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Cover: "Uptown Rocker," concrete and painted steel, by Lloyd Hamrol, 1986. The sculpture, located on a traffic island in downtown Los Angeles, was commissioned by the city's Community Redevelopment Agency. Hamrol says of the 30' x 4' x 65' work: "This piece captures a moment in a bumper-to-bumper procession of car symbols as they cycle on the loop of an endless highway." (Photo by Marva Marrow shows the artist at the base of the piece.)

to dig beneath the nominalism of Standard Industrial Classification codes and occupational categories so as to characterize the real changes in work relations. As Claude Fischer comments in his essay, we know almost nothing about the effects of new technologies (or even relatively old ones, such as the telephone) on social life. Finally, it raises profound theoretical questions concerning the role of the state in stimulating advanced technology, the politics that underlie this role, the effects of decentralizing production and centralizing control over the lives of workers and consumers, the political and technical potential for more humane modes of development, and the relationship between the development of the world economy and the structuring of the forces in any particular country.

The various authors assume that we are at a historical juncture in the development of capitalism, wherein the ascendancy of information and control functions over machinery and manual labor has drastically changed economic and spatial relations. Whether the assumption that the trends are truly discontinuous is justified or whether we are simply seeing a continuation of Schumpeter's diagnosis of creative destruction is a point that particularly requires further examination. *High Technology, Space, and Society* goes a long way toward improving our understanding of current transformations in modes of production. We still have much to learn about their implications for human consciousness and social conflict.

Susan S. Fainstein

Fainstein is a professor of urban planning and policy development at Rutgers University, where she teaches planning theory. Her current research is on the politics of land use transformation in New York.

High Hopes for High Tech: Microelectronics Policy in North Carolina

Dale Whittington, editor. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1986. 341 pp. \$36.00 (cloth), \$9.95 (paperback).

High Hopes for High Tech is a welcome and timely addition to the increasing body of literature on high-technology growth and economic development. Comprising 12 papers by 15 scholars, it attempts to document one Southern state's efforts to recruit microelectronics industries.

After an introduction, the book is divided into three sections covering the national, regional, and state perspectives. Unfortunately, the format is unnatural, and most chapters within a section are weakly related. There is much repetition about North Carolina's development policy, established centers, and industrial structures. Most papers are well researched and clearly written, however, and Whittington's excellent introductory chapter summarizes the book and provides linkages among chapters.

The first section presents an overview of the American microelectronics industry: its structure, organization, performance, locational characteristics, economic significance, technological innovations, prospects, and potential problems. It suggests implications for state and local attraction policies for the various segments of the industry. Chapters include F. Dana Robinson's enlightening analysis of the nature and importance of links between the quality of local universities and the pros-

pects of the local microelectronics industry and Paul S. Adler's assessment of the effects of new technologies on skill requirements. Using the history of French banking automation as an example, he concludes that automation has varied and complex effects and that technological change results in both increases and decreases in certain kinds of skill requirements.

The second part tries to determine whether high-technology firms are likely to locate in North Carolina. The authors use the results of surveys on recent plant location decisions in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina to identify a few significant location factors and contrast important location factors for high-tech industries with those for general manufacturing establishments.

The last part deals with a variety of planning issues—opportunity costs, tradeoffs, multiplier effects, and environmental and health-related effects—associated with encouraging microelectronics development in North Carolina. The articles examine those effects with regard to the state's economic development goals.

The book provides an excellent characterization of North Carolina's general economic structure and how it compares to those of other Southeastern states, its business climate and the effect of low wages there, its efforts to recruit microelectronics industries, and the current state of the microelectronics industry there. It is more than a case study, since it deals with many fundamental issues regarding the universal effects of automation, economic growth, university research, and political factors. It will be very useful to other states, regions, and communities planning similar recruitment efforts.

