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Bright Lights, Blighted City:
Urban Renewal at the Crossroads of the World

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
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Abstract

The untenable contradictions of laissez-faire capitalism were accommodated by the development of urban planning, whose history is one of succeeding implementations of a controlled capitalist order. One such accommodation is found in the evolution of sites of popular amusements; at first chaotic spheres of escape and indulgence in which the work day was forgotten and social roles discarded, these carnival spaces soon became markets for mass consumption. As the strict divisions of city spaces created by physical urban planning disintegrated under transformations of capitalism and its accompanying crises of overaccumulation, social urban planning was elaborated to more effectively control the capitalist city and to reintegrate the increasingly blighted areas of the once popular amusements into the economy.

This disciplined reintegration, unsuccessfully attempted in New York City's Times Square since the late 1920s, is finally being realized by the redevelopment forces that began shaping the city's spatial practices in the wake of the fiscal crisis of 1975. The development projects undertaken in midtown Manhattan following the recovery from the fiscal crisis are transforming the renowned Times Square theater district into a strikingly different urban environment. The new politics of redevelopment under the regime of flexible accumulation are almost exclusively oriented towards economic development that is equated with speculative property investments, rebuilding Times Square to promote the global city's finance monopoly. Denying the existence of the public realm and celebrating free market laissez-faire policy, the 42nd Street Development Project, under the guise of removing blight, is eliminating the undesirable and underprivileged from the new image of the Bright Lights District. Times Square as a center of the local popular culture of Broadway theaters, cinemas, restaurants, billboard spectaculars, and public celebrations, has been lost as a public space. In the redevelopment projects now imaging the Crossroads of the World, the lost city of the past is recreated through the commodification of its collective memory, fashioning a Disneyfied spectacle for the global urban center.

Résumé

Les contradictions insoutenables du capitalisme "laissez-faire" ont été accédées par les développements dans la planification urbaine, qui a une histoire d'accomplissements successives d'un ordre capitaliste contrôlé. Un tel compromis se trouve dans l'évolution des lieux d'amusements populaires. D'abord des lieux d'évasion et de complaisance, où l'on pouvait oublier le travail et se débarrasser des rôles sociaux, ces lieux de "carnaval" sont vite devenus des marchés pour la consommation de masse. Pendant que les divisions urbaines mises en place par la planification physique se desintégraient sous la transformation du capitalisme et de ses crises de suraccumulation, la planification urbaine sociale s'est élaborée pour contrôler la ville capitaliste et pour réintégrer les zones d'amusement les plus dégradées à l'économie.

Cette réintégration disciplinée, entreprise sans succès à Times Square à New York depuis les années 20, s'est finalement realisée par les forces de redéveloppement qui ont commencé a former la politique de répartition, suite à la crise fiscale de 1975. Le thèse analyse les forces et processus qui ont formé Times Square depuis la crise fiscale qui a frappé New York en 1975. Les projets de développement entrepris au centre-ville de Manhattan suite à la remontée fiscale sont en train de transformer Times Square, célèbre quartier de théâtre, en un environnement urbain remarquablement différent. La nouvelle politque de redéveloppement de la ville sous le régime "d'accumulation flexible" se dirige presqu'exclusivement vers un développement économique qui se résume à l'investissement speculatif en valeurs mobiliers et à la reconstruction de Times Square pour promouvir le monopole financier de la ville globale. Tout en niant la domaine publique en célébrant la politique laissez-faire de marché libre, le projet de redéveloppement de la 42ième rue, sous couvert d'arrêter la dégradation urbaine, a pour effet de sortis les indésirables et les sous-priviligiés de la nouvelle image du "quartier des lumières." Times Square comme centre de la culture populaire locale de théâtres, de cinémas, de restaurants, de revues à grand spectacle et de célébrations publiques s'est perdu comme espace publique. Dans les projets de redéveloppement qui présentent l'image du "Carrefour mondial," la ville perdue se recrée a travers la mise en marché de sa mémoire collective, et devient un spectacle à la Disney pour le centre global urbain.

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"There is a quality even meaner than outright ugliness or disorder, and this meaner quality is the dishonest mask of pretended order, achieved by ignoring or suppressing the real order that is struggling to exist and to be served."
Jane Jacobs, *Life and Death of the Great American Cities*

"Destruction of the Helen Hayes Theater 1982: After photographing the mountain of rubble I stood by studying the ruins. Next to me was a small American Indian man wearing a beaded headband, a worn leather vest with silver buckles, and levis. He'd taken a stick from the trash and was beating out a simple rhythm on a rusty oily drum. He wasn't doing it to attract attention but drummed softly, meditatively. I realized suddenly it was an authentic Indian music. "Are you doing a death dance for the theater?" I presumed to ask. He turned eagle eyes on me. Without interrupting his rhythm, he answered: "No, a death dance for my country."
Lou Stouman, *Times Square: 45 Years of Photography*

Preface

Times Square, William Laas wrote in 1965, in the center of America's "greatest city is the greatest free show, the greatest fantasy of blaring colors and steaming multitudes the world has even known. The people. Here to live it up. You can spend a fortune here or have a ball on a buck. Whatever it is you seek, you have company... They are all here, soldiers and sailors, secretaries and sightseers, the stagestruck and the songstruck, gourmets and Go-Go dancers, shoppers and charlatans... They are not going anywhere except right here, into a private dream publically shared."[1] By the time he wrote this, however, Laas' vision existed only as a memory of the glory days of a Crossroads of the World whose precipitous decline in previous years he refused to see.

Created on the crossroads of New York's new theat*er* district[2] and the city's expanding subway system, the Square was first envisioned as the city's information center by Adolph Ochs, the owner and the publisher of the *New York Times*. Ochs purchased the triangular site at the intersection of Broadway, Seventh Avenue, and 42nd Street in 1904 to house his newspaper, replaced the Pabst Hotel which stood there with a new building called the Times Tower, and gave its name to the Crossroads -- Times Square.[3]

But instead of merely an information center, Times Square only a decade later became the city's Rialto with the world's largest concentration of theaters, vaudeville and burlesque houses, billboard spectaculars, and numerous other popular amusements and public spectacles. While the Square's commercial messages exalted private products and the corporations who made them, the site became nationally and internationally known as a public space, a center of New York City's cosmopolitan popular culture.

In 1918, Theodore Dreiser described the environment as "lush, gossamer, magical,"[4] a statement that sightseer G.K. Chesterton commented in 1922 was true, so

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[1] William Laas, *Crossroads of the World: The Story of Times Square* (New York: Popular Library, 1965), p. 17 (ellipsis mine).

[2] This is a study of an American city and its "theater" district, hence a standard American spelling is used.

[3] see Laas, *Crossroads of the World*, pp. 84-99; Jill Stone, *Times Square: A Pictorial History* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1982), pp. 52-55.

[4] Quoted in William Kornblum, ed., "West 42nd Street: 'The Bright Light Zone,'" Unpublished study (New York: Graduate School and University Center of the City of New York, 1978), p. 61.

long as one did not understand English.[5] Two other prominent visitors, Paul Morand and Ferdinand Léger arriving in New York in the same decade, praised the "radiance" of "freefloating color[s]" in Times Square, and for Janet Flanner, the site was an embodiment of "lawless, liberty loving" exuberance.[6] None, however, wrote more about the Square than Damon Runyon, whose ashes were scattered above the place his plays celebrated as "a kind of public forum," linguistically "an autarchic city-state,"[7] where one would encounter "athletes, showpeople, and socialites" side-by-side with "gunsels," "molls," and "touts."[8]

The Times Square that Runyon glorified, however, has long gone, along with the numerous public spaces of urban America that have fallen before shopping malls and theme parks. Crowds no longer gather in the Square to share news about elections, baseball games, or war treaties, and even the dream of seeing one's name in the lights on Broadway has faded. In decline since the late 1920s, very few of the Square's theaters escaped demolition, and many that remained were "multiplexed into oblivion."[9] Those that endured, such as the splendid theaters on 42nd Street, succumbed, neglected and dilapidated, to pornographic movies. A few retained enough of the thrill and excitement of the old street, even under spell of its catastrophic blight in the 1970s, to attract an impoverished, ethnically and racially diverse audience for budget-priced B-movies in perhaps the only centrally located low-income entertainment district in town.

With the exception of the New Year celebration, perhaps the last of its public gatherings that still attracts tourists from overseas, Times Square has become a symbol of the decline of the Big Apple, and more broadly, of the blight of urban America. By the early 1960s it was declared a dangerous, crime-ridden place, and by the 1970s "New York's tarnished boulevard of dreams"[10] provided to the run-aways ("from Minneapolis," as they say) instead of fame and success a home on the "Minnesota Strip" (on Eighth Avenue and 43rd Street) where prostitutes cruise in the late-night hours.[11]

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[5] Quoted in Peter Conrad, *The Art of the City: Views and Versions of New York* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 121.
[6] ibid., pp. 122, 132.
[7] ibid., p. 284.
[8] see Kornblum, et al. "West 42nd Street," p. 66.
[9] David Nasaw, *Going Out: The Rise and Fall of Public Amusements* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 1993), p. 2.
[10] Herbert Muschamp, "Architecture View; 42d Street Plan: Be Bold or Begone!," *New York Times*, September 19, 1993, p. 2:33.
[11] Stone, *Times Square: A Pictorial History*, p. 143.

Since the late 1920s business groups and corporations, theatrical associations, the city government, local merchants, community organizations, civic groups, and real estate developers have all proposed various plans for the Crossroads of the World to remove its blight, disperse its street people, restore its theaters to their former glory, renovate its dilapidated streetscape, reintegrate the area in the economy, attract wealthier consumers, and generally fashion for Times Square a new image. However, until the 42nd Street Development Project, which is currently in its interim phase and part of a greater restructuring of New York as a global city, none of the plans to redevelop 42nd Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues ever materialized.

"Bright Lights, Blighted City" traces the decline, fall, and efforts to renew the image and infrastructure of Times Square's once resplendent public space. Focussing in particular on renewal projects since the fiscal crisis of 1975, the thesis critiques contemporary endeavours to recreate the space to serve corporate taste, to reinvent Times Square not only by doing away with blight and urban decay but also with vigour, excitement, low-income minorities, and the urban poor. The thesis also attempts to analyze urban planning's responses to the challenges of renewal in this dilapidated public space created by and coexisting with complicated technologies of advertising spectacle and popular amusements. The thesis tries to elucidate what social and physical order Times Square's renewal projects are attempting to impose upon the cityscape. Written for the Graduate Program in Communications at McGill University, "Bright Lights, Blighted City" devotes special attention to an analysis of the imagery of the Square's past, and in the final chapter, to its contemporary recreation as a staged Disneyfied spectacle. This process of refashioning New York's history and culture is currently being echoed on all levels and dimensions of contemporary spatial practices.

"Bright Lights, Blighted City" is about New York as a preeminent global center, a city whose racial and class segregations have become further exaggerated by developers' dreams publically subsidized, and where while public spaces are vanishing to make room for office complexes and luxury condominiums, public improvements have been neglected and 25% of the population lives below poverty level. The thesis is about a city that dismays, discourages, alarms, and provokes, but is also, as Peter Conrad has written in his

marvelous book about New York, an attempt to "understand the city that fascinates me and to understand my own fascination."[12]

Despite the exaggerated dualities of the New York experience and the irreversible loss of Times Square's cultural heritage and public space to postmodern hotels, lavish entertainment spectaculars, and office towers, the author of the thesis continues to hope that future redevelopment in the city may avoid similar deprivations and instead focus on empowering communities and engendering the spaces in which their cultures can flourish.

[12] Conrad, *The Art of the City*, Preface, p. 2.

Introduction : A Historical Review of the Development of Times Square and 42nd Street

> "So here's to the Ghosts of Broadway,
> where the old bull fiddle snorts--
> To the White-lipped Ghost, with her bad,
> sad smile, and both of her fellow sports.
> When the music onesteps the hand to the purse
> and the carbonized grape-juice flies
> Let's drink to the health of the Broadway ghosts
> and the tomb where their history lies." [13]
> Damon Runyon

42nd Street was first declared a major thoroughfare in the Commissioners' Plan of 1811 that introduced a grid pattern into Manhattan, although the street did not officially open until twenty-six years later; the north boundary of the city, it was first a residential boulevard and later a center for carriage manufacturing. As the growth of the city proceeded north in the second half of the nineteenth century, 42nd Street became an important transportation route.[14]

As New York expanded, so too did its theater district keep moving uptown along Broadway's curve. In 1895 entrepreneur, inventor, and composer Oscar Hammerstein first ventured to build a theater close to the crossroads of Broadway and Seventh Avenue.[15] Intending to create "the grandest amusement temple in the world," Hammerstein purchased the block on Broadway between 44th and 45th Street and begun construction of the Olympia, a complex that housed three theaters, the Lyric, the Music Hall and the Concert Hall.[16] In 1899, recovering from the bankruptcy into which the lavish Olympia had thrown him, Hammerstein built the Victoria, the first theater to open on 42nd Street, and later the Republic Theater and the Paradise Roof Garden on the top of the Victoria theater.[17] Several other theaters also opened in the area, the American Theater (1893), the Empire (1893), the New Amsterdam (1903), the Liberty (1904), Hippodrome (1905), the Belasco (1907), the

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[13] Quoted in Martin Gottlieb. "The Magic Is Faded, but the Ghosts of Broadway Past Still Haunt Times Sq.," *New York Times*, August 30, 1984, p. B7.
[14] New York State Urban Development Corporation, *Final Environmental Impact Statement: the 42nd Street Development Project* (New York State UDC: New York, 1984), pp. I-1, I-32. (all future references will be quoted parenthetically as *EIS*); p. I-4; see also Kornblum, "West 42nd Street," p. 54.
[15] Stone, *Times Square: A Pictorial History*, pp. 35-37.
[16] ibid., p. 37.
[17] ibid., p. 38; see also Kornblum, et al. "West 42nd Street," pp. 55-56.

Astor (1906) which was to become the feature house for famous vaudeville actor George M. Cohen whose statue stands on Times Square today (see figure 44), the Gaity (19[illegible]) and many others.

The announcement in 1901 that a subway station was to be built on the intersection of Broadway and 42nd Street caused a speculative increase in value of the property by 30-35%. Simultaneously, inspired by the success of the Herald Building on Broadway and 34th Street, Adolph Ochs purchased the triangular lot at the intersection of Broadway, Seventh Ave, and 42nd Street as site for his newspaper, the *New York Times*. The Times Tower, the city's second tallest building at the time when it was built, occasioned the intersection, formerly known as Longacre, to be renamed Times Square. Ochs proclaimed the Square an "internationally celebrated crossroad," New York's center of "all the news that's fit to print."[18]

The first New Year celebration took place under the completed Times Tower on December 31, 1904, and the first ball descended from its top in 1908. Crowds regularly gathered in the Square for the latest stories and electoral results after 1910, when the *Times* began placing news bulletin boards in its windows. In 1928 an electric sign known as the "zipper" replaced the billboards. In the same year, 42nd Street became the city's transportation axis with "five subway lines, four elevated lines, five bus lines, eleven surface lines," and a ferry.[19]

Between 1910 and 1920 Times Square, and in particular 42nd Street, with 13 theaters built on one block within only two decades, became the center of the city's Rialto.[20] In these years preceding Prohibition Times Square became known as "an international symbol of urban insouciance and success" and 42nd Street as "the street that never sleeps."[21] The wondrous lights and colors that bejeweled the theaters, nickelodeons, and vaudeville and movie palaces of this world of spectacle did not, however, serve only amusement interests, but commercial interests as well.

By 1930, both Prohibition and the Great Depression had taken their toll and the theater district had relocated to upper Times Square, leaving 42nd Street merely as its southern boundary. Prohibition, which took effect in 1920, compelled restaurant and night

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[18] see Laas, *Crossroads of the World*, pp. 84-99; Stone, *Times Square: A Pictorial History*, pp. 52-54.
[19] Kornblum, et al. "West 42nd Street," p. 61.
[20] *EIS*, p. I-3.
[21] Kornblum, et al. "West 42nd Street," p. 61.

club owners to rent parts of their buildings for other purposes, adding to the already unstable real estate market of the Square. The Great Depression brought an increasing number of "low-cost, high-turn-over uses" and "bulk off-the-street trade" forms of seedy entertainment, burlesque shows, dime museums, grind houses, pinball arcades, etc.[22] Furthermore, by the end of the 1920s the conversion of the legitimate theaters into cinemas had so intensified that only a few theaters on the side streets of Times Square were spared. In the next decade legitimate theaters not transformed into movie houses started renting to cabarets, burlesque shows (banned in 1937), and various other entertainments, hotels such as the Knickerbocker were converted to office buildings, restaurants were closed and rented to circus entertainers and dime museums (such as Murray's Roman Garden on West 42nd Street which was replaced by Herbert's Flea Circus). "By 1931, 45 percent of Broadway's theaters were dark. By the summer of 1932, only six shows were playing on Broadway."[23] By 1937, the New Amsterdam was the last legitimate theater on 42nd Street, and it became a movie house before the year's end. The new cheap "grind houses" and burlesque shows exaggerated the carnivalesque ingredients of the Square already pronounced in the 1920s, forming a "honky-tonk" atmosphere.[24]

As the "natural affinity between high life and low life" in Times Square grew even more extreme, both local clergymen (in particular Father McCaffrey of Holy Cross Church on 42nd Street) and the Broadway Association's businessmen complained in the late 1930s and early 1940s about indecencies in the environment.[25] Still the popularity of the Square did not diminish, and in 1943 the Broadway Association claimed that the Times Square area, with approximately 6.5 million visitors a week, was "the most densely populated place in the world at night."[26] Two years later the V-J celebration attracted more than 1.5 million people in anticipation of the announcement of peace.[27] During the same decade, crowds gathered for the performances of Frank Sinatra, Benny Goodman, Dean Martin, and Jerry Lewis in the Roxy, Paramount, Capitol, and Strand.[28] Lavish billboard spectaculars designed by Artkraft Strauss and Douglas Leigh -- Wrigley's Chewing Gum,

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[22] *EIS*, p. I-4.
[23] Stone, *Times Square: A Pictorial History*, p. 73.
[24] Kornblum, et al. "West 42nd Street," p. 66; see also ibid., pp. 64-65.
[25] ibid., pp. 66-68.
[26] Quoted in Stone, *Times Square: A Pictorial History*, p. xi.
[27] ibid., p. 127.
[28] see ibid., pp. 116-118.

the Pepsi-Cola Waterfall, the Maxwell House Coffee cup, the Kleenex box, and the Camel man (see figure 8) -- further embellished the atmosphere of spectacle.

The Broadway Association businessmen, while extolling these billboard spectaculars, complained about the decaying conditions on the street and demanded changes in the form of zoning regulations from the City Planning Commission in order to decrease the number of "sleazy establishments" and restore "class" in Times Square and 42nd Street.[29] Such changes were introduced in 1947 and 1954, the latter year's zoning law prohibiting "open-door nuisance establishments." This did not, however, stop bookshops selling "sunbathing magazines" from opening soon after the law was established. "Ironically it may well have been an inadvertent consequence of the new zoning code that it encouraged the advent of the 42nd Street porno bookstores by driving out competitors" offering sleazier services.[30]

The rise of television and the consequential decline of theater audiences and profits, as well as suburbanization and demographic changes, sharply affected the Square in the 1950s and accelerated its fall.[31] So too did the drug dealing in the Square which began in earnest shortly after the adult entertainment centers arrived. The fiscal crisis of the 1970s, putting a stop to any redevelopment expenditures, allowed the culture of hustlers, pimps, drug dealers, and prostitutes to entrench itself with each "selling... his individual brand of thrills." Times Square and its subway station became, critics claimed, "the most dangerous in the city."[32] This perception, coupled with the fact that "the sordid and tawdry nature of the street with its raucous and menacing population of assorted social deviants has been exploited by the national media as a benchmark of sorts for New York's recent decline in stature and quality of life" led future developers to proclaim as the main goal of their renewal "the removal of 'human blight'" from the area.[33]

The dilemma developers and city planners faced, however, was what type of social and physical order could and should be created in the Square's high-priced real estate and transportation hub where technologies of spectacle dazzled individuals of all races and incomes as they pursued pleasure and consumption in streets of shocking blight.

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[29] Kornblum, et al. "West 42nd Street," p. 71.
[30] ibid.
[31] ibid., p. 15.
[32] Stone, *Times Square: A Pictorial History*, pp. 141, 156.
[33] ibid., p. 156.

1. Planning Ideology and the Social Order of the City's Carnival Culture

1.1 Planning the Rational City: Legacies of the Planning Ideology for the City of Capital

Since the turn of the century, the planning ideology for the American city has been consistently transformed to accommodate the phases of an accelerated and decelerated growth in capitalist development.[1] The principal goal of planning for the capitalist city was to impose a rational order upon the cityscape that would enable unhindered circulation and accumulation of capital. As Marx explained, capital must "strive to tear down every spatial barrier to intercourse, i.e. to reduce to a minimum the time spent in motion from one place to another."[2] A rational, disciplinary plan for the city was needed in order to remove spatial barriers, to facilitate the flow of capital, and to enable urban growth to proceed "in the most efficient and economic manner."[3]

Furthermore, as America's cities rapidly industrialized and expanded economically, and as their population swelled under waves of immigration and migration, local governments were confronted with a need to improve the standard and quality of life in the cities. The unplanned physical and demographical growth of cities produced slums and blighted areas that were very early recognized as breeding grounds for both ecological and moral disorder. In addition, governments saw quick improvement as indispensable because decaying areas impeded capital accumulation.

Both the image of the city and its infrastructure needed to be refurbished, but such amelioration could only take place when sufficient wealth gained from surplus capital had been accrued. The improvements that were eventually attempted were primarily directed towards localities that could both generate the highest profits and maximize further opportunities for the increase of circulation and accumulation of capital. This physical

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[1] M. Christine Boyer, *Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning* (Cambridge, MA and London, England: The MIT Press, 1983), p. 136. Christine Boyer's book is by no means the only history of urban planning. The author of the thesis finds *Dreaming the Rational City* particularly useful in the specific context of the rise of the "irrational" sphere of popular amusements at the turn of the century. It should however be emphasized that the author of the thesis bears responsibility for this application of Boyer's thesis, since her book does not deal with public amusements in the American city.

[2] Karl Marx, Grundrisse. Quoted in Christine Boyer, "Planning the City of Capital," *Papers in Planning*, PIP3 (New York: Columbia University, Graduate School of Architecture and Planning, 1978), p. 4.

[3] Boyer, *Dreaming the Rational City*, p. 59.

planning of the American city, and improvements in its infrastructure and cityscape, evolved in the service of financial gain and accumulation of capital.[4]

According to Christine Boyer, the factors that influenced the rise of the quest for order in the American city, from which the planning mentality emanated, emerged as disparate forces for improvement confronted each other in the last decades of the nineteenth century.[5] These forces came from various sources and represented different and often conflicting interests. Civic groups, government institutions, chambers of commerce, charity organizations, architectural professionals, beautification movements, and business associations followed different routes for recuperating and remodelling the American city. It was from the confrontation of these diverse endeavours that the apparatus for planning emerged. This process of mediation among different interests, "a many faceted process, simultaneously speaking for contradictory capital interests... and divided among social and economic needs," evolved into what became known as city planning.[6]

Even though planning attempted to represent an "ideological reconciliation of these contradictory forces," however, it did not assign equal weight to the conflicting interests. Instead, by making its main purpose the imposition of a rational spatial order upon the American city, planning was principally perceived as "an effective instrument in the service of capital productivity."[7] Often apparently straightforward planning documents spoke "for the general interest of capital."[8] As in the 1811 grid pattern for Manhattan created in an attempt to maximize profits from each lot, "the city plan was designed to encourage commerce and to facilitate the transaction of business."[9]

Walter Moody defined the rationale of American urban development in 1909 in a similar manner: "Building cities as they should be, means supplying the greatest possible lubricant to an easy and successful commerce."[10] Likewise, Hurd reasoned, the division and distribution of land should be purely economic.[11]

Anarchic development driven solely by a search for profit soon posed a serious threat to public and private well-being. In 1913, the Board of Estimate and Apportionment

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[4] ibid., pp. 78-80.
[5] ibid., see pp. 67-70.
[6] ibid., p. 67 (ellipsis mine).
[7] ibid., pp. 67-68.
[8] ibid., p. 68.
[9] ibid.
[10] ibid., p. 85.
[11] ibid., p. 86.

of New York City issued a report summarizing the devastating consequences of the existing laissez-faire economy: "the present almost unrestricted power to build to any height over any proportion of the lot, for any desired use and in any part of the city, has resulted in injury to real estate and business interests and to the health, safety and general welfare of the city."[12] Planning measures, the Board of Estimate suggested, should help control the anarchic forces of the laissez-faire economy in order to alleviate the repercussions of phases of decelerated growth, and enable further accumulation and circulation of capital. The need to impose a more effective rational order upon the cityscape was growing.

Urban planning was created as a response to the need for a larger collective ordering endeavour, its main ideology was "to provide for, maintain, regulate, and renew public and private investment and consumption in the cities, to hold up business confidence and dampen social opposition in order to augment the overall rate of capital accumulation."[13]

1.2 Opposing the Rational Order: The Rise of Public Amusements

Economic and social contradictions thrived in the capitalist city. Consequently, urban planning was confronted with a more complex set of problems which needed resolution. A rational ordering of the American city was called upon simultaneously to civilize and discipline urban growth, to provide aid to decaying areas, and to offer relief to the disgruntled work-force -- but only so that it might rehabilitate underdeveloped, underused, or decaying districts to become active parts in the links of capitalist development. Investments in urban beautification would further serve to "articulate and transcend the contradictions embedded in the city," as Boyer demonstrates, and "economic prosperity would be used to mask the problems of social unrest and the devastating conditions of congested cities."[14]

As the American cities' working population grew so did its discontent; the cities thus invested in "urban parks and recreational facilities in order to sustain the physical

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[12] ibid., p. 93.
[13] ibid., p. 129.
[14] ibid., pp. 7, 5.

endurance of the labor force."[15] As early as 1883, the U.S. Senate Committee on Relations Between Labor and Capital was told that "a working man wants something besides food and clothes in this country... He wants recreation." Going out and relishing public amusements was soon elevated into a "privileged sphere of everyday life."[16]

In response to this quest for recreation, amusement parks, theaters, variety shows, world's fair midways, penny arcades, and other public amusements flourished in America's cities. In 1900, New York City had more theaters than any city in the world. As early as 1904, Broadway itself was referred as "a continuous vaudeville."[17] The extraordinary popularity of urban amusements attracted small businessmen who had previous experience with traveling circuses, variety troupes, or dime museums, and prompted them to venture their fortune in the city. Drawing from their disparate commercial experience, the amusement business owners created shows that appealed to different social and income level groups, hence the populace who could not afford first class theaters still had a wide choice of vaudeville shows for 10-25 cents. Between 1900 and 1930, 80 new theaters were constructed in the Times Square theater district, and by 1923 "700,000 people a day patronized the theaters of New York, at least a quarter of them... pilgrims from outside the city."[18]

In his article entitled "Cities of Light, Landscapes of Pleasure," David Nasaw emphasizes the contrast between the greyness of villages, provincial and suburban America, and the lights and colors of New York City at the turn of the century.[19] The heroines of *Wizard of Oz* and *Sister Carrie* escape from "damp, grey, lonely, silent, subdued, cold, narrow," and grim rural or suburban landscapes to become a part of the downtown world's "blaze of lights" and splendour.[20] The city represented a promise of success and glory, the achievement of a name in lights.

Aesthetically, the illuminated city at the turn of the century, as a result of the advent of electricity, implied modernity, novelty, excitement, and a "performance of light."

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[15] ibid., p. 5.
[16] David Nasaw, *Going Out: The Rise and Fall of Public Amusements* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 1993), p. 4 (ellipsis mine).
[17] ibid., p. 8.
[18] Richard W. Fox, "The Discipline of Amusement," in William R. Taylor, *Inventing Times Square: Commerce and Culture At the Crossroads of the World* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1991), p. 86; see also Nasaw, Going Out, p. 3 (ellipsis mine).
[19] David Nasaw, "Cities of Light, Landscapes of Pleasure," in David Ward and Oliver Zunz, eds., *The Landscape of Modernity, Essays on New York City 1900-1940* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1992), p. 277.

Moreover, the city lights devised "a new kind of visual text... a *new landscape of modernity*, [that] foregrounded the city's illuminated messages, its theaters, tall buildings, hotels, restaurants, department stores and Great White Way, while erasing its 'unattractive areas and cast[ing] everything unsightly into an impenetrable darkness.'"[21] For a moment, the dismal labor conditions were pushed to this darkness, forgotten. These amusement parks, theaters, penny arcades, dance halls and other places of urban spectacle represented, according to Lewis Mumford, a "counterbalance to the compulsive automatisms and too-even regularities of metropolitan existence."[22]

In 1905, Luna Park on Coney Island was created as a city-within-a-city to offer an even more outlandish escape from dreary everyday chores. "At night the radiance of the millions of electric lights which glow at every point and line and curve of the great play city's outlines lights up the sky and welcomes the home-coming mariner thirty miles from the shore," a visitor described the amusement park, and another declared it "fabulous beyond conceiving, ineffably beautiful."[23] With its Tunnels of Love, sites for "synthetic intimacy," its artificial Steeplechase Park, with a large oasis at the very center of the park, and with 1,300 towers and minarets and 1,300,000 light bulbs, Luna Park offered a fantastic voyage into the new world of public amusements. This "magical picture of the flaming city," an infrastructure based on "technology+cardboard (or any other flimsy material)," created, claimed Rem Koolhaas sarcastically, a new reality.[24] More importantly, the fact that electrification served as "an architectural duplication" of Luna Park's skyline, foreshadowed the development of a contemporary ("postmodern") urbanism that promotes "communication over space" and "symbol in space before form in space."[25]

Created to offer a deliverance from the dreary workday for the machine age immigrant proletariat, the amusement districts soon became "magical corners of the city."[26] For the interests of capital, these corners were very early recognized as fountains of consumption dollars. As Mumford has remarked, the Great White Way of New York City became a place where "the occasional blaze of old-fashioned festival becomes the routine

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[20] ibid., pp. 275-276.
[21] ibid., p. 277 (italics in original, ellipsis mine).
[22] Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970), p. 276.
[23] Rem Koolhaas, *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 22.
[24] ibid., p. 53.
[25] Robert Venturi, et al., *Learning from Las Vegas: the Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977), p . 8

of commercial enticement: a stimulus for those seeking adventure and beauty, at so much per head, in the shops, cabarets, theaters, hotels."[27]

While the theater, cabaret, and roof garden owners accommodated different tastes, moral inclinations, and income-levels, the new class of corporate- and information-brokers saw even further prospects in the blaze of city lights. The commercial allure of the magical corner of Times Square, in particular, was quickly fathomed by the brokers and the image makers. According to William Leach, Julius Klein realized in 1929 the immense potential for advertising gains from the Square's magnificent signage with its "infinitely complex and dazzling gyrations."[28] To the members of the Broadway Association, Klein explained that the importance of the Times Square signage lay in the fact that it "increases the advertising value" of the products sold.[29] The economic reasoning was simple: the larger and more spectacular the displays, the bigger the crowds gathered and the greater the profits made. This discernment of the potential profits from advertising was another (according to Leach, the most important) factor that contributed to the inauguration of the city's amusements districts (such as Times Square) as "desire center[s]": "those places calculated to speed up the turnover of corporate-made goods and of money in the greatest conceivable volumes."[30]

1.3 Democratic Consumption in the Carnival City

Dreamland and Luna Park on Coney Island, Olympic Park in Newark, Cedar Point in Ohio, the White City Amusement Park in Chicago, Luna Park in Pittsburg, the Times Square theater district, and other amusement havens, epitomized a "glittery multicolored wonderland" that democratically offered a variety of amusements, such as rollercoasters, puppet plays, soft-shoe dances, sketches, female impersonators, dwarfs, pantomimists, theater plays, vaudeville and other shows, to "Americans of all grades and kinds."[31]

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[26] Nasaw, *Going Out*, p. 2.
[27] Mumford, *The Culture of the Cities*, p. 276.
[28] William Leach. "Brokers and the New Corporate, Industrial Order," in Taylor, ed., *Inventing Times Square*, p. 111.
[29] ibid.
[30] ibid., p. 115.
[31] Nasaw, *Going Out*, pp. 6, 33; see also pp. 86-95.

