

security guards help enforce that strategy. They control the public's mobility by keeping people moving through public space and organizing where and how they sit – and also determining who may sit. Another strategy of establishing social control is to influence norms of body presentation. The dress and grooming codes for employees at Euro Disney got a lot of attention in the press because they seemed to violate French culture. How could French men not be permitted to wear a beard? Or French women not to wear black stockings? Yet in every culture, dress rules are a means of managing socially engendered diversity. As an American visitor to Euro Disney, a long-time resident of Paris, observes, conforming to Disney's work rules made French workers seem to be "professionals"; it gave them an air of civility. "Perhaps one can conclude that class boundaries are erased at Euro Disney, if only for a few hours" (Zuber 1992, 15).

These social strategies have the political effect of creating an impression of trust among strangers. This differs from the fatalistic trust found among passengers aloft in an airplane – or below ground in a New York City subway car. It is comparable to the sociable but reserved behavior you find in small country "inns," where everyone trusts that the other guests are the same social type. Politically, it is important that these are all spaces to which you buy entry. The ticket price alone – at Disney World, a hefty, though not extraordinary, \$35 a day – ensures some gate-keeping, some exclusivity, some sense of confidence that equal access is not threatening.

Establishing confidence by means of spatial controls creates a precedent for public-private partnerships and private developers in cities. Unable to wall off their sections of the city, they have to make them accessible to the public but do not want to encourage the disorder of loiterers, muggers, the homeless, and the unruly. Like Disney World, these agencies set up private jurisdictions over which they have nearly absolute control. They have fiscal and financial power to create "public" services. These differ from previous arrangements because the services do not supplement public goods: they *replace* public goods.

BIDs create a privatization of public goods that many city dwellers find attractive. The BIDs' political autonomy derives from their financial autonomy: in addition to paying legally required city and state taxes, the property owners assess themselves an additional local tax based on square footage, and these taxes are collected for them by the city government. The BIDs then use the money to fund public improvements that local governments cannot or will

not pay for. Activist BIDs develop because of the city government's inability to generalize improvement strategies – which is, of course, the problem with the BIDs themselves (see Wolfson 1992).

These BIDs create their own sense of place not only by re-creating the attentive municipal services of another era (such as sanitation and security), but also by following Disney's lead in identifying theme and style with social order. The extreme example is the BIDs' use of uniform design to reinforce their public identity. In 1992, the Times Square BID commissioned an award-winning theatrical costume designer to create uniforms for its private sanitation force (*The New Yorker*, July 6, 1992, 12). Jumpsuits and caps are bright red to match the trash cans; T-shirts and logos are purple to match the plastic liner bags. "Until now," says a member of the sanitation crew, "we wore the same dull-blue work pants and shirts that ten thousand other people wear in New York. But now when people spy you on the street, they'll know you're part of the Times Square team. These are sharp – I mean, this is Broadway, right?"

Property values lie at the heart of the BIDs' drive for public improvements. But property values do not merely reflect use, as David Harvey (1973) has written. Instead, they reflect Disney World values of cleanliness, security, and visual coherence. The 34th Street BID, on a heavily used shopping street between the Empire State Building and Macy's, hired retail consultants to write guidelines on proper storefront design because the stores' presentation of a public face was too messy (Griffith 1992). For years, 34th Street has been a "populist" shopping street, a magnet for working-class families of every ethnic group. But, since Macy's filed for a bankruptcy reorganization in 1991 and the Empire State Building was bought by a private investor in 1992, the bazaar look has not projected a desirable image. Signs were oversize, up to six stories high, and merchandise spilled out onto the street from stalls at newsstands and through open windows. Images of brand names, store names, logos, and murals were overwhelming. So the BID decided to push the enforcement of municipal regulations. BID employees reported such violations as awnings that were too big, illegal sidewalk stalls, and newsstands that "have turned into bazaars," as an assistant commissioner of the city's Department of Consumer Affairs says. If found guilty by an administrative law or Criminal Court judge, violators face fines, jail terms, and suspension of licenses. Ironically, the murals and signs and "carnival atmosphere" on 34th Street deplored by a retail consultant are the