

CRACKS, REFORMS, AND BURSTS IN THE VIOLET AIR:
SOCIAL MOVEMENT FRAMINGS
AND THE GLOBALIZING OF ATLANTA, 1990-1996

by

J. SETH GUSTAFSON

(Under the Direction of Nikolas C. Heynen)

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the mutual scalar impact of the globalizing city and social movement framings. It examines Atlanta's discursive politics from 1990-1996, focused on discourse between the urban regime and various social movements in the city opposing Olympic-related urban displacement. Two points drive the theoretical perspective: first, a focus on displacement as a strategy for reifying the regime's power, and second, the interpretation of social movement scale frames as essential to urban discursive production and contestation. Data analysis examines activist interviews while summarizing the methods of redevelopment and displacement of the urban poor. Finally, this thesis concludes that the globalizing city is neither inherently oppositional nor promotional of social movement scale framing strategies. Instead, globalizing cities necessitate discursive consideration by social movements of a number of different scale framing strategies to shape the material and discursive conditions of the city.

INDEX WORDS: Atlanta, global cities, social movement frames, displacement, discursive politics

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DEDICATION

To Katie, and to my four parents

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CHAPTER 1: AN INTRODUCTION

*What is the city over the mountains
Cracks and reforms and bursts in the violet air*

-T. S. Eliot, *The Waste Land* (1962, 44)

1.1 Historical Context and Summary of the Research Problem

On April 3, 1991, Atlanta City Council President Marvin S. Arrington publicly announced a plan that called for the demolition of Techwood Homes, the nation's oldest federally subsidized housing project. After over four years of contentious political wrangling and displacement of all of Techwood's residents, on May 12, 1995, Atlanta Housing Authority officials began demolition. Despite protest from residents and a projection that Techwood could last another sixty years, the city proceeded with the demolition, "primarily motivated," write Keating and Flores (2000, 275), "by concerns other than the delivery of improved housing conditions for working-class Americans." Most of these concerns involved the city's preparations from 1990 to 1996 for the impending 1996 Summer Olympic Games, and for the land upon which Techwood occupied; the immediate concern was the erection of the Olympic Village.

Due to revitalization efforts central to major portions of these preparations, city leaders targeted several areas near the city's center for dramatic overhaul. In these instances, dramatic overhaul meant the destruction of large public housing projects to make room for Olympic venues and to 'clean up' the city's neighborhoods around venue sites. This included Techwood, along with several other public housing projects in and

around the proposed 'Olympic Ring' core of Games-related activity. These forced evictions and losses of affordable housing presented an acutely difficult problem for the city's thousands of poor residents. The removal of homeless Atlantans, whether via unlawful arrest and detention in the city jail or via one-way buses to locations outside the city limits, was also a part of the Olympic preparation.

The goal of the Olympic projects, however, was not simply to upgrade old infrastructure with new infrastructure. The production of the image of Atlanta as demographically cleansed—that is, a city whose image is one without poverty and more specifically poor, racial minorities—also contributed to the motivation for Olympic-related urban development. The displacement of Atlantans facilitated the projection of the city's image as properly global. While Atlanta's governing regime has a long history of displacing its residents through urban redevelopment initiatives, the Olympic historical moment is unique in that Atlanta's governing regime had not yet combined displacement with their explicit desire to become a global city. Atlanta is among many global cities who have used Olympic-related appropriation of urban space to displace their unwanted inhabitants; indeed, numerical estimates of the displaced and forcibly evicted as a result of Olympic development since the Seoul Olympics of 1988 is over two million, with the 2008 Beijing Olympic preparations alone adding an additional 1.5 million (COHRE 2007a). From this perspective, displacement is often an integral part of global city formation.

These global events, however, occur in local places. Specific instances of drastic urban landscape and demographic change, like the demolition of Techwood, the construction of stadiums and the removal of the homeless, show that the Olympics are, at

least partially, a local and urban phenomenon. Other global elements of the Olympic movement, however, are even more obvious—billions of television viewers, dozens of multinational corporations, thousands of competitors from hundreds of nations, the worldwide marketing opportunity seized by the host city, and numerous representatives from every inhabited continent only begin to reveal the global nature of the Olympic Games. The Olympics, then, uniquely and simultaneously embody the local/urban and the global, two scales that have received much attention in the recent years.

Concerning the global scale, it is difficult to read any recent periodical, daily newspaper, scholarly social science journal, or news website without encountering the word “globalization.” As with many other buzzwords, however, “globalization” eludes a firm understanding by the public, despite its ubiquitous presence in virtually every informational medium. Doreen Massey (2007, 21) characterizes the confusion this way: “...the global is imagined as some kind of placeless realm (a ‘nowhere’) which, by contrast, is powerful, inauthentic, somehow abstract”. The paradox, then, is that globalization is perceived as concurrently both everywhere and nowhere. Paralleling the recent mass consideration given to globalization while also highlighting the local scale, the ‘city’ has attracted popular attention as more governments and individuals recognize that for the first time in history, over half of the world’s population now lives in urban areas. With the concurrent rise of the global and the city in the popular, political, and economic consciousness, analysis of globalizing cities ought to be not only a compelling topic for geographers, but also one that confronts urgent problems in popular and political discourses. Linking global city research and the displacement of urban denizens is a potentially fruitful means of investigating the local articulations of global phenomena.

One means to provide valuable clarity, coherence, and perspective on these pressing issues is via an investigation of the Olympics, a truly global industry with necessarily local implications for globalizing host cities and urban inhabitants. These inhabitants, like the former residents of Techwood, are accustomed to using local physical resources and local political recourse. Urban residents, however, are increasingly denied access to these traditional resources as city leaders encourage the globalization of their city through a physical urban restructuring for the “visitor class” (Eisinger 2000, 331). This does not imply, however, that urban inhabitants had no previous struggle for resources before their cities began to globalize. Rather, globalizing cities present both new and recycled challenges to their inhabitants, especially the poor, minorities, and homeless, through displacement and restructuring of urban spaces and places. As Mitchell (2003, 18) writes, “More and more the spaces of the modern city are being produced *for* us rather than *by* us.” The ‘right to the city,’ then,—a right only achieved through its practice—is a right to produce the city itself, to inhabit its spaces, and to create its places (Castells 1983, Lowe 1986, Evans and Boyte 1992). The 1996 Olympic-related urban restructuring is a prime example of the revoking of the right to the city, as areas inhabited by marginalized populations were often the target of Olympic related development.

Urban inhabitants opposing this restructuring and displacement often assert their own political response through social movement organizing. Crucial components of organizing are the construction of frames, defined broadly as the discursive attempts to oppose injustice. Social movement organizations employ various frames and framing strategies to effectively mobilize support, counter the perceived oppression or injustice,

achieve resonance in local target communities, communicate their cause, and maintain their credibility as viable, powerful, and significant community forces. (McAdam, et al. 2001, 18). An analysis of these frames and framing strategies provides insight to how inhabitants of cities socially and organizationally perceive and respond to the new and recycled challenges in globalizing cities, along with how historical and geographic context shapes the framing strategies. The implications of globalizing cities for social movements are significant; understanding these implications and how social movements incorporate or ignore the globalizing city into their frames in the historical moment of Atlanta's Olympic preparation is the goal of this project.

Ultimately, this project argues that during the Olympic historical moment, an integral element of the governing regime's strategy for initiating global city formation was the projection of Atlanta as an 'authentically' global city, part of which was produced via displacement. Cities and their growth machines often use the trope of authenticity or genuineness as a way to heighten their cultural and economic power, and Atlanta was certainly no exception (e.g., Logan and Molotch 1989, Kenny and Zimmerman 2004). Furthermore, the sociopolitical processes of global city formation, including displacement, not only altered social movement framing strategies, but also provided an opportunity for social movements to shape the global city formation processes through their frames.

1.2 Research Questions

Though vague and increasingly prominent conceptions of ‘global’ and ‘urban’ provide an effectively broad context for this project, ultimately, this project seeks to identify the relational dynamics of social movement framing amid the displacement and redevelopment of global cities. Examining the context of social movements within the city of Atlanta, and specifically the collective movement to resist Olympic-related development and urban restructuring in the several years prior to the 1996 Olympic Games, will provide a case study of the interactions between social movement framing and globalizing cities. I will address two interconnected questions in order to tease out the relational dynamics.

1. The Globalizing of Atlanta and Displacement:

- What was the relationship between displacement and global city formation in Atlanta’s Olympic historical moment?

2. Anti-Olympic Social Movement Framing in Atlanta:

- How did global city formation, including the processes of displacement, alter social movement frames and how did social movement frames impact global city formation?

By posing the research project in terms of relational dynamics between the globalizing of Atlanta and the social movements therein, this project will highlight the integral links between what too often appears as several distinct bodies of research, including displacement, globalizing cities and social movements. To cohere the project further, however, the historical, spatial, political, cultural, and social context of the social movements *and* the Olympic organizers, city boosters, and local politicians, or, to use Stone’s (1989) term, the urban governing regime, serve to inextricably connect all of the

individual yet related units embedded within the particular historical moment (Merrifield 2002).

1.3 Some Broader Themes

With the increasing public awareness of the politics of displacement and mega-events through the advocacy and work of several non-governmental organizations and scholars, this project affirms and bolsters the revelatory findings of this burgeoning body of research (Beaty 2007, Burbank et al., 2001, COHRE 2007a, COHRE 2007b, Eisinger 2000). Theoretical understandings of displacement and mega-events, especially as related to global city formation, will extend the scope and significance of this research and advocacy. By juxtaposing and interweaving theoretical interpretations of urban regimes, nationalism, and refugee theory, this project speaks to broader themes surrounding the role of displacement in global city formation. For example, a centerpiece of the theoretical findings and framework of this project require a recalibration of Stone's *Regime Politics* thesis to include insights from other social theorists, the urban politics of Atlanta's social movement activists and neighborhood leaders, the Olympic historical moment, and the general globalizing trend of Atlanta.

Displacement as a crucial component of global city formation is often understood in the sense of a material or demographic change in the city's complexion. The global city, however, is not only materially, but also discursively, constructed by political actors. Thus, attention must be focused on how not only urban discursive politics impact the displacement and the city, but also how displacement and changing urban form impact the capacity and content of urban discursive politics. This project uses the discursive

practices of social movement framings to investigate the dialectical relationships between global city formation, displacement, and discursive politics.

Methodological practice in this study is the exercise of building tense relationships with theoretical ideas and investigating a small portion of the world “out there.” I use almost exclusively textual sources, whether in the form of interviews, works on social theory, song lyrics, or newspaper articles, all of which were found in a variety of locations. For instance, I conducted interviews with social movement activists and constituents in the spring, summer, and fall of 2008; I examined some of the archives at the Atlanta History Center; and I combed the online archives of the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. These source locations, among others, assisted in the efficient gathering of information and provided useful and challenging source materials for this project. These sources, focused primarily on Atlanta’s Olympic moment and analyzed in Chapter Four, give detail and specificity to the more abstract theoretical structure discussed in Chapter Two.

Chapter Two of the work establishes a theoretical framework surrounding the issues of global city formation, displacement, and social movement framing strategies, along with suggesting some uncommon intersections of social theorists to aid the framework. Chapter Three is concerned with methodology. It justifies and explains the research process and developments. Chapter Four analyzes the research findings and Chapter Five seeks to draw the theoretical, methodological, and investigative findings into a coherent whole while suggesting the significance of the findings along with potential future applications of the research.

As Charles Rutherford notes in *Imagineering Atlanta* (1996), Atlanta is a city that has long sought to fashion a stable civic identity for itself. This identity, however, has proven to be elusive, as regime politics have shifted and shaped Atlanta's identity according to the whimsy and calculated political maneuvering that suits the interests of the regime. Eliot's quote, then, from *The Waste Land* aptly describes Atlanta's identity, and even the regime itself: cracking, reforming, bursting. Eliot later speaks of the "unreal city" embroiled in turmoil and confusion with "towers falling," mentioning other globally prominent cities like Jerusalem, Athens, Alexandria, Vienna and London, calling them "unreal." In the Olympic moment, Atlanta, in a sense, was an unreal city—a city cracking, reforming, and bursting; a city with buildings falling, replacing them with places for visitors; a city exchanging places for inhabitants with places for transient guests. This project is an examination of the contested material and discursive identity of Atlanta as it cracked, formed, and burst into the violet air.

CHAPTER 2: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The state—and nation-state especially, where nation here becomes the cultural reproduction of hegemonic consensus to state administrative mandates—is all about institutionally reproductive homogenization.

-David Theo Goldberg, *The Racial State* (2002, 30)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter builds the theoretical framework for understanding displacement, social movement framing, and the globalizing city. It argues that displacement of predominantly poor minorities might not only be an important part of globalizing city, but also a way that globalizing cities can produce a demographically cleansed urban imagined community, imbued with racial and class-based undertones.

2.2 When the Olympics Come to Town

A part of the theoretical framework essential for explicating the relational dynamics between social movements and globalizing cities in the context of the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games is from Helen Jefferson Lenskyj's book *Inside the Olympic Industry* (2000). Lenskyj argues that, properly understood, today's Olympics are neither merely a two-week event occurring once every two years in various cities around the globe, nor an "unalloyed good" for all parties involved (ix). Instead, Lenskyj characterizes the Olympic industry as any other industry might be described; that is, replete with power relations, political actors, and both promotional and oppositional activism. Lenskyj's analysis falls in line with a tradition of understanding mega-events

like the Olympics, World Fairs, and international expositions as means to political and economic power, “promoting [the elite] visions of society and of the future” (Roche 2000, Zukin 1991). Furthermore, just like any other industry, longevity of production is necessary for continuing industrial practice. Thus, while the biennial two week event may be the show case event where the Olympic product is globally consumed, the production of the Olympics is occurring even now in Vancouver, London, and Sochi, Russia—all cities yet to host the actual competitions. Currently proposed future sites of Olympic production include Chicago and other major metropolitan centers. Thus, the framing of the Olympics as an industry is essential, for it allows not only a more comprehensive picture of what is commonly called “the Olympics,” but also eliminates any Olympic exceptionalism that may wish to conceal the Olympics’ industrial roots.

An industry, however, is not a thing-in-itself. Instead, what is commonly referred to as an industry is instead a set of internal relations upon which the existence of the industry, as we know it, is dependent. As Ollman notes,

the dialectical alternative is to start by taking the whole as given, so that the interconnections and changes that make up the whole are viewed as inseparable from what anything is, internal to its being, and therefore essential to a full understanding of it...No new facts have been introduced. We have only recognized the complex relations and changes that everyone admits to being in the world in a way that highlights rather than dismisses or minimizes them in investigating any problem (2003, 157).

Dialectics, therefore, can serve to augment Lenskyj’s account of the Olympic industry. By bringing Lenskyj’s notions into dialectical tension, I expand the notion of industry and justify a discussion of the inextricably linked processes, products, and projects that comprise the Olympic industry. This project addresses several of the internal relations

constituting that industry, including: corporations, production sites, urban restructuring, globalizing cities, and social movements.

Additional dialectical tension exists in two other significant points. First, the Olympics occur in the midst of cities with histories, inhabitants, and leaders, all of whom operate in the dialectical and liminal moment between the novel, spectacular, and internationally visible Olympic Games and the historical, geographical, and cultural contexts that comprise the city's social situation. Olympic politics, then, while they may present new political developments, they also are worked out among those with knowledge and experience within the city's unique previous social processes and actors. Finally, the notions of the dialectic can serve to frame a conception of the mutually constitutive material and symbolic elements that constitute a city. Rather than focus on either the material restructuring of Atlanta or on discursive urban politics, a dialectic that understands the historical moment in terms of both/and rather than either/or captures more convincingly the dynamics of the moment. Using dialectics provides a more powerful and nuanced understanding of the 1996 Olympic preparations which gave rise to social movement organizations in Atlanta.

2.3 Displacement and the Imagineering of Atlanta as Global City

Beyond the commonly understood links of competition, training, and discipline that characterize the relationship between human bodies and the Olympics, there exists a deeper and ultimately more significant facet to the relationship. This facet examines the intricate ties between the Olympic industry, global city redevelopment, and the logics of displacing people in Olympic cities. For in nearly every Olympic city, a manifestation of

the relationship between human bodies and the Olympics has been in various forms of displacement. Indeed, since the Seoul Olympics of 1980, Olympic-related urban redevelopment and construction has displaced or forcibly evicted over 2.5 million Olympic-city dwellers (COHRE 2007a). Global city formation and production further extends the Olympics/displacement relationship, given that hosting an Olympics is a potent tool for thrusting a city into the global competition between cities for capital investment, economic centrality, and cultural prominence. Thus, displacement and global city formation via the Olympics share an intimate connection deserving explanation and interrogation.

Geographically, the connection between displacement and Olympic-related urban redevelopment seems clear: displacing bodies from a location allows for capital investment and redevelopment of the now unused space. In *The Limits to Capital*, David Harvey (2006, 417-8) notes that both the geographic dispersal and concentration of capital relations works to the advantage of capital accumulation. Harvey's point explains a key element in the geography of capitalist accumulation and of urban redevelopment. This particular explanation and others like it, however, focus on displacement as an effect, byproduct, or necessary precondition of capitalism rather than a forceful cause of additional social and political change. Relying on not only this traditional political economic understanding of displacement, but also drawing out the importance of displacement as a causal mechanism, too, will highlight some of the connections between the multi-facetedness of displacement of which there is commonly only minimal account in the more traditional political economy and urban geography literature.

Thus, in addition to an effect of social change, displacement is also a cause of social change. Exploring the causal power of displacement in literatures and theory of refugee studies, nationalism, and global cities and in the case study of Olympic-related urban redevelopment in the City of Atlanta from 1990-1996 reveals that displacement is an aspect of constructing the power of the global city.¹ This construction of power centers on producing the image of a global city by enforcing an absence of homelessness and poverty on the landscape. In Atlanta, displacement produced this racially and economically cleansed landscape. Through various redevelopment schemes and projects related to the Olympics, the regime capitalized on the power of displacement to produce and promote itself as a global city.

From 1990-1996, the displacement resulting from Olympic preparations in Atlanta helped produce and construct the power of the Atlanta as a global city. The first premise of this particular theoretical treatment is that displacement deserves to be examined theoretically as a valid process of analysis. As mentioned earlier, a tendency among some geographers is to treat displacement as only an unfortunate and unjust by-product or necessary precondition of various social formations. While these analyses are correct in identifying displacement as a by-product of capitalism, gentrification, racism, war, or a host of other causes, they are also susceptible to confining displacement to the status of by-product and ignoring the potential roles of displacement and other by-products as a source of social power, change, and restructuring. Indeed, these by-products often serve as sources of social power exploited by the governing powers. This is not to say that displacement is not directly addressed in the urban geography literature.

¹ In this paper, the term “city” will refer to the global city of Atlanta, which includes the governing regime of business interests, elected local and state officials, and other city boosters. To avoid confusion, the capitalized term “City” will refer to Atlanta as a strict municipality.

Many of the foremost scholars in the field do, in fact, explicitly focus on displacement, especially in the diaspora and gentrification literatures.²

Given the inherent spatiality of displacement and the enormous social power manifested in the capacity to displace others, however, the intricate workings, discursive practices, effects intended or otherwise, and material outcomes resulting from displacement ought to be brought into clearer focus by geographers. In short, by focusing on the social and political power of that which some see mostly as only an impotent by-product of social and economic formations, the analysis of unjust social formations can proceed to hopefully more robust theorization. These theories, when grounded in the Atlanta case study, can transcend the scalar, imagined, and political hurdles that hinder recognition of similar displacement processes occurring at a variety of scales and in a variety of politically contingent situations. Comparing the work of three seemingly disparate theorists—Clarence Stone’s *Regime Theory*, Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*, and Peter Nyers’s *Rethinking Refugees*—will weave together a strand of theoretical explanation that links discursive and material processes of displacement, the powers of a global city reimagining itself, and the historic biracial governance coalition of Atlanta.