Segregation in American cities existed in the realm of class, race, ethnicity, and gender, and the sphere of consumption was initially not excluded. Nevertheless, in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the sites of popular urban amusements enabled much transcendence of social, class, and gender boundaries. However, not even these sites were immune to racial segregation, whose limits were strictly obeyed. While black performers depicting themselves as "indecent others" were overrepresented on the stage, they were underrepresented in the audience. According to David Nasaw "to the extent that racial distinctions were exaggerated on stage, social distinctions among 'whites' in the audience could be muted,"[32] and it was not until the late 1950s that this would change.

The city's illuminated nights allowed its residents to forsake strenuous chores of the workday; accordingly, the streets of the theater district represented a border line where real and illusionary worlds met. More importantly, the refuge that theaters, nickelodeons, vaudeville halls and amusement palaces provided, enabled not only the transgression of the workday by the nightlife, or of the suburban citizen by the urban, but also the important transgression of class and nationality. White denizens of the American city were at last beginning to "share a common commercial culture of public amusements where social solidarities were emphasized and distinctions muted."[33] Facilitating the important transformation of a foreign immigrant into an American urban citizen, the popular amusements also expedited the immigrant's adoption of "cultural citizenship on terms far more generous and hospitable than those laid down by church and state."[34]

This lively mix of Americans of all grades and kinds in places of leisure and amusements at the turn of the century contributed to the rise of cosmopolitan culture. "The novelty, spontaneity, and crowds promoted by commercial districts were geared to courting impulse, inviting people to spend their time and money freely, to indulge themselves, and to condone indulgences of others."[35] Devised to simultaneously grant relief from the arduous workday for the labor class and to extract consumption dollars, the entertainment districts expanded to became a part of the larger public realm that included the daily ephemera diligently monitored, though often fabricated, by the print media, accompanied by a vibrant cafe and restaurant culture.

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[32] ibid., p. 3.
[33] ibid., p. 2.
[34] Taylor, *Inventing Times Square*, p. 3.
[35] Betsy Blackmar, "Uptown Real Estate an the Creation of Times Square," in Taylor, *Inventing Times Square*, p. 64.

"The erosion of the link between wealth, leisure, and moral rectitude" at the turn of the century, according to Betsy Blackmar, "laid the groundwork for [this] new 'cosmopolitan' tolerance of diversity and ambiguity of boundaries."[36] For a relatively short moment in the history of urban America, the sites of popular amusements encouraged the creation of a public realm. Established upon a democratic world of consumption, this cosmopolitan public realm transformed the culture of the American city.

1.4 Disciplining Popular Amusements

The inauguration of sites for popular amusement entailed an alteration of the spatial and social order of the nineteenth century American city.[37] Up to this point the city had been ordered according to the merchant bourgeoisie's insistence on respectability and controlled social space. "In seeking both customers and political favors, developers readily drew on a republican rhetorical tradition to define the public interest in promoting interchangeable moral and economic qualities of 'character' and 'improvement.'"[38] The rational and moral order was implemented to create respectable environs for the merchant class.

The growth of the new public spaces created around commercial and entertainment districts began slowly to erode this order of respectability. Thus, the old concept of the physical, social, and moral order that inspired, for instance, the creation of Central Park began to wane. Central Park was conceived as a large, landscaped "public space for moral leisure activity in the mid-nineteenth century" expected to "enhance land values and attract and keep well-to-do New Yorkers -- as well as visiting traders, tourists, customers -- within the city."[39] Contrary to the expectation, however, by the turn of the century Central Park and other existing recreational spaces in New York City were being frequented by a large number of working class immigrant families. The logic of spatial separation thus weakened as the number of immigrant manufacturing workers increased, and the social and economic stratification of the population became further exaggerated. Moreover, due to the property speculation that increased costs of development, middle-class merchant

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[36] ibid., p. 59.
[37] ibid., p. 54.
[38] ibid., p. 55.
[39] ibid., p. 56.

families could no longer afford to invest in family homes. The creation of exclusive "respectable neighborhoods" soon became unprofitable for real estate developers.[40]

As "working-class New Yorkers expanded the audience for commercial amusements within the city [and] altered the patterns of class interaction," real estate developers realized that "the true beneficiary of midtown's development was a broadly defined consuming 'public.'"[41] Created for this public, the amusement districts stood at the forefront of the cosmopolitan commercial culture of the modern metropolis. Symbolically, the role of the amusement districts was comparable to that of the skyline. Both images of the glittery splendour of the city's theater district and the immense impressiveness of its skyline epitomized the opportunities that the metropolis often failed to fulfill. In addition, in their celebration of the city as "a place of glamour and glitter,"[42] amusement districts further promoted the consumption habits of a metropolitan life style, what Mumford regards as "the poison of vicarious vitality."[43] According to Mumford, the metropolis requires mass spectacles in order to maintain urban equilibrium and to "counteract boredom and isolation" in its denizens, as well as to forestall an "inferior sense of manliness and womanliness that develops under stress of mechanization."[44] Through participation in these mass spectacles, urban dwellers overcome "that sense of loneliness which haunts the atomic individual in the big city."[45]

Mumford regarded mass spectacles as festering sites of "the lowest form of sociability" in the metropolis.[46] Though not constrained to the city, it is in the metropolis that these carnivals are further exaggerated and provide the most negative forms of vicarious vitality. Both symbolically and literally these are the "drugs, anodynes, aphrodisiacs, hypnotics, sedatives" of the degenerate body and mind of the metropolis,[47] and it is precisely this negative vitality as distinguished in the urban amusement districts that prompted the quest for social order.

The increased sociability that gave the places of popular amusement the character of urban festivals with a carnivalesque atmosphere encouraged not only the breaking of

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[40] Ibid., p. 57.
[41] Ibid., pp. 59, 52.
[42] Nasaw, *Going Out*, p. 1.
[43] Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, p. 267.
[44] ibid., p. 271.
[45] ibid., p. 268.
[46] ibid.
[47] ibid., p. 271.

traditional social barriers, but, in particular, boundaries of respectability. In 1923, the New York Society for the Prevention of Vice and Crime expressed a sound dismay over the explicit sex appeal of the variety show *Artists and Models* staged at the Schubert Theater, and demanded an urgent cleanup that would introduce "the greatly needed decency in our theater."[48] Although, according to Richard W. Fox, since the first years of the twentieth century "a new regime of enjoyment" had slowly become accepted by liberal Protestants and gradually ceased to be regarded as a corruption of virtue, nevertheless, a quest for social order and the discipline and regulation of amusements was on the increase.[49]

Yet it was precisely the parallel quest of corporate interest for a rationally ordered space for the circulation and accumulation of capital, according to William Leach, that realized the role of the consuming public and "helped validate Times Square as an amoral place, as a 'liberated' realm of fantasy wherein everything was possible, and no limits were placed on what could be bought or sold."[50] Investment capital and corporate business founded this desire site and made it "a pecuniary space par excellence, whose raison d'etre was profit or the rapid volume turnover of goods and money."[51] Leach maintains that "America's new amoral corporate consumer economy and culture" created an "invisible wall" around Times Square, thus preserving the site from "moral crusades."[52] Hence, from Leach's perspective, a rational order of capital accumulation in the Square was established by demarcating it as an area specifically appropriate for unhindered consumption.

Blackmar similarly argues that the rise of sites of popular amusement marked the end of an interlocking economic and moral order.[53] Leach agrees, and further contends that the new amoral order of capital was fully instituted by the end of the second decade of the twentieth century. By this argument, Times Square was established as a central capitalist space by 1920.[54] Yet this was precisely the time when the theater district started to decline and as the profits from its playhouses fell, the very businessmen that helped establish it as a desire site were often at the forefront of the moral crusade against Times Square. If Blackmar and Leach are right in that the commercial and entertainment district of Times Square dissolved the equation of a social with an economic order, the condition was not to

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[48] Fox, "The Discipline of Amusement," pp. 83-84.
[49] ibid., pp. 84-86.
[50] Leach, "Brokers and the New Corporate, Industrial Order," p. 116.
[51] ibid.
[52] ibid., pp. 116-117.
[53] Blackmar, "Uptown Real Estate and the Creation of Times Square," p. 59.

last. The public outcry for cleanup increased as the entertainment district's decline grew starker.

Although traditional notions of respectable neighborhoods with their hierarchies of cultural and economical values were undermined, and even though the boundaries of respectability were loosened to include commodity and culture consumption in commercial and entertainment districts, as early as the 1920s requests for cleanup and establishment of a proper social order on 42nd Street were linked with demands for more profitable uses for the area, specifically, the construction of office towers.

1.5 The Quest for the Social Order

The declining and decaying areas of American cities had long been notorious for their physically repulsive appearance, but since the turn of the century had acquired the status of "a local evil."[55] These were the sites where "evil vices, loose morals, bad habits" and alike were unleashed; thus, Boyer remarks, the dilapidated and disordered areas of the city "became linked in the minds of the improvers to the social pathologies of urban life."[56] Imposing a rational order over urban chaos meant creating an acceptable moral order. Since the end of the nineteenth century diverse improvement forces struggled to impose this disciplinary order over "the moral disorder and physical decay that larger cities bred."[57] However, as the city as a whole gradually ceased to be perceived as a source for evil and urbanization was accepted "as [an] accompanying factor of all civilization," comprehensive urban planning was established with a goal to "impose disciplinary order and supervisory direction over the spatial order of the American city."[58] The pursuit of moral order in the American city was henceforth confined to particular pockets of vice and decay.

As has been emphasized, planning was recognized as "a mechanism by which to remove the barriers to capital accumulation and to discipline the economic, social, and physical order of cities to new demands and new conditions of capital accumulation

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[54] Leach, "Brokers and the New Corporate, Industrial Order," p. 116.
[55] Boyer, *Dreaming the Rational City*, p. 17.
[56] ibid.
[57] ibid.
[58] ibid., pp. 62-63.

resulting from economic growth, speculation and crisis."[59] Originally, planning was to attain this goal by the creation of physical order disciplining the city bedlam, but instead the crisis of overaccumulation in the late 1920s and the effects of the Great Depression that followed posed questions of how to create a social order.

Although slums were no longer seen as solely symbols of social pathologies, urban decay during the Great Depression was nevertheless characterized as a malady. Slums were blight, a "civic cancer which must be cut out by the surgeon's knife" from the urban body.[60] Hence the improvement forces were to be mobilized against blight and cleanups were to be organized to "eliminate decay and... save investments already committed to the center of the American city."[61]

Removal of these cancers, however, was complicated by the fact that the blighted real estate was under the jurisdiction of private capital. Government involvement was needed in order for improvers to obtain the blighted properties; an area's real estate would be purchased by the government, condemned, and private investors would then be allowed to redevelop the district. By facilitating the process of property condemnation since the Great Depression, government gradually reduced risks for private developers, and joined forces with businesses to recover dilapidated areas and improve the cityscape.

Blighted areas would be redeveloped, but only in order to be turned into "capital assets."[62] Although planning shifted its focus from physical to social order the original intent and principal stance of planning ideology for the American city remained unchanged, the facilitation of capital accumulation and circulation. As Charles Norton proclaimed "the city plan is a business proposition and it should be developed under the direction and control of businessmen."[63]

The government initially intended to renew dilapidated areas by facilitating the possibilities for private capital to be reinvested to redevelop blighted neighborhoods for low-income housing. As this investment was unappealing because its profits were uncertain, city governments responded by providing tax exemptions for private developers. New York State was the first to grant such exemptions, in the Redevelopment Act of 1941. The need for comprehensive blight removal, however, required larger investments that

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[59] ibid., p. 129.
[60] ibid., p. 233.
[61] ibid., p. 234 (ellipsis mine).
[62] ibid., p. 251.
[63] ibid., p. 123.

only banks and insurance companies could provide. The Redevelopment Companies Act enabled insurance companies in New York State in 1942 to invest in the renewal of decaying areas, but the redevelopment no longer needed to be confined to low-income housing, and could instead include commercial developments, luxury housing, or diverse administrative, governmental, educational, and cultural structures.[64]

The pursuit of social order thus inaugurated the "political process of planning."[65] It became the state's responsibility to negotiate ways in which the accumulation of capital could be assisted while "the anarchic conditions of capitalist urban development" could be controlled.[66] Furthermore, to impose the regulatory social order, an effective "surveillance system," consisting of periodic surveys, environmental impact statements, and the like, was instituted for the compiling of detailed information about blighted neighborhoods.[67]

The ideology of planning was, however, complicated by the involvement of government assisting private capital. While physical planning declined and social planning gained in importance, city governments' quest for increasingly politicized "democratic planning" whose purpose, according to Charles Merriam, was "to release human abilities, to broaden the field of opportunity, and to enlarge human liberty,"[68] was confronted with the uneasy mediation of tensions between freedom and order in the capitalist city. The 1960s urban renewal programs can be seen as the extensions of this politicized planning which, while supposedly promoting low- and moderate-income housing, destroyed existing infrastructures and replaced them with luxury housing, and educational and cultural facilities.[69]

Emphasizing the goal of combatting urban blight, the government of New York City launched a series of renewal projects during the 1954-1974 period. These programs focussed on "the improvement of places rather than assistance to people" and were sharply criticized for annihilating the low-income neighborhoods they were supposedly

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[64] ibid., see pp. 259-260.
[65] ibid., p. 204.
[66] Boyer, "Planning the City of Capital," p. 14.
[67] ibid., p. 15.
[68] Boyer, *Dreaming the Rational City*, pp. 272, 267.
[69] In a similar process, the construction of highways and expressways, federally subsidized since 1956 as mandated in the Highway Act, "divided neighborhoods, dislocated residents--especially minority groups-- and frequently erected 'Chinese walls' between cities and their waterfronts;" see Susan S. Fainstein, et al., *Restructuring the City: The Political Economy of Urban Redevelopment* (New York: Longman, 1983), p. 14. For the most prominent criticism of urban renewal see Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961).

developing.[70] In response to these criticisms, urban renewal policy redefined its goals in 1966 with the establishment of the Demonstration Cities Act (known also as Model Cities), as the "coordination of physical and social planning; rehabilitation [instead of] demolition; community participation; and a focus on target neighborhoods."[71] As federal subsidies for low-income housing development were withdrawn after 1974, these programs ceased; redevelopment became increasingly dependent on private funds, and was for the most part channeled to investments in more profitable land uses.

In 1980, at a time when urban renewal was considered a venture of the past, a large-scale redevelopment project aimed at eliminating the infamous blight of 42nd Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues was announced. This project, in language steeped in the lessons of the 1960s urban renewal programs, promised to salvage 42nd Street's dilapidated crime-ridden neighborhood to create an economically prosperous office and entertainment area. Ada Louise Huxtable described the project as: "a multibillion-dollar real estate deal that piously packaged public morality and profitable mathematics under the banner of Times Square clean-up, an unbelievable rerun of discredited 1960s urban renewal, in which the bulldozer promised relief from rot and drove out everything else with the blight."[72] By removing all undesirable components, the redevelopment promised a new order of decency for the Bright Light District, and its reintegration into the affluent realms of the global city.

Viewed as a neighborhood in decline since the 1920s, and proclaimed the worst block of the city in the early 1960s, Times Square was predestined for cleanup and redevelopment. However, until the 42nd Street Development Project, none of the numerous proposals to establish a social and physical order in the theater district were ever carried out. Under the logic of spatial restructuring which occurred in the system of flexible capital accumulation that replaced Fordism in the mid-1970s, this redevelopment project, which has contributed to the elimination of a public space and the reaffirmation of the exclusionary spatial practices of nineteenth century's city, was finally undertaken. The

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[70] ibid., p. 16.
[71] ibid., p. 18.
[72] Ada Louise Huxtable, "Times Square Renewal (Act II), a Farce," *New York Times*, October 14, 1989, p. A25.

redevelopment will prove, as Blackmar suggested at the end of her article on the creation of Times Square, that "we are on the eve of the reassertion of the cultural value of class exclusion as the source of economic value in the shaping of Manhattan's social space."[73]

[73] Blackmar, "Uptown Real Estate and the Creation of Times Square," p. 65.

2. Restructuring the Global City:
Contemporary Redevelopment Strategies

2.1 An Economic Succession: the New Regime of Flexible Accumulation

According to David Harvey, the fiscal crisis of 1973-1975, which immediately followed President Nixon's confident proclamation that the urban crisis was over, brought about a new "*regime of accumulation* and its associated *mode of social and political regulations*" and a "transmutation of urban stress into new forms" that led to the spatial restructuring of the American city.[1]

The postwar boom from 1945 to 1973 that preceded this crisis was characterized by a set of labor practices usually associated with Fordism. The characteristics of this phase were a rising standard of living, an expansion of the welfare state and communication systems, and the stabilization of capitalism evident in the increase of profits in such industries as manufacturing, transportation, and petrochemicals.

Several processes contributed to the decline of Fordism and the subsequent fiscal crisis: "shrinking markets, unemployment, rapid shifts in spatial constraints and the global division of labour, capital flight, plant closings, [and] technological and financial reorganization."[2] Although the regime of Fordism was already destabilized by the civil rights movement of the 1960s, its failure became most apparent during "the strong deflation of 1973-5 [which] further indicated that state finances were overextended in relation to resources, creating a deep fiscal and legitimation crisis."[3] In 1975, the fiscal crisis profoundly affected New York City, whose government declared bankruptcy and drastically cut the number of municipal jobs, reduced overall public assistance levels, and diminished services, public schools' budgets, and already deficient funds for subway and other infrastructure renovations.[4]

Socio-political and economic restructuring in the U.S. after 1973 thus "inaugurated a period of rapid change, flux and uncertainty."[5] The new regime that succeeded Fordism, often referred to as post-Fordism, and identified by David Harvey as a regime of flexible

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[1] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Inquiry Into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford, England and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1989), p. 121 (italics in the original); David Harvey, *The Urban Experience* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), p. 272.
[2] Harvey, *The Urban Experience*, p. 272.
[3] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, p. 145.
[4] Susan S. Fainstein, *The City Builders: Property, Politics, and Planning In London and New York* (Oxford, England and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994), p. 93.
[5] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, p. 124.

capital accumulation, was marked by an increasing flexibility "with respect to labour processes, labour markets, products, and patterns of consumption."[6]

2.2 Ordering the Global City

Despite the flexibility that today characterizes labor processes and markets, capitalism, as Harvey remarks, is becoming increasingly tightly ordered: "For what is most interesting about the current situation is the way in which capitalism is more tightly organized *through* dispersal, geographical mobility, and flexible responses to labour markets, labour processes, and consumer markets, all accompanied by heavy doses of institutional, product and technological innovation."[7] Hence, the greater the capital flow, the more profound the need for the sites of command and control of the increasingly global economy.

The rise of global cities should be seen in the light of these processes. According to Sassen, "the more globalized the economy becomes, the higher the agglomeration of central functions in a relatively few sites, that is, the global cities."[8] After the fiscal crisis of 1975, New York's successful economic recovery contributed to reestablishing its position, joined by Tokyo and London, as one of these sites, "the nerve centers of the new world economy."[9]

Growing international trade and an increasing number of transactions among multinational corporations has created a need for centralized management of these increasingly dispersed systems. As Sassen points out, "the diversification and internationalization of finance over the last decade resulted in a strong trend toward concentrating 'management' of the global industry and the production of financial innovations in a more limited number of major locations."[10] In this manner the status of global cities has become the more prestigious since their designation as focal points of this

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[6] ibid., p. 147. It should however be emphasized that, more broadly, Harvey sees the shift from Fordist modernism to flexible postmodernity as an embodiment of "opposed tendencies in capitalist society as a whole," i.e. the economy of scale vs. the economy of scope, production capital vs. fictitious capital, the consumption of goods vs. the consumption of services, mechanical vs. electronic reproduction, urban renewal vs. urban redevelopment, etc. pp. 340-341.
[7] ibid., p. 159 (italics in original).
[8] Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 5.
[9] ibid., p. 399.
[10] ibid., p. 11.

"new fast-moving capitalism."[11] In order to oversee and domineer the dispersed world economy and the decentralized functions of transnational corporations, the global cities now execute "the *practice* of global control."[12] Together, these global cities, while individually struggling to maintain their status, "constitute a system rather than merely compete with each other."[13]

Although the importance of these centers has been undermined by the new trend of relocating companies to suburbs and towns, global cities still increasingly "account for a disproportionate share of all financial transactions."[14] Even those companies that have chosen to relocate their headquarters outside the city center still rely on the services of banks and insurance companies that have remained in the city. In this manner, due to the hypermobilty of capital and the transnationalization of ownership, a growing number of mergers and acquisitions among companies is taking place which, by their complexity, necessitate that the companies be located "within [the] major financial center of the financial and legal firms involved."[15] It is these legal and financial services (i.e. the new core sector) that have established New York, Tokyo, and London as "preeminent global cities performing a vital function of command and control within the contemporary world system."[16]

The restructuring of the global economy has consequently influenced changes in the urban form. The concentration of legal and financial services in the global cities, for example, is evident in an increased density due to the construction of office towers within their central business districts (CBDs). Furthermore, the rise of the global city and its struggle to retain prominence within the new regime of flexible accumulation transfigured the contemporary aesthetic and thus the urban form, which openly embraced the language of commodity and is now characterized by "all the ferment, instability, and fleeting qualities of a postmodern aesthetics that celebrates difference, ephemerality, spectacle, fashion, and commodification of cultural forms."[17]

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[11] Fainstein, *The City Builders*, pp. 27-28.
[12] Sassen, *The Global City*, p. 6 (italics in original).
[13] ibid., pp. 8-9.
[14] ibid., p. 4-5; see also Fainstein, *The City Builders*, p. 31.
[15] Fainstein, *The City Builders*, p. 30.
[16] ibid., p. 13.
[17] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, pp. 156, 77, 257.

2.3 Social Stratification in the Global City

Urban restructuring under flexible accumulation resulted in the growth of an already pronounced uneven development, characterized by "heightened competition, entrepreneuralism and neo-conservativism."[18] Increased inter-urban competition within the United States prompted cities to attempt to attract more profitable businesses, a greater share of the workforce, a higher portion of governmental resources for renewal, and to create more lavish consumption centers, giving rise to the "entrepreneurial city."[19]

One of the most characteristic products of the 1980s building boom, the Trump Tower in New York City, exemplifies these processes of flexible accumulation and the aesthetic transfigurations of the urban form. Donald Trump, the developer and shrewd salesman who boasted that he had outstanding experience in "housing the wealthy and removing the poor," used generous zoning and tax exemption incentives to construct this office building which included a six-story shopping atrium (in pink marble and reflective glass) designed to promote and celebrate conspicuous consumption.[20] Upon the model created by the Trump Tower, the new office complexes that sprang up in New York City in the 1980s were all "orderly, crime-free, cost effective," and inevitably appealing to "upmarket clientele."[21]

The rise of the global city's new core sector (i.e. international legal and accounting services, consulting, public relations, and advanced and specialized services) not only prompted the construction of office towers, but also inaugurated the process of reclaiming the city center for the financial elite. Flexible accumulation and its global processes thus facilitated the restructuring of New York City to provide for the needs of this elite for luxury housing and specialized consumption in expensive restaurants, hotels, gourmet boutiques, etc.

The rise of the service economy and the trend towards flexible technologies and organizational forms further empowered the privileged strata of society, in particular, the technical, managerial, and entrepreneurial classes. Escalated income inequality between the highest classes of the society and those dependent on the informal economy resulted in a

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[18] Harvey, *The Urban Experience*, p. 13.
[19] ibid., p. 260.
[20] Diane Ghirardo, "Towers of Trumped-up Power," *Architectural Review*, Vol. 184, No. 8, August 1988, p. 63.
[21] ibid., p. 66.

sharply polarized "rise of a new aristocracy," and the "emergence of an ill-remunerated and broadly disempowered underclass."[22] In terms of spatial restructuring, "the rapidly increasing land values in sections of the city... halted residential abandonment and stepped up gentrification, reinforcing the social and ethnic boundaries of each neighborhood."[23] This contemporary polarization of urban spaces almost seems like a return of the nineteenth-century policy of exclusionary space, an idea that what made "social space both attractive and valuable was the invisibility of 'productive labour.'"[24]

As banking and business sectors expanded, plants closed and the old core economy was dispersed to low-wage domestic and foreign locations. The declining manufacturing industry that remained within the city limits was pushed to its periphery, away from the new business center. Together with the manufacturing industry, the lower classes dependent on jobs in the old core were dislocated, while those who remained in the city became increasingly dependent on the informal economy of low-wage work in the growing service sector as the process of decentralization of the economy "from city centres into peripheral or semi-rural areas... result[ed] in acute inner city problems."[25] The informal labor strategies promoted by the service sector offered various low-paid jobs and temp-work at home or in the new sweatshops to impoverished minorities, underemployed immigrants, and illegal aliens.

The global city in this sense has become a dual city, as Castells and Mollenkopf argued, with the inhabitants of poor inner-city neighborhoods remaining on its fringes with diminished access to education and information.[26] Although the city continues to be increasingly polarized, the dual city framework is at the same time characteristic of and inappropriate for New York. While the social stratification of New York's boroughs cannot be reduced to a mere contrast and while each social formation and each ethnic group is heterogeneous, nevertheless, the city has become at the same time increasingly dual and increasingly plural. The restructuring of New York City during the 1980s, however,

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[22] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, pp. 191-192.
[23] John H. Mollenkopf and Manuel Castells, eds., *Dual City: Restructuring New York* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1991), p. 406 (ellipsis mine).
[24] Betsy Blackmar, "Uptown Real Estate and the Creation of Times Square" in William R. Taylor, ed., *Inventing Times Square: Commerce and Culture At the Crossroads of the World* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1991), p. 63.
[25] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, p. 176 (ellipsis in original).
[26] see Mollenkopf and Castells, eds., *Dual City*, pp. 399-418.

neglected the minority neighborhoods and mainly invested in lucrative land uses, thus underscoring the dual and suppressing the plural city.

2.4 Rebuilding New York: Redevelopment Strategies In the 1980s

The sociopolitical changes induced by the regime of flexible accumulation during the 1980s facilitated redevelopment strategies having "little practical or symbolic commitment to low-income minorities."[27] In New York City, this period is associated with Mayor Ed Koch's government and its ubiquitous support for speculative property investments in lucrative real estate development projects (such as office buildings, luxury housing, waterfront developments, etc.) designed to appeal to the city's financial elite. The renewal projects undertaken in New York City during its 1980s building boom thus made the redevelopment and revitalization of the city dependent on speculative real estate development.[28] "The dominant objective" of the city government, as Fainstein remarks, became "to use public powers to assist the private sector with a minimum of regulatory intervention."[29]

Private-public partnerships, unions which are currently seen as essential to solving the urban crisis, promoted the 1980s large-scale development projects as highly remunerative for the city on account of their anticipated tax revenues. In her analysis of the contemporary redevelopment strategies in London and New York, Susan Fainstein comments that "on both sides of the Atlantic policies promoting physical redevelopment through public/private partnerships were heralded as the key to economic success."[30] Yet David Harvey perceives these much-touted remunerations to cities in decline as direct subsidies for private corporations and wealthy consumers, arguing that "much of the vaunted 'public-private partnership' of today amounts to a subsidy for affluent consumers, corporations, and powerful command functions to stay in town at the expense of local collective consumption for the working class and the impoverished."[31] Thus, by

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[27] Fainstein, *The City Builders*, p. 94.
[28] ibid., p. 2.
[29] ibid., p. 8.
[30] ibid., p. 14.
[31] Harvey, *The Urban Experience*, p. 260.

emphasizing a supposed beneficial influence on the cities' economy, public-private corporations have facilitated an uneven urban development.

As public-private partnerships took over the responsibilities of city planning departments, the role of public authority in redeveloping the city diminished; city governments have since significantly reduced, and private developers provided with generous incentives have markedly increased, construction activity.[32] Consequently, strategies of urban redevelopment under the regime of flexible accumulation showed a lack of comprehensive planning and a project-by-project orientation.[33] Real estate developers found it easy to override existing building regulations (such as floor area ratio [FAR] restrictions or limits on building bulk) and to receive tax incentives. Likewise, Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) began to thrive, with the large centrally located ones held accountable by the city for removing "dirt" from the streets in their promotion of a clean and orderly urban environment.

In the beginning of the 1980s "increased local revenues arising from [New York's] economic revival combined with state and federal subsidies for economic development to launch a number of major development projects."[34] In order to promote this development, the city generously offered incentives in terms of increased FARs to private developers. With bonuses that the city offered for plazas or subway improvements, for instance, the maximum permissable FAR of 12:1 (twelve square feet of floor space for every square foot of total site) could easily be extended to almost 15:1, and with the purchase of air-rights the developers could even exceed the zoned height.[35] Within only a two-year period in the beginning of the 1980s, 12 new office buildings containing approximately 7 million square feet of office space were completed in midtown Manhattan's East Side. After protests from New York's civic organizations against overbuilding the East Side, the development projects moved towards west-midtown Manhattan, where a 18:1 FAR was

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[32] Fainstein, *The City Builders*, p. 16.
[33] ibid., p. 48.
[34] ibid., p. 47.
[35] Initiated by the Municipal Art Society in 1975, this practice, first used to preserve the Villard Houses on Madison Avenue, is a procedure that allows developers to build higher if transferring air-rights from landmarks which, in this manner, are saved from demolition. Often deemed a successful measure for preserving a landmark, the method was sharply criticized by Ada Louise Huxtable: "this way of 'keeping' the landmark, which involves some physical destruction as well as the destruction of integrity, and no real investment in its continued life, is a spurious trade-off. The city is being conned." Quoted in Erik J. Sandeen, "The Value of Place: The Redevelopment Debate over New York's Times Square," in David E. Nye and Carl Pedersen, *Consumption and American Culture* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1991), p. 162.

introduced in 1982 as permitted by new Midtown Zoning regulations.[36] Furthermore, additional bonuses were offered for the developers to build office towers by 1986, when the subsidy program was to end.[37]

The renewal projects of the 1980s confirmed that private real estate development had become "the main progenitor of changes in physical form" in the American city.[38] These new development and redevelopment projects, as has been emphasized, created a "strikingly different urban form from that of the preceding era,"[39] completely dependent on signature architecture which catered to corporate taste. Unwilling to recognize the specificities of a city square or a neighborhood, the spaces of global capital began to feature this signature architecture which, although advertized as unique and distinct, paradoxically began to homogenize the cities. The mushrooming corporate buildings designed in this manner wear the same steel coat in Houston, Dallas, New Jersey, or the reinvented Times Square (see figures 24 and 25). Moreover, those massive commercial developments which are willing to include elements of the local heritage do so only as long as they can be commodified and marketed as segments of a festival market place spectacle, as in South Street Seaport in New York City.