The authors fail, however, to address the agglomeration effects of the high-tech industry. In Silicon Valley, the effect was very strong in attracting high-tech firms during the region's early growth. Furthermore, few explicit and concrete guidelines are offered to practicing planners on designing and implementing a successful attraction program. A more quantitative approach also would have helped in the analysis. For instance, the state input-output model can be used to derive different multipliers, to examine the existing industry linkages, and to assess the effects of high-tech growth.

Despite those minor weaknesses, *High Hopes for High Tech* is a useful documentation of a state's aggressive effort to attract a desired industry. Economic planners and students of economic growth will find it interesting.

Chin Ming Yang

Yang is a senior regional planner for the Association of Bay Area Governments in Oakland, California. He is interested in applied quantitative planning methods and regional economic planning and has participated in activities projection and allocation for three U.S. metropolitan regions.

The Mall: An Attempted Escape from Everyday Life

Jerry Jacobs. Waveland Press, Prospect Heights, Ill., 1984. 113 pp. \$7.95 (paperback).

Shopping Malls: Planning and Design

Barry Maitland. Nichols Publishing Company, New York, 1985. 183 pp. \$49.95.

If an intelligent extraterrestrial creature plummeted from the heavens into the United States, one of the most striking elements of the American landscape it would encounter un-

doubtedly would be suburban shopping malls. The creature probably would be curious about a number of things: What are these vast expanses of fortress-like buildings? What is going on inside? Are secret documents kept here to help protect the security of the planet? Or could these be temples or shrines? Do the leaders of the planet live here? What are these wide paved surfaces? Why are they so immense? What are all these shiny vehicles doing here, and why are so many placed neatly between the painted white lines?

Two recent books address the omnipresent shopping mall from two very different points of view. *The Mall: An Attempted Escape from Everyday Life* presents "a documentary and ethnographic study of shopping malls in the United States and their profound influence on transforming our urban and suburban landscapes." *Shopping Malls: Planning and Design* traces the evolution of the shopping mall in both Europe and North America and examines the influence of these malls on their urban environments.

The first of these works, by Jerry Jacobs, falls short of its goal. The book is a sociological analysis of shopping malls that pays some attention to their history, physical layout, management, and economic characteristics. Unfortunately, it is not strong enough in any of those areas to constitute a significant contribution of new knowledge to the field. Each level of analysis is treated somewhat superficially, often straying from the original topic and thereby confusing the reader. For instance, a central chapter on "The Shoptime Mall: A Case Study," while providing some interesting details (such as the site plan, tenant makeup, and statistics on crime) about one particular mall, also launches into a lengthy comparison of security measures employed at shopping malls across the country as well as a detailed discussion of entertainment—videotapes and promotional events—at other malls. Furthermore, it is not clear where the Shoptime Mall is located or whether it is a fictitious name created by the author.

The sociological analysis presented in this book is perhaps the most intriguing. Jacobs presents some fascinating statistics about shoplifting, especially the notion that employees inflict the greatest losses; some sample conversations among teenage regulars, otherwise known as "mall rats"; recently instituted "mall walkers" programs for elderly to exercise along the mall during inclement weather; and even some mention of a problem that most mall users have experienced at one time or another—"losing" one's car in the parking lot. On the other hand, when dealing with loftier concepts such as the application of Durkheim's "society of saints" to the shopping mall, the argument is only skin-deep. The author proposes that "mall social life approaches a society of saints"; that is, it does not tolerate deviant behavior. That is a provocative issue, but the discussion is not penetrating enough. Similarly, he proposes that for some people, frequenting a shopping mall is but another symptom of their entrenchment in a "shrinking world," much like "tuning out" society through television, videogames, the computer, or the Walkman. That also is a fascinating idea, but it needs more development and refinement than are presented in the text.

