UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Urban Planning and the Concept of Community

A case study of Los Angeles from 1960 to 2000

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Master of Urban and
Regional Planning

by

Louis Jacques Maxime Monteils

2017

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

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Masters of Urban and Regional Planning

University of California, Los Angeles, 2017

Professor Leobardo F. Estrada, Chair

This thesis examines the concept of community and provides an overview of how it was interpreted and used by planners in Los Angeles, from the middle of the 20th century to the present. First, I study how the concept of community emerged in sociology, by setting it in historical moments during which both social sciences, society and the city changed importantly. Second, I review the evolution of urban planning practices in Los Angeles from the 1960s to the 1990s. To do so, I provide a critical interpretation of archive (plans, correspondence, and other documents) and newspaper articles, and I highlight how the practice of planning was related to political ideas and ideals about "communities". I conclude by suggesting how social sciences influenced planners, and how urban planners still envision the city through the prism of "communities" today.

The thesis of Louis Jacques Maxime Monteils is approved.

Ananya Roy

Karida Brown

Leobardo F. Estrada, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2017

Table of contents

Introduction and Justification: Where Sociology and Planning Meet

1. Rarely does a discussion about public affairs in the United States miss the term "community". Discourses of elected officials, as well as civil servants', scholars', and students', are sprinkled with it, as long as what is discussed in these discourses has to do with the public sphere at large (Brint, 2001). Oftentimes, political parties are a way for Americans to get interested in politics (Pew Research Center, 2016; Huffpost, 2015[1]). It is, then, all the more curious that the use of this word transcends partisanship. The values President Trump embodies are obviously different than those embodied by the representative of an institution such as UCLA: thus it is reasonable to assume that the President of the United States and UCLA's Vice Chancellor are politically opposed. They endorse different parties and have different opinions. Yet, both Donald Trump and Jerry Kang mention "communities" in their discourses (President Trump in his first address to the Congress; Vice Chancellor Kang in a recent email to UCLA students); both rely on a certain idea they have of "communities", which they translate into politics.

2. Questions stem from this paradox. Should we consider that the term "communities" is apolitical? To put it another way: should we consider it is occasionally given a political interpretation relative to who is using it? My first intuition was that it is at the same time a medium-message (as in McLuhan's 1964 famous and controversial assertion) and a relatively neutral concept. Its use in politics is ambiguous. The message, I thought, is almost systematically directed to the American society, as it belongs to a certain tradition of national politics (as demonstrated, for example, by Stein, 1969). At the same time, it is used as a solid, universal, absolute concept that citizens do not question insofar they enjoy it as a means of socialization. More precisely, my first assumption, which I was led to by Roy et. al (2014), was that it is used "at no risk" by different social actors, including urban planners, because it is believed to be "neutral". Reasoning from this abstract assumption, then, what would be the relative benefit of using such term? Does it even provide its user with benefits? This is another set of question I want to let open for now.

3. In the field of urban planning, the prominence of the term "community" is illustrated by its use as a basic concept. Other concepts such as "community plans" or "community oriented development" (Polyzoides, 2011) derive from this mother-concept. One of the points of this thesis will be to show how the documents planning institutions produce are stamped with a belief in communities. Archives from the Los Angeles Department of City Planning mention the existence and life of "communities", over time, although they gives neither the justification for using such term nor a strict definition of it. If planners embrace communities and acknowledge their existence, they either are not necessarily cautious about defining what communities are, or need to define what exactly they mean by the term, and in which direction—if there is one—they intend to use it. Besides, as the literature shows, the scope of the term goes beyond the planners' limited power of action. Nevertheless, concepts as "community planning" or "community oriented development" are oftentimes claimed to be at the core of the potential solutions to the

most pressing urban problems. The optimistic belief in community is cultivated at an early stage of the career of a professional planner. The concept has an educational value for upcoming planners: remarkably, it is stated as one of the major components of the planning's ideal (to "serve communities") on a plaque in the entrance of the Luskin School of Public Affairs at UCLA. Thus, Zukin's intuition (2011) that "communities are the favorite North American urban trope" is still valid. But in which way? In the literature review, I show that the way the concept is used varied over time in the United States. I build upon the example of Los Angeles, whose ideal of communities has been made "famous" notably by Davis (1992), and by various cultural artifacts. Besides, following Minar and Greer's advice (1969; ix), I attempt to untangle the network of interpretations the concept has, and I strive to shed light on what seems to be, today, theoretical confusion about "communities".

4. Hillery (1995) notes that there are, indeed, as many definitions of a "community" as there are opinions, among scholars, in schools of thoughts, in textbooks, in political discourses. Explaining why the concept and has many definitions is delicate, partly because it has traditionally been used, and is still used, by individuals and institutions whose professional categorization is, itself, problematic. In the United States, there is literature about "who planners are", or "what planners do" (see for example Hoch, 1994). Nevertheless, these questions are still open or, at least, their results need to be updated. In the midst of globalization, migrations to metropolises, as well as other related phenomenon, even professors teaching at the same school of planning would not necessarily give one single answer to what "urban planning"—the profession, the practice, the theory—means today. Smith (1991) or Hoch (1994), two professional planners, and representatives of the classical view of the American urban organization, would certainly contradict newer theorists such as Cowell and Owen (2006). The latter simply state that planning "is about governing space"; the former have a narrower, detailed definition. Here lies, perhaps, another paradox: radical concision in theory is happening at a time when the world seems to be swarming with details… In the field, outside of schools, the question of the role of planners is moreover intriguing. Legal documents specifying what planners must do evolve over time, tending, as it happens, to include an increasing number of precisions: Los Angeles' City Charter of 1972 simply states that "[the Director of Planning] shall be chosen with special reference to his actual experience in and his knowledge of *accepted practice*[2] in the field of city planning" (sec. 95), whereas the updated version of the Charter rather focuses at length, today, on the Director's many "responsibilities".

5. The controversy can be framed differently than a quarrel of the ancients and the moderns, though, by asking for instance: where exactly, in the field of public affairs, do urban planners stand? Besides studies about planners as intermediaries, the literature lacks an explanation of how the idea of "planning"—which conveys historical a priori—relates to public affairs today (Gunder, 2010[3]). By contrast, scholars wrote extensively about what "urban" means and conveys, and such question was granted in-depth review; it received attention; it was commented and

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[2] I highlight.

[3] Gunder writes notably on the "planning ideology".

critiqued by scholars starting decades ago, as I shall explain briefly (see for instance Castells[4], 1972; 102). Similarly, the word "community" received remarkable attention (Hillery; 1995, quoted by Brint; 2001), although it tended to avoid the mere field of planning. Its relation with the American national identity (Minar and Greer, 1969; 85) and its meaning in other international contexts (see for example Belorgey et al., 2005[5]) make it particularly dense conceptually.

7. Through the literature review and the archive research, I intend to show that "community" covers different meanings that are not absolutely incompatible nor mutually exclusive. Notably, the review of historical theories will show that what is now called "community" has been given different names: solidarity (by the "founding fathers" of sociology in the late 19th century), fraternity, or brotherhood (political discourses and slogans of the radicals, or from revolutionary movements of the 1960s, for example), consensus (see for example Breslau, 1988, commenting on the Chicago School). The classic opposition between the individual and "the rest", or, in some cases, between the community and the outsider, is not new. Arguably, though, it is not the favorite approach of today's social scientists, especially of those interested in the interpretation of social relationships within space, or within a special kind of space: the city. How such thinking evolved is revealed through the literature review, and its contemporary stakes are shown through the research question.

8. Apart from reviewing the sociological interpretations and uses of "community", I shall expand on the following ideas about the practice of planning and its relation with the concept of community: a few practices are characteristic of the activity of planners in Los Angeles; these practices (the most important one being zoning) rely on concepts such as community, governance, politics, etc.; finally, it is possible to highlight historical contentions and tensions between practices and concepts. These ideas will be organized in hypotheses related to the research question. In the general conclusion, I will provide a synthesis of all the arguments that I will have exposed and defended.

9. I shall also suggest in the general conclusion how this thesis can be improved and expanded. The main method for this thesis is historical investigation, and it thus can help understand the theoretical framework of a professional practice, located in a certain time and space. It is essentially a case study reinforced with a literature review. An *ethnography of urban planners in Los Angeles,* though, would contribute to reinforce the arguments I defend; it would contribute to bridge the gaps of understanding that exist between the heterogeneous sub notions embraced by the mother-concept of "community". In other words, further research on planners themselves would make it easier to answer the broad question: what is planning in the United States today?

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[4] In the same fashion as Gunder (2010), he deals with ideology, but the "urban" one.

[5] There are "communities" outside of the United States: community studies and research are conducted by Europeans researchers—notably Duffy and Hutchinson (1997) in the United Kingdom; Belorgey et al. (2005) in France; and others—although to lesser quantity (and to a lesser renown).

Literature Review

Introduction

1. I describe the evolution of the concept of "community" through to what Breslau (1988) calls "history of knowledge."[6] As a historical item, this concept is subject to a certain "fortune" (Brint, 2011). Supported by newly-born sociology, it travelled from "Germany to the United States", (Zukin, 2011). As suggested by Brint (2011), over almost fifty years of development of the country, and notably critical processes of industrialization/urbanization (Castells, 1972; 39) which triggered important steps in the evolution of the American social science, the original use and interpretation of the word "community" transformed; it became a source of confusion while, paradoxically, not falling in oblivion. From the the 1990s on, several authors contributed to theorize such idea by following the evolution of the term, taking different standpoints (Anderson, 1991; Davis, 1992; Brint, 2001; Hobsbawm, 2007; Zukin, 2011; …)

2. In the form of histories of knowledge, most of their work consisted in questioning the relevance, the "operationality" of the concept of community over time. Setting themselves either outside or inside of the fields in which the concept could have a practical application, they commonly noted how "crises" affected the realm of knowledge, in relation with this concept. Such acknowledgment led some of them to go as far as assessing the practical implications of such crises (Castells: "is there an urban sociology?"; Breslau: "is there a Chicago School?"; Wirth: "is there an urban way of life?" etc.) They questioned the relevance of the paradigms they had to work with in the first place. Other scholars directly questioned the relevance of the topic of "communities" in specific fields (the question being ultimately: "who is legitimate to reflect on the question of cities, communities, etc.?") Moreover, giving up on philosophical interrogations, scholars mostly focus on the paradigmatic aspect of the question of communities.

3. Brint (2001; 1) bridges the gap between historiography and theory, as he suggests how "to make this concept useful again to sociology" (after it has lost its meaning) by using a new typology of communities. The acknowledgment of a conceptual failure is discussed by other scholars: Zukin (2011; 7) notes that it remains "the favorite North American urban trope". Nevertheless, it is "often a source of confusion for it stands for many things, and when it is used with interchangeable meanings very elementary errors creep into our discourse" (Minar and Greer, 1969). These quotes from different times have not been seriously challenged so far. Zukin, Minar and Greer, although they adopt different points of view, are consensual about the scholars' and theorists' inertia regarding the fact that their fields of knowledge—which must all investigate the question of the city—suffer from crises of knowledge.

4. A particular element of reflection related to the concept of "community" stimulates the research in fields as different as sociology and history: the question of identity. Historians have used it to explain the making of nations, for example Hobsbawm (1975), or Anderson (1991), who develops the concept of "imagined communities" in the seminal, eponymous book, to relate

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[6] For French "histoire de la connaissance" (my translation).

the idea of group assimilation to the formation of a state, through the nationalist ideology. Hobsbawm (2007) suggests that globalization leads people to cherish the idea of community and to rely on its myths in order to preserve its homogeneity. He also underlines the essential contradiction political theory faces with the concept of community (Hobsbawm, 1975, cited by Plant, 1978):

> The tradition of middle class liberal political thought has not quite known what to do with it. The essence of that tradition was individualist, and the shadow of individualism lies over it still. Fraternity, in this tradition, can only be the by product of individual impulses, of such qualities as Bentham's benevolence or of those social sympathies with which schools like the positivists operated.

5. This theoretical confusion led policy-makers and even voters, citizen, city-dwellers, to use the concept of "community" in a flexible way—up to the point its meaning disappeared under layers of approximation, myths and ideologies. Davis (1992; 153) writes that:

> "Community" in Los Angeles means homogeneity of race, class and, especially, home values. Community designations—i.e. the street signs across the city identifying areas as "Canoga Park", "Holmby Hills", "Silverlake", and so on—have no legal status. [...] they are merely favors granted by city councilmembers to well-organized neighborhoods or businessmen's groups seeking to have their areas identified.

6. The concept was also integrated in and accepted by the "civil" society through the increasing popularity of "the city" as an artistic theme, and "communities" as an offshoot of this theme. From the mid-2010s on, fictions and documentaries have shed a new light on American communities, through the larger prism of the realistic depiction of the life in American metropolises. Notably, as described by the New York Times[7] (2015), they have in common to avoid over-romanticizing everyday life in communities. Communities in HBO series *Treme* (2010, Holland), HBO miniseries *Show Me A Hero* (2015, Haggis); in documentaries such as *Living in Jackson Heights* (2015, Wiseman) and *My Brooklyn* (2012, Anderson) depict, through different angles, spatial solidarity happening in a certain environment—both with beneficial and harmful outcomes. Other, related works originally address the issues of shared identities, and generally acknowledge the existence of complex, sentimental ties between urbanites, that they oftentimes describe as members of a "community": see for example *Zootopia* (Howard & Moore, 2016) or *City of Gold* (Gabbert, 2015).

7. In this thesis, finally, the literature review and the confrontation of school of thoughts and opinions among scholars reveal how deep the crisis, internal to sociology and other social disciplines, is. It also suggests in which contemporary ways this crisis is affecting politics—the life of the *polis* and, thus, the life of the people. The concept of "community" appears as a key to understand these elements: it polarizes opinions, it stimulates debates between schools to the point it contributes to generating new schools; it reinforces the importance of studying "the city" (Castells, 1968; Breslau, 1988). In time, however, its sociological essence got gradually lost.

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[7] Hale, 2015. From https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/14/arts/television/review-show-me-a-hero-focuses-on-a-mayor-in-the-maelstrom-of-desegregation.html?_r=0

When estimating the "fortune" of the concept, I suggest that, roughly, three essential moments can be distinguished: first, the emergence of the concept in Europe, in the end of the 19th century; then its move from Europe (most notably Germany and France) to the United States, leading to the founding of the "Chicago School" (based on the German tradition of sociology); second, the critique of the concept and its prolongations over three decades, starting in the 1960s; finally, in the trends of what scholars called postmodernity (see notably Harvey, 1989), its "post-criticism" this is, the questioning of the criticism as such, its radical application to space notably by the so-called Los Angeles school.

Method

Relying on Foucault's suggestion (1969), I study these moments within a historical perspective, and, at the same time, I unfold the "fortune" of the concept of "community" by relating it to the history of urban planning in the United States. Because the first moment I study regards essentially sociology, I comment on the development of this science while reflecting on the use of the concept; the second moment corresponds to an overflowing transfer from theory to practice, which I describe as part of the 1960s revolutionary movement; finally, the third moment combines strong theoretical assumptions and radical shifts which I strive to put in perspective with contemporary stakes in urbanism. The theoretical findings stemming from these moments do not logically follow each other, nor do they build up on each others, even though the overall sequence arguably evokes a dialectic plan.

The Emergence of a Concept and the Emergence of a Discipline

1. The concept of "community" emerges as a founding component of classical sociology (Brint, 2001). This first period I identify, is problematic because it coincides with a time of changes in the field of sciences, which makes it uneasy to grasp what is specific to sociology itself. Nevertheless, I identify three representatives of this moment whose work contributes to establish the notion I discuss: Tönnies (1855-1936), Durkheim (1858-1917) and Weber (1864-1920). These scholars pioneer the field of social science: they are surely not the only ones— Simmel (1858-1918) arguably deeply influenced Durkheim—but they are sufficiently different from each other to constitute ideal types themselves. Whether the expression is questionable, Harris (2001) suggests that they can be regarded as "fathers of sociology" because, relying on both their personal approaches of science and their conviction in the supremacy of "positive sciences" (Durkheim, 1893; xxv), they build up systems that are sound enough to enable future generations to develop theories and critiques from them. In addition to their attempt to decipher societies of their times, they criticize the realm of scientific approximation and ideology and they offer to contradict those by applying the methods of positive interpretation to societal facts (Durkheim, 1893; xxv).

2. The early stage of development of social science in the late 19th century justifies the need to refer to a certain philosophy of science (which appears notably in Durkheim's work). As I suggested in the introduction, the concept of "community" itself is intricately related to philosophical postulates, and refers to an old tradition of philosophical thinking.

