattice sliding burglar doors have been replaced with solid metal plate roll-down gates, many pre-graffitied to discourage taggers.³²

Commercial spaces targeted toward predominantly African- and Latin American clientele in middle- to lower-income "inner city" neighborhoods have been most frequently converted to strongpoints of sale. This has occurred in large part because insurance companies require such features as a precondition to providing merchants in these neighborhoods with coverage. Baldwin Hills Crenshaw Plaza, reopened at Crenshaw and Martin Luther King Boulevards in 1988, employs such control strategies as fenced parking lots, total video coverage, and contained loading docks. It even goes so far as to include a storefront police station serving as a base for 200 police officers, and another bay immediately across the promenade that houses a

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31) Heller, M. "Stores Fight Crime with Guns and Alarms." *Los Angeles Times*, 24 August 1993.

32) Lopez, R. J. "Anxiety is Building." *Los Angeles Times*, 20 June 1993.



municipal courthouse.

Tightened security in shopping environments has also become the norm in more affluent suburban malls, where the role of shopping as community social focus has provided a site for police contact with the general public. Police substations in mall administration offices have become standard fixtures, and often serve as the public hub for community policing and neighborhood watch operations.

Strongpoints of sale both deter and apprehend criminals in their activities against retail establishments and shoppers on the premises. Crime incident maps, however, suggest they have been less successful in preventing high rates of thefts from vehicles occurring across the expanses of large parking lots.³³ They have also been less effective in controlling patron robbery. Customers are generally identified as people with money and thus targeted for victimization while in commercial environments, but not robbed until after they have left the premises for less peopled locations. Further, while strongpoints of sale are intended to provide a sense of safety for the reassurance of customers, the secondary effects of interdictory spaces in retail environments may have the opposite effect. Conservative cost estimates of store security currently run to sixteen cents for every dollar in sales.³⁴ It may be assumed that prices rise and sales drop as these costs are passed on to customers. Additionally, while visible security engenders a sense of comfort up to a point, there may exist a level at which visibly pervasive security discourages patronage by communicating a sense of distrust while creating the impression of shopping in a war zone.

strongpoint: a heavily fortified, tactically advantageous area in a defensive position. **trading station:** fortified colonialist outpost selling glass beads, tools, textiles and other articles to native populations in exchange for valuable resources brought from the interior. These resources were then handed on for export to the home country. In time, native populations were replaced or assimilated by colonists who utilized the stations for their provisioning. Diversity of merchandise selection increased and the stations became nexuses of settlement. Cape Town, known in the seventeenth century as "the tavern of the Indian Ocean" and the last provisioning opportunity en route from

33) It may, of course, be argued that incidences of theft from vehicles would be even higher in the absence of interdictory spaces.

34) Heller, M.



World citadel boundary

the Netherlands to Java, was one of many trading stations that evolved into major port cities.³⁵

High-rise offices are outfitted as self-contained WORLD CITADELS, a crusty core set within a jittery field held behind stealthy and/or slippery perimeters. The slippery perimeters are further reinforced by the tendency of world citadels to cluster together as a means of facilitating face-to-face contact between business interests. These clusters are commonly sited in locations that are either difficult to casually reach or devoid of affordable parking and pedestrian amenities. World citadels serve as the headquarters of large business concerns, most notably the supranational corporations engendering CITISTĀT (see chap. 5).

Early forms of the world citadel were inspired by New York's 1956 Seagram Building, with its glass-walled high-rise set back from adjacent properties within an empty plaza. Such open spaces were encouraged by New York City's zoning code of 1961, which provided density bonuses for the provision of pedestrian amenities. As a result, freestanding towers in empty plazas became the norm until 1975. In that year, guidelines and requirements for plaza design were implemented in response to studies indicating that wide featureless stone plinths were of greater value to developers for associated density benefits than to users for implicit recreational utility.³⁶ These developments in both design and legislation were reflected in Los Angeles and other major American cities.

In such early world citadels from the 1970s as Arco Plaza or the original Union Bank Building, the plaza is pure prickly space, a stone-faced expanse of hardscape exposed to thermal extremes. Winds are magnified as they flow around adjacent towers, which also block sunlight entirely or magnify its heat and glare with reflective glass surfaces. Seating is either nonexistent or improvised from ledges, railings and steps. Amenities consist primarily of gigantic steel sculptures or fountains commonly referred to as plop art or turds-in-the-plaza.

35) Marshall, B. *Real World*. London: Marshall Editions, 1991, p.150.

36) Whyte, W. H. *City*. New York: Doubleday, 1988, pp.229-230.

More recent developments reflect both a shared consciousness among developers and legislators of the value of user-friendly urban designs, and a differing conception of to whom those benefits should accrue. With the fragmentation of large vertically integrated firms, world citadels are now more likely to be administered by management companies competing with one another to attract multiple corporate tenants. Attractive site amenities are seen as integral to this competition by providing spaces where "office workers will find outdoor areas for noontime relaxation."³⁷ Municipal agencies, meanwhile, seek both to encourage tax-generating development and to create parklike additions to the city's open space inventories without directly incurring additional fiscal burden. Thus attempts are made to extract greater site amenity from private developers in exchange for subsidies provided through below-market-rate land sales or leases, tax abatements, and density bonuses. In negotiations with developers, municipal agencies have been successful in linking public subsidies to the provision of higher quality urban design producing more habitable open spaces. This has occurred in no small part because such spaces enhance the value of the project to the developers. Municipal agencies have not, however, been particularly successful in negotiating the right of public access to these spaces. This failure may be attributed to the fact that right of free passage provides no additional benefit for the developer and entails the loss of private control over the space's users.³⁸ Thus, public subsidies have often been expended to create plazas accessible only at the discretion of private owners, as is illustrated by the text embossed into the small brass plaques at the property lines of L.A.'s world citadels: "private property. right to pass by permission, and subject to control, of owners. sec 1008 CIVIL CODE."

Recent world citadels are lushly planted and ornamented with water features. They include on-site malls uniformly equipped with eateries, express mail posts, dry cleaners and gift shops to relieve office workers of the need to leave the premises. Newer world citadels in Los Angeles were constructed with the financial assistance of public agencies, on the assumption that the plazas would serve as a surrogate for public open space. So as not to blatantly contradict this presumption, world citadel developers tend to rely upon strategies more prone to discourage access than prevent it.

