

complex. Community protest did force developers to take a conciliatory approach toward community and environmental interests. The Irish Republican Army exploded a bomb at Canary Wharf Tower in 1996.

Placing London misses the emergence of theme park sites, such as the Millennium Dome and Ferris Wheel, although both were still under development during the preparation of Eade's book. Eade also does not mention the liberalizing impact of the Swinging London era of 1960s Carnaby Street in paving the way for the youthful and gay bohemians of Soho.

Eade's ramble through the twentieth-century tour guides of the East End is replete with lurid and dangerous sights and sounds, from the mythical Fu Manchu in the subterranean dens of Limehouse to the nocturnal rampages of Jack the Ripper. The swinging bohemian and multicultural spirit of the new global city is thriving, yet similarly marked by dangerousness in the form of nativism, homophobia, and incendiary explosions. As the 11 September 2001 incident has confirmed, global cities are both thriving edifices of transnationalism and potential targets for a new kind of warfare. Still, I am lured by Eade's new manual to travel to London to sample *samosas*, discover provocative multicultural art and theater, and make nocturnal sorties for the hoisting of ales.

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William Fulton, *The Reluctant Metropolis: The Politics of Urban Growth in Los Angeles* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1997), 416 pp., \$18.95 (paper).

William Fulton's journalistic tone serves his project well in *The Reluctant Metropolis: The Politics of Urban Growth in Los Angeles*. Each chapter of this book begins with a mystery of how current conditions in the greater Los Angeles region came to be and then invites readers to participate in the detective work of unearthing the myriad political negotiations that underlie city development: the establishment of rent control in Santa Monica; the building of water, rail, and freeway infrastructures; the construction of the San Joaquin Hills toll road; the bankruptcy and bailout of Orange County; and the design of the Disney Music Center on Bunker Hill in downtown Los Angeles.

Dispelling the myth of Los Angeles as a spontaneously developed decentralized city, Fulton draws attention to the planned decentralization of Los Angeles and the constant consumption of land for (sub)urban and industrial use. Fulton writes, "From the 1880s onward, real estate speculators created highly sophisticated techniques for marketing outlying land. The rail lines were usually paid for by the landowners, and wiggled oddly on the landscape in order to reach the property of everyone who paid" (p. 128). Landowners and rail investors, such as Henry E. Huntington, soon sold their property for a profit and left infrastructure upkeep to others. This "growth machine" paradigm of development, Fulton argues, maintains hegemony to this day across all

arenas of city and region planning and has engendered a uniquely “anti-urban” (read “anti-human”) environment.

One can easily detect the anti-urban character of Los Angeles in its freeway traffic, homelessness, and absence of public places. Perhaps the most enduring problems, however, are the extreme income disparities, class divisions, and ethnic segregations that fuel periodic social conflagrations such as the Watts rebellion in 1965 or the city-wide uprising in 1992. Fulton observes that these releases of tension do not catalyze problem resolutions in urban areas but instead push the wealthy and middle classes further away—both physically and psychologically—into suburbs and gated communities, and the effect is a kind of cocoon citizenship that precludes diverse communities and democratic ways of life:

Once inside their cocoon, the suburbanites see no butterfly-like value in emerging. They only seek to stay inside forever, petrified in their tracts, like ancient fossils. So removed are cocoon citizens from the totality of metropolitan life that they can no longer see the full range of activities a metropolis encompasses, or that they are part of it no matter what they do. All they can do is try to define the breadth of metropolitan life by what they’ve observed inside their cocoon. (P. 341)

Los Angeles is a reluctant metropolis, in part, because its leaders and citizens remain unwilling to assume responsibility for creating sustainable urban places; social instabilities are reacted to, but their root causes, whether material or symbolic, are never seriously questioned.

By writing significantly about development issues around yet outside of Los Angeles city proper (in Orange County, Riverside County, Ventura County, Santa Monica), Fulton succeeds in demonstrating the profound interconnectedness of Southern California as a region. This focus also affords an important criticism of positions that justify neglect of urban areas because most people do not happen to live there. That said, by concentrating on outlying regions and on political negotiations, Fulton’s analysis runs the risk of emptying out the rich cultural history of community life in urban Los Angeles and reifying the void of urban areas in the public imaginary. (Authors Norman Klein [1997] and Victor Valle and Rodolfo Torres [2000], for instance, struggle against just such emptying out of cultural history.) This risk is most apparent in the structure of Fulton’s narrative that prioritizes places outside of Los Angeles: The introduction relates the author’s reflections on a journey, by car, from his home in Ventura County to Moreno Valley in Riverside, and the first chapter is devoted to the negotiation of Santa Monica’s rent control ordinance as a model for Los Angeles to follow. Where the work of Klein and Valle and Torres inspires readers to spend time discovering Los Angeles’s urban landscape, Fulton compels one to keep on driving.

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REFERENCES

- Klein, N. M. 1997. *The history of forgetting: Los Angeles and the erasure of memory*. New York: Verso.
- Valle, V. M., and R. D. Torres. 2000. *Latino metropolis*. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press.