



I GLOBAL SPACE MEETS LOCAL SPACE IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

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Globalization is a term which has come into good currency in the past decade. But the word has been used so often in the popular and the academic press, and with such diverse and encompassing connotations, that it is close to meaningless. It has been used to signify and explain a multitude of international connectivities and flows: the burgeoning interrelatedness of finance markets; the near collapse of the Southeast Asian "Tiger" economies; trade in commodities and ideas; and the "MacDonaldization" and "Disneyfication" of world culture which is said to be replacing economic Pax Americana. In the literature on cities and city development too, considerable attention has been turned to globalization and its effects.¹ In their work on World Cities, Castelles, Knox, and Sassen² posit contexts in which the world is tied tightly together in critical financial interactions situated in global cities. However, in the diverse discourse on globalization, analysis of its implications for the physical fabric of local place, particularly for the local space of city neighborhoods, has remained relatively neglected. But, if globalization is, and will continue to be, as ubiquitous and significant a force as the current discussion implies, then, this question does need to be considered. What *are* the manifestations of globalization in tangible reality, in the physical spaces and places of the emerging city of the twenty-first century? This question is taken up in a variety of ways by the authors in this collection of papers.

For architects and urban planners, the various impacts of the generic phenomenon termed "globalization" on the three-dimensional built form of city real estate promise to be crucial in determining how, and in what arenas, their professions will play a role in the next century. Germane questions are apparent. How will the concentrated and growing cities of today, increasingly integrated regionally and internationally in economy, culture, tastes and life-style, coexist in the midst of the local space, the local economy, and the local culture? How will globalization shape evolving city habitat? Will this emerging city be reconciled with and recognize its past? With increasing social and physical mobility, can people develop an urban life style sustainable in the long term, given currently understood limits of the environmental and of socio-cultural flexibility? In addressing such questions, one must take into account the following themes which surface in current discussions about globalization as they help shape the contours of the larger environment, and locate the issues, addressed in the contributions to this book.

The Nature of Globalization

The definition of globalization, its nature, and its processes are subjects which are currently debated within several disciplines.³ In the literature one finds disagreement about

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the question of whether the current form of global connections between nation states is a significant departure from the past—or merely an extension and deepening of the interrelatedness which has been forged historically through various periods of colonialism. Theoretical concerns have included questions such as: Is what is happening, variously described by the term globalization, significantly and structurally different and unique? If yes, in what ways is it different from the knitting together of the global marketplace which occurred after the Industrial Revolution; or later, in the aftermath of World War II, with the emergence of the modern-day nation-states which constitute the United Nations? Or, on the contrary, is this globalization merely an increased scale and volume of interaction, facilitated by technological change and enhanced information flows — particularly through the accessibility of computers and their capabilities in electronic communications?

Perspectives from the “North” and “South.” Some scholars and policy makers, particularly those who work in the countries of the “North” such as the U.S. the UK, and the countries of the European Union, are *not* convinced that global integration is a significant factor in their domestic landscape. They cite facts such as that in the economy of the U.S., the trade component represents but a small fraction of national Gross Domestic Product. They illustrate how, in these countries, well over 70% of the multinational holdings and finance remain domestic in locus. They point out that this is not unlike, and even a continuation of, a connectivity between nations forged since the Industrial Revolution. Global space, they claim, has little face-to-face contact with how their local space is configured and shaped.⁴

Others, working on countries of the “South,” argue that the impact of globalization on the culture of the “developing” “post-colonial” countries is pervasive and endemic. It is not the proportion of trade which counts, they argue, but its characteristics. Like a drop of red wine which tinges all the water in a glass, today’s globalization touches every component of the local economy. In *Modernity at Large, Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Appadurai points to the homogenization of the textual fabric of everyday life.⁵ A backlash by the State to global culturization is also apparent. There is “fundamentalism” of various kinds. There are attempts by the apparatus of the state to mold a “national” and “traditional” identity. This identity may be authentic and contextualized, but in selected history. It may be fabricated with new associations strategic for the legitimization of a particular political authority. These efforts and their reflections on and for physical built form have been the subject of scrutiny and deliberations in architecture and urban planning. They are reflected in concerns within the professions about what constitutes the “real” Chinese, German, Brazilian, Thai, Japanese, or Indian architectural form and motif. It has raised questions about how to preserve historic and cultural identity, as embodied in the physical fabric of the city, without commodifying and packaging it purely for touristic consumption.

Jobs, Work, and the Nation-State. Discussion about globalization, its extent, impact, and meaning, is paralleled by an unease on the part of lay publics around the world as they confront everyday work realities which are unfolding on the local life space of communities. The globalists are pronouncing the death of the Nation-State as we know it today. As one indicator, they point to the ability of the multinational corporations to operate transnationally with little regard to national boundaries and with scant accountability to any Nation-State. They draw attention to the literature on flexible modes of production. It is one in which a highly skilled labor force is replaced with lower skilled labor using technological breakthroughs in computerization, robotics, and automation. These innovations have made it possible to produce efficiently using a less skilled work force readily available throughout the world. This change, they argue, renders the multinational corporation “footloose and fancy free.” It is a change which disempowers the working class, a group which tends to be grounded and emotionally connected to a specific space and location. In cities such as Los Angeles and Seattle, poised on the rim of the Pacific Ocean on the West Coast of the U.S., flexible production space may feel familiar and be quite tangible and visible in the city resident’s daily life.