3. Durkheim commonly and explicitly refers to "social science" (1893; 1) to describe what he and other sociologists intend to achieve. The style and contents of *The Division of Labor in Society* (1893) reveal the humanistic erudition of Durkheim, who with ease draws in different fields to construct his theory. Similarly, Tönnies' interest for classic philosophy (Hobbes) and for contemporary philosophy (Nietzsche) has been demonstrated by Bond (2013). Remy & Voyé (1973; 210), quoting Jaspers (1958) praise Weber for the "immense diversification of his culture and his mastering of economy, philosophy, law and sociology." 19th century sociology is included in a larger movement of ideas which scope is arguably wider than that of contemporary sociology. At it emerges conceptually, notably in the writings of Weber (1921), the idea of "community" thus belongs to an emerging field that is, at the time, not clearly framed, nor named, nor theoretically bounded.

4. In spite of the remarkable spiritual unity in which the founders of sociology progressed, they certainly estimated the scope and impact of their works, in their respective fields, in different ways. Reflecting on this aspect of the history of sciences, Rey (2016) studies the transition from "intuitive" social science, based on limited empirical information and data, to the realm of statistics. He explores how sociology switches from the former to the latter, pushed by a demand emanating from political powers. He funnily alludes, in passing, to Durkheim's disdainful comment about the "science of statistics" he regards as useful only to depict "the egoist-type"[8]. Grafmeyer ([1978] 2004) describes the transition, in the United States, from the methods that the Chicago School of sociology made famous—clearly oriented towards research both prudent and empirically limited—to resolutely quantitative methods developed notably in Columbia and Harvard from the 1940s. In another direction, Simay (2013)[9] underlines how the "sensitive" approach of classical sociologists such as Simmel benefits the contemporary interpretation of urban phenomenon.

5. Changes in the environment, at the end of the 19th century, arguably stimulated such original and diverse works. Loomis (1957) suggests that witnessing processes of industrialization has been an important motivation for scholars to construct theory. The environmental upheaval Tönnies, Durkheim and others were observing in Western and Northern Europe highlighted the importance of studying "social facts as things". Moreover, the way in which industrialization relates to urbanization has long been analyzed, starting in the first decades of the 20th century (Wirth, 1938; Castells 1972). Wirth (1938; 7) argues that the two phenomenon should be distinguished. Castells (1972), on the other hand, asks directly whether the 19th century's processes of industrialization are comparable to 20th century's urbanization, and later on, to

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[8] https://www.franceculture.fr/emissions/repliques/le-monde-et-le-nombre

[9] Simmel, G. (2013). *Les grandes villes et la vie de l'esprit.* Éditions Payot. trad. J.-L. Vieillard-Baron et F. Joly, préf. P. Simay.

globalization, finding that "North America has linked industrialization and urbanization from the start, from the first administrative implantations on the North-East coast" (39). By assimilating the culture of the "industrial capitalist society" with a certain culture of "the urban" (1972; 21), and suggesting culture as a vector of economic transition in the city, he also unveils a path for urban communities studies to explore as they develop.

6. It is certainly redundant to assert that sociology is about society; it is essential, however, to note that the intellectual intuition that leads to sociological thinking occurs as a reaction to social changes that are disrupting the traditional order of things (Remy & Voyé, 1974; 157). Besides, the prodroma of 20th century classical sociology are viewed as a the reaction to alterity: the sociological "displacement" or revolution follows the tradition of the European Lumières. On Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*, Roger Caillois (1949; xiii) writes that the sociological revolution consists in "pretending to be foreign to the society in which one lives, to look at it from outside and as if it were to be seen for the first time". Tocqueville ([1865] 1984) writes "a foreigner often learns important truths at the heart of his host, who might conceal them from his friends." The scope of the work of the sociologist, as well as its positionality, are of great influence on the evolution of theories of the city and theories of urban communities.

7. I suggested that social scientists adopted the concept of "community" in Europe as an essential object to study, when sociology itself emerged as a modern science. The prominent "founding fathers" (Harris, 2001) who contributed to its development are Tönnies, Durkheim and Weber. Building on Brint's arguments (2001), I suggest that Tönnies' contribution is the most relevant to this thesis, for two main reasons. The first reason is that, while conceptualizing social groups through ideal types, one of them being the "Community", Tönnies suggests ways in which it is possible to integrate these ideal types to the historical analysis of political regimes, and he sets the question of the *polis* at the core of his general theory. This will prove useful to the analysis I make of planning documents in Los Angeles. Even though he does not acknowledge the importance of space insofar as to constitute a legitimate theory of planning, his suggestion of how to use his findings are relevant to the analysis. The second reason is that Tönnies' errors, or what was interpreted as such (notably by his peers) shed light on what is at stake for planners when they embrace the concept of "community". In this way, it is relevant to compare Tönnies and Durkheim's theories on the question of communities, as suggested by Brint (2001).

8. Tönnies' model is known as *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* ([1887] 1957). In his preface to Tönnies' work, Loomis (1957) suggest that this model it is an application of Weber's ideal types, this is: a guide, a scheme (rather than a snapshot of reality) that helps interpret a social phenomenon by sketching some of its main characteristics. Indeed, the strength of Tönnies' model is that it escapes historical contention while specifically describing a social dynamic. Nevertheless, Tönnies himself suggests that his model might be used in a historical framework, to describe the evolution from a state "of nature" to another one.

9. *Gemeinschaft* is a synonym for tradition, as opposed to *Gesellschaft*, "novelty". Tradition and novelty, commonly translated as "community" and "society", are thought of as two extreme values on a scale (which also correspond to Durkheim' (1893) mechanic and organic solidarity). These poles do not necessarily refer to historical times; rather, they refer to possible degrees in

the process of individual atomisation operated by the state (those can be characterized and listed). According to Tönnies, who gives detailed descriptions of cases applying to his ideal types, the evolution from Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft is a natural one; it corresponds to maturity (Brint, 2001). In the context of industrialization, Tönnies opposes the ideal of a simple life, associated with rurality; ruled essentially by traditions; where face-to-face relations are the essence of social interaction, to the modern, cosmopolitan urban life in which social mechanisms are comparable to business and industrial mechanisms. Gemeinschaft is a social state to which individuals naturally aspire. In Gesellschaft, however, the state rules individuals and indirectly imposes "its" rational will to them, making the self prevail over the collective, as a form of rational order.

10. Brint (2001) notes that the emergence of Gesellschaft corresponds to the emergence of modern cities, even though, again, it is not the emergence of cities itself that determines the "level" of Gesellschaft in society. In a Hobbesian tradition of political studies, Tönnies describes the state as the actor directly imposing a certain societal order to people, with more or less success. The state's promotion of "society" over "communities" deeply impacts people's lives in Tönnies model: to exist, Tönnies argues, the state must seek to destroy Gemeinschaft—it thus alienates the Gemeinschaft representatives and imposes a certain social order based on economical rationality. Interestingly enough, though, Tönnies suggest that this deprivation of free will leads individuals to rebel regularly against top-down order and to strive to recreate communal conditions of living, in what appears an infinite cycle of crisis and appeasement. At the core of the theory, the element of oppression inherent to industrialization is proficiently and profusely used in 20th century theory, making Tönnies' ideal types the "locus classicus of sociology" (Brint, 2001). Oppression is a key element in the scholarly analysis of the planner's use of "community".

11. The terms *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* do not exclusively belong to sociology. According to Berman (1981), they almost systematically have to do with modernity, though. Stepping aside Tönnies' argument, he offers a literary interpretation of the transition from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft, as he reviews Goethe's *Faust* (1808, 1832). He suggests that "Gretchen's tragedy" is a "tragedy of development" (51) embodied by the dramatic love story between Gretchen and Faust, who are almost to be seen as two opposed idea types. Understanding the stakes of Gretchen's tragedy, Berman argues, young generations that have grown up in "little words" seek for liberation from the village-oriented way of life they are accustomed to. They embrace modernity by "leaving and living" (59) and seize the new opportunities offered in Gesellschaft-kind environments. Berman does not make the state a prominent actor of change, nor of influence. Instead, he considers that a certain zeitgeist combined with individual fate are responsible for the people's adoption of modernity (through "Society").

12. Although it is now critiqued by scholars, Tönnies' "attempt to identify the dominant features and qualities of each way of life" (Brint, 2001; 2) corresponds with the way in which a certain category of policy-makers think about society and strive to orient it. Even the smallest attempts to modify the urban form, by switching from a "center-oriented" kind of city plan to a "community-oriented" other kind of city plan, for example, show that the persons who are responsible for these attempts set themselves within a project of "civilization". Durkheim

reminds us (1889) that the subtitle of Tönnies' book is *A study on Communism and Socialism considered as empirical forms of civilization*. Such remark is important because it shows that sociology that was produced at the time connected (although, arguably incidentally) with ideas that shaped the entire 20th century. It is all the more important to note that Durkheim naturally and immediately relates the words "Community" and "Society" (which he considers, besides, imperfect translations of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft) to their "political" meaning and symbolic content. This seems an erroneous connection since the Gesellschaft-like of social relationships Tönnies characterizes do not seem to have a lot in common with the ideal socialism pushed forward in the 20th century. Nevertheless, the rest of the literature review will show that this apparent paradox is less contradictory than it seems.

13. Durkheim (1889), among others, comments and criticizes Tönnies's work. He praises it for its seminal contribution to the development of social science and sees in it a particularly useful reflection on the "forms of social life" (¶15-16). As mentioned before, Brint (2001) compares Tönnies to Durkheim, and gives credit to the latter for establishing his theory of communities on more scientifically relevant bases. Brint writes that Tönnies' ideal type of community "has had certain negative consequences on sociology" (2001; 2), while Durkheim's "disaggregates" the components of a community and takes it as a starting point to a larger reflection about civilization and society, if need. In Brint's analysis, Tönnies, on the other hand, pictures the "community" as an objective to reach and at the same time as an abstract object to define. In the end, Brint's analysis seems to suggest that the same movement, aimed at defining a certain kind of human gathering, conducted two fields toward opposed goals: "communities" in the Tönniesian sense benefited "urban planning" and they disadvantaged "sociology". By rooting the interpretation of societal flows and equilibriums into ideal types, Tönnies' system made room for politically-oriented definitions of the community; it offered hitches for non-sociologists to hold on to, and it contributed to facilitate a practice that relies on social-moral assumptions. His definition of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft comes with a "package" of a priori conceptual tools. It is overall easy to use and to apply it to different contexts. Durkheim's system, on the other hand, offers a sounder basis that benefits the evolution of sociology: the disaggregation of variables that make a community be a community can be done rationally and precisely. But rather than characterizing the features of "a community" (as the tradition of community studies will do, later on), it suggests the conditions in which community is likely to take place. Hence, it is a less useful tool to urban planners than Tönnies'. Granted, Planners in Los Angeles systematically disaggregate communities' perceived features; nevertheless, they do not necessarily reflect on the conditions in which those took place.

14. What Durkheim (1889) saw in Tönnies was essentially a "classifier", a hobby Durkheim would set under the auspices of his rival's "Germanity" (20), perhaps with a bit of contempt. Again, Tönnies tends to encourage to list characteristics of social models. Durkheim, on the other hand, might have embraced a different methodological approach, more ideological stream of thought inspired in Positivism, as I shall come back to.

15. Young (1990) pursues Tönnies' interpretation of his own ideal type, in that she does not question the fact that "bureaucratized capitalist patriarchal society discourages and destroys such communities of mutual friendship, just as it pressures and fragments families" (223). At the same

time, she distinguishes from Tönnies by criticizing the community model a inherently "avoiding politics" while possibly "excluding and avoiding those with whom we do not or cannot identify" (Young, 1990; 235). Young unfolds a critique of the community model of state action and governance, from a cultural (or culturalist) perspective. Communities, Young argues might well be clashing. The cultures they embody are sometimes incompatible with the larger social scope; they confront each other frontally and damage each other. The cultures that are structurally less able to resist disappear.

16. As she opposes scholars whose "appeals to community are anti urban" (236), Young tries to reconcile "urban life" with the preservation of threatened identities. She also provides a fierce critic of the tradition of zoning in which urban planning in Los Angeles is arguably, still deeply anchored. Zoning, from the 1970s to the 1990s, was defined in most Community Plans (for example *Boyle Heights Community Plan*, 1974), as "the primary legal tool by which the development of private property can be directed toward the implementation of the Plan." This is an essential aspect of planning that stimulates debate and opposition among scholars, and also among professional and practitioners. This is the tool that connects explicitly politics and social concept, and receives both support and criticism from different schools of thought: zoning and its champions on one side as opposed to the "pro-community" champions, Jane Jacobs being one of their prominent members, for example, and Young and others following her lead. Such opposition is be illustrated by the archive research I conduct in the following part. Scholars and practitioners lobbying against top-down zoning are influenced by cultural studies and advocate for communities on from a perspective that encompasses at the same time different fields: cultural studies, histories, humanities, and the question of identity.

The Chicago School: Zone, Function and Ecology

1. In spite of the proximity in time, there is a remarkable gap between Jacobs' (1961) or Young's (1990) sense of "urban life", or "urbanity", and what Wirth (1938)—one of the later representants of the Chicago School—calls "urbanism" (Remy and Voyé, 1974).

2. Zukin (2011; 4) estimates that the studies conducted in the department of sociology of the University of Chicago was a first attempt to empirically grasp the specificity of the city. Indeed, sociologists in Europe—excluding, perhaps, Weber[10] (1921) or Simmel (1921)[11]—had not explicitly adopted this object of study as such; if they had, their vision of the industrial city at the time (the early 20th century) was notably different from that of the later Chicago School's. To sum up, Zukin (2011) suggests that "alien to their culture was Walter Benjamin's sense of tragic irony" (5), whereas European sociologists had been permeated with such culture. The Chicago School did not neglect the older, somewhat exotic paradigms, though, as they referred to Weber or Durkheim (see, for example, Wirth's *Urbanism as a Way of Life*, 1938; 8, 13) and to "German

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[10] Max Weber's "The City" is a chapter from *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (posth. 1921)

[11] Simmel, G. (1921). Sociology of the senses: Visual interaction. *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, *3*. and Simmel, G. (2013). *Les grandes villes et la vie de l'esprit.*

sociology" at large (Zukin, 2011; Remy and Voyé, 1974) to suggest where "the closest approximations to a systematic theory of urbanism" could be found (Wirth, 1938; 8). They probably had different ambitions for themselves, although those were never clearly formulated by one in the name of many. Bernard (1973) views the Chicago School as "an offshoot of the structure-functional or social-systems paradigm as applied to one particular aspect of the community: its spatial parameters". It is possible to agree with this assertion to a certain point— especially when looking at the work Park (1925) or his student, Wirth, accomplished— nevertheless, whether there is a cohesive body of research focusing uniquely on "city space", at the same time and at the same place, is debatable; the implications of such debate affect urban planning.

3. The work of members of the so-called Chicago School arguably constitutes a first push into a truly North American social-urban discipline (Breslau, 1988; Remy and Voyé, 1974), based on the observation of a real city in the 1920s (Remy and Voyé, 1974). And, indeed, how could have it been something different from urban sociology, specifically? Zukin (2011) suggests, as she recalls the fact that "this country lacked the historic burden of uneven urban-rural development that so impressed Karl Marx" (Zukin, 2011; 4). The work done by the figures of the Chicago School have oftentime (and are generally) though as focusing on the prevalent, because dramatic, characteristics of the North American 1920s': "sanitary conditions, pauperism, immigrant groups, housing, and crime and delinquency, to mention only the most salient" (Bernard, 1973). The populations that are studied are essentially thought to be "the habitués of this world – immigrants,gentrifiers, hipsters, and artists – are Others, like the hobos, taxi dancers, and Negroes" (Zukin, 2011). Nevertheless, they acknowledge the existence of community in a slightly more subtle way.

4. Simmel developed his theories from a model of non-communitarian kind of society (Remy and Voyé, 1974; 160), which indeed reminds us of Tönnies. On the contrary, Wirth writes, in *Urbanism as a Way of Life* (1938) that: "the individual becomes effective only as he acts through organized groups" (abstract); or that: "it is largely through the activities of the voluntary groups (...) that the urbanite expresses and develops his personality, acquires status, and is able to carry on the round of activities that constitute his life-career" (23). When referring to his objective and to his methodology (Wirth, 1983; 3), he also suggests that it had an interest in referring to the notion of community.

5. In the United States, the emergence of "urban studies" almost as a discipline itself happened at the crossing of "social" Darwinism and classical European sociology in the beginning of the 20th century. In spite of its antiquity, the first incursion made, in this field, by the Chicago School, remain a reference for today's critiques (see for example Roy et al., 2014; 141, or Zukin, 2011; both on different subjects). Only a few papers concerned with the development of cities, urban "ways of life" and social groups within cities omit to mention the school. A number of them actually argue either in favor or against what is commonly perceived of its theoric line.