37) *California Plaza*. Promotional brochure, Metropolitan Structures.

38) For downtown Los Angeles, it may be argued that municipal authorities, rather than having lost some battle for plaza accessibility, knowingly collaborated with developers in the creation of exclusionary open spaces. Downtown plazas were developed under the auspices of redevelopment programs, by which "housing and services for huge numbers of residents no longer needed in the world economy were destroyed as ... space was allocated to profit maximizing development that provided the physical conditions to meet the needs of a new international economy." Deutsche, R. "Art and Public Space: Questions of Democracy," *Social Text* 33, 1992, pp.34-53.



The as yet incomplete plaza at California Plaza, on the southeast edge of Bunker Hill, is an exemplary labyrinth of interdictory spaces. On the west side, the plaza is separated from the sidewalk by a property line expressed as a bronzed metal strip bolted to the sidewalk. Half the plaza sinks well below street level and is concealed behind a solid screen of box topiary. The other half is tucked behind a high-rise. From the east, the plaza abuts the Watercourt central performance plaza (see chap. 2) two stories above the street, casting the sidewalks below into deep shadow. Here the plaza must be reached by a remote-monitored elevator, a narrow stairway sandwiched between a hotel porte-cochere and a service vehicle entrance, or an escalator installed at the insistence of the city's redevelopment authority. The south facade at street level is a gigantic ventilator grate giving way to a subterranean vehicular entrance.

The plaza interior is studded with video cameras monitored by private security stationed within the adjacent tower's stone-sheathed elevator lobby. Private security is responsible both for ensuring that visibly inappropriate visitors do not access the elevators and for ejecting undesirables or an overabundance of less desirables from the plaza.³⁹

Security provisions of world citadels are directed at maintaining the preferred user mix by preventing non-professionals and the obviously less affluent from becoming so prevalent on site as to intimidate tenant office workers and executives. Such user mix is usually maintained, even where world citadels are sited in close proximity to impoverished populations in areas devoid of landscaping and usable open space.

citadel: a walled fortress intended to surround and protect a ruler's residences, usually built high on a hill overlooking a city. Throughout history, citadels have kept the inhabitants of surrounding towns in subjugation and/or formed a final point of defense during a siege. Well-known examples include the ancient Greeks' Acropolis and Acrocorinth and the Carcassonne of the Middle Ages. The essential citadel is the Motte and Bailey castle of the 13th century Norman subjugation of Wales, consisting of an open forecourt surrounded by a palisade, behind which stood the tower of the keep. A garrison of soldiers was stationed in the keep's ground floor and charged with watching

39) Private security has a long tradition of providing property protection for businesspeople. "Special" police, common in most cities of the 19th century, were privately hired and commanded guards sworn in by, and accorded the same powers as, municipal police. In Pennsylvania from 1865 to 1930, private corporations were permitted to mobilize proprietary police forces, considered more reliable in suppressing the railroad, coal and iron industries' labor movements than the more popularly controlled municipal police forces and state militias. Walker, S. *A Critical History of Police Reform*. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1977, p.29.

over the grounds and preventing entrance into the keep. On-site facilities might include larders, mills, bakeries, and smithies to permit normal life while under siege.⁴⁰ (Middle French, derived from Old Italian *cittadell(a)*, "little city.")

40) Hogg, I., pp.39-43.



Calabasas Park, city of laagers

4) TOWARD A PIECEMEAL POLICE STATE

Expanding private encroachment into the public realm is catering to, and exacerbating, paranoid demands by gradually decomposing communities into fortified agglomerations of proprietary spaces. In the process, sections of the city have become a patchwork of contiguous interdictory spaces, subjecting citizens' mobility and permissible range of behavior to ever more restrictive oversight and control. The cumulative spatial and aesthetic effects of paranoid privatization are already being manifested across broad landscapes, turning the streets into prickly space hemmed in by crusty and slippery edges.

In the early 1980s, Calabasas Park in the far western San Fernando Valley was a handful of houses and a golf course nestled into nine square miles of chaparral-covered hills. Throughout the following decade, however, the chaparral was replaced with over 800 homes contained within four luxury laagers. The public roads of Calabasas Park are now contained within a solid lining of high walls punctuated only by occasional guardhouses and remotely activated gates. As none of these luxury laagers faces the public streets, little effort has been made to landscape the public rights-of-way, leaving the spaces between the laagers unshaded, hot and forbiddingly barren. Similar conditions prevail in Mulholland Pass and the newly sprawled northern fringe of the San Fernando Valley.

Bunker Hill was a low-income residential neighborhood until the early 1960s, when it was razed for redevelopment. The streets were disconnected from the deteriorating city center to the east and plugged into the harbor freeway to the west, effectively isolating the hill from the minority populations taking possession of the old downtown. Beginning in the 1970s and accelerating throughout the 80s, the twenty blocks atop the hill were leased at incentive rates for high-rise development. Now Bunker Hill is covered in world citadels and girdled by a patchwork perimeter of crusty and slippery spaces. On the west flank is the chasm of the Harbor Freeway and a tangle of concrete bridges linking citadel to citadel high above the streets. To the south, the summit may be readily reached only by climbing the First Interstate Tower's heavily patrolled flight of plazaesque external stairs studded with video cameras and clearly marked as private property. To the east, a



ATSAC camera

palisade of concrete parking garages repels passage. Adjacent public rights-of-way feature the blank undersides of vehicular overpasses, sheer concrete walls studded with giant garage exhausts, and anti-seating configured as horizontally oriented twelve in. diameter tubes to discourage loitering.

Under the auspices of municipal authorities, Los Angeles as a whole is well on its way to becoming jittery space. Across the city, police helicopters maintain a continuous vigil overhead with the aid of coordinates painted during the mid-80s atop buildings and busses in gigantic block numerals. Originally used in the 1960s as a means of monitoring the freeways, one copter keeps watch over each of the city's three patrol areas at any given time. These copters, a mix of twelve Bell 206 B Jet Rangers and five newer, 30% quieter Aerospatiale AS350 B Aerostars, were originally developed for military applications. They can cross the basin in eleven minutes at a speed of approximately 140 mph.⁴¹ The copters are equipped with the Spectrolab Nightsun illumination system, producing 30 million peak beam candle power, and the Forward Looking Infra-Red (FLIR) sensing system capable of detecting body heat at a distance of 1,000 feet, a lit match at 4,000 feet.