In Midwestern cities such as Detroit or Flint, the migration of production capacity in the automobile industry to sites in foreign countries and the resulting job losses in the region has been broadly experienced in the past few decades.⁶ Scott and Storper (1990) explain the process by describing flexible production as being quick on its feet, “renting space” on the landscape of various nation-states, and able to pack up and leave when it finds lower rents, a more friendly environment, and/or less expensive and more pliable workers who are cooperative and grateful for a chance to work.⁷ They argue that, given computer-driven production machinery, the critical profitability advantage no longer rests with “Fordist” style, vertically and horizontally integrated mega firm enterprises such as the automobile industry that once dominated significant regions of the midwestern U.S. Rather, it lies with units which efficiently produce small batches of specialized products, targeted to a specific market niche. It is a mode in which innovation and early entry into production can reap phenomenal profits. The successful producer is no longer a Chrysler or a General Motors but a constellation of firms, combined together for a specified time period, to create a particular end product. This constellation can be quickly reconfigured to respond to changes in the global market.

It is a production system which can retool and reshape the end product quickly and is interrelated vertically and horizontally through a communications and information net that spreads over regions. These regions transcend national boundaries and historic and social/cultural groups. This is key to the arguments made by the globalists when they describe the inability of the Nation-State to truly regulate, shape, curb, or redirect the activities of the corporate sector. Labor unions, too, find their power to influence corporate decisions considerably diminished. One observes in televised interviews of Midwestern automobile industry workers, on strike against job losses in GM, Ford, or Chrysler plants in

Michigan, that they clearly fear the implications of global connectivity for their livelihood and consequently their life styles and life space. In this globalized world of flexible production, it is anticipated that generally work will consist of temporary employment based on short-term contractual relationships with lower-end jobs filled by unskilled immigrants. Thus the city becomes a place in which the power of workers, their unions, and the power of the middle class too are greatly diminished.

Changing Roles of Public and Private. This is an era in which, in both the public and the private domain, the idea of the global market is very much *the* "idea in good currency." International aid agencies, such as the World Bank (IBRD), and international financial institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), are in synchrony in their espousal of liberalization of the economies of the developing world. It is an era of structural adjustment programs with their emphasis on the market place to mediate price of goods and services; on reduction of subsidies for basic goods and services; and on an absolute faith in comparative trade advantage as the engine of growth and development. In the last decade, the dominant prescription by the IBRD and IMF for economic malaise has been for a reduction in the role and the apparatus of the Nation-State. Preferred solutions are ones that rely on privatization and corporate solutions, or, at least on forging partnerships between the public and private for greater efficiency and production. The role of the public sector is considerably diminished. The pressures are to privatize, to diminish the presence of government, and to put the state in a facilitator rather than a provider role.

A key question that emerges in this current paradigm of privatization is how, if at all, issues of equity in the distribution of resources is to be mediated. In the last five decades of experimentation with development, nation-states of the "South" have intervened in the market place with the goal of redistributive justice in the interest of a larger societal good. How will differences in class, race, gender, ethnicity, religion, culture, and histories, factors which result in unequal access of individuals and groups to societal goods, be resolved in the local space of the twenty-first century city? What mechanisms will be acceptable as this city attempts to respond to the needs of global activity and its demands for an unfettered and free market?

Life Space and Global Space. Tensions and complementarities are inherent in the juxtapositioning of "global space" with its internationalized, universalized economy, culture and values and "local space" with its historic communities and their grounded and particularized customs, habits and locus of daily lives. The various interfaces are sometimes smooth and even, and sometimes jagged. As Friedmann describes it, life space is where people live, recreate, find an education for their children, where they get health care and find meaningful social connections.⁸ This space is where life is lived in its physical, local dimensions. Yet it is increasingly and significantly penetrated by, and intrinsically integrated with, global space which reflects global finance, culture, and economy. This interpenetration is accentuated as the world

becomes more urban. Cities are arguably the points, on the landscape of the world, where interconnections, communications, and exchange are the most dense, most direct, and where the influence of global forces is felt most acutely.

Urbanization and city growth, particularly in regions of the world that were colonized and until recently referred to as the Third World, is *the* significant, tangible phenomenon of the last five so-called "development decades." As satellite imagery of the last fifty years reveals, the accelerated formation of very large clusters of human habitation in metropolises around the world is the most apparent social/spatial artifact of this century. In the last decade, more cities from the developing world have grown large enough to be classified as "Mega-Cities," and this phenomenon is expected to accelerate in the next twenty or so years. As one considers the implications of this for the city of the twenty-first century, current critical work on the differences and similarities in the development of urbanization in various regions of the world offers useful insight. In *The Extended Metropolis: Settlement Transition in Asia*, McGee deciphers the extended city structure of large and rapidly growing Asian cities with the eyes of the cultural geographer.⁹ He describes settlements, in high-intensity rice cultivation regions of Southeast Asia, that in their density and other criteria qualify as urban. Yet, people are engaged there in significant levels of agricultural activities. This urban area is one in which differentiation between town and county, urban-rural in physical/spatial terms is being erased. This and other emerging work suggests the need to think of urban systems in non-Western areas with a critical eye to their particularities and their differences from those in the West. As global space meets the local space of the city in the twenty-first century, the particularities of that local space, its history, society, culture and tradition, must be factored into our assessment and understanding of potentials and outcomes.

City Space in the Twenty-first Century

The collection of papers in this book concerns issues related to the local space of people in some forty cities of the world, cities poised to enter the twenty-first century. They provide a rich and diverse set of observations of the city as it is and as it promises to be. The papers speak for themselves. This chapter does not aspire to offer a summary. It does attempt to provide a rendition of some of the cross-cutting themes which emerge from reading these individual works as a collection. It also aims to provide an intellectual road map, an organizational key, to this book.