6. Such exceptional case in the history of knowledge reinforces the argument that one particular ensemble of theories and systematic thoughts constitutes an important (if not the main, or the only) body of knowledge about urban sociology, or "urbanism", in America. This is, however, a

controversial argument: Breslau (1988) provides the opposite argumentation as he reviews studies from the prominent members of the so-called "Chicago School", in an essay entitled: "Is There a Chicago School", a reminiscence of Castell's "Is There an Urban Sociology" (1968).

7. Different periods are identified in the story of the Chicago School, starting with the 1915-1935 period (Breslau, 1988). The story of the "original" sociology of Chicago is commonly said to cover this double decade and the post-WW2 era, during which the original sociological tradition of the School of Chicago turned progressively into ethnography, notably urban ethnography (Fine, 1995). The department of sociology still exists in the University of Chicago, today, although whether it abides by the "tradition" is debatable. In Breslau's review, scholars adopt different positions as they wonder if there is a Chicago School, this is, precisely, asking whether a certain identifiable body of scholar, in one place, at one time of history, conducted research in social science with certain homogeneity. Bulmer (1984) "rejects the project of finding neither intellectual homogeneity (nor heterogeneity) in social context" (Breslau, 1988; ¶3). Smith (1988) considers, on the other hand, that there is an ideological filiation between different researchers as Small, Thomas, Park, Wirth or Janowitz (Smith, 1988, quoted by Breslau, 1988). Responding to a classic argument against the ideological neutrality of the Chicago School's members, Smith's suggests that the Chicago School does not necessarily serve the "dominant capitalism" (Breslau, 1988) but rather tries to address the issues that the liberal society might have generated (Smith, 1988). To this counter-argument, Breslau answers that the Chicago School "reasonably acknowledged the American society, and rarely took capitalism as such as its object [of analysis]" (Breslau, 1988; ¶5). Finally, it is remarkable that the subjects identified by Smith as the Chicago School's favorite, "urbanism, modernism, industrialism" (Breslau, 1988, quoting Smith, 1988), correspond quite exactly to the features of the "forces" operating in communities according to Stein (1969): "urbanization, industrialization and bureaucratization" (Stein, 1969; 4-5). The importance of "bureaucratization" as an aspect of the study of American urban communities is echoed in Roy's work (Roy et. al, 2014).

8. Overall, the Chicago School remains famous for its use of the "ecological paradigm", constituted of biological metaphors used to describe the city. Wirth, besides, explicitly refers to Darwin in *Urbanism as a Way of Life* (154). Remy & Voyé (1974) describe such trends as a way to see the city as "a mosaic of *natural areas*, this is, of neighborhoods ordered according to an order that is not resulting from a project, but from spontaneous tendencies of urban situation" (187). These areas are characterized by a "dominant type" of population that prefigures "communities". Perhaps the depiction of the Chicago School's vision of the American city as an ecology commonplace about an important sociological tradition in the United States is to be seen essentially as an acknowledgment of functionalism, and thus as a first incursion into theories of zoning.

9. This aspect will be discussed more at length in the next part, as the orientation of plans (single-use, mixed-use) seems to suggest an essential opposition between "traditional zoning" and "contemporary planning". There is a tension between the objective of "preservation of the character of a neighborhood (or a community)" and Jacobs' ambition for the great American city, for example. Wickersham (2001; 547) reviewing Jane Jacobs' "preconditions for the creation and preservation of vibrant, diverse cities" thus quotes nothing but elements which, inherently,

oppose the reasoned, rational grid-like order of a city like Los Angeles that planners strived to preserve over decades.

The 1960s and the Critique

"Love—medieval Christian charity—had long since proved inadequate for modern communities." (Bernard, 1973; 139).

1. The second moment I identify intervenes almost half a century after the emergence of classical sociology. It is firstly characterized by a rupture, which receives so much theoretical attention and coverage it almost seems a commonplace: Zukin soberly describes the 1960s as "well known for anti-establishment uprisings" (1). In the field of urban studies, the advent of Marxism seems to be a divorce from the both Positivist attitude that animated sociologists from Europe, and the social Darwinism of the Chicago School. The popular slogan of the Paris uprising in May 1968 resonates in the works of scholars of the time: "run, comrade, the old world is behind"[12]. In the history of knowledge, this call for emancipation has also been interpreted as a signal that it was now possible to sweep away the past and build something genuinely new. As demonstrated by Bernard (1973) and reflected by the literature of the time, opposed to such ideal that animated the new generation, the purpose of the scholars of the Chicago School, for instance, had been to conduct research taking for granted the "existing social relationships" (Breslau, 1988). The Chicago School's work took place in an environment that left no space for the development, for instance, of critical race theory. Du Bois's work (1935), for example, that could have impacted how urban theory was produced at the time, was purposely outshined by the influence of members of the Chicago School, as Morris (2015) argues in a recent book. In addition to an attempt to make a clean sweep of the past, the wave of the 1960s provides scholars with tools to critique, for example, "the paradigms of white scientists" (Bernard, 1973).

2. Indignation was one of the essential ingredients that would renew social science. Reviewing the writings and works of Castells and notably his 1969 article "Is There an Urban Sociology?", Zukin (2011) writes that "urban protests reflected the concentration of underemployed and underprivileged racial minorities, primarily African Americans and Latinos, in northern cities" (1). To her, the observation of these events (in a similar way than the sociologists' witnessing of industrialization in the early 20th century), is to be correlated with the emergence of new, original perspectives in sociology, in particular in urban sociology. Nevertheless, observation was not sufficient, according to Zukin. In the midst of the social turmoil in 1960s America and Europe, Castells and other scholars of the time should have reacted, taking the firm position, committing and entering the field of politics.

3. As Castells asks if there is "an urban sociology" and reflects on theory, he neglects certain issues, notably the question of "the political" (3), Zukin argues; he does not "confront deep social inequality on the one hand and the problematic legitimacy of the state, the police, and the

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[12] "Cours, camarade, l'ancien monde est derrière toi !" (my translation).

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military on the other" (3). To this extent, Zukin sides with other Marxist and post-Marxists scholars such as Young (1990) who attempt to give their work a concrete, actual influence, and a connection with the social issues of the times. Other scholars, in the vein of Castells (1968), such as Bernard (1973) or Brint (2001), whose work shows relatively more abstraction and distance, stand farther from politics than the former. In this way, they abide by the inherent ethic and rules set forth in the older sociology rationale, and they accept the traditional project of urban sociology, such as the formulated by Wirth (1938; 9): "to discover the forms of social action and organization that typically emerge in relatively permanent, compact settlements of large numbers of heterogeneous individuals". Taking distance from the ethnographic trends emerging in the 1960s, Castells, for instance, chooses to focus primarily on the analysis of social institutions and relationships that exist between those. His hypothesis, suggested by the work of Althusser, is that: "urbanization is function of specific organization of the modes of production which historically coexist (with the predominance of one of them) in a concrete social formation, as well as of the internal structure of each of these modes of production" (Castells, 1972; 89).

4. On the other hand, Zukin (2011) appears to have acknowledged the "lessons" of Marxism: she distinguishes herself from the purely economic, classist version of it, which motivates Castells, and at the same time she integrates the analytical prism of oppression to her studies. Identity is the new, key element stemming from this method. Even though one Simmel (1921), for instance, or one Weber (1921), might have brought some elements to sociology that certainly overflowed the scope of the rational method once set in reaction to the diktat of morality (notably by Durkheim, 1893), their studies of social groups did not incorporate, at the time, a genuinely cultural approach. Zukin's article (2011) is a manifesto, in that it conveys a radical statement standing relatively far from the cold, theoretical writings of the original Marxist urbanists. Thus she writes: "We urbanists as a collective intellectual enterprise have not only lost our place at the core of sociology but also our vision of what we want to achieve" (4). At the time she writes the article, she also suggests that the ongoing crisis that touches both sociology and urbanism remains unsolved, and that it has to do primarily with the social condition of urbanites, with the cultural depreciation or appreciation of identity; not necessarily with the economy in the first place. Such assessment should encourage urbanists to "work toward progressive social change" (9). Ironically enough, Castells wrote, in 1972: "the primacy of the politics and its independence toward economy characterize the urbanization process in socialist countries" (71). Perhaps does it also characterize the discourse about the urbanization process in socialist countries… such as the United States.

5. Surely, there is here a case of mutual incomprehension, since Zukin (2011) argues that sociologists followed the trends imposed by politics, rather than following a genuinely scientific agenda. Implicitly referring to the Chicago School, she writes "it promised to be a science for social control" while "U.S. sociologists marginalized" the study of cities that "were always [considered] 'problem areas'" (5). Such diagnostic is justified in the light of the archive review I shall conduct in the next part.

6. Overall, according to Zukin (2011), the way Castells sees the city is as follows:

> [It is] shaped by larger forces: industrial society, on the one hand and family and friendship networks, on the other. Geography is not destiny, for all social spaces reflect practices that are shaped by men and women who try to advance, defend or in any case express their social status.

7. According to such definition, community cannot be a relevant object to think the "city" itself. Deciphering Castells' essay, Zukin notes that he sees the community as "entirely dependent on forces and events outside its geographical boundaries" (3). Castells is not willing to embrace fully the purely cultural dimension that founds certain urban social groups: he leaves this to other scholars. In spite of his ambitious project, which is reflected indeed in the title of his own 1968's manifesto, Castells confines within rigorous bounds the discipline he claims to represent: it is not possible, he seems to argue, to address society from its deep cultural roots, for individuals are to "individualistic" to be fully understood by a science of globalization. According to Castells, the way the future of the city is shaped does not primarily have to do with space, rather, it has to do with new forces he identifies primarily as networks (Zukin, 2011). In fact, the object "the city" is, in Castells' reasoning, almost out of place as he suggests to replace it with the notion of "space of flows" (1989).

8. Castells' work offers the particularity of intervening at a key time in both the history of occidental human societies and the history of knowledge, and of being commonly viewed as a seminal contribution to both geography and sociology, even though it is not widely read (Zukin, 2011; 3). Regarding the positions of other theorists, Castells, with his concern about creating a real science (Zukin, 2001) sounds like Brint (2001) or Bernard (1973). Not being a sociologist himself, he opposes two perceptions of the community, along with Bernard. The "autonomous" perception of the community—this is, the community as an object detachable from its context, an object that, in a way, has a life of its own—is opposed to the global, interconnected perception of the world. In a way, the perception Castells criticizes is still belonging to, or a remnant of the first sociological developments of urban sociology as an "ecology", almost as the study of a biological milieu.

9. This point is illustrated by Brint's (2001) article. As he argues that "community studies have failed" (5), he suggests how Castells opposes one Stein (1969). Stein attempts to build a "theory of American community life" by estimating the correlations and recurring elements from famous studies on communities spatially and temporally related to the United States. He asks: "what do communities have in common?" (3). Stein, in his time however, has already been criticized by his peers for putting forward the idea that the certain form of the community that is supposed to "exist to provide their members with full opportunities for personal development through social experimentation" is disappearing (Manners, 1962; 335). Indeed, as Manners (1962) notes, it is a provocative gesture, perhaps, to suggest that "the "genuine" and minimally experimental cultures of the past provided for fuller personal development than the "spurious" and sometimes recklessly experimental cultures of today" (1123). Indeed, for the times in which *The Eclipse of Community* was published, the conservative coloration of Stein's work made it difficult to approach in a distanced way: in the vein of Nisbet (1962), Stein was writing about community as a remedy to "alienation", bringing the attention of the public on the new generation's "lost interest" in being part of the social order (Nisbet, 1962; viii). As mentioned previously, Stein

though, provides what resembles, overall, a modern theory of American communities; or at least, he provides a detailed and efficient presentation of the work that had been done so far. He suggests that three similar forces are at work in different communities: urbanization, industrialization and bureaucratization (4 -5). Those intervene frequently in the planning practice and must be properly integrated in the study of such practice, as I shall further explain.

10. The intervention of critical race studies in the theme of community studies was prominent in a number of works and researches, although those were oftentimes not directly framed in those terms. Bernard's *Sociology of Communities* (1973) resolutely takes on the question, though, as she devotes a full chapter of her book to the question of "community as target of change" (126). Nevertheless, this chapter is included in a wider book whose purpose was to renew the field of community studies, and not specifically to address the challenges society was facing. She thus writes:

> The impact, direct and indirect, of these trends [effects of modern technology, transportation, …] has changed communities and community so drastically that old ways of viewing them no longer suffice. The result is a crisis in the study of community well documented by the call for new paradigms by outstanding leaders in the field (Warren, 1963). They are well aware of the handicaps we labor under without a conceptual apparatus suitable for the study of the community today.

11. Bernard devotes a part of her analysis to look at the past, and at movements aimed at "modernizing race relations" (123). She wrote *The Sociology of Community* almost ten years after the 1965 Watts uprisings and after other uprisings that characterize the history of American metropolises in the 1960s. She seems to refer briefly to these events (130, 135).

12. She also conceptualizes an original approach to the question of minorities and reflects on the feeling of minority. Finally, she analyses oppression and status in community building and organizing. One particular factor, she believes, is at the core of the feeling of community—beyond the oppressive factor. Minorities (in her example, "blacks") must rely on a common "denominator" which she identifies as the "soul". She writes: "soul was invoked to counteract the devastation of urbanism" (130). She also accepts that this idea might have different names, as she briefly touches on Fanon's analysis of the concept of "negritude" (132). Other scholars such as, in France, Remy and Voyé (1974), view generally "culture" as a factor that needs to be integrated to the analysis of urban sociology. Certainly, Bernard's approach is limited as she admits herself. Nevertheless, she suggests an important element to the urban analysis.

Radical Deconstruction

1. The period following the original Marxist trends in the 1960s has arguably seen another kind of radical change—although a more discreet one—in the way the city was studied. This change affected also the "city"'s (now) indispensable concept of communities that community studies had firmly labelled as sociology. Building upon the societal turn Marxism had brought to theory,

scholars were able to compile and adapt successfully the potential and tools that sociology at large, urban sociology and geography offer, to their analysis. At the same time, they embraced a certain approach offered by the humanities and architecture. By combining these elements in a certain way, they arguably constituted a third, alternative stream to either "theory" or "philosophy"; perhaps an original kind of praxis.

2. Scholars started to connect these fields from the late 1960s: Banham's 1971 *Architecture of Four Ecologies*, for instance, connects architecture, geography and sociology in a new kind of urbanistic research that acknowledges the "exoticism" of Los Angeles, from the point of view of a foreigner. The research on urban studies, in other words, was not essentially about community studies anymore, as Brint (2001) suggests, nor was it pure, empirically "abstract" and somewhat cold version of sociology, as it has been championed by Castells, and to some extent Bernard (1973), and as it had been critiqued by Zukin (2011); nor was it, either, a purely ground-based approach to "the city", nor a purely abstract sociological construct. Rather, with the help of architecture and the humanities, and with the intervention of "identity politics" (a term that was notably quoted by Pyles, 2013), it entered a new moment, oftentimes considered "posturban" (Phelps et. al, 2010).

3. After the 1960s, I argued, identity was indeed an inevitable component of the research on communities, as Young (1990), for instance, demonstrates through her work. Young relates the topic of "identity", within communities, to the themes of exclusion and oppression. She also relies on the work of other sociologists at the crossing of anthropology, ethnography, sociology and political studies, embracing approaches that were developed prior to 1960. In a similar way, Bourdieu, for instance, theorized and typified society using criteria that had to do with the lifestyles and declared tastes of its constitutive groups (Bourdieu, 1979). Pyles (2013) recalls that Bourdieu (1984) "pointed out that the types of social spaces that people inhabit, particularly economic and cultural, are related to lifestyles, power levels, and identities."

4. In other words, post-1960s scholars and thinkers open the field of "identity politics", in a successful and broader way, as the realm of theory gradually expands, establishing itself in front of the classical social sciences and philosophy. During this era, both scholars and practitioners had started to deal with "the complexities of (...) identity politics and (...) the important nuances of community identity in order to achieve the goal of solidarity" (Pyles, 2013). The emergence of theory as an essential element of praxis is justified by its universality and polyvalence.

5. Looking at the result of the actions taken over decades by both practitioners, at the community-organizing level (whether it be the top-down politics, or grass root organizations), and theorists, Phelps et. al (2010) suggest to call this moment—or field of knowledge—"the posturban world". In a paradoxical way, posturban theorists specifically and resolutely to turn to space, to analyze what they describe as the "edgeless city" (Phelps et. al, 2010; 370). They embrace the project of conducting a comprehensive study on how scholars and political agents now embrace and understand this specific object. Their contribution is all the more valuable to the thesis as they focus on the so-called "Los Angeles School"; they identify clearly Los Angeles as one of the metropolises best fitted to the paradigm they try to establish. The case of Los Angeles, they argue, enables researchers to understand the connection between the state, its

ethic, and the groups that inhabit the space that the state governs: communities. By arguing so, they move along the lines that had been drawn in the early 1990s by precursors of renown such as Harvey (1989) or Mike Davis (1992), who identify city regions as the main components of contemporary urban analysis. Phelps et. al thus write:

> The Los Angeles School's interpretation is the claim that the edges of major contemporary city regions are something different from the suburbs of the Chicago School's modern metropolis, […]

6. Phelps et. al suggest that three different tensions are at stake in what they call the posturban world. One of them, the "tension between growth and conservation" (367), which arguably encompasses the two others, suggests that the future of a city like Los Angeles, its "posturbia", might see "stable patterns of governance emerging as an accommodation between city government and interests in civil society including, notably business interests" (380). In such model, perhaps, the representation of "civil society" is operated by communities, or through "community governance" or "community organizing".