Offering generous incentives in terms of FARs and tax breaks to developers in vague expectation of increasing social welfare, New York's government allowed large-scale projects to proceed without any (or at best with very little) commitment to neighborhood development, low-income housing, social-service centers, transportation improvements, social programs, etc. Although a few neighborhood projects were realized, albeit with very limited resources, the city government essentially undermined the community sector. The already weak voices of local community organizations were even further marginalized to the extent that they "moderate[d] their claims rather than threaten[ed] the legitimacy of government"[40] and appealed to, rather than challenged the city. Nevertheless, during this period important alliances among various civic and community organizations were formed to stand against developers and government

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[36] City Planning Commission, *Midtown Zoning* (New York: Department of City Planning, 1982), pp. 58-59.
[37] ibid., pp. 49-51.
[38] ibid., p. 4.
[39] ibid., p. IX.
[40] ibid., p. 94.

agencies, who in their pursuit of private investment thus met "strong opposition from neighborhood and preservationist forces."[41]

The city's new development projects represented a clear abandonment of the Lindsey administration's 1960s and 1970s commitment to community development and low-income housing. Instead, during the 1980s, commercial property development became the most important renewal strategy in New York City. Upon this model, community development endeavours would be carried out only if sufficient tax revenues were garnered from large-scale commercial projects. While promoted as highly remunerative for the city in terms of potential tax revenues, these large-scale projects in fact only intensified the already profoundly uneven development of New York City. The excess of office space and the real estate slump that ended the building boom halted a number of such projects and even forced some of the developers to declare bankruptcy, causing the lucrative revenues for the city to remain, more often than not, merely a promise.

With the expansion of CBDs, the reshaping of inner city neighborhoods through gentrification, and the construction of luxury housing and new spaces for sophisticated, individualized consumption, much of the city center has been reclaimed by and remodelled for the financial elite. In conjunction with these processes, the new office skyscrapers, shopping centers, and festival market places have undermined the existence of already fragile public spaces and created in their place new enclosed atriums and malls for privileged upper-income groups. In addition, the process of the elimination of "undesirables" from the urban core has gained further momentum. In the newly established order of the city center, neighborhood groups and low-income strata are being removed to make space for more affluent customers. Consequently, destitute immigrants and the urban poor have become further disempowered.

Finally, by aiming primarily at "stimulating economically productive activities," contemporary urban policy has undermined another important goal, that of "enriching the quality of life for residents."[42] Most of the large-scale projects undertaken burden New York's usually inadequate transportation systems, increase density and air pollution, and force the city to sacrifice often neglected landmarks for the (usually unfulfilled) promise of future revenues.

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[41] ibid., p. 16; see also p. 123.
[42] ibid., p. 3.

By offering additional incentives for private developers, New York is prepared to accept increased building density, greater air pollution, and higher FARs, and the destruction of low-income minority communities, a few landmarks here and there, and finally entire public places, for potential tax revenues that would be used for actual improvements in the city. Such revenues, however, even if they should ever surprisingly materialize, would little compensate for the negative effects of the redevelopment.

3. Bright Lights, Blighted City:
Rebuilding Times Square and 42nd Street

3.1 The Discipline and Punishment of 42nd Street: A Brief Review of Unsuccessful Renewal Efforts

Demands for the rebuilding of 42nd Street were pronounced as early as the 1920s, when live theatrical productions could no longer compete with motion pictures, and a number of theaters in Times Square were either converted to cinemas, built as parts of office buildings or demolished.[1] The Great Depression, however, intervened before all of these projects could be completed and many theaters on 42nd Street were saved from eradication.

The remission was, unfortunately, only temporary. The V-J Day celebration, in which 2 million people thronged around the Times Tower and a miniature Statue of Liberty in expectation of the declaration of peace (see figures 9 and 10),[2] marked the last major public gathering in Times Square. The theaters that resisted absorption into office buildings, conversion into movie houses in the 1930s, or into television studios by the Columbia Broadcasting System during the 1940s, eventually suffered as a result of declining audiences as middle-class New Yorkers departed to suburbs in the 1950s. As the Times Square theater district once again began to suffer an unequivocal decline, and as it became apparent that the area could no longer persist "solely as an entertainment district,"[3] the pressure for its renewal grew proportionately.

When an increase in pornographic bookstores, prostitution, and street crimes was registered in the Times Square area in the 1950s, the public outcry for cleanup again strengthened.[4] In 1953 the Broadway Association complained that "the midway developing in Times Square as a result of the continued intrusion of amusement arcades and garish auction shops is earning New York the reputation of Honky-Tonk Town."[5] Similarly, in January 1954 the authors of an article in *Business Week* complained that Times Square, with its penny arcades, souvenir shops, and fast-food outlets, was becoming "like a

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[1] Margaret Knapp, "A Historical Study of the Legitimate Playhouses on West Forty-second Street Between Seventh and Eighth Avenues in New York City," Unpublished Ph.D. diss., (New York: City University of New York, 1982), p. 432.
[2] Robert A.M. Stern, Thomas Mellins and David Fishman, *New York 1960: Architecture and Urbanism Between the Second World War and the Bicentennial* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 1995), p. 432.
[3] ibid.
[4] Knapp, "A Historical Study," p. 417; see also New York State Urban Development Corporation, *Final Environmental Impact Statement: the 42nd Street Development Project* (New York: New York State UDC, 1984) p. I-20 (all future references will be quoted parenthetically as *EIS*).
[5] Jill Stone, *Times Square: A Pictorial History* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1982), p. 131.

carnival," a mockery of the public space it once was.[6] As the conditions degenerated, a 1960 *New York Times* article called 42nd Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues the worst block of the city, "unsightly, raucous, offensive and, at times, dangerous." It declared the southern boundaries of Times Square the city's "unofficial red-light district," and not long after, a symbol of "urban pathology and decline."[7]

Both Broadway Association businessmen and local community organizations, most notably members of the local clergy, called for a disciplinary order to be imposed and "human blight" to be removed from Times Square, and from 42nd Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues in particular.[8] In spite of their arguments for the creation of a social order in the carnivalesque 42nd Street, the first redevelopment proposed by the Broadway Association focussed merely on infrastructure. In the early 1960s, the Association announced its sponsorship of a major project designed to create an underground mall beneath the Times Square area between 43rd and 47th Street.[9] The plan was soon abandoned in favor of a more ambitious endeavour that would have included improvements on 42nd Street itself. It called for converting the theaters along 42nd Street into an open mall comprised of "stylish supper clubs for dining, cabaret establishment[s] and gambling" houses, whose second floors on the south and north side of the street would be connected by two pedestrian overpasses.[10] Conceptually in concordance with the area's tradition, this plan was to be implemented in 1962 but was likewise cancelled.

Several other projects which called for infrastructure improvements drafted in the same decade were never executed, such as the Transportation Administration's proposal for a pedestrian mall stretching from Grand Central Station to Eighth Avenue to ease pedestrian congestion in midtown, and the West Side Association of Commerce's project for the construction of additional office and retail establishments in Times Square. In an unlucky portent, the only project to be completed in this decade was the stripping from the Times Tower of its old facade by the Allied Chemical Corporation, to whom the building had been sold in 1963 (see figures 26-28).[11]

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[6] Quoted in Stern, et al., *New York 1960*, p. 465.
[7] Quoted in Knapp, "A Historical Study," p. 418; see also Kornblum, et al. "West 42nd Street," p. 72.
[8] Stone, *Times Square: A Pictorial History*, p. 157.
[9] *EIS*, p. I-20.
[10] ibid.; see also Knapp, "A Historical Study," p. 419.
[11] see Stern et al., *New York 1960*, p. 468.

The Department of City Planning's Midtown Renewal Plan anticipated the construction of several new office towers in the area, six of which it envisioned being erected on 42nd Street and which were to include legitimate theaters on their ground floors. In 1966, Mayor Lindsey's administration introduced 20% FAR bonuses for office developers who were willing to invest in the restoration and redevelopment of run-down theaters on 42nd Street. Ordering the theater district by supposedly preserving its heritage actually meant providing incentives for commercial property development in the area, an idea successfully realized two decades later in the destruction of four theaters (the Gaity, Bijou, Helen Hays and Morosco theaters, see figures 18-21) to make space for the construction of the Mariott Marquis Hotel (see figures 16 and 17).

Although refurbishment of the area focussed on infrastructure, important changes were taking place at this time in the social ecology of the Square, and these did not pass unnoticed by the improvers. By the mid-1960s, drug trafficking and an increasing number of undesirables were reported on 42nd Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues. The new undesirables indulging in illicit activities were popularly believed to be Black, Puerto Rican, and Hispanic, the authors of the "West 42nd Street Study" claimed, and were specifically seen by suburban residents as well as New York's white middle class as criminals.[12] The decline of 42nd Street consequentially became attributed in part to racial demographic change.[13]

Further renewal rhetoric remained essentially analogous to that of previous efforts, although as the problems on 42nd Street grew, a more condemnatory language was used to describe the blighted environment. Hence, when in 1970 Arthur Zabarkes proposed that 42nd Street be renewed by the construction of several office buildings, a retail shopping center, and a cinema center, he justified the plan by emphasizing its importance in removing "the dregs of society from the Great White Way."[14] Thus, while most of the renewal projects proposed before the fiscal crisis of 1975 (which for a short time marked the abandonment of large-scale renewal) emphasized the sleaze of "human blight" on 42nd Street, their actual plans focussed solely on physical improvements.

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[12] William Kornblum, ed., "West 42nd Street: 'The Bright Light Zone,'" Unpublished study (New York: City University of New York, 1978), p. 74.
[13] ibid., p. 75.
[14] Quoted in Stern et al., *New York 1960*, p. 468.

These endeavours were soon deemed insufficient and in 1976 the Mayor's Office of Midtown Enforcement was created to specifically target, first in Times Square, and later in the entire midtown area, undesirable individuals and illicit activities of any kind. According to 42nd Street Development Project's "Final Environmental Impact Statement" (*EIS*), although the Police Department was successful in reducing the number of such activities in midtown (in particular the operation of massage parlors whose prohibition in 1979 also caused a decline in prostitution), 42nd Street itself, however, resisted enforcement efforts.[15]

Established at the same time as the Office of Midtown Enforcement, the 42nd Street Development Corporation (a private organization that in spite of a similar name has no relation to the 42nd Street *Re*development Corporation formed in 1980), on the other hand, employed private funds to concentrate on physical improvements aimed at renovating theaters on West 42nd Street between Eighth and Twelfth Avenues, an area which once successfully revitalized became known as Theater Row. The Development Corporation also engaged in a few projects refurbishing building frontage on 42nd Street and financing a trompe l'oeil mural on One Times Square of Times Tower with its old facade.[16] Another important achievement was the opening in 1977 of Manhattan Plaza, a low- to moderate-income subsidized housing complex mainly for Broadway performance artists, elderly, and welfare families.

In January 1978, just after New York's recovery from the fiscal crisis, the Department of City Planning published "The 42nd Street Study" which recommended various improvements for 42nd Street similar to the Theater Row Project, focussing its brief analysis and proposals more on the area's decaying properties than on its social ecology.[17] It did, however, point out important factors somewhat understated in the other studies, namely that the city had to that time completely neglected 42nd Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues and that neither vice crackdown in the mid-1970s nor the redevelopment efforts (with the exception of Theater Row and Manhattan Plaza) were able to rehabilitate the area. The Department's study proposed improving buildings, rehabilitating facades, stronger law enforcement, and perhaps the construction of a new

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[15] *EIS*, p. I-21.
[16] ibid.
[17] see New York City Planning Commission, "The 42nd Street Study" (New York: Department of City Planing, 1978), pp. 98-102.

hotel, but called for no large-scale renewal. In 1978, the same year the Department of City Planning outlined strategies for physical improvements in the Times Square area, the Ford Foundation, its attention caught by the notion that the theater district could in the future prove "immensely successful from a financial and a social standpoint, asked the professors and researchers of the City University of New York's Graduate Center (CUNY) for a short study of West 42nd Street. The study, composed of sociologists at CUNY was the first to actually pay attention to area's social ecology (see section 3.4).[18] Its authors also suggested the necessity of infrastructure and transportation improvements such as: subway renovations, creating sunken plaza subway entrances in place of the existing narrow and poorly designed entrances on Seventh Avenue and 42nd Street, a "people mover system," a "hop on bus," widened sidewalks, information kiosks, and sanitation stations. The CUNY study strongly argued for the increase in entertainment uses such as computer simulation games, the opening of a new amateur sports hall, a dance studio, a center for electronic and graphic arts, sporting goods stores, and the renovation of several old boxing clubs.[19]

Although the recommendations of the CUNY study were never enacted, they piqued the Ford Foundation's interest in economic development of the area and thereby helped shape a large-scale project entitled "The City at 42nd Street." The plan proposed redeveloping the Times Square area by constructing an entertainment center with "three office towers, a two million square-foot fashion mart and a 300-room hotel."[20] A total of 6 million square feet of the proposed development, sponsored by the Ford Foundation, the American Express Foundation, Touche Ross & Company, the *New York Times*, and the Equitable Life Insurance Society among others, would be built in the area between 40th and 43rd Street. This "750,000 square-foot center of entertainment, exhibition, cultural and retail facilities with office and hotel development," would have required the demolition of several theaters. The Square was envisioned as a theme park whose main attraction would be the "Museum of the Museums" featuring "samples of all the city's museums and a ride that would simulate movement through the layers of a slice of New York from the subway to the tip of a skyscraper."[21] The project's inclusion of a 15-story indoor ferris wheel was

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[18] Kornblum, et al. "West 42nd Street," p. 16.
[19] ibid., pp. 8-9.
[20] *EIS*, p. I-22.
[21] ibid., p. S-21.

too much for Mayor Koch, who dismissed it with the argument that "New York can not and should not compete with Disneyland."[22]

Realizing that the area could prove "a precious resource for New York," while learning from the failures of "The City at 42nd Street,"[23] the 42nd Street Redevelopment Corporation, formed two years after the Ford Foundation's project was cancelled, proposed the largest renewal project in the history of New York State for 42nd Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues. The Corporation declared as its goals the promotion of the economic reintegration of the area, the attraction of private investments and public commitment, the preservation of theaters and the creation of an office district that would still allow selective entertainment and retail uses. However, in their detailed Environmental Impact Statement (*EIS*) composed for the project, the "signal benefit" of this renewal endeavour, the Development Corporation stressed, would "be the substantial elimination of the blighted condition and physical decay."[24]

The renewal rhetoric of the 1960s and 1970s was thus continued in the 1980s improvement efforts that focussed on safeguarding Times Square from both undesirable ethnicities and illegal activities, and the chief means by which to restore the squalid area on 42nd Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues gradually came to be seen as its transformation through a large-scale redevelopment into an office district with selected entertainment uses. By cleansing the Street of blight and the "predatory subcultures" who dwelt in it, therefore, the 42nd Redevelopment Corporation likewise planned to dispense with any original residents or remnants of an authentic local culture that stood in the way of creating there a new social order of lucrative, planned consumption and global finance.

3.2 A Review of the 42nd Street Development Project

The 42nd Street Redevelopment Corporation, a public-private partnership between the City of New York and the New York State Urban Development Corporation (UDC), launched the 42nd Street Development Project in an attempt to revitalize the south Times Square area

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[22] ibid.
[23] ibid., p. S-11.
[24] ibid.

in June of 1980.[25] The involvement of the UDC in the project, the largest in the history of New York State, denoted its importance and high remunerative potential. With three of its members on the 42nd Street Redevelopment Corporation's board, in comparison to the two representing New York City (which nevertheless had the right of veto), the UDC played, from the very beginning, a decisive role. The UDC's tremendous power and influence on the project included the following: a capacity to assemble property and facilitate the legal process of acquisition, the right to exceed zoning regulations, to avoid the city's uniform land use review process (ULURP), and to determine payments in lieu of real estate taxes (PILOT, usually tailored in order to appeal to developers), the ability to control the project's land use and design aspects, and an exemption from paying sales tax on construction materials used in the project.[26]

The 42nd Street Development Project aimed to unite the "goals of public purpose" with "the needs of private development"[27] in order to stimulate renewal of West Midtown and simultaneously take advantage of the 1982 Midtown Zoning regulations that allowed higher densities on the West Side. Thus the 42nd Street Redevelopment Corporation proposed that the UDC use its powers to avoid public review procedures in order to facilitate the financial and legal processes of redevelopment, delivering already condemned lots to the developers, who would in return invest in the public improvements essential to Times Square. The project planned to eliminate blight, decay, and crime, to renovate theaters, and to improve the Times Square subway station through a large-scale commercial redevelopment that would attract major developers and generate high revenues for the city. In this manner, the Redevelopment Corporation argued, the project would not only reintegrate the decaying neighborhoods of West Midtown, but would also represent a significant economic contribution to the city. If fully realized, the redevelopment project would generate approximately $776 million in PILOT to the city between 1983 and 2005, and add an estimated 21,000 jobs to the redevelopment area. Furthermore, the developers would contribute at least $40 million (based on a 1984 estimate) for theater acquisition and

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[25] *EIS*, pp. I-1, I-32; see also Susan S. Fainstein, ed., "The Redevelopment of 42nd Street," *City Almanac*, Vol. 18, No. 4, Summer 1985, pp. 4, 9.
[26] Fainstein, "The Redevelopment of 42nd Street," pp. 2, 9-10.
[27] *EIS*, p. I-24; see also James R. Brigham, Jr., "The 42nd Street Development Project: The City Perspective," in Fainstein, "The Redevelopment of 42nd Street," p. 9.

renovation, and improvements of the subway and other uses.[28] Proposed in the early 1980s, the project anticipated the completion of its hotel and theater renovations by 1987, and of the entire redevelopment, including four office buildings, by 1991.[29]

The 42nd Street Redevelopment Corporation recognized the Times Square area, and in particular 42nd Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues, as a severely blighted neighborhood that "has discouraged new investments for over half a century and today discourages the public's use of an historic part of the City;"[30] it proclaimed that the renewal would be accomplished by the construction of four office towers with height ranges of 29 to 56 stories containing approximately 4.1 million square feet of office space. The project would comprise an area roughly bounded by Eighth Avenue and Broadway to the west and east, and 43rd and 41st Street to the north and south (see figure 11).[31] In order to enable the proposed office towers to be even higher than zoning regulations allow, the redevelopment area would be treated as a single zoning lot, thus allowing the transfer of air-rights from the 42nd Street theaters. The redevelopment proposed to preserve the low-scale buildings in the middle of the lots to encourage entertainment uses and enable the necessary transfer of air-rights, while destroying structures on the street corners and constructing office towers (see figure 11, Sites 1, 3, 4, and 12), the highest of which was proposed for the eastern block of the southern edge of Times Square (Site 12), a hotel (Site 7) and a retail mart (Site 8) instead.[32]

In April 1982, Park Tower Realty and the Prudential Insurance Company were designated as the developers of the four office tower complex that became known as Times Square Center. Designed by John Burgee and Philip Johnson, the brutal towers with mansard roofs, limestone and granite facades, differing in heights but similar in design, seemed as if envisioned for yet another new bleak office district, completely ignoring the

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[28] *EIS*, p. S-13. If, however, the project were not built the estimated PILOT for 1984-85 would reach a maximum of $123 million.
[29] ibid., p. S-7.
[30] ibid., p. S-3.
[31] As defined in the *EIS*: "this area extends from the southeast corner of Eighth Avenue and 43rd Street eastward along 43rd Street; across Seventh Avenue and Broadway to a point approximately 194 feet east of Broadway; then south to 42nd Street at a point approximately 138 feet east of Broadway; then west to Broadway; then south along the east side of Broadway to 41st Street; then west across Broadway and Seventh Avenue to a point approximately 400 feet west of Seventh Avenue; then south to 40th Street; then west to Eighth Avenue; then north along the east side of Eighth Avenue back to the southeast corner of 43rd Street and Eighth Avenue." *EIS*, pp. S-3 and S-4; see figure 11.
[32] Site 12 will contain a 56-story; Site 3, a 29-story; Site 4, a 37-story; and Site 1, a 49-story office building. *EIS*, p. 1-10.

visual character of Times Square and 42nd Street (see figures 13 and 14). The massive size of the towers, according to Paul Goldberger, was so inappropriate that, if built, the fortress-like "Marriott Marquis Hotel at 45th Street and Broadway could begin to look like a medium-sized old friend in this new cityscape (see figures 16 and 17)."[33] In August 1989, after stark criticism and protests from civic and community organizations, Burgee and Johnson announced a new design for the four office skyscrapers that supposedly took into account the unique visual qualities of Times Square by slapping asymmetrical grids, blue and green reflective glass, carved roof-lines, and multi-colored signage onto the former design (see figure 15). However, these neo-deconstructivist office buildings, baptised New Modern by their designers, did keep their original atrocious bulk and size.[34] Ironically, the four colossal office towers may even win approval for a 3-6 inch height increase per floor (for a total of 13 feet from floor-to-ceiling) in order to accommodate the requirements for additional telecommunication lines overhead and underfoot.[35]

Furthermore, a hotel of approximately 550 rooms with ancillary facilities was planned for the northeast corner of 42nd Street and Eighth Avenue, and a twenty story, or 2.4 million square foot, wholesale mart slated for computers and apparel wholesaling was designated for two entire blocks stretching along Eighth Avenue between 42nd and 40th Street.[36] The facade of this mammoth structure would, the 42nd Street Redevelopment Corporation promised, be designed so as to relate it to the surrounding area's architecture.

Between the skyscrapers planned for the corners of 42nd Street and Broadway, and the hotel and retail mart to be built on the corners of 42nd Street and Eighth Avenue, the Redevelopment Corporation proposed that nine neglected theaters (the New Amsterdam, Harris, the Liberty, the Empire, the Victory, the Lyric, the Times Square and Apollo Theaters, and the Selwin Theater) be restored to their former glory, or at least renovated and used for restaurant, retail, or mart-related auditorium purposes.[37] Clearly the renovation of the theaters and historic landmarks was to have taken place only by paying the cost of

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[33] Paul Goldberger, "Times Square: Lurching Toward a Terrible Mistake?," *New York Times*, February 19, 1989, p. B38.
[34] Lynn Nesmith, "Burgee's Scheme Attempts to Capture Times Square Vitality," *Architecture*, Vol. 78, No. 10, October 1989, p. 30; Paul Goldberger, "New Times Square Design: Merely Token Changes," *New York Times*, August 31, 1989, p. B1.
[35] see David W. Dunlap, "Office Towers in 42nd Street Project May Be Getting Taller," *New York Times*, October 6, 1993, p. B3.
[36] The ancillary facilities would include 100,000 gross square feet of office, 38,500 square feet of retail or restaurant space, and two cinemas with up to 800 seats. *EIS*, pp. I-15, S-4.
[37] ibid., p. S-4.

erecting the skyscrapers; perhaps logically then, Park Tower Realty and Prudential Insurance were to be given responsibility for funding the theaters' renovation. The developers, according to an estimate in the Environmental Impact Statement (*EIS*) of 1984, would have contributed up to $9.45 million for the acquisition and/or renovation of the Site 5 theaters, and it was hoped that the as-yet-undetermined Site 5 developer would have granted an additional $5.45 million for the acquisition.[38]

Most strikingly, while the project generously recommended that the historical Candler Building on the south side of 42nd Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues be saved, it proposed to either reclad or do away with the building which provided Times Square with its name -- the Times Tower, also known as One Times Square or the Building Where the Ball Drops (see figures 26-28)[39] One Times Square was either to be reclad with "an illuminated scaffolding, designed as an almost sculptural display of bright lights,"[40] or even better, as suggested in the project's *EIS*, knocked over in order supposedly to improve the visual qualities of Times Square (see figure 14, Burgee's and Johnson's solution for the Times Tower, see also Venturi's idea for replacement of the Times Tower in figures 29 and 30).[41]

The overall bulk of the [illegible] art, hotel, and office buildings was planned to exceed the permitted as-of-right midtown zoning regulations by 31% thus "alter[ing] the present low scale at 42nd Street and Seventh Avenue, reduc[ing] the sense of light and air in that portion of Times Square and eliminat[ing] some of the 'supersignage' that has long been characteristic of Times Square."[42]

Nevertheless, the Redevelopment Corporation asked for a suspension of the area's zoning and density limitations, a simplification of the property acquisition regulations, and for larger subsidies to be permitted to the developers, who promised to deliver highly profitable uses, i.e. the 29-56 story office towers, into blighted and underused 42nd Street while generously funding the needed improvements of the theaters and the subway station. The promise of future revenue outweighed the project's negative effects, namely the

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[38] ibid., p. S-13.
[39] ibid., p. S-6.
[40] ibid., p. 1-10.
[41] Although this last measure, the writers admitted, would displace 300 employees and generate a loss in tax revenues. *EIS*, p. S-21.
[42] ibid., p. S-11. According to *Midtown Zoning*, as-of-right designation allows "use or development entitlement without need for discretionary authorization or special permits." see City Planning Commission, *Midtown Zoning* (New York: Department of City Planning, 1982), p. 269.

inevitable increase in density, congestion and air pollution in Times Square, the complete change in the visual aspects of its urban form, and finally, its destruction as a public space.

In addition, an intense gentrification of the Garment District and Clinton, the nearby low- to moderate-income residential neighborhood has been taking place ever since the neighborhoods were advertised as being "in the Times Square redevelopment area" (see figure 12).[43] Moreover, drug trafficking, prostitution, and sex-establishments, removed from 42nd Street, have begun to infringe upon the Clinton community.[44]

In spite of public outrage, the 42nd Street Development Project was approved by the Board of Estimate in November 1984.[45] Herbert Muschamp phrased the project's successful formula of "authoritarian renewal" in this manner: "Bring in the state, with its sovereign powers to sweep aside the city's public review procedures. Allow the developer to overrule the design guidelines. Hire the godfather of American architects to package the deal. Treat critics like public enemies: saboteurs, accessories to crime, antidevelopment zealots."[46]

While critics and civic groups focussed on the 42nd Street Development Project, increased office development in West Midtown passed largely unnoticed, although the facts were laid out clearly in the *EIS* in 1984. The *EIS* noted that Midtown Manhattan was expected to absorb nearly 3 million square feet of office space annually during the 1980s and further estimated that the 42nd Street area proposed for redevelopment could technically support up to 5 million square feet of office space, thus quietly announcing a broader office development in midtown.[47]

A major office development thus made an unhindered encroachment upon the upper Times Square theater district (see figure 24). Already in June 1987 the *New York*

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[43] Robert Neuwirth, "Behind Closed Doors," *City Limits*, December 1984, p. 11. The city, however, agreed upon a $25 million fund to stabilized the neighborhood; see Martin Gottlieb. "Development Plan for Times Sq. Wins Unanimous Backing of Estimate Board," *New York Times*, November 9, 1984, p. B1. On the impact of the redevelopment of Times Square on the Garment District see Martin Gottlieb, "Garment Center Future At Stake In the Debate of Times Square," *New York Times*, June 28, 1984, pp. B1, B5; Frank J. Prial. "Times Sq. Plan Said to Imperil Garment Center," *New York Times*, September 7, 1984, p. B2; Matthew L. Wald. "Garment Study Criticizes Plans for Times Sq." *New York Times*, October 22, 1984, p. B3.

[44] see "City Acts to Keep Times Sq. Plan from Pushing blight Into Clinton" (Editorial) *New York Times*, November 4, 1984, p. A52; "Times Square Renewal Divides Clinton" *New York Times* May 5, 1984, p. A27.

[45] see Gottlieb, "Development Plan for Times Sq. Wins Unanimous Backing of Estimate Board," p. B1.

[46] Herbert Muschamp, "Architecture View; The Alchemy Needed To Rethink Times Square," *New York Times*, August 30, 1992, p. B24.

Times reported that 23 office towers had been planned for the 26-block area between the Avenue of the Americas and Eighth Avenue, and between 44th and 57th Street, a district that together included 45 theaters and 22 first-run movie houses.[48] Taking advantage of the increased incentives for West Midtown development, and adopting the 42nd Street Development Project's model of air-rights transfer from the theaters, several major developers invested in speculative office construction that would, if all of the projects were completed, have increased the amount of office space in midtown by 10%, further "gentrif[ied] and homogenize[d] Times Square and help[ed] the theater district on its way to extinction."[49] The real estate slump of the late 1980s, however, temporarily halted further developments.

In the summer of 1991 there were, as reported by the *New York Times*, nearly 56.7 million square feet of office space available in Manhattan, with an overall availability rate in the city of 18% (that was expected to rise up to 19% by mid-1990s). The figures for Mid-Manhattan's West Side reached 27%,[50] and many developers of newly constructed office towers such as 1540 Broadway at 54th Street, 1585 Broadway at 47th Street (see figure 25), and 750 Seventh Avenue at 49th Street, among others were forced to declare bankruptcy.[51]

In November of the same year, faced with a declining real estate market and an overwhelming number of empty office towers in midtown Manhattan, Prudential Insurance and Park Tower Realty developers asked to postpone the 42nd Street Development Project. Delayed in a series of law suits filed by the property owners, the project saw a withdrawal of many of its once-committed major tenants: in August 1986, for example, by the law firm Dewey, Ballantine, Bushby, Palmer & Wood, and in April

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[47] *EIS*, p. I-25.
[48] Albert Scardino, "New Offices Changing the Theater District," *New York Times*, June 13, 1987, pp. A29, A32.
[49] Ada Louise Huxtable, "Creeping Gigantism in Manhattan," *New York Times*, March 22, 1987, pp. B1, B36.
[50] David W. Dunlap, "Commercial Property: The Office Market; The Gloom Persists" *New York Times*, July 28, 1991, p. 10:1. This equals the entire office market in San Francisco (according to Edward S. Gordon Company's data).
[51] Bruce Eichner, the developer of a 42-story office tower at 1540 Broadway, for instance, lost $200 million dollars; the building, however, did manage to find a major tenant, the German publishing concern Bertelsmann A.G. who took advantage of the bankruptcy price; see Thomas J. Lueck, "Sale of Midtown Office Tower May Be Bad Sing for Market," *New York Times*, August 24, 1991, p. A28; Alan S. Oser, "Perspectives: Bertelsmann On Broadway: A Buyer Takes A Stake In Times Square," *New York Times*, March 22, 1992, p. 10:5. Similarly, Morgan Stanley purchased the Solomon Equities'

1989, by Chemical Bank.[52] However, despite the real estate slump, the scale of the project, 4.1 million square feet of office space, was not called into question by the developers, the city nor the UDC. They still intended to build the four large-scale office towers ranging from 29-56 stories. As the *New York Times* reported, the city was still "eager to receive $90 million from the developers that would be used to renovate the Times Square subway station, as well as the tax revenues from a successful office project."[53] Moreover, in spite of millions of square feet of redundant office space in Manhattan, and around Times Square in particular, and the uncertain possibility of having Prudential Insurance of America's subsidiary Prudential Securities as a major tenant of the office towers, nevertheless the city expected the development to yield huge revenues. The city's deputy mayor for finance and economic development, Sally Hernandez-Pinero, claimed the city would be willing to further negotiate with the developers in order to keep major office space users in the city.[54]

After the 42nd Street Development Project was postponed and the Times Square Center Associates (i.e.Park Tower Realty and Prudential Insurance) withdrew their support for the subway improvements in August 1992, the New York City Transit Authority abandoned its $165 million Times Square Station renovation plan, now unrealizable, since the Associates' $90 million commitment to the renovation had evaporated. As proposed, the project's office towers would have been linked to the subway system "through construction of a substantially new mezzanine level built around a modern and attractive central space."[55] The Transit Authority's overly ambitious project, which cost $16 million alone to design, and 5 years to create, would have devoted the $165 million to a lavish rebuilding of the underground area below the proposed office towers, leaving the rest of the subway system's infrastructure in poor condition.[56] Through the general application of this market-driven speculative investment policy, the city's needed public improvements have become largely dependent on the whims of the real estate market and its developers, thus further reinforcing uneven development in the entrepreneurial city (see section 2.3).

1585 Broadway in 1993, thus bringing in 10,000 office workers into the area; see Shawn G. Kennedy "New Tenants Around Times Square," *New York Times*, April 25, 1994, p. B1.

[52] see Susan Chira, "Bank's Withdrawal Deals Major Blow To Times Sq. Plan," *New York Times*, April 21, 1989, pp. A1, B4.

[53] David W. Dunlap, "Times Square Redevelopers Seek Delay In Project," *New York Times*, November 9, 1991, p. A25.