A significant common element of these papers is their shared concern with the *life space* of city fabric, beyond economics, beyond world markets and world trade, beyond "the rhetoric of global systems." This life space is the neighborhood and community space of city residents. It refers to memory, to history, to tradition in the face of homogenizing global forces. It is related to issues of the city core and the city periphery as

they expand, are reconfigured, and reshaped. It mediates issues related to ethnicity, race, and gender and reflects their implications for the division of the benefits and the costs of change. Some of the papers address these issues from a “bottom up” perspective which is case-grounded with spatial, social, and empirical detail. Some are “top down” perspectives which are conceptual, theoretical, and empirical, providing us with templates with which to understand the emerging shape of human habitat, the nature of city society and community, and the city aesthetic, visual, concrete, and real. Still others are successful in connecting textual, micro, spatial information to the larger forces presented as causal and providing explanations. As a collection, they yield a fascinating view of the various ways in which city space of the twenty-first century promises to adapt and transform to a new global proximity.

Juxtapositioning of “North” and “South.” Authors discuss how the forces joining the world into one global market place and one financial system are: affecting the design of home space; influencing who gets access to prime urban location and neighborhoods; and also reinforcing the status quo of groups that get and those that do not (King, Kuzno, Mahayni, Maharaj, Woods).¹⁰ The real-estate aesthetic and value systems fueled by the new money generated from global commerce are delineated. As King convincingly elaborates, high-end housing developers use “international” images to attract the non-resident, ex-patriate Indian, Indonesian, Thai, or Philippina. High-rise luxury condominiums are set in a safe and sanitized landscape, with swimming pools and golf courses. They are populated by upscale, two-children nuclear families, the women thin, fit, and beautiful, who live in complexes named so as to evoke the west, and often the colonial past—Oxford Estates, Windsor Plaza, Berkeley Place, Cambridge House. They assure the upper-income new aristocracy of expatriates or globalizers safety and insulation from the habitat and life conditions of the poor and the middle class. This type of development is apparent around the world, whether in the gated communities of California, the farm estates, waterfront villas, and apartment plazas in India, or the new towns and condominiums built by Chiputra which ring the city of Jakarta.¹¹

Jobs, Work, and Nation-Space. The authors of these papers are concerned with, and worry about, outcomes attributed to globalization, for example, the kinds of jobs that emerge and those that disappear or migrate to other parts of world, and the effects this has on the way city land is used and by whom. Thus, in these papers, we find the dilemma of a Detroit shaping its future and reconciling with the structures of its past. We are shown communities adjacent to large cities, with differing resources and expectations of the space they occupy, battle about infrastructure decisions which will result in very different futures for their local space. In these renditions class is examined, or presented, as a key element in the way people value and use the city (Arens, Ford, Isaacs, Mehrotra, O’Neill, Schlossberg, Wei and Yang). The authors in this collection speculate about the sustainability of the environment resulting from rapid city growth fueled by globalization. They are concerned about the quality of life and aesthetics of the spaces

created by forces that appear to be knitting their communities into one interlinked global system. They are concerned about the nature and control of public space in the city, so essential to civic life (Adarkar, Arens, Brahme, Bodnar, Godbole). They articulate a philosophical and ideological need to hear, respect, and give shape to the subaltern perspective in city planning, thus finding a way to break from the modernity of a western colonial past. And they call on concerned professionals to act in ways that allow movement and change in the tangible formation of the city so that it represents the interests not just of those actively and powerfully engaged in globalization but also those who must passively bear its effects. Detailed, microcosm-oriented research involving local people, as well as master planning work, are suggested as ways to identify the actual and significant links which exist between neighborhoods and the wider world, and, through the process, possibly strengthen the local community (Badshah et al., Bromley, Choe, El Safty, Rojas, Prakash).

Public Role in Redistributive Justice. Sharp inequalities in the city fabric, both socio-economic and spatial, are suggested by the work in this book. The growth of high-income commercial properties and the gentrification of traditional residential building stock are observed. A growth of the underclass, of a two-class labor force of elites and non-elite, a proliferation of the informal economy, and the rise of homelessness and poverty are feared. In the bustle of a Beijing’s modernization, the “Silicon Valleyization” of a Bangalore, the break in the momentum of a Jakarta, and the democratization of a Durban, who will gain and who will lose and what role will and should the government play in determining that? These are the critical observations made and questions asked (Brahme, Maharaj, Mahayni, Pothukuchi, Woods, Yucekus and Banerjee). Concrete details of concession agreements, for transport infrastructure in Latin America or urban land development policy in Indonesia, highlight the complexities of structuring public/private partnerships and underscore the limited role of the private sector in finding solutions. Authors reiterate that government is and will be needed and is and will be important in shaping policy to respond to the needs of all sectors of the population (Firman, Rodriguez, Florián-Borbón and Velasco-Campuzano).

Organization of Papers

The papers in this book are organized into two major parts, following a lead paper by John Friedmann in which he suggests the need to look at the city-regional level on its own terms. He asks city residents to assume ownership of the physical, organizational, decision-making and political fabric of the city. Pointing out as problematic the current encompassing call for privatization, Friedmann notes that, more recently, international aid institutions are acknowledging the function of the public and state realms in sustaining the stability and continuity of effort crucial for any city-based undertaking.