The Shifting Regime

Grounding the abstract processes and powers of displacement is a relatively small but well-known body of literature on the City of Atlanta. Floyd Hunter’s *Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers* (1953), Charles Rutheiser’s *Imagineering Atlanta* (1996) and Larry Keating’s *Atlanta: Race, Class, and Urban Expansion* (2001)

² I am thinking here of the work of David Harvey, Neil Smith, Elvin Wyly and others.

are three critical monographs about the city, but the most famous and foundational work for research on Atlanta is undoubtedly Clarence Stone's *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta, 1946-1988* (1989). Stone's main thrust of argument is that Atlanta, since the mid-1940's, has been governed by a bi-racial governing coalition composed of black elected officials and white downtown business elites (Stone 1989, ix). *Regime Politics* paints a picture of shifting and sometimes uneasy alliances historically contingent upon varying needs and demands, though maintaining the same basic biracial paradigm. Stone writes:

An urban regime may thus be defined as *the informal arrangements by which public bodies and private interests function together in order to be able to make and carry out governing decisions*. These governing decisions, I want to emphasize, are not a matter of running or controlling everything. They have to do with *managing conflict* and *making adaptive responses* to social change (emphasis original) (Ibid., 6).

The adaptive regime in Atlanta has modified itself to accommodate many social changes, such as desegregation, civil rights movement, white flight, a burgeoning black middle class, and deindustrialization. Given these tensions, Atlanta's urban regime was never about harmonious cooperation for its own sake; instead, the regime was one of "struggle and conflict—bringing together a biracial governing coalition at the outset, and then allowing each of the coalition partners to secure for itself an advantageous position within the coalition" (Ibid., 12). Throughout all of these tensions, the regime has maintained its varying alliances, allowing the coalition to continue its governance of Atlanta's affairs.³

³ Repeatedly using the words "the regime" to refer to the shifting biracial governing coalition throughout this project not only is tiresome, but it also evokes an image of a heavy-handed, stable, and governing body. This consistency of the regime is hardly the case. Because of scholarly precedent, I continue to use "the regime" as shorthand for the coalition, but were there a less cumbersome way to continually emphasize the unstable nature of the regime with each use of "the regime", I would surely use it.

Smith (1994, 174) comments on Atlanta's regime: "[T]he exclusionary nature of Atlanta's political regime intersects with what appears to be increasing socio-economic polarization. At the heart of this process is class alliance and cleavage, interpenetrating and to some extent eroding the old dichotomy of race." The regime represents an interesting intersection of race and class governance in Atlanta, with class interests not superseding race, but modifying and altering the traditional exclusion of black participation in the political system at all. Other geographers, too, have commented on regime theory. The two main criticisms of regime theory are that first, it is difficult to apply in other, especially international, contexts (e.g., Davies 2003), and that it does not sufficiently engage with questions of economy (e.g., Imbroscio 2003). Even so, regime theory is a widely used theoretical engagement with urban politics, offering useful explanations of the shifting dynamics of power in the city.

Stone's analysis ends in 1988, but Keating comments on the perpetuation and reconfiguration of the coalition. Writing in the early 2000's, he notes that the coalition is not as strong as it once was in the 1960's and 70's, though he also writes that the change is "a matter of degree and not a fundamental realignment" (Keating 2001, 194). Keating also notes the heavy involvement of Georgia Institute of Technology, CNN, Coca-Cola, and the Atlanta Braves in much of the downtown redevelopment planning in the Olympic period. Summing up the condition of the regime in the early 2000's, Keating writes:

Since black elected officials want the political and economic benefits that come from redevelopment, and since they want the perquisites ranging from campaign finance to access to contracts that come from collaboration in the regime, they have either acquiesced in or endorsed the goals of the private sector. Their attitude appears to be that private business interests are, at bottom, the same as the public interest (Ibid., 197).

Keating observes that historically, not only did the regime generally cooperate on city political issues, but cooperation on issues of urban redevelopment specifically was an integral component of the regime's *modus operandi*.

Urban Imagined Communities

In addition to projecting an image of an authentic global city, Atlanta's governing coalition sought to create a collective identity among those living in Atlanta and the surrounding metropolitan area. This identity was akin to, but by no means a replica of, the patriotism experienced and produced by the nation-state. The obvious advantages for producing a sort of "urban-patriotism" or civic identity are not only to have a sensation of community cohesion, but also to justify any potentially unpopular decisions made on behalf of the regime.

This sense of common pride in the city produced by the Olympics is a similar phenomenon to what Benedict Anderson (1991) interrogates at the scale of the nation-state in his book, *Imagined Communities*. Anderson's (1991) initial stated assumption is that nationality, nation-ness, and nationalism "are cultural artifacts of a particular kind. To understand them properly we need to consider carefully how they have come into historical being, in what ways their meanings have changed over time, and why, today, they command such profound emotional legitimacy" (4). The remainder of his book is an explanation for the development of nationalism and its power over political imaginations. Early in the work, he proposes a definition of the nation as "an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Ibid., 6). Anderson proceeds to define these terms, all of which are crucial for applying his thesis

beyond the nation-state. The nation “is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Ibid., 6). Closely related to the national communion is the imagined nation as a *community* “because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship” (Ibid., 7). He adds: “Ultimately, it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings” (Ibid, 6).

Anderson recognizes that all communities are in some way imagined and, therefore, his argument about imagined communities might be plausibly applied to elsewhere. He provides a means by which geographers might consider rescaling his argument to include other imagined communities beyond the nation-state.

... [A]ll communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined. Javanese villagers have always known that they are connected to people they have never seen, but these ties were once imagined particularistically—as indefinitely stretchable nets of kinship and clientship. Until quite recently, the Javanese language had not word meaning the abstraction ‘society’ (Ibid., 6).

For geographers, the potential for alternate applications of the *Imagined Communities* thesis—that the imagined political community commands a “profound emotional legitimacy”—can illuminate some of the other scales and communities that command a similar legitimacy. While different types of imagined communities (e.g., the city) also provoke qualitatively differing emotional legitimacies, the emotional legitimacy of that particular imagined community remains a constant presence. As Anderson notes, it is the

style of the imagining and the particularities of the emotional legitimacy that characterize locally contingent and historically nuanced imagined communities.

I take McNeill's application (2001, 340-52) of the imagined community thesis as a framework for understanding the urban as imagined community. In his work on Barcelona, McNeill notes the lack of attention to "how a political group may see a general process of economic boosterism as a means to an end" (Ibid., 341). He also quotes James Donald: "To put it polemically, there is no such *thing* as a city. Rather, the *city* designates the space produced by the interaction of historically and geographically specific institutions, social relations of production and reproduction...By calling this diversity 'the city', we ascribe to it a coherence or integrity. *The city*, then, is above all a representation" (emphasis in original) (Ibid., 342). The urban imagined community, then, is made possible by how a city produces an imagination of itself, and it is through this imagination that material processes of injustice and exclusion take form. By mobilizing these imaginations, McNeill writes, urban elites can produce and reproduce the character and quality of local economies, places, citizenship, and governance.

Rethinking Refugees in the City

Though most of the urban geography literature focuses on displacement as related to gentrification or other processes, few sources deal with the power of displacement itself in an urban setting. Geographers and other academics studying refugees, however, do analyze the relevance of displacement on its own terms, as a distinctive object of study. Linking the imagined community of global city to the displacement resulting from

the urban redevelopment through refugee theory, I draw from Peter Nyers's (2005) book *Rethinking Refugees: Beyond States of Emergency* to theorize these connections.

Nyers's thesis is as follows:

[T]he relationship between the refugee's identity and political subjectivity is not merely oppositional; the refugee is not simply excluded from the political realm. Rather, the refugee's relationship to the political can be described as a kind of 'inclusive exclusion.' Refugees are included in the discourse of 'normality and 'order' only by virtue of their exclusion from the normal identities and ordered spaces of the sovereign state.... To banish is also to capture, according to the logic of the sovereign relation of power (Nyers 2005, xiii).

Unpacking this statement, Nyers argues that the diasporic body is not excluded, as is commonly thought, from political realms. Instead, diasporic bodies are actually included in the political by virtue of their exclusion. Their exclusion means inclusion through occupying discursive and physical spaces of exception established by the sovereign.

Thus, the power constructed through the creation of diasporic bodies is twofold: spectacle and discourse. It is spectacular in the sense that the sovereign has displaced the diasporic bodies from one physical space to another, thus rendering the appearance of that space as free from certain bodies. It is discursive because the sovereign can discursively label the diasporic bodies as beyond the pale of politically normative and orderly. Displacing the diasporic bodies, then, is actually a means of confinement—a means of confinement in the exceptional discourses and spaces of the sovereign in order to reify the sovereign's power.

Nyers's postulated relation between the diasporic body and spaces of exception when applied to Olympic Atlanta casts the governing biracial coalition as the sovereign and those displaced by Olympic preparations as the diasporic bodies. Through a process of inclusive exclusion, a regime could create displacement, for example, not only to

empty the space only to be occupied by alternate forms of capital and users. Instead, the displaced function to reify and remake the governance power of the regime through occupying spaces of exception and through discursive labeling by the regime as bodies subject to exception.

The Urban Racial State

Touching on some of their themes of nation formation and state theory, Goldberg's *The Racial State* (2002) coalesces some of Stone's, Anderson's, and Nyers's theories. Goldberg's (2002, 2) thesis is that every state—he is referring most often to the national state—is a racial state; that is, “[i]t is a state or set of conditions that assumes varied racially conceived character in different sociospecific milieus.” In a further explication, Goldberg notes

“that race is integral to the emergence, development, and transformations (conceptually, philosophically, materially) of the modern nation-state. Race marks and orders the modern nation-state, and so state project, more or less from its point of conceptual and institutional emergence. The apparatuses and technologies employed by modern states have served variously to fashion, modify, and reify the terms of racial expression, as well as racist exclusions and subjugations” (4).

When considering the formation and composition of nation-states, then, one must understand the form and component of race. This is because, Goldberg argues, race is a vital and universal means by which a nation-state defines itself, creates itself, reproduces itself, and sustains itself. States, though, exist at varying scales and levels, not only at the national level. It is conceivable that either supra- or sub-national states may be racial, just as the nation-state is racial.

One should not expect, however, that the formative and constitutive processes of the racial nation-state would be exactly similar to the analogous processes of the racial city, even though some similarities could be present. Stone's work on the biracial governing regime begins to tap the potential of drawing in race with the changing regime of urban governance. Though he privileges race throughout *The Racial State*, Goldberg, like Stone, explicitly notes the co-articulation of race and class in the racial state (233). While few cities could command the same patriotism as a nation-state could, place-identity in the racial city could mimic the horizontal comradeship Anderson (1991, 7) observes in the nation (e.g., Gospodini 2004).

Furthermore, with regard to Nyers, Goldberg concurs with the notion of demographic cleansing as important to the state: "The state—and nation-state especially, where nation here becomes the cultural reproduction of hegemonic consensus to state administrative mandates—is all about institutionally reproductive homogenization" (30). This institutionally reproductive homogenization is concerned with the elimination of difference and promoting the logics of sameness, all done for the perpetuation of governmental and administrative power (Ibid.). Eliminating difference is much of what Nyers's thesis highlighted: displacing bodies to spaces of exception so as to create the spectacle and discourse of state power.

Reading Nyers, Anderson, and Stone through Goldberg, displacement of some by others at a different nexuses of race and class serves to construct and reify state power. This construction and reification of state power is carried out through the spectacles and discourses of displacement, both of which form the imagined community of the racial city. As a city deploys discourses about becoming a global city, race- and class-based

displacement reveals instead the racial city, one whose imagined community and demographic image are entwined with one another and predicated upon race and class.

2.4 The Globalizing City and Social Movement Framing

Juxtaposing global city theory and social movement framing theory is unusual. By their juxtaposition, though, I hope not only to begin to eliminate the gap that separates the two literatures, but also to parallel how global city formation and social movement framing can interact in cities. I argue that part of global city formation can be attributed to urban regimes causing displacement and creating an urban imagined community. Furthermore, displacement as a part of global city formation plays the double role first to which social movements respond with scale frames. Secondly, displacement is often a tactic used against social movements, or at least an impediment to their scale frames. Thus, it is for highlighting the productive tension between global cities and social movement frames that referring to the literatures alongside one another is useful.

The Globalizing City

Though globalizing cities' territorial domains are usually limited to several dozen square miles, their economic, cultural, and political reach can extend to nearly every corner of the globe. The social and physical structure of globalizing cities are arranged to maximize and expand their global influence through becoming "highly concentrated command point in the organization of the world economy,...key locations for finance and specialized service firms,...sites of production,...and fourth, as markets for the products and innovations produced" (Sassen 1991, 3,4). Sassen (5) continues,

Global cities are...not only nodal points for the coordination of processes; they are also particular sites of production. They are sites for the production of specialized services needed by complex organizations for running a spatially dispersed network of factories, offices, and service outlets; and the production of financial innovations and the making of markets, both central to the internationalization and expansion of the financial industry.

A globalizing city, then, is one that attracts, maintains, and becomes a site for global economic and political organizations. Yet with only limited assurance that “global status” has been achieved, a globalizing city is characterized by its continual striving for sustained agglomeration of these organizations. Short (2004, 2) captures this sense of insecurity and striving while explaining why ‘globalizing city’ is a better term than ‘global city’ and ‘world city’ in *Global Metropolitan: Globalizing Cities in a Capitalist World*. “I prefer the term global cities to world cities because it is possible to use the term *globalizing city* to capture that sense of becoming and longing. Globalizing cities are both global cities seeking to maintain their position and non-global cities seeking to become global cities. The terms are not permanent unchanging verities, but relational, spectral, temporal, shifting, and unstable.” By employing the term ‘globalizing city,’ one can more effectively speak of the image of a global city, a city’s deployment of the term “global city,” and a city’s efforts to globalize, rather than debate whether or not that city would meet an arbitrary ‘global city’ standard.

Implicit in the discussion of cities as sites of globalization is the foundational assumption that global and local processes are inextricably linked. Indeed, both the global and the local shape one another, as each scale is mutually constitutive of the other and is intricately enmeshed in the political, cultural, and economic affairs of the other (Sassen 2003, Massey 2007, Swyngedouw 1997). While globalization as the cultural and

economic term *du jour* swirls around in popular discourses like magazine advertisements and television news programming, less attention has focused upon how the global is contingent upon the local. Massey writes,

The idea that the local is product of the global has become common currency (and this is indeed one aspect of what must be addressed) but it is less often recognized that the global is also, conversely, locally produced. 'The global' so often is imagined, implicitly as somehow always out there, or even up there, but as always somewhere else in its origins. In fact, it exists in very concrete forms in local places (16).

Olympic-related development of Atlanta is an ideal example of how the global exists within, and is produced by, local places and structures. In Atlanta, like most Olympic cities, the local production of the global Olympic ideology, global aspirations of the city, and global marketing strategies of corporate sponsors was expressed in the form of the physical urban restructuring of the city, that is, a new spatial ordering reflective of the city's globalizing politics (Brenner 1999). Marcuse and van Kempen (2000, 271) argue that a new and standardized spatial order is not a general principle of globalizing cities, but do concede that similar spatial processes are happening in many globalizing cities. Perhaps a useful distinction here could be the difference between *order*—a normative, standardized, and revolutionary coherence across all globalizing cities—and *ordering*—a general re-placing, creation, and production of spaces both resembling and differentiating from other globalizing cities' new spatial ordering. Marcuse and van Kempen (271) note several common themes within globalizing cities, some of which include:

- strengthened structural spatial divisions among the quarters of the city, with increased inequality and sharper lines of division among them;
- ghettoization of the excluded; and
- a set of 'soft' locations (including public spaces, central city housing, concentrations of social housing, and locations on the fringe of central business

districts) particularly vulnerable to change, which may also serve as markers of the direction and intensity of influence of globalization trends.

This project shows how Atlanta's Olympic-related urban development, more specifically, the destruction of Techwood public housing, laws prohibiting homelessness in specific spaces, the creation of Centennial Olympic Park, and the erection of the Centennial Olympic Stadium in the midst of the Summerhill neighborhood, were not simply spontaneous or coincidental events. With respect to anti-homeless ordinances, Mitchell (1997, 305) notes that these laws prohibit the necessary activities and access to the necessary spaces of homeless people. "The anti-homeless laws being passed in city after city in the United States work by... redefining what is acceptable behavior in public space, by in effect annihilating the spaces in which the homeless *must* live, these laws seek simply to annihilate homeless people themselves, all in the name of recreating the city...". Rather, the inhabitants and spaces of Atlanta experienced new spatial ordering enforced by city leaders, boosters, Olympic planners both domestic and international, and the sanctioned institutions and corporations representing these organizations, to produce and restructure and the city into a site of global production via a rescaling of urban resources (Lefebvre 1991).⁴ Scholars and others use Stone's term, the urban regime, to best characterize this group of urban governors (1989). In Atlanta, these rescaled urban resources included, public housing, public space, the capital to maintain these institutions, and city neighborhoods. Construction of new venues, the privatization of previously public or unrecognized space (Peck and Tickell 2002), and forced

⁴ Examples include, but are not limited to, the International Olympic Committee, Metropolitan Atlanta Olympic Games Authority (MAOGA), Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games (ACOG), various city council members, Mr. Billy Payne (president of the ACOG) and other ACOG board members, various elected officials, and business elites.

displacement or eviction of residents are all elements of an intentional spatial restructuring of the city and an imposition of a new spatial ordering of Atlanta.

Social Movement Framing

As Nicholls and Beaumont (2004, 120) note, social movements “mobilize resources, store collective know-how and nourish trusting relations; they mobilize and make claims within political opportunity structures, which in turn condition their strategies, tactics and objectives; and, they generate collective identities which frame and bind the participants into a single, collective movement” (Kreisi 1996, McAdam et al. 1996, McCarthy 1996, Melucci 1996). The various frames and framing processes associated with the groups provide interesting and useful insight to the globalizing, historical, geographical, and social processes influencing the organizations and their constituencies.

Benford and Snow’s (2000) article, “Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment” provide a significant portion of the theoretical foundation for this portion of the project. They (2000, 614) write:

Frames help to render events or occurrences meaningful and thereby function to organize experience and guide action. Collective action frames also perform this interpretive function by simplifying and condensing aspects of the ‘world out there,’ but in ways that are ‘intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists.’ Thus, collective action frames are action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization.

Frames, then, are compelling as objects of investigation because of their primarily political nature; that is, they are self-selected interpretations of reality that seek to sustain and grow an organization, not to strive for objectivity or neutrality. As Judith Butler

notes, “What relations of domination and exclusion are inadvertently sustained when representation becomes the sole focus of politics?” (1990, 6). Representation is a political tactic rife with power relations; thus, one should not assume that representatives of the poor always reflect the best interests of the poor in a social movement’s frames.