In an ominous parallel to the history of helicopter patrolling, some 50 video cameras have been installed atop lamp posts, freeway signage and transmission towers at major intersections from the central city to the beach. Set more than forty ft. above street level to deter vandalism and maximize view angles to include six to seven intersections, the cameras are equipped with remotely controlled pan, tilt and zoom capabilities. A mixture of fiber-optic cable, leased copper telephone lines, microwaves and atmospheric laser transmitters connects the cameras to a central computer and traffic control center beneath City Hall. These cameras, augmenting substreet sensors and microprocessor-controlled stop lights, comprise the \$300 million ATSAC Automated Traffic Surveillance And Control system to be installed citywide by 1998. ATSAC is intended to render L.A.'s automobile transport grid more intelligently responsive to increasing use, and the video component is presently used to determine the specific cause of traffic delays indicated by sensor readings. Police spokespersons and the mayor's office, however, have been careful not to deny an interest in using the cameras to keep

41) Gunston, B., ed. *The Encyclopedia of World Air Power*. New York: Crescent Books, 1987.

watch over the streets, sidewalks and adjacent properties.⁴²

Video cameras and recorders are also being installed as a test program in seven LAPD patrol vehicles. If extended to all 925 black and white cars, and expanded with video still capabilities linked to in-car computer terminals and thence to the National Crime Databank, the program could enable mobile street-level surveillance coupled with instantaneous intelligence gathering. In limited form, this possibility has become a reality in the City of Palmdale, just north of Los Angeles, where an \$8,600 video camera for the apprehension of "graffiti taggers" and narcotics traffickers has been introduced. The device, rotated among various sites within the city, is controlled by UHF radio signal from a surveillance vehicle, and has pan, zoom, infrared and recording capabilities.⁴³

In short, Los Angeles is undergoing the invention and installation, component by component, of physical infrastructure engendering electronically linked islands of privilege embedded in a police state matrix. If left unchecked, this trend may be linearly extrapolated into a worst case composite of hard boundaries, checkpoints and omnipresent surveillance. Los Angeles will become a city consisting of numerous fortified cores of private space, each augmented by more permeable outer perimeters of contorted paths, lights, motion detectors and video cameras projecting into the public realm of the sidewalk and street. The public streets will become little more than interstitial space to these fortified private cores. They will themselves be fragmented by selective barricading and monitored by ATSC cameras overlapping each private space's permeable outer perimeter. Finally, overlaying it all will continue to be police helicopter patrol overseeing the city in three horizontal segments: the Valley Bureau north of Mulholland Drive, the West/Central Bureaus bounded by Mulholland to the north and the Santa Monica 10 Freeway to the south, and South Bureau southward from the 10 Freeway through the half-mile-wide Harbor 110 Freeway corridor to the sea terminating at WorldPort L.A. in San Pedro.

42) Roane, K. "Say Cheese When You Pass That Intersection," *Los Angeles Reader*, 20 August 1993.

43) Halley, B. "Hidden Camera to Record Taggers," *Los Angeles Times*, 26 April 1993.



5) YOU ARE WHAT YOU PAY FOR

Manifestations of CITISTÄT

Crime is not rising precipitously. The efficacy of paranoid typologies in countering such crime as exists is debatable at best. Where it is effective, interdictory space imposes corresponding burdens on less protected properties and common spaces. Nonetheless, interdictory spaces continue to propagate at an accelerating rate, segregating the city by criteria of wealth and class. In order to resolve this apparent conundrum, interdictory space must be understood to proffer not merely physical, but also symbolic, security. This symbolic function is symptomatic of the evolving global political-economic system and its manifestation in such "world cities" as Los Angeles. Thus, the proliferation of interdictory space must be understood from the perspective of a complex global framework.

Over the past two decades, currency deregulation, the development of high speed information processing and transmission technologies, falling transportation costs and rapid rates of technological obsolescence have permitted business to rapidly shift the location of investments in labor markets and material resources. This has facilitated highly fluid transnational exchanges. Out of these exchanges, multinational corporations have emerged and are evolving into supranational concerns.

As with most private enterprises, supranational corporations (SNCS) are autocratic organizations accountable to profitability and, at most, to select shareholders. Unlike smaller and less cosmopolitan firms, however, SNC investments may be readily relocated from place to place under highly favorable terms, freeing the SNC of enduring fiscal commitment to any given location. The SNC thus lacks either representational mechanisms or fiscal incentive to temper exploitation for the sake of sustaining the long-term economic health of geographically fixed labor and raw material bases.⁴⁴

Capital allocation decisions, however, remain localized in the metropolises of the northern hemisphere's western sector and the former colonial administration centers of the equatorial zones and southern hemisphere. These cities' historic roles as trading centers bequeathed decisive human resource and

44) Pitelis, C. N. and Sugden, R. *The Nature of the Transnational Firm*. London: Routledge, 1991.

infrastructural advantages attractive to SMCs and their attendant educated elites. As a result, select major cities have evolved into world cities. These world cities are homes to SMCs and thus centers for control, and in some cases command, of the emergent global economy. Further, as one quarter of the trade in goods is between subsidiaries of the same corporation,⁴⁵ SMC subsidiary offices stationed throughout the world cities have reinforced pre-existent interurban trade relationships through growing coordination via electronic linkages. These linkages are engendering CITISTAT.

city-state: a sovereign state consisting of an autonomous city with its surrounding countryside and other dependencies. Under the city-state system, control of both rural production and long-distance trade was concentrated in either a single city, e.g. Athens and Sparta in Classical Greece, Florence, Milan and Venice in Renaissance Italy, or interurban trading networks, e.g. the Medieval German Hanseatic League encompassing such "free cities" as Köln, Lübeck and Hamburg.