Although most of the papers in this collection address more than one element of the city in their narratives, those in Part I consist of papers primarily addressing issues of design, shape, form, physicality, and culture as they reflect diversity around the world, while those in Part II primarily address issues of class, economy, polity and process, and serve to explain how the varying perspective of different constituencies at the global, national, and local levels play a role in reshaping the city. They also discuss how these constituencies are differentially affected in the evolving city. As described below, the chapters within Part I and II are clustered by some unifying themes and idea sets.

Part I: Design, Shape and Culture

The first cluster of papers in Part I, *City Shape in the Twenty-first Century*, give attention to the physical shape and characteristics of the built form of the twenty-first century city. As King, in the lead paper in this group, states, he addresses “the spatial transformation over the last three decades in the realms of architecture, urbanism and the larger built form.” King refers both to the discursive space in which notions of the transcultural are being constructed, and also, and more importantly for the mandate of this book, to the *production* of this transnational space. He describes the ways in which the notions of “international modernity,” as represented in spatial and architectural terms, are projected to India’s Non-Resident Indian community. Taking tangible and familiar examples, he deconstructs the characteristics of this space, how it is described, and how this reflects the economic, social, political, and cultural conditions in which it is produced. While his cases are South Asian his work elicits recognition from observers of this phenomenon as it is manifested around the world.

Isaacs and Perera each look at how value systems and political ideology in the varied contexts of Dresden, Germany, and Colombo, Sri Lanka, shape the landscape of these two cities and how the cultural symbolism of the architecture of a particular period is appropriated by the group in power to further its national agenda. They illustrate how choices of architectural form and urbanscape convey messages that groups or government wish to disseminate, for example, that this is a new, consumer-oriented, nationalist, centralized, populist, democratic, traditional, or dissenting society. In deciphering the social and spatial restructuring of Colombo since the 1980s, Perera speculates on issues such as what representation the capital complex should have in the style of architecture—colonial, traditional, or post-industrial. He points out how the choices made reveal not only a tangible shift from the colonial past but also broader political and cultural alliances being forged between countries in the South Asian region. These two papers convincingly delineate the ways in which architecture and urbanscape are truly political and ideological statements. National cultural identification and self-representation are shaped by the modes of social organization in which they are formed and architecture and city scape are chosen vehicles in which this choice is

communicated.

Mehrotra describes how the physical form of Bombay’s colonial Victorian architecture in the Fort area can be, should be, and to some extent is being preserved. He emphasizes the need to adapt and reuse this space, respecting the past, but in the service and meeting the needs of the present. Using *bazaars* in Victorian arcades as signifiers, he illustrates how an urban landscape can internalize the past, respond to the needs of the present, and contribute to a sustainable future. Having helped to shape and shepherd to approval legislation for heritage buildings and precincts conservation in Bombay’s Fort Area, he provides an example of the role architects and planners can play in shaping city form that reflects the past and faces the future. In stark contrast to Bombay, exploding at its seams, is Arens’s Detroit, a monument to the rise and fall of the might and power of an industrial automobile age. The choices of approaching Detroit, from the outside, as an American acropolis, or from the inside, as an art project of giant assemblages of Detroit’s castoffs are described. The public debate about these private visions reveals the conflicting ideologies about urban public space and the contemporary conditions which are producing it. Godbole echoes this idea in pointing out how the notions of public open space in Bombay as they shifted from native Indian to British colonial, have resulted in contemporary definitions that are a disjointed overlay of westernized concepts of Indian needs. The magnitude and scale of Fort Bonifacio Global City, designed on a Philippine army base in Manila, illustrate the potential effects of globally financed and designed efforts on the city form of the future. Liss-Katz articulates the nature of the efforts made by an international design firm to set standards for excellence in urban design, which draw on both global and local inspiration.

The group of papers on *Culture and City Space* discuss the importance of cultural paradigm and cultural memory in the shaping of cities. They juxtapose the challenges and difficulties of reflecting these in city fabric in the face of the ubiquitous spread of global forms of commerce and production. In the lead paper Choe delineates his search for a cultural paradigm for the city of East Asia, a region of the world which has experienced a most dramatic speed and scale of urbanization and, as he states it, “developmentalism largely devoid of cultural identity.” Choe reflects that now culture and historical spatial heritage are increasingly being perceived as antidotes to rampant and unsettling economic and spatial development. He connects Confucian values of loyalty and care of extended family, and moral over material well-being, and frugality to their reflection in the physical fabric of the East Asian city. He calls attention to hidden dimensions, deeply rooted in culture, of the use of space within neighborhoods in East Asian cities. Choe states that temporal patterning, mixed land use, and communal facilities render the East Asian city one of humanity and convenience and concludes that “the Asian urbanites know how to live in a crowded city.”

This knowledge, and the cultural experience of a people as it is inscribed in the built form of a historic site, need to be

preserved in a heritage preservation effort, state Wei and Yang. They raise questions about who should determine what is indigenous and what is traditional. They criticize the trend to commodify historic buildings for touristic consumption as a way to obtain economic development. They urge a rethinking of Taipei's urban renewal plan so that it reflects and supports indigenous social interactions, and helps reinforce collective memory and ritual activity. Povatong, in his morphological study of Bangkok's transformation, delineates how the contemporary city fabric is a product of the gradual integration of change and progress in existing urban patterns. In doing so, he illustrates how notions of what is traditional and acceptable incorporate new forms that represent changing social and cultural realities. Change is inevitable, but it is possible to make necessary changes yet maintain an intrinsic sense of community and urbanism.