7. Taking another look at the radical break of the so-called Postmodernity, Gunder (2010) acknowledges the surrender of both community studies and abstract sociology. He deconstructs the planning ideology, or what he perceives as such, to adopt instead a systematic critique of the "neoliberal space" (309). Such critique, one can call a theory of neoliberal space, includes the study of how social groups implement in the political-economical new kind of space. It illustrates how theory easily combines with praxis: in a radical way, Gunder (2010) does not seem to believe that there was something else than neoliberal space since the development of the modern, industrial city. In fact, the work of Gunder suggests two hypotheses: either "communities" are included within the realm of neoliberal space—they embrace its means and ends—or they constitute "cells" of resistance to it. Arguably, in the case of the second hypothesis, Gunder's theory of the neoliberal space echoes Tönnies' cycle of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft that Bernard (1973; 149) described.

8. Examples illustrate how ideology is constructed over time. The critique of neoliberal space obviously applies to the previous moment I describe, during which remnants of the Positivist ideology translate both officially and informally, through discourses, into a faith in "progress" (see for instance, on Brasilia, Barsalou, 1960; 120). As I suggested in the first part of my review, the first "sociological moment" had a number of different scholars, coming from different backgrounds and with different personal interests gathering around issues they all perceived as essential for the times. There is thus certainly a filiation between one Durkheim and one Comte, the theorist of Positivism, as this faith of progress is brought up again in Gunder's analysis when he perceives that "ideas gain ideological traction to become our sublime ideals of a better future".

9. In the second part of the 20th century, the late 19th century paradigm of progress has not changed. Citing Campbell (2006), Gunder re-asserts that:

Planning as a form of urban policy formulation and analysis is largely normative in the shaping of its ideas and values.

10. Finally, Gunder suggests a new definition of planning as "the ideology of how we define and use space" (299). This definition relates to Remy and Voyé's (1974) program which, as critical scholars, they described as "assessing to what extent space explains social life"; it also relates to Castells' (1972) definition of urbanism, he put as simply as "the relationship between society and space" (89). Remy and Voyé, in a way, precede the Postmodern thinkers in that they systematically deconstruct practice, and perceive ideology as: "a mental content from which it is possible to justify oneself in one's existence and one's social position" and [that] "allows to accept and understand (and so stabilize) a social structure" (31). Nevertheless, as of today, Gunder suggests that their approach must be radically reversed: theory should focus on understanding what led practitioners and scholars to "think the way they think" about space, rather than understanding the meaning of place for planners. Gunder then quotes Roy (2006; 13) who asks if it is:

> possible to disassociate the "innocent professional"—that is unbiased, or value-free, planning practitioners and policy drafters—from the political regimes in which they work.

11. Roy, along with Shrader and Crane (2014) provide a partial answer to her own question. Attacking frontally the concept of "community", and conducting a historical case-study analysis of its use, they suggest how community emerged as an "Anti-Poverty Hoax" (Roy et. al, 2014). As it happens, the set that they deploy to deconstruct ideology focuses specifically on "community", a seemingly non controversial concept. In fact, the scope of such concept goes beyond national frontiers, as "the emergence of poverty as a domestic and international public policy in the 1960s" through community development, "was closely linked to anxieties about racialized violence in American cities *and* wars of insurgency in the global South." (1)

12. Roy et. al endorse Saul Alinsky's argument (Alinsky, 1965; 42) and consider that the dynamic tension emerging from community action and its "support" by federal government happens to be slowed down by the realm and power of bureaucracy. Even though the impact of bureaucracy did not actually prevent genuine mobilization and community action to take place in Oakland, in the 1960s, as the article describes, such risk needs to be acknowledged. The solution, Roy et. al seem to argue, is to be found, perhaps, in a firm *political* action, a genuine movement toward communities.

13. In addition, quoting Nunes (1970; 15), Roy et al. highlight the turn took by governments in labelling communities as geographic areas. Nunes (1970) thus writes: "certain areas are labelled communities". Roy et. al explain such turn in politics by suggesting that programs of "self-help and cultural assimilation" (143) are easily implemented according to a reading of space. Indeed, the acknowledgment of identify parameters, such as those that scholars in the 1960s had identified, appears somewhat too complex to governments. As the article describes, though, such political turn proved being unsuccessful to the objective that had been set: programs of self-help turned against the power in place, in the form of political contradiction, opposition and

mobilization. Whether such reversal was initiated by genuine "communities" is not directly addressed in the article, nor are the reasons for the federal government's failure. Perhaps, as this is the case for many unsuccessful political reforms, the formulation of the program lacked clarity.

Research question

In Los Angeles, from the 1960s to the 1990s, how did urban planners interpret and use the concept of "community"?

<u>Hypotheses</u>

a) Planners only consider "communities" through a geographic prism. Communities are physical areas with certain characteristics that distinguish one from the other.

b) Planners attribute moral values to "communities", which encompass not only the idea of locale but also certain ties that bound people together with shared characters.

c) Planners seek to reach order by "integrating" communities in plans. "Communities" are considered elements that bring at the same time order and flexibility in plans.

Findings

Method

1. This part consists in a mix of historical and thematic reviews, based on the hypotheses. The research has been guided by the intuitions stemming from the review of the literature, which I transcribed into hypotheses. It consists of an exploration and an interpretation of archives. In the *Los Angeles City Planning Commission Collection*, from the Special Collections and Archives of Oviatt Library (California State University, Northridge), I found documents relating the activity of planners from 1953 to 2000 (with the "predominant dates" being comprised between 1987 and 1996). These documents emanate mostly from planners themselves. They include booklets that were published on behalf of the Los Angeles Department of City Planning (LADCP), hand-outs, inter-departmental correspondence and communication, legal abstracts, meeting reports, and other documents related to similar contents. They come both under the form of typed documents (some, annotated by hand) and maps. In the *Architecture and Urban Planning Collection* of UCLA Library Special Collections, at the Charles E. Young Research Library, I found documents providing the same sort of information, although they are from different sources: they comprise mostly newspaper articles, several reports from the Community Analysis Bureau, reports made by consultants for either the City or the County of Los Angeles. In most cases the articles were dated, but in some cases I had to extrapolate the date on which they were published, based on the rest of the collection (those are noted "ca."). Finally, in some cases, I support hypotheses by analyzing web pages of the City of Los Angeles or of the LADCP.

2. In order to link the literature review to this part, I suggest, in footnotes, how evidence stemming from the findings can be supported by the writing of theorists. The footnotes thus refer to chapters and paragraphs of the literature review.

3. The historical review I conduct in this part is needed to show how the positionality of planners evolved over time. Nonetheless, I considered that such review does not have to be linear, because some ideas and positions that planners adopted jumped over generations: I do not present a straightforward historical panorama of the evolution of a profession. This is the reason why the findings is organized in themes, rather than in chronological parts.

<u>Introduction: *First Was Zoning*</u>

> *"Re:code LA is a comprehensive revision of the City of Los Angeles' Zoning Code, and is one of the City's largest planning initiatives to date. First adopted in 1946, the Zoning Code's overall structure has remained the same, while the needs of the City have changed drastically. Re:code LA will create a Zoning Code to realize the needs of a 21st Century Los Angeles for all stakeholders."* (Re:code LA, 2017)

1. The Internet page of Re:code LA[13] includes a "brief history of Planning and Zoning in Los Angeles" (Re:code LA, 2017). It provides the public with basic information about the project and introduces, point by point, the "historical" reforms in Los Angeles' physical organization, from the year on which the city was officially founded, to the year 2013.

2. This timeline, which is not a scholarly document, does not show necessarily what planning accomplished over two centuries in Los Angeles; rather, it is a statement about what planning is said to have accomplished[14]. Although it is not a plan per se, it reveals the committed nature of plans. The materials that practitioners provide and publicize bear not only a message that is directly aimed at the public, they also indirectly reveal the practitioner's intentions in putting such message forward, and more indirectly, they suggest the spirit in which they such documents have, perhaps, been designed. In addition, as I mentioned in introduction, they inherently reveal something as *plans*, or *maps*: this is, the support of the message is not innocuous either. Compared to other kind of documents, legal writings, scholarly literature, for example, plans are particularly flexible media.

3. De Neve's plan of Los Angeles, at the official foundation of the city in 1781, was designed to grant "eleven families of settlers" their share of land and to ensure that each of those contribute to the development of "the community" at large (Re:code LA, 2017). Today's version of the City Plan seeks to "realize the needs of a [21st Century] Los Angeles for all stakeholders." The difference between the original plan and the latest plan is, of course, that settlers were not necessarily the only stakeholders, and that today's stakeholders are not necessarily "settlers". Vocabulary, practices and political stakes evolve. Another difference is that contemporary plans convey—in a seemingly more ambitious way—more elements than the basic Spanish colonial plans. Of course, the somewhat archaic layout of the original Los Angeles differs greatly from the city of today.

4. The paradigms from which the city operated were, for a long time, related to immigration[15]. Plans of the city of Los Angeles—notably those designed in the 1950s—reflect how managing the influx of people, at different scales, was perceived as the essential stake for the harmonious development of the city. Nevertheless, the chronological timeline, on Re:code LA's website shows that the definition of "a population" was relatively not controversial at least until the

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[13] http://recode.la/updates/news/brief-history-planning-zoning-los-angeles

[14] See introduction and justification, ¶5; literature review on Gunder (2010), "Radical deconstruction", ¶7-10.

[15] See introduction and justification, ¶4.

1980s. In times of globalization and with the advent of "flows" instead of relatively stable patterns of migrations, what constitutes an urban population in the 21st century is controversial: it is certainly not about settling anymore. Nevertheless, the overarching element of "community" does not seem to be affected by change. A report on transportation delivered by Chicagoer consultants to the City of Los Angeles in 1925 already stated that: "good transportation is essential and vital to a great community." (Kelker, De Leuw & Co., 1925)[16] In 2013, "communities" are at the core of the Re:code LA project.

5. Plans constitute the privileged means of communication for planners (Smith, 1991; Hoch, 1994), who design ideas in a way that makes them politically understandable (this is, in a way that enables both voters and elected officials and administrative staff to discuss with an a priori level of understanding of what is at stake). They also offer a vision of the anticipated, or desired future since by definition, they relate to time. That plans miss certain information about the territory they describe is thus both intentional and unintentional. It is intentional because, as plans advocate generally for a political view, they highlight certain elements that reinforce this view. It is unintentional because a plan by definition cannot materially be comprehensive.[17] The draft of a document on the "role of the Arleta-Pacoima Community Plan"[18] (ca. 1970-1979; 12), reveals that the language used in the script was subject to modification according to the expected audience. I will develop this idea in the last sub chapter of this part[19].

6. It was not always the case that planners tried to communicate their ideas to the public: as the review of the archive shows, the way the public was able to appropriate plans, and potentially influence their design, evolved over time. This is notably due to the multiplication of different kinds of plans, to their hierarchical organization, to the overall technicity of planning. Among the different kind of plans the LACDP produced over time, Community Plans are the only ones that acknowledge, in some ways, the possible participation of the public to city design. They appear as the planners' favorite means of expressing the concerns, needs and genuine life of people in neighborhoods. They favor the dialogue between planners and neighborhoods because they are not as technically distanced than zoning plans nor than overarching General Plans. Community Plans gain importance because the element they refer to—the community—gains ideological importance. They partly emancipated from the absolute ruling of the General Plan for the same reason. A summary of important elements of California Planning Law that circulated in the LADCP in 1983[20], thus notes that "community design" was only a "permissive element" among others, before 1971 (8):

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[16] Kelker, De Leuw & Co., 1925. From
http://librarvarchives.metro.net/dpgtl/trafficplans/1925_comprehensive_rapid_transit_plan_los_angeles.pdf

[17] Except in Borges' novel (Borges, *L'auteur et autres textes*, 1982; 199).

[18] *Arleta-Pacoima Preliminary Community Plan*, Draft, ca. 1970-1979

[19] See "Communication and Participation".

[20] *California Planning Law and Land-Use Regulations: Planning Law Manual for Planning Commissioners, Members of Local Legislative Bodies and Staff*, July 1983

"(...) In addition, other permissive elements may be included such as:
- Recreation
- Transportation
- Transit
- Public services and facilities.
- Public building.
- Community design.
- Housing consisting of standards and plans for the elimination of substandard dwelling conditions
- Redevlopment.
- Historical preservation.
- Such additional elements dealing with other subjects which, in the judgment of the planning agency, relate to the physical development of the city."

7. What elements thus led to promote Community Plans? Perhaps the core of the argument of this first part is to be found in the aforementioned 1925 report on transportation. The engineering consulting agency's motto is: "Plan broadly for tomorrow, build wisely for today." (Kelker, De Leuw & Co., 1925) In the literature review, I suggested that zoning is at the core of the practice of planning. In the conclusion to the current part, I provide a definition that includes all the elements constituting, I argue, the practice planning—evolving around the notion of "communities". In fact, not only is zoning at the core of the practice of planning—it also "came first", as suggested by a document summing up legal aspects of the practice of planning, in 1983[21]. The General Plan—the typical planners' magnum opus in Los Angeles—is not considered the main tool of planners, prior to 1971 (8):

"Pre-1971 History: The major change in California planning practice since 1971 is the growing importance of general plans since land use approvals must be consistent with city's applicable general plan. Before 1971, the general plan was usually considered just a guideline. In fact, prior to 1971, ¶65860 read: "No county or city shall be required to adopt a general plan prior the adoption of a zoning ordinance.""

8. Zoning is a legal tool which affects the life of populations. As suggested above, such concrete purpose opposes the relatively incertain practice of planning. In other words, the changes in the use of plans reflect the idea that zoning is technocratic, planning is ideological. Documents produced by the LADCP from 1960s show the internal pushes in favor or against zoning.

"[Community plans] Propose approximate locations and dimension for land use. Development may vary slightly from the Plan provided the total acreage of each type of land use, the land use intensities, the population densities, and the physical relationships among the various land uses are not altered.[22]" (*East Los Angeles, Boyle Heights Community Preliminary Plan*, 1974).

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[21] *California Planning Law and Land-Use Regulations: Planning Law Manual for Planning Commissioners, Members of Local Legislative Bodies and Staff*, July 1983

[22] See also literature review, chapter 1, ¶16.

Fig. 1: Project Timeline, "Re:code LA" website (January 2017)[23]

Communities Reflecting the American Dream

1. Some elements of de Neve's plan, drawn as a map by Argüello, a Spanish soldier, in 1786, reveal starting elements of understanding of both the two facets of the planning activity—zoning and planning—and the evolution of the concept of "community" for planners, in Los Angeles.

Fig. 2: Argüello's 1786 map of the town plan, translated into English.[24] (a copy)

2. As I suggested in the previous part, there are different possible ways to read Argüello's map. The plan itself, and the map made after the plan, are designed to abide by the Law of Indies which sets the "grid" arrangement of the city as one of the primary component of urban order in Spanish colonies. The map shows that the settlement is divided in units of apparently equal size, organized around a common space, the plaza. Each of the "11 families" constitute the smallest possible unit on the plan. Each family is a social group, together they form a "community" whose shared interests are clearly definable. Included in the map are thus both societal elements and physical indications about the ordering of space. Yet, the most important point this document makes is that parcels of land are devoted to "parcels" of the community. In other words, what the plan clearly shows—whatever the kind of reading one has of it—is the way in which the land is supposed to be used, according to the need of specific functions: to live, to inhabit, to occupy the space, to gather, to pray, etc.

3. As a component of the urban order, the grid—which was never seriously challenged as a geographic element of the implementation of city components over the years, in Los Angeles— primarily serves to delineate, to bound, to define land use. It is a zoning document and does not necessarily plan—in the way that it does not suggest any change of the ordering of the land for the future.

4. The later "Ord's Plan" of 1849, on the contrary, has more to do with a plan, as opposed to a zoning map, in that that it integrates the possibility of future. Indeed, the map shows blank blocks, blank potential locations with no defined function.