CITISTAT is an interoperating urban network resembling a single large city. It is the geographically diffuse hub of a global periphery, and draws labor and material from readily variable locations of that periphery. As nexuses of the world market, CITISTAT's component world cities manifest increasing concentration and high volume flows of knowledge, merchandise and, most importantly, money. Simultaneously, decisions made in the corporate suites of CITISTAT lead to the continual relocation of production to ever more expedient locations in the periphery. This constant redirection of fast, fluid capital undermines the economic and cultural stability of smaller towns and rural villages. Thus, resource flows between the components of CITISTAT are grossly uneven,⁴⁶ skewed to the advantage of West European, North American, Japanese and increasingly NIC⁴⁷ world cities. It is from these urban nodes of the CITISTAT net that private capital investment, world government policies and aid, and cultural images are transmitted to the remainder of CITISTAT in exchange for the coordination of labor and material resource expropriation.⁴⁸

Population is thus simultaneously pushed from the periphery and pulled into CITISTAT. As

45) Levinson, M. "The Great Trade Deficit Hoax of '93," *Newsweek*, 15 November 1993, pp.48-50.

46) King, A. *Urbanism, Colonialism and the World Economy*. London: Routledge, 1990, p. 2.

47) An acronym for Newly Industrializing Country, currently applied to emerging South and Southeast Asian industrial economies and, less so, to those of Mexico and portions of South America.

48) Corporate-controlled trade replicates this process of uneven exchange locally. See "strongpoints of sale" above.

farmers are displaced from rural villages and workers from divested industrial towns, they crowd into the world cities side by side with existing megalopolitan populations. This dynamic gives rise to labor oversupply in urban job markets, exorbitant rents, homelessness and even squatter suburbs. Further, the cost-efficient extraction of labor and material resource frequently includes the use of repression to maintain low expenses and concentrate benefits with local elites. As a result, both indigenous and displaced populations packed into the less privileged, low wage/high repression addresses of CITISTAT are from there attracted towards the more affluent and influential world cities of this global urban network.

The world city of Los Angeles is as subject to these forces as any other component of CITISTAT. The population of Los Angeles County increased by 19% to 8,863,164 between 1980 and 1990.⁴⁹ This mushrooming population is checked in its outward sprawl by the limitations of overburdened infrastructure, causing estimated residential densities in some areas to reach those of Manhattan Island. Population growth has created demand rendering real estate prohibitively expensive for a majority of Angelenos, even in the depressed market of the late 1980s-90s. Resulting land pressures have crowded higher density development into neighborhoods of traditional, albeit less affordable, suburban homesteads previously isolated along quiet avenues. Development has also impinged on Los Angeles' internal open land, threatening to swallow up portions of the mountains, beaches, and such major public parks as the Sepulveda Basin.

The impact of increasing demand for limited real estate has been exacerbated by the loss of 5-600,000 jobs between 1990 and 1993, due to the continued out-migration of industrial investment for lower cost locales, workplace automation, and post-Cold War desubsidization of the area's warfare industry.⁵⁰ This collapse of the labor market's demand side exacerbates the impoverishing effects of more than a decade of upward income redistribution under "trickle down" economic policy, corporate capture of capital, and resultant expansion of lower echelon service work. Hardest hit populations have been poor immigrants, disproportionately African- and Mexican-American blue collar communities and the young, whose employment opportunities are

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49) Southern California Association of Governments, November 1993.

50) This warfare industry has frequently served the purpose of bolstering repressive regimes inimical to workers' rights, thus keeping production costs low and encouraging the relocation of American industrial plants. Herman, Edward S. *The Real Terror Network*. Boston: South End Press, 1982.

largely limited to low wage/low skill service and temporary office work or the burgeoning informal economy. This is reflected in a 6.3% drop in home ownership among Californians 25-34 years of age, creating a 38.2% gap in rate of home ownership between young and elderly households.⁵¹

The shrinkage of the labor market has increased already substantial differences in quality of life between the city's highly visible elite and expanding poor neighborhoods. It has deformed the geography of capital and other resource flows within the city to replicate the distributional inequities of the larger CITISTĀT network and the world economy in general. Thus, portions of the world city are incorporated into CITISTĀT's exploited and neglected periphery despite being wholly contained within the city itself, much like the now defunct Bantustans formerly encompassed by the boundaries of South Africa.⁵² Further, in the absence of affordable land and opportunities for significant economic advancement, the parks and streets of neighborhoods in the world city's internal periphery have become either the rent-free and accessible sites of informal sector market transactions in "illegally" vended commodities, narcotics and prostitution, or unauthorized temporary sites of homeless encampments.⁵³

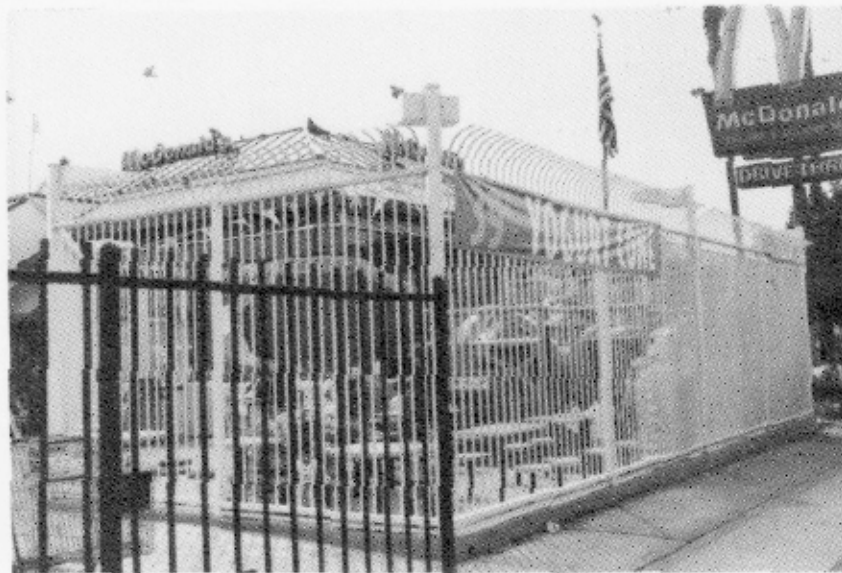
Reflecting patterns of human migration throughout the emerging world system, demographic globalization has been a fundamental aspect of Los Angeles' population increase. Los Angeles is the affluent world city most frequently and widely represented (and misrepresented) in electronically mediated imagery, and the fastest growing on the American continent's west coast throughout the 1980s. It has thus become the destination of choice for a disproportionate slice of the planet's estimated one billion immigrants, drawn from regions arrayed around the Pacific Rim and beyond.