Additionally, because frames are necessarily social, the beliefs, meanings, activities, and campaigns of a social movement organization are shared among the constituents, carrying with them the historical and geographic contexts of the group (Benford and Snow, 614). Because of the social nature of the frames, these contexts play a crucial role in determining what an organization includes, excludes, explains, condemns, praises, and ignores in its frames. I attempt to understand these actions, especially concerning how knowledge of the globalizing city affects construction and constitution of social movement frames. It is at this point where culture, history, and geography play a significant role in determining how past social movement organizing from similar racial and class groups incorporated and excluded the global scale in their frames.

Benford and Snow break down framing into three major types of framing: diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational (Ibid., 616-7), or, as Kurtz writes, “naming, blaming, and claiming” (Kurtz 2002, 254). In these three types, social movements can attribute blame or responsibility for the perceived problem, establish protagonists and antagonists, provide a vision for action, create a rationale for action, deflect counterframings, and “construct appropriate vocabularies of motive for movement action.” By contesting the regime’s production of the image of Atlanta, social movements revealed their framing strategies as multi-scalar. The frames invoked

multiple scales not only within individual frames, but also collectively, as some frames operated on their own particular scale. For an example of multiple scales in a single frame, in counterframing the regime's image of Atlanta as economically and racially cleansed, social movements used the unique scalar elements of the Olympics to frame their cause. The increased presence of international journalists and their ability to disperse stories around the globe combined with the Olympic-related transformed spaces of Atlanta allowed for framing strategies that compellingly reimaged Atlanta at a variety of scales.

Along with the general social movement framing paradigm set forth by Benford and Snow, I pay special attention to the spatial issues in social movement framing proposed by Miller (2000) in *Geography and Social Movements: Comparing Antinuclear Activism in the Boston Area*. Miller's (and Martin in this chapter, 15) work provides a strong theoretical component in that he draws explicit attention to spaces and places of social movement activity, local politics, and the roles of accessibility, appropriation, domination, and production of space. Because this project is largely concerned with space and place, Miller and Martin's theoretical perspective and advocacy for a geographic understanding of social movements augments Benford and Snow's framing perspective in a way that facilitates an understanding of social movement frames from a geographical perspective (Heaney and Rojas 2006). Scale, in relation to framing, as elucidated in Kurtz (2002) and Nicholls and Beaumont (2004), is also critical, as social movements can frame the scale of the injustice as a political tactic.

One geographically-derived addition to the social movement framing literature comes from work on the politics of scale. This literature has an extensive bibliography in

a number of varying subfields, ranging from human-environment interaction to social movement scale frames to hunger to urban governance to the politics of the nation-state and more (e.g., Smith 1990, Smith 1996, Herod 1997, Kurtz 2002, Staeheli 1994, Marston 2000, Brenner 2001, Marston and Smith 2001, Sheppard 2002, Purcell 2003c, Merrill, 2004, Heynen 2009). While much in this vast body of literature could be applied to my thesis topic and questions, I am using just one small thread of this literature, mainly Kurtz (2002), and the notion of social movement scale frames.

In addition to Benford and Snow and Miller and Martin, Mayer's (2006) article "Urban Social Movements in an Era of Globalization" provides an essential piece of the theoretical framework for this project. In it, Mayer provides an answer to a critical question: what effect does a globalizing city have on social movements? To answer this question, Mayer adopts three general principles that have shaped the globalizing and urban context within which social movements operate. Her (2006, 296) conclusion is that there are "three trends in particular [that] are significant and novel on the level of local politics." Below, in truncated form, are Mayer's proposed trends, along with a brief descriptive point of that theme and a brief point generalizing her characterization of typical social movement responses to the corresponding trend.

- *new competitive forms of urban development*
 - Description: cities upgrading their locality in the international competition for investors, advanced services, and mega-projects
 - Response: attack non-democratic decision making, highlight negative side effects of development, criticize spatial and temporal concentration of development, damage boosters' image of city
- *erosion of traditional welfare rights*
 - Description: anti-homeless and –squatter ordinances, regulation of public space, destruction of public housing, forced eviction and displacement
 - Response: supporter groups and advocacy organizations become key players; disruptive meetings are possible, if limited resources allow

- *expansion of the urban political system, also described as a shift from 'government' to 'governance'*
 - Description: local politics take on new and increasing significance because “structural competitiveness can neither be provided by multinationals’ strategy nor by uniform national policy;” increasing political organization between government and traditionally non-governmental agencies and organizations
 - Response: government co-opting some social movements to achieve their goals, this creates insiders and outsiders in formerly somewhat unified social movement sector; creates potential for increased cooperation between government and social movement organizations, this may be potentially positive and negative

A significant portion of this project interprets first, how the Olympic industry promoted these three themes in Atlanta, and second, how social movement organizations’ frames aligned, if at all, with Mayer’s responses. An investigation into the frames provides insight into how social movements conceived of Mayer’s trends and how the movements planned and executed, if at all, Mayer’s responses. Furthermore, because Mitchell (2003) and Lefebvre (1996) comment extensively on some of the trends Mayer highlights, I use Mitchell’s *Right to the City* and Lefebvre’s *Writings on Cities* in the next section to add some depth to Mayer’s trends in globalizing cities.

Ultimately, the rationale for incorporating social movement frames into the scope of this project is to go beyond a study of the social movements themselves and to use frames as a window into the politics, perceptions, history, geography, and context of the social movements themselves. For this project, it is especially true in terms of how social movements frame their cause within the globalizing city, especially in the face of injustice like displacement used to produce the global city itself. In other words, this study assumes that the social movements’ frames reveal a great deal about the social movements, their leaders, and their constituents. By examining movements’ frames, this project aims to understand how perception of their globalizing city fits into the frames, if

at all, how these perceptions may be aided, limited, or altered by the various contextual forces within the social movements, and how the global processes themselves affect the formation and existence of social movements.

2.5 The Right to the City

Several prominent geographers have addressed the concept of the right to the city. Much of the right to the city literature binds together some of the previously mentioned theory, especially the spatial, material, and symbolic significance of displacement. Eugene McCann's (1999) article on racial violence in Lexington, Kentucky, contextualizes Henri Lefebvre's work in an U.S.-American city, beginning with the abstracted spatial divisions in *The Production of Space* (1991) and then moving to the application of the right to the city seen in the collection of essays, *Writing on Cities* (1996). McCann (1999) begins with Lefebvre's notion of abstract space, noting that abstract space is "space represented by elite social groups as homogeneous, instrumental, and ahistorical" (164). As McCann argues that downtown areas in most U.S. cities are abstract spaces, so too was Atlanta's Olympic space. While Rutheiser (1996) never mentions abstract space in *Imagineering Atlanta*, it is clear that he has in mind the same produced, cleansed, ahistorical, and homogeneous spaces in Atlanta that McCann and Lefebvre theoretically interpret as "abstract." The homogeneity of these spaces is specifically expressed as an engineered demographic cleansing made possible by the displacement in Atlanta's Olympic moment.

Understanding the Olympic moment through Lefebvre's notion of the production of abstract space excavates room for the above reapplications of Nyers, Anderson, and

Stone. McCann, quoting Lefebvre (1991), writes that abstract space is “a space of quantification and growing homogeneity, a merchandised space where all the elements are exchangeable and thus interchangeable; a police space in which the state tolerates no resistance and no obstacles. Economic space and political space converge towards an elimination of all differences.” In Atlanta, displacement was an integral part of producing this abstract space. Producing an abstract space not only allows for capital investment on behalf of the urban regime, but also creates the space from which Nyers’ refugees are inclusively excluded and the central site of Anderson’s urban imagined community. The presence of the homeless and low-income minority Atlantans resisted not only the accumulation of capital but also threatened the false but ever-present images and discourses of Atlanta and the Olympics as universally beneficent.

Reversing the production and maintenance of abstract space is at the heart of the right to the city. Lefebvre writes: “The right to the city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit. The right to the *oeuvre*, to participation and *appropriation*...are implied in the right to the city” (emphasis original) (1996, 174). Mitchell sums up this re-seizure of the city by those in the city in this way: “More and more the spaces of the modern city are being produced *for* us rather than *by* us. People, Lefebvre argued, have a right to more; they have the right to the *oeuvre*” (emphasis original) (2003, 18). The right to the city, then, is not simply reclamation of physical urban spaces, as though these spaces were simply a container in which people live their daily lives. Instead, the right to the city is a right achieved by urban inhabitants reappropriating the urban regime’s ahistorical, homogenous, and cleansed spaces of operation and transforming them into places of

difference and encounter, informed by the material and symbolic practices and histories of urban inhabitants (Purcell 2003a, 2003b). In short, the right to the city asserts a right to produce and create the city for human needs both material and non-material.

The right to the city literature and the social movement framing literature in geography have much in common, yet their linkage has not been made explicit. In the social movement literature, the powers of ideology are often studied not as trans-historical or trans-spatial ideologies, but as locally contingent micro-ideologies that employ image, discourse, rhetoric, conception, and perception in an attempt to counter the dominant ideologies put forth by the governing regime.⁵ These are framing attempts and they provide a convenient framework within which to understand the discursive battles of ideologies in spatio-temporal contexts (Kurtz, 2003). For the urban realm, the regime producing the dominant ideology is concerned with discursively and materially producing the entirety of city. Extending Mitchell's statement of the city being produced "for us instead of by us" to the demographics of the city, the perceptions and conceptions of the city, the discourses and practices of civic identity, and every other facet of urban life reveals the extent to which the city is subject to production and reproduction by the urban governing regime. The clarion call of asserting the right to public space in the right to the city however, emphasizes the point of struggle for the city. If, in addition to spatially transforming the city through the seizure of public space, the urban regime is discursively seizing the city, the struggle for the right to the city must extend to the discursive realms. Micro-ideologies expressed discursively through the framing and

⁵ For example, see Deborah G. Martin, "'Place-Framing' as Place-Making: Constituting a Neighborhood for Organizing and Activism," *Annals of the American Association of American Geographers*, 93, 3, (2003): 730-750. Furthermore, Martin and Holloway (2005) note that social movements often operate at scales that may or may not respond to urgent processes within the cities.

counterframing deny, seize, and contest the right to the city, discursively and otherwise produced.

Charles Rutheiser's notion of imagineering and the reapplication of Anderson's (1991) *Imagined Communities* thesis, when applied to 'the right to the city,' can enhance the notion of framing as struggle for the city. This enhancement is because the term imagineering recognizes the dialectical mutuality of material and discursive politics.

Rutheiser notes:

Appropriating a term from Walt Disney, I refer to these successive waves of organized promotion and redevelopment as linked, but not always well coordinated acts of urban 'imagineering.' I am using this term...to encompass the manifold labors of public relations operatives and other 'creative specialists' working in the seemingly boundless and placeless spaces of the mass media. The Olympic-inspired effort to recreate a sense of 'traditional urbanity' in downtown Atlanta through the renovation of the public character of the city presents a particularly vivid example of the state of the art of what I refer to as 'making place' through both urban design and an aggressive, relentless use of advertising. By using the notion of 'imagineering' to refer to late-nineteenth-century as well as present-day practices of city building, I also wish to emphasize the historical continuities in the spectacular dimension of the urban process, as well as the epochal shifts in the ways in which cities are currently 'put together' in both a physical and virtual sense (4).

There exists no real divide between the material and the discursive attempts to produce and reproduce the city. The right to the city, then, should not stop at the false dichotomy of the material and discursive; indeed, it must struggle to imagineer the city, just as the urban regime imagineers the city. In Atlanta, this regime, as detailed in *Regime Politics* has traditionally been a biracial governing coalition consisting of white business elites and black elected officials (Stone, ix). Rutheiser traces the roots and history of the imagineerings of this coalition from when the city was rebuilt after the Civil War, through the major social upheavals of desegregation, civil rights, industrialization, the

transition to a service economy, and finally, to the recent imagineering of Atlanta as a global city.

What Rutheiser only briefly mentions, however, is that the imagineering of Atlanta as a global city, especially in the Olympic historical moment, was a contested process. A major theme of this project is an analysis of this contest from the perspective of the other imagineers—an analysis of the frames and counterframes that reveal the intersection of scale and framing strategies of social movement activists as they sought to re-imagineer and contest the regime’s imagineering of the global city of Atlanta.

2.6 Conclusion

There are two main themes of this chapter. The first is the necessity to interpret displacement and an urban imagined community as key element in global city formation. Using scholarship traditionally not applied to urban situations, one can achieve useful theory that explains some of the discursive practices of the globalizing city. The second is that global city formation and social movement framing strategies, especially with respect to scale, are not only related, but can influence each other’s compositional processes. Chapter Three will examine the research methodology used to investigate these themes in Atlanta.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Study Area and Units of Analysis

I model this project after Yin's (2003, 40) embedded units, single-case design. This particular type of case study recognizes that units of study are embedded within a case, which, in turn, lies within a context. The embedded units in this case study are the social movements, Olympic organizers, city boosters, and local politicians, collectively referred to as the regime. While it may be obvious that the social movements operate within a historical, political, cultural, geographical, and social context, it is less obvious, but equally important, to note that these same contextual elements surround the regime. Embeddedness is another reason for dialectically examining the necessary connections between the globalizing of Atlanta and social movement framing. All of the actors in question comprise the individual yet related embedded units within the boundaries of the historical moment of Olympic-related urban restructuring in Atlanta. The context, then, far exceeds the boundaries of Atlanta and comprises all of the above elements that constitute "Atlanta."

For several reasons, this project's nearly exclusive focus is on the city of Atlanta and the social movements therein during the Olympic historical moment. Atlanta is unique in that it was an Olympic host city, it has an exceptionally vibrant history of social movement organizing, and it has continued to globalize long after the Games ended. These three factors combined to contribute to Atlanta's unique social, cultural, historical, and geographical context in which to explore the relational dynamics of social

movements and globalizing cities. Furthermore, because of continual restructuring of its urban core and neighborhoods, Atlanta's recent Olympic past may shed light on current and future contentious political activity by social movements in Olympic cities. Finally, investigating Atlanta during the historical moment of Olympic preparations allows for a well-defined period in which to investigate social movement framing processes. Because of the accelerated speed and unusually large scale of Olympic development, the historical moment and area in question are particularly well suited for a case study that evaluates a definitive number of organizations, processes, and actors carry out the work of globalizing Atlanta and social movement framing.

3.2 Research Methods

As Yin notes (1994, 100), data triangulation is essential to conducting a successful case study research project. Thus, this project incorporates two types of data—archival data and interviews—in the hopes of reconstructing a more accurate record and interpretation of the case study. Furthermore, relying on not only the two core types of data but also a variety of sources from each type of data is an essential element in appropriate data collection procedures (Flowerdew and Martin 1997); thus, diversity in all respects of data collection is the primary aim of this section of the project.

To address the issue of the globalizing of Atlanta, I rely primarily on theoretical understandings given by Massey (2007), Mayer (2006), Sassen (1991), Marcuse and van Kempen (2000), and others. Rutheiser (2006), Burbank et al. (2001), and Newman (1999) also provide some key specifics concerning the globalizing of Atlanta. Archival research compliments the theoretical interpretation; archives located at The Atlanta

History Center, for instance, helped in investigating themes of globalizing, like the discourses of Olympic promotion, the corporate role in hosting the Olympics, and the motives of redeveloping and globalizing Atlanta. The tandem of theory and archival data will facilitate a thorough content analysis and will richly describe the contextually embedded social actors driving the globalizing of Atlanta (Hoggart et al., 2002, Crotty 1998).

Semi-structured interviews are a necessary component of this project. I limit, however, this project's empirical investigation to social movement participants and organizers, rather than attempt to interview activists and politicians, boosters, and organizers. This restriction of the interviews has several benefits, not the least of which is more opportunity to explore more deeply the social movement framing questions.

3.3 Understanding Social Movement Frames through Interviews

Data Collection

The interviewees consist of leaders, organizers, and participants of social movements.⁶ Because the project is focused on framing, however, more significant attention was given to those who construct the frames of the organizations. This caveat was also necessary because many of the constituents of the social movements no longer live in the same areas they once did in the early to mid-1990s. Because of their visible leadership positions, social movement organizers and frame constructors have been easier to track down. I have culled some of the names of the interviewees from the archived editions of the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* dating from roughly 1991 through 1996. Networking with the leadership of the social movement organizations provided the

⁶ See Appendix A for a list of interviewees; see Appendix B for a list of sample interview questions.

remaining contacts from within the various constituencies. I have interviewed fourteen social movement leaders and constituents for this project.

Another location for data collection was the Atlanta History Center. While the Center has an extensive collection of Olympic memorabilia and other Olympic-related exhibits and research aids, the most helpful archival collection was an Olympic interview archive, containing several dozen 1998 interviews of Olympic-related Atlantans. These interviews, commissioned by ACOG, were conducted with the help of some Georgia State University faculty and graduate students, and were designed to be a retrospective on the 1996 Games. Volunteers, ACOG officials, community leaders, construction contractors, city officials, attorneys, and numerous other members of the ACOG staff gave interviews about their Olympic experiences.

These archival interviews were helpful in two ways. First, because I had limited my own interviews to social movement activists, these interviews provided a parallel source that I could use alongside my own interviews. Secondly, these interviews enriched my interpretation of Atlanta as a globalizing city and the expansion of the urban regime. These interviews not only provided a more complete perspective on the historical moment, but also contained some of the most useful and productive quotes in my entire source materials collection.

Data Analysis

After the completing the interviews, I transcribed them using recording equipment and computer software, consisting of a simple digital voice recorder, a transcription pedal, and a word processor. The transcription allowed for an interview analysis that

highlighted potential themes from within an interview and between different interviewees' responses. More specifically, it is coding the data that allowed for identification of themes within the interview transcription. Coding also more readily allowed for more for direct connection to answering the initial research questions concerning the relational dynamics between social movements and globalizing cities. I coded respondents' for themes of scale, whether it was overtly or latently present in their language. More often than not, general scalar language as it related to the city was overt and obvious—even when I did not ask a direct question about it. Coding for naming, blaming, and claiming, however, was more difficult because the social movement framers often did not consciously use scale in how they named, blamed, or claimed in their scale frames. Instead, naming, blaming, and claiming were often intertwined, and language constituting, say, naming might easily constitute blaming and/or claiming. Once I reconciled in my mind that the divisions of naming, blaming, and claiming were less important than interpreting the whole of the scale frames, coding became easier and more fruitful.

Concerning the documentation data, these sources informed the questions of context, and augmented the interviews by providing factual and chronological information. In the event of misrememberances of the interviewees, the documentation data serves as triangulation agents to balance the perspective of the interviewees. This is where, in addition to triangulation of data, constructing questions that emphasized the past framing strategies, not current or past personal feelings or opinions, was essential to the project.

Contribution

It is difficult to overstate the importance and significance of these interviews in understanding the relational dynamics of social movement framing and globalizing cities in the Atlanta Olympic context. This research revealed much about the intricate nature of social movement framing. These interviews provided a window into not only how social movement organizers perceived the Olympic-related urban restructuring, but also what their priorities were when constructing frames. Because frames touch on psychological, historical, cultural, political, and geographical elements, these interviews expose these contextual elements that influence the construction of social movement frames. Furthermore, the interviews reveal how the social movements incorporated notions of the 'global' into their frames.

3.4 Expected and Unexpected Methodological Developments

The first expected but disappointing development was that I did not interview the number of interviewees that I set out to interview in my proposal. Not only that, but I also did not interview some of the key people involved with Atlantan social movements from 1990-1996. This is in large part due to circumstances beyond my control. After attempting many times to contact some activists, I received no return contacts. Other personal circumstances hindered my interviews; for instance, one potential interviewee severely injured his shoulder only a few days before our scheduled interview. With surgery and a long rehabilitation in addition to a very busy work schedule, this interviewee declined our interview with regret. Furthermore, some potential interviewees from the time are no longer alive, have moved out of the area, or were displaced by the

Olympic-related development. Beyond a good faith effort to contact my potential interviewees, circumstances like these were difficult to avoid and were an inherent, if disappointing, part of research.