Fig. 3: Ord's Plan of 1849 (detail)[25]

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[23] http://recode.la/about

[24] Masters, 2017. From https://www.kcet.org/shows/lost-la/happy-birthday-los-angeles-but-is-the-story-of-the-citys-founding-a-myth

[25] Masters, 2013. From https://www.kcet.org/shows/lost-la/the-first-map-of-los-angeles-may-be-older-than-you-think

"United States Army Engineer Lieutenant E.O.C. Ord completes the City's first official survey and mapping under American rule." (Re:code LA, 2013)

5. As the Law of Indies is reflected in the visual arrangement of Argüello's map, so are the following rules and laws reflected in future plans. Without a framework of design, they cannot exist. Many plans, documents and guides produced by planners and executive officials from the 1960s to the 1990s reflect the urge for a frame within which to design the plans. From the simple qualificative of "desirable" (Citywide Plan, 1982[26]) to the more abstract term "concept" (Concept LA, 1970[27]), plans are sustained by ideals. Different plans with strong conceptual connotations have been produced for Los Angeles. The reformative potential, or scope of these plans mostly relied on the most important tool of planners and tool of city arrangement, zoning. Zoning reforms are organized around a theme, oftentimes described as "an issue" or "a problem" (as systematically indicated by Concept LA, 1970). Major reforms of public institutions—which the urban territory is—call for precise and thoughtful publicity. To be accepted by the public, they needed to relate to simple, cohesive idea[28].

6. Plans produced in the 1960s, notably Concept LA, 1970, and several "Community plans", at least in the 1960s and few following decades, show that political leaders and planners found the frame they needed through the "problem" of poverty. Different administrations and governments decided to frame social problems the nation was facing as such, notably in the late 1960s, following the intervention and leadership of Johnson's 1964 "War on Poverty"[29].

7. Concept LA (1970) and minor plans, by-products (Specific Plans, Community Plans) in this time show that poverty is seen not only as a problem in absolute, but rather as a defined enemy, whose presence, harmfulness, affects the wellbeing of society at large. In the 1960s, poverty was going against the realization of the American dream. As recounted by Roy et. al (2014), Johnson's vision focused on urban renewal and development. The federal government led policies that stemmed, as it happens, from the junction of two "matter of fact" observations. One that had to do with the general state of violence that shook the country, the other one had to do with the concerns that urban populations themselves brought to their elected officials. Oftentimes those were called "ghettos".

8. Such term appears notably in newspapers articles about "urban coalitions" of different kind that rose at the time. The Los Angeles Times headlined: "Urban Coalition Votes to Press for Eased Community Tensions" (ca. 1965), directly calling out Johnson's government; "Urban Coalition Seeks Conference With Nixon", directly calling out Johnson's successor.

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[26] *Citywide Plan, A Portion of the General Plan of the City of Los Angeles*, 1972 August 10-1974 April 3

[27] *Concept Los Angeles: The Concept for the Los Angeles General Plan*, January 1970

[28] ...As Anderson, notably, suggests in 1991. See introduction to the literature review, ¶4.

[29] See Roy et. al, 2014, literature review chapter "Radical deconstruction", ¶11-13.

9. In 1968, excerpts from Johnson's presentation of his plan to the press are thus clearly and labelled with a firm, warlike vocabulary:

> "The model cities program [is] the first effort to attack blight on a massive scale and renovate entire neighborhoods. [...] Urban renewal is the weapon that deals primarily with the physical side of removing blight. [...] to give communities sufficient lead time for planning (...)" (the New York Times, ca. February 1968)

10. The period of time during which the United States underwent bursts of urban violence that destabilized both homeland affairs and foreign affairs climaxed, perhaps, with the Los Angeles "riots" of 1965. The paradigm relating the city, poverty and violence lasted from the early 1960s to the end of the decade, with concerns being tentatively addressed by federal programs, and more successfully through municipal action. A certain ideology shows through the *Concept for Los Angeles* General Plan of January 1970, in the last chapter of the document, or "issue" which is—I argue—actually the *one* planners are worried about, four years after the "Los Angeles Riots": "communication".

> "One of the underlying themes of this whole report, running through many different issues, is the idea of a fully integrated society where "variety" and "choice"—the essence of American freedom—exist in full measure for everyone. If this seems too much of an ideal, it should be pointed out that this nation was founded on ideals and that, in fact, one of the purposes of this report is to state the "ideals" for Los Angeles". (Concept LA, 1970; 58)

11. From 1965 to 1970 roughly, facing the discontent of the population whose voice reached to the newspapers (notably the anti-planners' campaign let by Los Angeles Times journalist Ray Heber, by the end of the 1960s), the discontent of coalitions, etc, and generally a degraded public image, planners in Los Angeles reacted ambiguously. Plans of the time reflect a mix of pragmatism, and a firm tone; at the same time, they implicitly set forth interpretations which do not provide an original light (given the very complaints they receive) on the issues Los Angeles is facing at the time. The plan *Goals for Los Angeles* (1969) suggests what the general tone was within City Hall: a certain idea of poverty associated with the ideal of an pacified society, and no particular thirst for novelty[30]. The plan, indeed, advocates for and lament the lack of a "head of family" in households, the lack of education, etc. Of course, as indicated above, the ideal of "American freedom" (Concept LA, 1970) also constituted the spine bone of such statements. Relating this criteria to the issues of the times, it acknowledges the existence of "minorities":

> "Several of the above characteristics in one family tend to compound the poverty. For example, a Negro family with many poorly educated and unemployed persons and headed by a female will find it extremely difficult to rise above the poverty level". (21)

12. Through the plans designed by planners in 1970s Los Angeles, minorities then tend to appear as a fuzzy element of urbanity. The idea of bringing up communities is, though, prevalent, illustrating key aspects of national ideals of the time: self-help, and solidarity in the form of no-

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[30] See also literature review, chapter 1, ¶10.

one-left-behind-ism (which President Bush's administration explicitly used, thirty years later, as the motto of the Education Act of 2011). Notably, concerning transportation, planners stated that:

> "The City of Los Angeles must be the leader in providing a balanced transportation system to give effective mobility for all citizens of the metropolitan area" (Goals for Los Angeles, 1969; 12)

13. The distinction between communities, between members of the urban social fabric, is set as a way for policy-makers to solve a problem. It paves the way for a systematic conceptualization of space to take place in the planners' work. Notably, planners identify two major categories, relating to two different kind of spatial environments which might be, in the end, the scope that is reflected through different kinds of plans. They identify "the minority group areas" where, according to the plan Goals for Los Angeles (1969), "there is a need and demand", and "intensely developed areas", perhaps prefiguring, one year in advance, the theme of the "Centers concept" described by the 1970 plan (13). Within the former category, another subdivision is acknowledged, that of the "ghettos and barrios", to which I will come back.

14. Besides the mere "poverty" frame, the work of the Community Analysis Bureau contributed to frame urban policies in term of "priorities". The ideals stated in the General Plan of 1970 were, moreover, perfectly compatible with the spirit of pragmatism that animated public institutions at the time. Certain zones were identified as "priority" (as stated by the public document emanating from the LADCP, *Goals and Reality*, in September 1967), receiving a special attention and treatment through the prism of city plans—which were supposed to lead to zoning adjustment. This is also what the work of the Community Analysis Bureau suggests. The Bureau's role was to publish regularly in-depth reports on the state of "communities", constituted of clusters of census tracts. It described "clusters" from a set of different, heterogeneous criteria ranging from the owning of a car, the degree of education, race, "head of family", etc.

> "The purpose of this document: to provide some insights into the City of Los Angeles such that decision makers may be assisted in the determination of ordering the City's priority of need." (State of the City report, 1974).

15. Minorities, clusters, were the basis for a certain assessment of poverty planners contributed to popularize while, at the same time, their plans reflect a certain research of subtler elements of delineation. These documents reflect a quest for a better, sociological almost (or ethnographic) understanding of urban stability. The 1974 report from the Community Analysis Bureau thus acknowledges that, even in so-called communities, diversity might exist:

> "(...) Our present analysis has indicated that, for example, the community known as Venice is not a homogeneous community at all. Each census tract has characteristics that identify it more with other sections of the City. Any single program directed at the entire community, such as Venice, will stand an excellent chance of failure. Different needs are

apparent and require different programs for each small area" [...] "Other communities exhibit the same diversity."

"Poverty" could remain a frame, nevertheless, toward the mid-1970s, the frame had to be enlarged. This would become the "priority" framework.

Goals and Priority Frameworks

1. The 1969 "goals for Los Angeles"[31] address the "urban poverty" issue (chapter 3) and directly and explicitly quote rhetoric elements from Johnson's programs in the context of the 1964 "War on Poverty". The "elimination of poverty" (21) is framed as the priority regarding the issue. Nonetheless, this goal was far from evident for planners since, at the time, theoretical tools were provided sparsely for planners to understand precisely what they had to aim for in terms of eliminating "poverty". To this effect, a questionnaire about "goals and realities[32]", aimed at the public, had even been issued whose results were included in the conceptual plan.

2. At the point, planners mostly relied on the idea that "tensions in the community" stemmed from problems that should be approached through quasi-ethnographic methods[33]. Nevertheless, whether they were equipped to embrace this approach is debatable. The record of their attempts to grasp urban issues with a culturalist understanding illustrate this point. The *East Los Angeles, Boyle Heights Community Preliminary Plan*, of January 1974[34], includes observations about "communities'" own "life-style" (23), and firm belief in that "proper training [overcoming the language "barrier"] at the earliest age will help reduce poverty in the future" (23).

3. The identification of communities as both the cradle of "problems" and a way for individuals to progress in society was paradoxical. Plans did not acknowledge explicitly, indeed (while opposed to political discourses did) how nefarious such neighborhood was, or how bad such environment was to raise and to educate kids. Still, the choice would be to make sure that, above all, that apparent environments in which people showed mutual solidarity remained "unified communities" (Goals for Los Angeles, 1969; 23). The heterogeneous definition of criteria planners selected to categorize fragile communities, in Goals for Los Angeles (1969), shows a certain confusion:

- "The unemployed or underemployed
- the unskilled or semi-skilled
- the minorities
- the sick, handicapped, or disabled,

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[31] *Goals Discussion Paper: Planning Goals for the Los Angeles Metropolis*, June 1967

[32] *Goals and Reality,* September 1967

[33] See also literature review, chapter 3, ¶5.

[34] *East Los Angeles, Boyle Heights Community Preliminary Plan*, January 1974

- the aged
- broken families
- families whose heads have less than 8 years of formal education."

4. Granted, the part that planners took in defining goals, objective, and in finding a frame for policy action was important. Nevertheless, other public institutions, working on the related trop of "the community", suggested different, systematic methods to identify what "goals" should be reached. During the directorship of Robert E. Joyce, the Community Analysis Bureau, for example suggests that:

> "[The Community Analysis Bureau] determines the causes of blight, including physical, social, and economic characteristics; it identifies the problems in each of these areas; and it recommends appropriate action to treat these causes and achieve permanent relief."
> "[It laments] the deterioration of our cities and the disintegration of community life."
> (Joyce, 1969)[35]

5. Finally, elements from the *Priority Goals* report[36] (22) show that it might have originated the idea of integrating the poor to society and unleashing their potential ability, in a way that would be developed later on—in the context of development and globalization. Integrating the poor was to be combined, besides, with the embellishment, or "revitalization" of "the ghettos and barrios", in accordance with Johnson's promise to allow grants to this effect. The project of beautification (Los Angeles City Planning, Los Angeles City Government 1781-1981, ca. 1981) distinguished between "ghettos" and "barrios" (43); it was related to "goals for racial integration and stability":

> "Ghetto: a depressed and oppressed urban area in which a specific minority group is confined solely because of culture or race in a racist society. It is characterized by deteriorated housing, overcrowded and inferior schools, massive unemployment, isolation from the total environs and a devastating sense of powerlessness and futility. [...]
> Barrio: as differentiated from the ghetto, the "barrio" is a historic clustering (in Los Angeles as well as Mexico and most of Latin America) of people around a concept of neighborhood and strong cultural community relationships cemented by language. The barrio may or may not have defined geographical boundaries. [...] The barrios also may be viewed as a state of mind—an attitude from which the Mexican-American does not necessarily want to escape."

Fig. 4 & 5: From the "Goals for Los Angeles" in 1967.
Kids in poor families are the potential of tomorrow… As long as they benefit from to essential elements: cars, and housing. Are these elements representative of the American urban ideal?

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[35] From the Industrial Relations Alumni Association newsletter, 1969. From http://digitalassets.lib.berkeley.edu/irle/ucb/text/irla0097.pdf

[36] *Priority Goals for Los Angeles*, September 1969

6. Through the prism of these plans, communities are hitches. "Problem areas" are thought of as pieces of the land to which a bigger, general plan can fix. As previously stated: it does not matter if it is wrong or right, good or bad, as long as some features are common to the individuals supposedly compositing the community[37]. This justifies the argument I made in the introduction of using the term community "at no risk": the idea that "communities" are neutral:

> "The high priority goals are emphasized because their achievement would have the most profound effect upon the Los Angeles metropolitan area and its residents. For the most part these priority goals are directed toward the greatest problems facing Los Angeles today—achievement of these goals, partially or fully, will do the most to improve the life of the ppl. While many problem areas are of a *long-range nature, most are current problems which are best dealt with in short-range or intermediate range plans.*[38] The main point is that comprehensive plan must relate itself at some point to these goals if it is to be relevant to the times." (Priority Goals for Los Angeles, September 1969)

7. Nonetheless, communities, in the 1960s and 1970s, were still perceived as entities receiving a certain sort of population, whose "exoticism" (to the imagined, larger American community), resembled that of foreign immigrants. Because a number of communities were poor, they were thought of as cells of transition, almost as a necessary and beneficial opportunity for the poor to redeem themselves. At the same time, two visions coexisted, "ghettos" and "barrios"; the objective of planners was to enhance and favor the latter.

The Planner's Vision and Leadership

Interstices in the Law

1. The frame of poverty—through which planners embraced communities—was dominating from the early 1960s to the early 1970s. At the same time, the city developed, grew economically, and planners were acknowledged as civil servants, although their role was perceived as ambiguous. How did the element of political leadership relate to the "poverty frame" of communities? We have partial answers to, or intuitions about this question: documents produced along the years, starting perhaps with de Neve's plan of 1781, shows how legislation matters as a fundamental element determining and justifying the use planners make of the concept of "community". The diversity and number of entities in charge of "the city", along the years, in Los Angeles, added to the inherent complexity (and abstraction, definedness) of the work of planners, make the planners' tools take an extreme importance and, perhaps, being switched from their original goals.

2. The definition of the role, status of urban planners and the scope of their power was articulated, in 1969, in the City Charter, Section 95. Along the years, the City Charter underwent

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[37] See also literature review, chapter 3, ¶5.

[38] I highlight.

many revisions (the last one dates back from 1999). The legislative arrangement of planning and zoning instances within the government of the city are included in Chapter 1 of the Municipal Code (under the title "Planning and Zoning").

3. The powers and "duties" of the Director of Planning, who "is subject to supervision and direction by the City Planning Commission as to matter of policy", were, in 1969, described as such:

- To prepare the proposed General Plan; and "from time to time" prepare "proposed extensions and modifications"; "prepare all maps, diagrams, charts and reports which may be necessary or advisable in the making of said General Plan."
- To prepare "all proposed zoning regulations and requirement."
- To "make investigations and report on the design and improvement of all proposed subdivisions of land."
- Planners would "have such additional powers and duties as set forth elsewhere in this Charter or as may be imposed upon him by ordinance".

4. The General Plan is the main document, apart from documents made to "prepare zoning regulations" that the Director of Planning and the LADCP contribute to design. It is thus through this means that their ideas are communicated. The actual modification of the urban, built environment, though, is made through zoning documents. The archive (notably the Los Angeles Times' articles, and City Hall internal communication) shows that the control and supervision that is applied to the LADCP by legislative instances is more rigorous as the planner's activity relates to zoning than as it relates to "planning". Plans from different eras tend to show that planners found more freedom—to develop and communicate about their vision—through the means of the General Plan and its by-products (notably "Community Plans"), than through zoning-related documents. In fact, the documents designed, drafted, made under Calvin Hamilton's management of the LADCP (1964-1985), show that planners took advantage of the *interstices* in the legislative fabric woven by the City Charter to support the Director of Planning's vision. Planners relied on the ambiguity of their status, taking advantage of the relatively loose statement of their powers and duties.

Fig. 6: Organization of Planning in the City of Los Angeles according to the City Charter of 1969

5. Several aspects stemming from legal statuses, from de facto organization of City Hall, from bureaucratic inertia and from political agenda contribute to promote planners as "personal thinkers, visionaries" (Los Angeles Times, May 1997), as reflected notably by the popular perception that planners had, notably during the "Hamilton era" (Los Angeles Times, 1997).

6. The multiplication of different plans, and their hierarchical arrangement led to a complex network that planners were specifically able to understand and manipulate, since they were primarily in charge of producing them [figure 7, appendix].