[54] James S. McKineley, "Tax Incentive for Builders Is Extended," *New York Times*, February 26, 1992, p. B1; see also Dunlap, "Times Square Redevelopers Seek Delay In Project," p. A25.

[55] *EIS*, p. S-16.

Not only was the public deprived of the promised renovations, but since the UDC started condemning property on 42nd Street in July 1988, in the name of removing blight, so many small businesses have been forced to close down that the vitality of the street has been eviscerated. Ironically, the extinction of smaller adult book stores and peep shows has actually contributed to an increase in the profits of the larger sex shops on Eighth Avenue outside of the redevelopment area. Moreover, according to the latest reports Manhattan's pornography business has even grown by 35% during the 1980s and the number of such establishments in Times Square, in decline since 1978 when almost 140 existed, has recently increased from 36 to 46.[57] This trend will, however, be halted by a recently approved measure that restricts X-rated video stores, peep shows, and topless bars in New York City to Manhattan's western waterfront, manufacturing areas in the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Queens, and Staten Island's western shore. The new zoning regulation, which prohibits sex-establishments from opening within 500 feet of residences, schools, houses of worship, or one another,[58] will effectively eliminate all but a few remnants of the seedier side of the Bright Light District on 42nd Street and along Eighth Avenue. Larger sex-businesses will, however, continue to thrive in upper Times Square, an area roughly bounded by Seventh Avenue, Broadway, 48th, and 55th Street, where about a quarter of the total number of the district's X-rated businesses would remain. Others will presumably relocate to the outer boroughs, where they will no doubt contribute to the further decline of dilapidated manufacturing areas.[59] This emigration of pornographic blight from 42nd Street can be viewed as a part of "a major restructuring of land uses" that is causing the aforementioned "changes in the composition of the working and residential population,"[60]

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[56] see Clifford J. Levy, "Times Sq. Subway Station Plan Is Cancelled," *New York Times*, August 23, 1992, p. A40.

[57] see Tom Redburn, "Putting Sex In Its Place," *New York Times*, September 12, 1994, p. B1. Moreover, even Martin J. Hodas, the King of Peeps, who initiated the installment of peep shows in Times Square, was reported to have returned to the site, increasing the competition for Richard Basciano who, as the current "undisputed king of Times Square porn," operates "the McDonald's of the whole sex industry," see Dan Barry, "Fading Neon of Times Square's Sex Shops," *New York Times*, October 28, 1995, pp. B23, B25; Bruce Lambert, "Neighborhood report: Midtown; Back In Business: Once (And Future?) King of Times Sq. Porn," *New York Times*, September 25, 1994, p. 13:6.

[58] see "Zoning, Sex and Videotape" (Editorial), *New York Times*, September 15, 1994, p. A1; "Giuliani Proposes Toughening Laws On X-rated Shops" (Editorial), *New York Times*, September 11, 1994, pp. A1, B39.

[59] Jonathan P. Hicks, "Giuliani In Accord With City Council On X-Rated Shops," *New York Times*, March 14, 1995, p. A1.

[60] Susan S. Fainstein, *The City Builders: Property, Politics, and Planning In London and New York* (Oxford, England and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994), pp. 123-124, 131.

whose slow removal along with the blight is paving the way for a faster redevelopment and inauguration of a new order of decency for the future corporate park.

Even before all the project's problems became manifest Ada Louise Huxtable described it as "a back-from-the-dead example of the thoroughly discredited bulldozer urban renewal of the 1960s."[61] However, in contrast to the 1960s urban renewal projects, the model for redevelopment on 42nd Street was that of a large-scale project that would have been undertaken for the purpose of blight removal and improvement which would not have involved large public subsidies and would have been implemented by private initiative. Still, public funds will be indirectly expended as the redevelopment area acquisition costs incurred by private developers, estimated at $80 million in 1981 and $88 million in 1984, upon completion of the project's construction will be refunded to them through equivalent tax breaks. Furthermore, the delay of the project due to a series of law suits and the real estate slump has caused an additional rise in these costs, reaching $270 million in 1994, and recently estimated at $300 million.[62] Due to the rise in acquisition costs and the indefinite postponement of the project, the tax breaks for developers after construction is finished may even be stretched over a 99 year period (instead of 15 years as planned in 1984). Not only will the promise of public benefits not be realized then, but in fact the public will owe at least an estimated $153 million to the developers of the unbuilt corporate park (since the developers are only responsible for $88 million of the $241 million acquisition costs total).[63]

With the project stalled, an interim plan was devised to populate the sites of the four office buildings with provisional businesses until the recovery of the real estate market, in an estimated 10-20 years. Approved by the UDC in September 1994, the $20 million interim project designed by Tibor Kalman and Robert A. M. Stern, and financed by the office tower developers (the Times Square Center Associates) would contain low-scale entertainment and retail use designed to revitalize 42nd Street until the recovery, when the buildings would be destroyed to make space for the promised corporate park.[64] The interim

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[61] Quoted in Thomas J. Lueck, "Miscalculations In Times Square; Project Shows That Renewal Needs More Than Bulldozers," *New York Times*, August 10, 1992, p. B3.
[62] Thomas J. Lueck, "A Life Of Its Own," *New York Times*, August 8, 1994, p. B3.
[63] David W. Dunlap, "Times Square Plan Is On Hold, But Meter Is Still Running," *New York Times*, August 9, 1992, p. A44.
[64] see Peter Slatin, "New Plans for New York," *Architecture*, Vol. 81, No. 10, October 1992, p. 25; Shawn G. Kennedy, "State and Developer Agree To Refurbish Times Square Storefronts," *New York Times*, August 3, 1994, p. B1.

project proposed "'a billboard park,' a fountain of advertising, theatrical lighting, and commercial displays of all kinds"[65] to be installed in a manner that would plan the disorder and fabricate the chaotic honky-tonk of Times Square in a simulated new environment (see figures 31-33).

Recognizing the interim project as an unofficial invitation on the part of New York City, the Disney Corporation disclosed an interest in the end of 1993 in the renovation of the New Amsterdam Theater (see figures 22 and 23),[66] and later emerged as a winner of the 42nd Street hotel development competition. The New Amsterdam Theater is today completing a $34 million renovation, for the most part financed through generous low-interest loans from the city and the state to the Disney Corporation. Once restored, the theater will be home to Disney's *Beauty and the Beast*, the most expensive musical in the history of Broadway, and one that promises to further marginalize less commercial theater productions.[67]

Despite the ample tax incentives it received, the Disney Corporation threatened to withdraw from the promised revitalization of the New Amsterdam Theater unless at least two major entertainment companies invested in other dilapidated theaters on 42nd Street. The UDC secured these investments in the street's "ghostly corridor of deteriorated buildings" in a last-minute deal in July 1995 from Madame Tussaud's wax museum, and AMC Entertainment, a movie theater chain.[68] These two institutions will invest in the renovation the Empire, the Liberty, and the Harris theaters, with $13 million in acquisition costs for these properties paid by the city. Other entertainment tenants followed, such as Livent Inc., a theater production company that took advantage of MTV's abandonment of plans for a studio complex on 42nd Street to combine the Lyric and the Academy into one theater for large-scale musical productions.[69] The New 42nd Street, a non-profit

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[65] Donald Martin Reynolds, *The Architecture of New York City: Histories and Views of Important Structures, Sites, and Symbols*, revised edition (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1994), p. 208.
[66] see Jeanne B. Pinder, "Disney Considers Move Into Times Square," *New York Times*, September 15, 1993, p. C15.
[67] see Thomas J. Lueck, "$34 Million Plan Detailed By Disney In 42d St. Pact," *New York Times*, January 18, 1995, p. B3; Alex Witchel, "Theater: Is Disney the Newest Broadway Baby?" *New York Times*, April 17, 1994, p. B1.
[68] Brett Pulley, "Tussaud's and Movie Chain Join Disney in 42nd Street Project," *New York Times*, July 16, 1995, pp. B25, B27; see also "Tussaud's and a Movie Chain Are negotiating on 42nd St. Site" (Editorial), *New York Times*, July 13, 1995. B3.
[69] Brett Pulley, "A Restoration Is Announced For 42nd Street," *New York Times*, July 20, 1995. pp. B1, B6.

organization, was formed in 1990 to oversee the renovation of these and four other theaters (the Victory, the Times Square, and the Apollo and the Selwyn) on 42nd Street.

In May 1995, the Disney Corporation and the Tischman Urban Development Corporation won the 42nd Street hotel development competition. Its $303 million hotel, designed by Miami-based firm Arquitectonica, will include time-share apartments, an entertainment complex, and retail outlets, and will shatter the street's dilapidated architecture with a facade depicting a meteor impacting on the Square (see figure 34). The 47-story, 680-room hotel extravaganza, larger than the one originally proposed, will be designed for the leisure and amusement of upper-class tourists and conventioneers. The hotel will materialize on 42nd Street as a cashable comic-book phantasmagoria of a dreamed chaos, "an apocalypse with room service," as Muschamp called it[70], and will only cosmetically offset the dismal disorder of the city's tangible landscape of poverty.

Moreover, a newly established private organization, the Times Square Business Improvement District (BID), has been given responsibility for promoting the redevelopment and for cleaning and patrolling its eponymous, once public, space. The new Times Square the BID is selling is "clean and friendly," with the poor and undesirable, and all parts of the public space that do not promote financial gain, removed.[71]

Furthermore, the four office towers whose construction was forestalled in 1993 may be erected even sooner and to a larger height than expected. The Durst Organization, a developer once a long-term opponent of the project, is now attempting to replace Prudential Insurance in the Times Square Center Associates, and to build an office tower larger than has been proposed by using its adjacent property. Further, Durst plans to build immediately and without public subsidies.[72]

As the *New York Times* reported in 1993, "there is an increasing awareness that there is gold to be mined on 42d Street" and "that the prospecting has already begun."[73] The rate at which this gold is produced, developers hope, will increase by conjoining development of the "untapped spending power" of 20 million tourists who visit Times

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[70] Herbert Muschamp, "A Flare for Fantasy: 'Miami Vice' Meets 42d Street," *New York Times*, May 21, 1995, p. B1.
[71] Marvine Howe, "Neighborhood Report: Midtown - Ad Campaign; Times Square, Minus the Sleaze," *New York Times*, February 6, 1994, p. 13:9.
[72] Brett Pulley, "Key Developer Seeks A Role In Times Sq.," *New York Times*, November 21, 1995, pp. B1, B4.
[73] Douglas Martin, "Strictly Business: 42d Street Project Remains On Track," *New York Times*, January 25, 1993, p. B3.

Square yearly with the 190,000 commuters a day who pass through the Port Authority, and an additional 250,000 who arrive through the subway station. The new 42nd Street has thus become a "magnet for merchants," and by November 1995, 18 retailers alone had leased space in the buildings at the corner of 42nd Street and Seventh Avenue.[74]

In addition, since 1986, when a zoning measure mandated large signs on the new office buildings and hotels in Times Square, new more extravagant billboards, interactive video booths, screens with internet messages, and even holographs and other multimedia displays, have been installed on or are planned for the Square in order to capture more tourist and commuter dollars for the pivotal global city.[75] Even Philip Johnson and John Burgee have packaged their New Modern office towers into a jazzier form. In this manner, "the abuses of zoning and urban design, the default of planning and policy issues, have been subsumed into a ludicrous debate about a 'suitable' style," while "leaving all larger planning problems untouched."[76]

The old 42nd Street, "a sinkhole, a civic disgrace, a place where no decent person would willingly go, a place that demanded desperate measures," was "a malignant tumor" that needed to be removed.[77] The joint efforts of the 42nd Street Redevelopment Corporation as a public-private partnership, the major commercial developers, the new zoning measures favoring office developments in West Midtown, members of the Business Improvement District, and the involvement of the Disney and other large entertainment and retail corporations, have combined to "give [an] appearance of life" to a dead public space.[78] The physical and social order planned for area would arrive in the shape of an office district "disguised as Disneyland"[79] to complete the obliteration of the collective memory of the once-blighted neighborhood.

If successful, the 42nd Street Development Project would in this manner confirm the superiority of a planning model that reduces urban renewal policy merely to the promotion of highly profitable land uses. Moreover, subsidized by the public to promote

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[74] Thomas J. Lueck. "Returning From Decline, 42d Street Is Now a Magnet for Merchants," *New York Times*, November 15, 1995, p. B3.
[75] see "Reinventing the Neon Jungle" (Editorial), *New York Times*, November 6, 1995, pp. D1, D6.
[76] Ada Louise Huxtable, "Times Square Renewal (Act II), a Farce," *New York Times*, October 14, 1989, p. A25.
[77] Marshall Berman, "Times Square," *Village Voice*, July 18, 1995, p.24.
[78] Ada Louse Huxtable, "Creeping Gigantism in Manhattan," *New York Times*, March 22, 1987, p. B36.

private development, the project would reestablish a large-scale bulldoze-and-build policy as a triumphant model for the removal of blight and the replacement of social problems and decay in city centers with financial prosperity and new orders of decency. 42nd Street, its blight swept away, would become an orderly office district supported by appropriate entertainment uses. The long-sought formula for ordering a street once a metaphor for urban pathology would finally have been devised.

3.3 Cleaning Up the Deuce[80]

The authors of the 1984 Environmental Impact Statement for the 42nd Street Redevelopment Corporation's project characterized the unrealized renewal projects for Times Square during the 1960s and 1970s as endeavours of "dubious economic feasibility" that would have had an unfavorable environmental impact upon the theater district.[81] In contrast to these renewal efforts, the 42nd Street Development project would, they proposed, remove undesirable residents and transients, make necessary theater renovations and subway improvements, and revitalize the economy of the decaying area.

The *EIS* began with a description of the territory marked for renewal. 42nd Street was depicted as "New York's center of crime, prostitution, drug trafficking and blight, [a] regional magnet for illegitimate uses" that had become "a symbol of New York's decline in stature, values and quality of life."[82] 42nd Street, it said, was contaminated by urban blight, was a breeding ground of various menacing social pathologies including those of "drug dealers and their customers, public drinkers, homeless persons, young people simply standing around." These individuals had "an impact far beyond their absolute number" and furthermore, 42nd Street was "their territory, and those passing through it often perceive[d] that they [did] so at their own risk."[83] Relying upon statistics such as "Despite increased police deployment, reported crime in the area increased by 53 percent from 1978 to 1980 and since that time has remained consistently high"[84] and "its subway stations have the

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[79] Brendan Gill, "The Skyline: Disneyitis," *New Yorker*, Vol. 67, No. 10, April 29, 1991, p. 96.
[80] The Deuce (or Forty-Deuce) is a slang expression for 42nd Street.
[81] ibid., p. S-20.
[82] ibid., p. I-1.
[83] ibid., p. I-6.
[84] ibid.

highest crime rates in the City, and the conditions have discouraged some development and improvement nearby,"[85] the *EIS* defended the necessity of obliterating all traces of local subcultures of the Street and proceeding with the construction of a large-scale office district complex.

Times Square, as the *EIS* described it, was dominated by "vacant or underutilized land supporting obsolescent buildings housing the City's largest concentration of action (violence) movies and sex shops." These "contributed to problems of more threatening dimensions" and brought drug dealers, prostitutes, alcoholics, derelicts, and hustlers together with other loiterers into the area. Although home to many undesirable characters, according to the *EIS*, the area was "a prime piece of real estate that could produce many more jobs and much higher revenues for the city"[86]. 42nd Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues, zoned for the highest building density yet with 72% of its development rights not utilized and 18% of its developed structures vacant, contained 13 movie theaters and 15 sex-establishments.[87] Other retail establishments on West 42nd Street at the time included electronics shops, restaurants and fast food outlets, theaters, adult bookstores, men's wear businesses, peep shows, cigar and sporting good stores, etc. The property was usually rented on short-term leases, and in 1984, when the redevelopment project was proposed, was largely owned by the Finkelstein, Brant, and Durst family corporations. Together they accounted for 80% of the property, the remaining 20% being divided among 25 small owners.[88]

West 42nd Street was thus primarily "an underdeveloped marketplace," with only 24% of its potentially utilized land occupied for the most part by undesirable businesses.[89] This lack of development,[90] the authors of the *EIS* contended, "has taken a physical toll."[91] Nevertheless, the *EIS* found in the neglected theaters a splendour ripe for redevelopment's rediscovery: "Still, beneath all the hustle and bustle, the glitter and tarnish, is old 42nd

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[85] ibid., p. I-23.
[86] ibid., p. S-7.
[87] ibid., p. S-11.
[88] Kornblum, et al. "West 42nd Street," p. 90.
[89] ibid., p. 81.
[90] e.g., the fact that the Rialto building erected in 1937 was the only new building constructed after the 1920s on West 42nd Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenue.
[91] ibid., p. 76; see also *EIS* pp. I-23, I-5.

Street, somehow saved by the same lack of development that has signalled the area's problems for over a half century."[92]

The *EIS* further recognized that the Times Square area contains the hub of New York City's transit system, with one of the "most complex traffic patterns in the City," that it is "an essential connection among several of New York's most important commercial and residential areas," and that it attracted "more visitors each year than any other street in the City."[93] But again, the depressed conditions of the Times Square subway station were, the authors wrote, additional reason for the white middle-class consumers to avoid the area.

The authors of the *EIS* thus urgently called for a social and physical order to be imposed upon decaying 42nd Street in an attempt to eliminate its persistent blight and restore its former glory. A new public-private partnership was needed, they wrote, to oversee a large-scale development project that would halt the area's decline by renewal "of a critical mass ... large enough to eliminate existing problem areas and to attract other developers."[94] As such a development would, according to the *EIS*, transform the dismal environment of 42nd Street into "one of the New York's greatest resources," cause a "substantial reduction in crime on 42nd Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues," and cease "fifty years of continuing decay," the 42nd Street Redevelopment Corporation called for public subsides to fund the project.[95]

While the *EIS* did mention other necessary remedies for local social problems such as vigorous law enforcement, "public and private out-reach programs aimed at reducing the number of homeless people on the street and diverting juveniles away form prostitution," and civic and neighborhood improvements, it characterized these as being solely in the domain of public authorities. Thus, in response to private and public needs, the 42nd Street Redevelopment Project declared that the goal of eradicating the persistent blight in the area be best accomplished by the construction of four office towers (respectively 29, 37, 46 and 57 stories high), a 550-room hotel, and a wholesale mart. (See section 3.2) This economic program for renewal would, to quote from the rhetoric of the *EIS*, be "injected" into the area as a cure for its sickness of blight.[96]

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[92] *EIS*, p. I-5.
[93] ibid., pp. S-9, I-23.
[94] ibid., pp. I-2, I-1, 1-25 (ellipsis mine).
[95] ibid., pp. I-1, S-29, I-23.
[96] ibid., p. S-4.

3.4 The Fall of Times Square as a Public Space

That there is a "discrepancy between what actually happens on the block and the average New Yorker's (or out-of-towner's) image of the block," as Margaret Knapp points out, "has been a continuing theme of studies of Forty Second Street."[97] The respondents of the 1978 CUNY survey, for instance, ranked "the Bright Light District of West 42nd Street,... with only Harlem's 125th Street and Lenox area ranking higher, as a place [they] said they 'would avoid.'"[98] The CUNY researchers, however, found that contrary to the cliched perception of the area as a decaying ghetto controlled by violent minorities, the 42nd Street of 1978 was a vibrant public space, "an urban ecosystem of unparalleled complexity" populated by diverse groups such as "street preachers, three-card monte dealers, theater crowds, performance artists, office workers, tourists, [and] street vendors," as well as the expected "drug dealers, pimps and prostitutes."[99] Denying the notion that 42nd Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues was merely a blighted "Ghetto Street," the CUNY study noted that a traffic analysis of the strip at noon showed 53% of pedestrians to be white, 39.7% Black, and 5.7% Hispanic.[100] The area was, the survey said, "probably one of the most racially integrated streets in the city,"[101] and only after midnight did its minority pedestrians outnumber whites.

Research of the social ecology of the area likewise revealed that beyond simplistic characterizations of the street lay a complex cultural system with "innumerable conflicts between groups with widely differing tastes in pleasure."[102] Remaining the only centrally located low-income entertainment center after the closing of affordable movie theaters in poor neighborhoods in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Times Square attracted many impoverished patrons, "ordinary people out for a good time, in search of a cheap double bill, a fast-food dinner and a glimpse of glitter and excitement."[103] The movie theaters

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[97] Knapp, "A Historical Study," p. 418
[98] Kornblum, et al. "West 42nd Street," p. 40.
[99] ibid., p. 17.
[100] ibid., p. 21.
[101] ibid., p. 22
[102] ibid., p. 15.
[103] As Gottlieb reported for the *New York Times* in May 1984, "one of those in last Sunday's crowd was Keith Taylor, 15, who took the IRT Broadway local down from Harlem, washed a few car windows at Broadway and 44th Street, used his profits to buy a break-dancing instruction manual at Barnes & Noble, and headed for the Liberty Theater, where 'Breakin" was playing with 'Rocky III;'" see Martin Gottlieb, "Times Sq. Also Beckons With Less Sinister Joys," *New York Times*, May 12, 1984, pp. A25, A28.

located on West 42nd Street, whose audience attendance varied between 64,000 and 98,000 per week[104] (the area is referred to in an advertisement in figure 40 as "the World's Greatest Movie Center") were most popular among the lower-class.[105] Upper-middle class tourists and New Yorkers were attracted to the theaters of upper-Times Square which, together with the area's live shows, also drew a middle-class audience. Massage parlors, bookstores and peep shows likewise attracted both the middle and lower classes.[106] The CUNY researchers found that "additional thousands of workers and transients" similar to those who were said to be consternated with the blight in the area, supported "the sex-entertainment industry with their patronage."[107]

The undesirable street people in the Times Square area were also not homogeneous, but formed a complex assortment of subcultures made up of street peddlers, three-card monte men, religious solicitors, drug dealers, hustlers, female and male prostitutes, alcoholics (and the "bottle gangs" that hang around liquor stores), derelicts, pickpockets, and phony jewelry sellers. The authors of the CUNY study found among these street people a hierarchy of power (with alcoholics and former mental patients on the lowest level), in which each different group formed a "loosely connected society" through a "friendship network" and occupied niches whose boundaries each other group recognized and did not transgress.[108] One could in the south side of Times Square find truck drivers who socialized on 43rd Street, chess hustlers on Broadway between 43rd and 42nd Street, drug dealers on 42nd Street and Seventh Avenue, and female prostitutes along Eighth Avenue (see figure 39). This hierarchy, and the corresponding existence of "regular places" where illicit businesses catered to their clientele, thus ensured "a reliable market" for the satisfaction of those sundry desires which 42nd Street indulged.[109] The venues of these pleasure vendors were, however, not static; the sellers occupied several alternative positions that they changed daily to avoid the police who, for their part, largely remained on the Crossroads corner and on the corner of Eighth Avenue and 42nd Street.

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[104] The number includes the audience for both action and porno movies.
[105] Kornblum, et al. "West 42nd Street," p. 112. Young Blacks represented the largest single group attending movies in this area, which in 1978 a gross revenue of $192,000 to $320,000 per week; ibid., p. 119.
[106] ibid., p. 116. The study also revealed that Hispanics were the largest group (41%) to frequent adult bookstores and peep shows, while older white middle-class men frequented live shows (51%) and massage parlours (79%); ibid., p. 115.
[107] ibid., p. 18.
[108] Ibid. p. 32; see also pp. 24, 30, 130.
[109] ibid., p. 32.

Indeed despite the token presence of law-enforcement agents, the Times Square area seemed to be under a "policy of containment," as if there were between the police and the street people "an unspoken 'hands off' agreement on illegal traffic in Times Square [that] prevent[ed] its spread or to the side streets where middle-class theatergoers patronize[d] the area's legitimate playhouses."[110] Jill Stone in fact claimed that "the area [was] being allowed to deteriorate in order to ease the urban renewal condemnation process,"[111] and as was discussed in section 3.2 and as the New York City Planning Commission study of 42nd Street showed, the city had indeed completely neglected the area and done nothing "to preserve, protect, and promote the special character of the theater district area as the world's foremost concentration of legitimate theaters."[112] On the contrary, a number of old theaters had been demolished to make space for office buildings and hotels: the Loew's State theater razed for the One Broadway Place office tower, the Strand Theater destroyed for 1585 Broadway, the Rivoli for 750 Seventh Avenue, the Pussycat for the Holiday Inn Crown Plaza Hotel, and the Marriott Marquis Hotel, as has been said, took the life of four theaters (see figures 18-21)

In contrast to other office and hotel developments on Times Square, however, the 42nd Street Development Project promised to save the area's theaters and effect the district's revitalization not only through corporate construction but also by removing the street people and the sleazy and spectacular world that they inhabited. This project planned to eliminate the Times Square described by Michael Sorkin as "the place where the grid of rationality that seeks to structure the city according to the routines of consolidated profit simply breaks down, a compendium of everything and everyone the system does not desire."[113] In this process the popular culture of low-income minorities in the Square's area would be destroyed together with the accompanying institutions of cheap movie houses, modern and jazz dance halls, and sport clubs that are extremely popular among minority youth.

The Project's *EIS*, which identified the impoverished masses of 42nd Street as undesirables that should be removed, was found by Professor Herbert J. Gans of Columbia University to be "'full of biases' designed to justify a plan 'to move lower-

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[110] Stone, *Times Square: A Pictorial History*, p. 159.
[111] ibid.
[112] Kornblum, et al. "West 42nd Street," p. 225.
[113] Michael Sorkin, "Ciao Manhattan," in Klotz and Sabau, eds., *New York Architecture 1970-1990* (Munich and New York: Prestel, 1989), p. 55 .

income citizens and taxpayers and to replace them with more affluent ones."[114] Other critics have argued that racial, not class, issues lie at the heart of the redevelopment debate and that the goal of much of the recent effort to "clean" Times Square "has been to drive the blacks and Hispanics out."[115]

Even the main target of the redevelopment's assault on blight -- prostitution and sex businesses -- would not be reduced if it were not for the recently approved zoning measures to regulate these establishments.[116] Thus although the redevelopment would cleanse the area of vagrancy, bottle gangs, and drug trafficking, and a number of smaller hard core sex-establishments, the largest sex shops on Eighth Avenue (such as the notorious "Show World") would not be negatively affected by the redevelopment.[117] On the contrary, the elimination of the smaller adult entertainment outlets on West 42nd Street would increase the profits of the larger businesses around Times Square. These would grow "better-financed," become "more outwardly discreet peep shows" and probably relocate to upper Times Square (between 47th and 50th Street), to 34th Street West of 7th Avenue, to Eighth Avenue in the 40s, and infringe upon the nearest residential community, the Clinton neighborhood.[118]

The Clinton area, which has been resisting both gentrification and sex establishments since the late 1970's, is, in another of the redevelopment's unfortunate consequences, succumbing not only to the latter, but to the former as well. Until recently a low- and moderate-income residential neighborhood, its affordable housing is being converted into condominiums to such an extent that, according to Robert Neuwirth, as much as 50,000 families may be displaced from the area.[119] Ironically, in response to intrusion by illicit businesses on its borders, the Clinton community had been one of the principal agents demanding the redevelopment. Neuwirth, a member of the Clinton Coalition of Concern, however, emphasizes that despite their concerns members of the coalition were completely excluded from the planning process as part of a strategy applied by the UDC to "limit public involvement." In addition, although the city and

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[114] ibid.
[115] Jerry Adler, *High Rise, How 1,000 Men and Women Worked Around the Clock for Five Years and Lost $200 Million Building a Skyscraper* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993), p. 46; see also Kornblum, et al. "West 42nd Street," p. 161.
[116] see "Zoning, Sex, Videotape" (Editorial), *New York Times*, September 15, 1995, p. A1.
[117] ibid., p. 5.
[118] Walter Goodman, "Times Sq. Plan: Experts Debate Impact on Crime," *New York Times*, February 21, 1984, p. B4.

Redevelopment Corporation promised to channel $25 million to improvements in the Clinton neighborhood as a means of accommodating local opposition to the project, the deal according to Neuwirth "was so vague that it may never amount to anything."[120]

Similarly, the Garment District south of the redevelopment area (see figure 12) that survives despite the number of specialized stores, cheap foreign imports, and lower rents in other parts of the U.S., would, if major clothing manufacturers move into showrooms in the retail mart proposed to be built on the corner of Eighth Avenue and 42nd Street, face further decline and a rapid conversion of its lofts into more profitable uses. In contrast to the *EIS*'s predictions that the Garment District would lose only 400-500 jobs if the redevelopment project is realized, an apparel manufacturers' study predicts thousands of job losses.[121]

In its impact on the Garment District, the Clinton neighborhood, and Times Square's low-income entertainment district, the 42nd Street Development Project is serving to further divide the dual city in which "real estate development and gentrification are pushing the poor and ethnic out of certain residential areas" so "that the city is becoming increasingly segregated in terms of class, race, and national origin."[122] Mollenkopf and Castells claim that "homelessness throws people out of their social network," transforming them into "wandering flows that inhabit the interstices of public space" and creating "visible images of the invisible social logic;"[123] the attempt to remove the homeless and all other undesirables from Times Square is in this sense a way to remove visible images so that only invisible spatial logic of the new redeveloped city remains.

Indeed it is principally the perception of New York as a city gripped by crime and dissolution that the business elites would like to dispel to allow it to flourish as a global urban center. In Times Square and around Grand Central Station, street people, homeless, three-card monte dealers and all others branded as undesirables are being forced out not only by the redevelopment, but are also being escorted away by security officers of the local business improvement districts' (BIDs). The Grand Central Partnership, as has been

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[119] Neuwirth, "Behind Closed Doors," p. 10.
[120] ibid., p. 10, 13.
[121] Matthew L. Wald, "Garment Study Criticizes Plans For Times Sq.," *New York Times*, October 22, 1984, p. B3.
[122] John Hull Mollenkopf and Manuel Castells, *Dual City: Restructuring New York* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1991), p. 414.
[123] ibid., p. 404.

widely reported, employed "goon squads" to beat up homeless people in the area.[124] The Times Square BID's war against the long-lasting tradition of three-card monte dealing in Times Square began with their distribution of 50,000 leaflets warning people not to play the popular game.[125] Sponsored by the local entrepreneurs, large centrally-located BIDs that focus on quality of life issues such as sanitation, security, homelessness, and tourism are a part of a broader restructuring of New York as a global city. This reintegration includes the elimination of these undesirable elements from its internationally famous public spaces that have since the 1970s been associated with blight (Times Square) or homelessness (Grand Central). By freeing Times Square from the undesirables, BIDs attempt to attract rich investors, entrepreneurs, and upscale commercial enterprise to appeal to affluent tourists and suburbanites by creating safe and secure environments in one of the most obvious examples of privatization of the city's public space.

The most representative example of the attack on Times Square is found in the planned Burgee and Johnson office towers (figures 13 and 14), true bastions of the redevelopment project's vision of a Times Square explicitly and bluntly disconnected from theaters, public celebrations, gatherings and glossy billboards. The hulking towers represent the "financial cornerstone" of the proposed redevelopment, designed, as Burgee has explained, "to appeal to banks, insurance companies, and accounting firms."[126] Burgee and Johnson did rethink the towers' design, but by adding visual gimmicks only while keeping the original size and bulk intact, they created equally inappropriate deconstructivist-style buildings imagined to literally deconstruct mid-Manhattan (see figure 15).

Numerous other structures were (or are to be) created to support this vision of Times Square, where "every conceivable economic element was there focussing on one spot." Developer Trammell Crow, for instance, designated in 1984 to build the retail mart for the 42nd Street Development project described his vision in the following manner: "We

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[124] see Bruce Lambert, "Ex-Outreach Workers say They Assaulted Homeless," *New York Times*, April 14, 1995, p. B1, B8.

[125] A three-card monte dealer who "watched the news conference from a distance" and commented for The *New York Times* journalist: "Why don't they fight some real crime?;" see Richard Perez-Pena, "Three-Card Monte: ItÕs just a Shell Game, Official Warn, *New York Times*, November 11, 1992, p. B1.