Yucekus and Banerjee address the fact that the mandate for the architect and planner is not just to *read* and decipher the city, but to *write* the text, to shape the contemporary city. They describe the building and transformation of Xidan, which has been a commercial street in Beijing since the seventeenth century. They attribute the changes to both state intervention and to the influence of domestic and global capital. The private investor and developer and the government official each search for order, rationality, and efficiency. They describe the emerging streetscape as "seemingly one of unbridled market economy." It is quintessentially the spirit of market liberalism, and in this, money rather than environment or ambiance is what counts. The sobering message is that the significant agent in Xidan Street's physical transformation, as it is in much of the developing world, is global capital, and capital's instinct to make a profit.

Concern about the loss of long-standing heterogeneity and distinctiveness in ancient cities is echoed in Mahayni's chapter on Damascus, a city which, the author states, has been continually inhabited for over 6,000 years. Showcasing the district of Midan, which is over a thousand years old, and was established as a suburb outside the wall of Damascus in the early days of the Ottoman Empire, Mahayni describes the destructive effects of the last sixty years of development on the residential fabric and social texture of neighborhood space. New communities were designed in the "modern" mold, isolated from and unrelated to immediate context and adjoining communities. But they were constructed on old urban landscape as if on raw, undeveloped land. An antidote to such "top down" interventions is suggested by El Safty. She surveys the historic but decaying site of Gamaliya, Cairo, rich with historic monuments, to decipher the embedded social fabric that holds the community together. This information provides the insight to articulate the kind of preservation and upgradation which is possible "from the inside" through raising awareness and helping stimulate community-based effort.

Rojas reiterates this theme that multiple actors, including private property owners, need to be involved in urban heritage

preservation. Reflecting on the experience of financing such ventures in Latin America by the Sustainable Development Department of the Inter-American Development Bank, he identifies the two major factors which contribute to deterioration in the historic city centers of Latin America—functional and physical obsolescence. Although the market allocates few resources to conservation, increasingly communities are recognizing both the social and touristic value of such efforts. Rojas discusses how this recognition, usually on the part of an elite, can be strengthened by comprehensive measures by government in support of preservation. His cases illustrate issues to be considered in designing such incentives and regulation. The objective is to achieve an efficient and effective balance between the roles played by the public and private sectors. He notes that strong local government and popular participation are needed for a public-private participation to be forged that will protect poorer populations from the effects of gentrification, yet lead to sustainable conservation efforts. Rojas observes, echoing Yang and Wei, that enhanced appreciation of historical, traditional city space seems to gain in importance as cultures around the world become more globalized. But Lara's essay on the popular adoption of modern architecture into the predominant aesthetic in Brazil illustrates the forces against which heritage conservation must stand.

How do cultural forces which shape form play out in the multicultural landscape of the U.S.? Greinacher, Sen, and Ruff provide some provocative examples from their observations of Chinese, Indian, and African-American communities. New York's Chinatown is a successful inner-city neighborhood which has provided work and community for over 100 years for immigrant Chinese. Describing its evolution from a largely bachelor society in 1943 to its current role as a vibrant social and community center which serves both the "Uptown" educated, professional migrant and the "Downtown" rural migrant lacking formal education, the author suggests that its success and vitality provide insights for designing good cities. The segmentation of the professional and non-professional migrant stream is observed by Sen in the cultural differences in East Indian storefronts at the two ends of University Avenue in Berkeley. The immigrant bourgeoisie favor East Indian stores in the downtown, near the University Campus, and the working class frequents and is served by East Asian stores near the freeway. It is a fractured landscape reflecting a social division inflicted by taste and social class. Ruff suggests a physical design intervention to help soften a fracture on racial lines in Washington, D.C. He proposes the construction of a State Capital for the city of Washington, a city which is more than 70% African-American. It is designed with pedestrian-scale grid, expressing cultural difference in use of space, but is inserted into the grid lines of the mainstream, grand manner plan. These three papers provide creative perspectives of young planners and architects seeking to contribute constructively and professionally within the multicultural mosaic of contemporary U.S. society.

Part II: Class, Economy and Polity

The first cluster of papers, on *Class and Choices*, refers to some of the most troubling questions under discussion about globalization. What are its distributive effects on city space in terms of variables of class, race, and ethnicity? Furthermore, in a context in which the market is paramount, is there room for equity and redistributive effort? And, if so, what mechanisms and institutions will be legitimized to initiate such effort?

The lead paper by Maharaj and Khan succinctly and dispassionately notes that present city form in South Africa is inherited from the legacy of apartheid urban planning which left behind open spaces and under-utilized infrastructure and services. Remedial models suggested include city infill, compact cities, and inner-city densification. The government has developed five action strategies which include taking a regional posture, investing in urban development enhancing urban security, stimulating economic development, and creating public private partnerships for service delivery. However, the new urban reality, illustrated by the case of Durban, has salient characteristics, which can in fact be observed in most developing regions of the world: desegregation, but primarily along class lines; proliferation of informal settlements; and flight of capital from the central business districts (CBD's). In conclusion the authors note that South African segregation is deeply rooted in the socio-spatial fabric, and that despite the repeal of discriminatory legislation, this legacy will be visible for a long time. Redistributive action for social justice and participation of people in the planning process will be needed to change this reality.