Another concern was that using scalar language in my interview questions would introduce an artificial schema of interpreting the historical moment in question, so I intended to avoid mentioning it explicitly unless it came up in the course of conversation during an interview. This included avoiding mentioning words like “global” and “local” in the questions. Even with this intention, because I was interested in how the social movements understood the scalar developments of their city, it sometimes became necessary to explicitly inquire about scalar themes in my interview questions. For some of the interviews, this perhaps confirms the initial fear of prodding the interviewees to talk about scalar factors when the scalar factors did not exist or the interviewees were not conscious of the same scalar factors during the time of the case study. This is a potential weakness in some of the interviews.

In other interviews, however, no prodding was necessary; indeed, some interviewees readily and explicitly raised issues of scale in our interviews. These interviewees who spoke explicitly of scale without my prodding them evince that scalar notions were not totally foreign to the social movement organizations as a collective. Furthermore, there does not appear to be a gender, racial, vocational, or class distinction between those who spoke independently in scalar terms and those who spoke in scalar terms only after prodding. This may suggest that the difference is less a result of social structure or stratification and more a result of the vagaries of individual memory, perspective, and experience. Undoubtedly, though, a firmer conclusion would necessitate

a larger sample of interviewees. While they do not entirely forgive the potential introduction of a new and artificial schema with which to understand the past, the interviewees independently speaking in scalar terms do illustrate the existence of scalar knowledge among the group as a whole, even if certain interviewees, who, for lack of remembrance or because they never thought of the Olympic historical moment in scalar concepts in the first place, did not without prodding discuss their experiences using scalar terms.

It is conceivable that my positionality, first, as a geographer, could also have influenced the interviewees' reluctance or eagerness to speak in scalar terms. Those familiar with the geography as an academic discipline would perhaps know that scale, place, and space are common themes of investigation and therefore may have been eager or reluctant to speak with geographic themes and vocabulary in mind. Additionally, my positionality as a researcher generally sympathetic to the cause and plight of those whom I interviewed was apparent to most of the interviewees, despite my best efforts to not overtly reveal my sympathies during the interviews. Indeed, one interviewee recognized my sympathies so much that he began talking about the importance of young researchers like me as "scholar-activist[s]" (Loring, personal interview). Thus, it is entirely possible that my interviewees' responses to my questions were affected by their perception of my sympathies.

My positionality as a young, white, middle class male, as are my interviewee's analogous positionalities, likely influenced the questions I asked, the answers given by the interviewees, and the interpretation of questions on the interviewees' behalf and their answers on my behalf. In this sense, much like other researchers have found, every

interaction was fraught with some kind of identity or positional interpretation. Though recognizing positionality does not remove the researcher from the problems of positionality, I take some comfort in other researchers' experiences with recognizing the limitedness that their position in the social world places on their research (DeVault 1999, England 1994, Joseph 1996, Herod 1999, Rose 1997).

In all, the breakdown of the various identities of my interviewees was: nine males, five females, nine whites, four African-Americans, and one Asian-American. Most, but not all of the interviewees held middle class or upper middle class jobs, though some were living lives of poverty. In combing through interview transcriptions, however, there did not seem to be a significant difference in responses according to a particular part of the interviewees' collective positionalities. Statistically, this is a non-issue because the sample size is far too small to draw any kind of meaningful conclusions about positionalities and identity in relation to interview responses. Even within this small group of interviewees, it is somewhat striking that dissent and difference, rather than agreement, was more the exception rather than the rule across most of the positional and identity boundaries.

Research issues like these are an ever-present challenge to the researcher. Even with the utmost care and detail, some methodological tensions and questions are beyond the control of the researcher. A multiplicity of sources balanced with one another in some form of triangulation is a way to resolve some of the tension. In this project, I countered the potential weaknesses of the interviews with primary source material from not only the Atlanta History Center, but also from the online *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* archives, some of the interviewees' personal material, and also some online

academic repositories. Theoretical understandings of social movement framings, qualitative research, global cities, and displacement also helped construct a richer and more complete narrative of Atlanta's Olympic historical moment.

A final weakness of the interview method concerns the unique situation of the memory of the interviewees as it intersects with the growing discursive power of "globalization" in cultural and political rhetoric. In the twelve to eighteen years between the Olympic moment and the time of the interviews, an intense and rapid increase in the general understanding of globalization and ubiquity of cultural references to "globalization" dramatically altered the ways in which most Americans engaged with the various meanings of the term.

Thus, three interesting elements constitute this weakness. The first two are the inherent fickleness of memory and the changing rhetoric and understandings of "globalization." The final element is that the project itself is investigating how the social movement activists understood global forces—understandings that are socially formed and that can change instantaneously. It is entirely possible that over the course of the interviews, a number of spectacular events could have radically changed interviewees' understandings of globalization and, therefore, potentially of global forces in Atlanta's Olympic moment. For example, almost all of the interviewees referenced the 2008 Olympics in Beijing without prompting. Had there not been such a significant amount of domestic and international protest during the 2008 Olympic torch carry, had there not been such massive displacement in Beijing in the years leading up to the Games, and had China not been discursively linked to the emerging global economy in the popular press,

it is more than conceivable that the interviewees' understandings of Atlanta could have been altered, confirmed, or otherwise.

3.5 Conclusion

I resist pejoratively referring to the above research developments as “problems” or “issues,” solely because they are reflections of the complexity of human consciousness and social formations, not methodological research problematics for which one must compensate. I attempt to embrace, rather than shun, the humanness of these developments despite what might be called imprecise interviewee source material. Nevertheless, given the historically-embedded subject matter of this project, triangulation of source materials, including primary source material originating from both during and immediately following the Olympic moment, was necessary for this project to provide a fuller account of a historical moment. The non-interview materials were not simply an accompaniment to the interviews; indeed, the addition of these sources proved to be not only just as valuable and insightful as the interview transcriptions but they also helped to provide a balanced perspective of the historical moment. Combining this set of triangulated primary and secondary source materials with theoretical understandings of the global city, social movement framing, the goal of this methodological arrangement was to provide a foundation upon which a thorough explanation, assessment, and interpretation of the historical moment could be erected.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS

“Did you happen to see any of those ‘guides to Atlanta’ they published for the Olympics? Big, thick things, some of them, regular books, and I couldn’t believe it at first. It was as if nothing existed below Ponce de Leon other than City Hall and CNN and Martin Luther King memorabilia. The maps—the maps!—were all bobtailed—cut off at the bottom—so no white tourist would even think about wandering down into South Atlanta. They didn’t even mention Niskey Lake or Cascade Heights.”

“I’m not too sorry about that,” said Roger.

“I’m not either,” said Wes, “But you get the picture, don’t you? How do you segregate white tourists from black people in a city that’s 70 percent black? You render the black folks invisible!”

-Tom Wolfe, *A Man in Full* (1998, 185)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research findings framed within the theory of Chapter Two. The first section of this chapter highlights the modes of displacement in Atlanta for both the homeless populations and the housed populations while contextualizing these processes in the history of displacement in Atlanta. The next section of the chapter explores the inter- and intra- group politics of scale frames. It not only contends that conceptions of scale were integral to social movement framings, but also links the durability, success, and scale of the frames to Atlanta as a globalizing city concluding that the material transformations associated with the global city and the discursive politics exemplified in scale frames influenced one another in Atlanta’s Olympic historical moment.

4.2 A Brief Account of Civil Rights, Civil Wrongs, and Protest in Atlanta

Since the 1950's, a central part of Atlanta's local politics has been the advocacy, protest, and organizing for civil rights and against perpetual regime infractions of the rights of black Atlantans. Significantly, much of the civil rights movement in Atlanta was centered on issues of urban redevelopment and infrastructure construction. Tuck's work, *Beyond Atlanta: The Struggle for Racial Equality in Georgia, 1940-1980* (2001) details much of the history of protest in Atlanta. From student sit-ins led by Atlanta University students to more formal protest organized by SNCC, SCLC, and other groups, Atlanta was familiar with racial tension and direct action politics (Tuck 2001, 126). White political leadership was usually the target of these protests, especially after incidents like when Mayor Ivan Allen erected a metal barrier to separate white and black neighborhoods in southwest Atlanta (114).

Interestingly, much of the direct action protest in Georgia during the 1960's was unique from city to city (109). Though various organizations had networks of members across the South, most protest not only varied from city to city, but also focused primarily on challenging a particular city's leadership, not state, regional, or national political leaders. This legacy of emphasis on direct action against forms of racist local governance helps explain why social movement actors in Atlanta's Olympic moment were also focused primarily upon the regime. Furthermore, some of the people who witnessed and participated in some of the 1960's protests in Atlanta were also members of social movement organizations protesting in the Olympic moment. Columbus Ward, an interviewee for this project because of his activism on behalf of the Summerhill community in the face of the Olympic stadium being constructed in Summerhill, was a

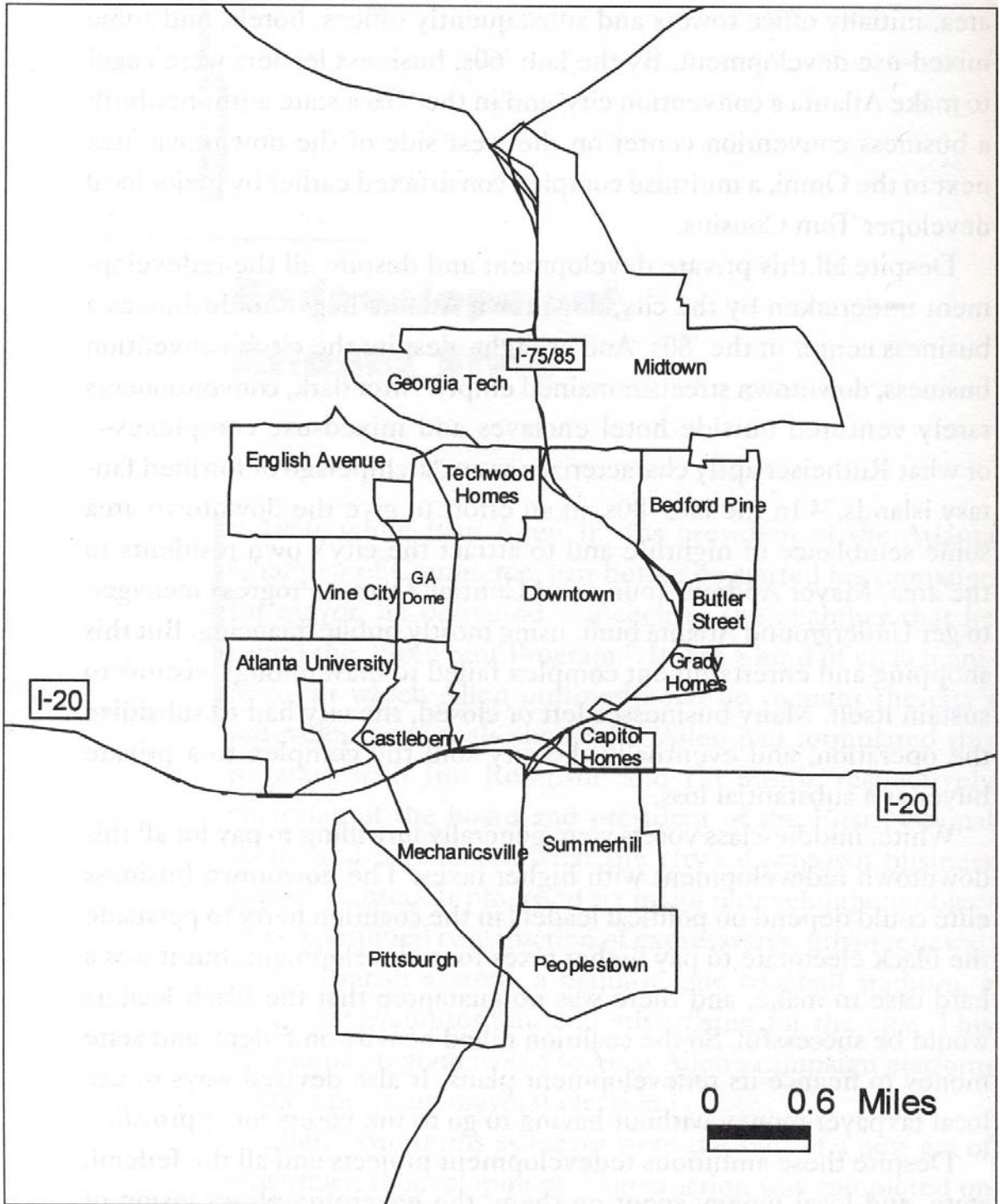


Figure 4.1 Atlanta's Central Neighborhoods (Map from Keating 2001, 90. Produced by Brad Calvert.)

sixth-grader at the time of the 1966 Summerhill protest and remembers joining the protest for hours (Grady-Willis 2006, 118). This deep continuity between the 1960's protests and the 1990's protests is surely significant for explaining some of the similarities between past and present.

Direct action in Atlanta at this time also attacked the image Atlanta's regime had made for the city—that it was a city moving past racial conflict. As Tuck writes: “In an open letter to Ivan Allen...SNCC member Prathia Hall insisted that ‘despite its liberal image Atlanta is still a segregated city.’ Julian Bond also pointed out that ‘Savannah has made greater strides in many fields.’ James Forman concurred, stating that ‘Negroes who live in Atlanta, work in Atlanta, die in Atlanta—know that the image is false’” (116). Social movements in Atlanta from 1990-1996 also used a similar tactic, this time latching on to Atlanta's promotion of itself as an authentically global city. Locally-focused and image-critical social movement discourses and protest have a significant history and, as is discussed later, were present in social movement frames during Atlanta's Olympic moment.

As the history of social movement tactics and discourses in some ways sets precedent for the similar tactics and discourses today, so too does the history of infrastructure and displacement in Atlanta. The regime undertook numerous projects around the city, including the construction of a civic center, MARTA, the I-75/I-85 Connector, and the Atlanta-Fulton County Stadium, all of which not only had and continue to have a detrimental impact on Atlanta's low-income and African American neighborhoods, but also which were motivated by bringing prestige, identity, and image to the city.

The construction of the civic center and the 75/85 Connector both eliminated large portions of African American neighborhoods or dissected significant African American spaces; for example, 75/85 Connector divided Auburn Avenue, the city's most prominent black commercial district (Keating, 92). MARTA, Atlanta's commuter rail and bus transportation system, was designed to give Atlanta a transit system appropriate for a metropolis, yet the city refused to extend MARTA's access to some low-income and black neighborhoods (Ibid., 140-1). Furthermore, the erection of Atlanta-Fulton County Stadium was constructed in the midst of several low income and black neighborhoods, resulting in displacement and worsened living conditions for the neighborhoods (e.g., fireworks ash burning down homes) (Ward, personal interview). These urban infrastructural projects are the legacy of the struggle of regime politics.

Any discussion, then, of the globalizing of Atlanta, of social movement activism in the city, and of urban redevelopment projects in Atlanta should be interpreted through a historical lens of similar processes in the city. Examining the globalizing of Atlanta in its historical and geographical context is an example of what Burawoy (2000, 337) refers to as grounding globalization. The so-called global moment of the Olympics in Atlanta is heavily contextualized, and as a result, bears resemblance to Atlanta in the past. It is with the history of Atlanta in mind that global city formation, displacement, and social movement frames should be interpreted.

4.3 Displacement and Building the Globalizing City

Atlanta's Urban Imagined Community, Expanding Regime, and the Displaced

In the years leading up to the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta, the city embarked on several redevelopment and construction projects that involved directly and indirectly displacing residents. These projects occurred only within the legal boundaries of the city and were focused around an area surrounding the central business district then termed the “Olympic Ring” of redevelopment. Not only were nearly all of the venues for the Olympics within the Ring, but so too were the major commercial, economic, government, and cultural institutions of the city, state, and region. The main projects associated with displacement were the closure of public housing, the busing of homeless out of the city, anti-homeless ordinances, the forced eviction and displacement of people from Techwood Park (the parcel of land that would become the Centennial Olympic Park), and the erection of the Olympic stadium in the midst of a residential district. In addition, gentrification due to some of these projects led to further displacement and relocation of residents. From 1990 to 1996, the city displaced roughly 30,000 Atlantans because of the Olympic-related urban redevelopment (2007, 46).⁷

Atlanta's Imagined Community

In the case of Atlanta as imagined community, hosting the Olympics provided a unique opportunity through which the regime could create a new iteration of Atlanta as an imagined community. This represented a convergence of the governance of the city

⁷ This number is taken from a report written by an activist and released on an international housing rights website. I rely on this number and others like it for two reasons. First, I trust this number with reasonable confidence given that it has been cited and referenced in a variety of sources. Second, I use it because it is the only available source of the data and because the argument I present here does not depend on knowing the precise number of the displaced or illegally arrested.

with the zeal similar to that of the nation. Just as in Anderson's example of the Javanese villagers whose culturally constructed notions of community shaped their understandings of social connections, so too did the cultural milieu of Atlanta make any given style of the imagined community possible or impossible, likely or unlikely, imaginable or unimaginable.

In Atlanta, as in Anderson's nation, the community was *imagined*: most metropolitan Atlantans never personally knew, say, the leading members of ACOG or many of the other millions that comprised the city, but discourses of "the world coming to Atlanta" laid the foundation for a general unity among those who self-identified as Atlantans. A cursory review of the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* archives during this period reveals that even in the midst of dissent and disagreement over Olympic plans, Atlantans generally knew that the globality of their city via hosting the Olympic Games was an emerging facet of the—to use Anderson's word—evolving *style* of their imagined community. Atlanta was not only *imagined*, though; it was also a *community*, which, in Anderson's lexicon, necessitates a "deep, horizontal comradeship." No more obvious is this comradeship than when associated with the Olympics. Olympic ideology is expressly about the world coming together in the name of peaceful and friendly competition and in preparation to be the site of such an event, the Olympic city develops its own egalitarian ideology despite the massive inequalities, blatant injustices, and contradictions of the Olympic spirit, all of which are manifested in Olympic-related displacement. Even in 2008, Billy Payne, the original proponent of the Atlanta's Olympic bid, has touted in the popular press the community benefits of hosting the Olympics: "[The Olympics are] absolutely the most unifying event, lifetime experience

that you could ever imagine for your city. Social, religious, political—it will come together in a common sense of pride for the community that will be so powerful it will surprise them. ...It would recenter the direction of the city for the next 100 years” (Wojciechowski).

The *Imagined Communities* thesis, though originally intended to apply to the development of the nation-state, can be rescaled to the urban. Hosting the Olympics created an opportunity for Atlanta’s governing coalition to create a new styling or iteration of their already imagined community. This time, the regime produced the power of the imagined community through the promise and potential of Atlanta as a global city. If, as Anderson asserts, the nation-state as imagined community is ultimately responsible for the deadly violence of nationalism, perhaps rescaling his thesis to Atlanta’s Olympic historical moment can partially explain the violence of displacement precipitated in the name of the urban imagined community.