[126] James S. Russell, "Gridlock," *Architectural Record*, Vol. 177, No. 13, November 1989, p. 55.

will build this mart and then we'll expand it and then we'll expand it again and then we'll expand it again. That's what the future holds."[127]

Nevertheless, both the malling and deconstructing of Times Square did not originate in the 42nd Street Development Project. Besides the Marriott Marquis Hotel that stands as a prominent example of these anti-urban trends (figures 16 and 17), Metropolis Times Square, a plan abandoned due to the lack of resources in 1989, is symbolic of many other projects of this type. This shopping mall was supposed to occupy the entire ground floor and several additional stories of the Bertelsmann Building at 1540 Broadway, and was to include not only retail outlets, restaurants, shops, boutiques, and a Cineplex theater but also a sophisticated system of computers, a web of billboards and signage, and over 350 television sets arranged to create 180-degree 15 feet-high panorama of the atrium with a workstation operated by a video-jockey. Its designer Jon Jerde, famous for his Horton Plaza design, defined the mall as an "architecture of light and entertainment... a world of fantasy and pulsating energy."[128] Like other theme environments this project would have "inform[ed], educate[d] and amaze[d] the visitor" in order to promote consumption. This structure was intended to polish the image of the Square by creating a theme park and a shopping mall based on the real Square *theme* -- neon lights and commercial adds. This distillate of Times Square would have excluded all undesirable elements from its protected haven -- crime, violence, poverty, drug dealing, prostitution and homelessness. A glass wall would have separated the actual Times Square from its artificial recreation, a "fortress protecting the new rich from the new poor whom they nevertheless need, but at arms' length."[129] Like the many other projects that followed it that attempted to fashion a replica of a public space for private use, Metropolis Times Square and its more successful counterparts like the 42nd Street Development Project represent "a new, degraded form of urbanity itself"[130] and are one of the "saddest civic failures" in New York.[131]

Similar to the Metropolis Times Square project, Portman's Marriott Marquis Hotel allows the visitor to approach the structure by car and check in without one step on the infamous street. As with Portman's Bonaventure hotel in Los Angeles, this replacement

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[127] Martin Gottlieb, "Pressure and Compromise Saved Times Square Project," *New York Times*, March 10, 1984, p. A28.
[128] Paolo Riani, "Metropolis Times Square," *Arca*, No. 29, July/August, 1989, p. 43.
[129] Peter Cooke, "Modernity, Postmodernity and the City", *Theory, Culture & Society*, Vol. 5, No. 2-3, p. 485.
[130] ibid., p. 491

of public space outside with "private space inside the hotel only symbolizes {the} change in the surrounding city."[132] The four theaters pulverized to make way for the Marriott Marquis Hotel and its creed of privatization were a portent of the coming evacuation of Times Square's public space.

Boyer views this as perhaps "an inevitable process," an irreversible reduction of "the contemporary public sphere to an arena where private interests compete and consumer choices are displayed, as well as to a space where public debate and critical reasoning no longer take place."[133] The transformation of the "collective experience" of the city "into a series of fragmented and privatized events"[134] and of a city square at the center of its cosmopolitan public realm into a "silent public sphere"[135] has in a quite revolution gone largely unnoticed. Without commotion, hyperspaces of shopping malls and postmodern hotels have encroached upon public spaces offering us spectacles and simulations, "distorted images" and "alarming vertical journeys" into this new landscape of consumption.

At the Crossroads of the World, a homogenized space of globally interconnected producers and affluent consumers has replaced all but a few remnants of its once vibrant local culture, leaving only those that can be commodified in the global city. Was this process truly inevitable? Unfortunately the silencing of Times Square's public sphere has been duplicated in the absence of any sustained criticism to a redevelopment that has effectively excluded any alternative visions for the space's future. If as Michael Sorkin claims, the struggle for public spaces in the city is a "struggle for democracy itself,"[136] the battle for Times Square has been lost.

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[131] Philip Kasinitz, "A Private Times Square?," *Dissent*, Vol. 36, Summer 1989, p. 390.
[132] Sharon Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 53.
[133] M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), p. 417.,
[134] ibid., p. 23.
[135] Richard Sennet in Jack Hitt, et al., "Whatever Became of the Public Sphere," *Harper's Magazine*, July 1990, p. 50.
[136] Quoted in Alex Krieger, "Reinventing Public Space," *Architectural Record*, June 1995, p. 76.

4. Polishing the Apple:
HoloSquare for the Global City

4.1 Reshaping the Crossroads of the World

The carnival culture of the city that flourished in the first decades of the twentieth century in world's fair midways, amusements parks, and theater districts offered an opportunity for urban denizens to evade the treacherous workday and "encompass the realm of desire and pleasure"[1] in the illuminated nights of the city. These "commercial dreamworld[s] of pleasure, abundance, insouciant youth, fluidity, fantasy, and magic accessible to a mass audience for the small price of admission" liberated "marketplaces for adult play."[2] Bright lights, shimmering colors, and spectacular signage delineated, in "desire centers"[3] like Times Square, an environment where the modern technologies of electricity and illumination embraced the world of theatrical spectacle to produce mass commodity consumption, fleeting extravaganzas, and dazzling landscape.

As William Leach suggests, the commercial aesthetics devised in these marketplaces of spectacle reached their zenith and came to "the visual forefront of American urban life" in "Times Square, where commercial light and color were gathered into one spot to an unusual degree."[4] That New York's "carnival supernal," as J. George Fredericks defined Times Square ("the only [part of] New York possessing a thrill") in a 1923 study, possessed great advertising potential was soon realized by businessmen of that decade.[5] "More people were passing through [Times Square] than any other spot, creating a concentrated purchasing power of potential customers" that was quickly exploited by commerce and promoted by entrepreneurs like O. J. Goode (the "Napoleon of Publicity"), who coined the term the "Great White Way."[6] Embellished by early billboards advertising local businesses which were later replaced by larger "spectaculars" promoting the automobile, cigarette, soda, gasoline products of national corporations, Times Square gradually became the "most expensive advertising space in the world."[7]

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[1] William Wood Register, Jr., "New York's Gigantic Toy," in William R. Taylor, ed., *Inventing Times Square: Commerce and Culture at the Crossroads of the World* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1991), p. 270.
[2] ibid., pp. 250, 249.
[3] see William Leach, "Brokers and the New Corporate, Industrial Order," in Taylor, *Inventing Times Square*, p. 115.
[4] William Leach, "Commercial Aesthetics: Introductory Essay," in Taylor, *Inventing Times Square*, p. 236.
[5] ibid., p. 234.
[6] ibid., pp. 236, 235.
[7] ibid., p. 237.

New York City's 1916 zoning law that permitted the billboard advertising guarantying Times Square's prominence was not, however, supported by all business groups. While businessmen of the Broadway Association praised the spectaculars on Times Square, members of the Fifth Avenue Association feared that the "'carnival spectacle'... might bring an influx of 'wrong kind of people' into the Avenue on a daily basis, an influx that might jeopardize real estate values and undermine the control these merchants had over *their* property."[8] Zoning regulations issued in 1922 attempted to accommodate both these perspectives by liberating additional space for signs on Times Square without restriction and by banning spectaculars on Fifth Avenue, and parts of Madison Avenue and 34th Street.

Unlike the Fifth Avenue Association, businessmen of the Broadway Association, however, listened to Julius Klein's convincing arguments for the advertising potential of "Broadway with its miles of light and its sunburst center at Times Square" that promised rapid turnover of products and large profits (see section 1.2).[9] The flourishing theaters and other public amusements in Times Square that epitomized the spectacular world of bright lights and colors, and which attracted such an influx of people would, the members of the Broadway Association no doubt thought, enhance their profits even further.

Yet as the theater district declined in the late 1920s and theaters were converted into cinemas and later "grind" houses continuously showing cheap double features,[10] the concerns of the Fifth Avenue Association proved prophetic. Times Square as a desire center had grown around the world of theatrical spectacle and popular amusements, and employed spectacular billboards to promote mass consumption. However as the profits from the theatrical world become uncertain by the end of the 1920s (and as the district, especially after the passage the Volstead Act in 1919 was increasingly attracting what the Fifth Avenue Association referred to as the "wrong kind of people"), the concern of the theater district's businessmen and brokers for their property grew. Plans were announced for the replacement of two theaters on 42nd Street with office towers (although the

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[8] ibid., pp. 240-241 (ellipsis mine, italics in original).
[9] Julius Klein quoted in Leach, "Brokers an the New Corporate, Industrial Order," p. 111.
[10] see Brooks McNamara, "The Entertainment District at the End of the 1930s," p. 186; Laurence Senelick, "Private Parts in Public Spaces," in Taylor, *Inventing Times Square*, p. 338.

redevelopment was not carried out due to the Great Depression),[11] an elaboration of a trend actually begun even earlier with the construction of theaters in Times Square as a part of office buildings, such as the Loew's State (1920) and the Paramount (1927).[12]

The complicated marriage of the uncontrolled world of theatrical spectacle with its uncertain profits to a desire center advertising goods and corporations gradually proved injurious to both parties as the blight of the 1930s became exaggerated in the late 1950s and steadily grew worse through the 1970s. Due to its rapid decline, impoverishment, and sleazification over the course of five decades, Times Square became home to burlesque shows, cheap dance halls, flea circuses, dime museums, grind houses, peep-shows, striptease bars, massage parlors, drug trafficking, and crime.

Although most native New Yorkers, dismayed by the dangerous vice-ridden environment, grew adverse to visiting the site's New Year celebration more than once, Times Square "even in a coma... [still] remain[ed] an alluring international symbol of the racing, racy Gotham pulse."[13] Tourists, their cameras regularly capturing memories of what was by the 1970s a sleazy and dangerous place, still came even to try their luck with the three-card monte dealers of the city's impoverished minorities, people who would be effectively forgotten by New York's much advertised 1980s boom. The carnival of the Bright Light District even interested some of the more serious visitors to the Big Apple, such as Japanese magnates on business trips some of whom were said to regularly frequent the site's sex-establishments.[14]

And business still heeded Julius Klein's words. A representative from one of the corporations that spends $1 million a year for a supersign in Times Square, asked why he thought the investment was worth it, pointed not only to the 20 million tourists who visit the Square every year, but more importantly to "the cameras those 20 million people carry."[15]

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[11] Margaret M. Knapp, "A Historical Study of the Legitimate Playhouses on West Forty-second Street Between Seventh and Eighth Avenues in New York City," Unpublished Ph.D. diss., (New York: City University of New York, 1982), p. 432.
[12] Robert A.M. Stern, Thomas Mellins and David Fishman, *New York 1960: Architecture and Urbanism Between the Second World War and the Bicentennial* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 1995), p. 432.
[13] Frank Rich, "Journal; The Key To the City," *New York Times*, December 15, 1994, p. A 29 (ellipsis mine).
[14] see Josh Alan Friedman, *Tales of Times Square* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1986), p. 192.
[15] "Those Gaudy Billboards Still Give a Thrill," Editorial/ Letters, *New York Times*, November 24, 1993.

Real estate developers noticed in the early 1980s that the site's popularity continued even during its reign of blight, and many like George Klein of Park Tower Reality (which joined Prudential Insurance in Times Square Associates, see section 3.2) perhaps speculated (that) "if people hunger to come to New York's defunct field of neon dreams now, imagine the results were someone actually to build something there."[16] The developers of Times Square Associates began to envision a successful corporate park for multinational corporations (see figure 13) that would still fit into the picture millions of tourists would carry back home.

If only, they thought, Times Square could exist without its social problems, prostitution and drug dealing, without those impoverished minorities engaging in dangerous crimes such as three-card monte dealing, without all those cantankerous and "predatory subcultures" of karate, porno, horror and "labor violence" B-movies! (see figures 35-39).[17] But if people were drawn to Times Square by the spectacular qualities of its environment, could redevelopment in fact afford to do away with its sleazy parts? Could it do away with the spectacle at all? The theaters of 42nd Street, the *EIS* reported, had been magically "saved by the... lack of development,"[18] and it seemed were simply too architecturally valuable, too famous, and carried too big a share of Broadway's history to be bulldozed without destroying Times Square's chief attraction and arousing strong protests from those treacherous preservationist forces who would mobilize to sabotage such plans. (Indeed civic organizations and in particular the Municipal Art Society did mobilize against proposed plans to raze the Times Tower.) Moreover, the developers recognized in the theaters the possibility of air-rights transfers which would enable them to build office towers higher than zoning regulations normally allow.

But as has been explained, the plan to create a bleak office district without indecorous signage on 42nd Street (figures 13 and 14), failed to materialize due to the declining real estate market and numerous law suits against the project (see section 3.2). Moreover, in 1986 zoning regulations mandated signs on all newly constructed buildings in Times Square. Thus with their corporate park stalled, the developers were faced with a

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[16] Frank Rich, "Journal; The Key To the City," *New York Times*, December 15, 1994, p. A 29.
[17] see Martin Gottlieb, "In Times Square, New World to Take On Nether World," *New York Times*, June 1, 1984, p. B1; see also William Kornblum, ed. "West 42nd Street: 'The Bright Light Zone,'" Unpublished study (New York: City University of New York, 1978), p. 101.

question of how to, on the one hand, reshape Times Square as a successful office district and, on the other, still maintain its status as the most well-known, most spectacular advertising place in the world. In this manner the spectacle of Times Square would serve not only to ensconce New York as a global city, but also to profit the corporate tenants located in the area.

As Harvey has remarked, after the fiscal crisis of 1975 the downtowns of American cities could no longer solely rely on "a monumental sense of power, authority and corporate domination," needing to turn instead to the promotion of spectacle in their open spaces,[19] a model most notably employed in San Diego and Baltimore. During the second half of the 1980s the Times Square Associates were forced to learn this lesson fast.

How then to rebuild Times Square as a space entirely amenable to multinational corporate promotion while continually rejuvenating its technologies of spectacle? How to transform a chaotic world of spectacle into an orderly and tightly planned realm of desire and pleasure extracting needed consumption dollars from tourists and visitors? How to make the Crossroads of the World both a successful urban entertainment center for the twenty-first century and a prosperous office district for the global city?

Architect and designer Joseph Urban had observed in 1928 that "architecture and advertising--two great practical arts of America--were bound to collide. At their highest there is indeed a natural affinity between the two. A beautiful building is indeed the sandwich board of its owner."[20] Could perhaps the dilapidated and dispirited 42nd Street be redeveloped as a "sandwich board" for not only the Times Square Associates but also for a new, orderly centrally-located entertainment district? To understand how the developers answered this question in the affirmative several lessons needed to be revisited.

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[18] New York State Urban Development Corporation, *Final Environmental Impact Statement: the 42nd Street Development Project* (New York, 1984), p. I-5 (all future references will be quoted parenthetically as *EIS*); (ellipsis mine).
[19] David Harvey, *The Urban Experience* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), p. 271.
[20] Gregory F. Gilmartin, "Joseph Urban," in Taylor, *Inventing Times Square*, p. 281.

4.2 Glittering Ersatz for the Crossroads' Pageant

4.2.1 Learning from Xanadu

American cities, the developer James Rouse confidently declared a decade ago, are being carried by a rising "tide of hopeful purpose" along the road to recovery. In this "most hopeful period in the history of the American city," the "unnecessary deterioration" of its central core will pass away before a "life, vitality, [and] favourable economics... at the heart of the [urban America]."[21] Rouse, whose company originated the development of urban-suburban melange in festival marketplaces in the 1970s,[22] anticipated that large-scale development projects focussing on unexplored tourist and entertainment resources undertaken by public-private partnerships would revitalize not only waterfronts and abandoned manufacturing or transportation facilities, but also the city center. Promoted by 1980s tax exemptions that stimulated historic preservation and commercial redevelopment of old and neglected urban fabric, large-scale waterfront redevelopments indeed thrived in several cities such as Faneuil Hall in Boston, Inner Harbor in Baltimore, and South Street Seaport in New York. Emphasizing a place's specificities and heritage became a marketing tool in "the selling of both goods and urban images."[23] To the jaded sightseer these urban theme parks offered "the opportunity to combine shopping with touristic voyeurism into the city's past."[24]

The lesson learned from these projects, strikingly similar to that which guides Disney's theme parks, "tell a story, pay attention to detail, and understand your guests,"[25] is now being consistently applied in many central urban cores. As *Urban Land* reports, urban entertainment centers (UECs) that include theaters, restaurants, chain stores, virtual reality emporiums, electronic theme parks, and more are currently planned for or already built in

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[21] James W. Rouse, "The Case for Vision," in Paul R. Porter & David c. Sweet, eds. *Rebuilding America' Cities: Roads to Recovery*, (New Brunswick: Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University, 1984), pp. 22, 23, 26 (ellipsis mine).
[22] see Herbert Muschamp, "Remodelling New York For the Bourgeoisie," *New York Times*, September 24, 1995, p. B38.
[23] M. Christine Boyer, "The Great Frame-Up: Fantastic Appearances in Contemporary Spatial Politics," in Hellen Liggett and David C. Perry, eds., *Spatial Practices* (Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1995), p. 90.
[24] Sharon Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), p. 51.
[25] see Blythe Marcy, "The Evolution of Walt Disney World," *Urban Land*, Vol. 53, No. 10, October 1994, p. 37.

20 American cities.[26] Cinetropolis, Xanadu, Sportsplex, Niketown (one of the top five tourist attractions in Chicago), these UECs combine "concept stores" (a combination of an amusement center and a shopping mall) with a "bundled retail" strategy ("a number of signature retailers or product category stores [sharing] a high-impact merchandising theme").[27] San Diego's Gaslamp Quarter, for instance, which used to be a neglected neighborhood notorious for its pornographic movie theaters, was scheduled to open in the fall of 1995 as redeveloped "Live from Xanadu," a 110,000-foot entertainment center including restaurants, shops, a movie theater, and a virtual reality arcade.[28]

The UECs, developers believe, will revitalize city centers and create entertainment and retail hubs attracting suburban residents and regional audiences, who would provide an estimated 60% of profits and, it is hoped, extend their consumption during several hour visits.[29] Developers believe that American suburbs have developed to the point where entertainment and cultural desires outstrip local resources, and consequently that cities are in a position to regain their central status as entertainment and cultural centers. For this to happen, however, cities need to entice suburbanites with safe, secure, family oriented entertainment theme parks. Some UECs will have a less suburban character, however, as for instance the Sportsplex centers for younger urban audiences. Regardless of the approach, the presence of extremely competitive commercialization will no doubt slowly restrict the number of non-competitive forms of amusements and popular culture (such as smaller jazz clubs, community theaters, alternative dance studios, etc.) while larger entertainment corporations companies (like Disney, Viacom, Time Warner, Sony, Madame Tussaud, etc.) will take their place in the new UECs. These entertainment giants, joined by development companies that are guiding the construction of the Centers, are already becoming fixtures of theme parks, festival marketplaces, and tourist resorts.

These contemporary Xanadus, among which Times Square will soon be counted, have become havens of "architectural hocus-pocus," (to use Mumford's words from 1925)[30] and provide spheres of escape, "pleasant and exciting"[31] environments where

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[26] Michael S. Rubin, Robert J. Gorman, and Michael H. Lawry. "Entertainment Returns to Gotham," *Urban Land*, Vol. 53, No. 8, August 1994, pp. 59-60.
[27] ibid. pp. 60, 62.
[28] see Neil Senturia, "Developments: A Stately Pleasure Dome," *Urban Land*, Vol. 53, No. 4, April 1994, p. 13.
[29] see Rubin, et al., "Entertainment Returns to Gotham," p. 61.
[30] Quoted in Register, "New York's Gigantic Toy," p. 270.
[31] see Muschamp, "Remodelling New York For the Bourgeoisie," p. B38.

homogenized commodity consumption is combined with homogenized cultural consumption.

4.2.2 Learning from 42nd Street

"Is there not a similar validity of Times Square in which the jarring inconsistencies of buildings and billboards are contained within the consistent order of space itself?"[32] asked Robert Venturi in 1966, comparing the vigour and excitement of Piazza di San Marco with that of the Crossroads of the World. The overwhelming information of signage and the bold contradictions of diverse architectural styles enabled, Venturi argued, communication technologies and symbolism to overpower space and establish a valid, if extreme, urban form. The spectacle of light on Times Square, "[a] glittering sensory overload" that contains, according to Herndon, "eight times more visual information that we can hope to process," creates a "vital mess" of "energy, vibrancy, and imagination unfettered by the bonds of good taste."[33] As Venturi described the process, a "complex combination of media beyond the purer architectural triad of structure, form and light at the service of space" allowed "the architecture of bold communication" to vanquish the "one of subtle expression."[34]

Visiting New York in the late 1920s, Paul Morand admired Times Square's "perpetual thunderstorm"[35] of lights and colors which type of phantasmagoria, Venturi would proclaim four decades later, "is more important than architecture... If you take the signs away, there is no place."[36] By visually "maintain[ing]... control over the clashing elements," commercial images delineate the Square -- "chaos is very near; its nearness, but its avoidance, gives... force."[37] Its imagery communicates the "richness and ambiguity of 20th century experience" (and indeed its "complexity and contradiction"), incorporating

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[32] Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Arts and Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), p. 56.
[33] Constance Herndon, "Puttin' On the Glitz," *Print*, Vol. 42, May/June 1988, pp. 80, 82.
[34] Robert Venturi, *Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1972, first edition), p. 4.
[35] Quoted in Peter Conrad, *The Art of the City: Views and Versions of New York* (New York: New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 132.
[36] Venturi, *Learning from Las Vegas*, first edition, p. 12 (ellipsis mine).

even "banal and ugly" elements to create "the difficult whole" (figure 41). As with the Las Vegas strip, often treated as "vulgar and disdained," a "gigantic industry dedicated to the temporary escape from crisis," Times Square contains a "complex and contradictory order that is valid and vital for our architecture as an urbanistic whole."[38]

The Square, Venturi emphasizes, "is not dramatic space but dramatic decoration... [a] Byzantine drama -- [containing] glittering surfaces of symbols for persuasion."[39] Placing the image before process or form, Venturi claims that "architecture depends in its perception and creation on past experience and emotional association,"[40] which is provided by the immense and complex commercial messages on the strip that thus go beyond mere commercial manipulation.[41] In fact, Venturi called for architecture and planning to learn from this intricate commercial imagery. Even "if the commercial persuasions that flash on the strip are materialistic manipulation and vapid subcommunication, only superficial messages, it [still] does not follow that the architect who learns from their techniques must reproduce the content or the superficiality of messages." Hence, manipulation "is not the monopoly of crass commercialism" but can also "through the intimidating prestige of cultural lobbies and design review boards, [promote] legislation and beautification."[42]

The practical application of Venturi's theories, however, in some cases provided a program for an architecture reduced to an "instrumental pastiche of pop- and pseudo-historical forms" or a "do-it-yourself history" fashioned as "cardboard scenography," again reintroducing commercial persuasions into a landscape of consumption.[43] Unfortunately, Venturi's own design furnishes an example of the latter; as an alternative to the Times Tower that was to be razed, Venturi proposed a gigantic apple (see figure 29 and 30), a

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[37] August Heckscher, *The Public Happiness*. Quoted in Robert Venturi, et al., *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of the Architectural Form* (Cambridge, MA and London England: MIT Press, 1977, second edition), p. 53 (ellipsis mine).

[38] see Geoffrey Broadbent. "Venturi I" and "Venturi II," in Broadbent, *Emerging Concepts in Urban Space Design* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1990), pp. 238-240, 245, 252.

[39] Venturi, *Learning from Las Vegas*, first edition, p. 158 (ellipsis mine).

[40] Venturi, et al., *Learning from Las Vegas*, second edition, p. 87.

[41] Fascinated with exuberance of commercial messages on the Vegas strip, Venturi later claimed to be only trying to understand architecture (the reader, however, cannot escape an impression that Venturi primarily wanted to shock); see also Andreas C. Papadakis, *Pop Architecture* (London: Academy Group and New York: St.Martin's Press, 1992) p. 15.

[42] Venturi, *Learning from Las Vegas*, first edition, p. 103.

[43] Steven C. Bourassa, "Postmodernism in Architecture and Planning: What Kind of Style," *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Winter 1989, p. 296.

"Duck"[44] that could perhaps crown the image of the Square, if the process of its plastification and Disneyfication is ever completed.

Venturi's study of the Vegas strip, on the other hand, urges careful analysis of context, creative use of new technologies, and skillful deployment of "ugly and ordinary" ambience to generate new and unusual forms. The inclusive qualities of this architectural model liberate space for "the fragment, for contradiction,... improvisation, and for the tensions [that] produce richness of meaning."[45] Although none of the contemporary projects proposed for Times Square realize this goal in its entirety, the Ramada Renaissance Hotel (known also as Two Times Square), for instance, provides a creative application of Venturi's theories by devoting its entire south facade to spectaculars advertising Coca-Cola, Suntory Whisky and Samsung, creating thus a "Decorated Shed" (see footnote 44 in this chapter) which enables the signs to be recognized as an integral part of the environment.[46]

As originally proposed by the 42nd Street Redevelopment Corporation and designed by Burgee and Johnson for Times Square Associates in 1984, Times Square was to be transformed into a bleak office district devoid of indecorous signage (figures 13 and 14). In March 1984, as a part of civic organizations' protest against the reshaping of Times Square and the proposed phasing-out of many of its signs, Tama Starr, a third generation member of the Starr family that has created almost all classic signs on Times Square, "turned off the signs - all thirty of them, at two-second intervals, so that the television cameras could record the darkness as it spread over the square from south to north. The blackout that followed lasted half an hour." Several months later the City Planning Commission started studying regulations to require signage on new buildings in Times Square. The inquiry resulted in the passing of the 1986 zoning regulations[47] that obliged new corporate structures on Times Square to "include large illuminated signs as facade elements," paradoxically necessitating the recreation of "the appearance of the Square they

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[44] A "Duck," according to Venturi, represents a building itself being a sign (or "building-becoming-sculpture"), instead of, for example, merely covering a facade with signs, as in the "Decorated Shed;" see Broadbent, "Venturi I," and "Venturi II," pp. 250, 251; see also Papadekis, *Pop Architecture*, p. 13.

[45] Broadbent, "Venturi I," p. 237 (ellipsis mine).

[46] According to Herbert Muschamp "this taut fusion of architectural rigor and Madison Avenue seduction is the most advanced piece of design to go up in Times Square since the TKTS booth was created (also by Mayers & Schiff) 19 years ago." see Herbert Muschamp, "For Times Square, a Reprieve And Hope of a Livelier Day," *New York Times*, August 6, 1992, p. C15.

[were] driving out."[48] As a result, several new buildings in Times Square began slapping signage (of a much less skillful sort than the Ramada Renaissance Hotel's), holography, fibre optics, and even computer screens flashing internet messages on their facades.

The old, gaudy billboards, the icons of Times Square that so impressed Venturi in 1966, are no longer appropriate for the global city's Square where a new type of commercial messages featuring heraldic signs ("less as advertising than as corporate identity campaigns in neon") have been swamping the space since the early 1980s (see figures 42 and 43). Indeed the prediction of an advertising agent in the same decade that Times Square would "in a few years...[become] a world's fair of corporate images" has materialized.[49] Although billboards on Times Square still advertise Levi Strauss, Coca Cola, and Sara Lee, and most recently Maxwell House Coffee has promised to stage its return,[50] displays of Japanese corporate logos (such as Sony, Panasonic, Aiwa, Samsung) are increasingly prominent (see figures 45 and 46). The Square has indeed become "an international advertising platform," and the Japanese signs there will soon be joined by the first sign in Chinese, promoting the San Jiu Enterprise Group's subsidiary, the 999 Pharmaceutical company.[51]

In another change since Venturi's criticism, Times Square billboard advertisements have begun to tackle contemporary social issues such as AIDS, gun control, and nutrition. The controversial "death clock" at 47th Street and Broadway now counts victims of handguns,[52] and the national debt clock ticks on 43rd Street and the Avenue of the Americas. Yet the fragility of the site as a public forum became very apparent when the Sony Corporation banned a commercial promoting tolerance for homosexuality on their own *private* Video One screen on Times Square.

In a progressive expansion of the financial system that helped create Times Square, its signage has evolved through the promotion of local businesses, later of national corporations, and finally in contemporary billboards of multinational corporations

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[47] Jerry Adler, *High Rise, How 1,000 Men and Women Worked Around the Clock for Five Years and Lost $200 Million Building a Skyscraper* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993), p. 47.
[48] Ada Louise Huxtable, "Re-inventing Times Square," in Taylor, *Inventing Times Square*, p. 357.
[49] see Herndon, "Puttin' On the Glitz," p. 85 (ellipsis mine).
[50] Stuart Elliott, "The Media Business: Advertising; After a 55-year Absence, Maxwell House Coffee Embraces the Times Square Market Again," *New York Times*, November 17, 1994, p. D21.
[51] Stuart Elliott, "The Media Business: Advertising; The World-Class Sign-Scape of Times Square Attracts Its First Chinese Marketeer," *New York Times*, April 25, 1995, p. D11.
[52] Stuart Elliott, "The Media Business: Advertising; Selling Underwear, And Ideas: New Signs Are Turning Times Square Into An Issues Forum," *New York Times*, September 9, 1994, p. D15.

operating in a "world financial center within a highly integrated global system co-ordinated through instantaneous telecommunication."[53] Morgan Stanley, a global securities firm recently a tenant on Times Square, will for instance decorate the bleak facade of 1585 Broadway (figure 25) with a new sophisticated supersign containing digital clocks telling time around the world, "highlighting cities where Morgan Stanley has offices." In this manner, the company intends to "convey its image as an information nerve center."[54]

Heeding the lessons learned from Las Vegas and Disneyland, developers have used the richness, ambiguity, vigour and excitement of Times Square's once chaotic billboard advertising to create a planned sphere of commercial consumption. In fact, Jerry Adler provides a recipe of how to prepare the new Times Square billboard pulp -- take a little bit of "international flavour," add "the dynamic and chaotic personality of New York," and blend with a lot of "design vocabulary that captures the colorful, animated and eclectic spirit of Times Square."[55]

Venturi's plea for the architect to create dynamic and innovative designs based on the site's commercial aesthetics seems more relevant now than ever since these staged spectacles tend to "easily fall prey to the design overkill that afflicts festival marketplaces: too many banners, too much color coordination, too much programmed spontaneity."[56] As Muschamp noted in 1992, "the paradox is that even in its current state of dilapidation Times Square has more to teach architects about art than nearly any other site in America. It remains rich in the kind of visual and cultural collisions few artists can pull off in style."[57]

By the summer of 1995, however, almost devoid of both its former blight and cultural collisions, the Square seemed to have surrendered its originality to the redevelopment project. Awaiting renewal advertised as the only means by which to restore theaters to their old glory, 42nd Street was in fact being prepared for a different kind of spectacle for sale, a better-planned, better controlled, more synthetic, and more costly entertainment center. As the lettering on one of the (formerly porno) theaters on 42nd

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[53] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Inquiry Into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 161.
[54] David W. Dunlap, "Along Times Sq., Signs of New Life Abound," *New York Times*, April 30, 1995, p. 9:1, 8.
[55] Adler, *High Rise*, p. 263; see also pp. 264-269.
[56] Herbert Muschamp, "Architecture View: The Alchemy Needed to rethink Times Square," *New York Times*, August 30, 1992 p. B24.

Street declared: "42nd Street welcomes Disney... You will love 42nd Street... If you love New York."

4.3 42nd Street Now!

Soon, without the undesirable and underprivileged and their "predatory cultures," 42nd Street will be a "clean canvas for development [with] vacant lots, devoid of cantankerous tenants, and clear of the arduous process of public review."[58] On this canvas a new picturesque interim project will be painted (see section 3.2). As with other UECs, this packaged spectacle will provide the new urban tourist, in return for their eager purchase of exclusively-Times Square-look commodities, with the guaranteed safety of an enclosed theme park modelled on an old Times Square devoid of indecencies and undesirables.