This intra-city class issue and a city-hinterland conflict are elaborated in Adarkar's paper about access to real estate in the textile mills area of Mumbai, home to three million textile workers. Adarkar perceives an alliance of the government, elites, and the corporate sector against the claims of the working class. In the wake of globalization, redistributive justice in favor of the workers living in the textile mills area of Mumbai, on prime central -area real estate, seems improbable. With data on land availability and occupancy, Adarkar argues that, if Mumbai is to become a "global city" as its' political and business elite wish, it will have to be on the space vacated by residents of the central city, for example, the three million textile workers. Mill owners are interested in dismantling their aging and obsolete textile operations and capturing the profits from sale of their real estate. Government policy aids them in this. If they wish to continue textile manufacturing, flexible modes of production enable them to operate at much lower cost, by shifting to small, non-unionized, decentralized units in the suburbs of the city. Loss of livelihood in the downtown textile mills equates to loss of ability to remain in Mumbai for textile workers who have had a stake in this city space since the turn of the century.¹² In the globalizing climate of Bombay, there seems to be little redistributive policy in sight that would bolster their claims.

Kusno and Woods, in their respective work on Jakarta and Manila, reiterate this theme of class conflict over city space. Whether it is the wealthy ethnic Chinese in Jakarta or the Hong Kong Chinese and overseas Filipino workers investing in property in Manila, the story is of unequal access to urban land and shelter. Anti-Chinese riots are increasing in Indonesia, and Kusno discusses the ways in which architecture and urban form are appropriated in Jakarta to reinforce the dominant ideology of the new order. Woods describes how private-sector expatriate investments in the real estate of Manila develops the city for the few people with overseas money while those in the local economy, living in squatter settlements, are displaced. The jurisdictional conflict over the location of a highway exit in Pennsylvania is presented by Ford as a conflict between a younger and an older community. He reveals how it can also be understood as a conflict of class interests, and their differing value of and need for economic development; aesthetic, cultural, and scenic value; and a historical agricultural landscape. In Ford's terms, this reflects the different value the two communities give to an economic versus a representational space. Bodner's work on art movie theaters and malls, the new public spaces, which she notes are the privileged sites in postsocialist Budapest, illustrates the possibilities of a cultural resistance to cultural globalization without resorting to a nationalist code. The initiatives which keep the art movie network viable in Budapest are those of a private company, and represent an indigenous and heterogeneous interpretation of a globalizing force.

The papers on *Public and Private Roles* share an integrating concern with balancing government and private sector roles in responding to forces of globalization and urbanization. Firman clearly delineates a significant need for the Indonesian government to design a comprehensive urban land development policy. Otherwise, he argues, uncontrolled agricultural land conversion to urban land can potentially adversely affect food production. He claims that a well-designed policy will help make the land development process more efficient and equitable. Rodriguez showcases concession agreements with the private sector to construct, operate, and maintain transportation assets. These efforts need a great deal of capital and are important as they can increase the availability of public transport, a component of urban infrastructure essential for growing cities in developing countries. Reviewing five efforts in three Latin American countries to develop such agreements, Rodriguez provides an analysis of their prominent features and comes to useful conclusions about their utility. He stresses the essential role of government in forging agreements that are efficient over the long term. With detailed and thoughtful information, the paper underscores a larger point. By illustrating how complex and tailored to specific context successful public-private agreements must be, the author establishes that government has more rather than fewer decisions. Its role in providing an adequate regulatory and policy framework and climate are critical to a concession's success.

Florián-Borbón and Velasco-Campuzano discuss the government role in enabling about half of all the urban

dweller in Latin American countries to move from illegal occupancy of their "informal" housing to legal urban citizenship with homes connected to public utilities and amenities. They examine the responsibility of government with respect to this "other half" of urban population, a particularly significant number as these countries have more than three quarters of their total population living in cities. The authors remind us that, in thinking of partnerships with the public sector, the considerable investment the poor make in constructing their own shelter needs to be recognized. The government needs to facilitate connecting these homes to urban infrastructure.

The papers on *Participation in Shaping the City* address the theme of such participation in planning and decision making by groups to be affected by planned changes. Schlossberg makes a case for greater cultural understanding when planning is a global activity. He points out how the U.N. Pacific Human Development Report for the South Pacific region, which provides a regional framework to guide specific countries like Fiji in planning their futures, overlooks key Fijian cultural characteristics that will prove to be critical in developing plans sustainable at the local level. In the cash-based economic order recognized in the U.N. Report, the significance of Fiji's *kerekere* system of shared goods, anchored in a subsistence economy and traditional culture, is not recognized. Thus, any planning derived from it continues a pattern of working against native practices and organization rather than with them. Badshah et al. outline an approach to eliciting the participation of communities and stakeholders in the development of plans more likely to be sustainable. Echoing the theme of privatization, but modifying it so that the subaltern has a voice, they take as focus the empowerment of city community. They outline processes designed to enhance popular participation of citizens in decision-making and management while including the corporate sector. Prakash's work, while raising ethical and ideological issues that professional architects working in South Asian cities should consider, explores the need and contributions that might be possible with subaltern master-planning. He posits that this will make a more useful contribution in the long term than the profession's current engagement either in making grand plans or engaging in grass-roots activism.