The Shifting Regime

During the Olympic moment, two interesting and novel developments shifted the biracial governing coalition, the first of which was the incorporation of black social movement activists and community organizers into the regime. The story of Mattie Jackson, longtime Summerhill resident and social movement activist, exemplifies the incorporation well. Jackson was one of the primary people that allied Summerhill Neighborhood, Inc. (SNI) with the maneuverings of ACOG. Because she was a longtime community organizer and SNI leader, in 1991, ACOG asked her to be one of their board members (Jackson, archived interview). A year later, ACOG sent Jackson on an all-

expenses paid fact-finding trip to the Barcelona Olympic Games. Additionally, ACOG approved Jackson's request to ascend and descend Stone Mountain with the Olympic torch on the torch's route to Atlanta. In her mind, carrying the torch on Stone Mountain was of special symbolic significance, given the long history of Stone Mountain's contested racial geographies.⁸ Knowing that the black elected officials would not be sufficient to get antagonistic neighborhoods to approve ACOG's redevelopment efforts, the regime reached out to organizers like Jackson to co-opt the support of the community groups. Jackson commented on the notion that her inclusion in ACOG's machinations might just be a token effort to include minority or low-income groups. She said:

Whether or not I was a token, they needed me and I needed them. They needed me to keep cool in the community. They need me to get information out in the community, because I was already in that capacity as a community organizer. Because I was involved in the community so much, everybody knew me and knew I could talk to people (Jackson, archived interview).

What is so striking about Jackson's comments is her implicit recognition that a regime coalition exists and that she was a newly incorporated representative in that coalition. By using the word "token," Jackson recognizes her positionality in the coalition as a low-income, black, female neighborhood resident. Most significantly, Jackson echoes Stone's description of the regime as one in which all parties not only procure benefits for themselves, but also precariously ensure that the other coalition members, in the words of Stone, "secure an advantageous position within the coalition."

⁸ Stone Mountain is an enormous granite monolith east of Atlanta. It is now contained in a privately owned and operated park and is a racially contested geography for two main reasons. Firstly, it has the world's largest bas-relief sculpture on its north side, depicting on horseback Confederate leaders Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and Jefferson Davis. Secondly, Stone Mountain is notorious as a historic site of activity for the Ku Klux Klan.

The second novel development that shifted within the biracial governing coalition was the coalition's collective goal of Atlanta becoming a global city. Though urban redevelopment and other projects were always a centerpiece of the regime's goals, the ideological goals for these projects were directly related to the perceived identity, needs, and contested vision of the city's future in a particular historical moment. Rutheiser argues this point in *Imagineering Atlanta*: because Atlanta has always lacked a stable collective identity, the regime must continually and tirelessly reinvent and promote Atlanta. An example of a slogan indicative of the image the regime wished to project of Atlanta comes from the era of desegregation: "The City too Busy to Hate." Atlanta coined this pro-business, anti-segregation phrase to separate itself from the other Southern cities, which, like Atlanta, struggled with the civil rights movement and issues of desegregation.

The latest iteration of this reinvention process, however, is Atlanta as a global city. Much like Berlin's growth machine projected an image of globality through the redevelopment of Potsdamer Platz (Lehrer 2006, 332), Atlanta's biracial regime projected an image of globality through the urban redevelopment and creation of Olympic spaces of downtown Atlanta. Promotion of Atlanta as an international city had existed in the elite business world since the mid-1970's (Rutheiser, 67), but hosting the Olympics ratcheted up the "world-class city" rhetoric to unprecedented levels. President Jimmy Carter and UN Ambassador Andrew Young elevated the status of Atlanta during this time, as did the rise of Ted Turner as a media and business mogul and the increasing prominence of Hartsfield-Jackson airport as a hub of global air travel. Beyond these few examples, however, Atlanta was decidedly un-cosmopolitan. Though transnational

capital has surely transformed the built environment—and in which city has it not?—“the globalist hype is so far ahead of the facts on the ground that even the shamelessly boosterish *Atlanta Constitution* has had to concede that the city is not *really* international (ibid., 4). With the glaring lack of on-the-ground evidence for an international city, constructing and projecting an image of the international city became even more essential for the regime’s success. As one prominent Atlantan said, the regime spouted “the biggest lie they could possibly think of and [ran] around the world telling everybody about it until it [came true]” (Huey, qtd. in ibid., 66).

The Displaced

Related to the power of spectacle, both absence and silence characterized the discursive power of the diasporic body in Olympic Atlanta. The absence of poor minorities in the Olympic spaces—for example, recall the comments of ACOG about “keeping out the riffraff” at the Centennial Olympic Park—operated as a silent means of enforcing the diasporic body’s exclusion from the global city. This subtle discourse appeared more overtly, most notoriously on the Atlanta Police Department citations that specifically were targeted toward “African-American, male, homeless” residents. The best examples of overt discourse surrounding the displaced are limited to the APD citations. Nevertheless, the silent implication of the economically and racially cleansed city is that the regime is sovereign, that the properly global city is a demographically cleansed city with no visible poor minorities, and that the diasporic bodies of the displaced are inclusively excluded in designated spaces and discourses of exception for affirming the sovereign status of the regime.

The diasporic body, then, when interpreted through the power of spectacle in Atlanta, was, in part, the produced and perceived demographic cleansing that in turn projected Atlanta as an authentically Olympic and global city. This perceived demographic cleansing is important because for nearly all parties involved in the production of Atlanta as a global city, the image and perception were crucial; indeed, it would be difficult to understate the importance of image for Atlanta in this historical moment.

For the regime, image has always been an essential part of maintaining coalition power in a city whose ephemeral and duplicitous images perennially strive to achieve longevity and permanence, only to be replaced by or changed into the next justification for the regime. Image is of obvious importance to the Olympic industry, which survives on idealized and false notions of world harmony, universal human good, and the sponsorships of a handful of multinational corporations that preserve and promote their images at nearly any cost. With journalists, politicians, global economic leaders, and wealthy residents from around the globe arriving in Atlanta and the chance to promote the image of the city to the world at-large, producing an image of the demographically cleansed city via the diasporic bodies of poor minorities was one facet of achieving global city status. Once displaced to the local spaces of exception such as the city jail and locations beyond city boundaries, the diasporic bodies of Atlanta could inclusively produce the global city, but only through their systematic and deliberate exclusion.

Displacing the Homeless

The first of the two methods of displacement affecting the homeless population of Atlanta was the passage of anti-homeless ordinances and the subsequent jailing of those arrested. Passed in the years between the awarding and hosting of the Olympic Games, Atlanta city ordinances concerning the homeless included prohibitions of:

“urination/defecation in public (there are no public toilets in Atlanta), begging in particular public places, ‘aggressive’ panhandling, sleeping in particular public places, camping anywhere in public, sitting or lying in particular public places, loitering or loafing in particular public places, obstruction of sidewalks or public places, closure of particular public places, making music on the street or street performing, and walking on the highway” (Lenskyj 2000, 136). Up until 1995, “remaining in a parking lot” was prohibited by Atlanta city ordinance (243), while the state legislature in 1993 attempted to forbid removal of any item from a public trash container (139). “Spitting on a sidewalk” or “being in an abandoned building” also became legal infractions in this period of preparation (138).

The specificity and perniciousness of these ordinances enabled the city to displace the homeless from the city at-large to the new city jail, also constructed during this time. From 1995 to 1996, over 9,000 homeless persons were arrested and jailed; because of these actions, the City received a Federal Court Order resulting from *Williams v. City of Atlanta* to “‘cease and desist’ the pattern and practice of arresting homeless people without probable cause” (Beaty 2007, 4). Furthermore, Atlanta police carried mass-produced tickets with the words “African American, Male, Homeless” pre-printed on them as though it were a higher priority to detain and displace these particular individuals

(32). This is a notable practice of displacement because the timing of the displacements correlated with the timing of the visits of international Olympic officials (Davis Interview, 2008). The displacement of homeless persons to the jail meant that there would be no visual evidence of their presence for the officials, thereby using displacement to produce the image of the global city for the visiting class.

The second of the two methods for the displacement of the homeless was the busing of the homeless out of the city. Local government officials collaborated with two non-profit groups, Travelers' Aid (Beaty 2007, 32) and Project Homeward Bound (Lenskyj, 139), to provide one-way tickets for the homeless out of the city. Both groups used thousands of dollars of public money to pay for these tickets. "Calls came to the [Metro Atlanta Task Force for the Homeless] from Birmingham, Alabama, and towns in Florida asking why homeless people were arriving in those places asking for help and saying they had to leave Atlanta" (Beaty 2007, 32). The collaboration of local governments with locally based non-profit groups makes the displacement even more insidious because of the decentered power behind the displacement and veneer of community-support backing the displacement.

Displacing the Housed

For the impoverished Atlantans who did live in housing prior to the Olympics, public housing often presented the only viable alternative to homelessness. Thousands of these residents were displaced when three of Atlanta's oldest public housing developments, Techwood Homes, the neighboring Clark Howell Homes, and East Lake Meadows, were demolished in preparation for the Olympics. While these public housing

projects were considered by some in the regime to be widely considered derelict, unsafe, and crime-ridden (Day, archived interview), research shows that Techwood/Clark Howell was a viable community characterized by longevity of residency and social support networks. The average residency for Techwood residents was nearly eight years, roughly one-third of the families stayed in Techwood for longer than eleven years, and that most of the residents of Techwood wanted their community to be preserved (Keating and Flores 2000, 287). While Techwood certainly had very serious drug and violence problems, residents still valued their community ties with one another. Displacement of these public housing residents resulted not only in a dissolution of community, but also in the city's ability to produce an urban demographic that aligns with a demographic expectation of the producers of the global city.

Directly east of Coca-Cola's headquarters and immediately south of Techwood Homes and Clark Howell Homes in the years leading up to the Olympics was a seventy-acre commercial area known as Techwood Park. Though viewed and referred to as a "slum" by many of the corporate interests and local officials, the district was actually an economically and culturally vibrant location. "Of the ninety-seven buildings in Techwood Park, only one was dilapidated beyond repair, and only ten were deteriorated. More than seven-eighths of the buildings were in good condition. According to the Urban Design Commission, at least five had historic value. ...Forty percent [of the businesses] were business-support enterprises, serving businesses and workers in the CBD" (Keating 2001, 188). Furthermore, Techwood Park contained more than ten percent of Atlanta's homeless shelter capacity along with some low-income housing (Rutheiser 1996, 260-3). Through the Metropolitan Atlanta Olympic Games Authority

(MAOGA) and exceptional powers of land acquisition granted to it by the state of Georgia, businesses and people were displaced.

In Techwood Park's stead, the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games (ACOG) constructed Centennial Olympic Park, which consisted of numerous corporate sponsored spaces, an 8,500-seat amphitheater, a television studio, and other various entertainment and advertising features. The formerly public place where some of the estimated 20,000 homeless Atlantans found shelter prior to Olympic development had been transformed into a private, Epcot-esque landscape with inadequate compensation for the previous users. In addition, Rutheiser notes, "ACOG announced that the Centennial Park would be surrounded by a fence, 'to control the crowds and keep out the riffraff.' Olympic security chief Bill Rathburn was quite clear about the nature of the space: 'This will not be a public park. We will establish conditions of admission'" (Rutheiser, 268). Once displaced, the former occupants and users of Techwood Park became among those not permitted to access this space.

Interestingly, ACOG officials interpreted Centennial Olympic Park as a uniquely important space in producing Atlanta as an authentically global city. ACOG also selected Dr. Sherman Day, former interim president of Georgia State University, to lead the construction of the Olympic Park. Day has referred to the Olympic Park as "the World's Gathering Place," and referred to Techwood Park as "underdeveloped, underutilized, and burned out" (Day, archived interview). On the supposed international space that Centennial Olympic Park embodied, Day said:

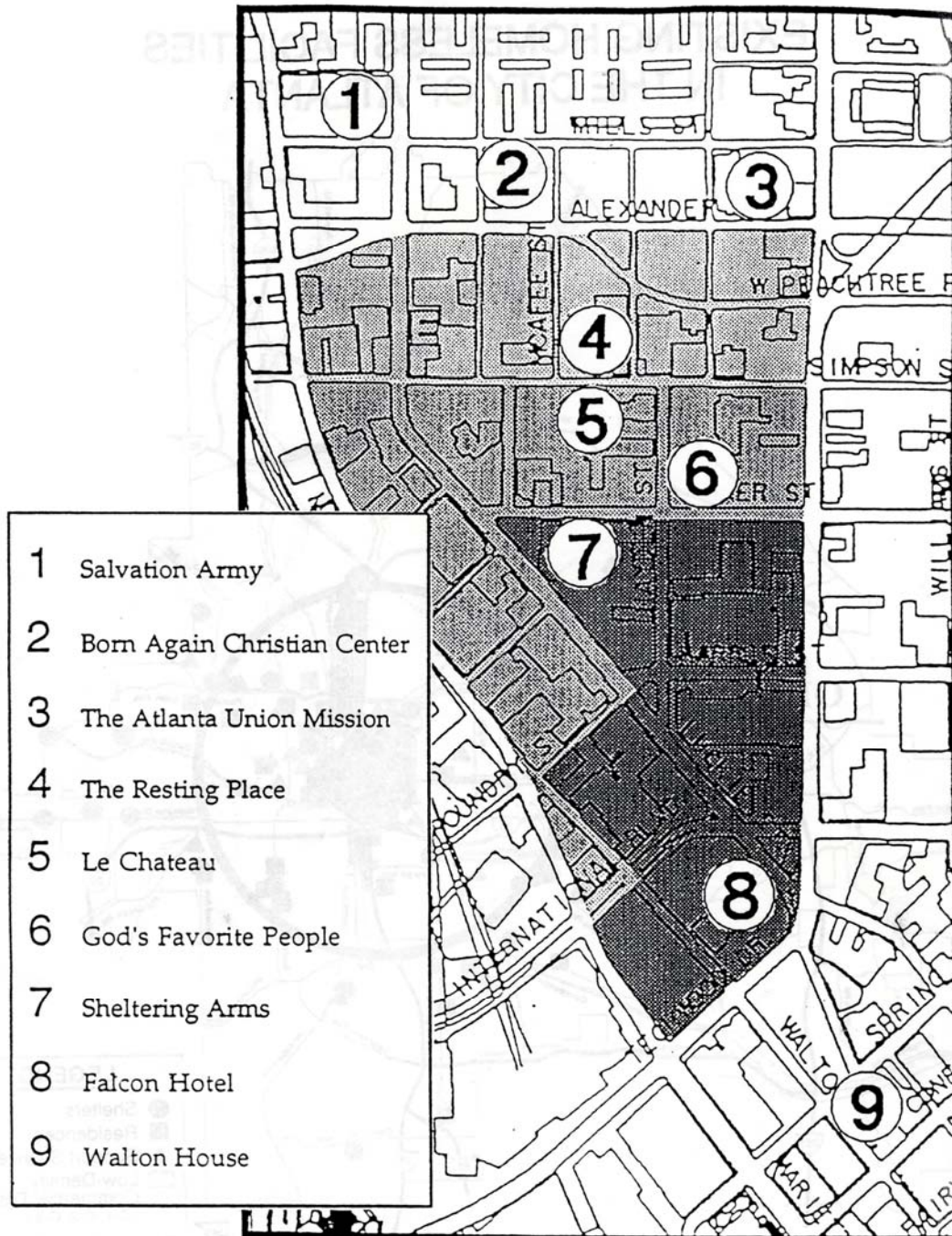


Figure 4.2 Redeveloped Shelter Space and Housing Where Centennial Olympic Park Now Stands (Map from Greene 1996, Figure 5)

International visitors, the first place they want to go is the Park. We talk about Atlanta being an international city; if you go to the Park, you see real internationalism. You'll see flags of all the nations, and the exhibits of those who participated in the Games [and] those that hosted the games. You see names that we can't spell or say who won medals from a variety of countries. I think it truly became international; the rings and their Olympic significance. So, I believe it is helping Atlanta be seen as an international city; as a place where international visitors all want to go. I think the rings fountain is certainly among the most photographed places in the Games, if not the most photographed place in the Games. So, if you go down there...there isn't anyone down there that isn't taking pictures of the fountain. So, I think [the Olympic Park] will continue to even be a greater asset to Atlanta (Ibid.)

The production of this so-called international space—a space that, in the minds of its creators, characterized Atlanta as an authentically global city—required the displacement of Atlantans who used Techwood Park.

The remaining major Olympic project related to displacement was the erection of the Centennial Olympic Stadium in the midst of the Summerhill, Peoplestown, and Mechanicsville neighborhoods. In 1965, Atlanta-Fulton County Stadium was built in the midst of these neighborhoods and a location adjacent to the older stadium's site was chosen for the new Olympic Stadium, which was to be given to the Atlanta Braves at the end of the Olympic Games.

In addition to the Stadium, numerous other redevelopment projects were granted to Summerhill, mostly because the neighborhood's primary organization, Summerhill Neighborhood, Inc., allied itself with the pro-stadium city leaders. This decreased the political leverage of Peoplestown and Mechanicsville, along with drawing potential funds for neighborhood maintenance away from Peoplestown and Mechanicsville and towards Summerhill (Keating 2001, 175). These redevelopments in Summerhill resulted in the

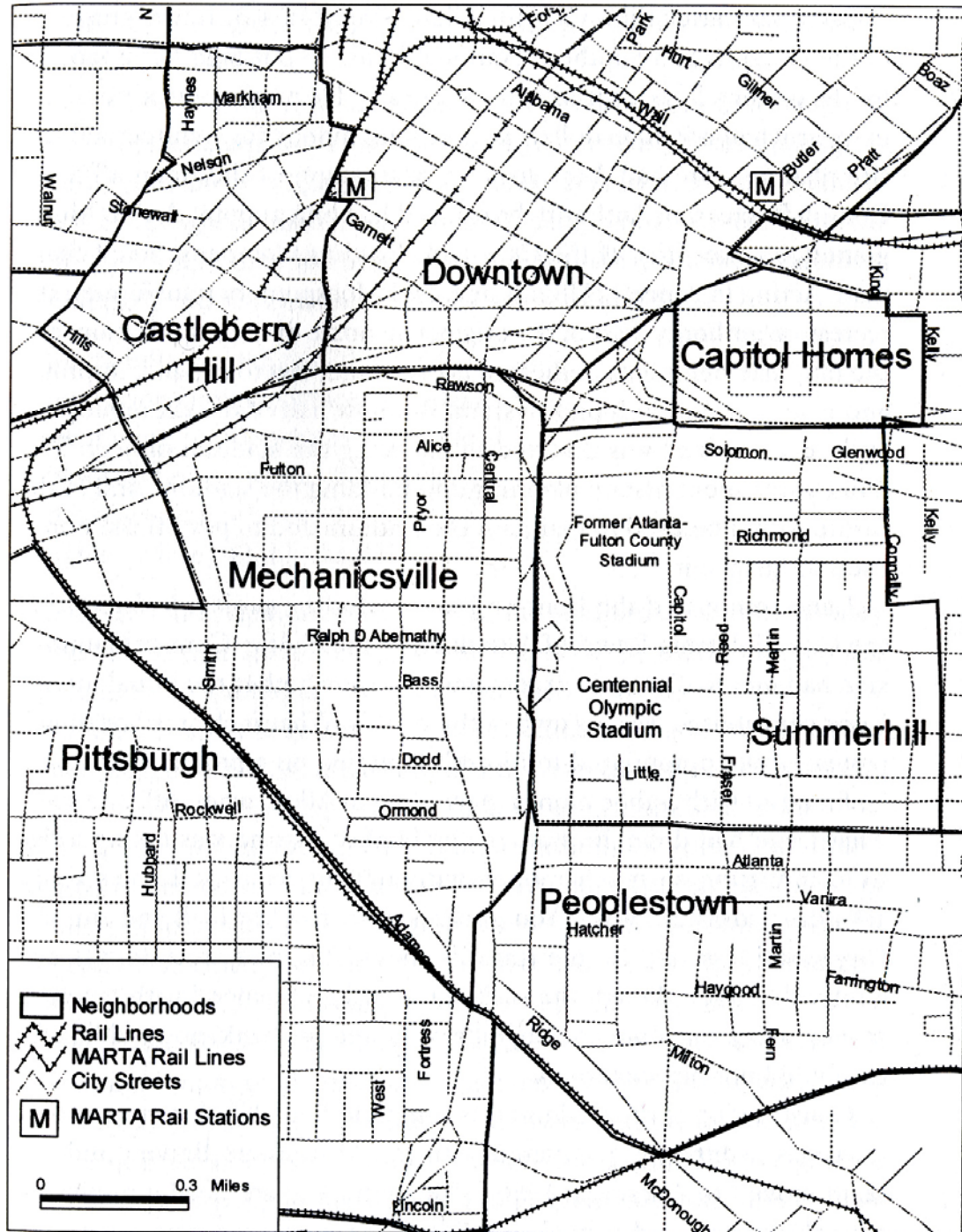


Figure 4.3 Atlanta neighborhoods around the Centennial Olympic Stadium (Map from Keating 2001, 97. Produced by Brad Calvert)

gentrification and later displacement of low-income residents of these neighborhoods. “[T]he construction of new townhouses and single family homes and the renovations of street fronts led to an increase in land values and the displacement of 60 households. While some of these residents were evicted, their homes remained empty during the Olympic Games” (COHRE 2007b). Similarly, price gouging for apartment rentals in these neighborhoods and throughout the city was rampant. “In July 1995, Intown Properties, a local rental-management company, informed the tenants in its 300 apartments that they had a choice of paying \$3,000 a month from May to August of 1996 or vacating the apartments (leaving their furniture behind), so the units could be rented to Olympic visitors” (Keating 2001, 155). Rapid rental cost inflation, in the form of gentrification resulting from redevelopment or in the form of lease breaches and price gouging, contributed to the massive displacement.