Adopting both Venturi's quest for an architecture of bold and ephemeral images and the UEC concept, this project, entitled "42nd Street Now!," calls for the renovation of 14 gutted buildings and the construction of a Tokyo-style vertical pageant with shops and cafes laying atop one another (see figures 31-33).[59] The structures are to be as short-lived as the Square's commercial images, lasting only until the real estate market recovers enough to allow building of the four tower corporate park in an estimated 5-20 years (see section 3.2). As its designer Robert A.M. Stern envisions this "anti-plan" to the office buildings, 42nd Street under the interim project will "look noisy, historically layered and unplanned," and will include a "jumble of different scales, sizes, styles and historical periods, [and] bold, brash and varied signs."[60] Hailed as a saviour from the disturbing vision of the straight-jacket office district designed by Johnson and Burgee (figure 13), and from the corporate landscape of upper Times Square where several office towers such as 1585 Broadway, "[stand] peering down sternly at the indecorous doings in the street

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[57] Herbert Muschamp, "For Times Square, a Reprieve And Hope of a Li[illegible]lier Day," *New York Times*, August 6, 1992, p. C15.
[58] Thomas J. Lueck, "Miscalculations in Times Square; Project Shows That Renewal Needs More Than Bulldozers," *New York Times*, August 10, 1992, p. B3.
[59] David W. Dunlap, "New Times Sq. Plan: Lights! Signs! Dancing! Old the Offices," *New York Times*, August 20, 1992, p. B3.
[60] David W. Dunlap, "Rethinking 42d St. For Next Decade," *New York Times*, June 27, 1993, p. 10:1.

below" (figure 25),[61] the interim project is supposed to prove that an alternative plan respectful of Times Square's visual and cultural character is possible. With the diligent guidance of the UDC, a public-private giant, the developers of the four towers would invest in the all-so-colorful interim proposal, and in this manner show their own "friendly face of power."[62]

Initially, the interim project promised heterogeneity and diversity, a "supermarket display" of stores and restaurants varying in prices and styles, to attract different consumer groups.[63] Moreover, the plan even proposed to allow "livelier and feistier" projects, and to generously invite an experimental theater troupe into this landscape of consumption.[64] According to Hrabi, the project's architect, Robert A.M. Stern, also contemplated implementing some of the more experimental fragments of the plan, e.g. placing a "noise tower" on a rooftop to "bark out ad pitches, poetry, [and] even pointless ambient noise."[65] The idea, however, did not appeal to advertisers and was discarded. The interim project that remained on the drawing board after such elements were eliminated slowly began, as in Las Vegas, Los Angeles, Tokyo and Disneyland to look like "a gigantic simulation, an ersatz."[66] The chance for creative experimentation was thus ruled out and only ostensibly original projects that would be sure to turn a profit and create an orderly entertainment district were considered.

Enter the Disney Corporation. While Stern had promised in 1992 that 42nd Street would not emulate Disneyland,[67] UDC officials announced in January of the following year that some of the proposals being considered for the interim project included "a miniature amusement park with rides zipping between buildings, a country music park and all manner of computerized 'artificial reality' games,"[68] and in February 1994 *New York*

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[61] Herbert Muschamp, "For Times Square, a Reprieve And Hope of a Livelier Day," *New York Times*, August 6, 1992, p. C15.
[62] Zukin, Landscapes of Power, p. 228.
[63] Herbert Muschamp, "Architecture View; 42d Street Plan: Be Bold or Begone!," *New York Times*, September 19, 1993, p. 2:33.
[64] David W. Dunlap, "Rethinking 42d St. For Next Decade," p. 10:1.
[65] see Dale Hrabi, "Will the 'New' Times Square Be New Enough?," *Wired*, August 1995, p. 133.
[66] Muschamp, "Architecture View; 42d Street Plan: Be Bold or Begone!," p. 2:33.
[67] Lueck, "Miscalculations in Times Square; Project Shows That Renewal Needs More Than Bulldozers," p. B3.
[68] Douglas Martin, "Strictly Business; 42d Street Project Remains On Track," *New York Times*, January 25, 1993, p. B3.

Newsday reported how the president of the Disney Corporation had indeed been "lured" by Stern and other "personal contacts" to 42nd Street.[69]

The interim shopping and entertainment center on Times Square once completed will gradually become a homogenized tourist mecca, a cityscape reduced to "a background prop for the display of billboards, neon signs, and advertisements"[70] based on an old 42nd Street theme. The involvement of the Disney Corporation, which has been enervating heritage all along (though always away from the city center) will ensure revenues from the soon to be renovated theaters, guarantee the interest of other entertainment giants such as Madame Tussaud, AMC Entertainment, and Livent Inc., and secure the additional homogenization of culture on Times Square. Recognized as "the anchor" of the 42nd Street Development Project, the Disney Corporation will receive $21 million in loans from the city and state at an interest rate as low as 3% a year and invest $8 million of its own funds in the lavish renovation of the New Amsterdam Theater[71] that, together with the recently completed restoration of the New Victory Theater, represents perhaps the most significant achievement of the otherwise many-flawed redevelopment.

The Disney Corporation (together with the Tischman Urban Development Corporation) also won a contest for the hotel development at the corner of 42nd Street and Eighth Avenue. Designed by Miami firm Acquitectonica the 47-story building will house a 100 feet set-back hotel and a mall-like "sculptural" structure planned for the Disney Vacation Club, restaurants, cafes, shops, and office and retail space (see figure 34).[72]

As in the kitschy sumptuous theatrical spectacles pioneered by Frederick Thompson in midway fairs and theaters at the turn of the century, the Disney hotel's facade will depict a meteor colliding with the street, and will rely on the suspended disbelief of its visitors to accept this implausible event. Just like the theatrical spectacles presented in Thompson's and Dundy's New York Hippodrome Theater during the first decade of the twentieth century that translated children's fantasies into "adult fairy tale[s] showcasing the delights of twentieth century life -- abundance, happiness, pleasure, play, and escape from

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[69] see David Henry, "Landing Disney on 42nd Street," *New York Newsday*, February 4, 1994.
[70] M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), p. 426.
[71] Thomas J. Lueck, "$34 Million Plan Detailed By Disney in 42nd Street Pact," *New York Times*, January 18, 1995, p. B3.
[72] Nicolai Ouroussoff, "42nd Street's Glitz and Grit Meet Arquitectonica's Punchy (And Punchout) Times Square Design," *Architectural Record*, Vol. No. 6. June 1995, p. 15.

care,"[73] today's Disneyfied 42nd Street will prove that those qualities of life can still be enjoyed, at least by those who can pay for them. However, in contrast to Thompson's "department store in theatricals" that charged a small price of admission to its sphere of democratic consumption, Disney's Meteor-spectacle will furnish exorbitantly priced events for the enjoyment of a select few.

Coincidentally, a public art project on Times Square's traffic triangle featured in 1987 Ann Messner's sculptures with the same leit motif.[74] Messner's *Meteor*, however, showed five sculptural projectiles made of welded steel emulating parts of unfinished undiscernible machinery or some "rapidly obsolescent manufacturing" product (see figure 47). Perhaps recognizing Times Square as a site where the unscrupulous technological miracle-machine advertises ever-changing objects for conspicuous consumption and their globally interconnected producers, the artist's sculptures expressed "a provocative counterpoint to [the Square's] flashy and boisterous activity" by pointing to the "self-serving technological solutions" that disregard global environmental consequences.[75]

Grotesquely, the Disney hotel currently being built on the once dilapidated and crime-ridden corner of Eighth Avenue and 42nd Street presents its own insipid and cheery version of Doomsday (figure 34). At a point when ecological catastrophe is so near, when the city has grown even more congested and polluted, Times Square's new hotel will present the apocalypse not as a threat, but as just another celebrated simulacrum in the commodification of our culture and its artifacts.

4.4 Manufacturing and Consuming History: A Spectacular Voyage Into a Fabricated Past

According to Zukin, building "theme parks, theme towns, and other artificial complexes... is now a favoured strategy of economic revival."[76] Fuelled by a nostalgia for past forms, these new landscapes skillfully employ historic preservation and a revival of old

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[73] see Register, "New York's Gigantic Toy," in Taylor, *Inventing Times Square*, p. 262. Some of the spectacles in the Hippodrome included A Yankee Circus on Mars, Mother Goose, Humpty Dumpty, Wizard of Oz, Society Circus, and The Court of the Golden Fountain; see ibid. pp. 243-270.
[74] Patricia C. Phillips, "Ann Messner: Times Square Traffic Triangle," *Artforum*, Vol. 26, December 1987, p. 118.
[75] ibid.

architectural styles to allow "the city [to fold] back on itself, celebrating its grandiose past with renewed enthusiasm and basking in the security evoked by the memory of bygone times."[77] Enabling the recovery of the old historic landscape neglected by modernist town planning, the city's collective memory is used to create an "artifice that is meant to be looked at... a city on exhibition flaunting its image as if in the theater, the museum, the photograph, or the cinema."[78] These "city tableaux" focus spectators' attention through "scenographic display" on the glamour of once-neglected urban districts that have actually been fully redeveloped. As Boyer remarks, "through simulations we manipulate space and time, travelling nostalgically backward through historical reconstructions, projecting our vision forward in futuristic travel adventures."[79] A bystander in these new environments is, in this manner, "presented with well-established and valued views that showcase special styles of life, underscore social norms and moral structures, and offer entertaining and pleasurable events."[80]

In her criticism of historic preservation in festival marketplaces and waterfront developments, Boyer points out that although these large-scale development projects in New York have had an important role in preventing the destruction of its heritage, the formerly neglected parts of the urban fabric have often been recovered as merely "historicized stage sets" drawn from the city's collective memory to serve "a backward-binding nostalgia that long[s] to repossess and return to New York's commercial heyday in the 1920s."[81] By relying upon large-scale redevelopment seeking secure profits, what "the heritage industry,"[82] as Hewison calls it, has preserved remains largely a protected playground in which the privileged strata of today's cities can enjoy a romanticized vision of the city's past (New York City's South Street Seaport furnishes such an example). While in this manner "the linkage between cultural capital and real estate development [has] enable[d] new economic structures (e.g., the service economy, global financial markets) to be *localized*,"[83] local heritage has been preserved as but a souvenir currency in the system

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[76] Zukin, *Landscapes of Power*, p. 266 (ellipsis mine).
[77] Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, p. 422.
[78] ibid., pp. 423, 491 (ellipsis mine).
[79] ibid., p. 48.
[80] ibid., p. 467.
[81] ibid., pp. 418, 420, 463.
[82] Quoted in Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, p. 85.
[83] Zukin, *Landscapes of Power*, p. 266 (italics in original).

of finance monopoly dominated by the elite social strata it empowers (as in the Winter Garden of Battery Park City).

These redevelopment projects, according to Zukin, have exaggerated an inverse relationship between places and markets already pronounced, so that "as markets have been globalized, place[s] ha[ve] been diminished."[84] Markets have overpowered places and often created non-places, where "consumer pleasures hide the reins of concentrated economic control."[85] The sophisticated imagery marketing this new landscape of spectacle "as though in a static painting or photograph"[86] aestheticizes the city and promotes its redeveloped districts where blight no longer abides. "The homeless, the dispossessed and displaced, the downgraded, devalued, and disturbing become an aesthetic and social nuisance to be pushed still further away, until they [are] expelled entirely from both sight and social sensibilities."[87] In this manner, the city is becoming "sharply divided between landscapes of consumption and devastation."[88]

This polarization can also be viewed as a division between the "figured" and the "disfigured city." While the new landscape of consumption delineates "the figured city," whose "imaginable and remembered" parts are "easily recognized and structured to form a mental image," its real order is that of the "disfigured city," typically an abandoned and dilapidated environment.[89] Often covered by the figured, stage designed city, the disfigured environment "has no form or easily discernable functions... allowing instead a rational and imaginary order of things that glorifies the figured city to dominate our vision and imagination." Thus by articulating the figured city, the real city "gradually disappears from view,"[90] leaving the "landscape of the contemporary city... composed of conflicting fragments, sliced or framed views first cut out and extracted from the city fabric, then set up and juxtaposed against each other."[91]

Similarly with theme parks and shopping malls, festival marketplaces, or vacation resorts, the new 42nd Street intends to create one such landscape of the figured city through the removal by the interim project and Disneyfication of the "mire of decay and neglect" of

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[84] ibid., p. 12.
[85] ibid., p. 5.
[86] Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, p. 407.
[87] ibid., p. 412.
[88] Zukin, *Landscapes of Power*, p. 5.
[89] Boyer, "The Great Frame-Up," p. 82.
[90] ibid., p. 98 (ellipsis mine).
[91] Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, p. 421 (ellipsis mine).

its disfigured environment.[92] While legitimizing Times Square's redevelopment by stressing the need to renew the blighted cityscape, the interim and the Disney Corporation's projects, with their "deliberately tasteless riot of signs"[93] and images haphazardly slapped on the site's structures, will reinvent the perished popular culture of Times Square in a packaged spectacle of futuristic simulation. The viewer's gaze in this landscape of consumption will, according to Boyer, be held in place by the "pure force of entertainment" or, to use Muschamp's words, by "pleasure and excitement."[94] "Shop windows, packaged goods, billboards, architecture, historic preservation, television displays, [will come] to the same focal point in [this] theatricalized City of Spectacle."[95] The Disneyfied Times Square theme park will thus employ contemporary visual gadgets, reflective glass, and signage to cover the territory of the former public space with images that would conceal the non-place it has become.

These city tableaux of Times Square's formerly public site will encourage consumption of the lifestyle they advertise. Personal identity will be "linked to a series of alternative lifestyles showcased and staged in advertisements and scenographic segments of the city" and available only to those able to indulge in "low-volume, high-cost conspicuous consumption."[96] Zukin refers to this process as "*submerging* public places to private markets."[97] By marketing commodities only within reach of the pocketbooks of the privileged few, Times Square's new sphere of consumption will be a secure, private space from which the public nuisance of diverse classes and cultures has been expelled.

The architecture of the actual 42nd Street interim project will create a homogenized global marketplace with franchises like Old Navy Clothing Company, and unique shops such as a virtual reality emporium called Alien New York, the Foot Loose clothing store, and a German pub, all unified by the image of the Square it has obliterated. Its blight removed and "given a stamp of approval by Disney," 42nd Street will indeed become a "magnet for merchants."[98] The barriers around the redevelopment construction sites on Times Square today proclaim "Crossroads of the World: Dazzle, Shopping, Fun!"

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[92] ibid., p. 475.
[93] Hrabi, "Will the 'New' Times Square Be New Enough?," p. 131.
[94] Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, p. 63, Herbert Muschamp. "Remodelling New York For the Bourgeoisie," *New York Times*, September 24, 1995, p. B38.
[95] Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, p. 63.
[96] ibid., pp. 63, 420.
[97] Zukin, *Landscapes of Power*, p. 52 (italics in original).

signalling its further marginalization as a public sphere and its transformation into an imminent dazzling world of consumption tailored for a center of finance and entertainment.

This marginalization of public life and spaces by private markets has been further assisted by contemporary architecture. In light of this all-encompassing commodification of landscape, Rashid and Couture suggest taking the "logic of consumption" and "the selling of leisure-time"[99] to an extreme and creating a "Limited Time Cafe,"[100] a cafe-elevator whose vertical motion would offer an ever-changing panoramic view of the Square. Patrons would "check into the bar on the ground floor and occupy its space for exactly one hour which is the precise duration of one full cycle of the bar's travel up and then back down." For Rashid and Couture, "Times Square is structured as a cinematic field distorting and conforming to speculative whims of real-estate development, coupled with the hallucinatory ethics of consumerism, entertainment and tourism."[101]

Yesterday's 42nd Street tried to be a "version of the Freudian id... the great maw of pleasure, desire and fear, opening itself wide for our entertainment like the hell's mouth in a medieval morality play."[102] Yet, according to Agnew, the "tourists, audiences, johns... may have come to the Square in search of something 'real' or 'organic' or 'experimental,' but ... that reality, that organicism, and that experience were invariably staged."[103] As Rashid and Couture suggest, tomorrow's Times Square will take this staged experience to a different extreme; in place of sleazy porno outlets, the new "Body Shopping" sport will feature body building gyms as "glass cage[s]" displaying flesh to passersby, "Body Surfing" will attract tattoo artists, and "morph lounges" will lure those anxious to transform their looks. Thus, "each time, the desire-producing apparatus adapts to accommodate and maintain new currency."[104]

The evacuation of a number of pornography outlets from 42nd Street as a result of the property condemnation process enabling Times Square's redevelopment has been

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[98] Thomas J. Lueck, "Returning From Decline, 42d Street Is Now a Magnet for Merchants," *New York Times*, November 15, 1995, p. B3.
[99] Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, p. 51.
[100] Hani Rashid & Lise Anne Couture, "Film as Architecture as Film: Times Square, New York," *Architectural Design*, vol. 64, No. 11-12, November/December, 1994, p. 65.
[101] ibid., p. 63.
[102] Herbert Muschamp, "For Times Square, a Reprieve And Hope of a Livelier Day," *New York Times*, August 6, 1992, p. C15 (ellipsis mine).
[103] Jean-Christophe Agnew, "Times Square: Secularization and Sacralization," in Taylor, *Inventing Times Square*, p. 8 (ellipsis mine).

accelerated by the recently approved zoning guidelines (see section 3.2). This reduction will not, however, make the need for commercial sex or at least it simulation disappear. Even the porno shops that remain in Times Square have kept pace with the information age, of which the interim project is representative, and have quickly updated their inventory with CD-ROM pornography.[105]

Club USA, a nightclub recently opened in a former burlesque theater on West 47th Street, for instance, hired jet-set interior designers and haute couture stylists to recreate a "cheap" peep show look in the theater's interior at a cost of $6 million. The club displays sexual toys, fetish clothes, photos from porno magazines, and with consummate craft "the sort of fake jewelry usually sold" in Times Square.[106] This "peep show" caters to the yuppie and conventioneer consumers of the new Times Square, whose sleazy spectacle now comes wrapped in cellophane for display purposes only. The voyeuristic need to gaze at the extraordinary, unusual, and provocative is in this environment satisfied by well-packaged expensive artifice. Like the interim project's design, Club USA found inspiration in images of the Square's past to promote a futuristic (perhaps virtual) experience in which danger and forbidden desire can be acted out and beheld without risk from reality. As in the interim project, the imagery of an old 42nd Street popularly remembered as chaotic and carnivalesque is evoked in the creation of a new sphere of consumption "that unif[ies] international investment, production and consumption."[107]

In the Times Square redeveloped for the tourists and conventioneers who can afford an expensive theatrical spectacle, the renovated 42nd Street will stand as a visual metaphor of the old site along with the Disney hotel, whose facade, in addition to the meteor, will portray well-known sites of New York such as the Statue of Liberty and the Guggenheim Museum (see figure 34). The latter concept seems to be borrowed from Madame Tussaud's earlier plan to purchase the Times Tower for the "Museum of the Museums of New York," where it would present "a series of interactive displays to re-

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[104] Rashid & Couture, "Film as Architecture as Film: Times Square, New York," pp. 65, 70.
[105] Hrabi, "Will the 'New' Times Square Be New Enough?," p. 129.
[106] see Shane Mitchell, "Peep Show: Goode and Becker Spoof of Times Square Temptations." *Interiors*, Vol. 152, No. 4, April, 1993, p. 52-55.
[107] Zukin, *Landscapes of Power*. p. 51.

create mythical Manhattan" and "depict the history and diversity of New York City"[108] for the homogenized tourist crowd. The "Museum of the Museums" would even have featured Andy Warhol's Factory, where perhaps the third generation of the Campbells Soup simulations would have been exhibited.[109]

Since "we have no understanding of history in depth," the "Museum of the Museums" would have provided us with "a contemporary creation, more costume drama and re-enactment" where all critical discourse was rendered unnecessary.[110] The tourist would have no longer needed to travel through the city's disfigured and dilapidated neighborhoods to arrive at historic sites, instead they would have all been presented in Madame Tussaud's Museum.

As an April 1995 *New York Times* article entitled "New York City as a Las Vegas Casino and a Hotel"[111] notes, urban simulacra continue to be envisioned on an even larger scale. "New York, New York," a new theme park in Las Vegas, will present six simulated New York's skyscrapers, as well as a miniature Statue of Liberty, the Brooklyn Bridge, and a replica of New York's Museum of Modern Art. "New York, New York" represents not only an extreme example of this on-going creation of theme parks in and now of American cities, but also stands as a symbol of an era of infinite reproducibility in which nothing is any longer unique and everything can be replicated. Cloned New York will, according to its developers, "stand out in a great way,"[112] devoid not only of the city's undesirables, homeless, and poor, but also of all of its culture, which one must assume is also undesirable.

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[108] Thomas J. Lueck "Madame Tussaud's Loses Bidding War and Drops Times Sq. Plan," *New York Times*, March 23, 1995, p. B5; see also Hrabi, "Will the 'New' Times Square Be New Enough?," p.132; One Times Square was however sold to the Banque Nationale de Paris and later acquired by Lehman Brothers, the investment banking firm, that still has not announced their plan for the Tower) "Bank Buys Building Where the Ball Drops" (Editorial), *New York Times*, January 26, 1995, p. B3.

[109] If Campbells Soup was a simulation of real soup, Warhol's installation its staged simulation, displayed Warhol's simulation would then be the third generation of simulations, or as Liotard would have it, "a system of anarchic and archaic signs and symbols that is constantly and independently self-renewing." Liotard (in a different context) quoted in Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, p. 83.

[110] ibid., pp. 86-87.

[111] "New York City as a Las Vegas Casino and a Hotel," *New York Times*, Week in Review, April 2, 1995, p. 4:2.

[112] ibid.

Conclusions: HoloSquare for the InfoCity

As Christine Boyer explains in the *City of Collective Memory*, "by the 1980s, the transformation of the material world by invisible bands of electronic communication encircling the globe, by computer-simulated visual environments, and by theatricalized image spectacles seemed by extension to have decomposed bits and pieces of the city into an ephemeral form."[113]

By appropriating Times Square's traditional glitz, the interim and the Disney projects on Times Square count on its nostalgic effect to fashion the new 42nd Street as an architectural museum of the old public space. Through this current recuperation in Times Square, a "musee imaginaire" or a "collage city" created to display its commodified cultures as an assemblage of fragments[114] will celebrate the death of the Square's carnivalesque past by its mummified recreation in new cardboard imagery. Perhaps only a few renovated theaters that haven't yet been multiplexed will be allowed to linger in this new environment.

The rest of the Square may indeed soon become an "Info Broadway Crossroad With [Disney] Superhighway," to paraphrase the title of a 1994 art installation on 42nd Street.[115] Similarly recognizing that technology is increasingly used to perpetuate historical narcissism, Dale Hrabi of the preeminent cyberpunk magazine *Wired* calls for a brave new 42nd Street unbounded by sentimental memories of "Times Square's glory days." The Square, Hrabi suggests, should instead become a "HoloSquare," or an "outdoor info cathedral" with "e-booths."[116]

Paradoxically, as Muschamp remarks, "at a time when pop's technology (VCR's, Walkmen, virtual reality) tends to reinforce spatial isolation," a public space is being created around the same concept.[117] "Video screens, painted billboards, theater marquees, faded murals from the past, LED strips, holograms"[118] are being used by the interim project

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[113] Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, p. 46.
[114] Quoted in Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, p. 86.
[115] see Carol Vogel, "42d Street Says Move Over Soho," *New York Times*, July 7, 1994, p. C13. The installation's title is "Info Broadway Crossroad With Movie Superhighway," by Nam June Paik.
[116] see Hrabi, "Will the 'New' Times Square Be New Enough?," pp. 129, 131.
[117] Muschamp, "Architecture View; 42d Street Plan: Be Bold or Begone!," p. 2:33.
[118] ibid.

to fashion a new spectacle, "a complex neo-artistic environment... integrat[ing] artistic debris or aesthetic-technical hybrids" based on Times Square's past.[119]

However, once this popular nostalgia for old Times Square has exhausted itself in the interim project in some HoloSquare of the future empty of all references to its obliterated past, e-booths will perhaps enable us to retrieve any desired information about the site's history. Should the development of the city of spectacle proceed in this manner, its function would be "make history forgotten within culture."[120] After this process is completed even the monstrous, ahistorical Burgee Johnson skyscrapers whose construction still await the real estate recovery, may be built. Developed by the highest bidders in the auction for the Crossroads' real estate (Park Tower Realty and Prudential Insurance), these tombstone-like skyscrapers will be a fitting "memorial to Times Square['s past]."[121]

An art installation that stood on the Crossroads of the World in the summer of 1994 as part of a public art project, featured a pair of gigantic lips that moved as if to swallow the passerby, while a recorded voice conspiratorially queried, "Wanna buy that special feeling?... Hey you, wanna buy a piece of the American Dream?... Hey you, wanna buy a solid state color TV in a colonial wood cabinet? ...a mayor's ear... a condo with an all night doorman?... a developer's dream package?" ending its pitch with "Hey you, wanna buy a vacant lot in midtown?"[122] The installation spoke of the desires and dreams that were all for sale in the formerly tawdry Square, as well as how that process continues in the commodification and auctioning of the cityscape (or of America, as Baudrillard would have it) to anyone who can purchase "a vacant lot in midtown."

Accommodating to changes in the technologies of spectacle, consumer desires, demographic shifts, contentious real-estate interests, new politics of renewal and globalization, New York's most well-known Square, has "outlived each of entertainments that were once thought to be indispensable wellsprings of its existence.... it has survived them, supplying ready substitutes the moment any particular attraction faltered."[123] Yet Times Square has proved unable to resist a radical transformation of its character over the

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[119] Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle* (Detroit: Black & Red, 1983), paragraph 197 (ellipsis mine).
[120] ibid., 192.
[121] Ada Louise Huxtable, "Times Square Renewal (Act II), a Farce," *New York Times*, October 14, 1989, p. A25.
[122] Rashid & Couture, "Film as Architecture as Film: Times Square, New York," pp. 72, 73 (ellipsis mine).
[123] Taylor, *Inventing Times Square*, p. 12 (ellipsis mine).

course of the last decade by the 42nd Street Development Project. By surrendering a public renewal to private entrepreneurship, the old public space, that "most fragile kind of urban fabric in a constant state of change" has lost its most essential cosmopolitan feature -- "the mixing of many peoples and cultures that have created its distinctive urban character."[124] Times Square as a site where complicated technologies of spectacle advertising products and corporations embraced the chaotic sphere of popular amusements was "a celebration of and a complicated reconciliation of difference... a contemporary symbol for an alternative to the dominant American presumption of sameness."[125] Once the transformation of Times Square through 42nd Street Development Project is completed, the site's public character will remain only as a memory of bygone times (themselves commodified through Disneyfication), and an orderly, homogenized entertainment district for affluent consumers will emerge, perhaps soon to be followed by an orderly corporate park for the global city.

While its public realm and undesirable elements are being annihilated, Times Square is being rebuilt to promote the global finance monopoly. The new city for sale is being fashioned as a spectacle based on the imagery of the blighted public space it has assassinated. This new redeveloped environment while entertaining and playful will, in a lesson learned from Disney, become a "planned, controlled community" devoid of blight and undesirables, a rational sphere "self consciously produced...on the power of dreamscape, collective fantasy and facade."[126]

Instead of "a private dream publicly shared," as William Laas described Times Square in 1965,[127] "public dreams" in the Square after its renewal will be "defined by private redevelopment projects,"[128] and owned by Disney. Times Square will soon become a place where a lavish subway marquee fashioned by elite designers Sussman/Prejza & Company, who coincidentally also designed the traffic signs of Walt Disney World in Orlando and the logo and directional system of Euro Disney,[129] will serve as a gateway to a deteriorated, rickety, disfigured subway system, abandoned by both public and private investments.

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[124] Huxtable, "Times Square Renewal (Act II), a Farce," p. A25; Thomas Bender, "New York As A Center of 'Difference,'" *Dissent*, Fall 1987, p. 435.
[125] Bender, "New York As A Center of 'Difference,'" p. 435 (ellipsis mine).
[126] Zukin, *Landscapes of Power*, pp. 224, 219 (ellipsis mine).
[127] William Laas, *Crossroads of the World: The Story of Times Square* (New York: Popular Library, 1965), p. 17.
[128] Zukin, *Landscapes of Power*, p. 41.
[129] see Christine Pittel, "Off the Page and Into the Environment: Sussman/Prejza & Company," *Graphis*, Vol. 48, No. 281, September 1992, pp. 68-85.

After the blight on 42nd Street, a supposedly "irrational parasitic proliferation" to use Debord's words, has been removed, a restructuring will proceed "without community"[130] through the interim project and Disneyfication to allow the Square to enjoy a new figured face-lift. Through this process of reshaping disfigured environments, new spectacles of the figured city have colonized the public ream to the extent that "there is no real and no imaginary, except at a certain distance." According to Baudrillard, this distance "separating the real from the imaginary [has begun] to disappear and to be absorbed by the model alone. Currently, from one order of simulacra to the next, we are witnessing the reduction and absorption of this distance, of this separation which permits a space for ideal or critical projection."[131]

Baudrillard views the creation of these figured environments a necessary phase in the process of the downfall of the great American cities. "In years to come cities will stretch horizontally and will be non-urban (Los Angeles). After that, they will bury themselves in the ground and will no longer even have names. Everything will become infrastructure bathed in artificial light and energy. The brilliant superstructure, the crazy verticality will have disappeared. New York is the final fling of baroquen verticality, this centrifugal eccentricity, before horizontal dismantling arrives, and the subterranean implosion that will follow."[132]

Still, while the garish spectacle of the figured city has brightened yet homogenized many of America's formerly blighted cityscapes, the displeasing elements uprooted in their renewal have already emerged in other non-redeveloped parts of the city. Between the redeveloped spaces of the figured city now remain areas "left to decay and decline until the day when they too will be recycled and redesigned for new economic and cultural uses."[133]

With the loss of its public spaces and with its many neighborhoods fallen into decay, New York itself has become a "mysterious ruin," -- its "bridges rust, arteries collapse, Staten Island threatens to secede: the city makes a sodden spectacle of its own disintegration."[134] While a glorious spectacle of the figured city is rising at the Crossroads of the World, the homeless and undesirable are being expelled from the city's public places and Mayor Giuliani recommends the urban poor to break free from the welfare dependency and simply leave the city. The impoverished, Mayor Giuliani contends further,

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[130] Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, paragraphs 197, 192.
[131] Jean Baudrillard. Quoted in Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, pp. 492, 494-495.
[132] Jean Baudrillard. *America*, (London: Verso, 1988), p. 21.
[133] Boyer, "The Great Frame-Up," p. 105.
[134] J. Hoberman. "Believe It or Not: On American Myths," *Artforum*, Vol. 28, No. 9, May 1990, p. 28.

should travel "freely around the country," move in with extended relatives if they are really homeless and that, says the Mayor, "would be a good thing" for them.[135]

Instead of merely regarding these processes as inevitable, critical projection should stand against this blatant expropriation of public spaces by private entrepreneurship and the removal of the urban poor that aims to reinstate nineteenth century exclusionary spaces. The empowerment of local communities and the creation of new, perhaps very different public spaces is necessary to enable New York's traditional culture of difference, its cosmopolitan realm of racially and ethnically diverse communities, to flourish.

[135] David Firestone, "Without Welfare, Giuliani Suggests, Many Might Move," *New York Times*, April 25, 1995, pp. A1, A26.