7. Finally, the typical conflicts between different instances ("Inter-Departmental Communication, 1982 February 19-1991 June 11; Correspondence and Press Releases, 1987 October 20-1992 August 5) put planners in a permanent state of negotiation to maintain the scope of their power. The number of ordinances and rules the City applied tended to give room for the creation of different instances, notably based on punctual political agenda. In other words, responding to a direct impulse from the voters, elected leaders (the Mayor) could push for the creation of a specific instance whose responsibilities, mission and task could overlap with the LADCP's. The effervescence generated by factors such as urban violence in the 1960s, that was epitomized by the term "community", led to the creation of the Community Redevelopment Agency, for instance, or the Community Analysis Bureau.

8. To maintain their position and leadership, planners have to keep close connection and harmonious political views with high-ranked elected leaders. The Director of Planning's relationships with Mayors is documented by the City of Los Angeles' website: blogs and articles support this assertion. The transition between Villaraigosa (2005-2013) and Garcetti (2013-...) in Los Angeles, coinciding with changes in "General Managers" in the City (including in City Planning) (City of Los Angeles' website, 2013[39]), illustrate this aspect.

9. Johnson's vision and leadership had a strong impact on urban planning. The 1966 President's Task Force on the Cities itself, identified communities as elements, as targets within the context of the "War on Poverty". The "War on Poverty" was translated into local policies. 1960s plans for Los Angeles urban setting mention explicitly elements of Johnson's strategy.

10. Acting at an inferior level on the scale of governance, local officials were given the opportunity to push forward the vision they might have of their cities as well. Correspondence and press releases of Mayor Tom Bradley's tenure show that the mayor's leadership counted in giving urban planners a certain political voice and leadership. Bradley's papers (1973-1993) thus mention his decision to appoint "community leaders" as members of the urban planning staff, in 1992, revealing his personal vision of major urban policy stakes. Justifying this decision with both practical and political arguments, he describes his newly recruited staff as field workers whose expertise stems from their knowledge of "communities"[40].

> "In another round of appointment that reflect his commitment that commissions represent the ethnic diversity of the city, Mayor Tom Bradley today announced the appointment of an established public-interest attorney to the city's Affordable Housing Commission and an Asian-American community leader to the city's Planning Commission" [...] "I am confident that we have the most qualified and most diverse group of civic leaders assisting the city." (Correspondence and Press Releases, August 5, 1992)

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[39] Stoltze, 2013. From
https://www.lamayor.org/garcetti_says_some_city_managers_will_go_asks_them_to_reapply_for_jobs

[40] Correspondence and Press Releases, 1987 October 20-1992 August 5

11. Before Bradley's mandate, though, "communities" were already given a particular status through urban plans. They were perceived as a certain stratum of public decision-making related to the organization of space. The Los Angeles General Plan of 1970 thus states how "Community Plans" are part of the complex and intricate hierarchical arrangement of urban planning in Los Angeles [see Figure 6, appendix]. Through this arrangement, within which plans refer to each other, support each other, define and detail each other, communities are set as an articulation of the ensemble.

12. Plans in Los Angeles are established according to a centralized, multi-layered rationale. Their main element is the "General Plan" or "General Plan of the City of Los Angeles". This order stems from the City Charter of 1969, which divides up in two its description of the General Plan: purpose and contents.

> The purposes make the General Plan "serve as a basic and continuous reference in" planning, developing and coordinating "regulations, controls, programs and services" and "attaining coordination" of "the planning and administration" by "all individuals (and institutions) involved in the development of the City." In terms of the contents, it has "a land use element", "a circulation element", "a service-systems element" and it "may include other elements".

13. The importance of the General Plan, which attracted the attention of the public and officials, combined with the existence of a number of other, apparently trivial, plans focusing on specific areas, detailing such and such aspect of the General Plan, contributed to the give the Planning Department strategies to find *interstices* in the legal fabric of City management and to give the Director of Planning room to push forward a vision.

Fig. 7: The "Hierarchy" of Plans according to the Charter of the City of Los Angeles, in 1969

The Evolution of the Planning Vision

1. Planners were set under the leadership of political authorities, notably the Mayor, and thus did not properly hold any political agenda. Media coverage of the time, though, proves—through prominent cases—that the planning action increasingly gained weight, impact and influence. In 1997, Los Angeles Times' obituary of Calvin Hamilton (whose nomination was also covered by the same journal, nearly forty years earlier) makes it explicit that:

> "Calvin Hamilton, the visionary but controversial planning director of the city of Los Angeles for more than two decades [...] was criticized as unevenly administering the Planning Department and was widely blamed for the city's failure to implement his General Plan [...] (and to) deal with politicians or commercial developers [...] He was

praised for his conceptual ability to plot the city's long-range developmental future." (Los Angeles Times, May 1997[41])

2. Other publications reflecting on the work of City Planners in Los Angeles systematically adopt a somewhat grandiloquent tone to develop the idea of the "Director's vision"[42]. Quoting Former City Council President Pat Russell, Myrna Oliver, for the Los Angeles times, writes that:

> "Cal's style is visionary, and that has served a purpose. But we're entering an era of implementation, and we need those kinds of skills." (Los Angeles Times, May 1997)

3. Another article from the LA Times, by Barrett, published in 2010, is simply entitled: "The Vision of Michael LoGrande.[43]" Yet another example of the use of such expression is: "Former planning director of both Los Angeles and San Diego is known internationally as a visionary expert in community revitalization" (Urban Land Institute, Los Angeles, 2011[44]).

4. Calvin Hamilton's "vision", that received coverage by the media during his tenure, contributed to bring the profession under the light. Hamilton became Director of the City Planning in 1964 and resigned in 1985 (Los Angeles Times, 1997): he stayed in office more than two decades, appending his signature on each document emanating from the LADCP. The two decades of "Calvinism" (following the LA Times' expression, in 1969) were marked scandals related to potential conflict of interests, and by the polarization, politisation and contestation generated by the LADCP's action regarding zoning and planning.

Fig. 8: from the Los Angeles Times (1969)
Calvin S. Hamilton, newly appointed Director of City Planning.

5. Hamilton was not primarily contested as a leader, nor as a public servant (LA Times, 1968) though. Rather, the vision he communicated and tried to implement, through his plans, were fiercely criticized. It took almost five years to design and complete the Concept Plan of 1970, under the leadership of Hamilton and during the Yorty administration.

> "[The plan] called for massive rezoning to halt commercial development adjacent to residential areas"; "recommended radical changes to the city's zoning system. Traditionally, zoning laws had permitted commercial development interspersed among residential streets." but "(Hamilton opposed) high-rise projects, [...] believing they would cause too much congestion." (Los Angeles Times, 1997)

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[41] Oliver, 1997. From http://articles.latimes.com/1997-05-28/local/me-63293_1_calvin-hamilton

[42] (there is, to my knowledge, no book summing up the "legacy" of City Planning in Los Angeles—hence my suggestion to conduct an ethnography…, see Conclusion).

[43] Barrett, 2010. From http://www.laweekly.com/news/the-vision-of-michael-logrande-2166348

[44] ULI Los Angeles, 2011. From http://la.uli.org/press-releases/gail-goldberg-named-executive-director-of-uli-los-angeles-district-council-or-urban-land-institute/

"We are dealing with no less than the future urban civilization[45] for a metropolis of 7 million people today with the strong possibility of double that number of people in the future." (Calvin Hamilton, in the Los Angeles Times, 1969[46])

6. Indeed, the maps, included in the Concept Plan, reflect such dynamic view of the built urban environment:

Fig. 9: The legend of Concept Los Angeles's main map (1970) illustrates the "Centers Concept". Suburban residential areas are communities? Neglection of communities… ?

7. The objectives of the General Plan, declined through the "Concept", supported a vision that was a mix of architectural ideology, pragmatism and a reflection of the an ideal lifestyle I referred to in the first part. The objectives were to:

- "Preserve the low-density residential character of Los Angeles, except where higher density Centers are encouraged; protect stable single-family residential neighborhoods from encroachment by other types of uses; rehabilitate and/or rebuild deteriorated single-family residential areas for the same use; help make single-family housing available to families of all social and ethnic categories.
- maximum convenience for the occupants of high and medium density housing [...]
- Provide employment opportunities and commercial services at locations convenient to residents [...] reserve suitable and adequate lands for industrial and commercial uses.
- Adequate transportation facilities [...] a choice of transportation modes; alleviate traffic congestion [...]
- Neede public services
- Facilities for leisure time activities
- Conserve the City's natural resources and amenities; preserve open space
- Enhance the quality of the City's physical environment; integrate all aspects of the City's development through the application of urban design principles; establish the identity of the various communities of the City
- …"

In addition, the Concept suggests that "Suburbs" and "Centers" should be the two main components defining the nature of the urban fabric, suggesting that:

"The suburbs are a key feature [...] they are identified as those portions of the City with environment originally created for, and expressly protected for lower density family living. Many older close-in neighborhoods as well as those on the fringes of the City have

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[45] See also literature review, chapter 1, ¶12.

[46] Los Angeles Times (author's name does not appear), 1969. "City's Long-Range Program Emerges Under Plan Director".

suburban characteristics. Therefore, the Concept designates as suburban all such residential areas."

(3)

8. Besides, following a pattern implying "nodes", "satellites", according to an almost Corbusian vision of the functional city, "a typical Center will function as a focal point for adjacent suburbs and nodes and will have a "core" [...] containing a rapid transit station, high-rise office structures, [...]." (3)

9. Hamilton's Concept LA (1970) reflects a particular view of the city, clearly privileging the "suburban" legacy of Los Angeles—or what is perceived as such—of Los Angeles. At the same time, almost in a was to compensate, the plan suggests to link "centers", in fact cores of activity, to each other, so to form a network of circulations that guarantees the homogeneity and harmony of the general suburban lifestyle. The vision faced the strong opposition of homeowners' associations, supported by media campaign, as the articles from the Los Angeles Times show. More than often, the argument used against such vision, and the vocabulary integrated the term "community": Hamilton's plan seemed to reveal that—for a number of Angelenos—the local ideal of community was not that of suburban, homogenous communities. The "concept" was not, though, opposed to a certain idea of community.

10. Newspapers published some of concerns from inhabitants, sometimes in the form of letters, such as:

> "There is a basic lack of knowledge and understanding on the part of city leaders as to what planning is and how it should be applied. This problem is augmented by the fact that some persons pose as "professional" city planners while their own interests lie entirely in zoning administration, subdivision or other aspects of "current" planning. Planning, by its very name, implies concern about the city's future. When Hamilton came to the department in 1964, he found a group of self-satisfied individuals who have rested on their experience and knowledge of city planning, 1920's style." (Los Angeles Times, 1968; letter by D.H. Nollar of Pasadena)

11. Hamilton's project was finally debunked. The reasons for this are intertwined: Hamilton's abilities as a civil servant and as a manager were acknowledged, yet the scandals he was personally involved with contributed to tarnish his public image (not irremediably, though: his value as a City Planner was recently acknowledged through the installation of a monument in his honor).

12. Two decades later, the new conceptual plan, called *Framework* (1995)[47] suggested another, different vision of the city. The implicit principle of coherence of the public action timewise, though, was respected, as the new plan subtlety endorsed its predecessor:

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[47] *Framework, Draft Citywide General Plan Framework Summary*, 1995; *Framework, Citywide General Plan Framework, an Element of the General Plan Executive Summary*, 1996 December 11

"The city's current land use strategy is contained in a plan titled *Concept Los Angeles* which was adopted by the Council in 1974." [...] "The Framework continues the basic thrust of *Concept Los Angeles* while adjusting it to today's realities. New development would still be encouraged to locate in centers as a means of protecting the character of low-density neighborhoods" (7).

13. In twenty years, the center-oriented vision of planning switched to mixed-used planning, as reflected by the radical, although implicit (or discreet) statements the new plan made. First, it notes how the successful implementation of the Centers plan in "the Central City, Warner Center in the Valley", but the mild results in "many low-density residential neighborhoods". Second, reflecting on Concept LA, it prudently recalled that its purpose was to define "location, function and character of centers with greater precision".

"The Framework not only targets growth in centers but also along some of the boulevards that connect them. Mixed-use commercial and residential development - which can enhance the vitality of urban life by promoting walking over driving - is encouraged both along these boulevards and in the centers" (7)

14. It also suggests the beginning of the later idea of "transit oriented development" as it develops the concept of "Targeted Growth Areas" which are "new development to locate in parts of the city served by rail or bus transit".

15. The transition from the 1970s Concept LA and its Centers concept, to the 1990s Framework illustrates several key elements of the evolution of the practice of planning, in relation with the concept of community.

16. In the great belief of the power of policy-making, community action and firm governance (the belief that "things can change"), it might be argued that planners saw themselves, in the beginning of the 1971, as "healers". This belief was added to a firm and almost ideological belief in progress, as technology emerged as a potentially infinite power to "monitor the city" (Interview of Robert E. Joyce, director of Community Analysis Bureau. From the Los Angeles Times, ca. 1969). Planners then saw their action as a "preventive medicine for a metropolis" (ibid.) which would never stop (their belief in progress did not go as far as the possibility of an "end of history").

17. In any case, the healing mission planners saw themselves vested with was not simple. As reflected in several plans at the smaller, local scale, planners sometimes faced the unconscious opposition of their own patients. The North Hollywood Community Plan[48] (1971; 22) reflects how planners strive to impose the "Hamilton" suburban order, while anticipating that the implementation phase would face oppositions:

"The community suffers from both physical and psychological barriers."

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[48] *North Hollywood Community Background Report*, December 1971

18. Besides, the plan reflect the paradox planners themselves faced as they guaranteed that the plan would "maintain the community's individuality", this is "the positive characteristics of existing residential neighborhoods" (13) while privileging the suburban model, and adapting it to each urban, transversal element (land use, transportation, etc.). According to Concept LA, even parks and open spaces would not escape the suburban seizure:

> "The suburbs will also contain the bulk of the City's open space, including neighborhood, community and regional parks, and recreational sites, [...]" (3)

Communities and Participation

"*All centers will serve basic community needs*" (LA Concept Plan of 1970)

1. Nevertheless, the ruling of this paradoxical paradigm was not absolute. The self-empowerment of people started very long before planners make a step toward the participative branch of their activity, their inclusion of non-experts in their expert work. Regarding the ensemble of factors planners identified as "issues", or "problems", people had already gotten together to inform policy-makers (more or less successfully) of their "concerns":

> "The coalition is a private organization of business, labor, church and civil right leaders and mayors. It seeks greater federal effort on behalf of the cities" [...] "The group wants to tell Nixon of its deep concern over the urban problem" [...] "(in spite of) decline this year in ghetto rioting, tensions have not been defused and, therefore, the danger is far more serious than the public realizes".
> (Vincent J. Burke, Los Angeles Times, ca. 1969 "Urban Coalition Seeks Conference With Nixon")

2. By the middle of the 1970s, planners understood that the opinion of the public was to be taken in consideration in the was the city would be planned. Community participation was integrated to the practice of planning, and reflected in plans by being specifically stated (East Los Angeles, Boyle Heights Community Preliminary Plan, January 1974[49]):

> "This Preliminary plan has been prepared for discussion purposes prior to completion of a final Proposed Plan. Citizens of the community are urged to review the Plan and submit their written and oral comments to the City Planning Department."

3. Under some written components of plans, citizens may find explanations about how to take action themselves and do what planners do: "three distinct situations are involved" in "zoning actions", for instance, states the East Los Angeles, Boyle Heights Community Preliminary Plan of 1974: basically the City can do zoning, property owners "may apply for a change of zone" and finally "community organizations, or groups of residents within a specific area, may petition the

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[49] East Los Angeles, *Boyle Heights Community Preliminary Plan*, January 1974

City Council to initiate redesignation to zones in conformance with the Plan". The idea here, in a way, is that the plan should almost be "loose enough" to enable citizens to contradict such or such land use, in favor of their own interest, based on a Plan that they did not create (design).

4. Planners, though, did not expect the participation to deeply influence the way in which plans were crafted. Elements informing members of the community about the voice and the impact they could have regarding the making-of "their community" essentially regarded social aspects of organizing life, grassroot activities, participating in programs that were external to the City's (this is, private programs funded by grants, etc.) In fact, the nature of such participation corresponded to the ideal of "self-help" that was defined notably in the beginning of the 1960s through Johnson's Great Society programs.

5. The draft of the Arleta-Pacoima Preliminary Community Plan (ca. 1970-1979) clearly reveals that the switch happened around the concept of "community". The entire introduction of the Plan has been retroactively added: it regards the "community background" and it is organized as follows:

-   "[Geographical] Setting"
-   "Planning areas"
-   "Community participation"

The former part mentions that "the initial formation of the Arleta-Pacoima Community Plan involved members of the community who helped to identify and define the needs, desires, resources and the unique nature of the community" (2).