There are more Iranians in L.A. than in any city outside of Tehran. Armenian is the first language in pockets of Los Feliz. An Ethiopianized three-block stretch of Fairfax now seeks formal recognition as Little Addis. It is the geographical links to Latin America and Asia, however, that have reconstituted the

51) Harney, K.R. "Ownership Eluding Boomers, But Older Americans are Buying More," *Los Angeles Times*, 18 April 1993.

52) For e.g., see Hamilton, C. *Apartheid in an American City, the Case of the Black Community in Los Angeles*. L.A.: Labor Community Strategy Center.

53) Stable squatter settlements are not tolerated in Los Angeles, where local authority refuses to acknowledge its inability to house the poor.



Inhibiting unpredictability

region's demographics. The "Latin" population is fast reestablishing its long lost majority, comprising 37.8% of the county population as of the 1990 census. It is said that the region boasts more Mexicans than any city outside Mexico City, more Salvadorans than any city but San Salvador. The Asian population has nearly doubled over the past decade to over 10% of county population. There has emerged a Little Saigon spread across an area half the size of Ho Chi Minh City itself, and a roughly seventy-block swathe of Mid-Wilshire rechristened Koreatown in the map books and street signs throughout the 1970s and early 1980s.⁵⁴ Each of these populations brings with it cultural conceptions of urban life differing from, and often incompatible with, the rapidly out-migrating suburban Angeleno ideal.

Even more significant, however, is the distribution of these populations. Previous waves of immigrants were ghettoized, permitted to settle only in demographically homogeneous, less desirable locations. Current immigrant communities, however, have tended to atomize across the L.A. basin. This dispersion has been facilitated by anti-discriminatory housing policies, and by the affordability of clusters of commercial and residential structures depreciated by age and by the evaporation of local employment bases. Further, many newcomers are of comparatively affluent merchant classes, and bring with them assets permitting greater locational choice. An expanding constellation of Little Indias, although concentrated in Artesia, includes outposts in Hollywood, Culver City, the central San Fernando Valley and a Hindu ritual complex in Las Virgenes Canyon below Calabasas. New Chinese immigrants have largely bypassed Chinatown; five of the region's incorporated cities are now majority Asian with a preponderance of Cantonese speakers.

Rising population in a limited area, concentrating wealth, and increasing cultural differentiation at regional and neighborhood levels are producing in Los Angeles, as in the other nodes of CITISTĀT, a densely packed heterogeneous population manifesting dramatic juxtapositions of privation and opulence. This has served to erode the spatial and ideological dominance of an aging, predominantly white native elite, challenging the imposed street level dominance of their sedate and self-contained suburban norms. The resultant

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54) The date of Koreatown's designation, and its precise boundaries, vary according to which community organization or governmental institution is consulted. Many municipal agencies have yet to formally recognize the community's existence at all.

drastic shift in the balance of cultural influence is complicated by the fact that no other group has yet emerged with a sufficient preponderance of members and/or resources to establish itself as the new majority. Lacking such a majority, no one group is empowered to determine new behavioral standards.

With the decay of previously established cultural standards, and the absence of widely accepted new ones, a wealth of differing ways of life have surfaced, each with its own rules governing spatial use and interpersonal contact. The result is a fluid urban matrix in which likely outcomes of encounters are unpredictable and territorial clues are misread or ignored, causing social friction as individuals and groups continuously encroach upon one another. In response to the uncertainties of a fragmented and dynamic urban milieu, social groups form into "defended neighborhoods" in order to segregate themselves from "danger, insult and the impairment of status claims."⁵⁵ The defended neighborhood is characterized by a homogeneous social group reacting to perceived threats of territorial violation by outsiders. Social groups exert dominance within their boundaries by such means as purchasing property inhabited by other groups and evicting the residents, as has been alleged by Latino inhabitants of properties incorporated into the expanding Koreatown, or by organizing as an informal militia and marking boundaries with spray paint or neighborhood watch signs.

In short, the present concern with crime rates may be fueled in large part by a fear of complex social change, as has been the case throughout American history when official morality is threatened.⁵⁶ By corollary, the concomitant "war on crime" may be interpreted as a means of forcibly maintaining, reconstituting, or at least salvaging, a challenged and possibly collapsing social consensus while simultaneously protecting the perquisites of that consensus's established beneficiaries. Paranoid typologies comprised of interdictory spaces are one means to this end.

The luxury laager may thus be seen as the territory of a social group possessing the considerable resources required to assert its spatial claims with walls and mercenaries. Luxury laagers, being most

55) Suttles, G. *The Social Construction of Communities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.

56) E.g. the Salem Witch Trials, anti-immigrant and anti-alcohol movements of the mid-to-late 1800s, the Red Scare of the early-to-mid-1900s. Walker, S. *Popular Justice*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.



Operation Cul De Sac

heavily concentrated in low crime areas, are therefore not intended to exclude primarily crime, but a wide range of behavior deviating from the community norms. This overriding concern with conformance to behavioral standards is demonstrated by the fact that residents are commonly subject to Covenants, Conditions and Restrictions (CC&R's) forbidding such "low class" deviations as painting one's home a color objectionable to the Architectural Committee, working on one's vehicle outside of one's garage, use of overstuffed or other indoor furniture on patios or front lawns, or putting one's garbage pails out early.⁵⁷

Similarly, the blockhome may be interpreted as an attempt by those unwilling to submit to the conformity of the laagers, but unable to afford large lots of their own, to substitute high blank walls for wide lawns as a means of establishing a comfortable distance between themselves and those outside. Walls need not even be high for the symbolic exertion of spatial dominance to the owner's satisfaction; many blockhomes' perimeter walls are five ft. tall or less, topped with blunted spikes, and interrupted by easily scaled stone or brick support columns.

It is the unenviable task of the strongpoint of sale, if it is to survive, to draw prospective tenant merchants and customers into a setting that, by virtue of accessibility to a variety of social groups, precludes the ability of tenants or customers to enforce their own social norms. To resolve this contradiction, the strongpoint of sale acts on the side of caution, reassuring visitors against the likelihood of unpredictable encounters by itself becoming the arbiter of behavioral standards even more conservative than those of the luxury laager.

Like luxury laagers, the plazas of world citadels are configured as much for the symbolic defense of status as the physical protection of occupants. This status, however, is not held by individuals within but must be attained through exhibition to such external constituencies as other businesses and the consuming and investing public of CITISTĀT at large.