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Figures

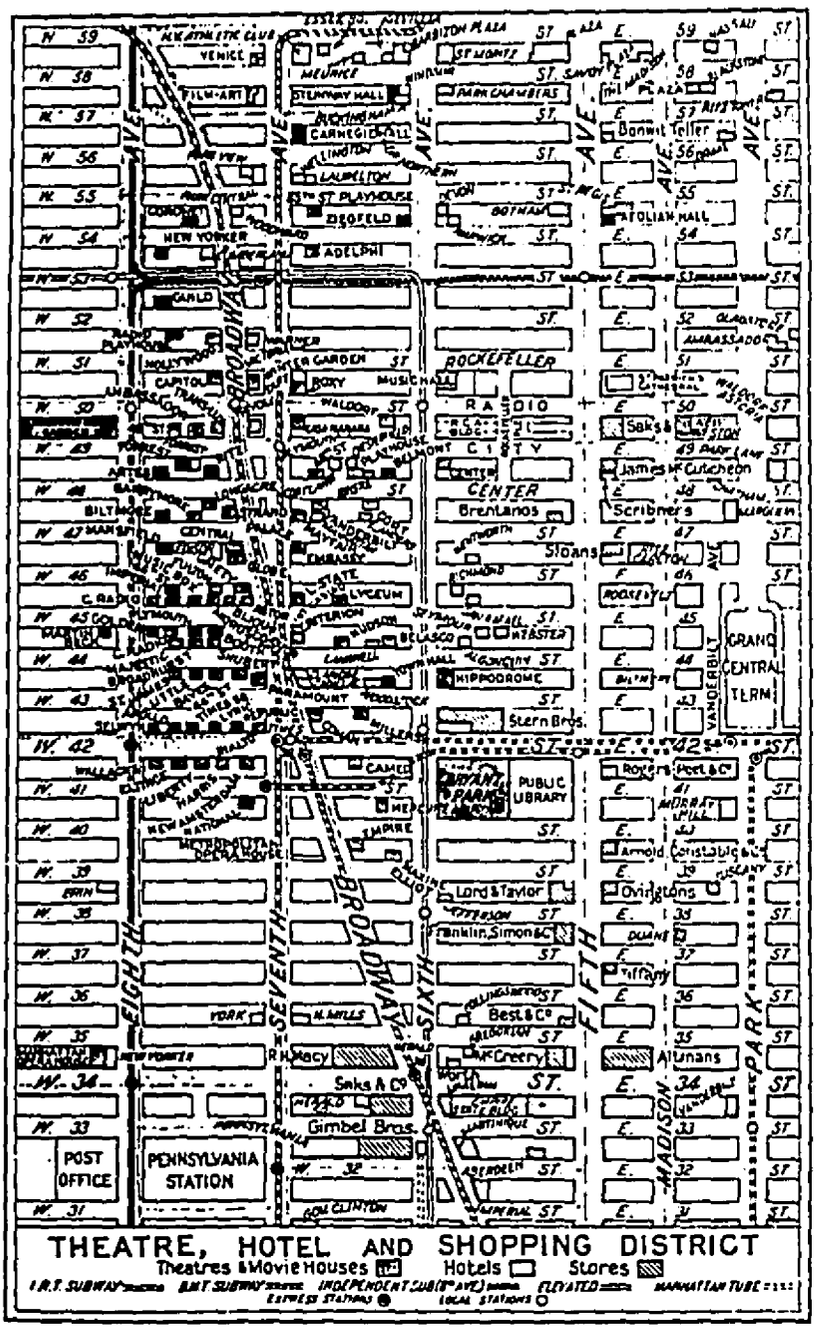


Figure 1. Times Square in a 1938 map, Theater, Retail and Shopping District. (Source: William R. Taylor, *Inventing Times Square: Commerce and Culture at the Crossroads of the World*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1991).

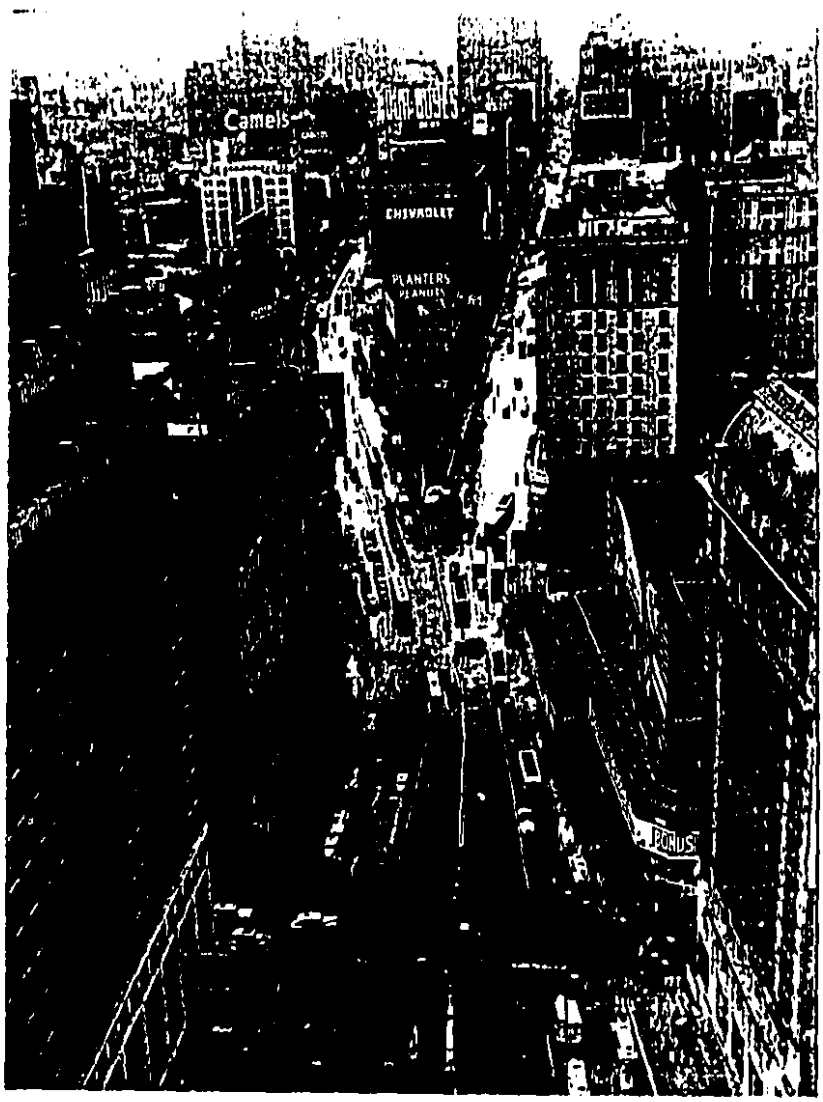
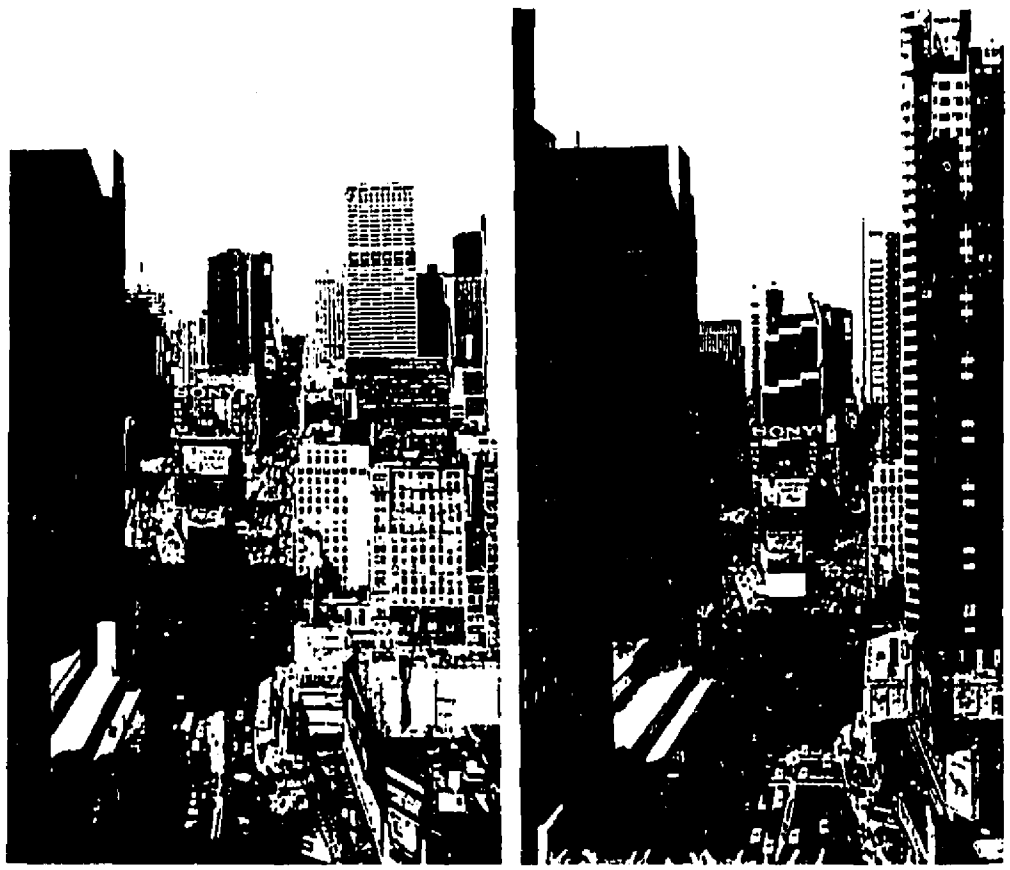
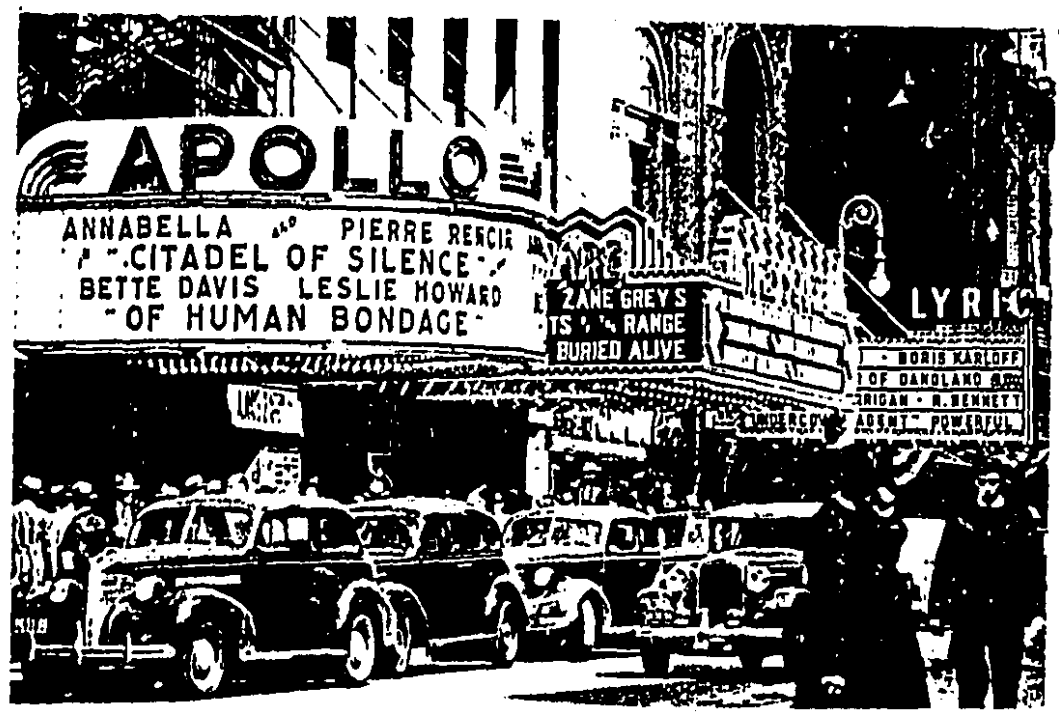


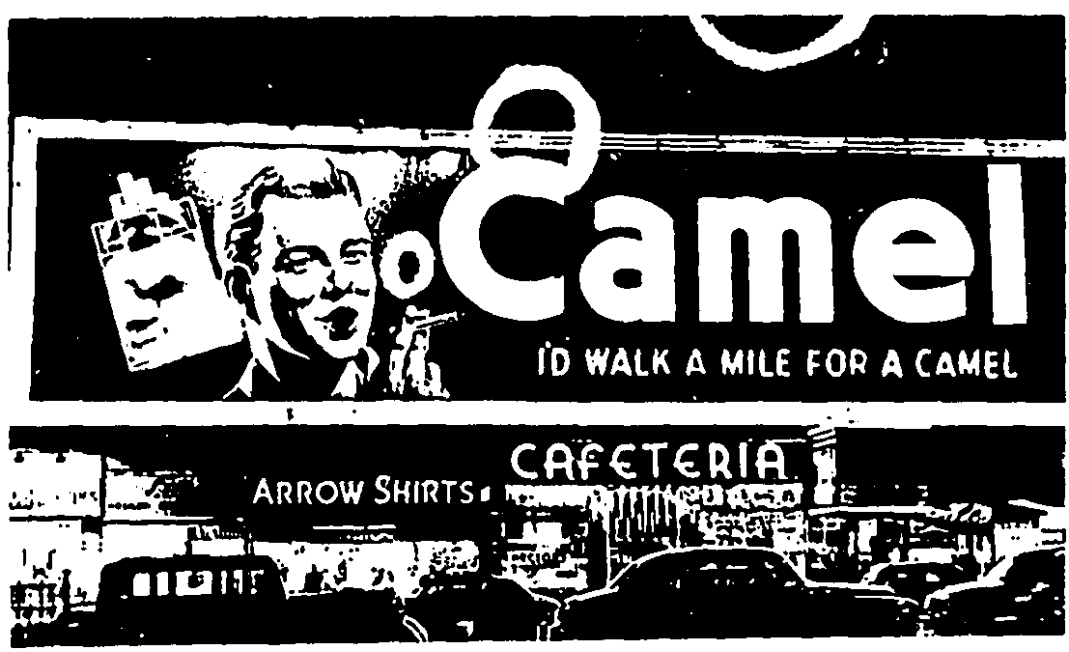
Figure 2. Times Square in 1940, a view from the Times Tower. (Source: Louis Clyde Stoumen, *Times Square : 45 Years of Photography*, New York: Aperture, 1985).



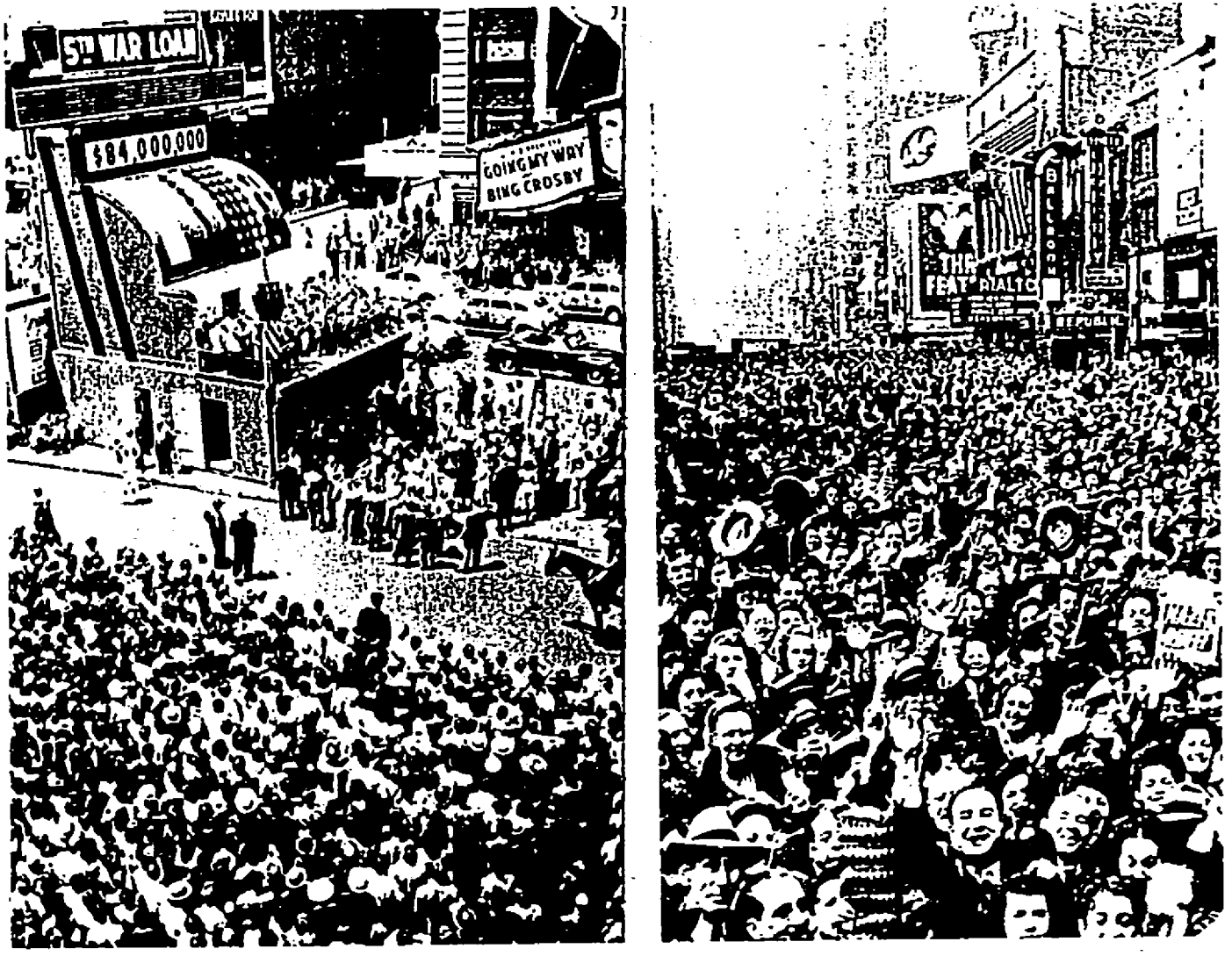
Figures 3 and 4. **Times Square's North End in 1988 and 1990.** Figure 4 includes new structures: One Broadway Place (right) and 750 Seventh Avenue (center). (Source: David W. Dunlap, *On Broadway: A Journey Uptown Over Times*, New York: Rizzoli, 1990).

Figures 5 and 6. **Broadway between 47th and 48th in the mid-1930s.** (Source: Robert A. M. Stern, Thomas Mellins, and David Fishman, *New York 1960 : Architecture and Urbanism Between the Second World War and the Bicentennial*, New York: Monacelli Press, 1995.)





Figures 7 and 8. Theater marquees on 42nd Street in the 1940s (above), and the Camel Man billboard (below). (Sources: Jill Stone. *Times Square : A Pictorial History*, New York: Macmillan, 1982 and Ken Bloom, *Broadway : An Encyclopedic Guide To the History, People, and Places of Times Square*, New York: Facts on File, 1991).



Figures 9 and 10. V-J Celebration in Times Square. (Source: William Laas, *Crossroads of the World: The Story of Times Square*, New York: Popular Library, 1965).

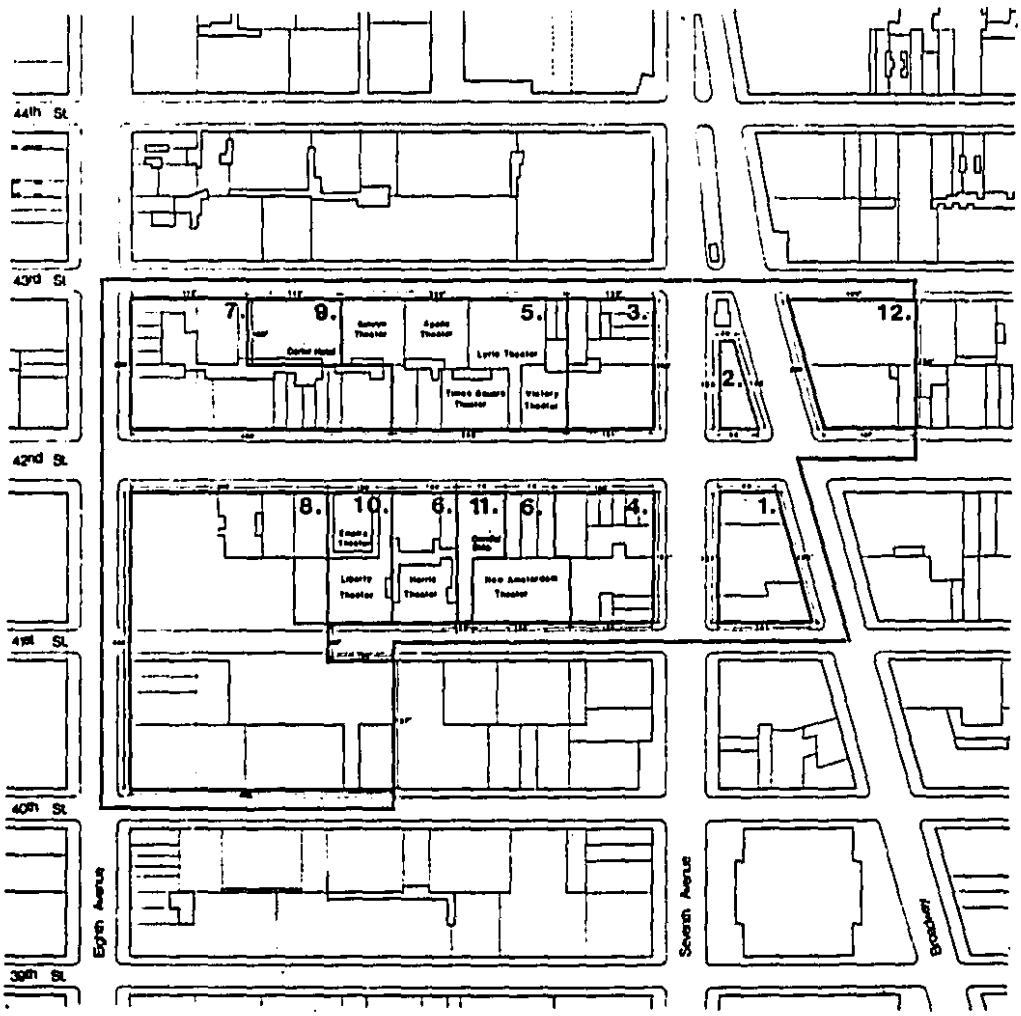


Figure 11. **42nd Street Development Project, redevelopment sites 1-12.** (Source: New York State Urban Development Corporation, *Final Environmental Impact Statement: the 42nd Street Development Project*, New York: New York State UDC, 1984).

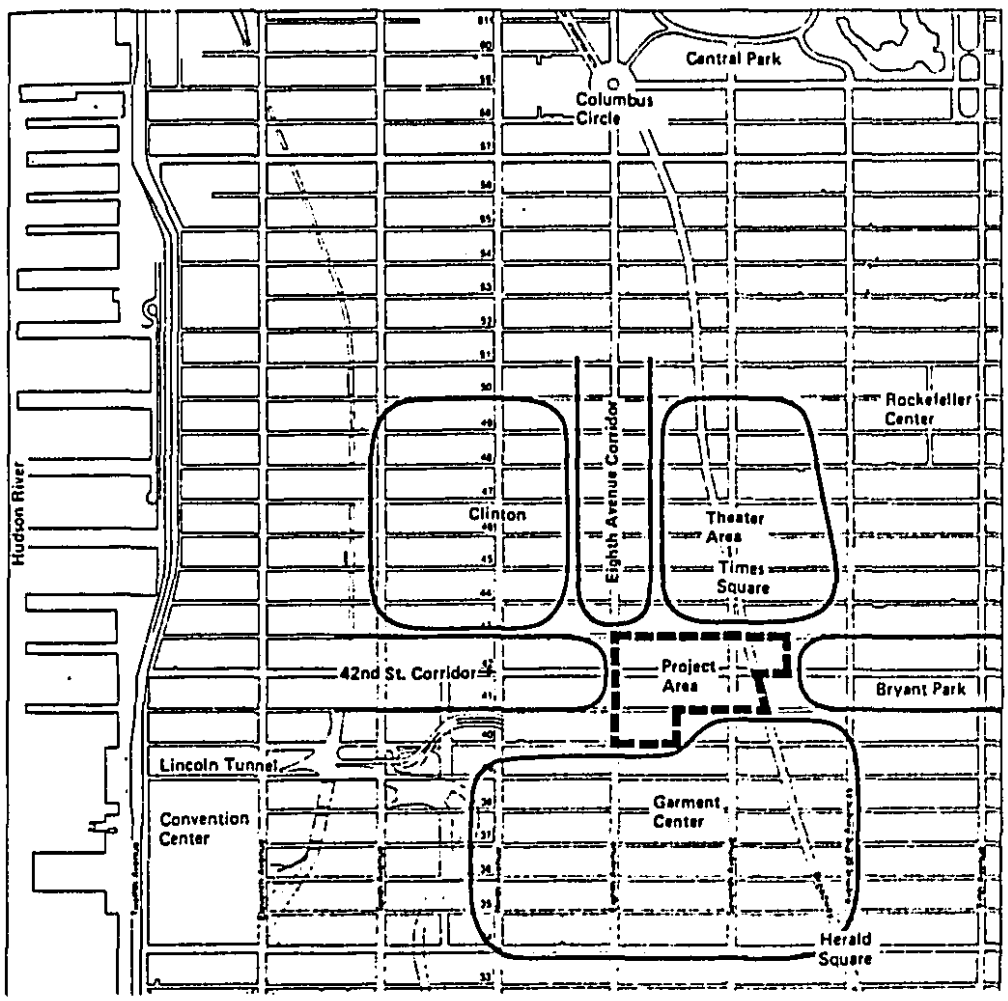


Figure 12. 42nd Street Development Project, secondary impact areas. (Source: New York State Urban Development Corporation, *Final Environmental Impact Statement: the 42nd Street Development Project*, New York: New York State UDC, 1984).

Figure 13. **Four office towers designed by John Burgee and Phillip Johnson for the 42nd Street Development Project.** (Source: James B. Russell, "Goldiggers of '84?," *Architectural Record*, October 1984).

Figure 14. Times Square as envisioned by John Burgee and Philip Johnson. (Source: *Oculus*, front cover, November 1984).

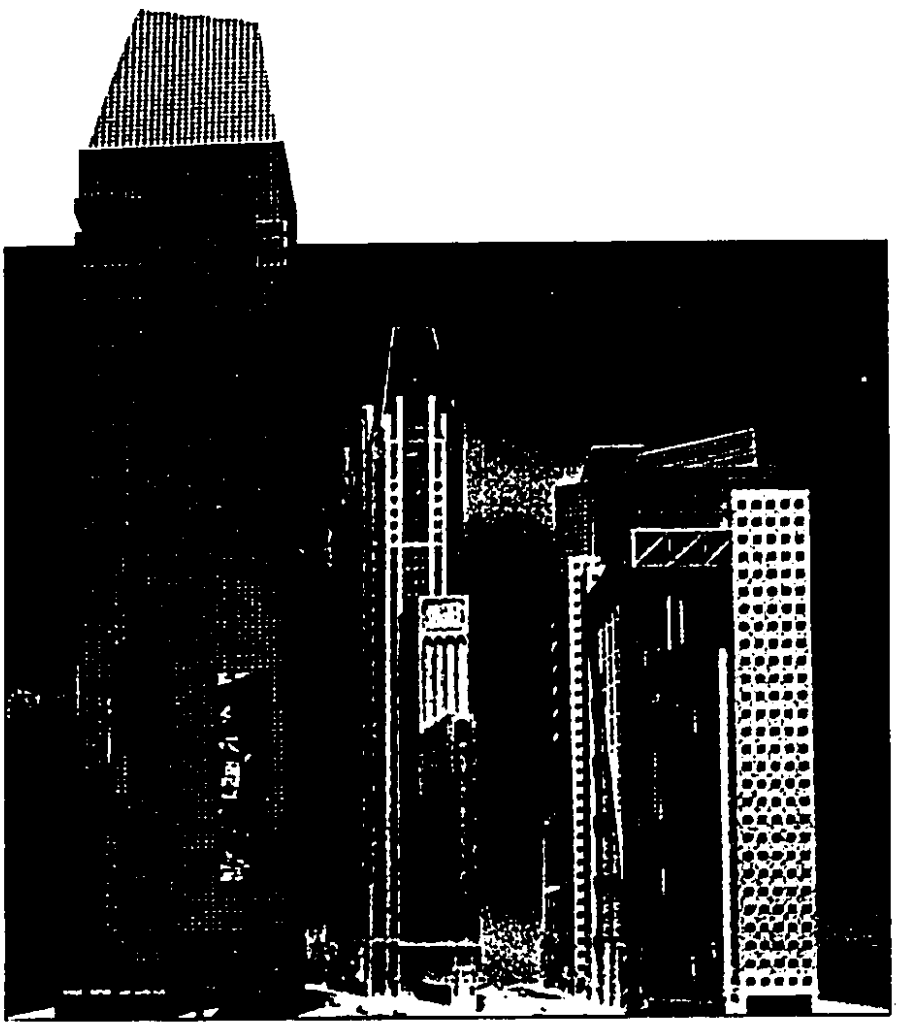
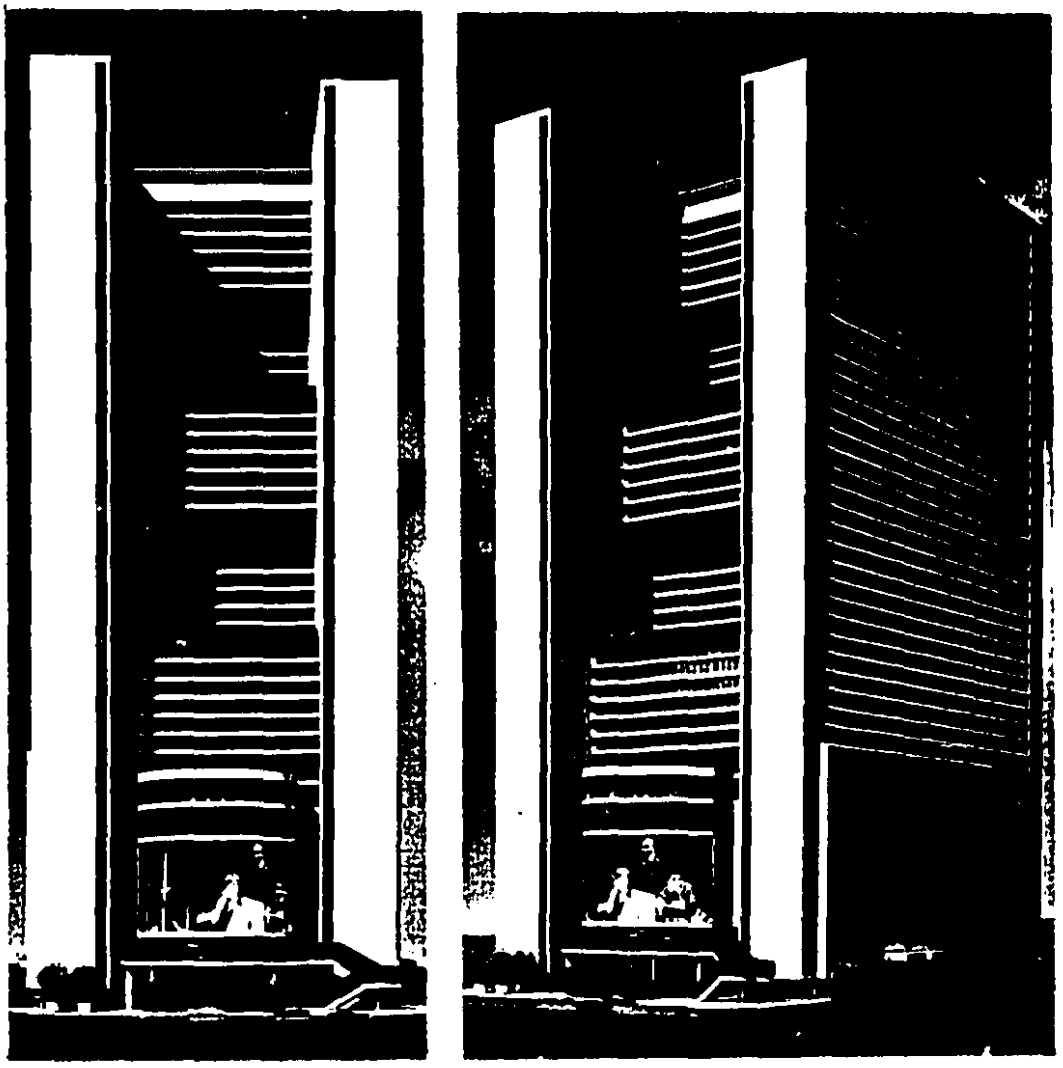
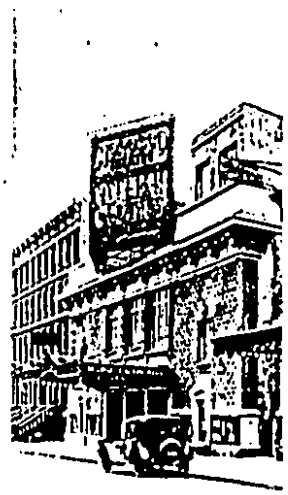
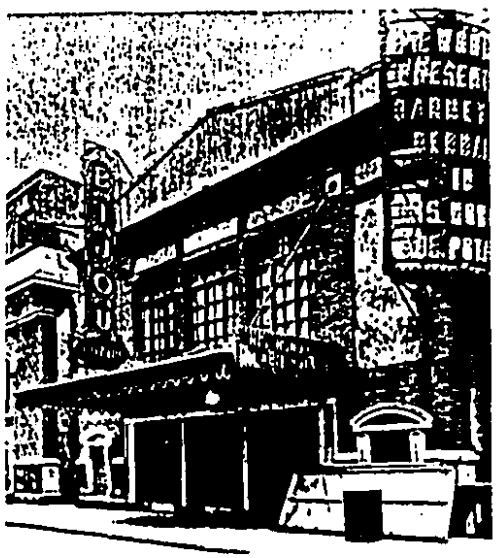


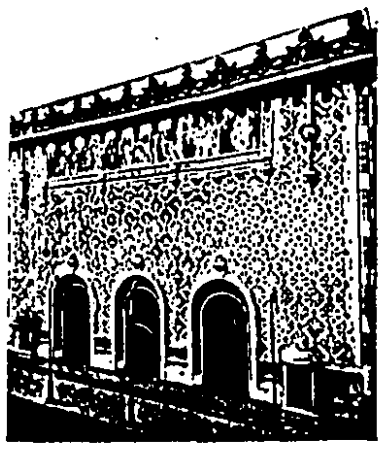
Figure 15. Four office towers by Burgee and Johnson redesigned in 1989. (Source: James S. Russell, "Gridlock," *Architectural Record*, November 1989).