6. Besides, the draft reveals that the mentions of "district" are crossed and replaced by "community" in the whole document, which replaces the "last comprehensive update" made in 1976 and revised in 1987. A note (1) mentions that "Strikeouts indicate language that is proposed to be deleted from the June 1976 Community plan text."

7. Finally, in the chapter regarding the "role of the Arleta-Pacoima Community Plan", the draft (12) reveals a change in the presentation and the wording of plans. At the same time texts are more precise and a language assimilable more and more to jargon also appears progressively. As they systematically replace "District" with "Community", writers might suggest that the plan might include elements of communication directed to voters rather than to planners and experts (the Commission, the Mayor, etc.). "District" is then replaced by "people who live in the community" (12), or by "area". A "healthful and pleasant environment" is replaced by "the improvement of the quality of the environment". To "balance growth and stability" is replaced by to "reflect economic potentialities and limitations" (12).

8. The idea that people could "identify" their needs and desires was acknowledged, at the time, in many of the Community Plans—under the conceptual General Plan—as they followed the same format, "consisting of text and map", which included a brief statement of purpose:

"The Plan is intended to promote an arrangement of land use, circulation and services which will encourage and contribute to the economic, social and physical health, safety, welfare, and convenience of the Community, within the larger framework of the City; guide the future of the Community to meet existing and anticipated needs and conditions; contribute to a healthful and pleasant environment; balance growth and stability; reflect potentials and limitations, land development and other trends; and protect investment to the extent reasonable and feasible."

[...] "To provide an official guide to the future development of the Community for the use of the City Council, the Mayor, the City Planning Commission; other concerned governmental agencies, residents, property owners, businessmen of the Community; …"
(East Los Angeles, Boyle Heights Community Preliminary Plan, January 1974)

9. 1995 conceptual plan Framework, an extension of Concept LA (1970), includes a direct, explicit appeal to participation by the Director of Planning, Con Howe. The project is divided in seven chapters, ending remarkably with "Community involvement".

- "L.A Plans for its future
- Land Use
- Economy
- Mobility
- Livable Neighborhoods
- Implementation
- Community Involvement"

10. The planners' imperative to reach order through the organization of the city and social structures was questioned by the difficulty of finding optimal ways to include public participation in the making of plans. The Director of Planning had to face at the same time societal, economical and environmental challenges:

"Within two years of my arrival the city had to contend with the civil disturbances after the Rodney King trial, an economic recession and the Northridge earthquake." (Con Howe, 2005[50])

11. Framework is certainly conceived under the auspices of time. It reflects a certain positivity in spite of the "calamities" affecting Los Angeles. It is also imbued with the influence of external consultants who notably helped with the conception, editing, framing and communication around the whole project. "Printed on recycled paper", the document was achieved with the help of a larger editing team of consultants (Envicom Corporation) than for the previous major "project plans" such as 1970's Concept LA. The project, which was supervised by the LADCP within the Citywide Planning Division, is described as:

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[50] Howe, 2005. From http://www.planningreport.com/2005/06/27/con-howe-offers-exiting-planners-take-la-city-planning

"a dynamic strategy for making a more livable and economically strong Los Angeles for you and the city's children, and their children (...)"

12. The economic perspective is clearly influencing, as well, the conception of the new plan. Targeting economic outcomes for "2010" (2), the plan is first about "capitalizing on our city's many assets" (2) to "address its challenges", as if it were almost in passing.

13. At the scale of Community Plans, supporting the broader concept that is stated in Framework, documents show how the practice of contractualization of planning with private firms becomes more common. A draft of the "Development agreement by and between the City of Los Angeles and the Porter Ranch Development Company (PRDC)[51]" , in 1991 suggests how the City starts binding and transmitting authority to the private, which is in the spirit of the time. In this case, the company is "a California general partnership, comprised of Shapell Industries, Inc., a Delaware corporation, Liberty Building Comp, a California corporation etc. …" (1). In 1987, the Porter Ranch Specific Plan Project-First preliminary meeting had allowed negotiations between the City and the company to take place, notably regarding the question of "Affirmative action" (7), and how to guarantee it.

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[51] *Porter Ranch, Development Agreement By and Between the City of Los Angeles and the Porter Ranch Development Company, Revised Application Draft*, 1991 February 11

<u>Conclusion</u>

<u>Hypotheses</u>

a) Planners only consider "communities" through a geographic prism. Communities are physical areas with certain characteristics that distinguish one from the other.

To urban planners, the concept of "community" constitutes a malleable tool. Its sociological foundations; its historical importance in Los Angeles; its conceptual, ambiguous relation to zoning, allow planners to both acknowledge and revendicate it. Because it is so protean, it fits the evolutions of the practice, while the practice itself has to adapt to the times. It is almost never contradicted as such by urbanites, thus enabling governments to use it to support and justify policies.

Prior to the "posturban" era that Phelps et. al (2010) describe, urban studies scholars separately used the methods that were typical to their fields. To study the city, they distinguished between factors that are now encapsulated together in a radical, dynamic theory. These factors are, among others, the physicality of the city, conflicts of identity, the question of governance. Scholars, besides, only recently acknowledged the city, as a material object, to its fuller extent, this is, relating individuals to space, through the idea of a "sense of place" (Tuan, 1977[52]; Low, 2003[53]). Nevertheless, because the work of social scientists and the practice of planners are still not—or not very much—in conversation (as Zukin, 2011, suggests), no concrete applications stem from the analysis, at least to the extent of the discoveries that have been made in urban studies over the last thirty years.

The first hypothesis is proved true by the narrative that planners used to justify their work, notably as they conceived "Community Plans" to delineate geographic areas in Los Angeles in order to address urban issues, such as poverty. Until the 1960s, poverty in cities was thought of as a endogenous factor: it supposedly stemmed from the urban condition, from the "urban" function of space. It had to do, perhaps, with a certain "way of life". Yet, while this appreciation evolved in urban studies, the use of "community" as a geographic device remained (Roy et. al, 2014). From the late 1960s, sociologists began to consider "communities" as potentially non-physical elements (Castells, 1968; Anderson, 1991), to the point they became useless to think about human gatherings at a global scale.

In planning, today, the term "community" still refers to geographical areas and it is oftentimes used as a synonym for "neighborhood". A city such as Los Angeles has long been "global", and yet, the community-oriented paradigm has not changed. Mobility affects the way in which stable

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[52] Tuan, Y. F. (1977). *Space and place: The perspective of experience.* University of Minnesota Press.

[53] Low, S. M. (2003). Embodied space (s) anthropological theories of body, space, and culture. *Space and culture, 6*(1), 9-18.

groups of urbanites are forming (Phelps et. al, 2010), although major urban projects remain considered through the prism of communities as geographic units. Theories of migrations and theories of the physical city need to be merged into a praxis: if such praxis exists today, it is still in its early stage of development.

As the first part of the findings section has shown, the contentious intersection of "zoning" and "planning" partly justifies (yet from a conceptual misunderstanding, a theoretical confusion) the definition of "communities". Jacobs' (1961) opposition to the rigidity of zoning stems from her concern about the vibrancy of urban communities, and naturally calls for a delicate, specific kind of planning. The slow succession of plans for Los Angeles (Goals for Los Angeles, Concept LA, Framework, …) suggests that inertia is inherent to the politics of city space, whereas inhabitants and users are individually or collectively able to modify city space rapidly and radically. Political ideals and bureaucratization, with other factors, partly explain such gap between the governing instances' and the governed bodies' ability to react. Again, the plans show that "participation" became a priority that was acknowledged by Community Plans only by the 1990s; the functionalist, single-use tradition of zoning prevailed until recently.

The study of the archive has shown that the term "community" in plans is used more and more extensively, as the cutting of plans into increasingly smaller units tends to call for one unit of reference. The "individual" which, by definition, cannot "be divided", cannot be relevantly used as such unit: one individual's needs are too different from another one's. Given the American political history and traditions, the "nation" would not be a relevant scale, either, to plan on improving the living conditions at the urban level. Community, though, relate both to a mythical interpretation of the American togetherness and to a useful delineation of space.

Adopting this term has allowed to avoid the somewhat technocratic, mere idea of "subdivision", or "specific" maps and plans, which was prominent before the 1960s. It allowed to simply refer to groups of urbanites by what they supposedly are: people having something in common.

b) Planners attribute moral values to "communities", which encompass not only the idea of locale but also certain ties that bound people together with shared characters.

Sociological research and the planning rationale have in common to relate "community" to society, and to define "community" within the broader field of political theory (from the inspirational example of Tönnies, 1887). Urban planners in Los Angeles do not only conceive, prepare and think about plans, they are belonging fully to the realm and temporality of politics. City Hall correspondence and media releases showed evidence that planners act and operate as political agents, adapting standard practices and using the profession's common tools to reach objectives that might have impacts beyond the mere scope their functions. In its critical analysis of the work of Tönnies, Brint (2001) suggests that the method consisting in disaggregating the components of "communities" might lead scholars to analyze further each component in their own contexts. In the similar way, the multiplicity of stakes that planners have to consider might lead them to pursue larger missions than the punctual, specific ones they are assigned to.

The outcomes of such practices are, and have been, contested. The adjectives "authoritative", "top down", etc. have oftentimes been used to qualify planning and zoning in different eras, while the planner's work is rarely acknowledged for its successful outcomes. Yet, contestation happens only when the impact of planning is visible to the public, to elected officials, to public leaders. Plans, as opposed to zoning changes, explicitly put forward a vision for the future: their urgency is not necessarily clearly perceived by the public. A change in zoning is more likely to trigger contestation than the publishing of a Community Plan. This is also due to the intricateness of legal and managerial networks within which planners act. Various researches, conducted at different times (Stein, 1969; Smith, 1988; Young, 1990; Roy, 2014), illustrate how "bureaucracy" articulates the relationship between elected officials, planners and voters. Planners thus have interest to reinforce their democratic legitimacy by enhancing the importance of plans that would potentially call for the public's participation. Typically, Community Plans are a media planners can use to reach out to the civil society at large.

As political agents, planners also seek to promote a "vision". This vision is not neutral, it conveys morality (Gunder, 2010). Archives of drafts, and plans from the 1960s to the 1990s have shown that planners are affected by what they perceive as social problems (poverty, lack of educational opportunities, lack of economic opportunities etc.). They are genuinely sensitive to societal dysfunctions and strive to address them by opposing "better" or "efficient" solutions to "wrong" or "poor" strategies. Besides, because factors affecting the city are intertwined and related, planners tend to not limit their vision to the mere scale of the city. Based on findings from the archive review, the trajectory of the Los Angeles Director of Planning, Calvin Hamilton, illustrated this aspect. Finally, the idea of moral is oftentimes expressed through a political ideal that does not necessarily have to do with the local context, which generates tensions or misunderstandings and leads planners to defend strategies that are not necessarily relevant to the needs of the people.

The literature review showed that the term "community" encompasses a mythological dimension that referred, in the United States, to the national identity, to the national past, etc. Considered through the prism of "histories of knowledge", it also recalls a bright past (almost a "golden age") of scientific experimentation, failures, successes, which, in time, became a trope (i.e. the Chicago School) for both practitioners and theorists. Because planners are not only practitioners, but also—by formation and arguably by interest—theorists, they rely to both aspects as they develop a personal practice of planning.

A specific research on the inner motivations of planners to promote such or such urban paradigm would help explain the stakes this hypothesis conveys. More generally, an ethnography of urban planners would complete the arguments I make in this thesis. Given the findings that stemmed from the broad review of the history of the LADCP, Los Angeles, as a field of research, seems particularly relevant to conduct such ethnography. Indeed, I suggested that planners have "a vision". Nevertheless, I supported this argument only by reviewing archive: to this point, I cannot provide scientifically sound proofs—based on both objective evidence, a precise method, acknowledged by a discipline, and interviews—of planners' intentions and deep motivations for doing "what they do". The need for scientific generalization justifies, in the end, the project of conducting a research about planners as a professional group.

c) Planners seek to reach order by "integrating" communities in plans. "Communities" are considered elements that bring at the same time order and flexibility in plans.

The concept of "community", overall, relates at the same time to politics, history, theoretical premises, and individual perspectives, desires, ambitions, visions and objectives. Planners attempt to establish an order within intricate networks that do not only include the aforementioned elements, but also physical space. Thus, they have to untangle the complexity of urban social groups; at the same time, they rely on the concept of "community" as a practical tool.

As suggested by the works of Young (1990), and by a generation of scholars who developed their own critical tools of interpretation, the intrusion of identity in urban studies and urban sociology shook the foundations of such fields. As I demonstrated in the literature review, this moment also corresponded to global social movements of political contestation. The question of identity, the crises and the challenges it encompassed, overflowed the realm of scholarship. In the 1960s, Los Angeles faced social crises which outcomes—as planners understood—were crucial to the future of the city. With an unexpected, dramatic intensity, planners were facing a major challenge, as the situation called for their expertise, and needed them to intervene as specialists, visionaries, almost as healers. Perhaps, they did not embrace to its full extent the importance of identity, as a key concept to approach the social-urban upheaval. From the mid-1960s, the example of Calvin Hamilton shows that planners in Los Angeles were quick to be held responsible for issues that had to do with the organization of space and the stability of urban society.

The apparition of "identity" as a historical contingence is thus related the practice of planning, in both its visionary ambition and its organizing purpose. Again, the concept of "community", as I described it above, is a tool that is flexible enough to accommodate different kinds of devices and situations, including a sudden change in the urban paradigm. To make plans for the future, acknowledging both the variety of identities, and the contestation and clashes they generate, is a challenge to planners. Sociology once offered tools that were, in any ways, somewhat too abstract for planners to use, in order to "synthesize" the needs and passions of "the people". A certain tradition, considering "the masses" and offering to "understand" them (Le Bon, Tocqueville, …) seems long gone; the ground on which it was set does not exist anymore; no global theory of "the masses" replaced it; would it had be useful to planners…? Arguably, such obsolescence also stems from the fact that identity has become a subtler, essential paradigm not only to theory, but also to practice. It replaced a number of other intellectual devices. It now constitutes a field that is still not completely explored, and that offers many enticing possibilities for theorists.

Plato suggests that the basis of politics is hierarchy. Planners, as political agents, hierarchize and valorize the factors they have the ability to control or to influence. As I suggested, communicating, planning and zoning are perhaps the most common actions for planners. I tried to suggest that, whereas zoning and planning are to be combined, they tend to oppose; I suggested that "communities" are at the core of such opposition, they catalyze it. By essence,

zoning cannot acknowledge what is now corresponding to the idea of "communities", which I described above. It is less of a polyvalent tool than planning. Planning, besides, belongs to a different kind of intellectual field than zoning because, by essence, it relates to dynamic processes, while taking place punctually (which is also the reason why it is interestingly studied through *documents*). Zoning and planning, though, are still complementary. Planners have to balance their use of one and the other to establish order in cities, while enabling citizens to reach a level of autonomy. The freedom to choose a certain lifestyle, to share histories, ideals and passions, and to plan for the future is what is suggested by the ideal of "community-oriented" urban development.

The third hypothesis is proved true: in the midst of the debates about the technicity of planning, the concept of "community" is a reference to establish a harmonious hierarchy of priorities. Planners distinguished between "a good" and "a bad" community in the form of "barrios" or "ghettos": one was to be enhanced, the other one needed to be turned into a harmless urban environment, if not a fruitful one. As I reviewed sociological literature, I showed that the idea of community might be morally oriented; nevertheless, in some systems, such as Tönnes', there is apparently no value distinctions between different communities; following up on this idea, while evaluating different "kinds" of communities, Stein also suggests that the existence of community matters, rather than its moral contents and outcomes. This is a paradox for planners, who are sometimes asked to solve a "moral problem" through the disaggregation and hierarchization of elements that compose a community.

The Future of Community-Oriented Urban Planning?

I suggested in introduction that the concept of community was inherent to political discourse today. On the week of June 5th, 2017, an urban project relating to "Transit Oriented Communities", led by the LADCP, was launched. The meaning of "communities", in this case, has to do with housing, economic development, and transportation, among others: it encompasses different aspects of the planning practice and conveys a political ideal.

The concept of "community" is likely to be used in the future, as Los Angeles faces new challenges and as a number of ambitious urban projects (extended public transportation, the Olympics, …) take place in a metropolis that seeks to expand its geopolitical influence. One of my original "expected findings" was that planners use the term "community" to refer to the progress towards a morally better future, to state their faith in this future. Mainly, I wanted to suggest that the term "community" overcame the apparent contradiction of making plans, grouping people and functions, while not "segregating" them. Because making plans is authoritative by nature, I wanted to argue that this authoritativeness can be felt by planners as the specter of redlining, segregation, discrimination in cities. "Community" is an ethics that bridges gaps between cultures, ethnies, etc. and suggests a new kind of solidarity beyond good and evil.