57) Monterey Country Club Association, Inc. Association Rules. 18 January 1992.

The symbolic value of the world citadel, corporate image, has been the primary focus of even the earliest corporate plazas, which were nothing more than setbacks intended to maximize the visible presence of a corporation's flagship building. Although world citadels are now commonly owned by independent management companies rather than their corporate tenants, the plaza is still regarded as a front yard reflecting upon the tenant corporations' aesthetic sensibility and management competence. Thus, management and tenants view a plaza's white-collar user mix adulterated by vagrants or a janitor's family on a picnic as a loss of prestige before the business community, and a resulting loss of clientele.

The disempowerment implicit in the reconstitution of populations within pocket ghettos is intimately related to the socio-economic dominance expressed by world citadels and luxury laagers. Inhabitants of the citadels and laagers look to the pocket ghetto as one means of containing "the dangerous class": social groups least benefitted by, and believed to offer the greatest threat to, the continued dominance of traditional norms.⁵⁸ Membership in the dangerous class most visibly includes minority youth who, subject to evaporating economic opportunities, deteriorating social services and resulting family disintegration, are commonly assumed to be involved in violent street gang activity by law enforcement and those outside the community.⁵⁹

The pocket ghetto thus defines an area in which neighborhood youth, whether actual gang members or merely prejudicially suspect, are formally stripped of their position as members of the public and figuratively evicted from the public realm through redefinition as "public enemies."⁶⁰ Residents of low-income and high-violence neighborhoods within and outside pocket ghettos desperately seek relief from criminal predators. Reassurances to the larger community that measures of control have been applied by institution of the pocket ghetto, however, come at the expense of symbolically removing those within the pocket ghetto from the physical and normative fabric of the city. In 1990s Los Angeles, "destroying the 'hood in order to save it" has become common practice.

58) The term "dangerous classes" was coined by Charles Loring Brace in the mid-19th century in reference to the masses of poor, predominantly Irish immigrants filling the cities. The construct is now commonly applied, at least in spirit, to poor, urban minority youth. Ruddick, S. "The Making of the Dangerous Classes: Understanding the Riots in Los Angeles." Presented to the 6th Annual Conference of the Association of European Schools of Planning. Stockholm, 1992

59) Under the LAPD's anti-gang intervention sweeps, police "jacked-up" (stopped, searched and interrogated) those suspected of gang membership on the basis of age, dress, use of hand signals and, given the locations of gang sweeps, race. Feldman, P. "A Change in Tactics," *Los Angeles Times*, 8 May 1988. Popularized by rap artists, the "gangsta" style of dress characterized by such signifiers as sagging pants and reversed baseball caps simultaneously became de rigeur for school age children and adolescents in the affluent suburbs.

60) Minority youth are also ejected physically from the public realm by laws forbidding use of public parks or association in public streets to suspected gang members.

The inevitable result of employing space as a means of defending status is the spatial segregation of individuals on the basis of wealth. With all paranoid typologies, one's permitted passage inside or willingness to step outside is determined by one's actual and claimed affluence. Such physical segregation of society by the criteria of assumed and actual access to wealth, were it to become total, would produce immovable barriers to social contact across class levels. As CITISTĀT is a commercial society, class in the world city is largely a function of professional occupation. Thus, the segregation of the world city by class would serve to divide society into rigid groups reflecting and defining the division of labor. Such a social division defines a caste system,⁶¹ suggesting that the profusion of interdictory spaces may be a warning sign that, in Los Angeles, class is solidifying into caste.⁶²

61) Beaver, R. Pierce et al., eds. *Eerdman's Handbook to the World's Religions*. Herts: Lion Publishing, 1982.

62) This new caste system even has its own untouchables, as the one crime interdictory space is unquestionably effective in countering its vagrancy.

6) **PROACTION**



Police presence

The spaces in which daily life takes place are being sacrificed to redundant zones of oversight and proprietary control. This threatens the free exchange of ideas engendering a progressive society. It is an impediment to the cross-cultural communication that knits together a diverse population and a rejection of the individual's right to space in which to exist.

The proliferation of interdictory space violates dearly held assumptions of the right to move about freely. It frustrates the right to free assembly guaranteed by the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, subsequent federal, state and local legislation and, by both dismantling community into isolated territories and excluding selected classes of individuals from spaces of communal activity, negates Articles 20 and 27 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION, AMENDMENT 1

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

ARTICLE 20 (1)

Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

ARTICLE 27 (1)

Everyone has the right to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

Despite these ethical and legal protections, Los Angeles is being socio-spatially segmented by an emerging world order "concentrating wealth with the transnational corporations, income with elites and

power with remote bodies and individuals far from the reach of political accountability."⁶³ The concentration of resources with those least in need is reflected in the distribution of security itself. Affluent neighborhoods ridden with fear, but subject to very low levels of crime, purchase ever more extravagant and intrusive protective services. Impoverished neighborhoods most severely impacted by crime, but lacking the resources to protect themselves, are subjected to irregular bouts of attention from state security services at levels of intensity blurring the line between protection and pacification. It is precisely this maldistribution of influence and equity that underscores the need to maintain the existing public realm, and enlarge it with new urban common spaces.

Spatially reinforcing a base-level public realm requires resistance to private intrusions, particularly those directed towards securing that which is within at the expense of that which is without. This cannot be accomplished by setting limits upon what amount of security is or is not appropriate. The alarms or spiked fences that may be excessive for a home in Calabasas are presently necessities in parts of East Adams, an armed guard is an absurdity in an exurban supermarket but a requirement in a downtown jewelry mart. Rather, what must be changed is the type of security provided and, perhaps, the definition of security itself.

Security at present seems to be defined as privately arranged and purchased physical safety, often based upon the precept that one need not be totally secure, simply more secure than one's neighbors. This has generated a defensive arms race in which simply locking one's door is not enough. Fortunes are spent as homeowners attempt to ensure their own safety by keeping one step ahead of the Joneses, lest the Joneses' place be less inviting to criminal activity than one's own. Lessors of residential and commercial space vie with one another in marketing the safest facility. Ultimately, crime merely adapts or is repeatedly displaced until it falls most onerously upon those least able to resist.