Jacobs generally criticizes shopping malls from a sociological viewpoint, rather than from an urban design or an architectural perspective. His environmental analysis is weak. For instance, he discusses Beverly Center in West Los Angeles—an "eyesore"—and Santa Monica Place in the same paragraph but fails to draw any comparison except that they represent a new

breed of shopping centers that have grown vertically rather than horizontally. Here he missed a great opportunity, for it is difficult to find two urban shopping centers in the same urban area whose architectural design and treatment of the surrounding urban fabric are more dramatically different. Santa Monica Place does a superb job of opening up to the surrounding streetscape with many entry points and windows, truly enhancing the existing environment. By contrast, the Beverly Center brutally rejects the city streets below and easily could be pinpointed by critic William H. Whyte as one of the worst examples of urban architecture in the country.

In addition, the book suffers from stylistic problems that could be remedied easily by more careful editing and review. Too often tabular material in the text ought to be in the appendix instead. An inordinately large number of typographical errors are present, and there are no photographs or index. In sum, if readers are truly interested in a sociological analysis of shopping malls, they will be more pleased with the recent work by William Kowinski, *The Mall of America: An Inside Look at the Great Consumer Paradise* (William Morrow & Company, 1985.)

Shopping Malls: Planning and Design is probably more appealing to planners. Compared to *The Mall*, it cuts across a wider spectrum of old and new examples in the United States, Canada, and Europe in both suburban and urban contexts. Barry Maitland draws an insightful analogy between contemporary shopping malls and the arcades, parks, and opera houses of past generations. He also provides a detailed look at the new in-city shopping center prototypes, including several of The Rouse Company's adaptive re-use projects and a number of new structures like southern California's Plaza Pasadena, which he likens to an "Islamic compound." Concerning the former, Maitland's central thesis is that the new breed of urban shopping centers will not necessarily resuscitate the city, but rather, like Disneyland's Main Street, will provide a nostalgic reminder of what city life was once like.

Maitland is critical of such large-scale urban shopping centers as Broadway Plaza in Los Angeles, Forum des Halles in Paris, and Montreal's underground shopping network, which often complicate pedestrian circulation patterns and provide inadequate links with street-level sidewalks. He is equally critical of underground tunnels in Houston and skywalk systems in Calgary, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Cincinnati, and Spokane, arguing that they isolate the pedestrian grid rather than truly extending the city street system in a comprehensive way. He concludes that the overall effect of shopping centers on cities is as yet unknown and that the next period of economic growth may begin to reveal some answers.

The book benefits from an extensive set of black-and-white photographs as well as a number of invaluable site plans, building plans, and sections, most of which are drawn at the same scale to allow for comparison. In addition, some useful diagrams help illustrate the morphology of malls. An appendix provides important facts and figures about all malls cited in the text.

Shopping Malls offers an excellent overview of many broad issues, although it omits one of great importance: the effect of suburban shopping malls on nearby downtown business districts. In the United States, at least, the construction of nearby shopping malls has literally wiped out thousands of downtowns. The book also ignores some other questions, such as the need for more "human dimensions" in suburban shop-

ping malls (most of the 1950s-1970s versions are much too wide and too long in contrast to the much tighter scale of the more recent Santa Monica Place), adequate, comfortable seating areas, and more natural lighting and views of the outdoors. Another topic that could be further explored is the integration of such facilities as day care centers, libraries, and grocery stores into American suburban malls; some of these features have been successfully incorporated into the new European malls and probably would be well used here.

Maitland does not attempt to cover an exhaustive list of shopping malls, selecting instead those that best illustrate the main lines of development or interesting variations from them. He omits a few recent examples, however, that would have enhanced his discussion. Among them are Union Station in St. Louis, the largest adaptive re-use project in the country; southern California's South Coast Plaza, one of the United States' largest shopping centers, currently under expansion and in many respects a state-of-the-art, trend-setting suburban model; and the recently opened Horton Plaza in San Diego, an unusually colorful post-modern downtown shopping center that defies most norms and breaks out of the traditional mold of shopping mall design. Horton Plaza presents a strong architectural statement to the rest of the city and drastically changes the image of downtown. Further, its economic success already has exceeded the expectations of even the most optimistic of its creators.