4.4 The Globalizing City and Social Movement Frames: On the Ground

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the displacement of Atlantans relates to the globalizing city in two major ways. First, displacement produced the image of demographic cleansing in the city. With the arrival of international visitors for the Olympic Games, regime leaders worked to create the physical spaces that reified the city’s and the Games’ ideology of harmony and unity. Secondly, the production of abstract, “international” spaces required the displacement of whomever the regime decided did not compliment the produced space. The displaced, then, were included in this production of space by virtue of their exclusion. More than a precondition for capital accumulation and emptying an urban spaces for redevelopment, displacement produced

not only the power of the regime to create the spectacle of a global city, but also which demographics were included and excluded from the urban imagined community.

The displacement as an integral component of the globalizing city, though, created a scenario to which social movements responded with protest and advocacy. Their discursive efforts with respect to scale, or what Kurtz (2002) calls scale frames, named the oppression, blamed its source, and also claimed to have a solution—all with varying conceptions of scale. The first part of the remainder of this chapter considers how a uniquely scaled event like the Olympics, with its simultaneously locally-embedded and globally-denoted components, challenged and altered social movement scale frames. These challenges and alterations both limited the form of scale frames and afforded the social movements new scalar possibilities for their scale frames. The second portion of the remainder of this chapter explains the other side of this dialectic: scale frames whose discourse made possible the material form of the globalizing city.

Social Movement Frames and the Globalizing City

The following analysis is based on interviews conducted with social movement organizers and participants, archival sources, and other media provided by the social movement constituents. As Piven and Cloward (xx, 1978) note in many collective action contexts, the Atlanta social movements were not spontaneous coalescences of the oppressed; students from Georgia State, experienced activists from within and outside of the communities, and even some local politicians organized and helped constitute the movements and organizations. These organizations, including Atlanta Taskforce for the Homeless, Empty the Shelters (ETS), Atlanta Neighborhoods United for Fairness

(ANUFF), Tenants United for Fairness (TUFF), and the Atlanta Olympic Conscience Committee (AOCC), were durable and coherent organizations aimed at confronting the problems posed by Olympic-related urban development (Beaty 2007, 33).

These activists, broadly defined, were involved with opposing the closure and demolition of public housing; the erection of a second stadium in a south-Atlanta residential district; and an increased harshness towards homeless persons, including the unlawful arrest and detaining of the homeless, anti-homeless ordinances, and the busing of many homeless to locations far beyond city limits. From 1990-1996, because of Olympic-related urban redevelopments, roughly 30,000 people were displaced and from 1995-1996, roughly 9,000 homeless persons were unlawfully arrested and detained in the city jail (Beaty 2007, 46).

By referring to a collective framing strategies, one should avoid implying that the various social movement organizations were some how in a harmonious alliance. In fact, while somewhat unified at the beginning of the Olympic preparations, the nearly 300 organizations once represented under the Atlanta Olympic Conscience Coalition were splintered and disorganized by the time of the Games in 1996. Nevertheless, their similar—but not collective—opposition to the various Olympic-related redevelopment projects justifies analyzing their framing strategies as a somewhat coherent whole. Much like Atlanta's sometimes awkwardly composed governing regime, in order to speak accurately of the social movements as a loose unity, one must recognize that these were often disparate groups that at best had some overlapping goals, at worst were uneasy allies, and regularly employed and advocated for varying scales within their respective framing strategies.

A note before beginning: though this section is broken into three parts per Kurtz (2002), Scale and “Naming,” Scale and “Blaming,” and Scale and “Claiming,” it is often difficult to divide the naming, blaming, and claiming of scale frames from one another. Often, one, two, or even all three components exist as an indivisible and nuanced whole in the same frame. The benefits of dividing this section into three parts—namely, the added ease of reading while ensuring the exploration of each concept to a reasonable extent—outweigh the unfortunate fault of masking the complexity of the scale frames. The divisions of this section should be interpreted less as a rigid rubric for analyzing scale frames and more as a helpful tool to digest complex and nuanced discourses.

Scale and “Naming”

Kurtz, quoting Snow and Benford, writes, “[Social movement frames] name a grievance by ‘underscor[ing] and embellish[ing] the seriousness and injustice of a social condition or redefin[ing] as unjust and immoral what was previously seen as unfortunate but perhaps tolerable” (254). In Atlanta, few social movement organizations found tolerable the displacement prior to the Olympics, but most certainly underscored the seriousness of displacement and the general treatment of the poor and homeless.

In interviews, activists recounted both their ideal conceptions and the actual scalar issues in frames from 1990-1996 for mobilizing, organizing, and counterframing. First, social movement activists reflected on how best to use framing to mobilize constituents and organize movement coalitions. These reflections were not necessarily representations of the actual social movement frames, but rather their ideal methods for using scale in constructing their frames. Reflecting on their various activism experiences,

activists held varying opinions about the effectiveness of scalar frames, but most agreed that when mobilizing the displaced and forcibly evicted, the necessarily abstracted and ideological nature of scalar conceptions like “globalization” made organizing around these types of terms very difficult. When asked if global considerations would be an effective way to mobilize people, one former activist with ETS said:

I can't imagine. Yes, some people who are politicized, but for the vast majority of people, it's more about what is happening to me right now. So, I think there is a mistake that we can organize around ideology [and I think] that a lot of people that were involved with the Olympic stuff tended to operate from that mentality. It's just not effective. If I'm about to lose my home and you come talk to me about globalization, it isn't going to be that compelling (Levinson, personal interview).

Almost all of the interviewed activists echoed this claim that the scarce material necessities of life made it very difficult to organize around abstraction. “People on the lower level, people who are out here struggling to survive, they can't see that kind of connection [between local developments and global processes],” said another organizer (Ward, personal interview). Though the activists may have understood the source of the problem using abstract terms, publicly naming the problem in an abstracted manner was not compelling. Instead, social movements used scale frames in a more nuanced and less abstract manner to convey a more compelling and resonant message.

When naming the actual grievances associated with the Olympics arriving in Atlanta, social movement scale frames identified an interesting mix of historical injustices, like the various urban redevelopment projects in the city that have disproportionately affected African American neighborhoods since the 1960's (Keating, 88), and the present injustice they specifically opposed. Specifically, this mix consisted of a simultaneous recognition that the displacement of Atlantans was simultaneously a

part of a lineage of similar displacement-related injustices in the city and a uniquely Olympic iteration of this lineage. When asked whether the Olympics presented a new set of injustices or whether it was a perpetuation of new problems, nearly every interviewee responded that it was only the intensity of the injustices, not the type. One activist responded: “It was really a matter of degree, rather than kind. This was a new level of shenaniganism” (Kung, personal interview). Another said: “My interpretation is that it was the same story, 32nd verse” (Keating, personal interview).

Clearly, the historicity of displacement in Atlanta was at the forefront of most social movement activists’ minds when interpreting the Olympic-related displacement, whether it was displacement involved with the construction of the 75/85 connector, the erection of Atlanta-Fulton County Stadium, or the creation of the MARTA public transportation system, not to mention the broader history of racial and other injustices in the city. Nevertheless, social movement scale frames consistently emphasized the importance of the Olympics in naming the injustice of the moment. Playing up the Olympic moment allowed for activists in the city to change the scale frame of their naming from localized, historical oppression to oppression affiliated with a larger scaled event. The self-titling strategies of social movement organizations (e.g., Atlanta Olympic Conscience Coalition), reveals how the groups’ scalar conceptions of the moment took advantage of naming the historically-embedded injustice problem as, at least in part, precipitated by the Olympics. Thus, the scale frames did not name the injustice a fragmented archipelago of urban redevelopment sites across the city. Instead, the scale frames united the neighborhoods and other sites of oppression into a citywide scale that considered the spectacle the Olympics.

The history of displacement, however, was not ignored in the scale frames. Primary source materials and interviews reflect a conscious decision on behalf of the social movement organizations to construct the scale frames not only as an Olympic moment but also as one uniquely and historically Atlantan. One interviewee said:

The '96 Olympics were the most recent major effort to complete Negro removal in the central city of Atlanta.... And it is now clear that the black population both in raw numbers and in percentages is declining steadily and it is becoming smaller and smaller and smaller so that in the next few years, we will see a white candidate for mayor. And the city council will turn back to being white-controlled. ...[I]t is Negro removal and what they said in the 50s, unashamedly, was the presence of the Negro community near the central business district is not good for business. They adopted as their motto: "What is good for business is good for Atlanta." What was good for business was Negro removal. And so, they started in the 50s with this very clear objective, and they're going on today (Loring, personal interview).

This framing of the scale of displacement as local to Atlanta's history and politics is also reflected in the newspapers and pamphlets used to convey scale frames in the Olympic historical moment. For instance, The Open Door Community's newspaper highlighted Atlanta's high concentration of poverty and rates of violent crime, crumbling infrastructure, lowly-esteemed Housing Authority, and racist political maneuverings (Davis 1996, 1). Another example was Empty the Shelter's pamphlet, "SpoilSport's Guide to Atlanta." This pamphlet noted the unseemly history of the regime's relationship to the poor and homeless of Atlanta, especially as it related to other urban redevelopment projects. Positioning the Olympic-related displacement in the context of local injustice and politics questions the appropriateness of Atlanta hosting the Olympics by detailing the spatial and temporal context of the displacement. This added context adds to the discursive richness and evocativeness of the local scale frame.

Dozens of articles in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* from 1990-1996 confirm the interview data and the other ancillary sources. A brief perusal through these archives shows activists seeking engagement with local political actors, through many of the same means that protest and collective actions has taken throughout Atlanta's history. For instance, an article from 1991, when the stadium location was still up for contest, a beat writer from the *Journal-Constitution* wrote: “[ANUFF] is sending what the leaders called its final letter to Olympics chief Billy Payne and Mayor Maynard H. Jackson demanding that the stadium be moved. If that fails, demonstrations will be stepped up, Mr. [Columbus] Ward said. ‘Our next step is to take it to the Downtown business community and the other groups behind the Olympic plans,’ he said” (*Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 22 April 1991, D3). Other demonstrations, protests, vigils, and editorials are highlighted in the *Journal-Constitution*, nearly all confirming the scale-naming strategies of social movements as limited to the traditional regime actors.

Thus, the social movement scale frames attempted to target two different scales—the historical/local and the Olympic/global—in an attempt to garner the political benefits of discursively constructing and appealing to both scales. Rather than committing to one scale in their scale frames, multiple and simultaneous scale frames empowered the claims of some social movement organizations.

Scale and “Blaming”

The issue of scale and blaming addresses the relationship between the social movement scale frames and the attribution of blame for the injustice. Many of the answers to these questions were evinced in the previous section. When a social

movement scale frame named the problem, often times blame was attributed in the same idea. For instance, when activists spoke of the history of displacement in Atlanta, they implicitly attributed the causes of both past and present injustices to the regime that had been in place in Atlanta for years. Naming and blaming in scale frames, then, often occurred in the same breath.

Reflecting on their interpretations of scale and attributing blame, most activists recalled that they did not understand the degree to which global forces impacted the Olympic moment. One activist said:

In the 1990's, it was a very shallow understanding of [global forces]. Maybe it was just me that had a naïve understanding of global capital....When we were thinking of strategic moves, there was no thought of reaching out to...international options to gather support. What there was, was this sort of opening that Atlanta, in claiming to be an international city, put itself in. In wanting the Olympics and wanting to be an international city, it put itself in a place where it was vulnerable to the criticism that, well, of course you're not, the whole world's watching, how can you be so backwards, how can you be so stupid, how can you be so mean-spirited. That was the extent of my analysis of global forces (Kung, personal interview).

With regard to prevalent conceptions of scale at the time, the salient idea from this quote is that globally scaled forces were surely at work but not in a conceivable way during the Olympic moment. Social movement activists were not intensely or explicitly targeted upon the global-ness of the Olympic moment, or the nexus of global capital and the local regime hosting the Olympics. Instead, social movement activists latched on to an alternate form of global forces, what the regime was proclaiming about the city. The predominant thought of the “global” was what the regime had already made explicit: Atlanta was to be an authentically international city via hosting the Olympics. Instead of

global capital or other multi-scalar forces, this same activist saw the oppression's source as located in the urban regime.

During the Olympics what happened, you see these peaks and valleys of how oppressive the state is being. The 96 Olympics was just another peak of how oppressive the state was. The state was very interested in social control, and that just took the form of very serious police action, hypergentrification, all these things that have gone on. This was a moment of intensification (Ibid.).

Thus, beyond knowing that athletes, visitors, and tourists from around the world would be in Atlanta, social movement activists did not imagine the global moment of the Olympics as something originating from outside the City or the regime itself. The global significance of the Olympics originated from within the city, predominantly because the regime had labeled the city as an authentically global one. It was not the Olympics alone that provided the global significance of Atlanta for social movement activists; it was instead the regime calling the city global.

Given that activists were inclined to see Olympic-related politics as situated in the city or initiated by the regime, it is not surprising that the sites of protest, a reflection of how scale frames attribute blame, were affiliated with the regime. Indeed, most of the sites activists at which activists chose to demonstrate were sites symbolic of the regime's power.

[Atlanta Neighborhoods United for Fairness] had a protest at Billy Payne's house, he was the head of the Olympics, we protested at city hall. Our last big protest, we actually had a tent city on the grounds of the Olympic stadium. ... I think it was mostly local government. Sometimes we did some seeking out of the corporate sponsors in terms of what we protested, in terms of our signs and stuff like that, and telling people they shouldn't support Coke or Delta Airlines or the different ones like that. Don't buy their products because they're making money off the backs of poor people. So we did encourage some of that, but we were more focused on the people making the direct decisions that were going to effect the people, particularly in terms of policy issues like zoning. People on the regional

commission, people on the city commission, people that were set up to do the actual development itself in terms of the Olympic venues and that kind of stuff. So those were the ones we would directly target” (Ward, personal interview).

These sites were either centers of local regime power, frequent sites of previous protest, or both. ETS focused also on Woodruff Park, a small park in downtown Atlanta that homeless persons would often use. Social movements did not think primarily of the Olympics as an event of global capital coming to Atlanta or international elites using the Olympics for political or economic gain. Instead, protest centered on “global” issues (focusing on the city’s self-promotion as global) and protest centered on “local” issues (recognizing the long-term trends of oppression and injustice unique to Atlanta) was aimed at the locally-based regime. Furthermore, these sites of local protest underscore the importance of framing their opposition in historically conscious and locally resonant ways, reflecting the scalar assumptions of political actors and structures.

No interviewees, however, recalled protesting in front of the headquarters of Turner Broadcasting Corporation, Coca-Cola, or Delta Air Lines, for instance, or in front of their executive board members’ homes, or at other sites that would publicly attribute blame to what would ostensibly attribute some blame to transnational corporations. Instead, social movement scale frame blaming publicly attributed the cause of the injustice to more familiar local political actors and structures. It may seem, then, that this local focus shows that the globalizing city had little impact on the social movement frames. While explicit references to globalization are absent in much of the scale frame blaming, some interviewees claimed a more nuanced understanding of the global scope of their protest.

A lengthy quote from one activist is a good way to summarize some of the social movement blaming. He notes:

To the extent that those corporations profit from the Olympic movement, the community organizers were astute enough to know, particularly with the Olympics, that the Olympic movement, by virtue of the relationship it has with these companies, the thing that they really are most concerned about is their image. ...So, the Olympic movement, it seems to me, even more so than the corporations, though the corporations are sensitive to their public image, it is ironic that the reason the Olympics were awarded to Atlanta was because of the image of Atlanta. Atlanta is an image-conscious place which was dealing with a corporation that was supremely image-conscious.

Here, the activist notes the sensitivity with which the regime managed the city's image and the Olympic movement managed their own image. Because image was of supreme concern for the regime and the Olympics, social movement activists could attempt to disrupt the image of the city as a tactic. This interruption, though, was a reflection of who was to blame for the displacement. Next, the activist comments on the distinctiveness of Atlanta and the real significance of the city, along with tying together the global image production of the city and the Olympic movement.

The reason that the Olympics came here was not because of Coca-Cola. ... My point is that taking all of this into account, community folk, neighborhood folk understood that the Achilles' heel was their public image. ... [We] said: hold it. The thing that distinguishes Atlanta isn't Coca Cola. It sure enough isn't Billy Payne. It's Dr. King. So, these neighborhoods were very astute at pointing out the contradictions and hypocrisy. How dare you use Dr. King's legacy to put a second stadium can come to a playground? You're *crazy*. So, we knew that these images were not going to be here in Atlanta. These images were going to go to LA and NY, they were going to London and Paris and international outlets. Neighborhood organizers understood to a great extent that this was not just a political battle, it was a public relations battle. When these images and protests, when we went up to ACOG's offices and took them over, union folk and the neighborhood folk, that was an image where they had to send Andy Young out. His reception wasn't that warm.

Protest for organizers may have been limited to addressing the historical legacies of the city and to targeting sites of regime power, but they knew their activities would have global significance. Though global capital was not part of their protests, knowing that their protests at local sites of regime power would be spread across the globe, speaks to a conscious secondary scale of their activities. He continues, and ultimately admits that while their understandings of the global nature of the Olympic moment may have been limited, the lesser but still significant importance of social movement protest tactics was the ways in which blame could be attributed locally but seen globally:

Those kinds of things were not just limited to exposure here in Atlanta. They went around the world. When you had folks picketing at Billy Payne's house, that was not an image limited to Atlanta or to the United States. It was going to London and the IOC. So, to that extent, when we marched from the labor council offices with Jesse [Jackson], I believe, down to city hall, those images of thousands of people in the street, was something sent all over the world. This whole issue of bringing in labor to the Olympics was not just to be here in Atlanta. If it was, it would have been easily defeated. But, it was something, I'm sure, that was discussed by the IOC when they see the most prominent civil rights leader in the country marching with thousands of people. So, we understood the global implications of it. But, this is before it became clear, as it is today, how globalization was operating. But, it was clearly in play (Fort, personal interview).