While exclusively "taking care of one's own" may be an appropriate protective strategy for homesteaders isolated in rural environments, it produces severe repercussions in a densely populated urban

63) Brendan Martin, in "Stealing from the State," *Multinational Monitor*, September 1993, pp.24-27.

society such as Los Angeles. In urban environments, both neighbors and neighborhoods are intimately interconnected. Therefore, the acquisition of individual security must be linked to, and eventually subsumed by, the facilitation of collective well-being. Collective well-being, although inclusive of individual physical safety, must also encompass the fiscal and resultant social health ensuring that individuals and communities are not "ripped off" by means of either physical violence or economic exploitation. Fundamentally, physical protection reduces fear for those who possess the resources to defend themselves, but increasing justice and socio-economic equity is the surest means of reducing fear for all.

As has been demonstrated, interdictory space imposes burdens upon adjacent space. In order to maintain the public realm and begin to establish collective well-being against the weight of such burdens, the expense of these burdens must be figured into the installation and maintenance costs of interdictory space. Private interests would thus be assessed the full cost of their spatial appropriation. (This is the same logic employed in the use of environmental cost/benefit calculations that are employed to exact fees from developers and industry for the remediation of environmental degradation.) Furthermore, portions of collected fees may be used to assist poorer communities in providing for their own security by investing in the creation of neighborhood services and spaces. Security surcharges thus become a means of addressing the extreme resource polarization and hopelessness at the root of much criminal activity.

Some burdens imposed by interdictory space may be quantifiable with sufficient research. Where interdictory space concentrates crime in adjacent areas, as with alarms or possibly gating, the beneficiaries of that interdiction should compensate those outside for the increased costs of victimization. Where interdictory space intrudes upon public space, as with the intrusion of motion detection signals, video camera ranges and security light glare into the streets and sidewalks, the beneficiaries of that interdiction should be charged for appropriation of the public realm as an extended security perimeter. (Much the same principle is already employed in assessing residents of permit parking neighborhoods, who must pay monthly fees for



exclusive use of the public curbside.) Other burdens, while less tangible, are at least as damaging and far more pervasive. Interdiction often secures contained proprietary spaces at the expense of amenities in external public space, as with streets lined by the blank walls of luxury laagers or the exhaust vents and driveways of world citadels. Legislation must address these hard edges imposed upon the public realm; they must be forbidden, downscaled, subjected to a surcharge or ameliorated by planting, seating, fountains, and any of a number of other features re-establishing an inviting common environment.

In essence, it must be recognized that the exercise of private property rights entails corresponding responsibilities where proprietary spaces meet one another and the public realm. The satisfaction of these responsibilities is dependent upon fiscal obligation and urban design. Legislation will most likely be required to insure compliance. There are those who may insist such measures are unwarranted statist interventions; yet it is not inappropriate that civic authority be called upon to serve in the capacity of re-establishing the balance between property rights and civil responsibilities. Insofar as space is a limited resource in the absence of which no other right may be exercised, the role of local government should be that of ensuring spatial justice by facilitating an equitable distribution of spatial resources for all. What is inappropriate is continued municipal administration of technologies and installations of spatial control, as such spatial controls inevitably entail social controls discriminating against selected groups and impoverishing society as a whole.

To arrive at a more progressive response to the social dysfunctions underlying interdictory space, a response which is not merely a legislative reaction, collective well-being must be broadly understood to include not just protection against criminal exploitation, but also protection against such fundamental deprivations as hunger and homelessness. Given that existing state mechanisms are proving unable, or unwilling, to secure these protections, they must be attained through self-reliance.

"As the state retreats from providing services and housing and so on, people are recognizing



Community garden

THAT THEY MUST PROVIDE ALTERNATIVES. IN THE PROCESS, THEY DEMAND A SHARE IN DECISION-MAKING AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL. THAT'S THE WAVE OF THE PRESENT, AND THE FUTURE."⁶⁴

Our globalizing society is marked by ever larger and wealthier institutions indifferent to the individual's physical and political well-being. New, inclusive urban commons, whether formally provided by a governmental "public sector" or generated informally through collaborative actions of a populace, should therefore assist in redressing resource inequities depriving individuals of the necessities of life. This requires the development of local alternatives to CITISTAT's emergent, SNC-dominated world political-economic system. A means to this end is the creation of spaces of interdependent autonomy, where individuals may find opportunities for working together in producing their own material and cultural sustenance. It is precisely these "do-it-yourself" activities that are being excluded from the privatized realm.

Prototypes for such spaces of interdependent autonomy are beginning to emerge. None are far in spirit from the dual program of the traditional American commons as both grazing land and site of public gathering.⁶⁵ All are partially situated on public property already, or could easily occupy either space managed collaboratively by communities or disutilized land free of any formal administration whatsoever.

COMMUNITY GARDEN FARMS CREATE OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEIGHBORS TO INTERACT WHILE BOTH TENDING TO THE EARTH AND PROVIDING, WITH A MINIMUM OF FISCAL EXPENDITURE, FOR THEIR OWN SUSTENANCE. ONE SUCH PROPOSED FACILITY, UHURU GARDENS, IS A SINGLE CITY BLOCK IN WATTS INCLUDING PLOTS FOR INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES, A CITRUS ORCHARD, AN AMPHITHEATER FOR NEIGHBORHOOD GATHERINGS, A BOTANICAL PARK AND A STREET CORNER FARMERS' MARKET.

OPEN SWAP MEETS CREATE SIMILAR SOCIAL INTERACTIONS. THEY ALSO ENCOURAGE CRAFT PRODUCTION OF SALABLE MERCHANDISE AND THE TRADE AND REUTILIZATION OF SURPLUS GOODS THAT MAY OTHERWISE HAVE BEEN THROWN AWAY. NUMEROUS ABANDONED WAREHOUSES AND DRIVE-IN MOVIE PARKING LOTS AROUND LOS ANGELES HAVE BEEN GIVEN OVER TO

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64) Saad Eddin Ibrahim, in "The Missing Middle of Democracy," by Wright, R. *Los Angeles Times*, 12 October 1993.

65) Donald Lee Fleming, in "Whatever Became of the Public Square?," *Harper's*, July 1990, pp.49-60.

SUCH USE.