In *Ways of Knowing Space*, three different ways are described of knowing about local space and how it is approached and experienced by local communities. Bromley delineates an action research method which he terms "microcosmic research" to augment data collection methods conventionally used in social science research on community. He suggests a simpler method to study local history, cultural diversity, and economic development to be used by local residents, in institutions such as schools, churches, non-profits, local business associations and local NGO's. The intent is to learn from "the inside of communities" the links between a neighborhood and the wider world. It is simple to do and requires little or no external funding. Involvement in such research, he claims, can help not just to reveal new and different information but to enhance local pride and awareness, improve ethnic relations, develop new forms of

entrepreneurship, and make a neighborhood dynamic and distinctive. O'Neill's paper presents a method to explore how people learn and know about local space. She examines how ranchers in southwest Montana of third- to fifth-generation ranching families develop a shared way of knowing about their spaces and their community. The method deciphers cognitive mapping processes in an attempt to reveal the ties that bind community together. Chaffers' paper provides a framework for knowing and making city space, incorporating values of vernacular, family, and human spirituality. Pointing to the tensions in market-driven economies, where he posits an overemphasis on material and individual well-being, he calls for an approach in which the tensions between finance and family are mediated. He places the role of architects and planners in a global context involving not just the elements of technology and leadership but also of spirituality, education, and vision. He argues for this way of building the city of the future based on twenty-one years of work with the GROW Land Association in inner-city Detroit, where the community perceives the building of housing and neighborhood not as building physical plant but as building families and relationships.

In the cluster of papers in *Regional Effects*, authors reach beyond the city itself to delineate the impact of globalization. Mahajan provides detailed descriptions of Nasik, a city which established "global" links with the Roman Empire in the second century B.C., through Nasik's major periods of growth and changes in political power. Her data reveal an accelerated expansion of city space in the last one hundred, and particularly in the last fifty, years. Nasik is modernizing and benefiting from the government's policies to disperse and diversify urban growth. In the industrial triangle of India, whose center is Mumbai and includes Nasik and Pune, Nasik has competed effectively and modernized through cultivating local, regional, and global connections. In contrast to Mumbai, global connections are transforming both Nasik city and its region into a vibrant modern space. Mumbai's loss, it appears, is Nasik's gain. The synergy, but also the competition and differing outcomes between cities in a production region, are made clear.

Success is also reported by Susnik and Ganesan in the recent redevelopment of Hong Kong's older urban areas. There is region-wide interest in Hong Kong's success. The paper presents issues which should be considered by localities with global economies and obsolete building stock. Hong Kong's success, the authors state, could become a prototype for the upcoming Yangtze Basin plan in which, it is reported, over two hundred cities are expected to be rebuilt. The authors observe increased private sector involvement in redevelopment of Hong Kong which is complemented by a small but increasing activity by urban renewal agencies. For a development to be sustainable in the long term, they advocate an affordable level of foreign exchange availability for the urban sector. An excess of foreign exchange content in the market value of urban ventures is seen as a concern, since such redevelopment seldom earns enough revenue in foreign currency to repay a higher debt.

Jiménez, proposing ways to bring about development in a region of Mexico in the economic shadow of Mexico City, advocates coalition building and planning between city governments to make a regional claim for development resources from the center. As in most centralized developing economies, these resources, usually in the form of capital, are essential to construct the capital infrastructure needed if a region is to be a viable actor in the global marketplace. With the case of Bombay (Mumbai), Brahme describes the effects of what she sees as four centuries of globalization. She points out how built-up space, urban facilities, and the windfall profits of global connections have accrued to the city elite but served to impoverish both the working classes in the city and in the rural hinterlands. She warns against a strategy that relies primarily on connectivity to the nation and the world, and states that the ambitions of Bombay's elite to elevate it to an international finance center, like Hong Kong, will come at the expense of the local region and the working-class inhabitants of the city.

Describing Taiwan's transformation into a key industrial player on the global landscape, Williams notes the costs this has entailed to the environment and to the quality of life to be enjoyed in cities such as Taipei. However, his paper points out that effective action on the part of government can be ameliorative. Antonakos reflects on the ways in which designs of transportation systems around the world need to be evaluated from a social perspective, and endorses moving away from automobile-dependent models to reduce stress and enhance sustainability of the system in the long run. Two papers presented at the symposium and published elsewhere address regional implications in additional dimensions. Corey¹³ details the efforts made by countries in Southeast Asia and the United States to control and shape cyber communities in the twenty-first century, the new territorial frontier. Zusman¹⁴ delineates the regional impacts, including those on urban space, of water shortage in the Yellow River.

Finally, papers on *Housing Issues and Gender* deal with a specific sector of city infrastructure, namely, shelter, and a specific constituency of the city population, namely, women. The particular needs of women and the variations in these needs in different societies that are globalizing are illustrated. Sinai's paper draws on empirical evidence to confirm the utility of housing in income generation in Kumasi, Ghana. Her paper provides the kind of data which is needed for a context-grounded assessment of policy options in the shelter sector. For example, Sinai's data reveal that female-headed households more often use their homes for income generation. Patton explores whether a Nicaraguan housing project is accessible to low-income women and provides another example of research useful to decision makers interested in forging a gender-sensitive housing policy. She suggests project-based approaches directed by NGO's as having the greatest possible potential. The papers by Pothukuchi, Bose, and El Rafey and Bukhari serve to highlight the spatial constraints and limitations on women even in the modernizing and large cities of South Asia and the Middle East¹⁵. Educated women seeking to work in the city need shelter separate from that within a family to which they are traditionally entitled,

states Pothukuchi. Working women's hostels fill this need, but more than monetary costs are involved, costs which women pay to gain a foothold in the city. She suggests policy recommendations which might reduce these costs. Bose's paper on the culture of surveillance as a force that circumscribes and limits women's spatial experience in the city reveals a social reality in many regions of the world beyond the specific South Asian context she uses for her case study. Her work reveals conditions in which women are rewarded for conforming to societal norms and punished for non-conformance. Similar societal conditions make the work described in El Rafey and Bukhari particularly significant and constructive. They describe the design goals for community centers for women in Saudi Arabia, thus creating semi-public realms in which women can socialize and interact.

