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close the park and control entrance selectively, only to small areas. The homeless moved to another site in the DMZ.)

There is one last, tragic example. Many New York bridges are falling down and one of the reasons seems to be that homeless people have removed the wooden beams that support these bridges. The homeless burn the beams to keep warm in the winter. I would urge all of us to consider these empty spaces — the spaces where the beams are as well as the spaces where the homeless and the squatters are — and how to use these spaces to rebuild the city.

One of the most promising places where space is opening up is in the architecture and planning professions. Construction is down and so is the demand for architects and planners. Perhaps the most immediate thing we can do is turn this space (the time that architecture and planning professionals have) to constructive use by recognizing that there is a large group of socially marginal people who are the clients with whom socially responsible architects and planners should be working.

Our image of the advanced urban economy is probably best described by icons of the corporate city — office skyscrapers, suburban corporate campuses, hotel/conference centers — most of which are sealed off from their surroundings. This image has even invaded residential areas in the form of luxury high-rise apartment buildings.

There are parts of this economy that are hidden by these icons yet connected to them in ways that are not well understood. One connection that is not evident involves activities like manufacturing and industrial and personal services, which we think of as belonging to another era or type of system; they are in fact part of the advanced urban economy.

Revealing Connections in the Corporate Economy

Saskia Sassen

I have given up hope of finding 'the community will'; that is why I am no longer a person of the '60s. I have given up hope of being a philosopher king, which is why I am an ex-city planner. Now I am content to try and nurture open-ended agendas, political conflict, small resolutions and enough open space for a diversity of members of the community to find solutions.

— *Janet Lippman Abu-Lughod*



Today's dominant visual vocabulary overemphasizes some parts of the city's economy and makes invisible others that may be just as important. This influences the way people conceive of the city and the role they play in it, and ultimately affects politics.

— Saskia Sassen

Previous page and below:
Two Manhattan skylines.

A second set of connections concerns nationality and gender. Anybody walking through New York or any other major city today will eventually arrive in an area commonly considered the immigrant city, thought of as imported from the Third World and not really belonging to the heart of the advanced urban economy. But the kinds of jobs held by the people living or working in these places and the economic contributions they make are indeed part of our economy and our cities.

Many of the low-wage and part-time jobs being generated today are held by women. Because these activities are often considered of secondary importance, or because many of the jobs are part-time, they too are not always

regarded as part of the advanced urban economy.

The failure to recognize these connections has not only visual consequences but also political and social consequences. By failing to include these other activities in our conception of the advanced urban economy, by failing to make these connections legible, we are diminishing the political power of the vast number of people who are engaged in them.

For example, during the 1980s the government of New York City gave full support to expanding sectors of the economy like telecommunications, finance and specialized services. But it did not give the same support to economic activities like manufacturing and industrial services (which were serving these expanding



sectors). This had major consequences for the people involved in these activities — neither their housing nor their economic needs were fully addressed.

How can we make legible — through built forms and spaces — the connections between these various parts of the economy?

We must do more than replicate the older visual forms that now characterize the immigrant city; we can be experimental and aesthetically adventurous. We must go beyond the image of the corporate city and at the same time avoid falling back on romantic notions of what a nice little Third World house would look like.

Facing the Challenge of the American City

David P. Handlin

When I hear the word *city* used in conversations such as this, I try to imagine the kind of place its usage implies. And I invariably conclude that what is being referred to are places like the Lower East Side, Greenwich Village, parts of San Francisco or Boston, or Harvard Square, where my architecture office is located. In other words, the Jane Jacobs city, remnants of the pre- or early-industrial city, the walking city.

I have great fondness for these places, but there is one fundamental problem in thinking of them as archetypical of what a city should be: In spatial terms, they comprise probably less than one percent of the American city.

Recently I have had the opportunity to spend some time in three newer cities, Memphis, Houston and Tampa. Although each has an older section that dates back to the latter part of the nineteenth century, the bulk of these cities has absolutely nothing to do with Greenwich Village and Harvard Square.

My question, therefore, is if we cannot speak of the “city” in more encompass-

ing terms, are we simply writing off this other 99 percent and all the people who live there, bearing in mind that they are not simply the rich and privileged but represent the whole economic and ethnic spectrum?

Just as I question this narrow concept of what type of built form constitutes a livable or tolerable city, I see an equally limited idea of what constitutes urban public space. On the one hand our idea of public space is exemplified in our ongoing admiration for places like the *Place des Vosges*, and on the other hand, in various landscape traditions extending from the English garden to Frederick Law Olmsted. If these traditions continue to dominate our ideas about public space, we will continue to misunderstand or ignore the varied needs of the bulk of people inhabiting American cities.

I see two possible reactions to the emerging spatial constellation that I am describing. One is to turn one’s back on it, to withdraw into a nostalgia about what life supposedly was like in a city, town or suburb that existed in some

It would be very difficult to prove that people who live in the ‘other’ city are less friendly or more isolated than people who live in cities like New York.

— *David P. Handlin*