This is not true everywhere. As I suggested in the introduction, the meaning of "community" varies greatly in other international contexts. In France, for instance, "communitarianism" is perceived negatively (Belorgey et al., 2005). It is relevant to the planning theory to reflect on the

reciprocal influence of nations—of their tradition and styles of planning (that young planners obviously carry along as they travel, as they study abroad, etc.)—regarding how the urban trope of "community" is understood and used.

I did not point out how "communities" are still at the core of some of the most important, most commented urban "issues" of today. Gentrification is one of these issues. As I analyzed the archive, I noted how the Boyle Heights 1974 Community Plan[54] does not acknowledge, at the time, or does not foresee, the upcoming trends of gentrification. By trying to subject the Community to a certain order, notably in terms of housing, it neglects, perhaps, the preservation of the fragile, historical elements that bound people together. As the Plan states that its "primary intent" is to "stabilize residential density and consolidate housing types", it does not address what seems to be, today, one of the primary concerns of the Boyle Heights community.

> "The Plan proposes that the low and low-medium density residential character of Boyle Heights can be preserved and that one and two family neighborhoods can be protected from encroachment by other types of uses by landscaping and other buffering devices." (in "Housing").

Finally, and in relation with this issue, I also originally expected to suggest that planners use communities for economic purposes related to tourism; to aim for the promotion of a certain "way of life"; perhaps to "brand" "ethnic enclaves" (Collins, 2016) and to make cities better off economically. This objective is not necessarily standing along gentrification. Planners strived to guarantee, in a more or less successful way, a certain lifestyle to Angelinos (notably as they released the Goals for LA questionnaire in 1967), that would also attract tourists and newcomers. Who did planners actually favor? Again, how to define what is a population, in Los Angeles? These are, today, important questions. Planners, theorists, scientists and the public debate about whether bringing goods, new people, new money to old neighborhoods is beneficial to the city. On this point so far, they can certainly rely solely on their inner conviction.

In one of my favorite movies, *The Leopard* (1963, Visconti), the main character, an aristocrat meditating on the advent of democracy, declares: "everything must change so that nothing changes". Now that democracy has happened, I wonder what to think about this aristocratic tendency communities have to ask for no change…

I end with another movie that suggests what "communities" might be. It is, to me, a striking interpretation of the theme that sociology is sometimes very concerned with: the human condition in great metropolises. And its title, perhaps, is also the only piece of advice worth being told an urban planner: "*do the right thing[55]*".
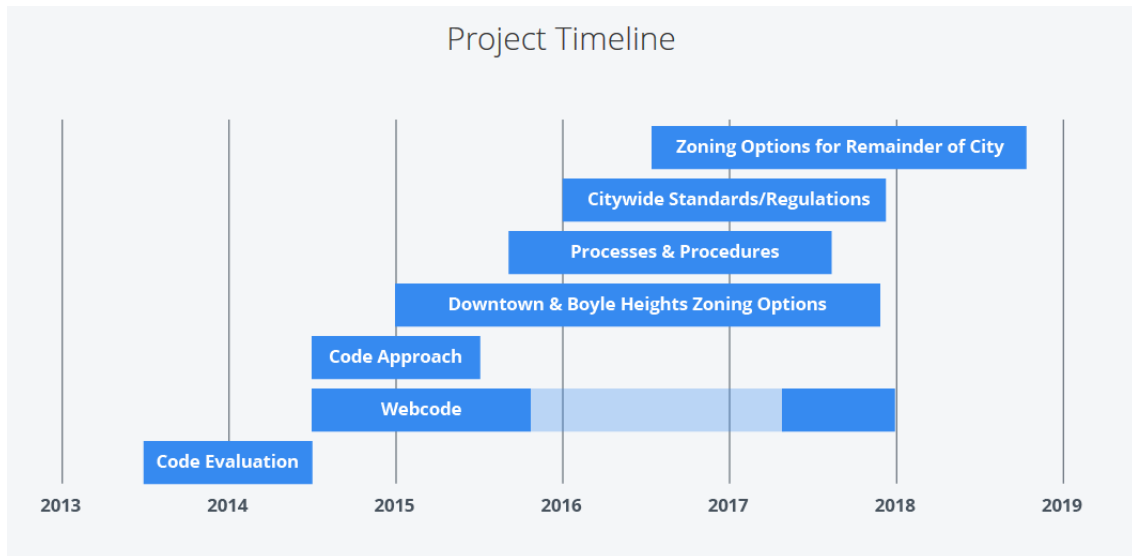

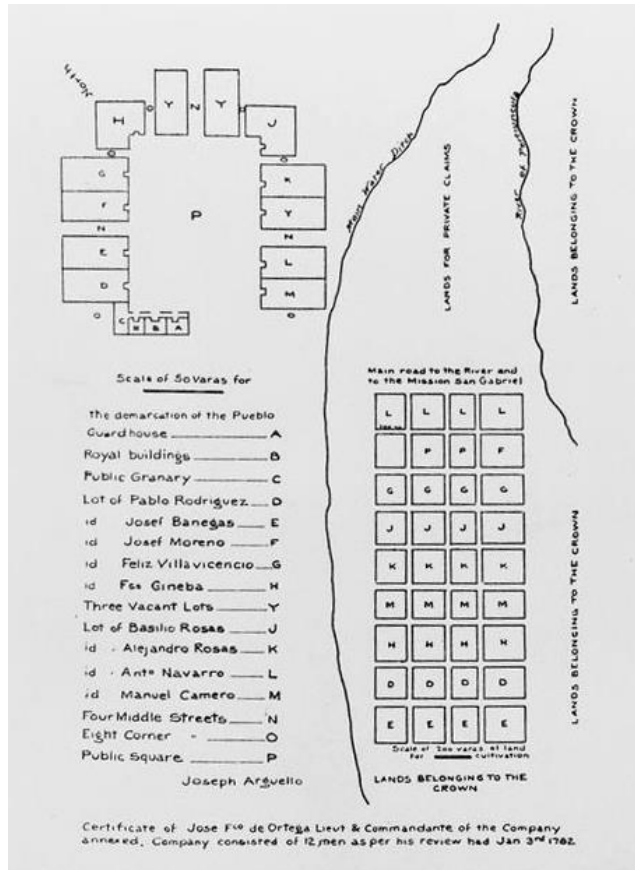[54] East Los Angeles, *Boyle Heights Community Preliminary Plan*, January 1974
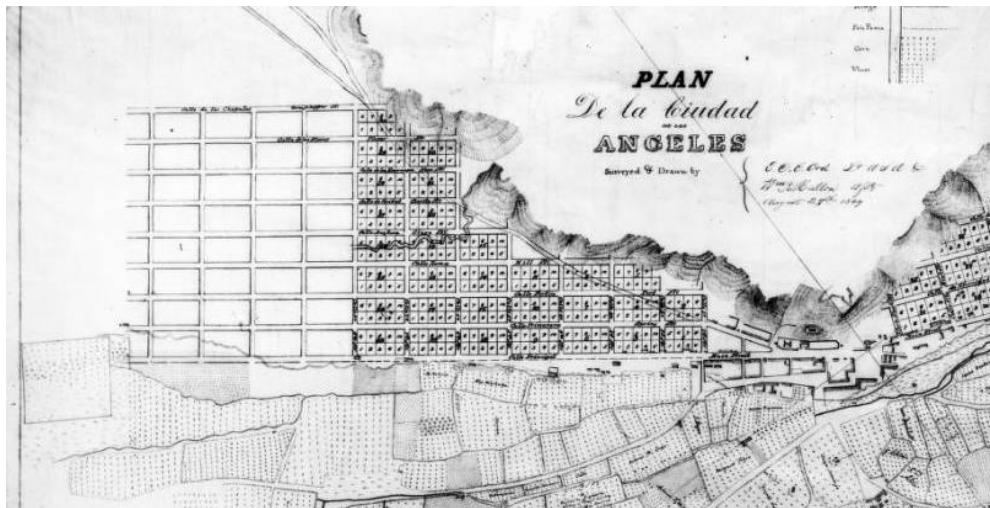
[55] Lee, 1989.

Findings

Fig. 1: Project Timeline, "Re:code LA" website (January 2017)[56]

Fig. 2: Argüello's 1786 map of the town plan, translated into English.[57] (a copy)

Fig. 3: Ord's Plan of 1849 (detail)[58]

"United States Army Engineer Lieutenant E.O.C. Ord completes the City's first official survey and mapping under American rule" (Re:code LA, 2013)

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[57]https://www.kcet.org/shows/lost-la/happy-birthday-los-angeles-but-is-the-story-of-the-citys-founding-a-myth

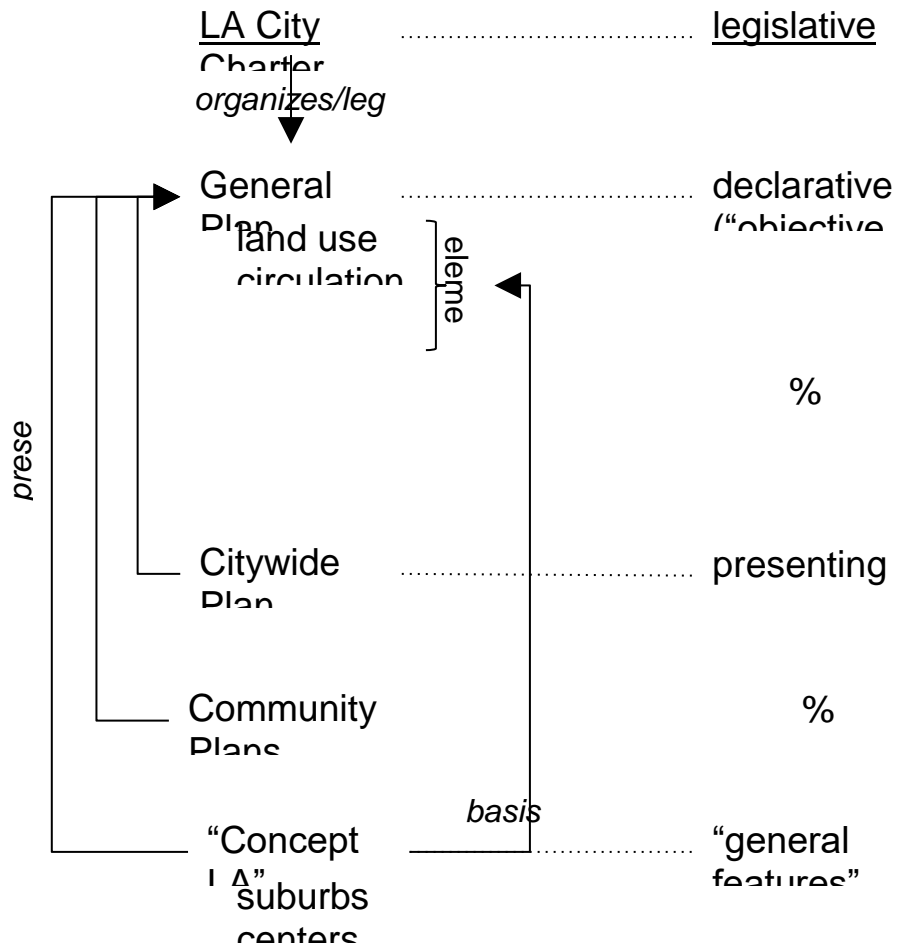[58] https://www.kcet.org/shows/lost-la/the-first-map-of-los-angeles-may-be-older-than-you-think
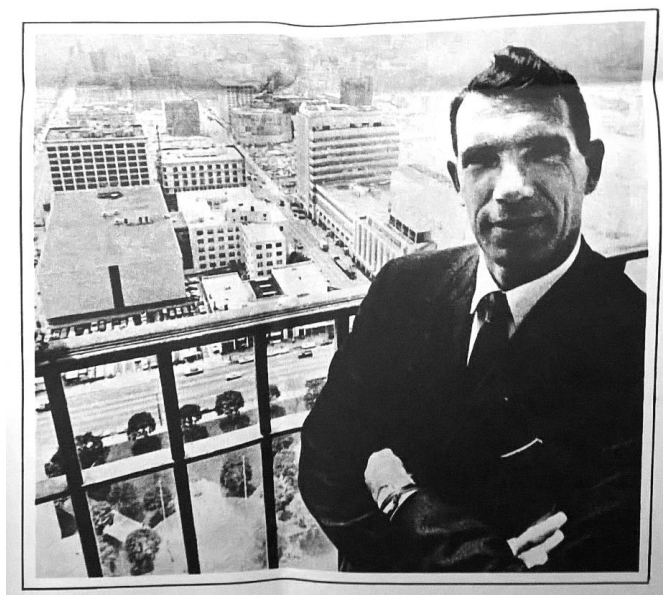
Fig. 4 & 5: From the "Goals for Los Angeles" in 1967.

Kids in poor families are the potential of tomorrow… As long as they benefit from to essential elements: cars, and housing. Are these elements representative of the American urban ideal?
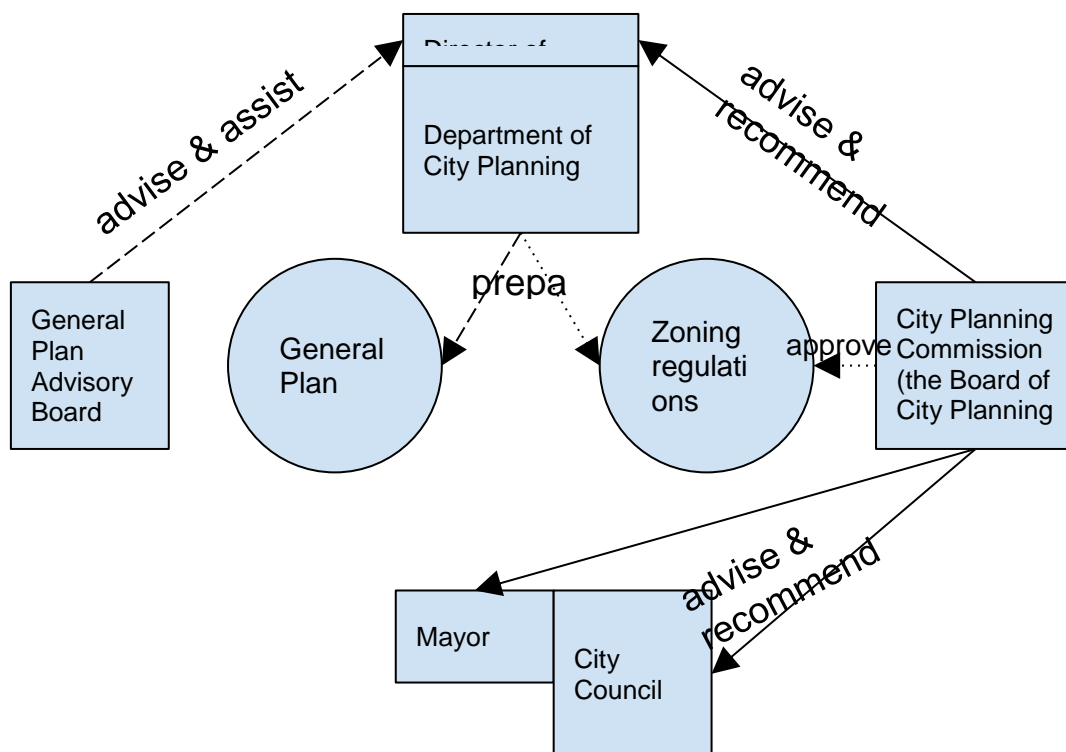

Fig. 6: Organization of Planning in the City of Los Angeles according to the City Charter of 1969

Fig. 7: The "Hierarchy" of Plans according to the Charter of the City of Los Angeles, in 1969

Diagram content:

LA City Charter .... legislative

organizes/leg

General Plan .... declarative ("objective
land use
circulation *eleme*

%

Citywide Plan .... presenting

Community Plans %

basis

"Concept LA" suburbs centers .... "general features"

Fig. 8: from the Los Angeles Times (1969)
Calvin S. Hamilton, newly appointed Director of City Planning.
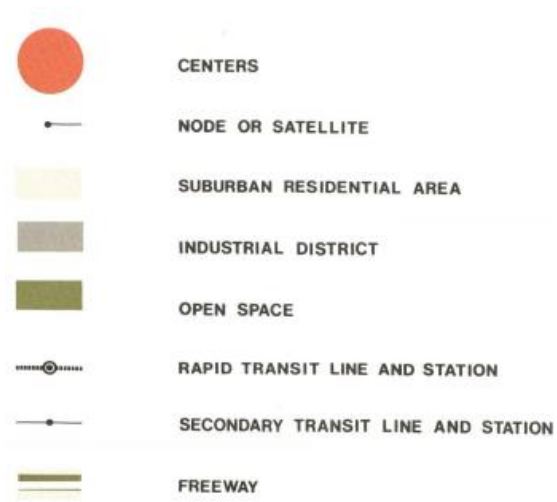
Fig. 9: The legend of *"Concept Los Angeles"*'s main map (1970) advocates for a precise organization of urban space.

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