Considerations of global scale when assigning blame at the time, then, were not entirely limited to local actors. Knowing that the regime and the Olympic organizers were extremely conscious of their image, protests and public oppositional activities may have taken place at sites perceived to be of primarily local importance, but were understood to have at least some global impact. While scale frames attributed blame almost exclusively to the actors in and coalitions comprising the urban regime, activists projected subtler, milder, and more global attributions of blame to the world at-large through conscious use of global media attention. While the globalizing city may have had a relatively smaller

impact on scale frame blaming than scale frame naming did, it was still appreciable and significant.

Scale and “Claiming”

Scale frame claiming answers the questions of what scale social movements offer their solution and at what scale the solution operates. The first component of claiming to have a solution is social movements achieving solidarity, aid, and/or advice. Though these attempts are not always explicitly included in the public forum, they are essential in conceiving of the injustice and the solution the social movement can provide through the frame. Thus, when considering how to organize coalitions between social movement organizations, several leaders of the social movements agreed that global considerations were essential. According to one activist, “You can’t have the social movement be successful in one country because all they’ll do is move their stuff to another country, because you can do it anywhere. Because society is so globalized, it dictates that social movements have to be globalized now” (Scott, personal interview). Some organizations practiced this belief as they looked to previous Olympic-affiliated cities for assistance. “We connected up globally immediately. The first thing I ever do when I’m in trouble is to reach out to people who have done it before, so we know and learn what has been done and that was first to Toronto and LA” (Beaty, personal interview). Scale, then, played at least some role in the initial formation of the scale frame claiming.

Beyond the need to internationalize social movement coalitions, most of the activists mentioned the necessity of coalition at a citywide scale. Most significantly, People for Urban Justice, the Atlanta Olympic Conscience Coalition (AOCC) and Atlanta

Neighborhoods United for Fairness (ANUFF) and later, a labor-neighborhood organization coalition in the city best exemplify the intracity social movement coalitions. The AOCC was a general umbrella coalition of social movement and neighborhood organizations founded roughly a month after the city announced it would be the host for the Games. Anita Beaty, a prominent member of the group, recounts the early days of AOCC:

It was just a coalition; about 300 different groups came together for the first meeting. During the years, the five to six years we worked through this process, the group got smaller and smaller as people began to see that in Atlanta, everyone is connected to everyone... We had people sign [the group manifesto], we had people march forward and sign it to take responsibility to hold the line. We knew it needed lots of folks saying, 'no.' (Ibid.)

Columbus Ward, a leader of ANUFF, said, “[T]he purpose of Atlanta Neighborhoods United for Fairness [was to ally and unite with other groups in the city]; it was a citywide group with concerns about the negative impact of the Olympics on our neighborhoods throughout the city. Through our own research, we found that of all the places the Olympics have occurred, it really has had a negative impact on the neighborhoods” (Ward, personal interview). Beaty’s and Ward’s statements makes obvious the importance of achieving a citywide consensus of activist groups. Their comments emphasize an important scalar strategy of social movement framing: a broad and united front speaking to the grave importance of countering anticipated Olympic-related injustices.

Both AOCC and ANUFF, which worked closely with one another, along with various neighborhood groups representing Summerhill, Peoplestown, and Mechanicsville and organized labor, had stakes in the erection of Centennial Olympic Stadium,

scheduled to be built at the intersection of the three neighborhoods. These neighborhoods, which already had Atlanta-Fulton County Stadium built in their midst without their input in 1965, had a number of desires for the stadium planning, including: that there would be no second stadium in their neighborhood; the older stadium to be torn down if both stadiums were to be built; a share of parking revenues that would go to the neighborhoods; a percentage of jobs in the stadiums to be given to neighborhood residents; and job training for the new stadium workers (Ward, personal interview). In the contract agreements, two Fulton county commissioners advocated on behalf of the neighborhood/labor alliance and up until the groundbreaking ceremony, effectively the deadline for all parties agreeing to a contract, no alliance members had yet caved. Then, with less than 24 hours before the groundbreaking ceremony for the new stadium, the labor unions compromised with the city, leaving the neighborhoods with less leverage to continue productive negotiations. One should note, though, that the neighborhoods did receive some of their demands, like some jobs for neighborhood residents and some parking revenues, but did not reach the quantities for which they had initially hoped. This deal, by breaking the bond of the coalition and labor/neighborhood alliance, weakened the scalar power that AOCC and ANUFF had attempted to produce through a citywide coalition.

Throughout AOCC and ANUFF, opinions ranged widely as to the breaking of the citywide scale of the coalition. Interestingly, both labor and neighborhood representatives on the inside of the deal recall bittersweetly—but mostly approvingly—the deal that labor struck with Olympic officials. One neighborhood advocate even described the labor/neighborhood alliance as having “worked optimally” (Fort, personal

interview). Other neighborhood activists expressed happiness for their labor allies, but some disappointment at the loss of the support of the labor unions (Ward, personal interview). Activists within AOCC but outside of labor/neighborhood alliance recall the labor union deal similarly mixed enthusiasm. Summing up the importance of establishing and maintaining solidarity at increasingly broader scales, one activist said: “[The unions] didn’t get everything they wanted, but they got a big chunk. So, they pulled out. Bye-bye, Peoplestown... We tried to build an alliance with the unions and that worked up until ten minutes before game time. There was good help from Toronto and we tried to connect with them... We’ve got to keep on building those stronger relationships” (Keating, personal interview). Social movement activists, in their attempt to capitalize on the opportunity of more comprehensive and larger scales, recognized the necessity for enlarging the scale of their organization and the difficulty of maintaining the broadness of the scale, especially when under intense pressure from the governing regime to cave.

For as long as the unions and neighborhoods maintained their initial scalar solidarity, the city respected the alliance’s power and credibility. Having taken their historically independent frames and uncharacteristically united them together in the Olympic moment, the labor/neighborhood alliance shifted the scale of their traditional claims to a broader and more influential scale. When labor signed an independent agreement with the regime, however, the scale of the alliance—more specifically, how the alliance had claimed a solution with respect to scale—disintegrated. Along with it, too, went the political leverage of the alliance.

Counter-scale Frames

AOCC's attempt to construct a citywide scale of Olympic-related development and the collapse of this scale represents not only AOCC's scalar politics, but also the governing regime's attempt to counter this scale. Kurtz's notion of counter-scale frames helps explain the regime's attempt to disintegrate the scalar attempts of the AOCC. Kurtz writes: "Counter-scale frames are not collective action frames *per se*, but work to counter or undermine one or more elements of the scale-oriented collective action frames. ...[C]ounter-scale frames could target and undermine activists' spatial construction of the aggrieved population, the spatial extent of the problem articulated by the frame, or the geographic scale at which a solution is suggested by the scale frame" (Kurtz, 256).

In Atlanta, counter-scale frames constructed on behalf of the regime worked using interesting racial and economic factors, but primarily disintegrated the scale frames of AOCC through the divide-and-conquer strategies as seen, for instance, in the single-party negotiations members of the governing regime had with organized labor concerning the stadium. By granting limited concessions to one group, the regime essentially reframed the scale of Olympic-related urban redevelopment. Rather than a citywide issue, as AOCC had attempted to frame, the regime counter-scale framed the redevelopment into a series of individual complaints and issues to be confronted on a limited scale. The expansion of Stone's regime to include local community activists, seen in the example of Mattie Jackson, is another example of a counter-scale frame that impeded the success of citywide scale frames. Having co-opted community and neighborhood leaders, the regime made a citywide coalition more difficult. With their leaders supporting the regime, albeit in an often tenuous relationship, neighborhood residents would likely have

had a difficult time rallying support for their neighborhood organization to join a citywide coalition.

The displacement of poor minority Atlantans also functioned as an effective counter-scale framing practice. In multiple housing projects, displacement of neighborhood organizers and leaders thwarted Tenants United for Fairness (TUFF), another AOCC member. TUFF consisted of many Techwood Homes residents, although residents from other neighborhoods and constituents from other groups were also members. With TUFF, displacement prohibited effective organizing and diminished the ability to use broader scales of organizing.

[T]here was a very strong movement against the closing of Techwood. They promised everybody a place, they actually got the leadership houses, and displaced the rest of them all around the city so that there was no way for them to communicate hardly or no way for them to see or talk to each other anymore. They broke the backs of that movement in typical form. They bribed who they had to bribe, they kicked out who they had to kick out” (Scott, personal interview).

The displacement of neighborhood leaders and residents not only made organizing difficult because of increased difficulty of members talking to one another, but also because TUFF largely relied upon as the basis for organization the tenants’ emotional ties to the neighborhood as a place.⁹ Their emotional and community-based ties to the residential area having been severed, former residents involved in neighborhood groups had little incentive to maintain their place-based activism. The power of displacement constructed by the regime proved to be an effective way to counter-scale frame the efforts of social movement organizations and activists.

To further illustrate the power of displacement in countering the scale frames of social movements, consider the statements of another affiliate of community

⁹ See Martin, 2003 for precedent of this kind of place-based activism and framing.

organizations at the time, when asked if he could generally characterize the increasing strength or weakness of the organizations:

[The organization was getting] weaker. It was dispersed. It was fractured. As each building came down or in advance of each building coming down, the Housing Authority systematically, once it began to identify a housing project for redevelopment, began to close off units as quickly as possible by not filling them, not repairing them, and by evicting tenants. They began to insist upon very strict lease enforcements. So, the vacancy rates began to shoot up. As soon as a building was half-vacant, they would move the families out of it into another building and then demolish the building. So, using East Lake Meadows Residents Association, I may have had in '92 500 families, but by '95, I might have had 50 families, the rest having been dispersed. Some of whom I could never track down again. So, the voice was dwindling quickly. Now, would that have occurred regardless of the Olympics? Yes. It may not have occurred in that time frame, but the strategy of the housing authority is precisely that. That's what occurred in Techwood and Clark Howell and Eastlake. But, it's been replicated in every other public housing HOPE VI demolition and they've done it in ten other public housing projects since the Olympics (Alexander, personal interview).

Thus, the geographic proximity of the neighborhood residents and their uninterrupted residence in their place were key elements in the ability to frame their cause. By displacing the residents, the regime affected the discursive ability of the residents' associations to frame their cause at certain scales—or at all. Though the scale of their protest and organization was discursively constructed, the elimination of the corresponding material elements—geographic proximity of the residents and the buildings themselves—halted the production of scale-frames through the atomizing, dispersal, and displacement of community members, ultimately composing the image of a cleansed demography in the city.

Scale Frames Shaping the Global City

Much of the right to the city literature critiques the appropriation of physical space as use value—and rightly so. The use of physical urban space is a material necessity for the continuation of life for many. The right to the city and the claims made upon these material spaces, however, can take discursive form. The social movement scale frames in Atlanta’s Olympic moment are an excellent example of the potential of realizing not only the material forms of the right to the city, but how social movements can challenge the production of the city through discourse in order to transform material conditions. Admittedly, the instances of global city formation in Atlanta limiting social movement activity, including scale framing, are more numerous than the instances of discursive politics shaping the material realities of the global city. This is due, in large part, to the dynamic power of the urban regime and the unequal power relations between the regime and those who would oppose it, made obvious on Atlanta’s urban landscape. Nevertheless, the discursive politics manifested in scale frames did influence global city formation in Atlanta. Though long-term and more lasting material benefits would have been a greater success, the following examples illustrate the materially significant potential for discursive politics in the global city. The first example is when social movements contested the image of demographic cleanliness by countering the image Atlanta had produced for itself via displacement. The second example is of social movements recognizing the vulnerability of the regime promoting Atlanta as an authentically global city.

The Contested Image of Demographic Cleanliness

Displacement as a causal force in and of itself had another ancillary benefit to the regime, that of the production and discourse of Atlanta as a city with no poor minority inhabitants. Through displacement of the poor and homeless, the regime had produced the image of an economically and racially cleansed city for not only the consumption of the visiting class, but also as a way to give the image of the global city. To ensure Olympic city and global city success, this false and imagined cleansed demography resulting from mass displacement was a crucial element. Activists and movement affiliates recognized the attempt to make the demographically cleansed. One said:

I think that it would not be fair or accurate to say that the Olympics were the cause or source of the desire on the part of any certain constituencies to remove low income people from the city. There are people who felt that way before the Olympics and there are people who feel that way now, that you don't want to attract extremely low income people to the city—that this is supposed to be a city for the middle income or the upper income. There are a lot of people who believed that. That was there, regardless of the Olympics. The Olympics certainly gave an added impetus to that, because of the desire to present an incredibly positive image, to control the degree of heterogeneity—economic heterogeneity, and, perhaps, racial heterogeneity. The leadership, political, Olympic, economic, social, had no desire to have large numbers of persons who lacked shelter sleeping on the streets in the weeks leading up to the Olympics (Alexander, personal interview).

One social movement tactic designed to counter the production of these artificially homogenized spaces was to provide visiting domestic and international journalists with “reality tours.”

[W]e took people, particularly journalists and particularly international journalists—we just took people around the neighborhoods so that they could see that what you saw in the area of the Olympics was not the whole of Atlanta. We took them around the dilapidated areas of the city and then had question-and-answer sessions...Our main goal was so that they can see the other Atlanta. As long as they stayed on the beaten path of the way they had directed traffic, they would only see the Atlanta that was

really developed and looked good... We really wanted to educate people about how poverty stricken Atlanta really was, not this image that Atlanta had surrounded itself with (Scott, personal interview).

The reality tours, then, attempted to counter the regime's imagineering of Atlanta as a city with no poverty, taking advantage of the intense overpromotion of Atlanta as a harmonious and global city. Using the journalists as surrogate image makers, social movement activists sought to project an alternative and critical vision of the city.

Another similar tactic, produced by the student activist group Empty the Shelters (ETS), was a pamphlet entitled "Spoilsport's Guidebook to Atlanta" (Empty the Shelters). Spoilsport, purportedly the half-sister of Izzy, the official mascot of the Olympic Games, was a cartoon created by ETS and the fictional author of the guidebook. A seemingly innocuous table of contents with traditional guidebook topics like "Getting to Atlanta" and "Places to Eat" is followed by a thorough exposé of the urban poverty, injustices, illegal activities, and consequences of the Olympic-related redevelopment of Atlanta. For example, under the "Places to Stay" heading, details inform the reader of the lease breaches and rent gouging of Intown Properties, who "gave its tenants two choices: move out and let us sublet your apartment during the Olympics, or pay the market rate of \$3,000 rent from May through August, 1996" (Ibid., 20). When asked about Spoilsport, one former ETS member said: "[The goal of Spoilsport] was to expose Atlanta as a progressive, loving, solutions-oriented city and to do that by making fun of how great Atlanta was. It was not a hard charge based on how prone Atlanta was to over-promotion. It was not much deeper than to say, 'No, you're not'" (Kung, personal interview). Though having an imaginative and comically critical style, the pamphlet seriously challenged the framing of Atlanta as a welcoming, friendly city. Through the

pamphlet, ETS seized the scalar opportunity of the Olympics and informed visitors of the significant race-based and class-based injustices of the city.

Taking Advantage of the Self-Proclaimed Global City: One Example

As mentioned earlier, social movement activists used the global nature of the Olympics as a basis for their frames, even if the global-ness was in large part a proclamation of regime leaders. One instance of social movement activists employing the proneness of Atlanta to over-promotion was the issue of public toilets in the city. Since at least 1983, activists for the homeless had unsuccessfully attempted to pressure the City of Atlanta to construct public toilets in the city (Davis 2002, 118). With the large presence of international visitors in Atlanta for the Olympics, activists used the discourse of global visitors and global cities in order to change the scale of the toilet necessity. “The world was coming to town, and even those who did not want to provide toilets for the homefolks acknowledged that they would be a necessary part of our hospitality” (Ibid., 120). Another former activist recalls the use of the global significance of the Olympics in how she framed the movement’s critiques:

In all organizing, at the same time that you are criticizing power for being terrible, you’re also calling them to come to their best selves, whether that’s their best selves expressed in the declaration of independence or the ideals of our founding fathers or the civil rights movement. So, that was no different in that moment and for this group, ETS. It was, live up to the claim that Atlanta is really a City too Busy to Hate or Atlanta is really an international city, or Atlanta is a progressive city. You know, live up to these things, we were saying. Look how far you’ve fallen short (Kung, personal interview).

Concerning the toilets, this globally-scaled discursive justification proved to be compelling; indeed, the initiative was thwarted only after an obscure state law made

illegal the advertising that would fund the toilets and when a wealthy businessperson funded portable toilets to be installed for the duration of the Games. Today, Atlanta still lacks public toilets; the regime has retrenched into its previous position and essential advocacy for public toilets continues. Regardless of the ultimate success of the initiative, the point is that the globally-oriented discursive shift within the public toilet advocacy frames made convincing the plea for public toilets. Both the labor/neighborhood frame and the public toilet frame had grievances that historically had only incorporated one scale into their frames. While both ultimately failed to achieve the change for which they had initially hoped, perhaps the labor/neighborhood alliance frame would have been as compelling as the public toilet advocates' frame if the alliance frame had maintained its scalar integrity as the public toilet advocates frame did.

Displacement, Scale, and Frames: Theory and Empirics

Much of the theory in Chapter Two addressed displacement as a function of global city formation by understanding displacement as a form of demographic cleansing necessary to produce the image of the global city. The empirical focus of this chapter, though, has primarily concentrated on the scale frames of social movement organizations in Atlanta. Because of this, there may appear to be a disjuncture as a result of the empirics not straightforwardly addressing the theory and vice-versa.

While there is certainly room for future work that would draw the theory and empirics together in more direct and indirect ways, one goal of this project was to investigate the implications of global city formation on social movement framings. The focus here is even slimmer than this: not just global city formation, but displacement as a

function of global city formation, and not just social movement framing, but social movement scale-framing. Thus, by narrowing in on displacement and scale-frames, the empirics explore the impact of global city displacement on the scale frames of social movement organizations.

Though the theory of displacement is perhaps unusual, unique, and a lengthy portion of my theoretical framework, ultimately, it is only useful to the empirics because it situates displacement as an important influencer of social movement scale-frames. Scale-frames were challenged, altered, and politicized because of displacement, even as organizers and activists sought to scale-frame the displacement itself in new discursive forms. Thus, while orienting displacement in relation to scale-frames in the global city may not be the most intuitive design for a thesis and may leave some more obvious and important connections unconnected, the specificity of the processes under examination forced a somewhat unusual design, even if the project suffers from not making more obvious connections.

4.5 Conclusion: “What Will We Do With the Homeless?”

“When the world comes to Atlanta, where will the homeless be?
Will we march them to Oklahoma, like we did the Cherokee?
Will we shove them into alleys; dare them to show their face?
Or make them a major Olympic event? How ‘bout a homeless race?”

Oh, what will we do with the homeless when the Olympics come to town?
What will we do with the homeless? Hide them in Underground?
What will we do with the homeless? We cannot allow them to roam!
What will we do with the homeless? Why don’t we build them a home?”

-Joyce Brookshire

“What Will We Do With the Homeless (When the Olympics Come to Town)?”