The shopping mall is a part of our landscape that certainly deserves attention. These two authors should be commended for seriously examining this building type from a critical point of view. Although these two books provide a good basis for further discussion (one much more so than the other), both the environmental design professions and the social sciences need more books that address this topic.

Kathryn H. Anthony

An assistant professor in the School of Architecture and in the Housing Research and Development Program at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Anthony received her doctorate in architecture, specializing in social and behavioral factors in architecture and urban design, at the University of California, Berkeley. Her article "The Shopping Mall as a Teenage Hangout" was published in a recent issue of Adolescence.

The Malling of America: An Inside Look at the Great Consumer Paradise

William Severini Kowinski. William Morrow and Co., New York, 1985. 415 pp. \$17.95.

Having returned to his home town after a 15-year absence, William Severini Kowinski is astonished by the change a suburban shopping mall has wrought upon it. So he sets out on an odyssey across America, visiting scores of malls and interviewing mall developers, managers, tenants, and shoppers in order to find out what makes malls tick.

What he finds looks like a dream come true for those who rail about the size of government and swear by the ideal of privatizing the public sector. The state-of-the-art mall, it seems, is a private main street. It meets a wide range of community needs, from providing space for recreation, church services, college courses, art shows, and ceremonial activities to serving as an informal gathering place and promenade. It also assumes a wide range of municipal responsibilities, such as police, water, and sanitation services.

One can see the wheels turning. If private interests can make money while providing public amenities and services, why should government be involved? In effect, Kowinski says, many rapidly growing places, such as San Jose, are saying the government should relinquish some power. "Better to let private enterprise subsidize community facilities directly and to take advantage of the profit motive to make them good ones," he writes. Cities such as Boston, Baltimore, and New York that have used the mall, a.k.a. "festival marketplace" or "atrium," as a tool for inner-city revival are, he believes, embracing that strategy as well.

One can answer that government should be involved. Malls are first and foremost moneymakers and provide public services only to the extent that they help bring in more money. Malls establish an environment of enclosure, protection, and control and breed intolerance of individualism while mocking community identity. Their high capital and maintenance costs necessitate high rents that stifle local entrepreneurship and attract well-financed chains or boutiques catering to high-income clientele. And they pose troubling questions for accountability: if they are to be good places for business, whose interests are the mall police protecting?

Kowinski admits he is troubled that places designed to encourage consumption are emerging as the centers of communities. But he fails to put his fear into perspective. The growth of American urban areas is the legacy of legions of decisions made by and for the private sector (aided by local governments dominated by business interests and eager for development). The "mall of America" is nothing new; it is just the latest phase in the evolution of the private city, and a very sophisticated phase at that.

Nor does Kowinski consider the implications of what he finds. Are America's class and racial distinctions being sharpened by malls' homogeneity? And what is happening to outer neighborhoods while economic development concentrates on showcase downtown malls?

Finally, he fails to address some obvious questions. If the problem with malls is that the built environment is designed primarily to influence people to buy products, what steps can we take to humanize urban design? Or if cities have failed to anticipate consumer demands as well as mall developers have, are there any lessons cities can learn from malls? Perhaps developers should be stripped somehow of their ability to shape the environment in which we live, work, and play. Perhaps government can do better through planning and encouraging economic and spatial growth that would obviate malls. Perhaps cities can revitalize themselves by providing the services and amenities malls do, instead of building copycat malls downtown. On those issues Kowinski is silent.

Kowinski tells his story through travelogue and vignettes, which make brisk reading but distract from the issues at hand. What the book gains in accessibility it loses in forgoing any pretense of serious analysis; it is written less for students of urban design than for "mallsville" residents who have never stopped to contemplate the phenomenon to which they have succumbed. But *The Malling of America* illuminates compelling and troubling issues with which planners will be wrestling for years to come.

Todd W. Bressi

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