The diversity of regions, subjects, and social groups embraced in this collection of papers is revealing on two counts. First, it illustrates the multifaceted and varied understanding of authors about of what is meaningful and significant about global-local connections which affect the space of cities. Secondly and more importantly, the collection reveals many common themes and issues which appear to transcend regional and cultural specificity. The commonalties seem to be particularly obvious if the perspective taken is class- or sector-based in its concern. This collection of papers, addressing as it does the tangible and spatial manifestations of global links on local space from a multidisciplinary perspective, begins a conversation which needs to continue. The quality of life space which people around the world will experience in the twenty-first century will be improved by critical examination and corrective action by concerned citizens playing decisive roles in the public, private, and professional realms. Discussions that transcend national boundaries and bring together life space experiences and observations, will be needed to assist this action. The editor and authors of this book hope the work presented here is useful and informative in that effort.

Notes

- ¹ See for instance, King, Anthony D, ed., *Culture, Globalization, and the World System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*, University of Minnesota Press: 1997; and, *Re-Presenting the City: Ethnicity, Capital and Culture in the 21st-Century Metropolis*, New York University Press: 1996; Smith, D., *Third World Cities in Global Perspective: The Political Economy of Uneven Urbanization*, Westview Press: 1996; Chiu, Stephen W.K., K.C.Ho, Tai-Lok Lui, *City-States in the Global Economy: Industrial Restructuring in Hong Kong and Singapore*, Westview Press: 1997; Sharon Zukin, *The Cultures of Cities*, Blackwell: 1995; Sassen, S., *Losing Control? : Sovereignty in an Age of Globalization*, Columbia University Press: 1996; and Douglass, Mike and John Friedmann, eds., *Cities for Citizens: Planning and the Rise of Civil Society in a Global Age*, John Wiley and Sons: 1998.

- ² See Castelles M. *The Informational City: Information, Technology, Economic Restructuring and the Urban-Regional Process*, Blackwell: 1989; Knox, P.L. and Peter J. Taylor, eds. *World Cities in the World System*, Cambridge University Press: 1995; Sassen, S., *Cities in a World Economy*, Thousand Oaks, Pine Forge Press: 1994.
- ³ This conversation has been particularly active and significant in sociology, anthropology, political science, and economics.
- ⁴ For example, the urbanist Witold Rybezynski in a public lecture at the College of Architecture and Urban Planning, University of Michigan, February 21, 1997, when asked about the implications of globalization on American cities and their real-estate markets, was dismissive. He did not know what "this globalization" was. He did not think it a significant factor in his own scholarship on North American cities. Whatever it was, it was not a significant factor in the real-estate marketplace of a Philadelphia, a Boston, or a Montreal.
- ⁵ See Appadurai, Arjun., *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Public Worlds, Volume 1, University of Minnesota Press: 1996.
- ⁶ During the strike in the Spring of 1998 by workers in G.M.'s Michigan plants, various local newspapers, including the *Ann Arbor News* and the *Detroit Free Press*, noted quite specifically issues about job loss and flight of production capacity to Mexico as key concerns of the striking workers.
- ⁷ Scott, Allen J. and Michael Storper, *Regional Development Reconsidered*, Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, UCLA, Working Paper 1: 1990, pp. 1-50.
- ⁸ See Friedmann, John, "Life Space and Economic Space: Contradictions in Regional Development" in *Life Space and Economic Space: Essays in Third World Planning*, Transaction Books, New Brunswick, NJ, 1988, 93-107.
- ⁹ See McGee, T.G., "The Emergence of *Desakota* Regions in Asia: Expanding a Hypothesis" in Ginsburg, Norten., Bruce Koppel and T.G. McGee eds., *The Extended Metropolis: Settlement Transition in Asia*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu: 1991.
- ¹⁰ In this chapter references to papers in this book are made only by their authors' name.
- ¹¹ Presentations made at the 1996 conference (The Future of Asia's Cities) including those describing activities of Chiputra, Lippo Karawaci were dramatically illustrative of this (see Prakash), as is the work of scholars such as Edward Blakely on gated communities in the USA.
- ¹² For a description of the textile workers life space and their historical claim on the textile village land, see Dandekar, Hemalata C., *Men to Bombay, Women at Home: Urban Influence on Village Life in Deccan Maharashtra, India, 1942-82*, Center for South and Southeast Asia Publications, University of Michigan:1986, and Rajnarayan Chandavarkar, *The Origins of Industrial Capitalism in India: Business Strategies and the Working Classes in Bombay, 1900-1940*, Cambridge University Press.
- ¹³ See Kenneth E. Corey, "Electronic Space: Creating and Controlling Cyber Communities in Southeast Asia and the United States, <http://www.ssc.msu.edu/~Dean>.
- ¹⁴ See Eric Zusman, "A River Without Water: Examining Water Shortage in the Yellow River Basin," *The LBJ Journal of Public Affairs*, Spring 1998, pp. 31-41.
- ¹⁵ For a cross-national rendition of the various aspects of women's relationship to the local space of house and home see Dandekar, Hemalata C., ed., *Shelter, Women and Development: First and Third World Perspectives*, George Wahr Publishing Co., Ann Arbor: 1993.