In many ways, Atlantan singer/songwriter Joyce Brookshire's lyrics (personal interview) are emblematic of nearly every theme brought together in this chapter, addressing the unique scalar phenomenon that is the Olympics ("When the world comes to Atlanta"), the regime's assumption and strategy that the homeless must be displaced ("We cannot allow them to roam!"), among others. Brookshire uses the repeated question of "What will we do with the homeless?" to emphasize the urgency of the regime's determination to displace the homeless of Atlanta as she also suggests that housing for the homeless is a prerequisite for "an Olympic good time." Above all else, her powerfully concise reply ("Why don't we build them a home?") to the repeated questions of displacement is as simple and direct as the regime's queries are exigent and pressing.

It is not only her lyrical commentary on this historical moment, though, that bears significance. The performer herself and the performance of the song during the Olympic moment is also noteworthy. Brookshire penned the song in one sitting, immediately after the Olympics were announced:

I was watching the TV when Atlanta had gotten the Olympics and I immediately thought about what's going to happen to the homeless. I know that something is going to be different, I knew that something was going to happen. I thought with the Olympics, what'll we do with the homeless. So, I started writing immediately. That's when I wrote it, because I knew the homeless were going to be stomped on, beat on, put on buses. They'd hide them because you can't have the homeless around when the Olympics are in town (personal interview).

Brookshire then began playing the song in local venues in Atlanta, receiving positive feedback from her audience and fellow players. When the Games drew nearer, Brookshire played with some activist groups, mostly the People for Urban Justice and the Open Door Community, to play her song at rallies, protests, and gatherings of advocates

and the homeless. Quickly, Brookshire's song became a favorite at moments of opposition and even in other venues. When the city of Atlanta asked Brookshire to play her music at a concert for local musicians in a city park, she told the organizers she would only play if she was permitted to sing "What Will We Do with the Homeless?" After she was told that she could not sing the song at the city function, Brookshire refused to play at all, much to the chagrin of city organizers. Brookshire attributes the popularity of her song among the activists, advocates, poor, and homeless in the Olympic moment in part because she was a lifelong resident of Atlanta and could write songs about the emotional attachment Atlantans have to their city. With respect to social movement frames, Brookshire's biography and her songwriting contributed to an inculcation of place-based attachment among the social movement organizers and activists.

As a form of scale framing and the historical details of Olympic-related displacement in Atlanta as presented in Chapter Four, the lyrics to "What Will We Do with the Homeless?" neatly summarize much of the scale frame naming, blaming, and claiming of other activists and the context of displacement. With respect to theories of displacement and social movement frames as presented in Chapter Two, the song considers who is excluded from the globalizing city and is a performative act of social movement framing. Thus, interpreting the song in light of the themes in this project, namely, the theories and particularities of displacement and social movement framing in the globalizing city, "What Will We Do With the Homeless?" is a convenient and effective artistic summary of the chapter's thematic material.

Social movements achieved some laudable successes in the Olympic moment, some of which included a federal court injunction against the City of Atlanta to cease the

illegal practices of arresting and detaining the homeless, a daycare center that was saved from demolition, and some neighborhoods and organized labor getting some concessions. Most of the interviewed activists, though, agreed that their efforts from 1990 to 1996 were not as effective as they had initially hoped, even if some also wondered if the displacement and other injustices could have been even worse. When understanding this historical moment from the perspective of scale, patterns of success, failure, and momentum become clearer. In most instances, the scalar integrity of the frames—how durable the social movements’ attempts to gain advantage through constructing scale frames—was a good predictor of the social movements’ success.

Most of the scale frames in question operated at a number of scales; for example, neighborhoods, public housing buildings, and advocacy groups all worked at their own individual scales while forming solidarity with one another at a citywide scale. The national and international scale were involved in their organizations, too, as groups occasionally looked to like-minded groups in California and Canada to gain perspective and assistance. When framing their cause, however, most of the scale frames named, blamed, and claimed at a more limited range of scales. Most common were the citywide scale and the neighborhood-wide scale, and usually concurrently. It is when scale frames operated at a multiplicity of scales that they had the most impact—recall the local neighborhood groups that allied with labor unions to organize locally but speak to issues normally considered beyond their local scale. Also employing a variety of scales were the movements that seized the moment of Atlanta over-promoting itself as a global city; framing a historically local issue to the local regime, students, tenants, advocates, and the homeless as one concerning a global issue proved to be surprisingly motivational to the

regime. It is not surprising that the changing material urban landscape of the globalizing city in the form of displacement and redevelopment would impact the discursive content of social movement frames in the city. This particular historical moment, however, not only shows that the material transformations impact discursive content, but that discursive content alone, in the form of scale frames, can impact the materiality and potential of globalizing cities.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS, SIGNIFICANCE, AND CONTRIBUTIONS

5.1 Conclusions

“When the world comes to Atlanta...”

The uniquely scaled historical moment of Olympic preparation and hosting indelibly impacted Atlanta’s landscape and politics. It was a key moment in Atlanta’s ascendancy as the predominant city in the South and a moment of validation, to whatever degree false, for the urban regime that Atlanta had become an authentically global city. The moment made possible discourses of geographic scale for a variety of Atlantans that had never before been conceivable or practical. As with all of Atlanta’s post-war politics, these discourses were embodied in the loosely constituted regime’s imagineerings and re-imagineerings of the city, and in those who provided alternative visions for the city.

Thus, the history and geography of Atlanta from 1990-1996 is one of heated discursive politics and the radically dynamic urban landscape, both of which were centered on conceptions of scale. For the urban regime, the Olympic-enabled globally scaled moment allowed for the transformation of predominately locally-used space into the abstract space of the global. Most of these locally-used spaces had been sought after by the regime for decades, but it was the Olympics that provided a short timetable and the basis for an urban imagined community to justify the rapid transformation of Techwood Park into Centennial Olympic Park, Techwood Homes into the Olympic Village (and later Georgia Institute of Technology dormitories), and portions of city neighborhoods into the main Olympic stadium (now home to the Atlanta Braves). Recall Dr. Sherman

Day's comments of how the Centennial Olympic Park validated Atlanta as a city of true "internationalism."

The urban regime, however, was not the only coalition using to their advantage the global attention focused on and, in part, produced by the regime itself. Social movement organizations, opposing not only the loss of space necessary for the poor and homeless but also the mass displacement of Atlantans in the Olympic moment, framed their causes in light of global and local scales and considerations. Given the regime's historical penchant for over-promoting Atlanta, it is not surprising that social movement scale frames often targeted the harmonious, unified, and beneficent image the regime hoped to channel when proclaiming itself as a truly international city in part because the city was hosting the Olympics, an event founded on and promoted with profoundly internationalist ideology. Scale frames discursively operated at a number of scales, ranging from the neighborhood to the city to the global, employing the various strengths of each constructed scale. Indeed, it was the simultaneous framing at these various scales itself, in addition to the discursive contents of the frames, which proved to be one of the most advantageous benefits.

"We cannot allow them to roam!"

Though the regime's accumulation and transformation of urban space through the poor's dispossession of the same space was certainly a component of the regime's preparation for the Olympics, an overemphasis on displacement as a necessity for capitalist development misses the powers of displacement itself. Displacement rightly understood engages with it not as epiphenomenal byproduct or precondition, but as

strategy, conscious or otherwise, for reifying regime power. Brookshire is right, then: the regime will not allow the homeless and poor simply to roam through certain urban spaces. Instead, they are placed and displaced in accordance with the regime's desire for production, reproduction, and reification of regime power.

The displacement in this historical moment is akin to the creation of refugees in the context of nation-states. Refugees are often displaced, not to exclude them from the realm of politics, but rather to include them by virtue of their exclusion. Atlanta's regime, bent on producing a pleasant image of "The City Too Busy to Hate" and also having embraced the harmonious "one world" Olympic ideology, could not tolerate a demographic heterogeneity that would soil the urban spectacle of feigned prosperity, wealth, and homogeneity. Thus, displacement not only produced a cleansed image for mass consumption, but also reified on the landscape the regime's claims of the city as international, cosmopolitan, and flourishing. It was due to their conspicuous exclusion through displacement that the poor and homeless in Atlanta were included in the logic of the regime's political and cultural power in the city. While the application of refugee theory to urban politics does not assume that the displaced in both situations reify the power of the sovereign in the same exact manner, the general principle of inclusive exclusion to spaces of exception of the displaced operates to the advantage of the sovereign in both scenarios.

The regime, however, does not simply operate on its own accord. It receives ideological justification from the urban imagined community made possible in the Olympic moment. While notions of imagined community have traditionally been applied to the nation-state, Atlanta as an urban imagined community helps to understand how the

regime perpetuates injustice with limited opposition from those it governs. In the Olympic moment, the regime began to include new community and neighborhood groups and their leaders, some of whom were even historically opposed to the regime. By including the newer groups and by offering them symbolic victories, regime coalition members' plans for displacement were able to appear as though backed by the community at-large, supporting the Olympics, and therefore, a near-universal good. Through instances like this, Atlantans in the Olympic moment developed a comradeship similar, but not identical, to the patriotism of the nation-state despite the displacement, forced evictions, illegal arrests and detainments of the homeless, and other grievous practices of the time.

“Why don't we build them a home?”

The suggestion to house the homeless is a discursive attempt to change the material conditions of the urban landscape. In the language of the right to the city literature, it is an attempt to reverse the process of the city being made for urban residents, rather than by urban residents (Mitchell 2003, 18). Social movement scale frames in Olympic Atlanta were attempts not only to mobilize potential movement members or to create a resonant messages in the city at-large, but they also were attempts to change the material landscape itself—to halt the construction of the Olympic stadium, to advocate for public toilets, to maintain and improve the physical structures than enabled communities and networks of employment, and to ensure that all Atlantans had a right to public spaces in the city.

Thus, the material conflicts over Atlanta's urban spaces were often waged by discursive means. In this way, those seeking to advocate for inhabitants in the city revealed the potentiality of discursive politics to transform material conditions. Social movement scale frames as articulated by activists in Atlanta's Olympic historical moment were not only impacted by the material changes in the city, (e.g., the demolition of public housing, or the diaspora of low income housing residents' association members), but also provoked potential changes in the urban form of the city (e.g., public toilet campaign).

5.2 Significance and Contributions

Several distinct themes comprise the significance and contribution of this project. First, this research contributes to a growing but still meager body of research on Atlanta. As a quickly growing city and the leading urban center in its region, which is also growing, Atlanta is becoming an increasingly important cultural, political, and economic center in not only the United States, but also the world. Suburban sprawl, strained water usage, racial politics, public transit issues, and more topics that dominate the headlines of American newspapers exist in their most exemplary form in metropolitan Atlanta. Research that documents and uncovers the processes of everyday life, political struggle, and urban social dynamics of Atlanta will become more important as demographics and capital investment continue to shift to the southeastern United States.

Secondly, this project is an example of how notions of scale in the globalizing city affect discursive politics. The discursive interactions via scale frames and counter-scale frames reveal that in a self-consciously globalizing city like 1990-1996 Atlanta, geographic scale is often a consideration of every party involved. While scale is surely

important in most, if not all, discursively political battles, the uniqueness of the Atlanta example is predominately in how self-conscious the regime was about Atlanta being an authentically global city. The regime, promoting the Olympics as the actualization of global city status for Atlanta, set the scalar tone for discourse surrounding Olympic politics regardless of who was involved. In this case, the globalizing city impacted social movement frames by emphasizing the global-ness of the moment; this proved to work at different moments in the favor of both the regime and social movement organizations. Thus, the globalizing city, as far as it concerns social movement scale frames in Atlanta, was not necessarily harmful or helpful. Instead, it offered novel scalar discourses, some of which social movements could use some to their advantage. This moment in the globalizing city also revealed the increased importance of scale framing in an era obsessed with spectacle, image, and public relations. Many of the social movement scale frames used the primacy of the spectacle against the Olympics and the regime. Twelve years later, the importance of scale framing—as seen in the Beijing Olympic activists protesting everything from human rights abuses to forced evictions in Beijing to Tibetan freedom—has heightened as Olympic cities continue to emphasize the primacy of spectacle.

Thirdly, this project contributes some new understandings and reworking of social theory through the gentle recalibration of Stone's *Regime Politics* (1989), the rescaling of Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1991) and Nyers' *Rethinking Refugees* (2006), and the interpretation of all three in light of one another and grounded in the context of Olympic Atlanta. The first results of these new understandings and reworking are new and tense constellations of ideas that deserve more attention than what is possible

in a thesis. Stone's analysis in *Regime Politics* finishes in 1988, two years before Atlanta was awarded the Olympics. Much has happened between 1988 and 2009; indeed, a worthwhile study would examine, while keeping Stone's general framework intact, how the regime politics have changed in these two decades. In the Olympic era, neighborhood and community activists were co-opted by the regime and the elimination of public housing in the city has continued.

The rescaling of *Imagined Communities*, *Rethinking Refugees*, and *The Racial State* is a unique challenge because both envision the nation-state, not the city, as the primary political imaginary. While this is no doubt correct for most people, secondary political imaginaries might also demand similar allegiances and work in a negotiated matrix along side a multiplicity of political imaginaries and identities. Thus, in the case of refugees, the power of displacement made manifest by a sovereign in a given political imaginary might not have the same global geopolitical consequences as it would in the context of a nation-state, but it still can serve to reify the sovereign's power as it did in Atlanta. Analyzing urban displacement and urban imagined communities from this perspective may lead to more comprehensive understandings of social phenomena like displacement, which have been correctly interpreted as, but also incorrectly relegated to, the role of precondition or necessary byproduct for other social formations.

Finally, social movement activists seeking strategies for framing their cause in cities increasingly vocal about their authentic global-ness can learn from struggles in 1990-1996 Atlanta. As the self-proclaimed globalizing cities employ more discourses centered on the "global," social movements can effectively respond with operating at a number of scales. As more urban regimes proclaim their cities as global and change the

urban landscape to reflect this, social movement scale frames can use their own discourses not only to challenge discursive representations of the city, but also to transform the material conditions of the city itself.

These points of significance also raise the issue of my own future work that could arise from the themes of this project. The most obvious application would be to other Olympic cities, future or past. The political, cultural, material, and economic significance of the Olympics only seems to be growing and shifting, so there is no shortage of scholarly work that could be done in these cities and on these processes. Secondly, as I have tried to extend the understanding of global city formation in this project, new understandings of global city formation involving non-Olympic urban transformation could be possible. For instance, as a dissertation project, I have thought of attempting to link global city formation with the political ecology literature. In addition, it was only recently that I had read Goldberg's *The Racial State*. Bringing this work further into geography, especially in a racially dynamic city like Atlanta or other Southern cities could be a productive and interesting perspective. Finally, displacement is a globally ubiquitous process. Understanding the processes of displacement and placement are not only geographically relevant, but also could impact political action and policy formation. In any event, future work emanating from this project is certainly possible and likely.

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**APPENDIX A:
LIST OF INTERVIEWEES**

Mr. Frank Alexander
Emory University School of Law

The Reverend Joseph H. Beasley
Antioch Baptist Church North

Ms. Anita Beaty
Atlanta Taskforce for the Homeless

Ms. Joyce Brookshire
Musician

Mrs. Murphy Davis
The Open Door Community

The Honorable Vincent Fort
Georgia State Senator, 39th District

Mr. Carl Hartrampf
Atlanta Taskforce for the Homeless

Dr. Larry Keating
Georgia Tech University

Ms. Lisa Kung
Southern Center for Human Rights

Ms. Hollande Levinson
Anti-Defamation League

Mr. Edward Loring
The Open Door Community

Dr. Gregory Nobles
Georgia Tech University

Mr. Jerome Scott
Project South

Mr. Columbus Ward
Emmaus House

**APPENDIX B:
SOME SAMPLE QUESTIONS FOR SOCIAL MOVEMENT PARTICIPANTS
AND ORGANIZERS**

What were your personal goals in organizing or joining a social movement protest? Were those goals achieved? What were the organization's goals? Were those goals achieved?

What were the tactics you employed when protesting the Olympic-related development?

At which organizations or people did you aim your protest? Why those organizations? Was there consensus within your organization on this topic?

Did the rich history of protest in Atlanta affect your protest or social movements? If so, how? If not, why not?

Were any specific spaces, places, or sites in the city of Atlanta as particularly strategic?

How did you get the social movement's message to the people? In other words, how did you organize and mobilize the movement's constituency?

Did you perceive the Olympic-related development as a new political development, a recycled challenge within a lineage of political and cultural grievances, or a mixture?

From your perspective, what role, if any, did large corporations play in driving the Olympic development in Atlanta?

Did you seek cooperation with other social movement organizations? Why and how?

At any point during the time in question, did you or any others sense that the movement's constituency was beginning to dissolve? If so, how did you respond? If not, to what do you attribute the tenacity of the movement?

Was anyone outside of Atlanta or Georgia a part of the social movement?

In your judgment, was the process of choosing sites for Olympic development motivated by racial discrimination? Class discrimination? Gender?

At the time of the social movement, did you interpret the Olympic development as presenting new challenges to your constituency or recycled challenges?

In your judgment, what were the motives of the Olympic organizers? Why did they choose to develop some spaces and not others?

APPENDIX C: INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM

I, _____, agree to participate in a research project titled “Social Movement Framing and Globalizing Cities: A Relational Case Study During Atlanta’s Olympic-Related Urban Restructuring” conducted by Seth Gustafson from the Department of Geography at the University of Georgia (542-2926) under the direction of Dr. Nik Heynen, Department of Geography (542-1954). I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can refuse to participate or stop taking part at any time without giving any reason and without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled. I can request that all of the information about me returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

The reason for this study is to understand the relational dynamics between social movement framing and globalizing cities. If I volunteer to take part in this study, I will be asked to do the following things:

- 1) Answer questions about my relationship and involvement with the topic of study. This interview will last approximately forty-five minutes to one hour.
- 2) Be available for any follow-up in the event that the researcher has additional questions for me.

Though I understand that I will not materially or monetarily benefit from this research, I recognize that other possible benefits include my personal educational benefit, satisfaction from contributing my insight and experience to the researcher’s questions, and assisting the production of knowledge for the public good.

No discomforts or stresses are expected.

No risks are expected.

The interview will be recorded and transcribed by the researcher. The recordings will enable the researcher to accurately account for the interview we have today. The recordings will be securely stored in a locked filing cabinet and will be destroyed at the end of the research project. The recordings will only be made available to the researcher. The researcher will transcribe the recordings but will not use any identifying information on the transcripts unless I explicitly grant my permission to do so (see below).

I grant my permission for the researcher to record and transcribe this interview and I understand that I may participate in the interview without granting permission to record and transcribe.
Circle one: YES / NO. Initial _____.

I grant my permission for the researcher to directly attribute quotes or responses to me in the publicly disseminated portions (e.g., a presentation, published or unpublished manuscript) of the researcher’s project, knowing that I am under no compulsion to do so. Initial _____. The absence of my initials here indicates that I do not grant my permission to the researcher to directly attribute quotes or responses to me in the publicly disseminated portions of the researcher’s project.

No individually-identifiable information about me or provided by me during the research will be shared with others without my initial on the line above.

The investigator will answer any further questions about the research, now or during the course of the project, and can be reached by telephone at: (706) 542-2926 or by e-mail at: sgus@uga.edu

I understand that I am agreeing by my signature on this form to take part in this research project and understand that I will receive a signed copy of this consent form for my records.

Name of Researcher
Telephone: _____

Signature
E-mail: _____

Date

Name of Participant

Signature

Date

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

Additional questions or problems regarding your rights as a research participant should be addressed to The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 612 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-Mail Address IRB@uga.edu