COFFEE HOUSES HAVE RE-EMERGED AS COMMON LIVING ROOMS IN MANY NEIGHBORHOODS PRONE TO DOUBLED- AND TRIPLED-UP HOUSING. WHILE SOME ARE TIGHTLY CONTROLLED BY THEIR MANAGEMENT, MOST ARE PROGRAMMED TO FILL THE NEEDS OF DIVERSE USER GROUPS. COFFEE HOUSES PROVIDE SITES FOR INDIVIDUAL ASSOCIATION, VENUES FOR AREA PERFORMERS AND FORUMS FOR BOTH MAINSTREAM AND "MARGINAL" MASS POLITICAL GATHERINGS. ANOTHER PLANET, IN THE PARKING LOT AND STRUCTURE OF A FORMER GAS STATION ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF DOWNTOWN, SERVED AS A COFFEEHOUSE AND CULTURAL CENTER FOR THE HOMELESS AND ARTISTS OF THE CENTRAL CITY.

CITY-OWNED COMMERCIAL STREETS ARE SPONTANEOUSLY EVOLVING INTO PUBLIC PROMENADES. DOWNTOWN L.A.'s BROADWAY, CATERING PREDOMINANTLY TO LOW-INCOME LATINOS, HAS BECOME THE BUSIEST DOWNTOWN SHOPPING DISTRICT WEST OF CHICAGO AND NORTH OF MEXICO CITY. HOLLYWOOD'S MELROSE AVENUE HAS EVOLVED TO BECOME AN INLAND VENICE BOARDWALK, WITH A GROWING NUMBER OF BOHEMIAN USED MERCHANDISE EXCHANGES AND SINGLE STOREFRONTS LEASED BY INFORMAL COOPERATIVES OF YOUNG ENTREPRENEURS WITH SMALL STOCKS OF UNUSUAL AND CUSTOM MERCHANDISE.⁶⁶ STREET VENDING IS ANOTHER PROMINENT FEATURE OF THESE PROMENADES, AND HAS BECOME THE PRIMARY ATTRACTOR OF MASSES OF SHOPPERS AT SUCH INTERSECTIONS AS SANTA MONICA AND WESTERN BOULEVARDS. ALTHOUGH ILLEGAL THROUGHOUT LOS ANGELES, STREET VENDING IS A FLOURISHING FORM OF COMMERCE PROVIDING SUBSISTENCE FOR PARTICIPANTS IN THE GROWING INFORMAL ECONOMY.⁶⁷ REGIONAL MUNICIPALITIES HAVE EMULATED THE FORMS OF THESE SPACES, REAPPROPRIATING THE MALL'S COMMERCIAL ROLE BY CREATING ARTFULLY DESIGNED SHOPPING STREETS LINED WITH MIXTURES OF LARGE CHAIN AND, IN DECREASING NUMBERS, UNIQUE AND INDEPENDENT LOCAL BUSINESSES. TWO SUCH PUBLIC OUTDOOR MALLS ARE THIRD STREET PROMENADE IN SANTA MONICA AND COLORADO STREET'S OLD TOWN IN PASADENA. THIRD STREET PROMENADE IS A PEDESTRIAN PROMENADE WITH FORMALIZED VENDOR'S KIOSKS, SEATING AND ORNAMENTAL PLANTINGS. PASADENA OLD TOWN IS A RESTORED HISTORIC BUSINESS DISTRICT WITH OFF-STREET PROMENADES FITTED INTO REHABILITATED ALLEYS AND INCREASINGLY PRICEY CAFES SPILLING ONTO THE SIDEWALKS. BOTH ARE PUBLIC SPACE IN THE TRADITIONAL SENSE, OPEN NOT JUST TO SHOPPERS BUT TO LOITERERS, STREET PERFORMERS AND, FOR THE MOMENT, THE HOMELESS.

66) The diversity of merchandise available in the six small shops comprising one such collaborative storefront, the Black Market, contrasts dramatically with the homogenized selection found in large malls. Necromance, inspired by Black Market originator Nancy Smith's fascination with skeletal remains, specializes in preserved animal specimens, memento mori and a range of bones, both individual and assembled into skeletons or incorporated into jewelry. Another of the small shops serves as a general store for practitioners of Goddess-oriented neo-Paganism. A third offers a range of memorabilia from Elvis shrines to Mexican wrestlers' masks.

67) Los Angeles is in the process of legalizing street vending on a limited basis. Such legalization, however, will permit vending on a small number of sites citywide and only with permission of at least 20% of local businesses. Further, community advisory committees will determine hours of operation and products to be sold, and vendors must purchase licenses and standardized carts. Finally, vendors must sell from a single, fixed location and may not occupy space close to disapproving businesses. Given this list of restrictions and related expenses, it is likely that "illegal" vending will continue unabated.

The heterogeneous culture of Los Angeles is increasingly characterized by a lack of common social practices. It has been argued that in the absence of such common practices, the traditional public commons, and inclusionary space in general, is an impossibility. In other locations around the world, however, spaces and programs facilitating interdependent autonomy have united diverse groups in pursuit of common goals. Indigenous tribes and rubber tappers in the Amazon have joined forces for rainforest protection. In Siberia, indigenous Chukchi peoples and Russian environmentalists have worked together to limit wildlife hunting and close a nuclear power station. Islamist and leftist women's organizations interoperate in the provision of health and welfare services in the Palestinian refugee camps of the Gaza Strip. The Civic Forum united a broad coalition of Czech and Slovak citizens along the boulevard of Saint Wenceslas Square against the ruling regime.⁶⁸

In spaces providing for participation in the collaborative satisfaction of such fundamental wants as food, shelter, social support and artistic expression, diverse peoples can and do find common ground. In the process, they form working relationships from which networks of broad-based socio-political coalitions can grow. It is such coalitions, made up of grassroots non-governmental organizations formed to address the neglected hopes, desires and demands of communities from the local to the international in scale, that give voice to peoples' aspirations and so constitute civil society.

Physical spaces of interdependent autonomy are not the sole precondition for the creation of a civil society, nor are they strictly necessary as the venue in which civil society operates. Even so, such spaces provide an ideal node around which civil society may coalesce and, without which, it is liable to becoming geographically atomized. As is being discovered in locales as diverse as Rio de Janeiro, Gaza, Prague, Los Angeles, indeed the entire planet as it comes to comprise the "Third World," it is just such a civil society that is required to satisfy the needs of individual human beings and communities increasingly left behind by CITISTAT's globalizing institutions.

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