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### *Production of Street Life in San Francisco La production de la vie de la rue à San Francisco*

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At the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, professionals and wealthy suburbanites are moving back to central cities attracted by their trendy industrial character, restaurants and clubs, art performances, or streets festivals. (Johns 2004, Zukin 1995, Sandercock 2003, Binnie et al. 2004) Beyond the arguments of gentrification, land value, or creative cities, which focus on the wealthy newcomers, I argue that the major driving force of development and what appeals to these newcomers is the intense street life created by marginal urban actors in the inner city neighborhoods. I propose the concept of spatial capital to analyze the production of this intense street life in its physical setting, activities, and networks. In San Francisco, this spatial capital is made of colorful streets and buildings bustling with small businesses producing services and goods, families raising children, artists creating new aesthetics, among many other activities, all of which have been articulated through multi-scale social and economic networks.

Marginal urban actors, as producers of spatial capital, have acquired control over the qualities of space and have created their own conditions of spatial justice. However, while wealthy newcomers had a strong desire to use the spatial capital of the inner city neighborhoods, their insertion into these neighborhoods has led in many cases to the destruction of the very spatial capital they were pursuing in the first place. In this context, the local planning process has overlooked the production of spatial capital and has treated the transformation of the built environment separately from social concerns. This is not a unidirectional and predetermined process of displacement, as the traditional US Redevelopment process in the 1960s; this is a development process in which spatial justice is constantly redefined and negotiated among the various social groups.