Figures 16 and 17. **Marriott Marquis Hotel.** (The actual structure built on Times Square in 1984 differs slightly from the original design above). (Source: "Times Square Hotel," *GA Document*, Nr. 3, Winter 1981).







Figures 18-21. **The Gaity, Bijoux, Morosco, and Helen Hayes theaters that were razed to make space for the Marriott Marquis Hotel.** (Source: Mary Henderson, *The City and the Theatre: New York Playhouses from Bowling Green to Times Square*, Clifton, NJ: James T. White & Company, 1973)

Figures 22 and 23. **The New Amsterdam Theater on 42nd Street,** currently undergoing a lavish renovation by the Disney corporation. (Source: May Callas and Wallace Randolph, *Inside 42nd Street: An Exhibition of Architecture and Decoration on 42nd Street*, exhibition catalog, New York: May C. Callas and Wallace H. Randolph, 1978).

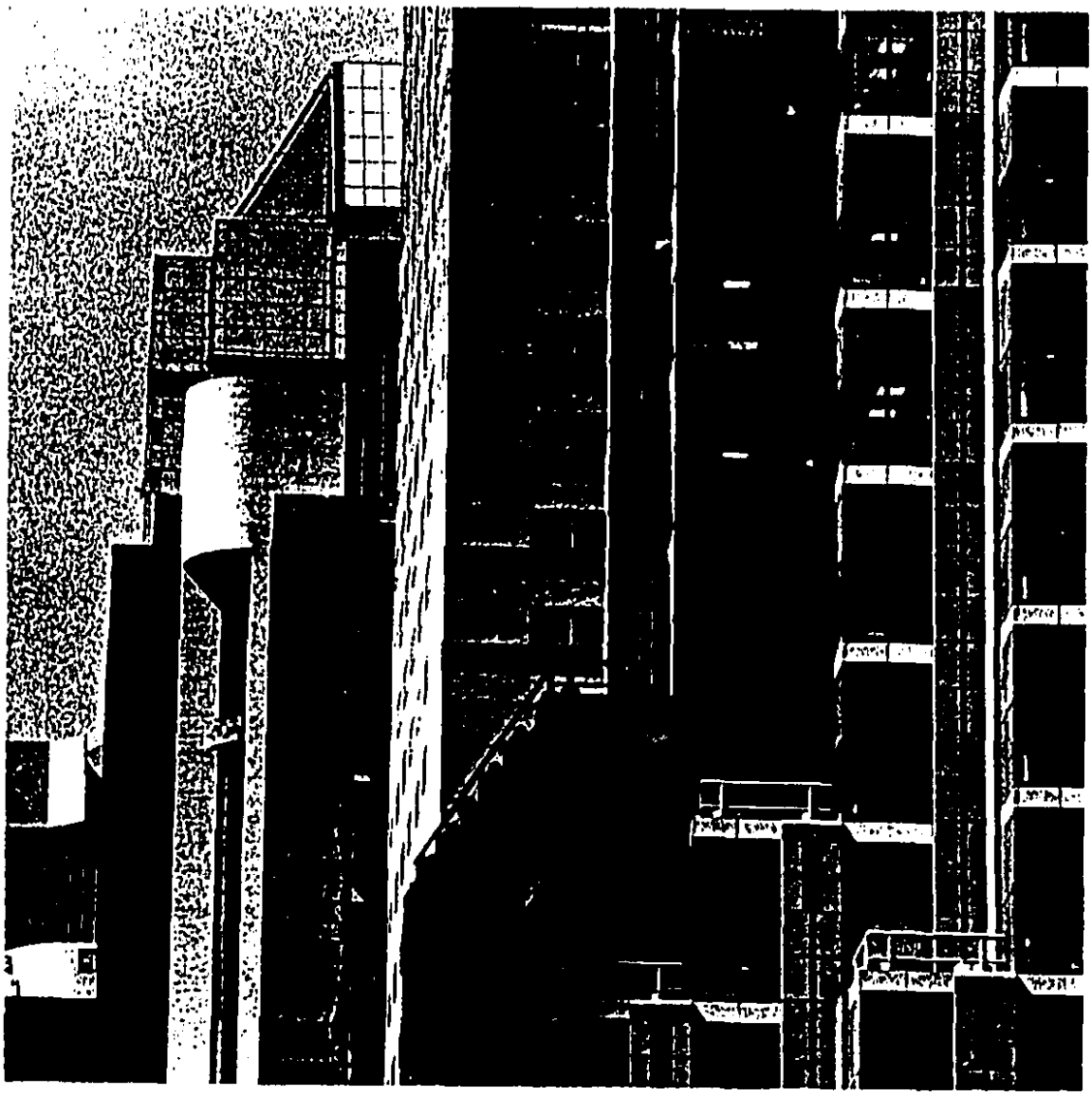


Figure 24. **Upper Times Square corporate landscape**, includes among others 1585 Broadway, the Crown Plaza, Hotel Novotel and 1675 Broadway. (Source: David W. Dunlap, *On Broadway: A Journey Uptown Over Times*, New York: Rizzoli, 1990).

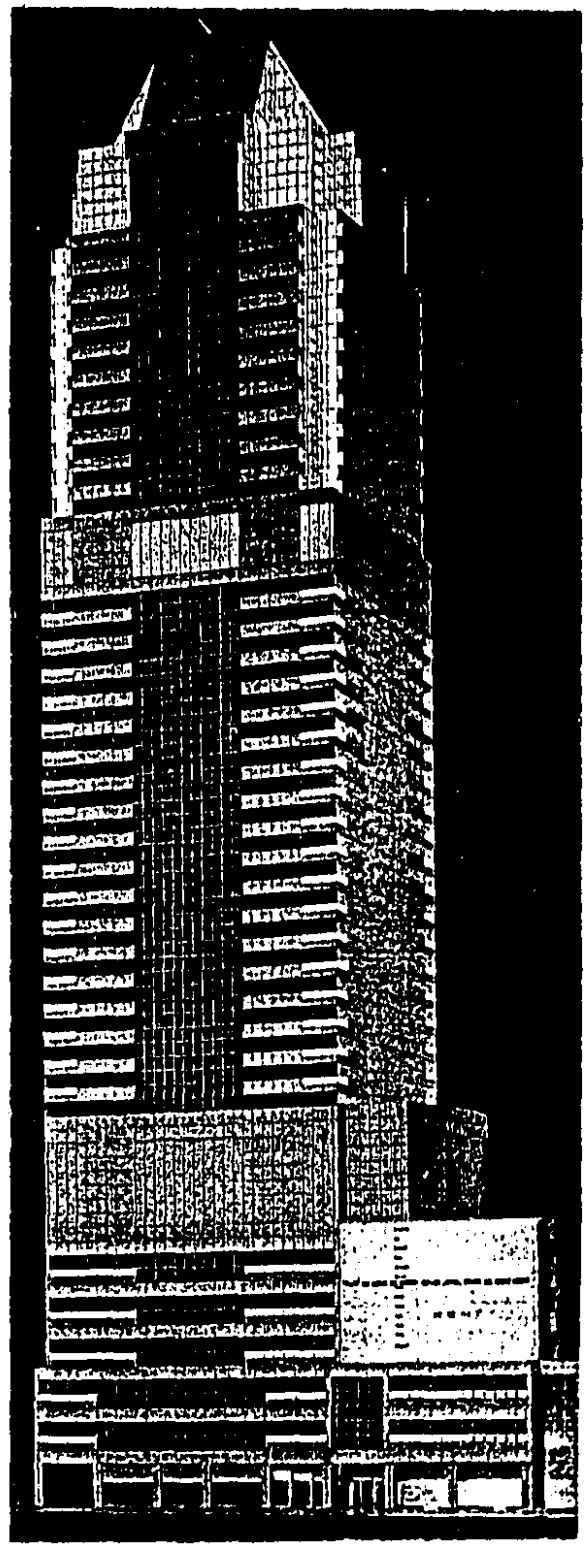
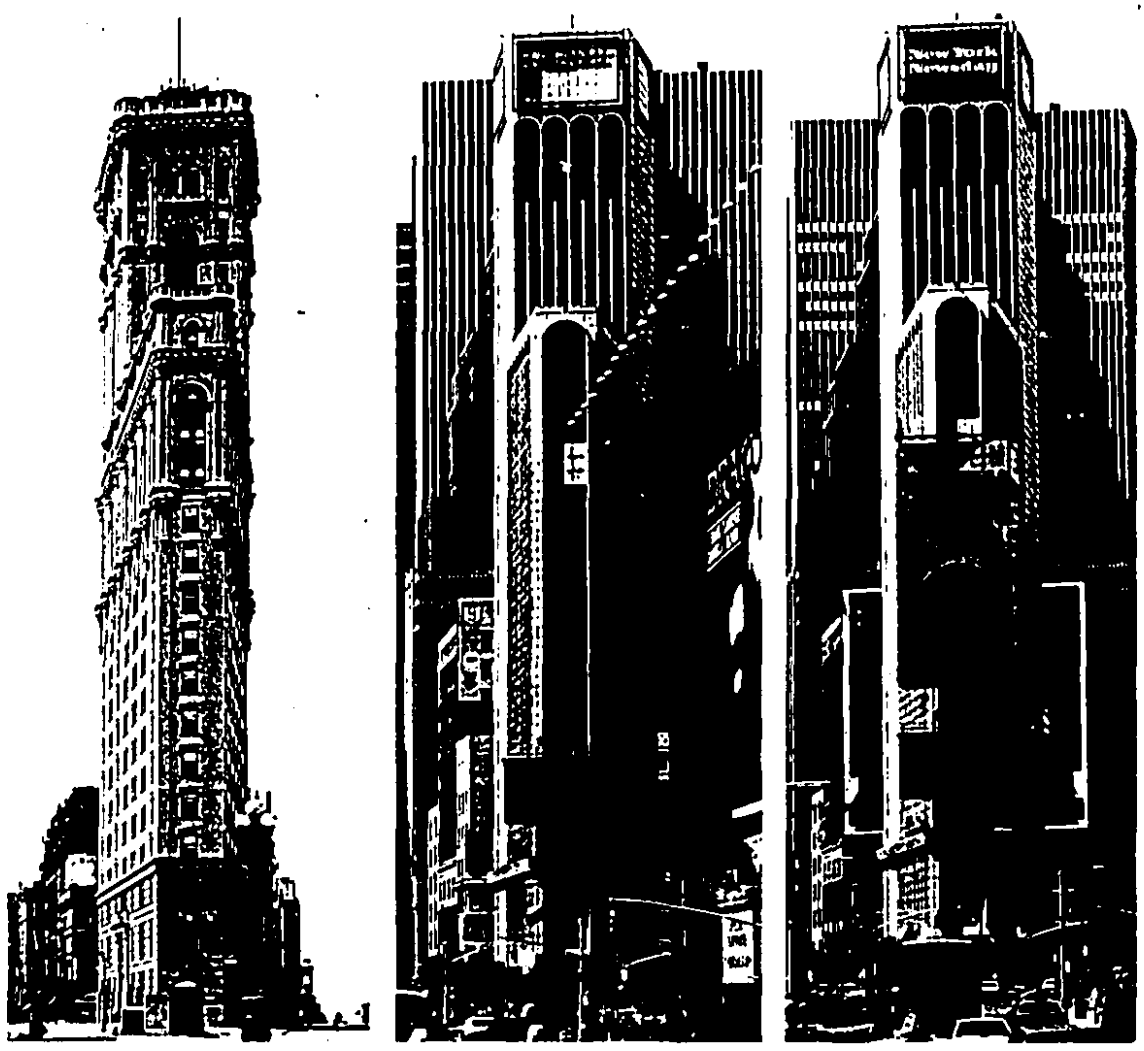
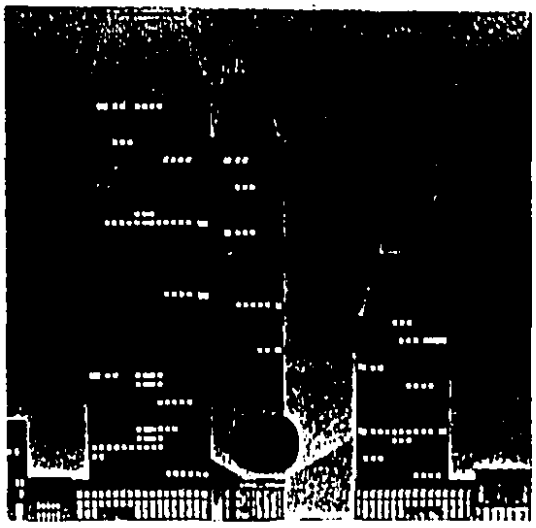
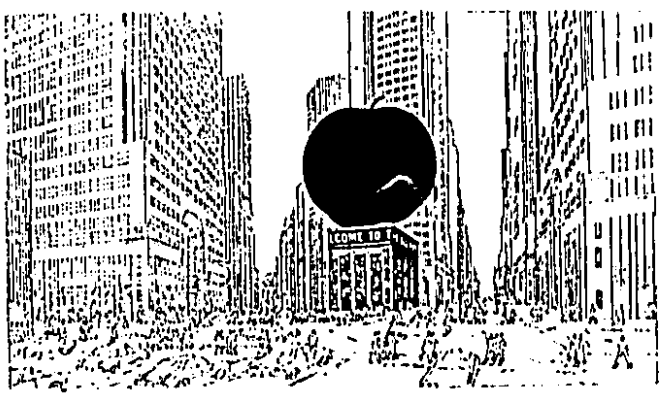


Figure 25. 1585 Broadway now owned by Morgan Stanley. (Source: "1585 Broadway, Solomon Equities, Inc., New York, NY" *Architecture and Urbanism*, April 1989).



Figures 26-28. **Transformations of the Times Tower:** (left to right) 1907, 1979 and 1987. (Source: David W. Dunlap, *On Broadway: A Journey Uptown Over Times*, New York: Rizzoli, 1990).





Figures 29 and 30. **Robert Venturi's design for the Times Tower site.** (Source: Heinrich Klotz and Luminita Sabau, *New York Architecture, 1970-1990*, Munich: Prestel and New York: Rizzoli, 1989).

Figures 31 (above), 32 and 33 (next page). "42nd Street Now!," the interim project. (Source: 42nd Street Development Project, Inc., presskit photos)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WELCOME
HOTEL


CITY RECORDS
CITY RECORDS

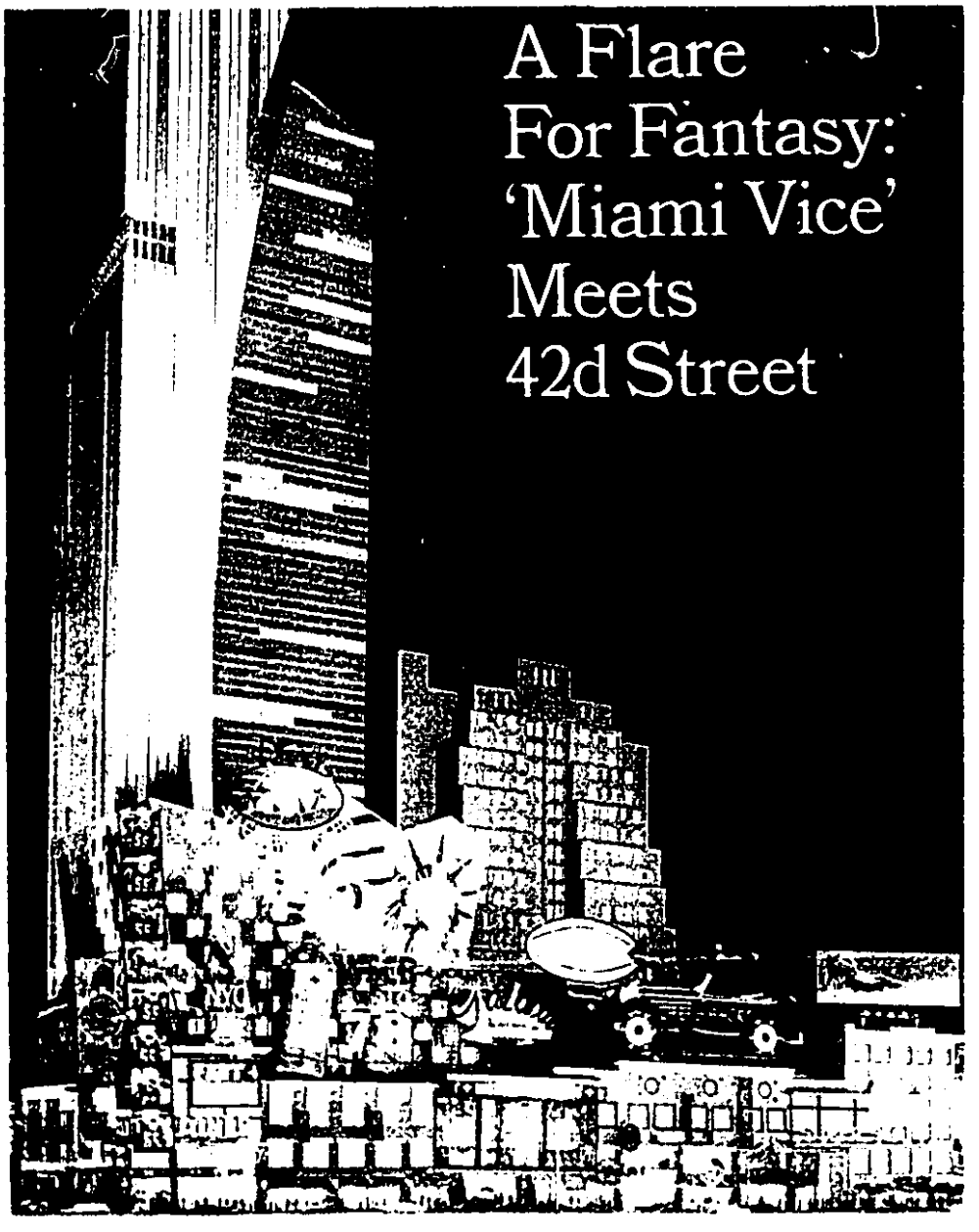
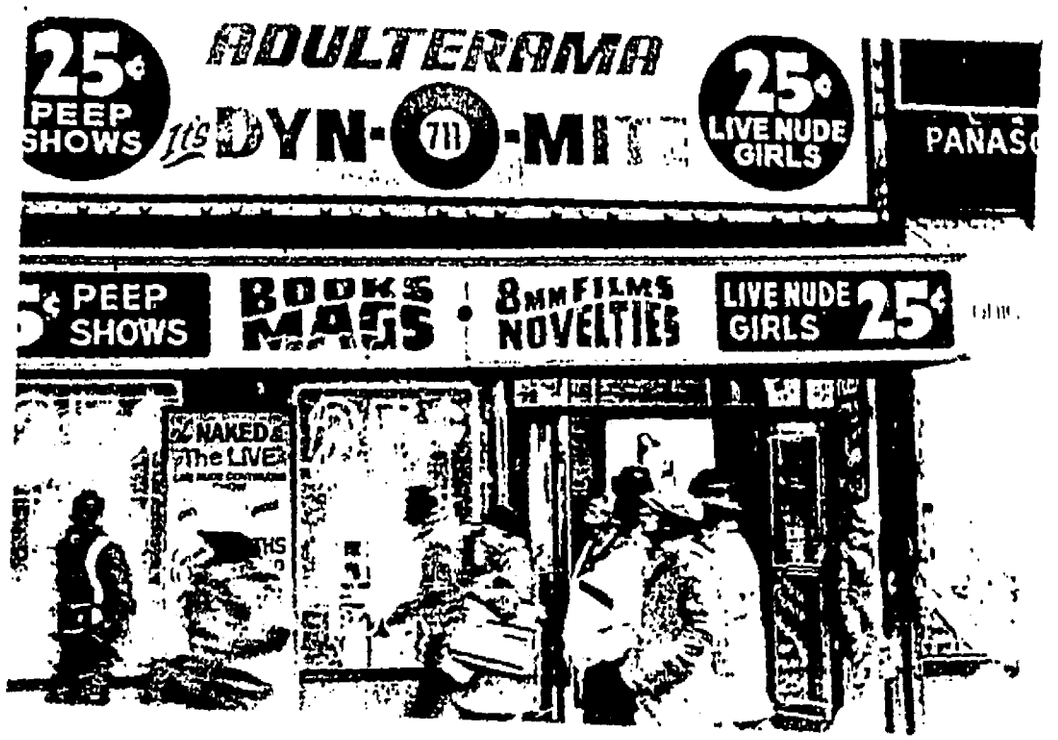


Figure 34. **The Disney Hotel soon to be built on 42nd Street.** (Source: Herbert Muschamp, "A Flare for Fantasy: 'Miami Vice' Meets 42nd Street," *New York Times*, May 21, 1995).

Figures 35 and 36. **Undesirables I**, a street magician, a three-card monte dealer and their audiences in Times Square. (Sources: Louis Clyde Stoumen, *Times Square : 45 Years of Photography*, New York: Aperture, 1985 and Jill Stone. *Times Square : A Pictorial History*, New York: Macmillan, 1982)

Figure 37. **Undesirables II**, the street people. (Source: Louis Clyde Stoumen, *Times Square : 45 Years of Photography*, New York: Aperture, 1985).



Figures 38 and 39. **Undesirables III**, sex-businesses in Times Square. (Source: Jill Stone. *Times Square : A Pictorial History*, New York: Macmillan, 1982)

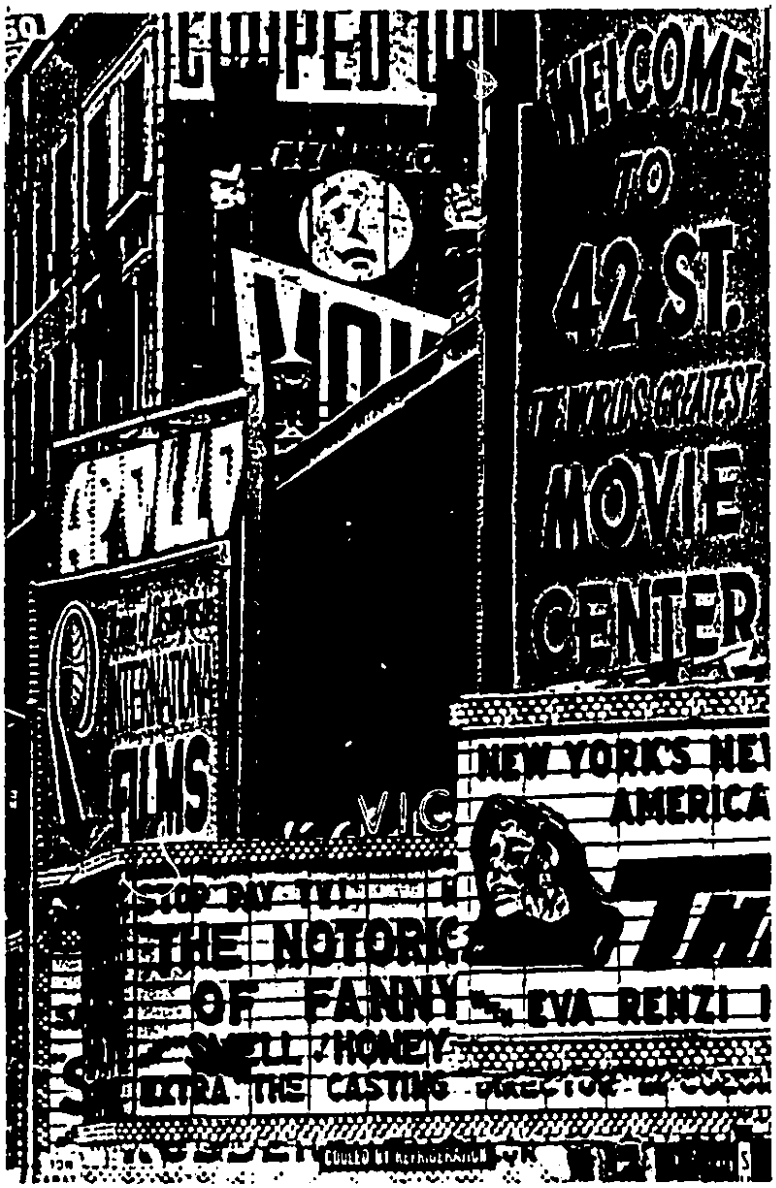


Figure 40. **Movie advertisements on West 42nd Street theaters.** (Source: Robert A. M. Stern, Thomas Mellins, and David Fishman, *New York 1960 : Architecture and Urbanism Between the Second World War and the Bicentennial*, New York: Monacelli Press, 1995.)

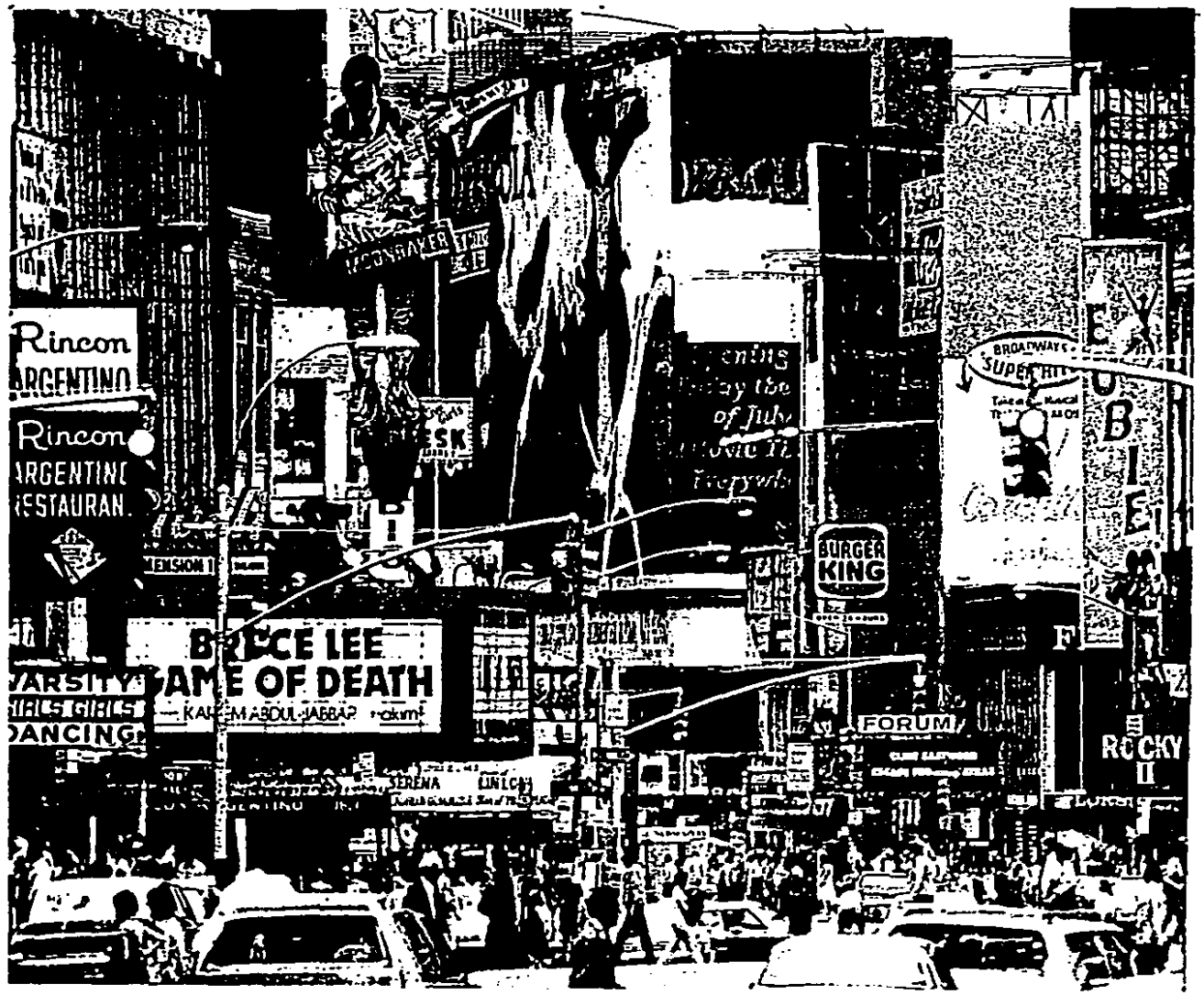


Figure 41. Times Square: view south in 1979. (Source: David W. Dunlap, *On Broadway: A Journey Uptown Over Times*, New York: Rizzoli, 1990).

Figures 42 and 43. **Corporate logos in the day and night on Times Square billboards in the 1980s.** (Source: David W. Dunlap, *On Broadway: A Journey Uptown Over Times*, New York: Rizzoli, 1990).

Figures 44-46. **George M. Cohen's statue in Times Square** (above) **amidst commercial advertising** (above and below). (Sources: Jill Stone. *Times Square : A Pictorial History*, New York: Macmillan, 1982 and David W. Dunlap, *On Broadway: A Journey Uptown Over Times*, New York: Rizzoli, 1990).

Figure 47. Ann Messner. "Meteor," 1987, welded steel. Installation view. (Source: Patricia C. Phillips. "Ann Messner: Times Square Traffic Triangle," *ArtForum*, December 1987).