

you were really rich, and so what we have seen is a gradual movement toward the middle as the middle class has grown. Its bourgeois values have become urban values, values of the public realm. And that's why the glass of urbanism is *both* half-empty and half-full.

CRAWFORD: Sorkin's attitude is typical among certain leftists who haven't examined real behavior in the city—there are now lots of paradoxes about what is public and what is private. In Los Angeles, one of the most Richard Sennett-like public spaces is the highly artificial space of Jon Jerde's Citywalk.

GOLDBERGER: You don't really know if it's a theme park masquerading as a street or a street masquerading as a theme park.

CRAWFORD: It's totally inauthentic, and yet it has Hassidic families and gang members in the same space, as does The Grove shopping center, even more paradoxically because it is under heavy surveillance. Sorkin's view is old school.

CZERNIAK: But you're unlikely to have gang members and Hassidic families together in The Grove. It's homogenous.

CRAWFORD: The idea that only the raw city is authentic expresses a kind of Puritanism about pleasure: what people want in public space is pleasure.

MACHADO: Sorkin's position seems very '60s.

CRAWFORD: It is *so* '60s.

GOLDBERGER: It is as retro as the New Urbanism.

CZERNIAK: But it does care about the planet. . . .

SAUNDERS: Are you saying anything more about Citywalk than that very different people are near each other there? Is the mere juxtaposition of diverse people somehow extremely important? What does it achieve? Are you saying Citywalk is somehow a political space?

CRAWFORD: No, because there are two kinds of public space: the agora, the very small public space of democratic interaction; and the cosmopo-