

type of planning in Southern California: the expansion of Los Angeles International Airport (LAX), the building of a new shopping mall in Glendale, and the uproar caused by the clipping of overgrown front-yard hedges in Santa Monica. These demonstrate that citizen experts rather than planners or designers are firmly in charge of the evolution and design of the city. Most critically, these circumstances are typical of the state of infrastructure planning in the United States and challenge planners, architects, landscape architects, and, last and not least, urban designers to reassess their roles within the disciplines of the planning, design, and production of contemporary urbanism.

## LAX

The long-planned expansion of Los Angeles International Airport affects all people in Southern California. Since the last round of improvements was completed for the 1984 Olympics, the city has been planning to expand LAX to accommodate ever-increasing passenger trips and cargo. During two decades, scenarios for growth, some of them quite fantastic—such as expanding runways thousands of feet west over the ocean—were at first quietly explored. In the late 1990s, the previous mayor, Richard Riordan, finally went public with a thirteen-billion-dollar proposal. His plan, promoted as a stimulus for the local economy, increased runway capacity and safety and proposed to replace the existing horseshoe of dispersed satellite terminals with a megafacility. Riordan's plan was infrastructure wrought extra-large, and with the exception of the mayor and his circle, hardly anybody, particularly the adjacent communities, liked it. Riordan's airport accommodated too many new passenger trips and too much cargo, generated too much noise and too much traffic, and offered economic benefits at the expense of too many surrounding communities. Despite an aggressive top-down public outreach effort, the plan was close to failing.

The next mayor, James Hahn, used the events of September 11, 2001, to reframe the issues and had the airport expansion replanned. Instead of tearing down the existing facility, his team suggested building a consolidated check-in facility near an adjacent freeway and connecting this facility to existing terminals using a people mover. The idea was to keep terrorists away from active airplane gates and terminals. By reducing the square footage that needed to be rebuilt, the price